

# Politics and Governance in South Asia

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Office Hours: Thursdays: 4-530pm.

Perhaps nowhere in the world is the survival of democracy more surprising than in India, a poor, ethnically diverse, post-colonial society where one in six people in the world live. Indian democracy is often discussed as an anomaly that defies the conventional wisdom in political science. It was founded following the violent partition of Pakistan in a continent-sized country with massive illiteracy, poverty, economic inequality, and social divisions from language to caste to religion. Its democracy is vibrant but its record on governance and institutional quality is weak. Its poorest voters vote in the largest numbers but have largely negative views of their interactions with the agencies of the state and even less faith in politicians. And the country is hungry for upward mobility as the 2014 elections demonstrated, but the verdict is out on whether or not this can be achieved for large sections of Indian society. The story of India is one of overcoming the odds with important successes amid great challenges, many of which the country continues to face. Its neighbors in the region have not fared as well. Democratic consolidation has not been achieved in Pakistan and Bangladesh; and, amid ethnic diversity, Sri Lanka fell into a long-standing ethnic civil war.

In this class we evaluate the puzzles and challenges that have and continue to face government and society in South Asia— with a strong emphasis on India— drawing on the analytical tools of political science. The course is divided into four parts. First, we discuss India's historical and social context. Second, we discuss India's state and political institutions, including the state bureaucracy, political parties and the institution of elections. Third, we address major challenges for democracy and governance including pervasive corruption, ethnic conflict, and poverty alleviation. Fourth, we discuss India's neighbors' experiences with democracy and governance with attention to the Indian comparison laid out throughout the course.

The course has three main goals. First, to strengthen your skills in analyzing complicated political issues using the analytic tools of political science. Through discussion and writing, you will grapple with the many puzzles Indian democracy and governance in South Asia more broadly pose. Second, to help you to develop an extensive knowledge of Indian (and South Asian) politics and policy. We do this through lectures and readings that draw on a range of analytic approaches. Third, to place these issues in comparative context through engagement with theory and evidence from the region.

## REQUIREMENTS:

**Attendance and Participation (20%):** Students are expected to attend all lectures prepared to discuss the assigned readings. Attendance will be taken and participation will be assessed.

**Case Study Presentations (20%):** I will ask each student to complete one presentation on an institution or Indian state (or South Asian Country if applicable) as it applies to the course theme of that particular class session—starting on week 4. The presentation should last 12-15 minutes; a few minutes of Q &A will follow. We will go over guidelines on presentations in the second class. You must receive approval for your presentation topics by me.

**Midterm (25%):** Students will be required to write a take-home (7-8 pages) midterm essay. The essay prompts will be announced in the 7th week. You will choose one essay prompt among two options. The essay will be due at the beginning of the 8<sup>th</sup> session.

**Final Exam (35%):** There will be a take-home final exam (8-10 pages) that focuses on the broad themes of the course. You will be asked to address one of two essay prompts. Final exams will be handed out at final class meeting and due the day the scheduled final exam, which is set by the registrar.

## Books

We will read substantial amounts of the following books:

Kohli, Atul (Ed). 2001. *The Success of India's Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge Press.

Stepan, Alfred, Juan Linz, and Yogendra Yadav. *Crafting State-Nations: India and Other Multi-National Democracies*.

Adeney, Katherine and Andrew Wyatt. 2010. *Contemporary India*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan Press.

Banerjee, Mukhileka. 2014. *Why India Votes*. London: Routledge Press.

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## SCHEDULE

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### **Week 1: Introduction: The Puzzle of Democracy in South Asia (1/22)**

Kohli, Atul. 2002. "Introduction." in Kohli (Ed), *The Success of India's Democracy*.

## **PART 1: HISTORY AND SOCIETY**

### **Week 2: The Legacy of British Colonialism (1/29)**

Wyatt and Adeney. 2010. *Contemporary India*. Palgrave: Chapter 1.

Jalal, Ayesha. 1995. *Democracy and Authoritarianism in South Asia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: Chapter 1.

Pandey, Gyanendra. *Remembering Partition: Violence, Nationalism, and History in India*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002. Chapter 2.

Samarendra, Padmanabh. 2011. "Census in Colonial India and the Birth of Caste." *Economic and Political Weekly*, xlv (33).

### **Week 3: Caste and Social Change (2/5)**

Wyatt and Adeney. 2010. "The Diversity of India." Palgrave: Chapter 2 [SKIM] and Chapter 4.

Andre Beteille, "Caste in a South Indian Village." P. 146-162, in Dipankar Gupta. ed., *Social Stratification*, OUP, 1991.

Gupta, Dipanker. 2005. "Caste and Politics: Identity Over System." *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 34: 409-427.

Christophe Jaffrelot, 'Caste and the Rise of Marginalized Groups' (pp. 67-88) in The State of India's Democracy, edited by Sumit Ganguly, Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007.

## **PART 2: STATE AND POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS**

### **Week 4: The State (2/12)**

Wyatt and Adeney. 2010. *Contemporary India*. Palgrave: Chapter 3.

Luce, Edward. 2006. *In Spite of the Gods*: Chapter 2: 'The Burra Sahibs: The Long Tentacles of India's State,' 64-106.

Pritchett, Lant. "Is India a Flailing State? Detours on the Four Lane Highway to Modernization." Harvard University Working Paper.

Krishna, Anirudh. "Politics in the Middle: Mediating Relationships between Citizens and the State in Rural North India." *Patrons, Clients, and Policies: Patterns of Democratic Accountability and Political Competition*. Herbert Kitschelt and Steven Wilkinson (Eds). New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Vaishnav, Milan. 2012. "Resizing the State: What if the Indian State is Actually Not Big Enough." *Caravan*. Available at: <<http://carnegieendowment.org/2012/10/01/resizing-state-what-if-indian-state-is-actually-not-big-enough/dyov>>

*Recommended:*

Kapur, Devesh. "The Civil Service." in Devesh Kapur and Pratap Bhanu Mehta (Eds), *Public Institutions in India: Performance and Design*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

### **Week 5: Parties and Party Systems (2/19)**

Mainwaring, Scott and Timothy Scully (Eds). 1995. *Building Democratic Institutions: Party Systems in Latin America*: Introduction.

Kothari, Rajni. 1964. "The Congress' System' in India. *Asian survey*, 1161-1173.

Chhibber, Pradeep. 1999. *Democracy Without Associations*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press: Chapters 7.

Chandra, Kanchan. 2000. "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(1): 26-61.

**NOTE: WE WILL NOT MEET ON 2/26 DUE TO A CONFERENCE**

### **Week 6: Elections and Political Participation (3/5)**

Banerjee, Mukhileka. 2014. *Why India Votes*. London: Routledge Press: Chapters 1,2, 4.

Ahuja, Amit and Pradeep Chhibber. 2012. "Why the Poor Vote in India: "If I Don't Vote, I Am Dead to the State." *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 47 (4) 389-410.

Nooruddin, Irfan and Pradeep Chhibber. 2008. "Unstable Politics Fiscal Space and Electoral Volatility in the Indian States." *Comparative Political Studies*, 41(8) 1069-1091.

**NO CLASS 2/12. SPRING BREAK**

## **Week 7: Patronage Politics (3/19)**

### **MIDTERM ESSAY PROMPTS HANDED OUT IN CLASS**

Kitschelt, Herbert and Steven Wilkinson. 2007. "Citizen-Politician Linkages: An Introduction" in Herbert Kitschelt and Steven Wilkinson (Eds). *Patrons, Clients, and Policies*. New York: Cambridge University Press: Chapter 1.

Wilkinson, Steven. 2014. "Patronage Politics in Post-Independence India." In Anastasia Piliavsky (Ed), *Patronage as Politics in South Asia*. London: Cambridge Press.

Chandra, Kanchan. "Counting Heads." In Herbert Kitschelt and Steven Wilkinson (Eds). *Patrons, Clients, and Policies*. New York: Cambridge University Press: Chapter 4.

Lisa Björkman. 2014 "'You Can't Buy a Vote': Meanings of Money in a Mumbai Election." *American Ethnologist*, 41 (4) 617-34.

Schneider, Mark. 2014. "Can Benefits be Tied to the Vote?" *The Hindu Business Line*. <Published: 13 January 2014>.

Available at: <<http://www.thehindubusinessline.com/opinion/can-benefits-be-tied-to-the-vote/article5574065.ece>>

#### *Recommended:*

Teitelbaum, Emmanuel and Tariq Thachil. 2010. "Demanding Deeper Democracy: Party Fragmentation, Ethnic Mobilization, and Programmatic Politics in the Indian states." *Unpublished paper, Dep. Polit. Sci. and Intl. Aff., George Washington Univ.*

Bardhan, Prabhav., Mitra, and Dillip Mookherjee, and Nath. 2014. "Changing Voting Patterns in Rural West Bengal." *Economic and Political Weekly*, 49(11) 55.

### **PART 3: CHALLENGES FOR DEMOCRACY AND GOVERNANCE**

## **Week 8: Managing Ethnic Diversity: Language, Region, and Caste (3/26)**

### **MIDTERM DUE AT THE START OF CLASS.**

Stepan, Alfred, Juan Linz, and Yogendra Yadav. *Crafting State-Nations: India and Other Multi-National Democracies*. Chapters 1-2.

Samarasinghe, S.W. R. de A. 2009 "Sri Lanka: The Challenge of Postwar Peace Building, State Building, and Nation Building." *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, 15 (3) 436–461.

Atul Kohli. Can Democracies Accommodate Ethnic Nationalism? Rise and Decline of Self-Determination Movements in India *The Journal of Asian Studies* , Vol. 56, No. 2 (May, 1997) 325-344.

Ganguly, Sumit. 1996. "Explaining the Kashmir Insurgency: Political Mobilization and Institutional Decay." *International Security* 21(2) 76-107.

Chauchard, Simon. "Can Descriptive Representation Change Beliefs About a Stigmatized Group? Evidence from Rural India." *American Political Science Review*, 1-20.

*Recommended:*

Ahuja, Amit and Ashutosh Varshney. 2005. "Antecedent Nationhood, Subsequent Statehood: Explaining the Relative Success of Indian Federalism." In Philip G. Roeder and Donald S. Rothchild (eds.) *Sustainable Peace: Power and Democracy after Civil Wars*, 241-64.

**Week 9: Hindu-Muslim Conflict: Competing Theories (4/2)**

Brass, Paul R. "Explaining Communal Violence." in *The Production of Hindu-Muslim Violence in Contemporary India*. Oxford University Press, 5-39.

Wilkinson, Steven. 2004. *Votes and Violence: Electoral Competition and Communal Riots in India*. Chapters 1.

Ashutosh Varshney. "Ethnic Conflict and Civil Society," *World Politics*, April 2001, 362-98.

Berenschot, Ward. 2011. "The Spatial Distribution of Riots: Patronage and the Instigation of Communal Violence in Gujarat, India." *World Development*, 39 (2) 221-230.

**Week 10: Corruption (4/9)**

Olken, Benjamin and Roini Pande. 2011. *Corruption in Developing Countries* (No. w17398). National Bureau of Economic Research.

Bertrand, Marianne, Simeon Djankov, Rema Hanna and Sendhil Mullainathan. 2008. "Corruption in Driving Licensing Process in Delhi." *Economic and Political Weekly*: 71-76.

Bussell, Jennifer. 2012. *Corruption and Reform in India: Public Services in the Digital Age*. Cambridge: Cambridge Press: Selection.

Anjaria, Jonathan. 2011. "Ordinary States: Everyday Corruption and the Politics of Space in Mumbai." *American Ethnologist*, 38 (1), 58-72.

*Recommended:*

Wade, Robert. 1985. "The System of Administrative and Political Corruption: Canal Irrigation in South India." *Journal of Development Studies*, 18 (3): 287–328.

**Week 11: Liberalization, Economic Growth, and Inequality (4/16)**

Kapur, Devesh. 2014. "India's Economic Development," in David M. Malone, Ravi Kanbur, Rohinton Medhora, and Bruce Currie-Alder, eds. *Development: Ideas and Experiences* (London: Oxford University Press).

Kohli, Atul. 2006. "Politics of Economic Growth in India, 1980-2005: Part I: The 1980s." *Economic and Political Weekly*: 1251-1259.

Kohli, Atul. "Politics of Economic Growth in India, 1980-2005, Part II: The 1990s and Beyond," *Economic and Political Weekly*, April 8, 2006.

Mukherji, Rahul. "The State, Economic Growth, and Development in India." *India Review*, 8 (1) 81-106.

Kapur, Devesh, Chandra Bhan Prasad, Lant Pritchett, D Shyam Babu. 2010. "Rethinking Inequality: Dalits in Uttar Pradesh in the Market Reform Era." *Economic and Political Weekly*.

*Recommended:*

Dev, Mahendra and C. Ravi. 2007. "Poverty and Inequality: All-India and States, 1983-2005." *Economic and Political Weekly*, 509-521.

Varshney, Ashutosh. 1998. "Mass Politics or Elite Politics? India's Economic Reforms in Comparative Perspective." *The Journal of Policy Reform*, 2(4), 301-335.

Bardhan, Pranab. 2001. "Sharing the Spoils: Group Equity, Development, and Democracy." in Kohli (Ed.), *The Success of India's Democracy*, 193-225.

Corbridge, Stuart, John Harriss, and Craig Jeffrey. 2013. *India Today: Economy, Politics, and Society*. London: Polity Books: Chapter 2: "When and Why Did India Take Off?"

**Week 12: Social Inequality and Public Service Delivery (4/23)**

Philip Keefer and Stuti Khemani. 2005. Democracy, Public Expenditures, and the Poor: Understanding Political Incentives for Providing Public Services World Bank Research Observer, 20 (1): 1-27.

Dreze, Jean and Amartya Sen. 2013. *An Uncertain Glory*. Princeton: Princeton University Press: Chapter 7: 'Poverty and Social Support.'

Chaudhury, Nazmul; Hammer, Jeffrey; Kremer, Michael; Muralidharan, Karthik; Rogers, F. Halsey. 2006. "Missing in Action: Teacher and Health Worker Absence in Developing Countries." *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 20(1) 91-116.

**Week 13: Gender Inequality (MAKE UP: 4/24 2pm)**

Corbridge, Harris, and Jeffrey. 2013. "How Much Have Things Changes for Indian Women?" *India Today: Economy, Politics, and Society* (Cambridge: Polity Press).

Panda, Pradeep and Bina Aggarwal. "Marital Violence, Human Development and Women's Property Status in India."

Roychowdhury, Poulami. "Victims to Saviors: Governmentality and the Regendering of Citizenship in India."

**Week 14: Democratic Consolidation in India and Pakistan (4/30)**

**FINAL EXAM HANDED OUT IN CLASS.**

Shah, Aquil. 2013. "Constraining Consolidation: Military Politics and Democracy in Pakistan (2007–2013)". *Democratization*, 21(6) 1007-33.

Mohmand, S. K. 2014. "Losing the Connection: Party-Voter Linkages in Pakistan." *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, 52(1) 7-31.

Wilkinson, Steven. 2000. "Democratic Consolidation and Failure: Lessons from Bangladesh and Pakistan." *Democratization*, 7(3) 203-226.

*Recommended:*

Jalal, Ayesha. 1995. *Democracy and Authoritarianism in South Asia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: Chapter 2.

**FINAL EXAM DUE AT THE END OF THE EXAM PERIOD. TBD.**