

COLLOQUIUM ON NON-STATE GOVERNANCE IN CONTEXTS OF CRIME AND CIVIL WAR
BARNARD COLLEGE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

Course: POLS BC3543
Spring 2018
Wednesdays / 4:10PM-6:00PM
Location: 406 Barnard Hall

Instructor: Eduardo Moncada
Email: emoncada@barnard.edu

Instructor's Office Hours: Mondays, 12:30PM-4:40PM, at LeFrak 223 *(See below on how to make an appointment online.)*

COURSE DESCRIPTION

The conventional wisdom in both academia and popular media is that crime and civil war are inherently linked to disorder. From rebellions in the countryside to waves of criminality in the inner-city, the assumption is that the state is either absent or too weak to impose order, and hence only anarchy reigns. This narrative commands great attention among scholars, but also informs policymaking in profound ways. International and domestic policy regarding conflict prevention, post-conflict reconciliation, urban crime, gang violence, and other forms of political and social conflict reflect the conventional notion that such settings are fundamentally a reflection of and perpetuated by the absence of governance.

But is this always the case?

Recent literature in political science – informed by and in dialogue with research from other social science disciplines – suggests that settings of crime and civil war are far from the disorderly and ungoverned spaces suggested by much of the existing research. Unpacking these settings reveals multiple and complex forms of non-state governance constructed and sustained by a range of actors, including rebel and guerrillas, militias, warlords, gangs, vigilantes, drug trafficking organizations, and protection rackets. These actors engage in varied forms of governance that range from benevolent micro-level regimes that provide civilians with a range of public goods and services to predatory and brutal regimes that exploit populations in diverse ways. Moreover, the boundary between these actors and the states in which they reside are far from clear and impermeable. Instead we can locate puzzling overlap in responsibility, authority, and coercive and administrative capacities between state and non-state actors that fits poorly within much existing theory.

This course will examine and critically assess existing theories of the origins, dynamics, and consequences of non-state governance in settings of crime and civil war. Throughout the semester we will situate existing research within a broader range of classic and emerging political science research on formal state building, institutional development and, more broadly, democracy and citizenship.

The methodological emphasis of the course is comparative analysis. Here comparison can take multiple forms, including structured comparisons of different cases, a deep analysis of a single case in explicit conversation with existing theory, and the comparative study of cases and data across both space and time. Whether statistical analysis, qualitative case analysis, or structured comparisons of a handful of cases – this course is structured to draw on the strengths (and

recognize the limitations) of different social science methodologies in pursuit of a better understanding of the origins, dynamics, and consequences of non-state governance.

The empirical material will focus on non-state governance in the midst of criminality and civil war in Latin America, Africa, Eastern Europe, and occasionally the United States. These are obviously very different contexts in terms of their histories, politics, and socioeconomic conditions. But as we shall see, non-state governance across these sharply contrasting contexts can display remarkably similar dynamics. Why? And at the same time, important dimensions of non-state governance can vary dramatically both across and within these same contexts. Why? Tackling these questions will require that we compare, contrast, and identify factors to help account for both similarities and differences in non-state governance.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

This course will introduce students to the key theories, debates, and empirical studies of non-state governance in settings of crime and civil war. Among the core objectives are the following:

1. Students will critically engage existing theories of non-state governance and will identify conceptual, logical, and empirical limitations through both written (e.g., reaction memos and discussion prompts) and oral (e.g., in-class debate and discussion, formal presentations) forms.
2. Students will develop an empirically grounded understanding of both historical and contemporary trends in non-state governance across Latin America, Africa, Eastern Europe, and the United States via the course readings.
3. Students will use the course readings to draw linkages in both written (e.g., reaction memos and discussion prompts) and oral (e.g., in-class debate and discussion, formal presentations) forms on non-state governance and a series of broader research agendas, including state building, institutions, democracy, citizenship, and development.
4. Students will draw on theories developed in course readings and individual outside research to analyze, assess, and present empirical data as part of an original research paper and formal in-class presentation.
5. Students will produce a major, original research paper that advances existing knowledge of the origins, dynamics, and/or consequences of non-state governance.

Information about the Barnard Writing Fellows

One of the requirements of this course is working with a Barnard Writing Fellow. The Barnard Writing Fellows Program (founded in 1991) is designed to help students strengthen their writing in all disciplines. We believe that writing is a process; it happens in stages, in different drafts. Often the most fruitful dialogues about your writing occur with your peers, and the Writing Fellows are just that. They are not tutors or TAs; they are Barnard undergraduates who participate in a semester-long workshop in the teaching of writing and, having finished their training, staff the Barnard Writing Center and work in courses across the disciplines. It is not their role to comment on the accuracy of the content of your papers, nor to grade your work. They are not enrolled in your course. You will probably know more about the course's specific material than they do, and your papers must therefore be written clearly enough so that the non-expert can understand them.

Two dates are listed for several of the pieces of writing assigned. **You will hand in your first draft to BOTH the Instructor and the Writing Fellow via email.** The Writing Fellow will read it, write comments, and conference with you on it, after which you will have several days to revise the paper and **hand in a final version to the Instructor on the second date via Canvas.**

Sign up for your Writing Fellow in class. Conference locations will be indicated on the sign-up sheet. Please make a note of when and where you have scheduled your conference. Also, please make sure to record your Writing Fellow's email and phone number when you sign up for your conference in case you need to contact her.

The Head Writing Fellow for your course is **Ili Odourad**. If you have other questions about the Writing Program, please contact Katy Lasell, the Program Coordinator (klasell@barnard.edu; [212-854-8941](tel:212-854-8941)).

COURSE TEXTS

The course readings consist primarily of journal articles or book chapters that are electronically available from the Columbia library website (CLIO). Students are responsible for obtaining journal articles via the library. Copies of book chapters will be made available on the CourseWorks website, as copyright law allows. *There are several books that students are required to obtain for this course. Students may obtain books via Amazon.com or in electronic format via CLIO (where indicated).*

Required books:

- ❖ Arjona, Ana, Nelson Kasfir, and Zachariah Mampilly, eds. *Rebel Governance in Civil War*. Cambridge University Press, 2015. *(Available online via CLIO)*
- ❖ Cohen, Dara Kay. *Rape during civil war*. Cornell University Press, 2016.
- ❖ Mampilly, Zachariah Cherian. *Rebel rulers: Insurgent governance and civilian life during war*. Cornell University Press, 2011. *(Available online via CLIO)*
- ❖ Marten, Kimberly. *Warlords: Strong-arm brokers in weak states*. Cornell University Press, 2012. *(Available online via CLIO)*.
- ❖ Weinstein, Jeremy M. *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence*. Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- ❖ Varese, Federico. *The Russian Mafia: Private Protection in a New Market Economy*. OUP Oxford, 2001. *(Available online via CLIO.)*

GRADING STRUCTURE

Each student can earn a maximum of 100 points in the class. Course grades are based on individual research presentations (10 points), reaction memos (20 points), performance as a discussion leader (10 points), in-class participation (15 points), and the research paper (45 points). There is no extra credit for this course.

ASSIGNMENTS

❖ *Reaction Memos (2 @ 10 points each)*

A foundational element of this course is in-depth and careful reading of the assigned materials. The success of the course depends on each of us putting in the necessary time and energy and critical thinking *before* coming to class. Each student will prepare two reaction memos during the semester (excluding the first class). Memos should accomplish two objectives: 1) provide a brief synthesis of each reading and 2) offer a critical analysis of the readings. Syntheses should represent approximately 25% of the memo's total length (a memo should be no more and no less than 4 full pages). Note that memos written during a week when the majority of a book is assigned should not provide chapter-by-chapter summations but should instead provide a synthesis and critical engagement of the work as a whole. **See Canvas for more detailed instructions on how to craft a strong memo.**

- **When is this assignment due?** Reaction memos are due **no later than 6:00PM on the Tuesday** before the start of class and must be submitted to the Instructor via the **Assignment function** on the Canvas website. **You must submit at least one of your two memos before Spring break – no exceptions.**

❖ *Class Participation (15 points)*

Participation requires active engagement in class discussions. Engagement should take the form of respectful dialogue, debate, and argumentation. In other words, participation is not the same as being physically present in the classroom. **Everyone is expected to engage thoughtfully in our conversations during each class and throughout the class** – we're together for almost two hours, so let's use those two hours productively. Note that it is not enough to pose a question or two during an entire class. Participation must be substantive, continuous, and reflect careful reading and reflection of the assigned materials.

Note: Many of the issues we will discuss involve graphic description of varied forms of violence alongside a range of other complex and contentious phenomenon, including extreme poverty, inequality, sexism, patriarchy, racism, and sexual violence. Part of the challenge for each of us is to come to class prepared to engage in critical analysis of these issues **as they relate to the readings and NOT to our personal experiences**. Our comments and contributions to the class **must focus on the readings**. We can do so by remembering the key points we want to establish during our class discussions:

- 1) What is the outcome(s) the author(s) seek to explain? Why is this outcome(s) important in the study of non-state governance but, more broadly, the study of politics?
- 2) What broader bodies of research and theory is the author(s) engaging?
- 3) How is the outcome(s) measured? Do the metrics used to measure the outcome(s) seem valid? What might have been more analytically useful ways to measure the outcome(s)?
- 4) What is the explanation for the outcome(s)? What are the key variables and mechanisms? How are these measured and to what degree are we confident in the measures?
- 5) In what ways does the argument support or challenge existing theory? Did the author consider alternative explanations identified by other literature?

- 6) What variables are omitted in the analysis and in what ways would those variables either strengthen or weaken the argument?

❖ **Discussion Leadership (10 points)**

Each student will serve as a discussion leader either alone or in coordination with another student in the class (the distribution will depend on the final enrollment). We will use a random draw on the first day of class to assign weekly discussion leaders. **If you are absent on Day 1 of class, you will be assigned a week by the Instructor.** The role of the discussion leader is to foster conversation, discussion, and debate in a way that engages the entire class and moves the discussion forward in a productive way. **For instructions on how to structure and guide the conversation during your assigned class, see the instructions available on the PowerPoint Slides for Class 1.**

❖ **Research Paper (45 points)**

The major assignment in this course is an original research paper of no less than 25 pages and no more than 30 pages (see formatting guidelines below). The objective for each student is to produce a theoretically informed and empirically tested analysis that makes an original contribution to the scholarly study of urban crime and violence. The paper represents half of the final grade, but the points for this assignment are earned throughout the semester via a set of smaller assignments. These assignments will help students start working on their papers early and throughout the semester. Research papers written over extended periods of time allow for ideas to percolate and sharpen as students write, rewrite, revise, and rewrite some more.

There are six assignments with firm deadlines that students must satisfy before submitting the final research paper. Where indicated, initial drafts of certain assignments should be submitted via EMAIL to both the Instructor and the Writing Fellow. And where indicated, revised versions of certain assignments should be submitted via Canvas. The deadlines listed here are final – **no extensions will be granted unless you have a documented medical emergency.**

1. Research Question – Due via Email to Instructor + Writing Fellow (2/2 by 5:00pm); to Instructor via Canvas (2/10 by 8:00pm) (5 points)

A two-page formally written discussion of the topic you have selected and the specific research question you are posing. The objectives here are as follows: 1) Pose a specific and focused research question; 2) Explain to the reader why and how this question contributes to existing academic research; 3) Make clear why this question is important not only to academics but also broader audiences, such as policy makers, politicians, international development agencies, etc.; 4) Indicate why you believe you can satisfactorily answer this question over the course of a semester's research. In other words, what kind of evidence do you think you need to make a convincing argument in response to your question, and what is your plan at this stage to collect that evidence?

If the assignment fails to meet every one of these objectives, the student will not receive approval to move forward with the project. **There is a one-point penalty for each calendar day after the deadline on which they fail to receive approval of their course topic.** *Note: Students must think carefully about the question they propose. Once the general topic relating to the question is approved, students will not be allowed to change to a different general topic.*

2. Literature Review – Due to Instructor via Canvas (3/2 by 8:00pm) (5 points)

A critical component of the research project is to situate your question within the broader relevant scholarly literature. How does your question speak to, engage, advance, and/or challenge existing theory? It is not enough to have an interesting topic or even a very interesting question without establishing clearly and in compelling fashion why your question matters for the relevant academic community. Here the relevant academic community is not limited to scholarship that relates directly to the empirical component of your research question.

For example, imagine you are writing a paper in which you are asking under what conditions UN peacekeeping in settings of warlord governance is successful, and your empirical focus is on peacekeeping in the Congo. Here your relevant academic research is not only research on peacekeeping in the Congo. Instead you need to establish how your question contributes to and builds on research on peacekeeping in the Congo but also in general – be it in Africa, the Middle East, or Asia. Your objective should be to establish clearly how your particular question links to the broader research on peacekeeping writ large.

The way to establish your question's broader scholarly relevance is through a standard and critical component of any academic paper: the literature review. Here is where you can make the case for why your research question, and hence paper, contribute to the broader academic research on your topic. The document should consist of four full pages broken up into two sections with the relevant subheadings: 1) a 3-4 paragraph introduction to the paper and 2) a literature review with a **minimum** of 10 cited sources (no more than 4-5 of these can be drawn from the required readings on the syllabus). A literature review should tell the reader in a concise but thorough manner what existing research has found, what it predicts, and then culminate in a discussion of why your question will move the literature (and hence knowledge) forward.

3. Methodology – Due to Instructor via Canvas (3/9 by 8:00pm) (5 points)

A strong academic paper makes clear the strategy the researcher relies on to engage in empirical analysis in order to substantiate their argument. Are you comparing two or more cases across space (state-militia relations in Nigeria and Indonesia)? Have you selected a single case but will compare a particular outcome over time in this case (e.g., outbreak of urban violence in Rio de Janeiro over the course of the last 50 years)? Are you analyzing global patterns in a particular outcome (e.g., cross national analysis of the relationship between democratization and the emergence or density of militias across countries)? For these or any other research question, a strong paper must include a section that discusses your methodology. This section of the paper should be no less than three full pages and should engage relevant methodological studies.

The first part of this document should be a discussion of your research methodology, its strengths, and its limitations. For example, if your research strategy is a comparative case study of two cases, you should discuss and draw on the methodological research on case studies and comparative analysis, noting that while this methodology enables you to control for a range of other explanatory factors, the generalizability of the findings may be limited by the empirical scope of the methodology as used in this paper. Being forthright about strengths and weaknesses of your research strategy is a great way to convince the reader that you are aware of the scope of your analysis. Next discuss the any key concepts or measurements in your analysis.

4. Argument – Due via Email to Instructor + Writing Fellow (3/23 by 5:00pm); to Instructor via Canvas (3/31 by 8:00pm) (5 points)

This section is perhaps the most critical in the academic paper and should be no less than four full pages. Here you provide the reader with a clear and convincing discussion of your argument. One of the dangers here is mistaking the argument for the empirical analysis. The Argument section of the paper should be free from empirical analysis – this is not the section to engage in analysis of the evidence that you have been gathering for the past few months. Instead the Argument section is where you provide a theoretical discussion of your argument.

For example, imagine that you are writing a paper on the role of street gangs in shaping political voting patterns, with an empirical focus on street gangs in three neighborhoods in urban Guatemala. The Argument section should not be an empirical analysis of how these three specific gangs operate and govern in these three specific neighborhoods. Instead, the Argument section is where you distill the more general theory developed in part from your empirical analysis. So if you have found that a key factor that shapes the degree to which each Guatemalan gang intervenes in local elections is the density of local civil society, then your Argument section should revolve around something akin to the following: “I argue that the greater the density of local civil society, the greater the incentives that street gangs have to intervene in and shape the outcomes of localized elections.” The remainder of the section should then walk through the theoretical logic of why the reader should expect this argument to hold. In other words, discuss in theoretical terms why greater density of civil society encourages political meddling by street gangs.

Conclude this section by restating your argument and then note that your next section of the paper will test the argument through empirical analysis.

5. Empirical Analysis – Due to Instructor via Canvas (4/13 by 8:00pm) (5 points)

Nothing convinces a reader of the strength of your theoretical argument more than a strong and well-substantiated Empirical Analysis. This is your chance to provide a structured analysis of the empirical data. The analysis should begin by marrying the theoretical argument with the empirics – a task that can be completed by devoting 2-3 paragraphs to a discussion of how your empirical data validates some or all of your theoretical argument developed in the prior section. These first paragraphs are crucial because they serve as a sort of roadmap for the reader to understand how the more nitty gritty and expanded empirical discussion that follows helps to validate portions of your theoretical argument.

Next discuss the strengths and limitations of your empirical data. Did you collect statistical data from online sources and databases? Did you analyze media coverage of particular events related to your research question? Did you conduct interviews with UN officials that have experience directly related to the question of are posing in your paper? What are the key strengths of your particular evidence? What are some of its limitations? How might these strengths and benefits impact your findings? For example, while first hand interviews might provide you with unique insights from actors involved in the very process or outcome you are studying, interview data can also bias analyses by introducing particular political agendas or perspectives into the paper unless you take steps to gather other forms of data to help develop a balanced evidence base for your

argument. By noting and discussing such strengths and limitations, you again assure the reader that you are aware of the scope of your analysis.

This section of the paper should be no less than five full pages. The particular format after the brief overview and discussion of strengths and limitation noted above will vary depending on your methodology and the type of evidence you are analyzing. If you are conducting a statistical analysis, then you may want to define your variables and metrics, provide the reader with your statistical analyses in graph and/or table format, and then discuss the findings. If you are conducting a comparison of three cases, you may want to break the section up into individual analyses of each case, a section that explicitly compares the cases using your theory, and then concludes by reiterating how your theory helped to explain these cases.

6. Draft 1 – Due via Email to Instructor + Writing Fellow (4/20 by 12:00pm); to Instructor (4/29 by 8:00pm) (5 points)

This is a full draft of the paper. Here the term “full” means that the paper must include each of the above sections (revised after having received feedback/comments/questions from the Instructor) as well as a conclusion and full set of references. **The minimum length for the draft is twenty-five pages (excluding Works Cited, Appendix, etc.)** Relevant Tables and Figures should be included in the draft and count toward the 25-page minimum.

7. Final paper – Due via Canvas to Instructor (5/6 by 8:00pm) (15 points)

In assessing the final draft I will base my evaluation on the quality of the theory, analytical approach and execution, and contribution to the field. As part of this evaluation I will also consider the degree of improvement in the original parts of the project submitted throughout the course of the semester.

❖ Individual Research Presentation (10 points)

The last two classes of the semester will be devoted to individual presentations of the research projects. The format and length for the presentations will be discussed in class several weeks beforehand.

WRITING GUIDELINES

All writing assignments must be in Times New Roman font, 12-point size, double-spaced with one-inch margins all around. All documents should be submitted as .doc or .docx files – **PDFs are not accepted and will be counted as late (one point penalty per calendar day) until the file is submitted in the appropriate format.** Files should be saved with the following title: LASTNAME_FIRSTNAME_TITLE OF ASSIGNMENT. Please proofread and spell-check all documents before submitting them to the Writing Fellow and the Instructor. **Citation style is MLA parenthetical** (see <https://owl.english.purdue.edu/owl/resource/747/01/>). Footnotes must be used instead of endnotes.

ACADEMIC HONESTY

This course has a zero tolerance policy regarding plagiarism. Violations of the Honor Code will result in disciplinary proceedings and significant consequences. Information on the Honor Code is available here: https://barnard.edu/sites/default/files/honor_system_booklet_2012.pdf

CLASS FORMAT

This class runs largely like a graduate-level seminar. The majority of the class time is allotted to discussions as a group. By discussion we should be clear on the following:

1. The assigned discussion leader will establish the key objective(s) for the class at the start of each class. The Instructor may add objectives at this point.
2. Discussion should feature disagreement as much as agreement. Drawing on the readings, students should feel free to engage each other and the class as a whole on particular points of consensus or division.
3. Students should refrain from simply posing questions to the group without offering their own viewpoint based on careful reading of the assigned texts.
4. The Instructor will also pose questions to both individual students and the group as a whole. The questions will emphasize making connections with past readings, key points in the broader literature, and specific issues raised in the readings being discussed.

OFFICE HOURS

Students are encouraged to make an appointment to see me during office hours. You can make an appointment here: <https://moncada-barnardcolumbia.youcanbook.me/> If you are unable to meet during office hours, email me to discuss alternative dates/times.

LAPTOPS, TABLETS, AND CELL PHONES

Recent studies find that the use of laptops and tablets in classroom settings reduces the ability of the users and fellow classmates to effectively learn, as evidenced by lower examination grades.¹ Further research shows that hand writing notes enables students to better retain and understand class material when compared to taking notes on electronic devices.² **Laptops and tablets thus cannot be used during class unless you are leading class discussion or you are delivering your final research presentation.** The Instructor will use a laptop as part of the process of grading individual participation during each course, and will also be making note of key points to be discussed in future classes as well.

COMMUNICATION

The most effective way to reach the Instructor outside of office hours is via **email**. When communicating via email, please remember to be professional in your tone. **It is your responsibility to ensure that you have a Barnard/Columbia email in place and that you check it on a daily basis. I regularly send any updates to the syllabus or other notifications via email using the Canvas email system.**

¹ See Sana et al. "Laptop multitasking hinders classroom learning for both users and nearby peers." *Computers and Education* Vol. 62 (2013): 24-31.

² See <https://www.scientificamerican.com/article/a-learning-secret-don-t-take-notes-with-a-laptop/>

WELLNESS STATEMENT

It is important for undergraduates to recognize and identify the different pressures, burdens, and stressors you may be facing, whether personal, emotional, physical, financial, mental, or academic. We as a community urge you to make yourself--your own health, sanity, and wellness--your priority throughout this term and your career here. Sleep, exercise, and eating well can all be a part of a healthy regimen to cope with stress. Resources exist to support you in several sectors of your life, and we encourage you to make use of them. Should you have any questions about navigating these resources, please visit these sites:

- <http://barnard.edu/primarycare>
- <http://barnard.edu/counseling>
- <http://barnard.edu/wellwoman/about>
- [Stressbusters Support Network](#)

DISABILITIES

If you are a student with a documented disability and require academic accommodations, you must visit the Office of Disability Services (ODS) for assistance. Students requesting eligible accommodations in their courses will need to first meet with an ODS staff member for an intake meeting. Once registered, students are required to visit ODS each semester to set up new accommodations and learn how to notify faculty. Accommodations are not retroactive, so it is best to register with ODS early each semester to access your accommodations. If you are registered with ODS, please see me to schedule a meeting outside of class in which you can bring me your faculty notification letter and we can discuss your accommodations for this course. Students are not eligible to use their accommodations in this course until they have met with me. ODS is located in Milbank Hall, Room 008.

COURSE CALENDAR

Class 1: Introductions, Core Concepts, and Key Questions **January 17**

- Weber, Max. "Politics as Vocation." Published as "Politik als Beruf," *Gesammelte Politische Schriften* (Muenchen, 1921), pp. 396-450. Originally a speech at Munich University, 1918, published in 1919 by Duncker & Humblodt, Munich. From H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (Translated and edited), *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, pp. 77-128. Oxford University Press, 1946. (Available on CourseWorks. Read only pages 1-5, paragraphs 1-23).
 - Tilly, Charles. "War Making and State Making as Organized Crime." From Peter Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol (eds.), *Bringing the State Back In*. Cambridge University Press, 1985, pp. 169-91. (Available on CourseWorks.)
 - Schmitter, Philippe C., and Terry Lynn Karl. 1991. "What democracy is and is not." *Journal of Democracy*. 2(3): 75-88.
 - Clunan, Anne L. and Harold A. Trinkunas. "Conceptualizing Ungoverned Spaces: Territorial Statehood, Contested Authority, and Softened Sovereignty." In Anne L. Clunan and Harold A. Trinkunas (eds.), *Ungoverned Spaces: Alternatives to State Authority in an Era of Softened Sovereignty*. Stanford University Press, 2010, Chapter 1. (Available online via CLIO.)
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Class 2: Individual Drivers of Participation in Criminal & Wartime Violence: Structural and Social Factors **January 24**

- Kalyvas, Stathis N. "The ontology of "political violence": action and identity in civil wars." *Perspectives on Politics* 1, no. 03 (2003): 475-494.
 - Fajnzylber, Pablo, Daniel Lederman, and Norman Loayza. "What causes violent crime?" *European Economic Review* 46.7 (2002): 1323-1357. (Read 1323-33 carefully, skim 1334-37, and then read 1337-57 for key findings).
 - See the Symposium of *PS: Political Science & Politics* (Volume 50, No. 4, October 2017) [here](#) on Emotions, Ideologies, and Violent Political Mobilization. Read only the Introduction (by Costalli and Ruggeri) and the short articles by Nussio and by Schubiger and Zelina.
 - Wood, Elisabeth. "The emotional benefits of insurgency in El Salvador." Book chapter in *Passionate Politics: Emotions and Social Movements*, edited by Goodwin et al., pp. 267-302. (Available online via CLIO.)
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Class 3: Unpacking the Organization in Violent Political and Social Organizations: Internal and External Factors
January 31

- Weinstein, Jeremy M. *Inside rebellion: The politics of insurgent violence*. Cambridge University Press, 2006 (Introduction, Chapters 1, skim Chapters 3 and 4, read Chapters 5, 6, and Appendix A.).
 - Venkatesh, Sudhir Alladi. "The social organization of street gang activity in an urban ghetto." *American journal of sociology* 103.1 (1997): 82-111.
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Class 4: Territory: What is It Good For?
February 7

- Kalyvas, Stathis N. "16 Promises and pitfalls of an emerging research program: the microdynamics of civil war." In *Order, conflict, and violence* 397 (2008). (Available online via CLIO).
 - Reuter, Peter. "Systemic violence in drug markets." *Crime, Law and Social Change* 52.3 (2009): 275-284.
 - Staniland, Paul. "States, insurgents, and wartime political orders." *Perspectives on Politics* 10.02 (2012): 243-264.
 - Duran-Martinez, Angelica. "To Kill and Tell? State Power, Criminal Competition, and Drug Violence." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59, no. 8 (2015): 1377-1402.
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Class 6: Armed Actors and Governance in Criminal Settings: Gangs and Dons
February 14

- Arias, Enrique Desmond. *Criminal Enterprises and Governance in Latin America and the Caribbean*. Cambridge University Press, 2016. (Introduction, Chapters 1, 3, and 4 available online via CLIO.)
 - Lambrechts, Derica. "The impact of organised crime on state social control: organised criminal groups and local governance on the Cape Flats, Cape Town, South Africa." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 38, no. 4 (2012): 787-807.
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Class 7: Armed Actors and Governance in Wartime Settings: Warlords
February 21

- Marten, Kimberly. *Warlords: Strong-arm brokers in weak states*. Cornell University Press, 2012 (Chapter 1, 2, and 3)
- Mukhopadhyay, Dipali. *Warlords, strongman governors, and the state in Afghanistan*.

Cambridge University Press, 2014 (Chapters 1 and 2)

Class 8: Rebel Governance
February 28

- Arjona, Ana, Nelson Kasfir, and Zachariah Mampilly, eds. *Rebel Governance in Civil War*. Cambridge University Press, 2015. (Read Introduction and Chapters 1, 2, 4, 5, and 8 -- available online via CLIO.)
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Classes 9: Gender and Sexual Violence in War and Crime
March 7

- Cohen, Dara Kay. *Rape during civil war*. Cornell University Press, 2016 (all)
 - Menjivar, Cecilia, and Shannon Drysdale Walsh. "The architecture of feminicide: the state, inequalities, and everyday gender violence in Honduras." *Latin American research review* 52, no. 2 (2017).
 - Carey Jr., David, and M. Gabriela Torres. "Precursors to femicide: Guatemalan women in a vortex of violence." *Latin American Research Review* 45, no. 3 (2010): 142-164.
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Class 10: Governing Licit and Illicit Economies
March 21

- Varese, Federico. *The Russian Mafia: private protection in a new market economy*. OUP Oxford, 2001. (Selected chapters TBD -- available online via CLIO.)
 - Snyder, Richard. "Does lootable wealth breed disorder? A political economy of extraction framework." *Comparative Political Studies* 39, no. 8 (2006): 943-968.
 - Ellis, Stephen, and Mark Shaw. "Does organized crime exist in Africa?." *African affairs* 114, no. 457 (2015): 505-528.
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Class 11: A Political Economy of Security
March 28

- Abrahamsen, Rita, and Michael C. Williams. *Security beyond the state: Private security in international politics*. Cambridge University Press, 2010. (Chapters 1, 3, and 5).
 - Moncada, Eduardo. "Urban Violence, Political Economy, and Territorial Control: Insights from Medellín." *Latin American Research Review* 51, no. 4 (2016): 225-248.
 - Fourchard, Laurent. "The politics of mobilization for security in South African townships." *African Affairs* 110, no. 441 (2011): 607-627.
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Class 12: Responses to Non-State Governance: Are Civilians Only Victims?

April 4

- Arjona, Ana. 2016. *Rebelocracy: social order in the Colombian civil war*. Cambridge University Press, 2016 (Selected chapters TBD)
 - Moncada, Eduardo. “Resisting Protection? Rackets, Resistance and State-Building.” *Journal of Comparative Politics*. Forthcoming 2019.
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Class 13: In-Class Individual Research Presentations

April 11

Class 14: In-Class Individual Research Presentations

April 18

Class 15: In-Class Individual Research Presentations

April 25