

University of Toronto
Department of Political Science
Summer 2016

POL 380 H1S Topics in International Politics: Natural Resources, Power and Conflict in Africa, Latin America and Asia

Instructor: Marie Gagné

Class Times : Monday and Wednesday, 4-6pm

Location : Sidney Smith Hall, Room 1070

Email: marie.gagne@mail.utoronto.ca

Office hours: Wednesday 3-4 pm

Office: SS 3118

Course Description

This course introduces students to the relationship between natural resources and political conflicts in Africa, Latin America and Asia, with an emphasis on how the exploitation and management of land, oil, minerals, and forests can undermine or consolidate state power.

In this course, students will examine the domestic and international drivers behind increased demand for natural resources. They will also become acquainted with theories that look at social and political conflicts resulting from competition over resources. The class will focus on three sorts of conflicts: 1) jostling for power between alternative political elites or institutions attempting to monopolize the authority to allocate resource rights; 2) struggles that polarize the government or private companies to civil society, leading to civil wars in the most acute cases; 3) conflicts involving groups of users who directly compete to have access to resources.

Finally, students will become familiar with theories looking at institutional configurations created to manage natural resource exploitation in a more equitable or efficient manner.

Learning outcomes

Upon completion of this course, students will understand how access to and control of natural resources represents a critical form of political power. They will also develop a comprehensive knowledge of the ways in which contention for resources can lead to conflict. Finally, students will be able to think critically about how the exploitation and management of various types of resources play out differently in the context of diverse national contexts.

Course requirements

Participation – 15%

Students are expected to do all the required readings in order to contribute meaningfully to class discussions. Participation marks will be based both on attendance *and* capacity to critically engage with the topic under review. Attendance will be taken at the beginning of the class. Latecomers will not get credit for attendance. Active participation and relevant interventions in discussions will form most of the participation mark.

Reading Summaries – 25%

Starting on week 1 or 2 (at your convenience), you must summarize one required reading per week. Each summary counts for 5% of the total mark. By the end of the semester, each student will have written 5 responses, for a total of 25% of the grade. Responses should be posted no later than noon the day before the class meets. For instance, if you wish to review a reading that will be discussed in class on Monday, you need to post your summary before noon on Sunday (or Tuesday if the reading is for the Wednesday class). Summaries must be posted on Blackboard before the class or they will be refused.

You must identify and paraphrase in your own words the main argument that the author puts forth and the concepts she develops. At the end of the summary, you need to indicate a question that will serve as a basis for class discussions.

Your summary cannot exceed 300 words and must hold on one page. Papers should be double-spaced in Times New Roman font, with 2,5 centimeters margins. Include a header with your name, student number, the date, my name and the course number. Save your document with your name and summary number.

Research Essay – 30%

In this course, you will write a substantive essay on one of the major issues and problems related to access to and control over natural resources. You need to structure your paper around a key argument and provide supporting evidence for your main point. Research essays must draw on required material from the course and be supplemented with recommended readings. You must integrate at least ten references. Please include an introduction, conclusion and a bibliography. Papers should be no longer than 10 pages, excluding the bibliography. The essay is due on August 3.

You need to answer **one** of the following three questions:

- 1) In which cases does control over natural resources consolidate or undermine state power?
- 2) Under which circumstances do rural societies mobilize against resource dispossession?
- 3) What is your evaluation of different institutional schemes to foster better management of natural resources?

You are strongly advised to meet with me prior to submitting your final essay to ensure that you are on the right track.

Final Exam - 30%

The final exam will comprise of three questions that will cover all of the themes covered during the course.

Policies

Research essay format

Assignments must be handed in on time as hard copies, e-mailed assignments will not be accepted. For each day an assignment is late (including weekends and holidays), 5% of your total mark will be

deducted. The penalty will be strictly enforced. Late assignments should be delivered to the main desk of the Political Science Department (Room 3018 on the 3rd floor of Sidney Smith Hall). Students should make sure that late works are signed and dated by staff.

No paper will be accepted one week after the due date except under exceptional, documented circumstances. Students requiring an extension should contact me before the assignment deadline to discuss the extension request.

Students are strongly advised to keep rough and draft work and hard copies of their essays and assignments before handing in them to the course instructor or to the Department. These should be kept until the marked assignments have been returned to you and the grades are posted on ACORN.

Papers longer than the indicated length will not be read after the number of pages specified in the syllabus. Papers should be double spaced in Times New Roman font, with 2,5 centimeters margins, and securely stapled. I will not accept unstapled papers. They should have a cover sheet with your name, your student number, the course name and number, the name of the instructor (me) and the title of the paper clearly indicated. You are strongly encouraged to print double-sided for environmental considerations.

You have to use the Chicago “author-date” parenthesis style for citations inserted in the text (Example: Boone 2013, 4). You can have a look at this address for further details on how to format your references: http://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/tools_citationguide.html. You need to click on “author-date”.

Classroom etiquette

Cell phones and all other electronics must be silenced and put away, not on your desk. You will lose participation marks if you use your cell phone or surf the Internet during the class.

Email etiquette

You are expected to review the syllabus carefully each time before writing me for any matter. Most answers to your questions should already be included in the syllabus or have been discussed in class. The subject of your email messages must include the course number and a relevant title. Please send your emails from your UofT account.

Do not expect instant replies. I will do my best to answer emails within two days of receipt as long as I can answer in a few sentences. If your question requires a detailed reply, you must meet with me in person during my office hour.

Grade appeals

If you have concerns regarding your grade, you must first come to my office to discuss about it. Thereafter, you can submit a grade appeal. You need to provide a detailed written explanation of why you feel the grade is unjustified. Once an appeal is submitted, I will re-examine the entire assignment. It can result in one of three outcomes: no change to the original grade, a higher grade, or a lower grade. If you wish to submit a written appeal, you must submit it within two weeks of grade submission.

Notes on Plagiarism

Academic integrity is fundamental to learning and scholarship at the University of Toronto. Participating honestly, respectfully, responsibly, and fairly in this academic community ensures that the U of T degree that you earn will be valued as a true indication of your individual academic achievement, and will continue to receive the respect and recognition it deserves.

Familiarize yourself with the University of Toronto's *Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters* (<http://www.governingcouncil.utoronto.ca/policies/behaveac.htm>). It is the rule book for academic behaviour at the U of T, and you are expected to know the rules. Potential offences include, but are not limited to:

In papers and assignments:

- Using someone else's ideas or words without appropriate acknowledgement.
- Copying material word-for-word from a source (including lecture and study group notes) and not placing the words within quotation marks.
- Submitting your own work in more than one course without the permission of the instructor.
- Making up sources or facts.
- Including references to sources that you did not use.
- Obtaining or providing unauthorized assistance on any assignment including:
 - working in groups on assignments that are supposed to be individual work;
 - having someone rewrite or add material to your work while "editing".
- Lending your work to a classmate who submits it as his/her own without your permission.

On tests and exams:

- Using or possessing any unauthorized aid, including a cell phone.
- Looking at someone else's answers
- Letting someone else look at your answers.
- Misrepresenting your identity.
- Submitting an altered test for re-grading.

Misrepresentation:

- Falsifying or altering any documentation required by the University, including doctor's notes.
- Falsifying institutional documents or grades.

To remind you of these expectations, and help you avoid accidental offences, I will ask you to include a signed Academic Integrity Checklist with every assignment. If you do not include the statement, your work will not be graded.

The University of Toronto treats cases of academic misconduct very seriously. All suspected cases of academic dishonesty will be investigated following the procedures outlined in the *Code*. The consequences for academic misconduct can be severe, including a failure in the course and a notation on your transcript. If you have any questions about what is or is not permitted in this course, please do not hesitate to contact me. If you have questions about appropriate research and citation methods, seek out additional information from me, or from other available campus

resources like the [U of T Writing Website](#). If you are experiencing personal challenges that are having an impact on your academic work, please speak to me or seek the advice of your college registrar.

Turnitin Policy

Normally, students will be required to submit their research essay to Turnitin.com for a review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. In doing so, students will allow their essays to be included as source documents in the Turnitin.com reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University's use of the Turnitin.com service are described on the Turnitin.com web site.

If you have any questions about using Turnitin.com, please see the Guide for Students published by the UofT Centre for Teaching Support and Innovation (<http://teaching.utoronto.ca/ed-tech/teaching-technology/turnitin/a-guide-for-students/>).

The submission process will open one week before the deadline for the research essay, and you will have until midnight on the due date to submit your file. In addition to submitting an electronic copy of your paper to Turnitin.com, you must staple the receipt from Turnitin to the hardcopy of your paper.

Accessibility Needs

The University of Toronto is committed to accessibility. Students with learning disabilities or health condition are welcome in this course. Please let the instructor know of your specific needs. If you require accommodations, or have any accessibility concerns about the course, the classroom or course materials, please contact Accessibility Services as soon as possible: disability.services@utoronto.ca or <http://studentlife.utoronto.ca/accessibility>.

Readings for the Course

Readings are available under the Library Course Reserves in your Blackboard account. Click on "Launch Course Reserves" and a new window will pop up with the list of texts.

Class 1, June 27 : Land as a source of political power

Today, we will examine how control over land and natural resources constitutes a critical source of power.

Required reading:

Vanderveest, Peter, and Nancy Lee Peluso. "Territorialization and State Power in Thailand." *Theory and Society* 24, no. 3 (1995): 385-426.

Optional reading :

Lund, Christian. "Fragmented Sovereignty: Land Reform and Dispossession in Laos." *Journal of Peasant Studies* 38, no. 4 (2011): 885-905.

Class 2, June 29: Land concentration and rural violence

This class will allow students to understand how domestic factors intensify pressure over access to land and how, in turn, increased competition may lead to conflicts and dispossession.

Required readings:

Amanor, Kojo Sebastian. 2008. Sustainable development, corporate accumulation and community expropriation: Land and natural resources in Africa. In *Land and sustainable development in Africa*, edited by Kojo Sebastian Amanor and Sam Moyo. London ; New York: Zed Books, 127-158.

Kay, Cristóbal. 2001. "Reflections on rural violence in Latin America." *Third World Quarterly* no. 22 (5):741–775.

Optional readings:

Hall, Derek, Philip Hirsch, and Tania Murray Li. "Introduction." In *Powers of Exclusion: Land Dilemmas in Southeast Asia*, 1-26. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2011.

Class 3, July 4: Drivers of international Large-Scale Land Acquisitions

In this class, we will look at the emergent phenomenon of international large-scale land acquisitions carried out for investment or speculative purposes. We will examine the global drivers as well as the constraints of these mega-land deals.

Required readings:

Cotula, Lorenzo. 2013. "Chapter 3. Scale, geography and drivers of the land rush." In *The great African land grab? Agricultural investments and the global food system*, 35-81. London; New York: Zed Books.

Burnod, Perrine, Mathilde Gingembre, and Rivo Andrianirina Ratsialonana. "Competition over Authority and Access: International Land Deals in Madagascar." *Development and Change* 44, no. 2 (2013): 357–79.

Optional readings:

Oya, Carlos. 2013. "Methodological reflections on 'land grab' databases and the 'land grab' literature 'rush'." *Journal of Peasant Studies* no. 40 (3):503-520.

Zoomers, Annelies. "Globalisation and the Foreignisation of Space: Seven Processes Driving the Current Global Land Grab." *Journal of Peasant Studies* 37, no. 2 (2010): 429-47.

Class 4, July 6 2016: Political and legal mechanisms of land seizure

While large-scale land acquisitions sometimes constitute "land grabs" without community consent, they are also enabled by various political and legal mechanisms.

Required readings:

Grajales, Jacobo. "The Rifle and the Title: Paramilitary Violence, Land Grab and Land Control in Colombia." *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 38, no. 4 (2011): 771-92.

Levien, Michael. "The Land Question: Special Economic Zones and the Political Economy of Dispossession in India." *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 39, no. 3-4 (2012): 933-96.

Optional readings:

Ong, Lynette H. "State-Led Urbanization in China: Skyscrapers, Land Revenue and "Concentrated Villages"." *The China Quarterly* 216 (2014): 1 - 18.

German, Laura, George Schoneveld, and Esther Mwangi. 2013. "Contemporary processes of large-scale land acquisition in sub-Saharan Africa: Legal deficiency or elite capture of the rule of law?" *World Development* no. 48:1-18.

Class 5, July 11 Political consequences of petroleum exploitation

In this session, we will reflect on how oil production consolidates or undermines state institutions.

Required readings:

Ross, Michael L. "Does Oil Hinder Democracy?". *World Politics* 53, no. 3 (2001): 325-61.

Maass, Peter. 2009. "Rot." In *Crude world: The violent twilight of oil*, edited by Alfred A. Knopf, 53-80. New York.

Optional reading:

Brownlee, Jason, Tarek Masoud, and Andrew Reynolds. 2013. "Why the Modest Harvest?" *Journal of Democracy* no. 24 (4):29-44.

Class 6, July 13 Policy interventions to mitigate the paradox of plenty

In this class, we will examine the extent to which it is possible to avoid the paradox of plenty and compensate affected communities.

Required readings:

Karl, Terry Lynn. "Ensuring Fairness: The Case for a Transparent Fiscal Social Contract." In *Escaping the Resource Curse*, edited by Macartan Humphreys, Jeffrey D. Sachs and Joseph E. Stiglitz, 256-85. New York: Columbia University Press, 2007.

Bebbington, Denise Humphreys. "State-Indigenous Tensions over Hydrocarbon Expansion in the Bolivian Chaco." In *Social Conflict, Economic Development and Extractive Industry: Evidence from South America*, edited by Anthony Bebbington, 134-52. New York: Routledge, 2012.

Optional reading

Kojucharov, Nikola. 2007. "Poverty, Petroleum & Policy Intervention: Lessons from the Chad-Cameroon Pipeline." *Review of African Political Economy* no. 34 (113):477-496.

Class 7, July 18. Mining and state power

In today's class, we will see how mining shapes politics in fragile states and creates special policy challenges.

Required readings:

Prichard, Wilson. "The Mining Boom in Sub-Saharan Africa: Continuity, Change and Policy Implications." In *A New Scramble for Africa? Imperialism, Investment and Development*, edited by Roger Southall and Henning Melber, 240-73. Scottsville, South Africa: University of KwaZulu-Natal, 2009.

Crabtree, John, and Isabel Crabtree-Condor. "The Politics of Extractive Industries in the Central Andes." In *Social Conflict, Economic Development and Extractive Industry: Evidence from South America*, edited by Anthony Bebbington, 46-64. New York: Routledge, 2012.

Optional readings:

Ferguson, James. "Chapter 8. Governing extraction: New Spatializations of order and disorder in neoliberal Africa", *Global Shadows: Africa in the Neoliberal World Order*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2006.

Richani, Nazih. "Multinational Corporations, Rentier Capitalism, and the War System in Colombia." *Latin American Politics and Society* 47, no. 3 (2005): 113-44.

Class 8, July 20. Avoiding the resource curse

In this class, we will see how voluntary schemes to mitigate the negative effects of mining may not be very conclusive. However, political arrangements can diminish the scope of the resource curse.

Required readings:

Szablowski, David. "Mining, Displacement and the World Bank: A Case Analysis of Compania Minera Antamina's Operations in Peru." *Journal of Business Ethics* 39, no. 3 (2002): 247-73.

Poteete, Amy R. 2009. "Is Development Path Dependent or Political? A Reinterpretation of Mineral-Dependent Development in Botswana." *The Journal of Development Studies* no. 45 (4):544-571.

Optional reading:

Snyder, Richard. "Does Lootable Wealth Breed Disorder?: A Political Economy of Extraction Framework." *Comparative Political Studies* 39, no. 8 (2006): 943-68.

Class 9, July 25: Political Forests and Community Management

We will examine how schemes ostensibly meant to devolve forest management practices are in fact used to reassert power over this resource or exclude large sections of the population.

Required readings:

Poteete, Amy R., and Jesse C. Ribot. "Repertoires of Domination: Decentralization as Process in Botswana and Senegal." *World Development* 39, no. 3 (2011): 439-49.

Agarwal, Bina. "Participatory Exclusions, Community Forestry, and Gender: An Analysis for South Asia and a Conceptual Framework." *World Development* 29, no. 10 (2001): 1623-48.

Optional reading:

Corson, Catherine. 2011. "Territorialization, enclosure and neoliberalism: non-state influence in struggles over Madagascar's forests." *Journal of Peasant Studies* no. 38 (4):703-726.

Class 10, July 27: Forest conservation and territorial planning

In this session, we will discuss schemes to promote the conservation of natural resources and reduce carbon emissions.

Required reading:

Corbera, Esteve, Manuel Estrada, Peter May, Guillermo Navarro, and Pablo Pacheco. "Rights to Land, Forests and Carbon in Redd+: Insights from Mexico, Brazil and Costa Rica." *Forests* 2 (2011): 301-42.

Optional reading:

Bottazzi, Patrick. "Indigenous Governance, Protected Areas and Decentralised Forestry: A Comparative Analysis of Two Tsimane ' Territories in the Bolivian Lowlands." In *Decentralisation Meets Local Complexity: Local Struggles, State Decentralisation and Access to Natural Resources in South Asia and Latin America*, edited by Urs Geiser and Stephan Rist, 155-90. Bern, Switzerland: Geographica Bernensia, 2009. Available at [http://www.north-south.ch/publications/Infosystem/Online%20Dokumente/Upload/Fullversion_Perspectives_Vol4_Descentralisation\(2\).pdf](http://www.north-south.ch/publications/Infosystem/Online%20Dokumente/Upload/Fullversion_Perspectives_Vol4_Descentralisation(2).pdf).

*** No class on Monday, August 1 ***

Class 11, August 3: Collective mobilizations against exclusions

Today, we will examine how resistance to escape state power and maintain access to land can evolve historically. *** RESEARCH ESSAY DUE***

Required reading:

Hall, Derek, Philip Hirsch, and Tania Murray Li. "Counter-Exclusions: Collective Mobilizations for Land and Territory." In *Powers of Exclusion: Land Dilemmas in Southeast Asia*, 170-91. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2011.

Optional readings:

Scott, James C. "Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance." *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 13, no. 2 (1986): 5-35.

Stoler, Ann Laura. "Plantation Politics and Protest on Sumatra's East Coast." *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 13, no. 2 (1986): 124-43.

Class 12, August 8: Peasant Resistance to Agrarian change

In this class, we will examine different forms of rural resistance that peasant organizations have employed to oppose or influence land and agricultural policies.

Required reading:

McKeon, Nora, Michael Watts, and Wendy Wolford. "Peasant Associations in Theory and Practice." Civil Society and Social Movements Programme; United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, 2004. Available at: [http://www.unrisd.org/80256B3C005BCCF9/httpNetITFramePDF?ReadForm&parentunid=EB035306BD930F87C1256F6A0056A117&parentdoctype=paper&netitpath=80256B3C005BCCF9/\(httpAuxPages\)/EB035306BD930F87C1256F6A0056A117/\\$file/mckeon.pdf](http://www.unrisd.org/80256B3C005BCCF9/httpNetITFramePDF?ReadForm&parentunid=EB035306BD930F87C1256F6A0056A117&parentdoctype=paper&netitpath=80256B3C005BCCF9/(httpAuxPages)/EB035306BD930F87C1256F6A0056A117/$file/mckeon.pdf)

Optional readings:

Harvey, Neil. "Rebellion in Chiapas: Rural Reforms and Popular Struggle." *Third World Quarterly* 16, no. 1 (1995): 39-74.

Moyo, Sam. "The Land Occupation Movement and Democratisation in Zimbabwe: Contradictions of Neoliberalism." *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 30, no. 2 (2001): 311-30.