McGill University Department of Political Science Fall 2009 Political Change in South Asia POLI 322-001 (CRN: 6173)

Instructor: Pushkar

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Lectures: Tues & Thurs 4.05-5.25 pm (Burnside 1B45)

Office: Peterson Hall 334

Office hrs: Tues 1.00-2.30 pm or by appointment

The South Asian region includes the world's most populous democracy (India), a monarchy (Bhutan), the world's only Hindu state (Nepal), two nuclear powers with a history of armed conflict (India and Pakistan), a country with remarkable human development achievements despite low per capita income (Sri Lanka), one of the world's fastest growing economies that continues to lag behind in social development (India), and three countries with large Muslim populations (India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh). This course will introduce you to select countries in the region—India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka—through a focus on mainly three themes: 1) democracy and authoritarian rule; 2) economic and social development; and 3) ethnic relations. The course will discuss why some countries have succeeded with democracy and economic and social development, and why others have not. Given the region's immense ethnic diversity, the course will also examine the nature of ethnic relations, and why different ethnic groups have mainly lived in peace and why in some cases, ethnic conflict has broken out. While selective in the choice of countries and themes, the larger goal of the course is to challenge conventional wisdom about the South Asian region and developing countries more generally.

IMPORTANT

In the event of extraordinary circumstances beyond the University's control, the content and/or evaluation scheme in this course is subject to change.

Course Requirements

20% Mid-term exam (1 hr) – to be held on October 6

20% Conferences (see pp. 6-7) for details

20% <u>Essay</u> - due in class on November 17 (see p. 8 for details) 40% <u>Final exam</u> (3 hours) - to be held in December 2009

McGill University values academic integrity. Therefore all students must understand the meaning and consequences of cheating, plagiarism and other academic offences under the Code of Student Conduct and Disciplinary Procedures (see www.mcgill.ca/integrity for more information).

L'université McGill attache une haute importance à l'honnêteté académique. Il incombe par conséquent à tous les étudiants de comprendre ce que l'on entend par tricherie, plagiat et autres infractions académiques, ainsi que les

conséquences que peuvent avoir de telles actions, selon le Code de conduite de l'étudiant et des procédures disciplinaires (pour de plus amples reseignements, veuillez consulter le site <u>www.mcgill.ca/integrity</u>).

Schedule and Reading Assignments

Note: Books marked $\sqrt{\ }$ are also available online. All books will also be available on reserve at the McGill University Library.

The following books are required and available at the McGill University Bookstore.

Note that the book *The Burden of Democracy* may not become available at the McGill Bookstore at the beginning of the term. You are strongly advised to buy the book online from amazon.ca or amazon.com. You may also find copies available from other online sellers.

√*Burki, Javed S. 1999. Pakistan: Fifty Years of Nationhood, Third Edition. Boulder: Westview.

**Mehta, Pratap Bhanu. 2003. The Burden of Democracy. New Delhi: Penguin.

Recommended:

 $\sqrt{***}$ Malik, Yogendra et al, eds. 2009. Government and Politics in South Asia, Sixth Edition. Boulder: Westview Press.

A limited number of copies of this book will be available for sale at the McGill University bookstore. You are strongly recommended to read relevant sections of the book so that you know key facts and ideas about India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, and Bangladesh.

In addition, a <u>course pack</u> is also made available at the bookstore. Readings marked • are NOT included in the course pack but posted on WebCT.

I. Introduction: Nationalism, Independence and Partition

WEEK 1 (September 1, 3)

- 1. Mehta, Pratap Bhanu. 2003. "The Nationalist Movement," in Sumit Ganguly and Neil DeVotta, eds., *Understanding Contemporary India* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner): 41-61.
- 2. Pandey, Gyanendra. 2001. Remembering Partition: Violence, Nationalism, and History in India (New York: Cambridge University Press): 21-44.
- $\sqrt{*}$ Burki, Javed S. *Pakistan* Chapter 1.

II. India since Independence

Recommended:

 $\sqrt{***}$ Malik, Yogendra et al. Government and Politics in South Asia: pp. 12-146; especially pp. 46-138.

WEEKS 2 & 3 (Sept 8, 10, 15, 17)

The Story of Indian Democracy

3. Chadda, Maya. 2000. Building Democracy in South Asia (Boulder: Lynne Rienner): 38-50.

Why has Democracy Survived?

- 4. Ashutosh Varshney. 1998. "Why Democracy Survives." Journal of Democracy 9 (3): 36-50.
- 5. Susanne Hoeber Rudolph, and Lloyd I. Rudolph. 2002. "New Dimensions of Indian Democracy." *Journal of Democracy* 13 (1): 52-66.

Political Parties & The Party System

- 6. Manor. James. 1988. "Parties and the Party System," in Atul Kohli, ed., *India's Democracy: An Analysis of Changing State-Society Relations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press): 62-98.
- 7. Sridharan, E., and Ashutosh Varshney. 2001. "Toward Moderate Pluralism: Political Parties in India," in Larry Diamond and Richard Gunther, eds., *Political Parties and Democracy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press): 206-37.

Assessing the Quality of India's Democracy

- 8. Varshney, Ashutosh. 2000. "Is India Becoming More Democratic?" *Journal of Asian Studies* 59 (1): 3-25.
- ** Mehta, Pratap Bhanu. The Burden of Democracy.

WEEKS 4 & 5 (Sept 22, 24, 29, Oct 1)

Note: Conferences begin the week of September 21

Economic and Social Development in Post-Independent India

- 9. Hardgrave, Robert L., Jr. and Stanley A. Kochanek. 2008. *India: Government and Politics in a Developing Nation*, 7th Edition (Boston: Thomson Wadsworth): 416-57.
- 10. Mukherji, Rahul. 2009. "The State, Economic Growth, and Development in India." *India Review* 8 (1): 81-106.
- 11. Varshney, Ashutosh. 2000. "Why Have Poor Democracies Not Eliminated Poverty? A Suggestion." *Asian Survey* 40 (5): 718-36.
- Gupta, Madhvi. 2009. "Why Do Poor People Not Demand Public Goods? Interpreting the Evidence from Low-income Communities in Delhi, India." Unpublished manuscript.
- Singh, Prerna. Forthcoming. "We-ness and Welfare: A Longitudinal Analysis of Social Development in Kerala, India," *World Development*.

WEEK 6

Mid-term Exam – October 6

Note: There will be no conferences this week

Movie:

Bharat Ek Khoj (The Discovery of India) - October 8

III. The Making of Modern Pakistan

Recommended:

 $\sqrt{***}$ Malik, Yogendra et al. Government and Politics in South Asia (pp. 147-225).

WEEK 7 (Oct 13, 15)

Democracy and Authoritarian Rule in Pakistan

- $\sqrt{*}$ Burki, Javed S. *Pakistan* Introduction.
- 12. Chadda, Maya. 2000. Building Democracy in South Asia (Boulder: Lynne Rienner): 24-37.

Why has Democracy Failed?

- 13. Stern, Robert. 2001. Democracy and Dictatorship in South Asia: Dominant Classes and Political Outcomes in India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh (Wesport: Praeger): 123-43.
- 14. Chadda, Maya. 2000. Building Democracy in South Asia (Boulder: Lynne Rienner): 66-110.
- $\sqrt{*}$ Burki, Javed S. *Pakistan* Chapter 2.

WEEK 8 (Oct 20, 22)

Between Mosque and Military

- 15. Noman, Omar. 1990. Pakistan: Political and Economic History Since 1947 (London: Kegan Paul): 144-60.
- 16. Haqqani, Husain. 2004-05. "The Role of Islam in Pakistan's Future." *The Washington Quarterly* 28 (1): 85-96.
- 17. Goodson, Larry P. 2008. "The 2008 Elections." Journal of Democracy 19 (4): 5-15.

WEEK 9 (October 27, 29)

Pakistan: Growth without Development?

- $\sqrt{*}$ Burki, Javed S. *Pakistan*, Chapter 3-4 (especially pp. 95-122, 134-8, 139-68).
- 18. Khan, Tariq Amin. 2000. "Economy, Society, and The State in Pakistan." *Contemporary South Asia* 9 (2): 181-95.
- Easterly, William. 2001. "The Political Economy of Growth without Development: A Case Study of Pakistan." Paper for the Analytical Narratives of Growth Project, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University.
- 19. Hasan, Parvez. 2007. "Role of the State in Pakistan's Economy: Assessing the Past and Exploring Future Challenges." *Economic and Political Weekly* 42 (18): 1623-30.

IV. Ethnic Politics in South Asia

Recommended:

 $\sqrt{***}$ Malik, Yogendra et al. Government and Politics in South Asia (pp. 243-59; 264-9; 275-80; 284-95; 305-26; 348-54).

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WEEKS 10-11 (November 3, 5, 10, 12)

Note: There will be conferences during Week 10 (Nov 2-6)

Bangladesh & Pakistan

- 20. Oldenburg, Philip. 1985. "A Place Insufficiently Imagined": Language, Belief, and The Pakistan Crisis of 1971." *Journal of Asian Studies* 44 (4): 711-33.
- 21. Stern, Robert. 2001. Democracy and Dictatorship in South Asia: Dominant Classes and Political Outcomes in India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh (Westport: Praeger): 143-64.
- 22. Riaz, Ali. 2003. "'God Willing': The Politics and Ideology of Islamism in Bangladesh." Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East 23 (1 & 2): 301-20.
- 23. Noman, Omar. 1990. Pakistan: Political and Economic History Since 1947 (London: Kegan Paul): 192-206.
- 24. Nasr, S. V. R. 2000. "International Politics, Domestic Imperatives, and Identity Mobilization: Sectarianism in Pakistan, 1979-1998." *Comparative Politics* 32 (2): 171-90.

WEEKS 12-13 (November 17, 19, 24, 26)

India & Sri Lanka

India: Caste and Religion

- 25. Manor, James. 1996. "'Ethnicity' and Politics in India." International Affairs 72 (3): 459-75.
- 26. Pinglé, Vibha. 2003. "Caste," in Sumit Ganguly and Neil DeVotta, eds., *Understanding Contemporary India* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner): 231-53.
- 27. Jaffrelot, Christophe. 2007. "Caste and The Rise of Marginalized Groups," in Sumit Ganguly et al, eds., *The State of India's Democracy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press): 67-85.
- 28. Guha, Ramachandra. 2007. *India After Gandhi: The History of the World's Largest Democracy* (New York: HarperCollins): 597-650.
- 29. Varshney, Ashutosh. 2001. "Ethnic Conflict and Civil Society: India and Beyond." World Politics 53 (3): 62-98.

Ethnic Conflict in Sri Lanka

Note: 1-2 required readings will be added at a later date.

WEEK 14 (December 1) OPTIONAL LECTURE

Conference Schedule & Grade Distribution

You are required to attend 8 conferences organized around specific themes and readings. Please note that conferences are scheduled to begin from September 21 and that there will be no conferences during weeks 6 (October 6-10) and 10 (November 2-6). While you are expected to primarily focus on the specific reading assigned for the week, this by no means implies that the teaching assistants will expect you to be unfamiliar with other readings for that week as assigned in the course outline.

Conference 1: Week 4 (Sep 21-25)

Why has Democracy Survived (Flourished?) in India?

#8 - Ashutosh Varshney. 1997. "Why Democracy Survives." Journal of Democracy 9 (3): 36-50.

Conference 2: Week 5 (Sep 28-Oct 2)

The Quality of India's Democracy - 1

** Mehta, Pratap Bhanu. The Burden of Democracy.

Note: There will be no conferences held during Week 6 (Oct 5-9)

Conference 3: Week 7 (Oct 12-16)

The Quality of India's Democracy – 2

• Gupta, Madhvi. 2009. "Why Do Poor People Not Demand Public Goods: Interpreting the Evidence from Low-income Communities in Delhi, India." Unpublished manuscript.

Conference 4: Week 8 (Oct 19-23)

Why has Democracy Failed in Pakistan?

13 Stern, Robert. 2001. Democracy and Dictatorship in South Asia: Dominant Classes and Political Outcomes in India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh (Wesport: Praeger): 123-51.

Conference 5: Week 9 (Oct 26-30)

Was Islamization inevitable in Pakistan?

16 Haqqani, Husain. 2004-05. "The Role of Islam in Pakistan's Future." The Washington Quarterly 28 (1): 85-96.

Note: There will be no conferences held during Week 10 (Nov 2-6)

Conference 6: Week 11 (Nov 9-13)

Pakistan's Growth without Development

• Easterly, William. 2001. The Political Economy of Growth without Development: A Case Study of Pakistan. Paper for the Analytical Narratives of Growth Project, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University.

Conference 7: Week 12 (Nov 16-20)

The Emergence of Bangladesh

20 Oldenburg, Philip. 1985. "A Place Insufficiently Imagined": Language, Belief, and The Pakistan Crisis of 1971." *Journal of Asian Studies* 44 (4): 711-33.

Conference 8: Week 13 (Nov 23-27)

Ethnic Politics in India

29 Varshney, Ashutosh. 2001. "Ethnic Conflict and Civil Society: India and Beyond." World Politics 53 (3): 62-98.

Grade distribution for the conferences is as follows:

Attendance – 8 marks
Presentation – 4 marks
Participation – 8 marks

Essay Guidelines

You are required to submit an essay of 1500-2000 words (including footnotes and bibliography) on a theme that broadly lies within the scope of South Asian politics. You will be penalized for exceeding the word limit. The range of options is not limited to countries/themes covered in the course. However, if you are unsure about your topic or need advice, consult your teaching assistant or the instructor.

The essay should be written in a term paper format with footnotes (no endnotes please) and a bibliography at the end. Some usual recommendations apply. You may benefit from choosing your theme early because it is quite likely that there will be some false starts and you will change topics (perhaps more than once). After you have settled with a topic and begin writing, you should be prepared to edit your work several times. Note that writing on a popular theme or a taking controversial position on a topic does not guarantee better grades. Your goal should be to write thoughtfully and clearly. Avoid jargon and long quotations. Write short sentences. Keep things simple. Other common sense advice (often to your annoyance) will be offered in plenty during the course of the term.

NOTE: Essays are due in class on November 17. All late submissions will be penalized without exception.