

**The Logics of Violence:  
Rebels, Criminal Groups and the State  
POLISCI 245C  
Spring 2020**

Professor: Beatriz Magaloni

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Class Thursday 1:30 to 4:00

Office Hours:

by appointment through Zoom or telephone

This course explores the logics of violence. The course offers an overview of the literature on civil wars as well as organized violence involving armed groups that do not seek formal state power, such as drug cartels, prison gangs, and paramilitaries. Our substantive focus will be on the historical and contemporary factors that fuel different types of violence.

**I. Course Requirements**

(1) All students, whether auditing or taking the course for credit, must do the readings. Each week students must read all of the *required* readings. Students need to actively participate in class and demonstrate that they have done the readings.

(2) Class discussions will be led by groups of students (2 to 3 students per class)

(3) Students must submit one critical assessment of the recommended readings (3 papers or one book) for one week. The assignment is due on Wednesday before that week's seminar. Students are expected to present their critical assessment to the entire class.

(4) At the end of the course, students must submit a 7 to 10-page research note on any of the topics of the course.

**II. Students with Disabilities**

Students who may need an academic accommodation based on the impact of a disability must initiate the request with the Office of Accessible Education (OAE). Professional staff will evaluate the request with required documentation, recommend reasonable accommodations, and prepare an Accommodation Letter for faculty dated in the current quarter in which the request is being made. Students should contact the OAE (URL: <http://studentaffairs.stanford.edu/oae>) as soon as possible since timely notice is needed to coordinate accommodations.

**III. Schedule and readings:**

All required and most of the recommended readings are available electronically through Stanford libraries. Steven Pinker's book can be purchased in through Amazon in kindle books.

## 1. Violence in human history (April 9)

Steven Pinker *The Better Angels of our Nature* In Viking Pinguin (2011) (chapters 2-4 and 7-9)

Recommended:

North, Douglass C., John Joseph Wallis, and Barry R. Weingast. *Violence and social orders: A conceptual framework for interpreting recorded human history*. Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Fukuyama, Francis. *The origins of political order: From pre-human times to the French Revolution*. Macmillan, 2011.

Fukuyama, Francis. *Political order and political decay: From the industrial revolution to the globalization of democracy*. Macmillan, 2014.

Chaney, Eric. "Revolt on the Nile: Economic shocks, religion, and political power." *Econometrica* 81, no. 5 (2013): 2033-2053.

North, Douglass C., John Joseph Wallis, and Barry R. Weingast. "Violence and the rise of open-access orders." *Journal of democracy* 20, no. 1 (2009): 55-68.

Acemoglu, Daron, James A. Robinson, and Rafael Santos. "The monopoly of violence: evidence from Colombia". No. w15578. *National Bureau of Economic Research*, 2009.

Sánchez De La Sierra, Raúl. "On the origins of the state: Stationary Bandits and Taxation in Eastern Congo." *Journal of Political Economy* 128, no. 1 (2020): 000-000.

Tilly, Charles. "War making and state making as organized crime." In *Collective Violence, Contentious Politics, and Social Change*, pp. 121-139. Routledge, 2017.

Bates, Robert H., Avner Greif, and Smita Singh. 2002. "Organizing Violence." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 46(5): 599-628

Tilly, Charles. "Coercion, capital, and European states, AD 990-1990." In *Collective Violence, Contentious Politics, and Social Change*, pp. 140-154. Routledge, 2017.

Samuel Huntington. *Political order in Changing Societies*

Robert Bates., 2015. *When Things Fell Apart*. Cambridge University Press.

## 2. Civil wars (April 16)

Collier, Paul, and Anke Hoeffler. "Greed and grievance in civil war." *Oxford economic papers* 56, no. 4 (2004): 563-595.

Kalyvas, Stathis N., and Laia Balcells. "International system and technologies of rebellion: How the end of the Cold War shaped internal conflict." *American Political Science Review* 104, no. 3 (2010): 415-429.

Fearon, James D., and David D. Laitin. "Ethnicity, insurgency, and civil war." *American political science review* 97, no. 01 (2003): 75-90.

Dube, O., & Vargas, J. F. (2013). Commodity price shocks and civil conflict: Evidence from Colombia. *The Review of Economic Studies*, 80(4), 1384-1421.

#### Recommended:

Hsiang, S. M., Burke, M., & Miguel, E. (2013). Quantifying the influence of climate on human conflict. *Science*, 341(6151), 1235367

Miguel, Edward, Shanker Satyanath and Ernest Sergenti (2004), "Economic Shocks and Civil Conflict: An Instrumental Variables Approach," *Journal of Political Economy* 112 (4):725-753.

James Fearon, "Economic Development, Insurgency, and Civil War." In Elhanan Helpman ed., *Institutions and Economic Performance* (Harvard University Press, 2008): 292-238.

Soysa, I.D. and Neumayer, E., 2007. Resource wealth and the risk of civil war onset: results from a new dataset of natural resource rents, 1970-1999. *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, 24(3), pp.201-218.

Besancon, Marie L. 2005. "Relative Resources: Inequality in Ethnic Wars, Revolutions, and Genocides." *Journal of Peace Research*, 42(4): 393-415

Fearon, James D. "Ethnic mobilization and ethnic violence." *The Oxford Handbook of Political Economy* (2006): 852-868.

Fearon, James D. "Primary commodity exports and civil war." *Journal of conflict Resolution* 49, no. 4 (2005): 483-507.

Fearon, James D. "Why do some civil wars last so much longer than others?." *Journal of Peace Research* 41, no. 3 (2004): 275-301.

Bellows, John, and Edward Miguel. 2006. "War and Institutions: New Evidence from Sierra Leone." *American Economic Review*, 96(2): 394-99

Blattman, Christopher and Edward Miguel. 2010. "Civil War" *Journal of Economic Literature* Vol. 48, No. 1. Pp:3-57

Dube, Oeindrila, and Suresh Naidu. "Bases, bullets, and ballots: The effect of US military aid on political conflict in Colombia." *The Journal of Politics* 77, no. 1 (2015): 249-267.

Cederman, Lars-Erik, Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, and Halvard Buhaug. *Inequality, grievances, and civil war*. Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Fearon, J.D. and Laitin, D., 2014. Does Contemporary Armed Conflict Have 'Deep Historical Roots'?

### 3. Motivations to fight (April 23)

Humphreys, Macartan, and Jeremy M. Weinstein. "Who fights? The Determinants of Participation in Civil War." *American Journal of Political Science* 52, no. 2 (2008): 436-455.

Pape, Robert A. "The strategic logic of suicide terrorism." *American political science review* 97, no. 3 (2003): 343-361.

Sviatschi, Maria Micaela. (2018). "Making a Narco : Childhood Exposure to Illegal Labor

Jeff Victoroff. 2005. "The Mind of A Terrorist: A Review and Critique of Psychological Approaches." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49 (1): 3-42.

Recommended:

Alan Krueger. 2008. *What Makes a Terrorist: The Economics and Roots of Terrorism* (Princeton University Press)

Alex Lee. 2011. "Who Becomes a Terrorist? Poverty, Education, and the Origins of Political Violence." *World Politics* 63(2):203-245.

Max Abrahms. 2008. "What Terrorists Really Want: Terrorist Motives and Counterterrorism Strategy," *International Security* 32 (4): 78-105.

Halperin, Eran, and James J. Gross. "Intergroup anger in intractable conflict: Long-term sentiments predict anger responses during the Gaza war." *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations* 14, no. 4 (2011): 477-488.

Jakobsen, Tor G., and Indra De Soysa. "Give me liberty, or give me death! State repression, ethnic grievance and civil war, 1981-2004." *Civil Wars* 11, no. 2 (2009): 137-157.

Nisbett, Richard E. *Culture of honor: The psychology of violence in the South*. Routledge, 2018.

#### **4. Organizing violence (April 30)**

Sun-Ki Chai. 1993. "An Organizational Economics Theory of Antigovernment Violence", *Comparative Politics* 26 (1): 99-110.

Jeremy Weinstein. 2006. *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), Chapters 1-2.

Max Abrahms and Philip B.K. Potter. 2015. "Explaining Terrorism: Leadership Deficits and Militant Group Tactics," *International Organization* 69 (2): 311-342.

Recommended:

Eli Berman. 2000. *Radical, Religious, and Violent: The New Economics of Terrorism* (MIT Press), Chapters 1-2.

Jacob N. Shapiro. 2013. *The Terrorists Dilemma: Managing Violent Covert Organizations* (Princeton University Press), Chapters 1-2.

Kalyvas, Stathis N., and Matthew Adam Kocher. "How "Free" is Free Riding in civil wars?: Violence, insurgency, and the collective action problem." *World politics* 59, no. 2 (2007): 177-216.

Jacob N. Shapiro and David A. Siegel. 2012. "Moral Hazard, Discipline, and the Management of Terrorist Organizations." *World Politics*.

Ethan Bueno de Mesquita. 2013. "Rebel Tactics." *Journal of Political Economy*.

## 5. Civilians and their support (May 7)

Christoph Mikulaschek, Saurabh Pant, and Beza Tesfaye. 2019. "Winning Hearts and Minds in Civil Wars: Governance, Leadership Change, and Support for Violence in Iraq." *American Journal of Political Science*

Jason Lyall, Graeme Blair, and Kosuke Imai. (2013). "Explaining Support for Combatants during Wartime: A Survey Experiment in Afghanistan." *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 107, No. 4 (November), pp. 679-705.

C. Christine Fair, Neil Malhotra, and Jacob N. Shapiro. "Faith or Doctrine? Religion and Support for Political Violence in Pakistan." *Public Opinion Quarterly*

M. Najeeb Shafiq and Abdulkader Sinno. 2010. "Education, Income, and Support for Suicide Bombings: Evidence from Six Muslim Countries." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 54 (1): 146-178.

Recommended:

Kalyvas, Stathis N. *The logic of violence in civil war*. Cambridge University Press, 2006.

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*

Kalyvas, Stathis N. "Wanton and senseless? The logic of massacres in Algeria." *Rationality and Society* 11, no. 3 (1999): 243-285.

Yanagizawa-Drott, D. (2014). "Propaganda and Conflict: Evidence from the Rwandan Genocide" *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 129(4), pp.1947-1994. North, D. C.

## 8. Ethnicity and violence (May 14)

Cederman, Lars-Erik, Andreas Wimmer, and Brian Min. (2010). "Why Do Ethnic Groups Rebel? New Data and Analysis." *World Politics* 62 (1): 87-119.

Chandra, Kanchan, and Omar García-Ponce. (2019). "Why Ethnic Subaltern-Led Parties Crowd Out Armed Organizations: Explaining Maoist Violence in India." *World Politics* 71(2): 367-416.

Lewis, Janet I. (2017). "How Does Ethnic Rebellion Start?" *Comparative Political Studies* 50(10): 1420-1450.

Weidmann, N. B. (2011). "Violence 'from above' or 'from below'? The Role of Ethnicity in Bosnia's Civil War." *The Journal of Politics* , 73 (4), 1178-1190.

Recommended:

Fearon, James D., and David D. Laitin. "Sons of the soil, migrants, and civil war." *World Development* 39, no. 2 (2011): 199-211.

Kalyvas, Stathis N. "Ethnic defection in civil war." *Comparative Political Studies* 41, no. 8 (2008): 1043-1068.

Saul Newman. 1991. "Does Modernization Breed Ethnic Political Conflict?" *World Politics* 43 (3): 451-478.

Sambanis, Nicholas. "Do ethnic and nonethnic civil wars have the same causes? A theoretical and empirical inquiry (Part 1)." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 45, no. 3 (2001): 259-282.

Wucherpennig, J., Metternich, N.W., Cederman, L.E. and Gleditsch, K.S., 2012. Ethnicity, the State, and the Duration of Civil War. *World Politics*, 64(1), pp.79-115.

## 9. Organized crime (May 21)

Stathis Kalyvas. 2015. "How Civil Wars Help Explain Organized Crime - and How They Do Not." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*.

Benjamin Lessing. 2015. "Logics of Violence in Criminal War." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*.

Gabriela Calderon et al. 2015. "Beheading of Criminal Organizations and the Dynamics of Violence in Mexico." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59 (8): 1455-1485.

Barnes, Nicholas. (2017). "Criminal politics: An Integrated Approach to the Study of Organized Crime, Politics, and Violence." *Perspectives on Politics* , 15 (4), 967-987

Recommended:

Misha Glenny. 2008. *McMafia*. New York: Random House

Melissa Dell, "Trafficking Networks and the Mexican Drug War", *American Economic Review*, vol 105, no. 6 (2015): 1739-79.

Lessing, Benjamin. *Making peace in drug wars: crackdowns and cartels in Latin America*. Cambridge University Press, 2017.

Oeindrila Dube and Suresh Naidu. 2017. "Bases, Bullets and Ballots: The Effect of Us Military Aid on Political Conflict in Colombia"

Pinotti, P. (2012). "The economic costs of organized crime: evidence from southern Italy". Bank of Italy Temi di Discussione (Working Paper) No, 868.

Bandiera, O. (2003). "Land reform, the market for protection, and the origins of the Sicilian mafia: theory and evidence". *Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization*, 19(1), 218-244.

Trejo, Guillermo, and Sandra Ley. "Why did drug cartels go to war in Mexico? Subnational party alternation, the breakdown of criminal protection, and the onset of large-scale violence." *Comparative Political Studies* 51, no. 7 (2018): 900-937.

Durán-Martínez, Angélica. "To kill and tell? State power, criminal competition, and drug violence." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59, no. 8 (2015): 1377-1402.

Snyder, Richard, and Angélica Durán Martínez. "Drugs, violence, and state-sponsored protection rackets in Mexico and Colombia." *Colombia Internacional* 70 (2009): 61-91.

Charles Tilly to Blok, A. (1974). *The Mafia of a Sicilian village, 1860-1960: a study of violent peasant entrepreneurs*. New York & Oxford: Blackwell

Gambetta, D. (1996). *The Sicilian Mafia: the business of private protection*. Harvard University Press.

Haugen, G. A., & Boutros, V. (2015). *The locust effect: Why the end of poverty requires the end of violence*. Oxford University Press.

Grillo, Ioan. *El Narco:inside Mexico's criminal insurgency*. Bloomsbury Publishing USA, 2012.

Grillo, Ioan. *Gangster warlords: Drug dollars, killing fields, and the new politics of Latin America*. Bloomsbury Publishing USA, 2016.

Sullivan, J.P. and Bunker, R.J., 2011. Rethinking insurgency: criminality, spirituality, and societal warfare in the Americas. *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, 22(5), pp.742-763.

## 10. Criminal Governance (May 28)

Lessing, B. and Willis, G.D., 2019. Legitimacy in criminal governance: Managing a drug empire from behind bars. *American Political Science Review*, 113(2), pp.584-606.

Magaloni, Beatriz, Edgar Franco and Vanessa Melo "Killing in the Slums: Criminal Governance, Social Order and Police Violence in Rio de Janeiro, *American Political Science Review*, 2020

Magaloni, Beatriz, Robles, G. Matanock, A. Diaz-Cayeros, A. and Romero, V "Living in Fear: The Dynamics of Extortion in Mexico's Drug War" *Comparative Political Studies*

David Skarbek. 2011. "Governance and Prison Gangs." *American Political Science Review* 105 (4): 702-716.

Recommended:

Arjona, Ana. (2016). *Rebelocracy*. Cambridge University Press.

Arias, Enrique Desmond. *Criminal enterprises and governance in Latin America and the Caribbean*. Cambridge University Press, 2017.

Peter Leeson. 2007. "An-arrgh-chy: The Law and Economics of Pirate Organization." *Journal of Political Economy* 115 (6): 1049-1094.

Gregory DeAngelo and Taylor Leland Smith, "Private Security and the Provision of International Public Goods," Working Paper, 2016.

Revkin, Mara. (2019). "What Explains Taxation by Resource - Rich Rebels? Evidence from the Islamic State in Syria." *The Journal of Politics*

Steven D. Levitt and Sudhir Venkatesh. 2000. "An Economic Analysis of a Drug-Selling Gang's Finances." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 115 (3): 755-789.

Gambetta, Diego. 1993. *The Sicilian Mafia: The Business of Private Protection*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Murphy, Tommy E., and Martín A. Rossi. (2019). "Following the Poppy Trail: Origins and Consequences of Mexican Drug Cartels." *Journal of Development Economics*.

Sobrino, Fernanda. (2019). "Mexican Cartel Wars: Fighting for the Opioid US Market." Working Paper.

## 11. Counterinsurgency and reconstruction (June 4)

Blair, Robert A., Sabrina M. Karim, and Benjamin S. Morse. "Establishing the Rule of Law in Weak and War-Torn States: Evidence from a Field Experiment with the Liberian National Police." *American Political Science Review* 113, no. 3 (August 2019): 641-57.

Lake, Milli. (2017). "Building the Rule of War: Postconflict Institutions and the Micro-Dynamics of Conflict in Eastern DR Congo." *International Organization* 71(2): 281- 315.

Paluck, E. L., & Green, D. P. (2009). "Deference, dissent, and dispute resolution: An experimental intervention using mass media to change norms and behavior in Rwanda." *American Political Science Review* 103(4): 622-644.

Beath, Andrew, Fotini Christia, and Ruben Enikolopov. (2016). "Winning Hearts and Minds through Development Aid: Evidence from a Field Experiment in Afghanistan." Working Paper

Recommended:

Cilliers, Jacobus, Oeindrila Dube, and Bilal Siddiqi. (2016). "Reconciling after civil conflict increases social capital but decreases individual well-being." *Science* 352, no 6287: 787-794.

Berman, Eli, Jacob N. Shapiro, and Joseph H. Felter. 2011. "Can Hearts and Minds Be Bought? The Economics of Counterinsurgency in Iraq." *Journal of Political Economy* 119 (4): 766- 819

Lyall, Jason. (2010). "Are Coethnics More Effective Counterinsurgents? Evidence from the Second Chechen War." *American Political Science Review* 104(1): 1-20.



Toft, M. D., & Zhukov, Y. M. (2015). "Islamists and nationalists: Rebel motivation and counterinsurgency in Russia's North Caucasus." *American Political Science Review*, 109(2): 222-238.