

**University of Toronto, St. George**  
**Department of Political Science**  
**POL 443 / 2322 (H 1 S): Civil War and Political Violence**  
**Spring 2013**

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Class Time and Location:	Monday 4-6 pm; TC 24
Office Hours and Location:	Monday 2-3.30 pm; Sidney Smith 3061

**Course Description:** The general theme of this course is to understand the origins, dynamics, and processes of political violence, in particular one type of political violence, called civil wars or insurgencies, which is a conflict between a state and at least one armed non state actor within its territory. Since the end of the Cold War, intra-state or civil wars have become the most common form of political conflict, overtaking inter-state war. Civil wars are often protracted and quite disruptive of social life, and cause high levels of loss of civilian life. This has prompted scholars of comparative politics and international relations to study the origins, dynamics of these conflicts, and also the challenges to ending them. In this course, students will focus on some of the most prominent theoretical explanations for different dynamics of civil war. We will read some canonical literature, as well as some newly emerging themes in the study of civil wars/ insurgencies. Many of the articles use cross national datasets for empirical analysis, while other studies use qualitative data and sometimes ethnographic analysis. The syllabus includes both types of studies. Civil wars are often ethnic in nature with the goal of seceding from the home country, while others are more centre seeking and want to take over control of the capital city and the central state. In this course, we try to understand the dynamics of both these types of civil wars. While the focus is on generalizable theory for different dynamics of civil wars, some of the articles focus on particular cases. The students are expected to understand the general theoretical debates between scholars, and then apply it to particular cases of insurgency and civil war that interest them.

**Course Requirements and Marking Scheme:**

**Class participation (20%):** This course is a seminar. There will be no lectures. Students are expected to read the assigned readings before class and participate in class discussion, based around themes common to that week's readings. Discussion points can include answering basic questions about the readings, raising questions or puzzles you have about some readings, trying to look for connections between the different readings, or weaknesses in one or more readings and suggestions on how to improve on them. I will keep track of student participation. Grades depend on the quality of participation and not quantity.

**Presentation (10%):** Besides regular class participation, students will have to do short 10-15 minute presentations based on that week's readings, followed by a brief question & answer session. There can be various ways to do an effective presentation. It can be an overview and critique of the readings, possibly locate weaknesses in the current research, followed by suggestions on how to improve the research further. The presentation can also engage two or more scholars in a debate, and try to adjudicate which one is more accurate based on some empirical data, or a case study. Presentations can use Power Point or any other method and are

aimed at giving you practice in presenting work in front of an audience.

**Critical Review papers (3\*10% = 30%):** Students have to write 3 review papers of 2-3 pages double spaced Times New Roman 12 sized font with one inch margins on all sides. These review papers are based on the readings of a particular week. Each paper is worth 10% of total grade.

*Due dates:* The first papers must be handed in by Week 5 (i.e. at least one of your essays must be on a topic covered in weeks 2 through 5). **The second paper is due by Week 9 (March 10), and the third one by week 12 (March 31).** A soft copy by Blackboard using the *Turnitin* option is due by 8 am the morning of class.

Essays must cover the set of readings that will be discussed in that session. I will not accept an essay on readings from an earlier week. The critical review papers should engage with the debates, questions and research designs in the readings for that particular week. You may choose to focus on all the assigned readings, or analyze some of the readings. Often, good review papers focus on a puzzle, or gap in the literature generated by one or two readings, and then use empirical cases, theoretical argumentation and analysis to fill this gap. Remember that this is not a summary of the readings for a week, but more like a literature review with a twist. The summaries of the readings should be brief and in one paragraph, and used to point out the new puzzle or gap or something new or interesting that needs to be understood. Then the rest of the paper should be devoted to critical analysis, solution to the puzzle etc.

You can use the following points to develop these review papers:

Overall, what do you see as the main strengths and weaknesses of the reading?

- o How well does the empirical evidence support the author's claims?
- o Are there omitted factors/variables that might be able to explain the outcome of interest?
- o Does the author address alternate explanations where relevant?
- o Are there broader questions/issues/implications that are not addressed?
- o In several weeks, readings offer differing viewpoints on particular themes. In such cases, you may choose to evaluate which argument(s) you find most convincing;
- o It is useful to think about and highlight any links or debates with other readings/issues/themes that have been covered in earlier weeks.

**Research Paper (10% for proposal and 30% for final paper = 40%):**

Students also have to write a longer final research paper. Undergraduate students have to write 9-12 pages, and graduate students have to write 18-24 pages. The paper must be double spaced, font 12, Times New Roman, with 1 inch margins on all sides. The topic is of your own choice and should be based on one or more themes covered in the course, and you should meet me to discuss the topic.

*Due dates:*

- o You will first write a research proposal of 2 pages, along with a short bibliography, which will be due on **March 17**. All students should discuss their paper topic with me as they start working on the paper. This is worth 10%. You can change research question a little after this, but you should choose your cases, or datasets by this time.
- o **A soft copy of the final paper is due on March 31st, by blackboard, using the Turnitin**

option, and a hard copy to me at the start of the last class.

There are several ways to write a good research paper, and I will discuss some strategies in class, and give some handouts on how to write a good research paper. You need to use empirical evidence for one or more cases of civil wars, where you exploit variation between these cases, or variation over time in one case. You can use secondary literature and journalistic data on one or more civil war cases, and apply a particular theoretical debate to that case to test which of these arguments best explain your case or set of cases.

You can also choose to use quantitative analysis of cross national or sub national datasets. The course will cover several articles which use datasets, and these should be available at the publication web sites. One strategy to write a successful quantitative analysis is to replicate the quantitative analysis of a study and then try and introduce a new wrinkle, by showing some new empirical analysis. This is called a replication and extension strategy. If you want to do this, you can come and talk to me.

The expectation from undergraduate students is to apply a theory or generate a new theoretical puzzle to one or more cases. The expectation from graduate students is higher, and the level of sophistication in theoretical argument, and the use of comparative analysis in research design to ensure valid causal inference needs to be at a higher level. Graduate students can also choose to develop something like a dissertation prospectus, where a literature is reviewed, a new research question is identified, and then a research design is developed to try and answer such a puzzle. This option may be useful to you if you are interested in doing a dissertation on political violence/ civil wars and are at the stage before field work.

Below are some approaches that could be helpful in choosing a research topic for the long paper:

- You can extend a research question covered in one more readings to a new set of cases, or a new case which is important for that research question but has not been studied well.
- You can try to look at some research puzzle which has not been answered in the literature, develop a new explanation and then you have to use empirical information and data to support your theoretical point.
- You can engage in some theoretical debate which remains unresolved and take one side. Use one or more cases to evaluate the theories in that debate. You can use quantitative analysis too.
- You can write a policy paper on one of the themes covered in the course. While you will take from the theoretical points of the papers in the course, you can then analyze the case and develop policy implications and solutions for your case or cases.

### **Course policies and procedures:**

#### ***Contacting the instructor:***

Please drop by my office at SSH during office hours (listed at top of syllabus). Office hours are a good time to discuss readings, clarify any points you did not understand during lecture, and also discuss research paper topics. It is better to come early rather than let something you do not understand persist, since the course will gradually build on concepts and it is important to follow the theoretical debates in the initial part of the course, to follow debates in the latter part of the course. If you cannot make the regular office hours, please email me to set up an alternative time.

I should respond quickly to emails, but do allow for 48 hours for me to respond, and if you do not get an email back, then send a reminder email.

**Procedures to hand in papers:**

**Submit hard copies:** Hard copies of papers should be handed in to me *at the start of lecture* on the due dates indicated above. Emailed papers will not be accepted unless you have my prior approval, for special cases that are justified.

**Submit through Turnitin:** In addition, it is encouraged that you also turn in each of our research papers through turnitin.com. To learn about how to submit your work to turnitin, see the following site.

<http://www.teaching.utoronto.ca/teaching/academicintegrity/turnitin/guide-students.htm>

Read the following from Turnitin's terms of use carefully, and then decide whether you do not want to use turnitin.com:

*"Normally, students will be required to submit written assignments to Turnitin.com for a review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. In doing so, students will allow their assignments 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"* (www.Turnitin.com).

If you have an objection to the use of Turnitin for the submission of your work, please make an appointment to speak personally with me to discuss alternative arrangements, which will usually require you to hand in all your rough drafts and notes made while preparing the research paper. A guide for students is available from the University of Toronto's Office of Teaching Advancement, at: <http://www.utoronto.ca/ota/turnitin/TurnitinGuideForStudents.pdf>

**Procedures to hand in late papers:** Hard copies of late papers must be turned in to the Political Science department office during regular business hours. Students should make sure that late submissions are signed and dated by departmental staff. Please do not leave papers under/outside my office door. Only hard copies of late papers will be accepted. Emailed or faxed papers will not be accepted unless you have my prior approval.

**Late penalty:** Papers handed in any time after the start of lecture on the due date will be treated as late. There will be a penalty of 5 points out of 100 per late day (including weekends and holidays), i.e. if your paper would have received 90 out of 100, it will now receive an 85 if it is one day late. The cut off time for the determination of each late day is 5pm.

**Rough drafts and hard copies of papers, and graded work:** Students are strongly advised to keep rough/ draft work and hard copies of their essays and assignments before handing it in. These should be kept until marked assignments have been returned and the grades posted on ROSI. You should also keep electronic version of your essays on your hard disk, as well as backed up copies on external hard drives, or sky drives, so that you do not lose your course materials and work. This will be important in case your handed in essay gets lost.

**Extensions for papers:** Extensions will only be granted in extenuating circumstances and with appropriate supporting documentation. If you have medical reasons for not meeting the paper deadline, an acceptable doctor's note on the official U of T Medical Note form must be submitted to me within one week of the late assignment. Extensions are at my discretion and please do not assume that you will be granted one. Assignments in other courses are not grounds for an extension. If you think you have a valid reason to request an extension and know ahead of time, please email me as soon as possible.

**Appealing grades:** If you have concerns about your grades, please email me a detailed written statement explaining why you believe your grade is unjustified, within one week from the date you received your grade, along with your paper. Once an appeal is submitted, I will examine the paper again. *Please note that your grade may go down, go up or remain unchanged after this process.*

**Accessibility:** The University of Toronto is committed to accessibility. If you require accommodations or have accessibility concerns, please contact Accessibility Services as soon as possible at <http://www.accessibility.utoronto.ca/>

**Plagiarism and Academic Dishonesty:**

While you are encouraged to look online, and to consult other authors and sources on these topics, you should always cite any articles, books or authors from which you use data or ideas. Without such intellectual honesty, the enterprise of research is compromised. This is one of the most serious crimes in academia, so you should make sure you understand what to avoid, and don't do it, because it is not worth the minor advantage of getting a slightly better grade. The university takes plagiarism very seriously, and this can lead to punishment ranging from getting a 0 in the course, to expulsion from the university.

If you are ever in doubt, ask me about whether something is plagiarism. Just as a basic thumb rule, to avoid plagiarism, you must give citations when using other people's ideas, even if you are paraphrasing them in your own words. If you are using other people's words verbatim, you must put quotes around them, and then cite the source as a footnote or endnote. Basically, you have to make sure that you acknowledge any ideas or thoughts or words from others, and this may be formal ideas taken from other people's articles or books, or even informal ideas developed when having conversations with others. You should especially remember that material taken from the web must be quoted and cited in the same manner as if it came from a book or printed article, and the date when you downloaded the materials from the web site should also be mentioned.

See last page if this syllabus for more information on how to avoid plagiarism.

## **Readings:**

The reading requirement for this course is around 3-4 articles/ chapters each week. I have tried to keep the main canonical readings in the required section, and the other readings in the recommended section, which you can use if you want to write a review paper on that week's readings. You are responsible for the required readings, not the recommended readings. I may modify some of the readings as we go along.

The readings are drawn from various books and articles written by scholars of civil wars. All required readings will be available either as an electronic link, or as a scanned copy online at the course web site on Blackboard. While several articles make use of econometric analysis, you only need to understand the theory and argument in these articles. I do not require you to understand the technical aspects of the regression analyses.

One book that may be useful to understand different cases of civil war is Sambanis and Collier. I will order them at the University bookstore. You can buy them for your future reference, but it is not necessary:

- Sambanis and Collier (ed.). 2005. *Understanding Civil War: Evidence and Analysis*. Volumes 1 (Africa) and Volume 2 (Europe, Central Asia, and other regions).

## **Reading List:**

### **Week 1 (January 6): Introduction and Course Overview**

Discuss syllabus, assignments.

### **Week 2 (January 13): class cancelled, make up class later**

### **Week 3 (January 20): The origins of civil war: What is civil war? (P: Michael Stenbring)**

- Sambanis, Nicholas. "What Is Civil War? Conceptual and Empirical Complexities of an Operational Definition." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48, no. 6 (December 2004): 814-858.
- Kalyvas, Stathis N. 2003. "New' and 'Old' Civil Wars: A Valid Distinction?" *World Politics* 54, no.1: 99-118.
- Sambanis, Nicholas. 2004. "Using Case Studies to Expand Economic Models of Civil War". *Perspectives on Politics*. 2: 259-279.

#### *Recommended:*

- Blattman, Christopher, and Edward Miguel. "Civil War." *Journal of Economic Literature* 48, no. 1 (3, 2010): 3-57.
- Stathis Kalyvas, "The Ontology of Political Violence: Action and Identity in Civil Wars," *Perspectives on Politics* 1 (2003):475-494.
- Sambanis, Nicholas and Havard Hegre 2006. "Sensitivity Analysis of Empirical Results on Civil War Onset." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 50, No. 4, 508-535. (Note: skip the technical details, and focus on the results and implications for the literature).
- Goodwin and Skocpol. 1989. "Explaining Revolutions in the Contemporary Third World". *Politics and Society*. 17(4): p. 495

**Week 4 (January 27): The Rebel's Dilemma: Overcoming Collective Action Problems (P: Eric Cardona-Gomez)**

- Lichbach, Mark I. "What makes Rational Peasants Revolutionary? Dilemma, Paradox, and Irony in Peasant Collective Action." *World Politics*, 46, 3 (April 1994): 383-418.
- Wood, Elisabeth Jean. *Insurgent Collective Action and the Civil War in El Salvador*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003. Chapter 1.
- Toft, Monica, 2006. 'Issue Indivisibility and Time Horizons as Rationalist Explanations for War', *Security Studies* 15(1): 34-69.
- Kalyvas, Stathis N. and Matthew Adam Kocher. "How "Free" Is Free Riding in Civil Wars? Violence, Insurgency, and the Collective Action Problem." *World Politics* January 2007 59 (2): 177-216.

*Recommended readings:*

- Theda Skocpol, 1982. "Review: What makes peasants revolutionary?" *Comparative Politics* Vol. 14. No. 3.
- Mark Lichbach, *The Rebel's Dilemma*. University of Michigan Press, 1998.
- Timothy Wickham-Crowley, 1991. *Exploring Revolutions. Essays on Latin American Insurgency and Revolutionary Theory*. M. E. Sharpe. Chapter 6: "What makes peasants insurrectionary?"
- Hassner, Ron. "To Halve and to Hold: Conflicts over Sacred Space and the Problem of Indivisibility," *Security Studies*, Vol. 12, No.4 (Summer 2003), pp.1-33.
- Petersen, Roger. *Resistance and Rebellion: Lessons from Eastern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), Chapters 1 and 6.

**Week 5 (February 3): Rebel Motivation 1 – State capacity and 'Opportunity' for rebellion (P: Fikir Haile, Abyluxmi Kulasegaram)**

- Fearon, James and David D. Laitin. 2003. "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War." *APSR* 97, 1:75-90
  - Hendrix, Cullen S. "Measuring state capacity: Theoretical and empirical implications for the study of civil conflict." *Journal of Peace Research* 47, no. 3 (May 1, 2010): 273 -285.
  - Herbst, Jeffrey Ira (2000). *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), Chp. 1 "The Challenge of State-Building in Africa," pp. 11-31, and Chapter 5
- OR, Herbst, Jeffrey. 2004. "African Militaries and Rebellion: The Political Economy of Threat and Effectiveness" *Journal of Peace Research* 41 (3): 357-369.

*Recommended readings:*

- Goodwin, Jeff. 2001. *No Other Way Out. States and Revolutionary Movements, 1945-1991*. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1.
- Callahan, Mary. 2003. *Making Enemies: War and State Building in Burma*. Ithaca, N.Y. ; London : Cornell University Press, 2003.
- Slater, Dan. *Ordering Power: Contentious Politics and Authoritarian Leviathans in Southeast Asia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Kocher, Matt. "State Capacity as a Conceptual Variable," *Yale Journal of International Affairs* (Spring/Summer 2010), pp. 137-145.
- Soifer, Hillel, and Matthias vom Hau. 2008. "Unpacking the *Strength* of the State: The

- Utility of State Infrastructural power”. *Studies in Comparative International Development*.
- David Sobek, “Masters of their domains: The role of state capacity in civil wars.” *Journal of Peace Research* 47 (3): 267-71.
  - Migdal, Joel. 1988. *Strong Societies and Weak States: State-Society Relations and State Capability in the Third World*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
  - Boone, Catherine. (2003). *Political Topographies of the African State: Territorial Authority and Institutional Choice*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
  - Scott, James. 2009. *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia*. New Haven : Yale University Press, 2009.

**Week 6 (February 10): Rebel Motivation 2 – ‘Greed’ and Natural Resources (P: Andrew Wells)**

*‘Greed’ and ‘loot’:*

- Collier, Paul, and Anke Hoeffler. “Greed and Grievance in Civil War.” *Oxford Economic Papers* 56, no. 4 (October 2004): 563-595.

*Natural resources:*

- Ross, Michael L. “How Do Natural Resources Influence Civil War? Evidence from Thirteen Cases.” *International Organization* 58, no. 1 (2004): 35-67.

*Political economy:*

- Charles King, “The Benefits of Ethnic War: Understanding Eurasia’s Unrecognized States,” *World Politics*, Vol. 54, No. 2, July 2001, pp. 524-552.

*Recommended readings:*

- Reno, William. *Warlord Politics and African States*. Boulder, Colorado: Lynner Rienner Publishers. 1998. Chapter 1.
- Humphreys, Macartan (2005) “Natural resources, conflict, and conflict resolution: Uncovering the mechanisms.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 49(4): 508–537.
- Fearon, James D. “Primary Commodity Exports and Civil War.” *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49, no. 4 (August 2005): 483-507. (response to Collier and Hoeffler)
- Cameron Thies, “Of Rulers, rebels, and revenue: State capacity, civil war onset, and primary commodities.” *Journal of Peace Research* 47, no. 3 (May 1, 2010): 321-332.
- Ross, Michael. “What Do We Know About Natural Resources and Civil War?” *Journal of Peace Research* 3, 2004.
- Berdal, Mats and David M. Malone, eds., *Greed and Grievance: Economic Agendas in Civil Wars* (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, 2000).
- Boix, Carles. “Economic Roots of Civil Wars and Revolutions in the Contemporary World.” *World Politics* 60, no. 3 (2008): 390-437.

**Week 7 (February 24): Rebel Motivation 3 – ‘Grievance’—Ethnicity (P: Maria Kutuzova, Ramla Ismail)**

*Ethnic identity and rebellion:*

- Fearon, James D., and David D. Latin. “Review: Violence and the Social Construction of Ethnic Identity.” *International Organization* 54, no. 4 (Autumn 2000): 845-877.
- Sambanis, Nicholas (2001). “Do ethnic and nonethnic civil wars have the same causes? A

theoretical and empirical inquiry (Part 1)". *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 45(3): 259–282.

- Cederman, Lars-Erik, Andreas Wimmer, and Brian Min. "Why Do Ethnic Groups Rebel? New Data and Analysis." *World Politics* 62, no. 1 (2010): 87-119.

*Beyond greed and grievance:*

- Collier, Paul, Anke Hoeffler, and Dominic Rohner. "Beyond greed and grievance: feasibility and civil war." *Oxford Economic Papers* 61, no. 1. Oxford Economic Papers (2009): 1-27.

*Recommended readings:*

- Cederman, Lars-Erik, and Luc Girardin. "Beyond Fractionalization: Mapping Ethnicity Onto Nationalist Insurgencies." *American Political Science Review* 101, no. 01 (2007): 173-185.
- James D. Fearon, Kimuli Kasara, and David Laitin. 2007. "Ethnic Minority Rule and Civil War Onset." *American Political Science Review* 101(1):187-193.
- Petersen, Roger. *Understanding Ethnic Violence: Fear, Hatred, and Resentment in Twentieth-Century Eastern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Chandra, Kanchan and Steven Wilkinson. 2008. "Measuring the Effect of 'Ethnicity'". *Comparative Political Studies*. 2008. 41, 515.
- Horowitz. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Chapter 5.

**Week 7.5 (February 28 - Friday), Week 2 make up class: Ethnic, Sons of the Soil and Ideological / Center Seeking Insurgencies (P: Betty Chan,)**

- Horowitz, Donald. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Chapter 6: "The logic of Secessions and Irredentas"
- Fearon, James and David Laitin. 2011. "Sons of the Soil, Migrants, and Civil War". *World Development* 39, 2: 199-211
- Jones, Seth G. "The Rise of Afghanistan's Insurgency: State Failure and Jihad." *International Security* 32, no. 4 (2008): 7 - 40.

*Recommended readings for secessionist insurgencies:*

- Pierre Englebort and Rebecca Hummel. 2005. "Let's Stick Together: Understanding Africa's Secessionist Deficit." *African Affairs* 104(416):399-427.
- Barbara Walter. 2006. "Building Reputation: Why Governments Fight Some Separatists but Not Others." *American Journal of Political Science* 50(2):313-330.
- Dawn Brancati. 2006. "Decentralization: Fueling the Fire or Dampening the Flames of Ethnic Conflict and Secessionism?" *International Organization* 60(3):651-685.
- Halvard Buhaug. 2006. "Relative Capability and Rebel Objectives in Civil War." *Journal of Peace Research* 43(6):691-708.
- Barbara Walter. 2006. "Information, Uncertainty, and the Decision to Secede." *International Organization* 60(1):105-135.
- Erin Jenne, Stephen Saideman, and Will Lowe. 2007. "Separatism as a Bargaining Posture." *Journal of Peace Research* 44(5):539-558.

*Recommended readings for ideological insurgencies:*

- Balcells, Laia and Stathis Kalyvas. “Did Marxism Make a Difference? Marxist Rebellions and National Liberation Movements”, Paper prepared for the Annual Meeting of APSA, Washington, D.C., September 2-5, 2010.
- Restrepo, Jorge, Spagat, Michael, and Juan F. Vargas. 2004. “The Dynamics of the Colombian Civil Conflict: A New Data Set.” *Homo Oeconomicus*, 21(2): 396-428.
- Joshi, Madhav and T. David Mason. 2010. “Land Tenure, Democracy, and Patterns of Violence during the Maoist Insurgency in Nepal, 1996-2005”. *Social Science Quarterly*, 91 , 4, December 2010, p. 984.

*Recommended for sons of the soil:*

- Weiner, M. (1978). *Sons of the Soil*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. **Chapter TBA**
- Fearon, James, 2004. ‘Why Do Some Civil Wars Last So Much Longer than Others?’, *Journal of Peace Research* 41(3): 275-301.
- Mukherjee, Shivaji. “Why are the Longest Insurgencies Low Violence? Politician Motivations, Sons of the Soil and Civil War Duration.” Forthcoming in *Civil Wars*.
- Forsberg, Erika. 2010. “Sons of the Soil and Local Insurgencies: Assessing the Impact of Migration on Civil Conflicts in Northeast India Using UCDP Geo-Coded Events Data”. *Paper prepared for presentation at the SGIR 7th Pan-European International Relations Conference in Stockholm, 9-11 September 2010*.
- Bhavnani and Lacina. 2010. “The Effects of Exogenous Shocks to Migration on Violence in India”. Paper presented at the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, September 2-5, 2010.
- Bøås, Morten. (2009) ““New” Nationalism and Autochthony: Tales of Origin as Political Cleavage”, *Africa Spectrum* 44 (1): 19-38.
- Chalk, Peter. 2008. “The Malay-Muslim Insurgency in Southern Thailand”, RAND Counterinsurgency Study, Paper 5.
- Che Man, W. K. (1990). *Muslim separatism: The Moros of Southern Philippines and the Malays of Southern Thailand*. Singapore: Oxford University Press.
- Ceuppens, Bambi and Peter Geschiere. (2005). “ Autochthony: Local or Global? New Modes in the Struggle over Citizenship and Belonging in Africa and Europe”, *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 34: 385-407.
- Forbes, Andrew. 1982. “Thailand’s Muslim Minorities: Assimilation, Secession, or Coexistence?” *Asian Survey*, Vol. 22, No. 11 (Nov., 1982), pp. 1056-1073.
- Marshall-Fratani, Ruth. 2006. “The War of “Who Is Who”: Autochthony, Nationalism, and Citizenship in the Ivoirian Crisis”. *African Studies Review*, 49 (2): 9-43. September.

**Week 8 (March 3): Rebel Organization (P: Tara Hamm, Brian Kalakula, Soheil Baouji)**

*Rebel Organization and Fragmentation:*

- Weinstein, Jeremy. *Inside Rebellion*. Chapter 1 & 3.
- Paul Staniland, “Organizing Insurgency: Networks, Resources, and Rebellion in South Asia”, *International Security*, 37 (1), pp. 142-177.

*Recommended readings:*

- Reno, William. “Patronage Politics and the Behavior of Armed Groups.” *Civil Wars* 9, no. 4 (December 2007): 324-342.

- Staniland, Paul. *Networks of Rebellion: Explaining Insurgent Cohesion and Collapse*, book manuscript (2011), Chapters 1 and 2.
- Scott, James C. "Revolution in the Revolution: Peasants and Commissars." *Theory and Society* 7, no. 1/2 (March 1979): 97-134.
- Kenny, Paul D. "Structural Integrity and Cohesion in Insurgent Organizations: Evidence from Protracted Conflicts in Ireland and Burma." *International Studies Review* 12, no. 4 (December 2010): 533-555.

### **Week 9 (March 10): Patterns of Violence (P: Sarah Burton, Vivian Wong)**

#### *Patterns of violence*

- Kalyvas, Stathis. *Logic of Violence*. Chapters 6, and Chapter 9 (pages 246-298).
- Humphreys, Macartan and Jeremy Weinstein 2006. "Handling and Manhandling Civilians in Civil War". *APSR* 100 (3): 429-447.
- Cohen, Dara Kay. August 2013. "Explaining Rape During Civil War: Cross-National Evidence (1980-2009), *APSR* 107 (3): 461-477.

#### *Recommended readings:*

- Cohen, Dara Kay. July 2013. "Female Combatants and the Perpetration of Violence: Wartime Rape in the Sierra Leone Civil War". *World Politics*. 65 (3): 383-415.
- Balcells, Laia. 2010. "Rivalry and Revenge. Violence against Civilians in Conventional Civil Wars." *International Studies Quarterly* 54:2.
- Claire Metelits. *Inside Insurgencies. Violence, Civilians, and Revolutionary Group Behavior*. New York: New York University Press, 2010. Chapter TBA.

### **Week 10 (March 17): Counter Insurgency and Negotiations to End Civil Wars (P: Emily Johnson, Troy Facey)**

#### *Counter insurgency*

- Mack, Andrew. "Why Big Nations Lose Small Wars: The Politics of Asymmetric Conflict." *World Politics* 27, no. 2 (January 1975): 175-200.
- Lyall, Jason, and Isaiah Wilson III. "Rage against the Machines: Explaining Outcomes in Counterinsurgency Wars." *International Organization* 63, no. 1 (Winter 2009): 67-106.
- Staniland, Paul. 2012. 'States, Insurgents, and Wartime Political Orders', *Perspectives on Politics*, June 2012, 10 (2): 243-264.

#### *Negotiations and Partition:*

- Walter, Barbara F. "The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement." *International Organization* 651, no. 3 (Summer 1997): 335-364.
- Sambanis, Nicholas. "Partition as a Solution to Ethnic War: An Empirical Critique of the Theoretical Literature." *World Politics* 52, no. 4 (July 2000): 437-483.
- Caroline Hartzell and Matthew Hoddie. 2003. "Institutionalizing Peace: Power Sharing and Post-Civil War Conflict Management." *American Journal of Political Science* 47(2):318-332.

#### *Recommended readings:*

- Lyall, Jason. “Do Democracies Make Inferior Counterinsurgents? Reassessing Democracy's Impact on War Outcomes and Duration.” *International Organization* 64, no. 01 (2010): 167-192.
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- Eli Berman, Jacob Shapiro, and Joseph Felter, “Can Hearts and Minds Be Bought? The Economics of Counterinsurgency in Iraq”, *Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. 119, No. 4 (August 2011), pp. 766-819.
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- Kaufmann, Chaim. “Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars.” *International Security* 20, no. 4 (Spring 1996): 136-175.

*Some South Asian cases:*

- Butt, Ahsan. “Goodbye or See You Later? Why States Fight Some Secessionists but not Others”, Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Chicago, August 2012.
- Horowitz, Shale, and Deepti Sharma. 2008. “Democracies Fighting Ethnic Insurgencies: Evidence from India.” *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*. 31, 8:749–73.
- Lacina, Bethany. “Does Counterinsurgency Theory Apply to Northeast India?” *India Review*, July-Sept 2007: 165-183.

**Week 11 (March 24): Paramilitaries and vigilante groups (P: Sheila Caba)**

- Sabine Carey, Michael Colaresi and Neil Mitchell. 2012. “[Why Do Governments Use Militias?](#)” Paper presented at the Conference on Militias, Yale, October 2012.
- Ariel Ahram, *Proxy Warriors: The Rise and Fall of State Sponsored Militias*. Stanford University Press, 2011.
- Gina Bateson, “The Resurgence of Guatemala’s Civil Patrols”. Unpublished manuscript.

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- Livia I. Schubiger, “Dynamics of Resistance: Civil War Violence and Counterinsurgent Mobilization in Peru”, University of Zurich. Unpublished manuscript.
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- Paul Staniland, “Governing Coercion: States and Violence in Asia”, Paper prepared for presentation at 2012 APSA Annual Conference.
- Nandini Sundar, “Bastar, Maoism and Salwa Judum”, *Economic and Political Weekly*, July 22, 2006, pp. 3187-92.
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**Week 12 (March 31): Colonial Legacies of state formation and civil conflict (P: Will Pollitt, Joon Lee)**

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- Naseemullah, Adnan. 2011. "Violent Shades of Sovereignty: Variable State-Building and

Insurgency in South Asia." Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Seattle, WA.

- Acemoglu, Daron, Isaias Chaves, Philip Osafo-Kwaako, James Robinson. 2013. "Indirect Rule and State Weakness in Africa: Sierra Leone in Comparative Perspective". [http://scholar.harvard.edu/files/jrobinson/files/indirect\\_rule\\_nber\\_4.pdf](http://scholar.harvard.edu/files/jrobinson/files/indirect_rule_nber_4.pdf)
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- Lange, Matthew and Andrew Dawson. 2009. "Dividing and Ruling the World? A Statistical Test of the Effects of Colonialism on Postcolonial Civil Violence." *Social Forces* 88 (2): 785–818.
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- Lawrence, Adria. "Triggering Nationalist Violence: Competition and Conflict in Uprisings against Colonial Rule", *International Security*, International Security, Vol. 35, No. 2 (Fall 2010), pp. 88–122.
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## **A WARNING ABOUT PLAGIARISM**

### **Plagiarism is an academic offence with a severe penalty.**

It is essential that you understand what plagiarism is and that you do not commit it. In essence, it is the theft of the thoughts or words of others, without giving proper credit. You must put others' words in quotation marks and cite your source(s). You must give citations when using others' ideas, even if those ideas are paraphrased in your own words. Plagiarism is unacceptable in a university.

The University of Toronto provides a process that faculty members must initiate when they suspect a case of plagiarism. In the Department of Political Science, suspected evidence of plagiarism must be reported to the Chair; in most cases, the Chair passes the case on to the Dean. A faculty member may not mark an assignment or assess a penalty if he or she finds evidence of plagiarism – the matter must be reported. Penalties are assigned by the Chair, by the Dean or by the University of Toronto Tribunal.

The following are some examples of plagiarism:

1. Submitting as your own an assignment written by someone else.
2. Quoting an author without indicating the source of the words.
3. Using words, sentences, or paragraphs written by someone else and failing to place quotation marks around the material and reference the source and author. **Using either quotation marks or reference alone is not sufficient. Both must be used!**
4. Adapting an author's ideas or theme and using it as your own without referencing the original source.
5. Seeking assistance from a friend or family member in respect to work you claim as your own.

Ignorance of the rules against plagiarism is not a defence; students are presumed to know what plagiarism is and how to avoid it. Students are especially reminded that material taken from the web **must** be quoted and cited in the same manner as if it came from a book or printed article. If you are not sure whether you have committed plagiarism, it is better to ask a faculty member or teaching assistant than risk discovery and be forced to accept an academic penalty. Plagiarism is **cheating**. It is considered a **serious offence** against intellectual honesty and intellectual property. Penalties can be **severe**, ranging from a mark of "0" for the assignment or test in question, **up to and including expulsion from the university**.

### **Some website listed below on avoiding plagiarism:**

'How to Use Sources and Avoid Plagiarism' - available at:

<http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources/how-not-to-plagiarize>

Other Advisory Material available at: <http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/home>