

# Development Under Fire

## GLBL 247/PLSC 128

Yale University  
Department of Political Science  
Spring 2018, MW: 2:30-3:20, Luce 101

### Contact Information

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### Sections:

Posted on Yale OCI.

### Course Description

This course examines the recent emergence of foreign assistance as a tool of counterinsurgency and post-conflict reconciliation in countries as diverse as Afghanistan, Iraq, Colombia, Liberia, Pakistan, and the Philippines. The course has three broad purposes: (1) to introduce students to leading research on the motives and dynamics of violence in civil war settings, with a focus especially on the post-1945 era; (2) to develop an understanding of the multiple ways in which different actors—including militaries, rebel organizations (i.e. the Taliban), state agencies (i.e. USAID), non-governmental organizations (i.e. Doctors Without Borders), and international organizations such as the World Bank—have used aid in these environments, and how aid and violence intersect; and (3) to provide students with a grasp of the different approaches that have been used to evaluate aid in these settings, including randomized control trials, quasi-experiments, interviews and focus groups, and survey experiments.

Readings will be principally drawn from political science and economics, and will straddle security and economics-related topics equally. Readings will blend theoretical work with practitioner writings as well as presentations from (at least) two practitioners. Each week will tackle a different topic, and most weeks will also have a methodological component as well as a substantive focus.

Note that the course does not presume any background in either political science or economics, though introductory courses (especially in microeconomics and development studies) will prove useful. A familiarity with quantitative social science (i.e. regression analysis) will also be helpful but is not essential.

## Course Structure

*Lecture:* The course consists of two 50 minute weekly lectures. Attendance is not mandatory but, of course, is highly recommended. I use slides and videos to structure my lectures; slides will be posted after the lecture under the “Resources” tab on our Canvas site. On occasion, these videos will depict graphic or otherwise troubling scenes.

*Sections:* Much of the learning that occurs in this class takes place in the sections. These 50 minute sessions allow you to engage with the course material and other students by asking critical, informed questions. It is expected that you will have read these readings and are prepared to discuss/debate them. Attendance is mandatory. Sections begin 10 September.

## Assignments

There are several different types of assignments for this course.

*Midterm:* This is a closed-book, in-class exam that has two sections. First, you will be asked to define 5 of 7 concepts in about a paragraph for each answer. Topics will include theoretical concepts and historical events. Next, you will be asked to answer one of two short essay questions. The midterm will draw from both lecture and readings.

*Response Papers:* You will be asked to write *two* short papers over the course of the semester. For each assignment, students will write 3-4pp (12-point font, double-spaced) in response to one or more readings from the weekly reading assignments. Students may choose to write on any week’s topics but must write one response paper during Part I of the course (29 Aug to 15 Oct) and one from Part II (22 Oct to 3 Dec). These papers provide an opportunity to engage with a particular question or methodological challenge from the weekly readings; they are not designed as summaries of lectures or of the readings themselves. Assume we’ve done the readings. No outside research is required. Instead, you should raise questions or disagree with positions staked out by these authors and their approaches. What are weaknesses in their approaches? Do their findings travel to other contexts? Are their claims plausible? Each paper is worth 10% of your final grade and must be submitted electronically to your TF prior to the section in which those readings will be discussed.

*Final Exam:* Your final exam will consist of a three-hour, open-book, essay response. You will be asked to evaluate one of two real-world development programs in conflict settings. You will be asked to devise your own impact evaluation, including creating your own research design, addressing possible challenges and shortcomings, engaging ethical issues, and establishing your theoretical premises for why the intended intervention might (not) work. Additional guidelines will be distributed in class.

*Participation:* Section participation accounts for 20% of your final grade. We prize quality, not the quantity, of your participation.

- Section Attendance and Participation: 20%
- Midterm: 20% (15 October)
- Discussion Paper (Anytime during Section I, but no later than 15 Oct): 10%
- Discussion Paper (Anytime during Section II, but no later than 3 Dec): 10%
- Final Exam (date TBD): 40%

## Readings

Our readings are available via the “Course Reserves” folder on our Canvas site (<https://yale.instructure.com/courses/41213>). They are divided into weeks for your convenience. If you’re off-site, make sure your VPN connection and Dual Authentication are enabled.

## Legal Stuff

*Academic Honesty:* Please familiarize yourself with Yale’s policy on plagiarism and academic honesty: <http://yalecollege.yale.edu/content/cheatingplagiarism-and-documentation>. All assignments should reflect your own work and should not be construed as collaborative in nature. You may not submit the same paper (or a substantially similar one) without written permission from both instructors. If you have any questions, please don’t hesitate to ask. It is Yale College policy to report all cases of academic dishonesty to the Chair of the Executive Committee.

*Absence:* In case of emergency or illness, please obtain a “Dean’s Excuse” as soon as expedient. As a matter of course policy, we only grant extensions with a Dean’s Excuse. Late assignments will be assessed a one letter grade reduction for each day the assignment is overdue.

*Grading:* We also have a standard protocol we follow in case of disagreements over grades. First, we do not respond to questions about your grade in the first 24 hours after you receive it. Second, if after that time you still feel that you deserve a higher grade, please write a memo to your TF detailing specifically the issues and source of disagreement. Your TF will then review the memo and your assignment. Third, if disagreement remains, then the memo and assignment will be passed to me. I reserve the right to adjust your grade upwards, downwards, or to leave it unchanged.

*Electronic Devices:* I reserve the right to ban electronic devices from the classroom, including the lecture, if their use proves disruptive to other students (or me). All cell phones must be turned off during lecture and section.

## Weekly Topic and Readings

### 29 Aug Introduction: Why You Should (Not) Take This Course

No readings

### 5 Sept Development Under Fire: The Rise of New Aid, Part I (NOTE DATE)

The rise of “new” aid

- World Bank. 2011. *World Development Report 2011: Conflict, Security, and Development*, pp.2-6, 51-93. At: [http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTWDRS/Resources/WDR2011\\_Full\\_Text.pdf](http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTWDRS/Resources/WDR2011_Full_Text.pdf).
- Christoph Zurcher, “What Do We (Not) Know About Development Aid and Violence? A Systematic Review,” *World Development* 98 (October 2017), pp.506-522.
- Fast, Larissa. 2014. *Aid in Danger: The Perils and Promise of Humanitarianism*, pp.46-65.

### 10 Sept The Rise of New Aid, Part II

- Patricia Justino, Tilman Bruck, and Philip Verwimp. 2013. “Micro-Level Dynamics of Conflict, Violence, and Development: A New Analytical Framework,” in *A Micro-Level Perspective on the Dynamics of Conflict, Violence, and Development*, pp.3-29.
- Haugen, Gary and Victor Boutros. 2014. *The Locust Effect: Why the End of Poverty Requires the End of Violence*, pp.96-110.

### 12 Sept The State as Solution—and Problem

- Acemoglu, Daron, and James Robinson, *Why Nations Fail: The Origins of Power, Prosperity, and Poverty*, 2012, pp.368-403.
- Fearon, James and David Laitin 2003. “Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War,” *American Political Science Review*, Vol.97, No.1, pp 75-90.
- Cederman, Lars-Erik, Kristian Gleditsch, and Halvard Buhaug, *Inequality, Grievances, and Civil War*, 2013, pp.30-56.

### 17 Sept The State: Winning “Hearts and Minds”

- Kalyvas, Stathis. 2006. *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Chapter 4, pp.87-110.
- U.S. Army, Field Manual 3-24. May 2014. *Counterinsurgency Field Manual (FM 3-24)*. Chapters 9 and 10 (<http://www.fas.org/irp/doddir/army/fm3-24.pdf>)
- Lake, David. 2016. *The Statebuilder’s Dilemma*, pp.69-100.

## 19 Sept Rebels, Part I: Violence and Recruitment

Who becomes a rebel/terrorist?

- Ladbury, Sarah, for the Department of international Development (DFID). 2009. *Testing Hypotheses on Radicalisation in Afghanistan*, pp.3-10. At: [http://www.humansecuritygateway.com/documents/CPAU\\_TestingHypothesesonRadicalisationinAfghanistan.pdf](http://www.humansecuritygateway.com/documents/CPAU_TestingHypothesesonRadicalisationinAfghanistan.pdf)
- Weinstein, Jeremy. 2007. *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Chapter 3 (pp.96-126).

## 24 Sept Rebels, Part II: Governance

Control and the question of rebel governance/counter-programming

- Kalyvas, Stathis. 2006. *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Chapter 5 (pp.111-45).
- Staniland, Paul. 2012. “States, Insurgents, and Wartime Political Orders.” *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol.10, No.2, pp.243-64.
- Weinstein, Jeremy. 2007. *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Chapter 5 (pp.163-97).

## 26 Sept Civilians at War, Part I: “Rational Peasants”

Civilians as “Rational Peasants?” Can we buy hearts and minds?

- Lyall, Jason, Yuki Shiraito, and Kosuke Imai. 2015. “Coethnic Bias and Wartime Informing,” *Journal of Politics*, 77(3), 833-848.
- Kalyvas, Stathis and Matthew Kocher. 2007. “How ‘Free’ is Free-Riding in Civil War? Violence, Insurgency, and the Collective Action Problem,” *World Politics* Vol.59, No.2), pp.177-216. At: <http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/wp/summary/v059/59.2kalyvas.html>
- Leites, Nathan and Charles Wolf, Jr. 1970. *Rebellion and Authority: An Analytic Essay on Insurgent Conflicts*. Chicago: Markham Publishing Company, Chap 2 (pp.6-27). Note that “R” stands for “Rebels” and “A” for Authority (i.e. the government). At: <http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/reports/2006/R0462.pdf>

## 1 Oct Civilians at War, Part II: Civilian Agency

Civilian Agency

- Mampilly, Zachariah. 2011. *Rebel Rulers: Insurgent Governance and Civilian Life During War*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, pp. 48-92. At: <http://site.ebrary.com/lib/yale/docDetail.action?docID=10496955>
- Habib, Email. 2012. “The Andar Uprising,” Parts 1 (<http://aan-afghanistan.com/index.asp?id=2916> and Part 2 (<http://www.aan-afghanistan.org/index.asp?id=3086>).

- Justino, Patricia. 2012. “Nutrition, Governance and Violence: A Framework for the Analysis of Resilience and Vulnerability to Food Insecurity in Contexts of Violent Conflict,” HICN Working Paper No.132. At: <http://www.hicn.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2012/06/HiCN-WP-132.pdf>

### 3 Oct Countering Violent Extremism (CVE)

- World Bank, “Economic and Social Inclusion to Prevent Violent Extremism,” October 2016, pp.1-19 <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/409591474983005625/pdf/108525-REVISED-PUBLIC.pdf>
- Mercy Corps. “Motivations and Empty Promises: Voices of Former Boko Haram Combatants and Nigerian Youth,” April 2016 [https://www.mercycorps.org/sites/default/files/Motivations%20and%20Empty%20Promises\\_Mercy%20Corps\\_Full%20Report\\_0.pdf](https://www.mercycorps.org/sites/default/files/Motivations%20and%20Empty%20Promises_Mercy%20Corps_Full%20Report_0.pdf) report, 2-20.
- Blattman, Christopher, Julian Jamison, and Margaret Sheridan. 2017. “Reducing Crime and Violence: Experimental Evidence from Cognitive Behavioral Therapy in Liberia,” *American Economic Review* 107(4): 1165-1206.
- Wolfe, Rebecca. “There’s more to peace than solving violent extremism,” *Perspectives*, at: <https://www.mercycorps.org/gallery/perspectives-fragility/more-to-peace>

## Part II: Research Design and Practicalities

### 8 Oct: Impact Evaluation I

Why we randomize: the Randomized Control Trial (RCT)

- Carlos Bozzoli, Tilman Brck and Nina Wald, “Evaluating Programmes in Conflict-Affected Areas,” in *A Micro-Level Perspective on the Dynamics of Conflict, Violence, and Development*, pp.249-68.
- Rachel Glennerster and Kudzai Takavarasha, 2013, *Running Randomized Evaluations: A Practical Guide*, pp.24-65.
- Karlan, Dean and Jacob Appel, 2016, *Failing in the Field: What We Can Learn When Field Research Goes Wrong*, pp.138-46 (“checklist for failures”).
- Blattman, Christopher and Jeannie Annan, “Can Employment Reduce Lawlessness and Rebellion? A Field Experiment With High-Risk Men in a Fragile State,” *American Political Science Review* (February 2016), 1-17.

### 10 Oct: Impact Evaluation II

What happens if you can’t randomize (or they won’t let you)? Alternative strategies

- Crost, Benjamin, Joseph Felter, and Patrick Johnston. 2014. “Aid under Fire: Development Projects and Civil Conflict,” *American Economic Review*, 104(6): 1833-56.

- Andrabi, Tahir and Jishnu Das. 2016. “In Aid We Trust: Hearts and Minds and the Pakistan Earthquake of 2005,” *The Review of Economics and Statistics*, forthcoming.
- Coburn, Noah. 2011. *Bazaar Politics: Power and Pottery in an Afghan Market Town*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, pp.208-24.

## 15 Oct Midterm

Midterm

## 22 Oct Iraq

The Iraq Experience: Money as a Weapons System

- Van Buren, Peter. 2012. *We Meant Well: How I Helped Lose the Battle for the Hearts and Minds of the Iraqi People*. New York: Metropolitan Books, pp.46-54,63-74,80-87.
- Berman, Eli, Jacob Shapiro and Joseph Felter. 2011. “Can Hearts and Minds Be Bought? The Economics of Counterinsurgency in Iraq.” *Journal of Political Economy*, Vol.119, pp.766-819. At: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/661983>
- Biddle, Stephen et al. 2012. “Testing the Surge: Why did Violence Decline in Iraq in 2007?” *International Security* 37(1), pp.7-40.
- Sky, Emma and Sheikh, Safaa. 2011. “Iraq since 2003: Perspectives on a Divided Society.” *Survival* 53(4), pp.119-142.

## 24 Oct Afghanistan

- SIGAR October 2016 Report, pp.81-87 (<http://www.sigar.mil/pdf/quarterlyreports/2016-10-30qr-section3.pdf>)
- Beath, Andrew, Fotini Christia, and Ruben Enikolopov. 2012. “Winning Hearts and Minds? Evidence from a Field Experiment in Afghanistan.” At: [http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=1809677](http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1809677)
- Burde, Dana and Leigh Linden. 2011. “The Effect of Village-Based Schools: Evidence from a Randomized Controlled Trial in Afghanistan.” At: [http://steinhardt.nyu.edu/scmsAdmin/uploads/006/827/Burde%26LindenAfghanistan\\_2011-09-10.pdf](http://steinhardt.nyu.edu/scmsAdmin/uploads/006/827/Burde%26LindenAfghanistan_2011-09-10.pdf)

(And if you’re really interested: Jason Lyall, Yang-Yang Zhou, and Kosuke Imai. 2018. “Can Economic Assistance Shape Combatant Support in Wartime? Experimental Evidence from Afghanistan.” [https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=3026531](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3026531)).

## 29 Oct Colombia and the Philippines

Additional cases

- Dube, Oeindrila and Suresh Naidu. 2015. “Bases, Bullets, and Ballots: The Effect of U.S. Military Aid on Political Conflict in Colombia.” *The Journal of Politics*, 77(1), pp.249-67.
- Crost, Benjamin, Joseph Felter, and Patrick Johnston. 2016. “Conditional Cash Transfers, Civil Conflict and Insurgent Influence: Experimental Evidence from the Philippines.” *Journal of Development Economics*, pp.171-82.

## 31 Oct Impact Evaluation III: Survey Experiments

How do we (not) obtain accurate estimates of public attitudes in wartime conditions?

- Nederhof, AJ. 1985. “Methods of Coping With Social Desirability Bias: A Review.” *European Journal of Social Psychology*, Vol.15, No.3, pp.263-80. At: [onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/ejsp.2420150303/pdf](http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/ejsp.2420150303/pdf)
- The Tactical Conflict Assessment and Planning Framework (TCAPF).
- Lyall, Jason, Graeme Blair, and Kosuke Imai. “Explaining Support for Combatants in Wartime: A Survey Experiment in Afghanistan,” *American Political Science Review*, 107:3, pp.679-705.

## 5 Nov Impact Evaluation IV: Additional Concerns

We focus on the twin issues of sample attrition and externalities (spillover).

- 3ie, *What methods may be used in impact evaluations of humanitarian assistance?*, 2014, pp.5-17. At <http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/wp-22-humanitarian-methods-working-paper-top.pdf>
- Gerber, Alan and Donald Green. 2012. *Field Experiments: Design, Analysis, and Interpretation*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company. Chapters 7-8 (pp.211-44, 253-82).

## 7 Nov Research Ethics

The ethics of conducting research in war zones

- Goodhand, Jonathan. 2012. “Research in conflict zones: ethics and accountability,” *Forced Migration Review* Vol.8, pp.12-15. At: <http://www.fmreview.org/sites/fmr/files/FMRdownloads/en/FMRpdfs/FMR08/fmr8.4.pdf>
- Gerber, Alan and Donald Green. 2012. *Field Experiments: Design, Analysis, and Interpretation*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company. Appendix A, pp.447-51.
- Wood, Elisabeth. 2013. “Reflections on the Challenges, Dilemmas, and Rewards of Research in Conflict Zones,” *Research Methods in Conflict Settings*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.293-308.
- Cronin-Furman, Kate and Milli Lake. 2018. “Ethics Abroad: Fieldwork in Fragile and Violent Contexts,” *PS*, 1-8.

## 12 Nov NGOs at War

Security and the challenge of humanitarianism

- Aid Worker Security Report 2014. *Unsafe Passage*. At: <https://aidworkersecurity.org/sites/default/files/Aid%20Worker%20Security%20Report%202014.pdf>
- Fast, Larissa, *Aid in Danger: The Perils and Promise of Humanitarianism*, 2014, pp.66-88.



## 14 Nov Refugees

- Rawlence, Ben. 2016. *City of Thorns*, pp.1-5, 125-55.
- World Food Programme, 2013, “Examining Protection and Gender in Cash and Voucher Transfers,” <http://documents.wfp.org/stellent/groups/public/documents/communications/wfp260028.pdf>, 1-14.
- Masterson, Daniel. 2016. “Giving Better: Lessons from Cash Grants for Syrian Refugees in Lebanon,” [http://www.aub.edu.lb/ifi/publications/Documents/policy\\_memos/2015-2016/20160225\\_impact\\_cash\\_assistance.pdf](http://www.aub.edu.lb/ifi/publications/Documents/policy_memos/2015-2016/20160225_impact_cash_assistance.pdf)

## 26 Nov Foreign Aid, Legitimacy, and Conflict

- Parks, Bradley, Caroline Bergeron and Michael Tierney. “Foreign Aid and Conflict: What We Know and Need to Know,” in *Peace and Conflict 2016*, pp.120-27.
- Nunn, Nathan and Qian, Nancy. 2014. “US Food Aid and Civil Conflict,” *AER* 104(6):1630-1666.
- Dietrich, Simone and Winters, Matthew. 2015. “Foreign Aid and Government Legitimacy,” *Journal of Experimental Political Science*, 2: 164-171.
- de Waal, Alex. 2009. “Mission Without End? Peacekeeping in the African political marketplace,” *International Affairs* 85(1): 99–113.

## 28 Nov The Long-Term Effects of Violence and Aid

What do we know about the long-term effects of (aid) intervention?

- Voors, Maarten, Eleonora Nillesen, Philip Verwimp, Erwin Bulte, Robert Lensink and Daan van Souest. 2012. “Violent Conflict and Behavior: A Field Experiment in Burundi.” *American Economic Review* Vol.102, pp.941-64.
- Gilligan, Michael, Benjamin Pasquale, and Cyrus Samii. 2014. “Civil War and Social Cohesion: Lab-in-the-Field Evidence from Nepal.” *American Journal of Political Science* 58(3):604-619.
- Bauer, M., et al. “Can War Foster Cooperation?” *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 30(3): 249-274.
- *Optional*: Cilliers, Jacobus, Oeindrila Dube and Bilal Siddiqi, “Reconciling after civil conflict increases social capital but decreases individual well-being,” *Science*, 13 May 2016, pp.787-794.

### **3 Dec Impact Evaluation IV: New Technologies for IE**

We examine five emerging technologies/approaches and their application to impact evaluation

Application: Jaafar, H.H. and Woertz, Eckart. "Agriculture as a funding source of ISIS: A GIS and remote sensing analysis," *Food Policy*, 64: 14-25.

(And if you really like that, try this:

<https://www.rand.org/nsrd/projects/when-isil-comes-to-town.html>).

- iMMAP. At: <http://immap.org/>
- Ushahidi. At: <http://www.ushahidi.com/>
- The Satellite Sentinel Project. At: <http://www.satsentinel.org/>
- AidData. At: <http://www.aiddata.org/content/index>
- Walking Papers. At: [walking-papers.org](http://walking-papers.org)

### **5 Dec Course Wrap-up**

The Way Forward

Table 1: Topic List

Date	Topic
29 Aug	Introduction
<i>Section I</i>	
5 Sept	The New Development Aid I
10 Sept	The New Development Aid II
12 Sept	State I
17 Sept	State II
19 Sept	Rebels I
24 Sept	Rebel II
26 Sept	Civilians I
1 Oct	Civilians II
3 Oct	CVE
<i>Section II</i>	
8 Oct	Methods I: RCT
10 Oct	Methods II: Non-RCT
15 Oct	<i>Midterm</i>
<i>October Break</i>	
22 Oct	Iraq
24 Oct	Afghanistan
29 Oct	Colombia/Philippines
31 Oct	Methods III
5 Nov	Methods IV
7 Nov	Research Ethics
12 Nov	Humanitarian NGOs at War
14 Nov	Refugees
<i>November Break</i>	
26 Nov	Foreign Aid, Legitimacy, and Conflict
28 Nov	Long-Term Effects
3 Dec	Methods IV: Social Media
5 Dec	Course Wrap-up