

University of Toronto
Department of Political Science

POL 441H1S/ 2411H1S Topics in Asian Politics
Democracy, Ethnicity and Conflict in South Asia
Winter 2021

Instructor:	Shivaji Mukherjee
Email:	shivaji.mukherjee@utoronto.ca
Class Time and Location:	Monday 4-6 pm; Online Synchronous using zoom link
Office Hours and Location:	TBD 3 – 4 pm; Online using zoom link

Zoom link to class:

Shivaji Mukherjee is inviting you to a scheduled Zoom meeting.

Topic: POL 441/ 2411 seminar

Time: Jan 18, 2021 04:00 PM Eastern Time (US and Canada)

Every week on Mon, until Apr 5, 2021, 12 occurrence(s)

Jan 18, 2021 04:00 PM

Jan 25, 2021 04:00 PM

Feb 1, 2021 04:00 PM

Feb 8, 2021 04:00 PM

Feb 15, 2021 04:00 PM

Feb 22, 2021 04:00 PM

Mar 1, 2021 04:00 PM

Mar 8, 2021 04:00 PM

Mar 15, 2021 04:00 PM

Mar 22, 2021 04:00 PM

Mar 29, 2021 04:00 PM

Apr 5, 2021 04:00 PM

Please download and import the following iCalendar (.ics) files to your calendar system.

Weekly: https://utoronto.zoom.us/meeting/tZcvd-6hpjssE9CaDVTNhbLqvQ3iSCNqm-He/ics?icsToken=98tyKuGrrDstE9yVthCDRpwqAligKPPxiGJdj_p-nTvTNw5bYC_nINMRO4FcPsnd

Join Zoom Meeting

<https://utoronto.zoom.us/j/83207980694>

Meeting ID: 832 0798 0694

Passcode: 684373

Course Description: The general theme of this course is to understand ethnic conflict and political violence in South Asia, focusing particularly on India and Pakistan. There are various types of political violence studied by scholars, but we will mostly focus on Hindu-Muslim riots and ethnic violence, and different types of insurgency movements in South Asia. While there has been a lot of insurgency movements and ethnic violence in this region of the world, it has been less studied by scholars of political violence. In this course, we will focus on some of the important literature on these forms of political violence in South Asia. We will read some canonical literature, as well as some newly emerging themes in the study of civil wars/insurgencies and ethnic violence in South Asia.

The first part of the course will focus on Hindu Muslim riots which are a specific form of political violence, and we will watch some documentaries and read some well-known scholars on this topic. We will also have a week on a new form of political violence called 'cow vigilantism' in India, in which Hindutva forces target Muslim minorities in India for selling cow meat. Then in the second part of the course, we will look at ethnic secessionist insurgency in India and Pakistan and also leftist insurgency in India and Nepal, which are different forms 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 a *POL Methods* course in political science, or courses at the 300 level in comparative politics/IR, like *POL 304: Politics of South Asia (UTM)*, or its equivalent in St. George taught by Kanta Murali would be helpful! If you have taken classes on ethnic conflict or insurgency, that would be helpful too.

This syllabus is similar to the themes in POL 304 at UTM, but it is more student discussion based and not lecture based. *This course is meant for a political science or social science student who is interested in South Asian politics, and conflict in South Asia.*

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, and *also some knowledge of social and political issues in South Asia*, without which it will be difficult to discuss the materials.

Course Attendance and Technology Requirements during COVID 19:

Students are expected to attend the seminar online on *Zoom* using the link information I have posted in this syllabus (see first page) and also posted in the Modules in *Quercus*. Students should complete assigned readings before the start of class every week and be ready to discuss the readings, and I will act as the moderator to these discussions. This is a seminar course, so there will be no lectures, and it will be discussion based.

You may need your U Toronto ID to log in to Quercus to attend the course and also to use the Zoom link. Please use your official email ID for logging into the course and for all communications by email.

All course work will be submitted on-line. Quercus will be the main on-line space for the course. This is where recordings of seminar discussions will be posted, assignments will be posted and submitted, and where all course announcements will be posted. It is expected that students will log-on to Quercus regularly and set their email accounts to receive course announcements.

Course Requirements and Marking Scheme:

(1) 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 35%, 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. *One good way to prepare for discussions, is to make short notes and write up some puzzles or ideas or questions you have had for each reading, and then use them in class.*

Challenges to discussing: 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!

Discussion group --. Discord / Scratch

(2) 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.

(3) Short memo on movies/ documentary (10 %): There are several documentaries which we will watch. You should write one short 500 word memo analyzing the themes and connecting it to theories we learn in the course, within 2 weeks of watching one of these documentaries. More

details will be provided in Assignment on Quercus.

(4) 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 political violence to one or more cases in South Asia.

However, I will provide a couple of different topics, maybe one on Hindutva vigilante lynchings which is a new phenomenon that needs to be researched, and another on some under-researched topic on insurgency or counter insurgency in South Asia. **The goal will be to contribute to new cutting edge research on political violence in South Asia. If you write a very good paper, I will be happy to try and co-author with you for publication in a journal, or help you publish in a journal.**

Due dates for research paper:

- *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 16th**. 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 12th**, on 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 studies 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 a common strategy to develop a research paper, and helps you find out whether a theory is generalizable. For example, you may have a theory for ethnic riots in India, you may want to check if it can explain ethnic riots in Sri Lanka, or Pakistan.
- 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 do the topic I have suggested and save yourself some time, and if you write a good paper open up the possibility of co-authorship.**

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: It is best to contact me by email at shivaji.mukherjee@utoronto.ca and I am usually prompt to reply to emails. However, if you do not hear back from me within two days, then please send me a reminder email. I may be slow on weekends, and also due to the COVID 19 situation and working from home, things may be slower than usual. You may also be able to contact your TA to answer course related questions.

Office hours: Please drop by my virtual office hours (time listed at top of syllabus) using *BbCollaborate* on *Quercus* where there should be office hours set-up. Due to the COVID 19 situation, I am meeting students using virtual office hours and not at the UTM office, for safety of everyone. Office hours are a good time to discuss readings, clarify any points you did not understand during lecture, and also discuss research paper / presentation 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.

Sick-note policy:

Due to COVID-19 pandemic, the University is temporarily suspending the need for a doctor's note or medical certificate for any absence from academic participation. Please use the Absence Declaration tool on ACORN found in the Profile and Settings menu to formally declare an absence from academic participation in the University. This will be used as supporting documentation.

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 2 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 88 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 research papers: Extensions will only be granted in extenuating circumstances and with appropriate supporting documentation. If you have medical reasons for not meeting the research paper deadline, a doctor's note on the official U of T Medical Note form must be submitted to the instructor or TA within **3 days** of the late assignment. See Verification of Student Illness or Injury form www.illnessverification.utoronto.ca. Assignments in other courses are not grounds for an extension. Please note paper topics are assigned ahead of time and due dates are stated on the syllabus. Please plan accordingly. If you think you have a valid reason to request an extension and know ahead of time, please email the instructor 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 of 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 south Asian politics and conflict. 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.

Reading List:

Week 1 (January 11): class cancelled

PART 1: ETHNIC RIOTS AND CONFLICT

Week 2 (January 18): Documentary on Hindu-Muslim riots used by the BJP to win elections in India in 1990s

'Ram ke Naam' - <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OO-VaJBHiik>

Week 3 (January 25): Ethnic Conflict 1: Hindu Muslim Riots in India

- Varshney, Ashutosh. 2001. "[Ethnic Politics and Civil Society: India and Beyond](#)", *World Politics* 53 (3), pgs. 362-398
- Wilkinson, Steven. 2004. [Votes and Violence : Electoral Competition and Ethnic Riots in India](#), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1 - "The Electoral Incentives for Ethnic Violence", pgs 1-18, and Chapter 5 – "The Electoral Incentives for Hindu Muslim Violence". <https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/lib/utoronto/detail.action?docID=266577>
- Dhattiwala, Raheel. 2019. *Keeping the Peace: Spatial Differences in Hindu-Muslim Violence in Gujarat in 2002*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1 and 3. Online book should be available: <http://go.utlib.ca/cat/12629169>

Recommended readings:

- Tambiah, Stanley. 1986. [Sri Lanka: Ethnic Fratricide and the Dismantling of Democracy](#). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Tambiah, Stanley J. [Levelling Crowds: Ethnonationalist Conflicts and Collective Violence in South Asia](#) (1996), Chapter 4.
- Brass, Paul R. 2003. [The Production of Hindu-Muslim Violence in Contemporary India](#). pp. 5-39. <http://go.utlib.ca/cat/5015086>
- Paul Brass. 1997. [Theft of an idol : text and context in the representation of collective](#)

[violence](#). Princeton, NJ : Princeton University Press.

Week 4 (February 1): Ethnic conflict 2: Communalism and Rise of Religious Parties

- Jaffrelot, Christophe. [The Hindu Nationalist Movement and Indian Politics, 1925 to the 1990s](#) (1996). **Chapters 12 & 13.**
- Tariq Thachil, “[Embedded Mobilization](#)”, *World Politics*, [Volume 63, Number 3, July 2011](#).
 - UTL Link opens faster

<https://www-cambridge-org.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/core/journals/world-politics/article/embedded-mobilization-nonstate-service-provision-as-electoral-strategy-in-india/386281259E8743E3C2D78B3D641ABA8B>

Recommended readings:

- Hansen, Thomas B. [The Saffron Wave](#) (1999).

Week 5 (February 8): Ethnic conflict 3: Hindutva and lynchings/vigilantism

Readings to be announced – this is a new topic, let me know if you have any suggested readings

- Human Rights Watch, *Violent Cow Protection in India*, 2019.
-

Some youtube documentaries and articles on this topic:

- India's anti-Muslim vigilante violence, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UFRuKs7ZfEk>
- India's 'cow vigilantes' - BBC Newsnight, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TnsJ38_Ppwc
- Zoya Hasan, “Wages of vigilantism,” *The Hindu*, June 23, 2018
<https://www.thehindu.com/opinion/lead/wages-of-vigilantism/article24234811.ece>

Feb 15 – Family Day Holiday – University closed

Feb 16 – 19 - Reading Week – No classes, University is open

- this is also the week for the special deferred exams from December 2020

Week 6 (February 22): Documentary on riots in Muzaffarnagar, Uttar Pradesh in 2013 before 2014 elections

Muzaffarnagar Baqi Hai - <https://www.netflix.com/title/81035103>

Read review at:

<https://www.scoopwhoop.com/We-Watched-Muzaffarnagar-Baaqi-Hai-And-Heres-What-We-Thought-Of-It/>

PART 2: INSURGENCIES AND REBELLION

Week 7 (March 1): Insurgencies 1: Ethnic Secessionist Insurgencies in India – Kashmir and other cases

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. (this is the book, if you want to read further ...)
- Butt, Ahsan. 2017. "[Why Do States Fight Some Secessionists But Not Others?](#) The Role of External Security," *Journal of Global Security Studies* 2(4): 324-345;
<https://academic.oup.com/jogss/article/2/4/324/4566193>
 - Book?

Recommended readings – other cases of insurgency in India:

- Brass, Paul R. "The Punjab Crisis and the Unity of India," in A. Kohli (ed.), [India's Democracy. Need better reading ...](#)
- 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.
- Lacina, 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 8 (March 8): Insurgencies 2: Ethnic Secessionist Insurgencies in Pakistan—Baluchistan, and MQM; Taliban insurgency in Pakistan

Pakistan:

- Mohammad Wasim. 2010. "Ethnic and Islamic Militancy in Pakistan." In [Routledge](#)

Handbook of South Asian Politics, ed. P. R. Brass. New York: Routledge. pp. 274-290.
<http://go.utlib.ca/cat/8775068>

- Cohen, Stephen P. 2004. *The idea of Pakistan*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press. Chapter 6, "Regionalism and Separatism", pp. 201-229. <http://go.utlib.ca/cat/8505835>
- Nasreen Ghufuran, "[Pushtun Ethnonationalism and the Taliban Insurgency in the North West Frontier Province of Pakistan](#)", *Asian Survey*, Vol. 49, No. 6 (November/December 2009), pp. 1092-1114.
- Christine Fair, *find better books and articles on this topic if possible to add later...*

Recommended readings:

- Anita Demkiv, "[Pakistan's FATA, Transnational Terrorism and the Global Development Model](#)," *Journal of Global Change and Governance*, Volume II, Number 1 (Winter/Spring 2009), pp. 1-20.
- Imtiaz Gul. 2011. *The Most Dangerous Place: Pakistan's Lawless Frontier*. New York: Penguin.
- Christine Fair, "[Pakistan in 2010](#)," *Asian Survey*. Berkeley: Jan/Feb 2011. Vol. 51, Iss. 1; p. 97.
- Jacob Shapiro, C. Christine Fair and Neil Malhotra. "[Islam, Militancy, and Politics in Pakistan: Insights from a National Sample](#)," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 22:4; 495-521, September 2010.
- Seth Jones and Christine Fair, "Counterinsurgency in Pakistan", *Rand Corporation*. http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2010/RAND_MG982.pdf
- Stokke, Kristian. 2006. "[Building the Tamil Eelam State: Emerging State Institutions and Forms of Governance in LTTE-controlled Areas in Sri Lanka](#)." *Third World Quarterly* 27 (6): 1021 – 1040.

Week 9 (March 15): Insurgencies 3: Leftist Insurgencies in India & Nepal

- For background to the insurgency:
 - Sumanta Banerjee, "Radical and Violent Political Movements", in *Routledge Handbook of South Asian Politics*, ed. P. R. Brass. New York: Routledge. pp. 382-98. <http://go.utlib.ca/cat/8775068>
- 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>
- Do, Quy-Toan and Lakshmi Iyer. 2009. "[Geography, Poverty and Conflict in Nepal](#)". *Journal of Peace Research*. 47(6) 735–748.

Recommended:

- Kanchan Chandra & Omar Garcia-ponce, "[Why Ethnic Subaltern-Led Parties Crowd Out](#)

[Armed Organizations: Explaining Maoist Violence in India](#)”, *World Politics*, [Volume 71](#), [Issue 2](#), April 2019 , pp. 367-416

- 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.
- Kishor Gawande, Devesh Kapur and Shanker Satyanath, “[Renewable Resource Shocks and Conflict in India’s Maoist Belt](#)”, Working paper, 2012, CASI web site.

March 16 – Research proposal due date

Week 10 (March 22): Documentary on Maoist insurgency in India

- **Rebel’s Dilemma simulation, if time permits**
- 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

The UTM library sent me the following link:

<https://documentarylovers.com/film/red-ant-dream/>

PART 3 – NEW TOPICS

Week 11 (March 29): *Colonial Legacies and Conflict*

Presenters:

- McQuade, Joseph. 2020. *A Genealogy of Terrorism: Colonial Law and the Origins of an Idea*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/genealogy-of-terrorism/BC74FB48CED9CBA2F2DC8B9C580FE714> Chapters to be assigned
- 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 Institutions and Civil War](#)”, *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, published online September, 2017 at

<http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/0022002717727818>

- Alternatively, will assign chapters from forthcoming book: Mukherjee, Shivaji. 2021. *Colonial Institutions and Civil War: Indirect Rule and Maoist Insurgency in India*. Cambridge Studies in Contentious Politics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
<https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/colonial-institutions-and-civil-war/D05469B6DFD858734AF9B41474FCA6FC>

Recommended

- 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.
- Mamdani, Mahmood. (2001). *When Victims Become Killers*. Princeton University Press. Introduction and Chapter 1.
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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.
- Scott, James. *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009.

Week 12 (April 5): Vigilante movements and Counter insurgency in South Asia

Presenters:

- Sabine Carey and Neil Mitchell. 2017. "[Pro-government Militias](#)" *Annual Review of Political Science* 20: 127-147. <https://www.annualreviews.org/doi/abs/10.1146/annurev-polisci-051915-045433>
- Yelena Biberman, *Gambling with Violence: State Outsourcing of War in Pakistan and India*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2019. Chapters TBD (will let you know later)
- 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.

Recommended readings:

- Steinert, Christoph V, Janina I Steinert, and Sabine C Carey. “Spoilers of Peace: Pro-Government Militias as Risk Factors for Conflict Recurrence.” *Journal of Peace Research* 56, no. 2 (March 1, 2019): 249–63. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343318800524>.
- Ariel Ahram, *Proxy Warriors: The Rise and Fall of State Sponsored Militias*. Stanford University Press, 2011, Chapter 1.
- Carey, Sabine C., Neil J. Mitchell and Will Lowe. 2013. ‘[States, the Security Sector, and the Monopoly of Violence: A New Database on Pro-Government Militias.](#)’ *Journal of Peace Research* 50(2): 249-258.
 - (see homepage for the Carey, Mitchell research dataset and their articles--
http://www.sowi.uni-mannheim.de/militias/?page_id=17)
- Sabine Carey, Michael Colaresi and Neil Mitchell. 2012. “[Why Do Governments Use Militias?](#)” Paper presented at the Conference on Militias, Yale, October 2012.
- Livia I. Schubiger, “Dynamics of Resistance: Civil War Violence and Counterinsurgent Mobilization in Peru”, University of Zurich. Unpublished manuscript.
- Gutierrez Sanin, Francisco. “Telling the Difference: Guerrillas and Paramilitaries in the Colombian War.” *Politics & Society* 36, no. 1 (March 1, 2008): 3-34.
- Daron Acemoglu, James Robinson, and Rafael Santos, “The Monopoly of Violence: Evidence from Colombia”, May 2010.
- Jessica Stanton, “Outsourcing Violence: Pro-Government Paramilitaries and Civilian Targeting in Civil War”. Presented at APSA Conference, 2010.

April 12th – submit research paper

April 2 - Good Friday - University closed

April 9 - Last day of classes for S & Y courses

April 10-11 - Study Break

April 12 – Make up day

April 13 - 23 – Final Examination period

April 24 - Exam contingency day

April 26-30 - Deferred exam period

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 defense; 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>