

POLI 322
Fall 2022
Mon, Wed 1:05 – 2:25 p.m.
MacDonald Engineering Building 279

Narendra Subramanian
Office: Leacock 318
Phone: 514-398-8586
Office Hours: Mon, Wed 11:50 a.m. –
12:50 p.m. or by appointment
narendra.subramanian@mcgill.ca

POLITICAL CHANGE IN SOUTH ASIA

The course introduces students to political change in South Asia. It considers colonial experiences and legacies, state formation, democratic and authoritarian tendencies, political parties and mass politics, economic and social policies and their effects, identity politics, patterns of social dominance and challenges to them, and gender politics. The course gives greatest attention to changes in India, the region's largest country, but also explores the political experiences of Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, and Nepal. It begins with an overview of some features of society, culture, and the colonial experience. The exploration of postcolonial politics in the rest of the course is organized thematically. It starts by considering democracy and authoritarianism in some detail, and then examines in turn economic change, religion, ethnicity, secession, insurgency, and gender, and ends with an overview of recent developments.

Most readings can be accessed at the course website in MyCourses in the Content section, "Readings" sub-section. The readings should be done before the lectures that discuss them.

Readings

Extensive readings are drawn from this book which is available for purchase from the bookstore:

Paul R. Brass, ed., *Routledge Handbook of South Asian Politics: India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, and Nepal*. (London: Routledge, 2013)

It is also available as an e-book, a link to which is available on MyCourses. Electronic copies of the other readings are also available through MyCourses. You are expected to do the readings for a class before the lectures and the conferences at which they are discussed.

Recommended Reading

The journal *Asian Survey* publishes yearly analyses of developments over the previous year in all major Asian countries. You may read these pieces at any point in the term:

Rikhil R. Bhavnani & Saloni Bhogale, "India in 2021: At the Crossroads", Sahar Shafqat, "Pakistan in 2021: End of the Innings for Imran Khan?", Jyoti Rahman, "Bangladesh in 2021: Bangladesh Turns 50: Economy, Politics, International Relations", Kristine Eck, "Nepal in 2021: From Bad to Worse", Bart Klem & Dinesh Samararatne, "Sri Lanka in 2021: Vistas on the Brink", *Asian Survey* 62.1 (Jan/ Feb 2022): 161-210.

Course Requirements

The prerequisite for the course is a 200-level course in comparative politics or a related social science course.

Students will be expected to write two quizzes, a final exam, and five responses to questions about the readings for specific weeks, attend the lectures, and attend and participate actively in the conferences. The quizzes and final exam will be based on the readings and lecture material. The quizzes will approximately cover the first third and second third of the course material respectively. The final exam will be cumulative in scope, with an emphasis on the material in Part B. It will be written during the final exam period (December 7 - 21) in the room assigned for the purpose over a three-hour period. It will consist of essay questions, of which the longer questions will be placed on MyCourses at the start of the final exam period.

The reading responses, each 250 to 300 words long, should address the questions posed under the Assignments section on MyCourses about the readings for the previous week. Such questions will be posted about the readings for more than ten weeks, of which you will need to submit responses to five in word format.

Grading

The course grade will be determined in the following way:

Quiz 1	20%
Quiz 2	20%
Formal Final Exam	35%
Reading Responses (on readings for five weeks)	15%
Conference attendance and participation	10%

Students must write the two quizzes and the final exam and submit five reading responses to pass the course. Aside from being worth 10%, the frequency and quality of conference participation will influence the course grades of those on the borderline between two letter grades. You cannot get an incomplete for the course unless you face serious problems and provide appropriate proof. All regrade requests must be accompanied by a short, written justification. Marks on regraded assignments may go up, down, or remain the same. In the event of extraordinary circumstances such as an intensification of the pandemic, the content and/ or evaluation scheme in this course is subject to change.

Circumstances through this term

The current plan is for teaching to be entirely in person for this term. This will be the case with the lectures as well as the conferences when they start the week of January 17. As the pandemic is far from over, you are however welcome, indeed encouraged, to take due care of your health and that of your fellow-students by wearing procedural masks when entering and leaving the class as well as when you are seated in the classroom. The pandemic's future course remains uncertain. Restrictions may be introduced as the term proceeds. I ask for everyone's

collaboration to ensure effective learning under whatever constraints we face. Thank you very much for your help with this. Even if the pandemic recedes, many of us would be dealing with how it has affected us. We need to keep this mind and be tolerant of various problems people may face as a result. With some patience and mutual understanding, we can find ways to adjust teaching and learning practices to the circumstances. The lectures will be recorded if this is possible in the classroom and the recordings will be made available on MyCourses. However, you are expected to attend the lectures in person, which would be best for your learning experience. The recordings are only meant to provide complementary pedagogical support if you miss a class or wish to hear segments of a lecture again. The conferences will not be recorded.

© Instructor-generated course materials (e.g., handouts, notes, summaries, exam questions, etc.) are protected by law and may not be copied or distributed in any form or in any public medium. All course materials remain the instructor's intellectual property. You can use these materials for your own personal purposes, but you cannot put them up on the internet or give them or sell them to others who may copy them and make them available. Please note that infringements of copyright can be subject to follow up by the University under the Code of Student Conduct and Disciplinary Procedures.

In the event of extraordinary circumstances beyond the University's control especially related to the pandemic, the content and/or evaluation scheme may be changed.

Netiquette

The University recognizes the importance of maintaining teaching spaces that are respectful and inclusive for all involved.

Academic Integrity

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/students/srr/honest/ 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 renseignements, veuillez consulter le site www.mcgill.ca/students/srr/honest/).

Language

In accord with McGill University's Charter of Students' Rights, students in this course have the right to submit in English or in French any written work that is to be graded. Conformément à la Charte des droits de l'étudiant de l'Université McGill, chaque étudiant a le droit de soumettre en français ou en anglais tout travail écrit devant être noté.

Disabilities

I try to provide an inclusive learning environment. However, if you have a disability or experience barriers to learning and anticipate problems related to the format or requirements of the course, please contact the instructor or the TA to discuss your situation and ensure your full participation in the course. It would be helpful if you also contact the **Office for Students with Disabilities** at 514-398-6009 before you do this.

Text-Matching

Please note that to support academic integrity, your assignments may be submitted to text-matching or other appropriate software (e.g., formula-, equation-, and graph-matching).

Course Evaluations

Course evaluations are one of the ways that McGill works to maintain and improve the quality of courses and the student's learning experience. You will be notified by e-mail when the evaluations are available. Please note that a minimum number of responses must be received for the results to be made available to students.

Indigenous Land Statement

McGill University is on land which has long served as a site of meeting and exchange amongst Indigenous peoples, including the Haudenosaunee and Anishinabeg nations. We acknowledge and thank the diverse Indigenous people whose footsteps have marked this territory on which peoples of the world now gather. L'Université McGill est sur un emplacement qui a longtemps servi de lieu de rencontre et d'échange entre les peuples autochtones, y compris les nations Haudenosaunee et Anishinabeg. Nous reconnaissons et remercions les divers peuples autochtones dont les pas ont marqué ce territoire sur lequel les peuples du monde entier se réunissent maintenant.

Plan of the Course

Part A: Society, Colonial Experiences and Colonial Legacies

I Introduction to Politics, State and Society in the Region

Aug 31: Paul R. Brass, "Introduction" in Brass, ed., *Routledge Handbook of South Asian Politics: India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, and Nepal*. (London: Routledge, 2013): 1-23.

Sept 5: Labour Day (no classes)

II Colonial Legacies

Sept 7: Ian Talbot and Nira Wickramasinghe, "Colonialism, Nationalism, and Independence in South Asia: India, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka" in Brass, ed., *Routledge Handbook of South Asian Politics*: 27-52.

III Society and Culture: An Overview

Sept 12: Robert L. Hardgrave and Stanley A. Kochanek, "The Context of Political Development in India" in *India: Government and Politics in a Developing Nation* (Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace College Publishers, 2008): 4-14.

Oliver Mendelsohn and Marika Vicziany, *The Untouchables: Subordination, Poverty and the State in Modern India* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998): 1-14, 29-43.

Conferences Begin: Week of September 12

II The Politics of Religious Identity

Sept 14: Gyanendra Pandey, excerpt from *The Construction of Communalism in Colonial North India*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990): 6-7, 158-200.

Sept 19: Paul R. Brass, "Elite Groups, Symbol Manipulation and Ethnic Identity Among the Muslims of South Asia" in *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Theory and Comparison*. (Newbury Park: Sage, 1991): 75-108.

III Indian Nationalism

Sept 21: Pratap Bhanu Mehta, "The Nationalist Movement" in Sumit Ganguly and Neil DeVotta, eds., *Understanding Contemporary India*. (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2003): 41-60.

IV The Pakistan Movement and Partition

Sept 26: Ayesha Jalal, "From Minority to Nation" in *The Struggle for Pakistan: A Muslim Homeland and Global Politics*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014): 10-39.

PART B: Postcolonial Politics

I Political Institutions, Democracy, and Authoritarianism

a. India and Pakistan

Sept 28, Oct 3: Atul Kohli and Prerna Singh, "Introduction: Politics in India – An Overview" in Kohli and Singh, eds. *Routledge Handbook of Indian Politics*. (Taylor & Francis: 2013): 1-15.

Craig Jeffrey, "Making India Work, 1947-89" and "Rethinking India" in *Modern India: A Very Short Introduction*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017): 48-83.

Christophe Jaffrelot, "Introduction" and "Conclusion" in *The Pakistan Paradox: Instability and Resilience*. (London: Hurst, 2015): 1-11, 632-641.

Quiz 1 – Oct 5: This quiz will cover material discussed until October 3.

Oct 10: Thanksgiving (no class)

Oct 11-12: Fall Reading Break (no class)

Oct 13, Thursday (Classes usually scheduled for Mondays):

Christophe Jaffrelot, "India and Pakistan: Interpreting the Divergence of Two Political Trajectories", *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 15.2 (2002): 251-267.

Maya Tudor, "Explaining Democracy's Origins: Lessons from South Asia", *Comparative Politics* 45.3 (2013): 253-272.

b. Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, and Nepal

Oct 17, 19: Neil Devotta, "Sri Lanka" in Devotta, ed., *An Introduction to South Asian Politics*. (New York: Routledge, 2016): 83-108.

Harry Blair, "Party Overinstitutionalization, Contestation, and Democratic Degradation in Bangladesh" in Brass, ed., *Routledge Handbook of South Asian Politics*: 98-112.

Krishna Hachhethu and David N. Gellner, "Nepal: Trajectories of Democracy and Restructuring of the State" in Brass, ed., *Routledge Handbook of South Asian Politics*: 131-144.

II The Economy

Oct 24: Tirthankar Roy, “The State and the Economy I: India, Pakistan, Bangladesh” in *The Economy of South Asia: From 1950 to the Present* (Palgrave MacMillan, 2017): 39-74.

W.D. Lakshman, “Economic Development and Sociopolitical Change in Sri Lanka since Independence” in Brass, ed., *Routledge Handbook of South Asian Politics*: 337-343 (until “Constitutional & Political Processes” section), 344-345 (starting with “Human Development”).

Oct 26: Jean Drèze and Amartya Sen, “A New India?” and “India in Comparative Perspective” (selections) in *An Uncertain Glory: India and its Contradictions* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013): 12-24, 47-63, 66-72.

Oct 31: Tirthankar Roy, “Land Reforms” in *The Economy of South Asia*: 129-154.

Bina Agarwal, “Gender and Command over Property: A Critical Gap in Economic Analysis and Policy in South Asia”, *World Development* 22.10 (October 1994): 1455-1478.

Quiz 2 – Nov 2: This quiz will cover material discussed until October 31.

III Nationhood and Religion

Nov 7, 9: Farzana Shaikh, “The Burden of Islam: The Sacralization of Politics” and “Between Crescent and Sword” in *Making Sense of Pakistan* (London: C. Hurst & Co., 2009): 107-115, 150-179.

Rajeev Bhargava, “The Distinctiveness of Indian Secularism” in T.N. Srinivasan, ed., *The Future of Secularism* (Oxford and Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2007): 20-53.

Christophe Jaffrelot, “Introduction” in Jaffrelot, ed., *The Sangh Parivar: A Reader*. (New Delhi: OUP, 2005): 1-22.

Christophe Jaffrelot, “India’s Democracy at 70: Toward a Hindu State?” *Journal of Democracy* 28.3 (July 2017): 52-63.

IV Secession

Nov 14: Craig Baxter, *Bangladesh: A New Nation in an Old Setting* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1984): 29-47.

Srinath Raghavan, *1971: A Global History of the Creation of Bangladesh*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013): 5-10, 264-273.

Nov 16: Neil Devotta, “From Ethnic Outbidding to Ethnic Conflict: The Institutional Bases for Sri Lanka’s Separatist War”, *Nations and Nationalism*, 11.1 (January 2005): 141-157.

Nira Wickramasinghe, *Sri Lanka in the Modern Age: A History*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014): 379-407.

V Ethnicity, Pluralism, Conflict, and Inequality

Nov 21: Alfred Stepan, Juan J. Linz and Yogendra Yadav, “The Rise of State-Nations”, *Journal of Democracy*, 21.3 (July 2010): 50-68.

Gurharpal Singh, “Crises of National Unity in India” in Atul Kohli and Perna Singh, eds., *Routledge Handbook of Indian Politics*: 249-259.

Nov 23: Christophe Jaffrelot, “The Subordinate Caste Revolution” in Alyssa Ayres, Philip Oldenburg, and Philip Oldenburg, eds., *India Briefing: Takeoff at Last?* (Taylor & Francis: 2005): 121-158.

Narendra Subramanian, “From Bondage to Citizenship: A Comparison of African American and Indian Lower-Caste Mobilization in Two Regions of Deep Inequality”, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 62.4 (Oct 2020): 770–809.

VI Insurgencies

Nov 28: Paul Staniland, “Insurgencies in India” in Kohli and Singh, eds., *Routledge Handbook of Indian Politics*. (London: Routledge, 2013): 167-177.

Alpa Shah and Judith Pettigrew, “Windows into a Revolution: Ethnographies of Maoism in India and Nepal” in Shah and Pettigrew, eds., *Windows into a Revolution: Ethnographies of Maoism in India and Nepal*. (London: Routledge, 2017): 1-14, 18-28, 30-34.

VII Gender

Nov 30, Dec 5: Amrita Basu, “Women, Political Parties and Social Movements in South Asia”, UNRISD Occasional Paper No. 5 (Geneva: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, 2005): iii, 1-35.

Narendra Subramanian, *Nation and Family: Personal Law, Cultural Pluralism, and Gendered Citizenship in India* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2014): 1-8, 83-93, 131-2, 134-142, 262-265, 278-288.

Final Exam: To be Scheduled between December 7 and December 21