

**THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY
POLITICAL SCIENCE 539
CONTEMPORARY POLITICS OF SOUTH ASIA**

Irfan Nooruddin
2084 Derby Hall
Office Hours: TBD
Email: nooruddin.3@osu.edu

This is an introductory seminar in comparative politics designed to acquaint participants with academic debates on a range of topics that are relevant to understanding the politics of contemporary South Asia. Because the overwhelming majority of academic publications concerning that region use India as their case, due to its longer period of political stability which resulted in much better data quality and availability, the assigned readings have an almost exclusive India focus. However, we will use the theories developed in the Indian context to understand the politics of the other South Asian states, and ask how India-specific theories might be extended to capture the dynamics of its neighbors. As such, I conceive of this course as a course on South Asian politics, and will do my best to recommend non-academic readings to those interested in learning more about the other countries in the region.

A key theme explored in this seminar centers on the relationship of the state to the delivery of public goods. There is great regional and temporal variance in the delivery of public goods across South Asia. How do we account for this variance? Can these differences be explained by the role played by the state or through social pressures? How have the concepts of “state” and “society” been used in the study of the region? Furthermore, how do citizens in practice relate to state and social pressures and norms? We will examine these and related questions in the first part of the course. Subsequently we will focus on the impact that the various elements of state and society have on the delivery of public goods.

Books required (available for purchase)

- Ganguly, Sumit. 1998. *The Crisis in Kashmir: Portents of War, Hopes of Peace*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Gupta, Dipankar. 2000. *Interrogating Caste*. Delhi: Penguin
- Jaffrelot, Christophe. 1996. *The Hindu Nationalist Movement in India*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Jenkins, Rob. 1999. *Democratic Politics and Economic Reform in India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ray, Raka. 1999. *Fields of Protest: The Womens Movement in India*. Minnesota: The University of Minnesota Press.
- Weiner, Myron. 1991. *The Child and the State in India*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Requirements

Everyone is expected to keep up with the readings and to contribute to discussions. Participants are required to write three (3) five page commentaries on the readings for a particular week.

A longer essay is due at the end of the term. This essay has one goal – to place the seminar readings on a particular issue in a broader framework. In other words, the aim is to put the academic debates on the study of India in a comparative South Asian framework and then evaluate the validity of the claims made for India. Take, for instance, economic reform. Academic debates on India offer many reasons for why economic reforms undertaken by the Indian government since 1991 have been implemented in a particular way. The essay should explore what is happening in other parts of the world. Are similar sets of reasons being discussed in the literature on ‘other’ countries? If so, is there a common and generalizable claim that can be made about the politics of economic reform? If not, what makes the Indian case *sui generis* (if it is that!)? Or, is it that arguments offered in different contexts actually provide a more compelling account of the Indian experience of economic reform. The final essay (or research paper) is due on the last day of the quarter (December 10).

The weights assigned to these requirements are as follow:

- Course participation (10 % of overall grade)
- Five-page reading commentaries (15% of overall grade each; 45% of overall grade in total)
- Final essay (45% of overall grade)

SCHEDULE OF CLASSES AND READINGS:

Introduction to the course (Day 1)

Developmental State (Day 2)

Hasan, Zoya. 2000. “Introduction: The Political Career of the State in Independent India.” in *Politics and the State in India* ed. Zoya Hasan. Delhi: Oxford University Press. pp11-36

Kaviraj, Sudipta. 2000. “The Modern State in India”. in *Politics and the State in India* ed. Zoya Hasan. Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Nandy, Ashish. 2000. “The Political Culture of the Indian State”. in *Politics and the State in India* ed. Zoya Hasan. Delhi: Oxford University Press. pp 64-88.

Vanaik, Achin. 2000. “The Social Character of the Indian State”. in *Politics and the State in India* ed. Zoya Hasan. Delhi: Oxford University Press. pp. 89-114

Kothari, Rajni. 2000. “The Decline of the Moderate State”. in *Politics and the State in India* ed. Zoya Hasan. Delhi: Oxford University Press. pp. 177-206

Breman, Jan. 2000. “‘I am the Government Labour Officer...’: State Protection for the Rural Proletariat of South Gujarat”. in *Politics and the State in India* ed. Zoya Hasan. Delhi: Oxford University Press. pp 293-330.

Gupta, Akhil.2000. “Blurred Boundaries: The Discourse of Corruption, the Culture of Politics and the Imagined State”. in *Politics and the State in India* ed. Zoya Hasan. Delhi: Oxford University Press. pp 331-377.

... and the Idea of Development (Day 3)

Raghavan, R.K. 1999. “The India Police: Expectations of a democratic polity”. In *Transforming India* ed. Francine Frankel, Zoya Hasan, Rajeev Bhargava, and Balveer Arora. New Delhi: Oxford University Press. pp. 288-313.

Chatterjee, Partha. 2000. “Development Planning and the Indian State”. in *Politics and the State in India* ed. Zoya Hasan. Delhi: Oxford University Press. pp 115-141

Patnaik, Prabhat. 2000. “The State in India’s Economic Development”. in *Politics and the State in India* ed. Zoya Hasan. Delhi: Oxford University Press. pp. 142-158

Constitutional and Legal Developments (Day 4)

Austin, Granville. 1999. *Working a Democratic Constitution: The Indian Experience*. Delhi: Oxford University Press. pp 1-390.

Constitutional and Legal Developments contd (Day 5)

Kapur and Cossman, *Subversive Sites: Feminist Engagements with law in India* pp 173-231.

Hasan, Zoya. 2000. “Religion and Politics in a Secular State: Law, Community, and Gender” in *Politics and the State in India* ed. Zoya Hasan. Delhi: Oxford University Press. pp. 269-292.

Bhargava, Rajeev. 1999. “Judges and Indian Democracy: The Lesser Evil?” In *Transforming India* ed. Francine Frankel, Zoya Hasan, Rajeev Bhargava, and Balveer Arora. New Delhi: Oxford University Press. pp 314-352..

Federalism (Day 6)

Austin, Granville. 1999. *Working a Democratic Constitution: The Indian Experience*. Delhi: Oxford University Press. pp 553-630.

Crook Richard and James Manor. 1998. *Democracy and Decentralisation in South Asia and West Africa: Participation, Accountability, and Performance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press pp. 22-84.

Federalism contd (Day 7)

Rashavulu, C.V. and E.A.Narayana. 1999. Reforms in Panchayati Raj: A Comparative Analysis of Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, and West Bengal. In *Decentralization and Local Politics* ed. S.N. Jha and P.C. Mathur Delhi: Sage Publications pp 117-130.

Oomen, M.A. 1999. Panchayat Finance and Issues Related to Inter-governmental transfers. In *Decentralization and Local Politics* ed. S.N. Jha and P.C. Mathur Delhi: Sage Publications pp 142-172.

Dutta, Abhijit. 1999. Institutional Aspects of Urban Governance in India. In *Decentralization and Local Politics* ed. S.N. Jha and P.C. Mathur Delhi: Sage Publications pp 191-211.

Mathew George. 2001. Panchayat Elections: Dismal Record. *Economic and Political Weekly*. January 20, 2001

Manor, James. 2001. Madhya Pradesh Experiments with Direct Democracy. *Economic and Political Weekly*. March 3

Bagchi, Amaresh. 2001. Rethinking Federalism: Overview of Current Debates with Some Reflections in Indian Context. *Economic and Political Weekly*. 3025-3036

Aziz Abdul. 2000. Democratic Decentralisation: Experience of Karnataka. *Economic and Political Weekly*. Sept 23.

Lahiri, Ashok. 2000. Sub-national Public Finance in India. *Economic and Political Weekly*. 1539-1549.

Chhibber, Pradeep and Somanathan Easwaran. 2001. Are Federal Systems Decentralized? Mimeo.

The Role of Caste (Day 8)

Gupta, Dipankar. 2000. *Interrogating Caste*. Delhi: Penguin.

Caste contd (Day 9)

Omvedt, Gail. 1994. "Peasants, Dalits, and Women: Democracy and India's New Social Movements". 24:1 35-47.

Ruud, Arild Engelsen. 1999. The Indian Hierarchy: Culture, Ideology and Consciousness in Bengali Village Politics. *Modern Asian Studies*. 33:3 689-732.

Sheth, D.L. 1999. Secularisation of Caste and Making of New Middle Class. *Economic and Political Weekly* August 21-28.

Religious Conflict (Day 10)

FIRST DISCUSSION OF PROPOSED FINAL ESSAY

Tambiah, Stanley. 1990. Presidential Address: Reflections on Communal Violence in South Asia. *The Journal of Asian Studies* 49:4 741-760

Varshney, Ashutosh, *Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life: Hindus and Muslims in India*. Yale University Press.

Review Symposium: Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life: Hindus and Muslims in India. *Journal of Comparative and Commonwealth Politics*. March 2001. pp 96-141.

Religious Conflict (Day 11)

Brass, Paul R. 2003. *The Production of Hindu-Muslim Violence in Contemporary India*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Wilkinson, Steve. 2004. *Votes and Violence*. Cambridge University Press, Chps 1, 5, 6.

Das, Suranjan. 2000. "The 1992 Calcutta Riot in Historical Perspective: A Relapse into Communal Fury?". *Modern Asian Studies*: 34:2 281-306

Regional and Sub-Regional Conflict (Days 12 & 13)

1. The North East

Kohli, Atul: "Can Democracies Accommodate Ethnic Nationalism: The Rise and Decline of Self-Determination Movements," *Journal of Asian Studies* 56: 325-344

Dasgupta, Jyotindra "Community, Authenticity, and Autonomy: Insurgency and Institutional Development in India's Northeast," *Journal of Asian Studies* 56:345-370

Aggarwal, Kailash. (ed). 1999. *Dynamics of Identity and Intergroup Relations in North-East India*. Simla: Indian Institute for Advanced Study. Pp 1-265.

2. Punjab and Kashmir

Ganguly, Sumit. 1998. *The Crisis in Kashmir: Portents of War, Hopes of Peace*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Sikand, Yoginder. 2001. Changing Course of Kashmiri Struggle: From National Liberation to Islamist Jihad?" *Economic and Political Weekly* January 20, 2001.

Bearak, Barry. "A Kashmiri Mystery". *New York Times Magazine*, December 31, 2000 pp 26 ff.

Tambiah, Stanley J. 1996. "Sikh Identity, separation, and ethnic conflict, in *Levelling Crowds*. Berkeley: University of California Press. pp 101-162

Jodhka, Surinder S. 2001. Looking Back at the Khalistan Movement: Some Recent researches on its Rise and Decline. *Economic and Political Weekly* April 21-27.

Singh, Gurharpal. (tba)

Gendered Civil Society (Day 14)

Ray Raka. 1999. *Fields of Protest: Women's Movements in India*. Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press.

Kaushik, Susheela. 1999. "Women in Panchayat Elections". In *Decentralization and Local Politics* ed. S.N. Jha and P.C. Mathur Delhi: Sage Publications pp 239-247.

Reservation Politics (Day 15)

John, Mary. 2000. "Alternate Modernities: Reservations and Women's Movements in 20th Century India". *Economic and Political Weekly* pp 3822-3830

Das, Bhagwan. 2000. "Moments in a History of Reservations". *Economic and Political Weekly* October 28 3821-3834

Joint Action Committee. 2000. "Negotiating Gender and Caste". *Economic and Political Weekly* 3845-3848

Kishwar, Madhu. 2000. "Equality of Opportunity vs equality of Results: Improving Womens reservation Bill". *Economic and Political Weekly* Nov 18. 4151-4156.

Visaria, Leela. 2000. "Violence against Women: A field Study". *Economic and Political Weekly* May 13. 1742-1751

Baxi, Pratiksha. 2000. "Rape, Retribution, State: On whose bodies". *Economic and Political Weekly* 1196-1200.

Associations and Electoral Politics (Days 16 & 17)

SECOND DISCUSSION OF PROPOSED FINAL ESSAY

1. Social Cleavages, Civil Society, and Party Politics

Chhibber, Pradeep. 1999. *Democracy without Associations* University of Michigan Press.

Recommended:

Rudolph, Susanne Hoeber. 2000. Civil Society and the Realm of Freedom. *Economic and Political Weekly* May 13.

Chandra, Kanchan. The Transformation of Ethnic Politics in India: The Decline of the Congress Party and the Rise of the Bahujan Samaj Party, *Journal of Asian Studies* 59: 26-61

Yadav, Yogendra. 1999. Understanding the Second Democratic Upsurge: trends of Bahujan participations in electoral politics in the 1990s. in *Transforming India* ed. Francine Frankel, Zoya Hasan, Rajeev Bhargava, and Balveer Arora. New Delhi: Oxford University Press pp 120-145.

Hasan, Zoya. 1999. Representation and Redistribution: The new lower caste politics of north India In *Transforming India* ed. Francine Frankel, Zoya Hasan, Rajeev Bhargava, and Balveer Arora. New Delhi: Oxford University Press pp 146-175..

Jaffrelot, Christophe. 1996. *The Hindu Nationalist Movement in India*. Pp 11-192.

2. Contemporary Electoral Politics and the Rise of the BJP

Jaffrelot, Christophe. 1996. *The Hindu Nationalist Movement in India*. Pp 11-192; 314-550.

Recommended:

Banerjee, Sikata. 1996. The Feminization of Violence in Bombay: Women in the Politics of the Shiv Sena. *Asian Survey* 36: 1213-25

Katzenstein, Mehta, and Thakkar, "The Rebirth of the Shiv Sena: The Symbiosis of Discursive and Organizational Power," *Journal of Asian Studies* 56:371-390

Basu, Amrita. 1995. Feminism Inverted: The gendered imagery and real women of Hindi nationalism" in *Women and the Hindu Right*, ed. Tanika Sarkar New Delhi: Kali for Women pp 158-80.

Nigam, Aditya and Yogendra Yadav. 1999. "Electoral Politics in Indian States, 1989-99. *Economic and Political Weekly* August 21-28. (this is a special issue – read all the articles on each state that follow paying particular attention to the following two)

Yadav, Yogendra. 1999. Electoral Politics in the Time of Change: India's Electoral System, 1989-99. *Economic and Political Weekly* August 21-28, 1999

Yogendra Yadav and Oliver Heath: The United Colours of Congress, *Economic and Political Weekly* August 21-28, 1999

Social and Economic Policy

1. Educating Children (Day 18)

Shariff, Abusaleh. 2000. India: Human Development Report. Delhi: Oxford University Press. pp 98-197.

Weiner, Myron. 1991. *The Child and the State in India*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Katzenstein, Mary Fainsod. 2000. The "Mother" and the State in India. *Asian Survey* 40:5 737-

2. Health and Education (Day 19)

Sen Amartya and Dreze Jean. 1995. *India Economic Development and Social Opportunity*. Delhi: Oxford University Press. pp 1-139.

Gumber, Anil and Veena Kulkarni. 2000. "Health Insurance for Informal Sector: Case Study of Gujarat". *Economic and Political Weekly*. Sept. 30 pp 3607-3613.

Roy, Allen, B. Kamaiah, and M Govinda Rao. 2000. "Educational Expenditure of Large States: A Normative View". *Economic and Political Weekly* April 22 pp 1465-1469.

Das, Veena, R.K. Das, and Lester Coutinho. 2000. "Disease Control and Immunisation: A Sociological Inquiry". *Economic and Political Weekly* 625-632

Das, Veena and Abhijit Dasgupta. 2000. "Scientific and Political Representations: Cholera Vaccine in India". *Economic and Political Weekly* 633-644

Outinho, Lester, Suman Bisht and Gauri Raje. 2000. "Numerical Narratives and Documentary Practice: Vaccines, Targets and Reports of Immunisation Programme". *Economic and Political Weekly* 656-666.

3. Economic Reform (Day 20)

Bhagwati, Jagdish and T.N. Srinivasan: *India's Economic Reforms* 1-70

Denoon, David B. 1998. "Cycles in Indian Economic Liberalization, 1966-1996. *Comparative Politics*. October 1998. pp 43-60.

Varshney, Ashutosh. 1998. Mass Politics or Elite Politics? India's Economic Reforms in Comparative Perspective. *Journal of Policy Reform*, December 1998.

Jenkins, Rob. 1999. *Democratic Politics and Economic Reform in India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

FINAL ESSAY DUE (DECEMBER 10)