



Micro-dynamics of Political and Organized Criminal Violence

POL 669, Fall 2024
School of Government and Public Policy
The University of Arizona
Room: Social Sciences 332
Mondays 5:30 pm - 8:00 pm.

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Course Description:

This seminar aims at exposing graduate students to state-of-the-art research on political and organized criminal violence. To do so, the seminar has a deliberately interdisciplinary approach integrating scholarship on conflict, economics, geography, political psychology, and criminology to disentangle the micro-dynamics of political violence and organized crime. The micro-dynamic approach of this seminar will largely depart from the country-year unit of analysis and dive into the subnational or individual level of analysis. At the seminar, we will engage in a collective intellectual endeavor to analyze each assigned reading in depth. The discussions will pay particular attention to the theoretical and conceptual contributions and debates, as well as to the empirical innovations and identification strategies in the field. These discussions will help graduate students to identify gaps in the literature as well as emerging niches that might motivate their own research agenda.

Course Objectives:

The readings, discussions, and assignments of this course are designed to help graduate students have a solid understanding of the recent academic advances on the micro-dynamics of political and criminal violence. The course objectives include:

1. Engage in active areas of theoretical discussion about the overlap and difference between political and organized criminal violence.
2. Identify empirical and methodological innovations that allow overcoming challenges of causal inference in emerging areas of conflict research.
3. Produce high-quality research on selected topics related to political and organized criminal violence.

Learning Outcomes:

After successfully completing this course, students will be able to:

1. Define key conceptual elements in the literature of political and criminal violence such as:

monopoly of violence, violence specialization, rebel and criminal governance, and apply them to specific cases.

2. Compare the relative contribution of key determinants of political and organized criminal violence.
3. Critically evaluate the strength of theoretical constructs, the quality of data, and plausibility of research designs analyzing political and criminal violence.
4. Apply a micro-dynamics approach to the production of high-quality research on political and organized criminal violence.

Course Requirements:

1. Class attendance

- Students are expected to attend to all seminar sessions and arrive on time.
- If you expect to be absent because of religious observances, please send me an email at the beginning of the semester.
- In the case of an emergency, students are expected to notify the professor before class.

2. Readings and participation

- Students are required to gather on their own all the assigned readings listed in the syllabus.
 - This approach aims to help students refine their research skills. It is recommended for students to devote a few hours at the beginning of the semester to gather all the readings of the course. This will help students get a better sense of the reading volume per week and for the entire semester, so they can plan ahead.
 - Students are expected to read all assigned readings before our seminar sessions. This requires students to critically engage the readings and be ready to address the theoretical, research design, and empirical strengths and weaknesses of the readings, as well as to make connections between authors.
 - Students will be able to find some of the assigned readings on D2L. These will be primarily book chapters, excerpts, or unpublished working papers not readily available at the University of Arizona Libraries. All other materials are available online as e-books or journal articles in the University of Arizona Libraries.
- Active participation in the discussion is a strong requirement. The goal of the seminar is to collectively unpack and analyze the reading assigned materials. We will do so by dissecting its different components and arguments, questioning them, exploring their implications, and thinking out loud about them. Due its collective and dynamic nature, a seminar is not a space for passive learning. As such, each student is expected to provide valuable contributions to this common intellectual endeavor.
- Students are required to bring the assigned reading to every class. Feel free to bring the readings in hard copy or in electronic format as long as it is in your laptop or tablet (not in your cell phone).

3. Short response papers

- Students should submit 2 short response papers during the semester discussing all the readings assigned for a given week.
- The short response papers should include:
 - A very short summary of the reading (three or four sentences long).
 - A short but critical evaluation of the theoretical and empirical strengths and limitations of the readings.
 - Two or three questions addressing key debates across authors. Dr. Osorio may use some of these questions to guide the conversation in class.
- Each short response paper should be no more than 1,500 words.
- Students will submit their short responses via D2L.

4. Research paper

- Students should write a research paper addressing a relevant question related to the topics covered in the course. Students are required to discuss their research topic with me in person during office hours.
- A solid research paper will include the following elements: a theoretical or empirical puzzle; an explanatory research question; a brief and sharp literature review; advance a theoretical contribution; conduct an empirical assessment of the theoretical expectations (qualitative or quantitative); and a discussion of the implications of the results.
- The best way to approach this requirement is for students to use their research paper as the groundwork of a publishable article. I will be happy to provide continuous advice beyond this course for those papers advancing towards publication.
- The final paper must be between 9,000 and 10,000 words including tables, graphs, references, and footnotes. Use 1 in. margins, Times New Roman font, 12 pts. and double space.
- For professionalization purposes, students are encouraged to write their papers in \LaTeX . I will be happy to offer a quick crash course on \LaTeX for beginners.
- **Paper draft**
 - Students will submit an advanced paper draft on **November 26**.
 - This draft should be as advanced as possible. Students are encouraged to start working on their papers early on in the semester.
- **Paper presentation**
 - We will divert from the traditional presentation scheme.
 - A student will present the paper of another student in a 12 minutes presentation.
 - The presenting student will provide constructive and actionable feedback to the author.
 - This approach encourages students to excel in the preparation of their drafts; offers the opportunity to practice presentation and constructive feedback skills; and allows students to improve their papers based on the comments received.
 - Students will present on **December 3**.
- **Final paper**

- Students will incorporate into their paper the feedback received in the presentation.
- The final paper will be due on **December 10** via D2L.
- Students are responsible for submitting the right version of the paper on time.

Grade Distribution and Scale:

The following table present the grade distribution for this course :

Grade Distribution		
Assignments	Percentage	Date
Participation	15 %	
Paper draft	25 %	November 29
Presentation	10 %	December 3
Final paper	50 %	December 10

The following table presents the grading scale for a corresponding letter grade:

Grading Scale	
Letter grade	Scale
A	90-100%
B	80-89%
C	70-79%
D	60-69%
E	59% or less

Course Policies:

1. Difficult Times

- From all the things that you can be, please choose to be kind. Be kind to yourself, be kind to all the people that you know. Also, please be kind to all the people around you, including those who you do not know. We all are struggling.
- If you are experiencing personal difficulties (of any kind) that prevent your from adequately performing in the class, please send me an email. Timely communication is crucial for properly addressing specific challenges. So, please do not wait until there is a drop in your grade or at the end of the semester. I will try to work with you to find the best possible solution so this class is not an additional burden on you.
- If you are experiencing unexpected barriers to your success, please note the Dean of Students Office is a central support resource for all students and may be helpful. The Dean of Students Office (deanofstudents.arizona.edu) can be reached by phone at 520-621-2057 or by email DOS-deanofstudents@email.arizona.edu.
- If you are facing physical or mental health challenges this semester, please note that Campus Health provides quality medical and mental health care. For medical appointments, call (520-621-9202. For After Hours care, call (520) 570-7898. For the Counseling & Psych Services (CAPS) 24/7 hotline, call (520) 621-3334.

2. COVID Related Issues

- Please keep an eye on the University of Arizona COVID-related policies. As the pandemic evolves, the University will continue to adapt its policies, which is also likely to have consequences for this class. You can find out more at <https://covid19.arizona.edu/>.
- If you are feeling COVID-related symptoms (even if they are mild) **please get tested**. We all should be responsible for our health and other people's health. So, when in doubt, please get tested before coming to class.
- If you test positive for COVID, please follow the UA protocol:
 - <https://covid19.arizona.edu/positive-case-protocol-students>.

3. Electronic etiquette

- Please mute your cell phones in class.
- Refraining from using distracting electronics or apps during class will help us to engage more effectively in a stimulating intellectual conversation without interruptions.
- Students are expected to behave maturely. Please demonstrate respect to yourself, your peers, and instructor by giving your full attention and participating in class.
- Students are required to use their University of Arizona email for all university-related communications.
- When sending an email, please be respectful, clear and concise. Long substantive questions are more suitable for class discussions or office hours than email exchanges.
- Students are not allowed to take pictures, video, or audio recordings in the classroom without prior authorization of the instructor.

4. Academic Policies

- Please consult the UA Academic Policies Website:
<https://academicaffairs.arizona.edu/syllabus-policies>
- This site includes information regarding:
 - Absence and class participation.
 - Threatening behavior.
 - Accessibility and Accommodations (Disability Resource Center).
 - Code of Academic Integrity.
 - Non-Discrimination and Anti- Harassment Policy.

5. Additional Resources for Students

- SGPP recently put together a comprehensive list of resources for students. You can find it at:
<https://sgpp.arizona.edu/student-resources>
- This site includes information regarding:
 - Important dates and deadlines.
 - General resources.

- COVID-19 resources.
- Undergraduate student resources.
- Graduate student resources.
- Financial resources.
- Health, wellness, and safety.
- Student organizations.
- Cultural and specialized student resource centers.

6. Confidentiality of Student Records:

- Confidentiality policy of the University of Arizona:
<https://registrar.arizona.edu/privacy-ferpa/ferpa-compliance>

7. Diversity and Inclusion:

- The School of Government and Public Policy (SGPP) recognizes the richness of diversity and inclusion as critical components of intellectual and civic excellence. We are committed to fostering environments in which our students, staff, faculty, community partners, and visitors can participate fully, regardless of race, ethnicity, gender identity, sexual orientation, age, socio-economic status, citizenship status, size, ability, language, religion, or any other characteristic.

We recognize that the disciplines of political science and public affairs do not yet reflect the complexity of our increasingly multicultural society, and that the substance of these disciplines is subject to polarized worldviews. Accordingly, we promote open, critical, and respectful dialogue and practices. To ensure that all members of the SGPP community thrive, we condemn expressions of discrimination and hate, and support pedagogies to explain and challenge all manifestations of unconscious bias in the classroom, on campus, and in the community.

The School has established the Committee for Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion to identify and coordinate activities to support our efforts to foster diverse and inclusive intellectual environments.

- In line with the University of Arizona's vision of diversity, this course will provide an environment of recognition, acceptance, and interaction of all the aspects that enrich diversity in our pursue of excellence.
- Participants in this course are strongly encouraged to move beyond recognizing diversity and inclusion as ideal or desirable goals, and actively engage in embracing, practicing, and promoting diversity and inclusion in the classroom and in their daily activities and relationships.
- At the beginning of the course, students will be asked about their pronouns.

8. Care-Giving Policy:

- Babies, children, and seniors are welcome in class. In case of occasional minor illnesses or unforeseen disruptions in childcare, you can bring your baby or child to class. Also, if you are taking care of a senior person, feel free to bring them to class.

- Mothers who are breastfeeding an infant, or expressing milk, may do so in class without the permission of the instructor. I ask everyone in class to be respectful and contribute to a family-friendly environment. If you prefer to breastfeed or breast pump outside of class, you may take time out of class.
- In all cases where babies and children come to class, I ask that you sit close to the door so that if your little one needs special attention, you may step outside until their need has been met. I also ask non-parenting students to reserve seats near the door for parenting classmates.
- College is hard and even more so if you are a parent or caregiver of another person. Sleep deprivation, tiredness, stress, and unforeseen circumstances are real obstacles for anyone. Feel free to share with me your student-parent-care-giver status so I can offer special accommodation if needs arise. Although I have high expectations for all students in class, I am always happy to offer support to those who need it.

9. Accessibility and Accommodations:

- At the University of Arizona, we strive to make learning experiences as accessible as possible. If you anticipate or experience barriers based on disability or pregnancy, please contact the Disability Resource Center (520-621-3268, <https://drc.arizona.edu>) to establish reasonable accommodations.

10. Subject to Change:

- Information contained in the course syllabus, other than the grade distribution and UA policies, may be subject to change with advance notice as deemed appropriate by the instructor.

Course Outline:

The course is structured according to the following sections:

Month	Day	Topic
August	27	Introduction
September	3	Macro Explanations of Political Violence
September	10	The State as Organized Crime
September	17	Rebels or Criminals?
September	24	To Fight or not to Fight?
October	1	Rebel Governance
October	8	Criminal Governance
October	15	Poverty and Political Violence
October	22	Poverty and Crime
October	29	Economic Shocks and Violence
November	5	Evidence on Policing
November	12	Lootable Commodities and Violence
November	19	Consequences of Violence on Attitudes
November	26	No Class - Conference trip
December	3	Presentations
December	10	Final Paper due

Course Content:

August 27 - Introduction

- No assigned readings.
- Course structure.

This course pays a lot of attention to the research design used in each study. If you need support with or a refresher of causal inference, here are some suggested readings you may want to keep handy:

- Joshua D. Angrist and Jorn-Steffen Pischke, *Mostly Harmless Econometrics: An Empiricist's Companion*, Princeton University Press, 2009.
- Scott Cunningham, *Causal Inference: The Mixtape*, Yale University Press, 2021.
- Joshua D. Angrist and Jorn-Steffen Pischke, *Mastering 'Metrics: The Path from Cause to Effect*, Princeton University Press, 2015.

September 3 - Macro Explanations of Civil Wars

- Ted Robert Gurr. *Why Men Rebel*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1970, chapter 2, pp. 22-58.
- Donald Horowitz. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. University of California Press, Berkeley, 1985, chapter 1, pp.3-36.
- Paul Collier and Anke E. Hoeffler. Greed and grievance in civil war. *Oxford Economic Papers*, 56(4):563–595, jun 2004.
- James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin. Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War. *The American Political Science Review*, 97(1):75 – 90, 2003.

Suggested readings:

- Paul Collier and Nicholas Sambanis, editors. *Understanding Civil War: Volume 1. Africa*. The World Bank, Washington, D.C., 2005.

September 10 - The State as Organized Crime

- Charles Tilly. War Making and State Making as Organized Crime. In Peter Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol, editors, *Bringing the State Back In*, pages 169–191. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1985.
- Mancur Olson. *Power And Prosperity: Outgrowing Communist And Capitalist Dictatorships*. Basic Books, New York, 2000, pages 1-14.
- Stergios Skaperdas and Constantinos Syropoulos. Gangs as primitive states. In Gianluca Fiorentini and Sam Peltzman, editors, *The economics of organized crime*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1995, pages 61-82.
- Richard Snyder and Angelica Duran-Martinez. Does illegality breed violence? Drug trafficking and state-sponsored protection rackets. *Crime, Law, and Social Change*, 52:253–273, 2009.
- Stergios Skaperdas. The political economy of organized crime: providing protection when the state does not. *Economics of Governance*, 2(3):173–202, nov 2001.

Suggested readings:

- Martin C. McGuire and Mancur Olson. The economics of autocracy and majority rule: The invisible hand and the use of force. *Journal of Economic Literature*, 34(1):72–96, 1996.

September 17 - Rebels or Criminals?

- Paul Collier. Rebellion as a Quasi-Criminal Activity. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 44(6):839–853, 2000.
- Stathis N. Kalyvas. How Civil Wars Help Explain Organized Crime-and How They Do Not. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 59(8):1517–1540, 2015.
- Francisco Gutiérrez-Sanín. Criminal Rebels? A Discussion of Civil War and Criminality from the Colombian Experience. *Politics and Society*, 32(2):257–285, 2004.
- Paul Staniland. States, Insurgents, and Wartime Political Orders. *Perspectives on Politics*, 10(2):243–264, 2012.
- Nicholas Barnes. Criminal Politics: An Integrated Approach to the Study of Organized Crime, Politics, and Violence. *Perspectives on Politics*, 15(4):967–987, 2017.

Suggested readings:

- Paul Collier, Anke Hoeffler, and Nicholas Sambanis. The Collier-Hoeffler Model of Civil War Onset and the Case Study Project Research Design. In Paul Collier and Nicholas Sambanis, editors, *Understanding Civil War. Volume 1: Africa*, pages 1–33. The World Bank, Washington, D.C., 2005.
- Vanja Ljubic, Jan Willem van Prooijen, and Frank Weerman. Beyond the crime-terror nexus: socio-economic status, violent crimes and terrorism. *Journal of Criminological Research, Policy and Practice*, 3(3):158–172, 2017.
- Brian Phillips. Terrorist Tactics by Criminal Organizations: The Mexican Case in Context. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 12(1):46–63, 2018.

September 24 - To Fight or not to Fight?

Better not to fight:

- David Grossman. *On Killing. The Psychological Cost of Learning to Kill in War and Society*. Back Bay Books, New York, 1995, pages 5-17, 30-40, (43-65 optional), 86-92.
- Douglas P. Fry and Patrik Söderberg. Lethal aggression in mobile forager bands and implications for the origins of war. *Science*, 341(6143):270–273, 2013.
- Peter Reuter. Violence and Market Organization. In *Disorganized Crime. Illegal Markets and the Mafia*, chapter 6, pages 132–150. The MIT Press, Cambridge, MA, second edition, 1984.

Better to Fight:

- Robert. Bates, Avner Greif, and Smita Singh. Organizing Violence. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 46(5):599–628, oct 2002.
- Amelia Hoover Green, *The Commander’s Dilemma. Violence and Restraint in Wartime*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 2018, Chapter 1, pp. 25-58.
- Vadim Volkov. Violent Entrepreneurship. In *Violent Entrepreneurs. The Use of Force in the Making of Russian Capitalism*, chapter 2, pages 27–63. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 2002.
- Chris Blattman, *Why We Fight: The Roots of War and the Paths to Peace*, Penguin Publishing Group, New York, 2022, Introduction and chapters 1-6, pp. 1-170. (read as much as you can).

Suggested readings:

- Erica Chenoweth and Maria J. Stephan. *Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict*, Columbia University Press, New York, NY, 2011.
- Lee Ann Fujii, *Show Time. The Logic and Power of Violent Display*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, NY, 2021.
- James Scott. Population Control: Bondage and War. In *Against the Grain: A Deep History of the Earliest States*, pages 150–182. Yale University Press, 2017.
- Philipp Ager, Leonardo Bursztyn, and Hans-Joachim Voth. Killer Incentives: Status Competition and Pilot Performance During World War II. <https://www.nber.org/papers/w22992>, 2016.
- Chris Melde and Finn-Aage Esbensen. Gangs and violence: Disentangling the impact of gang membership on the level and nature of offending. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, 29(2):143–166, Jun 2013.
- Thomas Schelling. What is the Business with Organized Crime? *Journal of Public Law*, 20(1):71–84, 1971.
- Thomas Schelling. Economics and Criminal Enterprise. *Public Interest*, Spring:61–78, 1967.
- Peter Reuter. Systemic Violence in Drug Markets. *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 52(3):275–284, 2009.

October 1 - Rebel Governance

- Stathis N. Kalyvas. *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, MA, 2006. Chapter 7, pp. 173-209.
- Nelson Kasfir. Rebel Governance Constructing a Field of Inquiry: Definitions, Scope, Patterns, Order, Causes. In Ana M. Arjona, Nelson Kasfir, and Zachariah Mampilly, editors, *Rebel Governance in Civil War*, chapter 2, pages 21–46. Cambridge University Press, New York City, 2015.
- Ana Arjona. *Rebelocracy: Social Order in the Colombian Civil War*. Cambridge University Press, New York City, 2016, Chapters 1-3, pp. 1-83.
- Zachariah Mampilly and Megan A. Stewart. A Typology of Rebel Political Institutional Arrangements. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 2021;65(1):15-45.
- Jennifer Brick Murtazashvili. *Informal Order and the State in Afghanistan*. Cambridge University Press, New York, 2016, Chapter 4, pp. 111-152.

Suggested readings:

- Eric Robinson, Daniel Egel, Patrick Johnston, Sean Mann, Alexander Rothenberg, and David Stebbins. *When the Islamic State Comes to Town: The Economic Impact of Islamic State Governance in Iraq and Syria*. RAND Corporation, 2017
- Ashley Jackson. Life under the Taliban shadow government. Technical Report June, Overseas Development Institute, 2018. <https://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/resource-documents/12269.pdf>.
- Megan A. Stewart. Civil War as State-Making: Strategic Governance in Civil War. *International Organization*, pages 1–22, 2017.
- Michael Stohl and George A. Lopez. *The State as terrorist: the dynamics of governmental violence and repression*. 1984.
- Thomas Risse, Tanja Borzel, and Anke Draude, editors. *The Oxford Handbook of Governance and Limited Statehood*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2018.
- Frank Ledwidge. *Rebel Law*. Hurst and Company, London, 2017.
- William Reno. Predatory Rebellions and Governance: The National Patriotic Front of Liberia, 1989-1992. In Ana M. Arjona, Nelson Kasfir, and Zachariah Mampilly, editors, *Rebel Governance in Civil War*, chapter 13, pages 265–285. Cambridge University Press, New York City, 2015.

October 8 - Criminal Governance

- Benjamin Lessing. Conceptualizing Criminal Governance. *Perspectives on Politics*, 2021; 19(3), 854-873.
- Beatriz Magaloni, Edgar Franco-Vivanco, and Vanessa Melo. Killing in the Slums: Social Order, Criminal Governance, and Police Violence in Rio de Janeiro. *American Political Science Review*, 2020.

- Benjamin Lessing and Graham Denyer Wills. Legitimacy in Criminal Governance: Managing a Drug Empire from Behind Bars. *American Political Science Review*, 113(2):584–606, 2019.
- David Skarbek. Governance and Prison Gangs. *American Political Science Review*, 105(4):702–716, 2011.
- Javier Osorio and Susan Brewer-Osorio, Supply and Demand of Criminal Governance: Experimental Evidence from Mexico, Honduras, Guatemala, and El Salvador. Working paper.

Suggested readings:

- Desmond E. Arias. *Criminal Enterprises and Governance in Latin America and the Caribbean*. Cambridge University Press, New York, 2017, pages 19-38.
- Michael Jerome Wolff. Building Criminal Authority: A Comparative Analysis of Drug Gangs in Rio de Janeiro and Recife. *Latin American Politics and Society*, 57(2):21–40, 2015.
- David Skarbek. *The Social Order of the Underworld*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2014.
- Bradley Holland. Stationary Bandits in the Streets : Gangs , Illicit Market Fragmentation , and Urban Violence. <https://dash.harvard.edu/bitstream/handle/1/17467191/HOLLAND-DISSERTATION-2015.pdf?sequence=4&isAllowed=y>, 2017.
- Jan Daniel. Criminal governance and insurgency: The Rio de Janeiro experience. *Central European Journal of International and Security Studies*, 9(4):86–106, 2015.
- David C. Pyrooz and Scott H. Decker. *Competing for Control. Gangs and the Social Order of Prisons*. Cambridge University Press, New York, 2019, Chapter 2, pp. 23-45.
- Russell Sobel and Brian Osoba. Youth Gangs as Pseudo-Governments: Implications for Violent Crime. *Southern Economic Journal*, 75(4):996–1018, 2009.
- Vanda Felbab-Brown, Harold Trinkunas, and Shadi Hamid. *Militants, Criminals, and Warlords: The Challenge of Local Governance in an Age of Disorder*. Brookings Institution Press, Washington, D.C., 2017, pages 15-32, 99-117.

October 15 - Poverty and Political Violence

- Eli Berman, Jacob N. Shapiro, and Joseph H. Felter. Can Hearts and Minds Be Bought? The Economics of Counterinsurgency in Iraq. *Journal of Political Economy*, 119(4):766–819, 2011.
- Christopher Blattman, Julian C. Jamison, and Margaret Sheridan. Reducing Crime and Violence: Experimental Evidence from Cognitive Behavioral Therapy in Liberia. *NBER Working Paper 21204*, 2015.
- Jason Lyall, Yang-Yang Zhou, and Kosuke Imai. Can Economic Assistance Shape Combatant Support in Wartime? Experimental Evidence from Afghanistan. *American Political Science Review*, 114(1):126–143, 2020.
- Benjamin Bahney, Radha Iyengar, Patrick Johnston, Danielle Jung, Jacob N. Shapiro, and Howard Shatz. Insurgent Compensation: Evidence from Iraq. *American Economic Review*, 103(3):518–522, 2013.
- Graeme Blair, C. Christine Fair, Neil Malhotra, and Jacob N. Shapiro. Poverty and Support for Militant Politics: Evidence from Pakistan. *American Journal of Political Science*, 57(1):30–48, jan 2013.

Suggested readings:

- Eli Berman, M. Callen, Joseph H. Felter, and Jacob N. Shapiro. Do Working Men Rebel? Insurgency and Unemployment in Afghanistan, Iraq, and the Philippines. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 55(4):496–528, mar 2011.
- Macartan Humphreys and Jeremy Weinstein. Who Fights? The Determinants of Participation in Civil-War. *American Journal of Political Science*, 52(2):436–455, 2008.
- Pedro C. Vicente and Ines Vilela. Preventing Violent Islamic Radicalization: Behavioral Evidence from Northern Mozambique. 2019.

October 22 - Poverty and Crime

- Garima Siwach. Unemployment shocks for individuals on the margin: Exploring recidivism effects. *Labour Economics*, 52:231–244, 2018.
- Olof Aslund, Hans Grenqvist, Caroline Hall, and Jonas Vlachos. Education and criminal behavior: Insights from an expansion of upper secondary school. *Labour Economics*, 52:178–192, 2018.
- Patrick Bennett. The heterogeneous effects of education on crime: Evidence from Danish administrative twin data. *Labour Economics*, 52:160–177, 2018.
- Maria Micaela Sviatschi, Making of a Narco: Childhood Exposure to Illegal Labor Markets and Criminal Life Paths, *Econometrica*, 90(4), 1835-1878.

Suggested readings:

- Hope Corman, Dhaval Dave, Ariel Kalil, and Nancy Reichman. Reprint of: Effects of maternal work incentives on youth crime. *Labour Economics*, 52:193–209, 2018.
- Eric Chyn. Moved to Opportunity: The Long-Run Effects of Public Housing Demolition on Children. *American Economic Review*, 108(10):3028–3056, 2018.

October 29 - Economic Shocks and Violence

Political Violence:

- Edward Miguel, Shanker Satyanath, and Ernest Sergenti. Economic Shocks and Civil Conflict: An Instrumental Variables Approach. *Journal of Political Economy*, 112(4):725–753, aug 2004.
- Peter Hull. Economic shocks and civil conflict: Evidence from foreign interest rate movements. *Journal of Development Economics*, 103(July):77–89, 2013.
- Oeindrila Dube and Juan Vargas. Commodity Price Shocks and Civil Conflict: Evidence from Colombia. *The Review of Economic Studies*, 80:1384–1421, 2013.

Criminal Violence:

- Darwin Cortés, Julieth Santamaría, and Juan Vargas. Economic shocks and crime: Evidence from the crash of Ponzi schemes. *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization*, 131(Part A):263–275, 2016.
- Rafael Dix-Carneiro, Rodrigo R. Soares, and Gabriel Ulyssea. Economic Shocks and Crime: Evidence from the Brazilian Trade Liberalization. *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics*, 10(4):158–195, 2018.

Suggested readings:

- Edward Miguel and Shanker Satyanath. Re-examining Economic Shocks and Civil Conflict. *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics*, 3(October):228–232, 2011.
- Roland Hodler. Economic shocks and civil conflict at the regional level. *Economics Letters*, 124(3):530–533, 2014.
- Ernesto Dal Bó and Pedro Dal Bó. Workers, Warriors, and Criminals : Social Conflict in General Equilibrium. *Journal of the European Economic Association*, 9(4):646–677, 2011.
- Lakshmi Iyer and Petia Topalova. Poverty and Crime: Evidence from Rainfall and Trade Shocks in India. 2014.
- Claudio Deiana. The Bitter Side of Trade Shocks: Local Labour Market Conditions and Crime in the US. 2016, available at <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/402d/d87f513b62e18d814112d96b3f67782906ae.pdf>.

- Lakshmi Iyer and Petia Topalova. Poverty and Crime: Evidence from Rainfall and Trade Shocks in India. 2014, available at https://www.hbs.edu/faculty/Publication%20Files/14-067_45092fee-b164-4662-894b-5d28471fa69b.pdf
- David Blakeslee and Ram Fisman. Weather Shocks, Agriculture, and Crime: Evidence from India. *Journal of Human Resources*, 53(3):750–782, 2018.
- Aaron Chalfin. What is the Contribution of Mexican Immigration to U.S. Crime Rates? Evidence from Rainfall Shocks in Mexico. *American Law and Economics Review*, 16(1):220–268, 2013.

November 5 - Evidence on Policing

- Christopher Blattman, Donald P Green, Daniel Ortega, and Santiago Tobon. Place-Based Interventions at Scale: The Direct and Spillover Effects of Policing and City Services on Crime. *Journal of the European Economic Association*, 19(4):20222051, August 2021.
- Graeme Blair, Jeremy M. Weinstein, Fotini Christia, Eric Arias, Emile Badran, Robert A. Blair, Ali Cheema, Ahsan Farooqui, Thiemo Fetzner, Guy Grossman, Dotan Haim, Zulfqar Hameed, Rebecca Hanson, Ali Hasanain, Dorothy Kronick, Benjamin S. Morse, Robert Mughah, Fatiq Nadeem, Lily L. Tsai, Matthew Nanes, Tara Slough, Nico Ravanilla, Jacob N. Shapiro, Barbara Silva, Pedro C. L. Souza, and Anna M. Wilke. Community Policing Does Not Build Citizen Trust in Police or Reduce Crime in the Global South. *Science*, 374(6571):eabd3446, November 2021.
- Daniela Collazos, Eduardo Garcia, Daniel Mejia, Daniel Ortega, and Santiago Tobon. Hot spots policing in a high-crime environment: an experimental evaluation in Medellin. *Journal of Experimental Criminology*, 17(3):473506, September 2021.
- Jonathan Mummolo. Militarization fails to enhance police safety or reduce crime but may harm police reputation. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 115(37):91819186, September 2018.
- Robert A. Blair and Michael Weintraub. Little evidence that military policing reduces crime or improves human security. *Nature Human Behaviour*, 7(6):861873, May 2023.
- Dube, Oeindrila, Sandy Jo MacArthur, and Anuj K. Shah. A cognitive view of policing. No. w31651. National Bureau of Economic Research, 2023. <https://www.nber.org/papers/w31651>

November 12 - Lootable Commodities and Violence

- Paivi Lujala. Deadly Combat over Natural Resources. Gems, Petroleum, Drugs, and the Severity of Armed Civil Conflict. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 53(1):50–71, 2009.
- Nicolas Berman, Mathieu Couttenier, Dominic Rohner, and Mathias Thoenig. This mine is mine! How minerals fuel conflicts in Africa. *American Economic Review*, 107(6):1564–1610, 2017.
- Joshua Angrist and Adriana Kugler. Rural Windfall or the New Resource Curse? Coca, Income and Civil Conflict in Colombia. *The Review of Economics and Statistics*, 90(2):191–215, 2008.

Suggested readings:

- Jennifer S. Holmes, Sheila Amin Gutierrez de Pineres, and Kevin M. Curtin. Drugs, Violence, and Development in Colombia: A Department-Level Analysis. *Latin American Politics & Society*, 48(3):157–184, 2006.

- Svante Cornell. The Interaction of Narcotics and Conflict. *Journal of Peace Research*, 42(6):751–760, 2005.
- James Igoe Walsh, Justin Conrad, Beth Whitaker, and Katelin Hudak. Funding rebellion: The Rebel Contraband Dataset. *Journal of Peace Research*, 2018.
- Paivi Lujala. The spoils of nature: Armed civil conflict and rebel access to natural resources. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 47(1):15–28, 2010.
- Halvard Buhaug, Scott Gates, and Paivi Lujala. Geography, Rebel Capability, and the Duration of Civil Conflict. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 53(4):544–569, aug 2009.
- Michael Ross. Resources and Rebellion. In Paul Collier and Nicholas Sambanis, editors, *Understanding Civil War. Volume 2: Europe, Central Asia, and Other Regions*, pages 35–58. The World Bank, Washington, D.C., 2005.
- Michael Ross. A Closer Look At Oil, Diamonds, and Civil War. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 9(1):265–300, jun 2006.
- Halvard Buhaug and Jan Ketil Rod. Local determinants of African civil wars, 1970–2001. *Political Geography*, 25(3):315–335, 2006.

November 19 - Consequences of Violence on Attitudes

- Christopher Blattman. From Violence to Voting: War and Political Participation in Uganda. *American Political Science Review*, 103(02):231, jun 2009.
- Regina Bateson. Crime Victimization and Political Participation. *American Political Science Review*, 106(03):570–587, aug 2012.
- Jason Lyall, Graeme Blair, and Kosuke Imai. Explaining Support for Combatants during Wartime: A Survey Experiment in Afghanistan. *American Political Science Review*, 107(4):679–705, 2013.
- Courtenay R. Conrad, Sarah E. Croco, Brad T. Gomez, and Will H. Moore. Threat Perception and American Support for Torture. *Political Behavior*, (September):1–21, 2017.

Suggested readings:

- Javier Osorio. Support for Torture: Experimental Evidence from the Mexican War on Drugs. 2018.
- Jason Lyall, Yang-Yang Zhou, and Kosuke Imai. Can Economic Assistance Shape Combatant Support in Wartime? Experimental Evidence from Afghanistan. <https://imai.fas.harvard.edu/research/files/invest.pdf>, 2017.
- Omar García-ponce. Anger and Support for Punitive Justice in Mexico ' s Drug War . 2017.
- Christopher Blattman and Jeannie Annan. The Consequences of Child Soldiering. *Review of Economics and Statistics*, 92(4):882–898, 2010.
- Kentaro Hirose, Kosuke Imai, and Jason Lyall. Can civilian attitudes predict insurgent violence? Ideology and insurgent tactical choice in civil war. *Journal of Peace Research*, 54(1):47–63, 2017.
- Luke N. Condra and Jacob N. Shapiro. Who takes the blame? The strategic effects of collateral damage. *American Journal of Political Science*, 56(1):167–187, 2012.

November 26 - No Class - Conference travel

- Please send your advanced draft paper to the rest of the class by **November 29**.

December 3 - Presentations

- Present papers.

December 10 - Final Paper Due

- Please submit your final paper via D2L.

Other Topics not Covered in Class

Spatial Determinants

- Halvard Buhaug and Jan Ketil Rod. Local determinants of African civil wars, 1970-2001. *Political Geography*, 25(3):315–335, 2006.
- Halvard Buhaug and Kristian S. Gleditsch. Contagion or Confusion? Why Conflicts Cluster in Space. *International Studies Quarterly*, 52(2):215–233, 2008.
- Siri Camila Aas Rustad, Halvard Buhaug, Åshild Falch, and Scott Gates. All Conflict is Local Modeling Sub-National Variation in Civil Conflict Risk. *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, 28(1):15 – 40, 2011.
- Javier Osorio. The Contagion of Drug Violence: Spatiotemporal Dynamics of the Mexican War on Drugs. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 59(8):1403–1432, 2015.
- Christopher Blattman, Donald Green, Daniel Ortega, and Santiago Tobón. Place-Based Interventions at Scale. The Direct and Spillover Effects of Policing and City Services on Crime. <http://www.nber.org/papers/w23941>, 2017.
- Arindrajit Dube, Oeindrila Dube, and Omar Garcia-Ponce. Cross-Border Spillover: U.S. Gun Laws and Violence in Mexico. *American Political Science Review*, 107(3):397–417, 2013.

Historical Legacies of Violence

- Alberto Simpser, Dan Slater, and Jason Wittenberg. Dead But Not Gone: Contemporary Legacies of Communism, Imperialism, and Authoritarianism. *Annu. Rev. Political Sci.*, 21:231–251, 2018.
- Nathan Nunn and Leonard Wantchekon. The Slave Trade and the Origins of Mistrust in Africa. *American Economic Review*, 101(7):3221–3252, 2011.
- Noam Lupu and Leonid Peisakhin. The Legacy of Political Violence across Generations. *American Journal of Political Science*, 61(4):836–851, 2017.
- Arturas Rozenas, Sebastian Schutte, and Yuri Zhukov. The Political Legacy of Violence: The Long-Term Impact of Stalin’s Repression in Ukraine. *The Journal of Politics*, 79(4):1147–1161, 2017.
- Tommy Murphy and Martin A. Rossi. Following the poppy trail: Origins and consequences of Mexican drug cartels. *Journal of Development Economics*, 143, 2020.
- Javier Osorio, Livia Schubiger, and Michael Weintraub. Legacies of Resistance: Mobilization Against Organized Crime in Mexico. *Comparative Political Studies*, 2020.

Suggested readings:

- Evgeny Finkel. The phoenix effect of state repression: Jewish resistance during the holocaust. *American Political Science Review*, 109(2):339–353, 2015.
- Volha Charnysh and Evgeny Finkel. The Death Camp Eldorado: Political and Economic Effects of Mass Violence. *American Political Science Review*, 111(4):1–18, 2017.

Elections and Violence

Political Violence:

- Paul Collier and Pedro C. Vicente. Votes and Violence: Evidence from a Field Experiment in Nigeria. *The Economic Journal*, 124(574):F327–F355, 2014.

- Ezequiel Gonzalez-Ocantos, Chad Kiewiet de Jonge, Carlos Meléndez, David W. Nickerson, and Javier Osorio. Carrots and sticks: Experimental evidence of vote-buying and voter intimidation in Guatemala. *Journal of Peace Research*, 2019.

Suggested readings:

- Marcel Fafchamps and Pedro C. Vicente. Political violence and social networks: Experimental evidence from a Nigerian election. *Journal of Development Economics*, 101:27–48, mar 2013.
- Sarah Birch, Ursula Daxecker, and Kristine Hoglund. Electoral violence: An introduction. *Journal of Peace Research*, 2020.
- Sarah Birch and David Muchlinski. Electoral violence prevention: what works? *Democratization*, 25(3):385–403, 2018.
- Roxaan Gutiérrez-Romero and Adrienne LeBas. Does Electoral Violence Affect Voting Choice and Willingness to Vote? Evidence from a Vignette Experiment. 2016.
- Steven Rosenzweig. Dangerous Disconnect: Voter Backlash, Elite Misperception, and the Costs of Violence as an Electoral Tactic. 2017.

Criminal Violence:

- Steven D Levitt. Using electoral cycles in police hiring to estimate the effect of police on crime. *American Economic Review*, 87:270–290, 1997.
- Melissa Dell. Trafficking Networks and the Mexican Drug War. *American Economic Review*, 105(6):1738–1779, 2015.

Suggested readings:

- Marcel Fafchamps and Pedro C. Vicente. Political violence and social networks: Experimental evidence from a Nigerian election. *Journal of Development Economics*, 101:27–48, mar 2013.
- Alberto Alesina, Salvatore Piccolo, and Paolo Pinotti. Organized Crime, Violence, and Politics. 2017.
- Daron Acemoglu, James A Robinson, and Rafael Santos. The Monopoly of Violence: Evidence from Colombia. *Journal of the European Economic Association*, pages 5–44, 2013.
- Alisha C. Holland. The Distributive Politics of Enforcement. *American Journal of Political Science*, 59(2):357–371, 2015.

Appendix:

Short Response Papers Schedule

Students will submit their short response papers and propose their questions the weeks that correspond to their respective topics. The list below indicates the specific assignments:

- Macro Explanations of Political Violence
 - Selin
- The State as Organized Crime
 - Randy
 - Elie
- Rebels or Criminals?
 - Josh
- To fight or not to fight?
 - Alianna
 - Brendan
- Rebel Governance
 - Josh
- Criminal Governance
 - Juan Carlos
 - Kevin
- Poverty and Political Violence
 - Brendan
- Poverty and Crime
 - Elie
- Economic Shocks and Violence
 - Alianna
- Evidence on Policing
 - Randy
- Lootable Commodities and Violence
 - Kevin
- Consequences of Violence on Attitudes
 - Juan Carlos
 - Selin