

**University of Toronto
Department of Political Science**

**POL 441H1S/ 2411H1S Topics in Asian Politics
Rebellion and Insurgency: Cases from South Asia
Winter 2020**

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Class Time and Location:	Monday 4-6 pm; SSH 2120
Office Hours and Location:	Monday 2.45 – 3.45 pm; SSH 3120

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.

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. The first part of the course focuses on generalizable theory for causes, and various dynamics of civil wars. The second part of the course focuses on cases from South Asia, in particular India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Nepal. The goal of the course is to understand the general theoretical debates on causes and consequences of civil war/ insurgency, and then apply it to particular cases of insurgency and civil war in the South Asian region. South Asia is an interesting region to study insurgencies, because there are a lot of them, but they have not been studied much by scholars of insurgency.

Course pre-requisites: 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. This is a new course, and the pre-requisites probably require you to have done the *POL 208/ 218: Intro to IR / Intro to Comparative politics* course. However, having done the *POL 242: Methods* course in political science, or courses at the 300 level in comparative politics/ IR, like *POL 304: Politics of South Asia*, would be helpful! A lot of the materials is actual research articles or chapters from books, and requires a high degree of conceptual awareness and some methodological awareness, without which it will be difficult to discuss the materials. *I think the course is only for POL specialists, and so you should have done a Methods course by now. In case you have not done the methods course, and/ or are not a POL specialist, then you need to talk to me and get permission before doing this course.*

Course Requirements and Marking Scheme:

Class participation (35%): This course is a seminar. There will be no lectures, though I may present from time to time. 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. *I have intentionally increased the weight of this to 40%, because sometimes some students do not participate, and that harms these students' overall performance in the course, and also affects classroom dynamics.*

Learning objective: Discussing materials in an academic environment, and engaging with other students, is a crucial skill which will help you later whether you become a lawyer, doctor, do an MBA. Also it is important to analyse the readings, so I expect you to be able to come prepared and discuss the readings. If you have any problems with discussing in class, we can always discuss in office hours and come up with alternative ways of evaluating your preparation for the classes, but otherwise you are expected to participate and help us learn from each other!

Presentation (15%): Besides regular class participation, students will have to do short 10-12 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. I prefer that presentations are by Power Point, but if you really are against using power point, you can use any other method.

Learning objective: It is aimed at giving you practice in presenting work in front of an audience, which is a crucial skill to learn in most disciplines. Do let me know if you need help preparing the presentation, and we can work in office hours.

Short memo on movies/ documentary (10 %): There is one documentary on a rebel movement, and I will try to add another one, which we will watch. You should write a short 500 word memo analyzing the themes and connecting it to theories we learn in the course, within one week of watching the documentary/ movie. More details will be provided in Assignment on Quercus.

Research Paper (10% for proposal and 30% for final paper = 40%): 4000 words

Students also have to write a longer final research paper. 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. The goal is to apply some of the theories on insurgency, to one or more cases in South Asia.

Due dates:

- ***Research proposal:*** You will first write a research proposal of 1 single spaced page (500 words), along with a short bibliography, which will be due on **March 9**. All students should

discuss their paper topic with me as they start working on the paper. The idea is to suggest a specific question applied to one or more cases you are interested in. This is worth 10%. You can change research question a little after this, but you should choose your cases, or datasets by this time.

- A soft copy of the final paper is due on **April 6**, by quercus, using the Turnitin option. If you are not using Turnitin, then give your notes or rough drafts etc. to me.

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. *I will try to devote half a class on how to write different sections of the 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.

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

- You can apply an existing theory to one or more cases, and see if the theory works to explain that particular case/s. This is similar to what Sambanis suggests in his article on applying case studies to understand quantitative models better in civil wars.
- 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.

Learning objectives: Learning how to do research and write a paper is a crucial skill you learn that is useful for various other social science courses in undergraduate and graduate school. It also makes you learn how to evaluate evidence, and how to rule out alternate theories and explanations, and then figure out which of many possible explanations is the correct one. You will learn various types of methods, both qualitative and quantitative in this course, which you can then use to write research papers or policy memos in other courses, or in your career in the future.

Course policies and procedures:

Contacting the instructor:

Please drop by my office hours 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 on quercus through Turnitin: Submit your papers on quercus in the assignments section. You could submit your paper 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, then you should hand in all your rough drafts and notes made while preparing the research paper, and try to make sure you do not commit plagiarism by mistake by checking many times. 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: If you are late in submitting your paper, you should submit it on quercus, but it will show the date and time it was submitted.

Late penalty: Papers submitted late after the due date and time on Quercus 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.

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.*

Notice of Collection

The University of Toronto respects your privacy. The information on medical certificates is collected pursuant to section 2(14) of the University of Toronto Act, 1971. It is collected for the purpose of administering accommodations for academic purposes based on medical grounds. The department will maintain a record of all medical certificates received. At all times it will be protected in accordance with the Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act.

If you have questions, please refer to www.utoronto.ca/privacy or contact the University's Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Office at 416-946-5835. Address: Room 201, McMurrich Bldg., 12 Queen's Park Crescent, Toronto, ON, M5S 1A1.

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 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 Quercus. 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 reserve it in the library:

- 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:

I) Part 1: Theories of civil wars and insurgency

Week 1 (January 6): Introduction and Course Overview

Discuss syllabus, assignments.

Week 2 (January 13): Documentary on Maoist insurgency in India

- Movie documentary, *Red Ant Dream* by Sanjay Kak.
 - <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cVvThDX4bbQ> – part 1
 - https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6aYFz_coazM – part 2
 - <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iD-eeh-pXwA> – part 3
 - <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L1TFFkUz88c> – part 4
 - <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=svKvhtOYdSE> – part 5
 - https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5thM-nX_oE – part 6

Week 3 (January 20): The origins of civil war: What is civil war?

- 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

Presenters:

- 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.
- 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.
 - 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. (*just skim this reading, do not have to read in detail*)

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.
- Toft, Monica, 2006. '[Issue Indivisibility and Time Horizons as Rationalist Explanations for War](#)', *Security Studies* 15(1): 34-69.
- Timothy Wickham-Crowley, 1991. *Exploring Revolutions. Essays on Latin American Insurgency and Revolutionary Theory*. M. E. Sharpe. Chapter 6: "What makes peasants insurrectionary?"
- 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

Presenters:

- [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. (skim this for criticisms of the measure of state capacity in Fearon-Laitin)

- 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

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.
- <http://heinonline.org.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/HOL/Page?handle=hein.journals/yaljoina5&div=40&collection=journa>
- 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’ vs. ‘Grievances’

Presenters:

Greed, and vested interests:

- Collier, Paul, and Anke Hoeffler. “[Greed and Grievance in Civil War.](#)” *Oxford Economic Papers* 56, no. 4 (October 2004): 563-595.
- Charles King, “[The Benefits of Ethnic War: Understanding Eurasia’s Unrecognized States.](#)” *World Politics*, Vol. 53, No. 4, July 2001, pp. 524-552.

Ethnic and class based grievances:

- 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.
- Do, Quy-Toan and Lakshmi Iyer. 2009. “[Geography, Poverty and Conflict in Nepal](#)”. *Journal of Peace Research.* 47(6) 735–748. (shows how poverty measured at the sub national level does correlate with insurgency) --- **do not have to read in detail, quickly skim this**
 - This article gives the idea that maybe ethnic or class grievances cannot be measured well using cross national country level data. We need to use sub national data within a

country.

Recommended readings for greed/ natural resources:

- 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.
- Ross, Michael. “[What Do We Know About Natural Resources and Civil War?](#)” *Journal of Peace Research* 3, 2004.
- Ross, Michael L. “[How Do Natural Resources Influence Civil War? Evidence from Thirteen Cases.](#)” *International Organization* 58, no. 1 (2004): 35-67.
- 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.
- 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.

Recommended readings for ethnicity and grievances:

- Ted Robert Gurr, “[Psychological Factors in Civil Violence.](#)” *World Politics* 20, no. 2 (January 1968): 245-278.
 - Or, Gurr’s classic, *Why Men Rebel*, which discussed relative deprivation
- 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.
- Horowitz, Donald. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Chapter 6: ‘The logic of Secessions and Irredentas’
- 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.

Beyond greed and grievance: (only skim, this is an attempt by Collier et al. to deal with the criticisms of those who support the idea that grievances do matter)

- 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.

Feb 17-21: Reading Week, no classes

Week 7 (February 24): Rebel Organization and cohesion

Presenters:

Rebel Organization and Fragmentation:

- Weinstein, Jeremy. *Inside Rebellion*. Chapter 1 & 3.
- Kristin Bakke, Kathleen Cunningham, Lee Seymour, “[A Plague of Initials: Fragmentation, Cohesion and Infighting in Civil Wars](#)”, *Perspectives on Politics* June 2012, Vol. 10. No. 2.
- Reno, William. “[Patronage Politics and the Behavior of Armed Groups](#).” *Civil Wars* 9, no. 4 (December 2007): 324-342.

Recommended readings:

- 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 8 (March 2): Patterns of Violence during insurgency

Presenters:

Patterns of violence

- Kalyvas, Stathis. *Logic of Violence*. Chapter 7 (Theory of selective violence); Optional: Chapters 6, and Chapter 9 (for empirics)
- 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 9 (March 9): Research proposal due date

Week 9 (March 9): Colonial Legacies of state formation and civil conflict

Presenters:

- Blanton, Robert, T. David Mason and Brian Athow (2001). “[Colonial Style and Post-Colonial Ethnic Conflict in Africa](#)”, *Journal of Peace Research*. 38 (4): 473-491.
- Adnan Naseemullah, “[Shades of Sovereignty: Explaining Political Order and Disorder in Pakistan’s Northwest](#)”, *Studies in Comparative International Development*, December 2014,

Volume 49, Issue 4, pp 501-522

- Shivaji Mukherjee, , “[Colonial Origins of Maoist Insurgency in India: Historical Legacies of British Indirect Rule](#)”, *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 62 (10): 2232-2274, at <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/0022002717727818>

Recommended

- Mamdani, Mahmood. (2001). *When Victims Become Killers*. Princeton University Press. Introduction and Chapter 1.
- Besley, Timothy and Marta Reynal-Querol. 2014. “[The Legacy of Historical Conflict: Evidence from Africa](#)”, *American Political Science Review* 108 (2): 319-336.
- Djankov, Simeon and Marta Reynal-Querol. 2010. “[Poverty and Civil War: Revisiting the Evidence](#)”, *The Review of Economics and Statistics*, November 2010, 92(4): 1035–1041
- 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
- Lange, Matthew and Hraig Balian. 2008. “[Containing Conflict or Instigating Unrest? A Test of the Effects of State Infrastructural Power on Civil Violence](#)”, *Studies in Comparative International Development* 43: 314-333.
- 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.
- Laitin, David (1985). “Hegemony and Religious Conflict” in *Bringing the State Back In*, (ed.) P. Evans, D. Rueschmeyer, and T. Skocpol (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).
- 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.
- Scott, James. *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009.

II) Part 2: Cases from South Asia – applications of theory

Week 10 (March 16): Ethnic Secessionist Insurgencies in Kashmir & Punjab

Presenters:

- Ganguly, Sumit. “[Explaining the Kashmir Insurgency – Political Mobilization and Institutional Decay](#),” *International Security*, 21 (2), pp. 76-107.
- Paul Staniland, “Networks, Resources, and Rebellion in South Asia”, *International Security*, 37 (1), pp. 142-177.
 - Staniland, Paul. *Networks of Rebellion: Explaining Insurgent Cohesion and Collapse*,

book manuscript (2011), Chapters 1 and 2.

- Brass, Paul R. “The Punjab Crisis and the Unity of India,” in A. Kohli (ed.), [*India’s Democracy*](#).

Recommended readings:

- Sanjib Baruah, 1994, “[The State and Separatist Militancy in Assam: Winning a Battle and Losing a War?](#)”, *Asian Survey*, 34 (10).
- Sanjib Baruah, “[Confronting Constructionism: Ending India’s Naga War](#)”, *Journal of Peace Research* 40 (3), May 2003: 321-38.
- Ollapally, Deepa M. 2008. [The Politics of Extremism in South Asia](#). New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1 and 2, and 6.
- Bose, Sumantra. 2003. [Kashmir: Roots of Conflict, Paths to Peace](#) . Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press.
- Hazarika, Sanjoy. 1994. [Strangers of the Mist: Tales of War and Peace from India’s Northeast](#). New Delhi: Viking, Penguin Books India.
- Paul Staniland, “[States, Insurgents and Wartime Political Orders](#)”, *Perspectives on Politics*, June 2012, 10, 2, pp. 243-264.
- Lacinia, Bethany. 2009. “[The Problem of Political Stability in Northeast India: Local Ethnic Autocracy and the Rule of Law](#).” *Asian Survey* 49 (6): 998–1020.
- Lt. Colonel Vivek Chadha, [Low Intensity Conflicts in India: An Analysis](#). Sage Publications, 2005.

Week 11 (March 23): Maoist insurgencies in India and Nepal

Presenters:

- Bhatia, Bela. “[The Naxalite Movement in Central Bihar](#),” *Economic and Political Weekly* (April 9, 2005).
- Kishor Gawande, Devesh Kapur and Shanker Satyanath, “[Renewable Natural Resource Shocks and Conflict Intensity: Findings from India’s Ongoing Maoist Insurgency](#)”. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 61 (1): at <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/0022002714567949>
- [Add Chandra paper ...](#)
- [Add Nandini Sundar book ...](#)
- Do, Quy-Toan and Lakshmi Iyer. 2009. “[Geography, Poverty and Conflict in Nepal](#)”. *Journal of Peace Research*. 47(6) 735–748.

Recommended:

- Sumanta Banerjee, “Radical and Violent Political Movements”, in [Routledge Handbook of South Asian Politics](#), ed. P. R. Brass. New York: Routledge. pp. 382-98.
- Madhav Joshi 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
- K Balagopal, “[Maoist Movement in Andhra Pradesh](#)”, *Economic and Political Weekly*, July

22, 2006, pp. 3183-3187.

- Ramachandra Guha, "[Adivasis, Naxalites and Indian Democracy](#)", *Economic and Political Weekly*, August 11, 2007, pp. 3305-3312.

Week 12 (March 30): Counter insurgency in South Asia

Presenters:

- **Add vigilante movement literature?**
- Jason Miklian, "[The purification hunt: the Salwa Judum counterinsurgency in Chhattisgarh, India](#)", *Dialectical Anthropology*, Vol. 33, Issue 3-4, December 2009.
- Nandini Sundar, "[Bastar, Maoism and Salwa Judum](#)", *Economic and Political Weekly*, July 22, 2006, pp. 3187-92.
- **Add Staniland? Yelena Biberman new book ...**
- Butt, Ahsan. "Goodbye or See You Later? Why States Fight Some Secessionists but not Others", Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Chicago, August 2012.

Recommended:

- Lacina, Bethany. "[Does Counterinsurgency Theory Apply to Northeast India?](#)" *India Review*, July-Sept 2007: 165-183.
- Horowitz, Shale, and Deepti Sharma. 2008. "[Democracies Fighting Ethnic Insurgencies: Evidence from India.](#)" *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*. 31, 8:749-73.
- Paul Staniland, "Governing Coercion: States and Violence in Asia", Paper prepared for presentation at 2012 APSA Annual Conference.
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<http://www.satp.org/satporgrp/publication/faultlines/volume8/Article5.htm>
- Jones, Seth G. "The Rise of Afghanistan's Insurgency: State Failure and Jihad." *International Security* 32, no. 4 (2008): 7 - 40.

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April 6: Research paper due date

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>