

## IR 3060 Rebellion and Revolution

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Spring 2018

Dr. Kristen A. Harkness  
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Lecture: Sem Rm 1  
Thr 13:00-14:00

Tutorials: 141 Arts Building  
Thr 15:00-16:00  
Thr 16:00-17:00

Office Hours:  
Wed 10:00-12:00  
141 Arts Building

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Rebellion is the most prevalent form of conflict in the contemporary world. Mass protests, insurgencies, and civil wars bring with them the potential for transformative revolutions. Recent rebellions have toppled dictators and restored hope for democracy. Rebellions, however, also risk widespread violence and destabilization, resulting in immense destruction for the societies consumed by them. This module takes an historic, comparative approach to understanding the causes, processes, and consequences of rebellions and revolutions as important social phenomena that have been experienced across every region of the world.

We begin by examining the causes of rebellion, including theories of moral economy, ethnic political exclusion, state weakness, and religion. We then analyze scholarly understandings of the dynamics of resistance. What barriers do rebel groups face when organizing collective action and how do they recruit members? Is violent resistance or nonviolent protest more effective? How are guerrilla wars fought? And how do counterinsurgents contend with domestic uprisings?

### **Required Texts and Materials**

#### **Essential Texts**

Strongly recommended for purchase (all or most of book assigned):

- Erica Chenoweth and Maria J. Stephan. 2013. *Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Ron Hassner. 2009. *War on Sacred Grounds*. Cornell University Press.
- Mahmood Mamdani. 2001. *When Victims Become Killers: Colonialism, Nativism, and the Genocide in Rwanda*. Oxford: James Currey.

- James C. Scott. 1976. *The Moral Economy of the Peasant: Rebellion and Subsistence in Southeast Asia*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Jeremy Weinstein. 2007. *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence*. Cambridge University Press.
- Mao Zedong. 2000 (Samuel B. Griffith translation) [orig. 1961]. *On Guerrilla Warfare*. University of Illinois Press.

Recommended for purchase (2-3 chapters assigned):

- Theda Skocpol. 1979. *States & Social Revolutions*. Cambridge University Press.

During most weeks we will focus on an important book and it is therefore crucial that you ensure you have access to these texts and have sufficient time to read them carefully. I strongly recommend that you purchase them. I also recommend ordering your books through Amazon (students have previously complained of long delays in receiving books or receiving the wrong editions from Blackwell's). All readings, including the books, are available either electronically or on reserve through the St. Andrews Library. You can access the module reading list through MMS, Moodle, or via the library home page. Please have all readings available to you in class—either by bringing a laptop or by printing hard copies.

## Final Marks

Final Mark Breakdown:

10%	Policy Workshop Memo
40%	Research Essay
50%	Cumulative Final Exam

## Assignments

**Policy Workshop Memo (~800 words):** You will be divided into teams for the policy workshop during Week 11's tutorial. Each team will submit a written plan at the beginning of tutorial for marking. Preparation and marking guidelines will be provided in advance.

**Research Essay (5000 words):** Write an original research paper that contributes to your knowledge of rebellion or revolution. Develop a compelling research question and then a clear argument (thesis) that answers that question. The best papers will engage with the existing scholarly literature on their topic (why hasn't it answered your question fully?), pay careful attention to evidence, and identify potential counter-arguments to their claims and provide additional evidence against them. You should incorporate at least 15-20 sources into your paper, the vast majority of which should be peer-reviewed books (academic presses) and articles. A preliminary topic and research question are due in week 3 which we will then meet to discuss.

**Cumulative Final Exam:** This will be an in-class (closed-book, closed-note) exam covering the entire semester’s course material. The format of the exam will include both “short answer” and “essay question” sections—each of which will count equally toward the final exam mark.

## Important Due Dates

**FRI FEB 16 (NOON)** Preliminary topic and research question due

**MON APR 16 (NOON)** Research Essay due

**THR APR 26 (BEGINNING OF TUTORIAL)** Policy Memo due

## Module Policies

**In all respects, students are responsible for and must adhere to the contents of the School Handbook which is available on the School website under Students/Undergraduates/Handbooks and resources.**

**Academic Integrity:** Students are expected to comply with the integrity standards of the University of St. Andrews. You must cite your sources properly and fully acknowledge the origins of all data, facts, ideas, arguments, or interpretations you rely on in your own work. Suspected cases of plagiarism, cheating, or other acts of academic dishonesty will be punished to the fullest extent possible.

**Tutorials:** Tutorial attendance is required. You may miss one tutorial no questions asked. A second tutorial absence will result in an Academic Alert: ABSENCE and must be made up with *written work* (~500 word response essay to the readings). You may be absent from a maximum of two tutorials, regardless of whether a self-certification is made. Missing more than two tutorials will result in the issuance of an Academic Alert: FINAL and failure to complete the module, unless there are exceptional circumstances.

**Extensions and Late Assignments:** All deadlines are firm except in cases of medical or family emergency, religious observance, documented disability, or other exceptional circumstances. If, due to such circumstances you cannot meet a deadline, please contact me as soon as possible so that we may work out an acceptable alternative due date. Avoid computer disaster by regularly saving your work to a cloud-based program (I recommend Dropbox) OR periodically printing out drafts and/or emailing them to yourself while you write. Late assignments will receive a 1 point deduction per day in accordance with the policies of the School of International Relations.

**Office Hours:** Normal, drop-in office hours are on Wednesdays from 10:00-12:00—no appointment necessary. But bring something to read in case you have to wait. If this time does not work with your schedule, I am also happy to arrange an alternative appointment.

**Essay Formatting and Other Rules:** Writing assignments *must be word-processed*. Proofread your writing for typographical, grammatical, and punctuation errors. If you consistently make these kinds of errors, your mark will drop. For any essays, the word count is inclusive of endnotes/footnotes, but exclusive of the bibliography. A margin of 5 (five) percent either way is permissible before a penalty is applied. The details of that penalty can be found in the School Handbook which is available on the School website. One hard copy and one electronic copy of all essays are required. There is provision for electronic submission in MMS. The electronic copy and the hard copy must be identical, and both copies **MUST** be submitted by the stated deadline. Also make sure to use:

- Times 12 or its close equivalent (usually the default setting)
  - 1” margins all around
  - Double-spacing
  - Page numbers—if your first page is the cover page, set this page number to 0 (in Word, select “Page Numbers” from the “Insert” menu, and click on “Format”)
  - A standard citation style (Chicago, APA, MLA, etc.)
  - A standard **cover page**, including the word count, available online or in the school office
- Failure to properly format your essay will result in a small deduction to your mark.

**Asking for a Letter of Reference:** Please see my website ([kristenharkness.com](http://kristenharkness.com)), under teaching, for detailed instructions on asking for a letter of reference. I require a minimum of two weeks notice and ask that you compile a packet of relevant information for me.

## Weekly Overview with Required Readings

### Week 1: Introduction and Fundamental Concepts

**THR FEB 1:** Lecture, “Rebellion and Revolution”

#### Part I: Causes of Rebellion and Revolution

### Week 2: Greed and Grievances

**THR FEB 8:** Lecture, “Why Do Men Rebel? Greed versus Grievance”

**THR FEB 8:** Tutorial

- James C. Scott. 1976. *The Moral Economy of the Peasant: Rebellion and Subsistence in Southeast Asia*. New Haven: Yale University Press. (p.1-240)
- Michael Ross. 2004. “What Do We Know About Natural Resources and Civil War?” *Journal of Peace Research* 41(3): 337-356.

Recommended Readings

- Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler. 2003. “Greed and Grievance in Civil War.” *Oxford Economic Papers* 56: 663-695.

- Ted Robert Gurr. 1970. *Why Men Rebel*. Princeton University Press. [especially chapter 2]
- Wendy Pearlman. 2013. “Emotions and the Microfoundations of the Arab Uprisings.” *Perspectives on Politics* 11(2): 387-409.
- Samuel L. Popkin. 1979. *The Rational Peasant: The Political Economy of Rural Society in Vietnam*. University of California Press. (p.1-267)
- Nicholas Sambanis. 2004. “Using Case Studies to Expand Economic Models of Civil War.” *Perspectives on Politics* 2(2): 259-279.
- Ashutosh Varshney. 2003. “Nationalism, Ethnic Conflict, and Rationality.” *Perspectives on Politics* 1(1): 85-99.

### **Week 3: Ethnicity**

**THR FEB 15:** Lecture, “Ethnic Conflict and Exclusion”

**THR FEB 15:** Tutorial

- Lars-Erik Cederman, Andreas Wimmer and Brian Min. 2010. “Why Do Ethnic Groups Rebel?: New Data and Analysis.” *World Politics* 62(1): 87-119.
- Mahmood Mamdani. 2001. *When Victims Become Killers: Colonialism, Nativism, and the Genocide in Rwanda*. Oxford: James Currey. (chapters 3-7, p.76-233)

Recommended Readings

- Kanchan Chandra. 2012. *Constructivist Theories of Ethnic Politics*. Oxford University Press.
- James Fearon and David Laitin. 2003. “Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War.” *American Political Science Review* 97(1): 75-90.
- James Fearon and David Laitin. 2011. “Sons of the Soil, Migrants, and Civil War.” *World Development* 39(2): 199-211.
- Donald Horowitz. 1985. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- John Mueller. 2000. “The Banality of ‘Ethnic War.’” *International Security* 25(1): 42-70.
- Stathis Kalyvas. 2001. “‘New’ and ‘Old’ Civil Wars: A Valid Distinction?” *World Politics* 54(1): 99-118.
- Nicholas Sambanis. 2001. “Do Ethnic and Nonethnic Civil Wars Have the Same Causes?” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 45(3): 259-282.

**FRI FEB 16 (NOON):** Preliminary topic and research question due by email

### **Week 4: State Weakness**

**THR FEB 22:** Lecture, “The Structural Origins of Social Revolutions”

**THR FEB 22:** Tutorial

- Theda Skocpol. 1979. *States & Social Revolutions*. Cambridge University Press. (chapters 2-3, p.47-157)

Recommended Readings

- James Coleman. 1990. "Collective Behavior" and "Revoking Authority." In *Foundations of Social Theory*. Harvard University Press.
- Barrington Moore. 1966. *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. New York: Penguin Books.
- Barbara Geddes. 2003. *Paradigms and Sand Castles: Theory Building and Research Design in Comparative Politics*. (part of chapter 3, p.106-114)

**Week 5: Religion**

**THR MAR 1:** Lecture, "War over Sacred Spaces"

**THR MAR 1:** Tutorial

- Ron Hassner. 2009. *War on Sacred Grounds*. Cornell University Press. (p.1-179)

Recommended Readings

- James D. Fearon, 1995, "Rationalist Explanations for War," *International Organization* 49(3): 379-414.
- Michael Hoffman and Amaney Jamal. 2014. "Religion in the Arab Spring: Between Two Competing Narratives." *Journal of Politics* 76(3): 593-606.
- Samuel P. Huntington. 1993. "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs*. [and commentary on the resulting debate]
- Robert Pape. 2005. *Dying to Win: The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism*. New York: Random House.
- Nil S. Satana, Molly Inman, and Johanna Kristin Birnir. 2013. "Religion, Government Coalitions, and Terrorism." *Terrorism and political Violence* 25(1): 29-52.

**Week 6: Environmental Degradation**

**THR MAR 8:** Lecture, "Climate Change, Water, and Conflict"

**THR MAR 8:** Tutorial

- Peter H. Gleick. 2014. "Water, Drought, Climate Change, and Conflict in Syria." *Weather, Climate, and Society* 6: 331-340.
- Ole Magnus Theisen, Helge Holtermann, and Halvard Buhaug. 2011. "Climate Wars? Assessing the Claim that Drought Breeds Conflict." *International Security* 36(3): 79-106.

- Tor A. Benjaminsen, Koffi Alinon, Halvard Buhaug, and Jill Tove Buseth. 2012. “Does Climate Change Drive Land-Use Conflicts in the Sahel?” *Journal of Peace Research* 49(1): 97-111.
- Explore the Pacific Institute’s database on water and conflict: <http://worldwater.org/water-conflict/>

#### Recommended Readings

- Rikhil R. Bhavnani and Bethany Lacina. 2015. “The Effects of Weather-Induced Migration on Sons of the Soil Riots in India.” *World Politics* 67(4): 760-794.
- Cullen S. Hendrix and Sarah M. Glaser. 2007. “Trends and Triggers: Climate, Climate Change and Civil conflict in Sub-Saharan Africa.” *Political Geography* 26: 695-715.
- Cullen S. Hendrix and Idean Salehyan. 2012. “Climate Change, Rainfall, and Social Conflict in Africa.” *Journal of Peace Research* 49(1): 35-50.
- Clionadh Raleigh and Henrik Urdal. 2007. “Climate Change, Environmental Degradation, and Armed Conflict.” *Political Geography* 26: 674-694.
- Ole Magnus Theisen. 2012. “Climate clashes? Weather Variability, Land Pressure, and Organized Violence in Kenya, 1989-2004.” *Journal of Peace Research* 49(1): 81-96.

## Part II: The Dynamics of Violence

### Week 7: Guerrilla Warfare

**THR MAR 15:** Lecture, “How Rebels Recruit and Fight”

**THR MAR 15:** Tutorial

- Mancur Olson. 1982. *The Rise and Decline of Nations*. New Haven: Yale University Press. (chapter 2, p.17-35)
- Jeremy Weinstein. 2007. *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence*. Cambridge University Press. (chapters 2-3, p.61-126)
- Mao Zedong. 2000 (Samuel B. Griffith translation) [orig. 1961]. *On Guerrilla Warfare*. University of Illinois Press. (p.1-114)

#### Recommended Readings

- Patrick Johnston. 2008. “The Geography of Insurgent Organization and Its Consequences for Civil Wars: Evidence from Liberia and Sierra Leone.” *Security Studies* 17: 107-137.
- Macartan Humphreys and Jeremy Weinstein. 2008. “Who fights? The Determinants of Participation in Civil War.” *American Journal of Political Science* 52(2): 436-455.

- Stathis Kalyvas and Mathew Kocher. 2007. "How Free is 'Free Riding' in Civil Wars? Violence, Insurgency, and the Collective Action Problem." *World Politics* 59(2): 177-216.
- Jeremy Weinstein. 2005. "Resources and the Information Problem in Rebel Recruitment." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49: 598-624.

**\*\*\* Spring Vacation\*\*\***

**Week 8: Rebel Governance [\*\*\*note change to Monday\*\*\*]**

**MON APR 2 [SEMINAR RM 8]:** Lecture, "Rebel Governance and the Treatment of Non-Combatants"

**MON APR 2:** Tutorial

- Jeremy Weinstein. 2007. *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence*. Cambridge University Press. (chapters 5-7, p.163-298)

Recommended Readings

- Lisa Hultman. 2007. "Battle Losses and Rebel Violence: Raising the Costs for Fighting." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 19(2): 205-222.
- Claire Metelits. 2010. *Inside Insurgency: Violence, Civilians, and Revolutionary Group Behavior*. New York: New York University Press. [chapters 2-3: 15-77]
- Thandika Mkandawire. 2002. "The Terrible Toll of Post-Colonial 'Rebel Movements' in Africa: Towards an Explanation of the Violence Against the Peasantry." *Journal of Modern African Studies* 40(2): 181-215.
- William Reno. 2007. "Patronage Politics and the Behavior of Armed Groups." *Civil Wars* 9(4): 324-342.

**Week 9: Lecture and Tutorials Postponed for Travel**

**Week 10: Civil Resistance**

**MON APR 16 (NOON)** Research Essay Due

**THR APR 19:** Lecture, "Non-Violence as an Alternative Strategy of Resistance"

**THR APR 19:** Tutorial

- Erica Chenoweth and Maria J. Stephan. 2013. *Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict*. New York: Columbia University Press. (chapters 1-5, p.1-146)

Recommended Readings



- Erica Chenoweth and Orion A. Lewis. 2013. “Unpacking Nonviolent Campaigns: Introducing the NAVCO 2.0 Dataset.” *Journal of Peace Research* 50(3): 415-423.
- Dennis Chong. 1991. *Collective Action and the Civil Rights Movement*. University of Chicago Press.
- Kurt Schock. 2013. “The Practice and Study of Civil Resistance.” *Journal of Peace Research* 50(3): 277-290.
- Sidney Tarrow. 1994. *Power in Movement: Social Movements, Collective Action, and Politics*. Cambridge University Press.

## **Week 11: Counterinsurgency and Policy Workshop—Understanding Palestine**

**THR APR 26:** Lecture, “How Governments Resist: Brutality v. Hearts and Minds”

**THR APR 26: \*\*\*Double Tutorial (2 hrs)\*\*\* = Policy Memo Due**

- Paul Dixon. 2009. ““Hearts and Minds?” British Counterinsurgency from Malaya to Iraq.” *Journal of Strategic Studies* 32(3): 353-381.
- Alexander Downes. 2007. “Draining the Sea by Filling the Graves: Investigating the Effectiveness of Indiscriminate Violence as a Counterinsurgency Strategy.” *Civil Wars* 9(4): 420-444.
- Ivan Arreguín-Toft. 2001. “How the Weak Win Wars: A Theory of Asymmetric Conflict.” *International Security* 26(1): 93-128.
- Jason Lyall and Isaiah Wilson III. 2009. “Rage Against the Machines: Explaining Outcomes in Counterinsurgency Wars.” *International Organization* 63(1): 67-106.
- independent research for policy workshop

### Recommended Readings

- David Anderson. 2005. *Histories of the Hanged*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co.
- FM 3-24 2006 U.S. Counterinsurgency Field Manual
- David Galula. 1964. *Counterinsurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice*. Praeger Security International.
- Gian P. Gentile. 2009. “A Strategy of Tactics: Population-centric COIN and the Army.” *Parameters* (Autumn): 5-17.
- Stathis Kalyvas. 2006. *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*. Cambridge University Press.
- Andrew Mack. 1975. “Why Big Nations Lose Small Wars: The Politics of Asymmetric Conflict.” *World Politics* 27(2): 175-200.
- John A. Nagl. 2002. *Counterinsurgency: Lessons from Malaya and Vietnam: Learning to Eat Soup with a Knife*. London: Praeger. [especially chapters 1-2: 3-33; chapters 4-5: 59-111.]

## Grading Standards for Essays

When grading, I evaluate the words on the page before me and do not factor in “improvement” or “effort” or other mushy criteria. Standards are standards.

A paper in the **First range (16.5+)** displays exceptional grace and demonstrates a high degree of mastery over both the substantive content of the paper as well as the fundamentals of academic writing: it advances an interesting, arguable thesis; establishes a clear motive to suggest why the thesis is original or worthwhile; employs a logical and progressive structure; analyzes evidence insightfully and in depth; draws from well-chosen sources; and is written in a clear, sophisticated style.

A **2-1 range (13.5-16.4)** paper resembles a First range paper in some ways, but may exhibit a vague, uninteresting, or inconsistently argued thesis; establish a functional but unsubstantial motive; employ a generally logical but somewhat disorganized or undeveloped structure; include well-chosen but sometimes unanalyzed and undigested evidence; use sources in a correct but limited fashion; or be written in an unsophisticated or grammatically problematic style.

A **2-2 range (10.5-13.4)** paper resembles a 2-1 range paper in some ways, but may also feature a confusing, simple, or descriptive thesis; provide a simplistic motive or none at all; lack a coherent structure; fail to present enough evidence, or present evidence that is insufficiently analyzed; drop in sources without properly contextualizing or citing them; and be written in a generally unclear, simplistic, or technically flawed style.

A **Third range (7.5-10.4)** paper resembles a 2 range paper but may include a purely descriptive or obvious thesis; lack a motive; display an unfocused, confusing, or rambling structure; and draw on under-analyzed evidence and few sources. A 7-8 paper has trouble engaging with the assignment and may not show awareness of the conventions of academic discourse and style. It does, however, show signs of *attempting* to engage with the issues, topics, and sources of the assignment.

A **Failing (below 7.5)** paper is similar to a 7-8 range paper but is significantly shorter than the assigned length and addresses the assignment superficially.

A **0** paper is less than half the assigned length and does not fulfill the basic expectations of the assignment (for example, in a research paper, there is evidence of little or no research). Unlike a Failing paper, a 0 does not count as successful completion of the assignment and may result in an incomplete.

## Writing Exam Essays

In-class exam essays are their own beast—a strange hybrid of paper writing skills and the regurgitation of knowledge that characterizes short answer exam questions. To effectively and efficiently write them you need to know, in advance, something of how they are marked and thus how to allocate your precious writing minutes.

First, like a paper, an exam essay should make an *interesting, original, and compelling argument* about the assigned material. A First range (17+) essay will teach the reader of the exam something new or make them think about the material in a novel way. Yet, unlike most papers, knowledge or research outside of what was covered in the module should not be brought to bear on the prompted question. This is still an exam and you should be demonstrating your knowledge of the module's material (not another module's readings).

Second, unlike a normal paper, you are under severe time constraints and thus should do away with anything not absolutely necessary to demonstrating and substantiating your main claims. No lengthy introduction or conclusion is necessary. You should, in fact, consider beginning your essay with a simple statement of your argument, treat each body paragraph as a place to demonstrate the available evidence for each step of your reasoning, and conclude (if you have time) by re-summarizing that argument. Focusing on the evidence, in this way, will let you spend the maximum amount of words showing off all that you have learned in an intelligible and structured way.

Finally, do not waste your time memorizing citation information while studying for the exam or trying to execute proper citations while writing it. While you must still acknowledge the work of others—as well as demonstrate that you know the material—it is sufficient to mention the author (or title) of a reading in the text of your essay. So long as the marker can identify the reading in question, you should be fine.

## Writing Resources

**On MMS:** There is a folder on MMS, “Writing Resources” within the “Content” area, which contains handouts and other guides for a wide variety of writing skills—including constructing a good thesis statement, structuring an academic essay, using evidence effectively, and creating compelling introductions and conclusions. While no amount of writing prowess can substitute for skilled analysis and clever insights, problems with the techniques and mechanics of writing often obscure the creativity, persuasiveness, and originality of a paper's substantive ideas—thereby often doubly-harming the resulting mark.

### Online Help with Citations:

University of St. Andrews Library Help for Citing Sources:

<http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/library/information/furtherhelp/citingreferences/>

American Psychological Association (APA Style) homepage:

<http://www.apastyle.org/>

Chicago Manual of Style homepage:

<http://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/home.html>