

(Paper Codes / Numbers revised as per suggestions made in the
Admission Committee meeting held on

UNIVERSITY OF DELHI

MASTER OF ARTS (POLITICAL SCIENCE)

(Semester based Course)

Rules, Regulations and Course Contents

Semester I - Nov./Dec. Examination 2010

Semester II - April/May Examination 2011

Semester III - Nov./Dec. Examination 2011

Semester IV - April/May Examination 2012



M.A. (Political Science syllabus as per revised course structure to be effective from
Academic year 2010-11 and onwards

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I: Proposed M.A. (Pol. Sc.) Structure

AFFILIATION

The proposed programme shall be governed by the Department of Political Science, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Delhi, Delhi – 110007

Programme Structure

The M.A (Pol. Sc.) is divided into two parts as under. Each Part will consist of two Semesters.

		<i>Semester</i>	<i>Semester</i>
Part – I	First Year	Semester I	Semester II
Part – II	Second Year	Semester III	Semester IV

The schedule of Papers prescribed for various semesters shall be as follows:

Papers	Marks		Total Marks	Duration (Hrs.)
	Written	Internal Assessment		

Part I : Semester I

Paper 101 : Debates in Political Theory	75	25	100	3
Paper 201 : Comparative Political Analysis	75	25	100	3
Paper 301 : Politics in India	75	25	100	3
Paper 401 : Theories of International Relations	75	25	100	3
Total			400	

Part I : Semester II

Paper 102 : Administrative Theory	75	25	100	3
Paper 202 : Themes in Indian Political Thought	75	25	100	3
Paper 302: Themes in World Politics and International Political Economy	75	25	100	3
Paper 402: Key Texts in Political Philosophy	75	25	100	3
Total			400	

Part II : Semester III

Paper 103 : Interpreting Modern India	75	25	100	3
Paper : Optional Paper (from the set on offer for the semester)	75	25	100	3
Paper : Optional Paper (from the set on offer for the semester)	75	25	100	3
Paper : Optional Paper (from the set on offer for the semester)	75	25	100	3
Total			400	

Part II : Semester IV

Paper 104 : Democracy and Political Institutions	75	25	100	3
Paper : Optional Paper (from the set on offer for the semester)	75	25	100	3
Paper : Optional Paper (from the set on offer for the semester)	75	25	100	3
Paper : Optional Paper (from the set on offer for the semester)	75	25	100	3
Total			400	

Grand Total

1600

Optional Papers:

Students will have to take 6 optional papers over the two year M.A. course. These are made available in semesters II, III and IV. Students can select any two papers from the set offered in that semester. The choice must be made before the semester begins. The Department has the autonomy to decide what courses will be offered at the beginning of the academic year.

List of Optional Papers

1. Ethics and Politics
2. Critical Traditions in Political Theory
3. The Modern State in Comparative Perspective
4. Social Movements and Revolutions
5. Parties, Elections and Political Process in India
6. Development Process and Politics in India
7. Democracy and Human Rights in India
8. Public Policy
9. Public Institutions and Governance
10. Rural- Urban Development and Local Government in India
11. Environment and Development: Policy and Politics
12. Peace and Conflict in International Politics
13. India and the World
14. Foreign Policy of Major Powers
15. State and Society in South Asia
16. South Asia and the World
17. State and Society in Pakistan
18. Pakistan and the World
19. State and Society in Africa
20. Africa and the World
21. Comparative Federalism: Theory and Practice
22. Culture and Politics in India
23. Social Exclusion: Theory and Practice
24. Gender in International Relations
25. Indian Strategic Thought
26. The Politics of Violence in South Asia
27. International Security
28. State and Society in Canada
29. State and Society in the US
30. Constitutionalism in Comparative Perspective
31. Religion, Reform, Nationalism
32. Gandhi, autonomy and discourse
33. Ambedkar in Contemporary India
34. Dalit bahun political thought
35. Contemporary Explorations in Tagore
36. Discourses on Hindu Nationalism
37. Social conservatism in India
38. Indian Polity in State society interactions
39. State Politics in India
40. Identities and Political Transformation in India
41. Politics and Ethnic conflicts in J&K
42. Law, Crime and Politics in India
43. State in political traditions
44. Society, State and Politics Comparing Israel and India

45. Religious Nationalism and Political Violence
46. The Politics of Identity in Comparative Perspective
47. Nationalism in comp perspective
48. Themes in Citizenship
49. Democracy and violence
50. Collaborative Governance and Public policy
51. Corporate Citizenship and Governance-AX
52. Institutions, Development & Poverty 20 May 2015
53. Environmental Policies & Politics
54. The Political in Local Governance
55. Global Justice and the South
56. Theory Practice of Democracy
57. Contemporary Critical Theory

II: SCHEME OF EXAMINATIONS

1. English shall be the medium of instruction. Students can write their individual exam papers in English or Hindi medium but not both.
2. Examinations shall be conducted at the end of each Semester as per the Academic Calendar notified by the University of Delhi.
3. The system of evaluation shall be as follows:
 - 3.1 Each course will carry 100 marks, of which 25 marks shall be reserved for internal assessment as determined by the faculty members teaching the respective papers.
 - 3.2 The remaining 75 marks in each paper shall be awarded on the basis of a written examination at the end of each semester. The duration of written examination for each paper shall be three hours.
4. Examinations for courses shall be conducted only in the respective Odd and Even Semesters as per the Scheme of Examinations. Regular as well as ex-students shall be permitted to appear/reappear/improve in courses of Odd Semesters only at the end of Odd Semester and courses of Even Semesters only at the end of Even Semesters.

PASS PERCENTAGE

Minimum marks for passing the examination in each semester shall be 40% in each paper.

No student would be allowed to avail of more than 3 chances to pass any paper inclusive of the first attempt. Aggregate pass marks for Part I & Part II (combined) is 40%.

PROMOTION CRITERIA

No student will be detained in I or III semester on the basis of his/her performance in I or III semester examination: i.e. the student will be promoted automatically from I to II and III to IV semester.

A student shall be eligible for promotion from Ist year to IInd year of the course provided he/she has passed 50% papers of I and II semester taken together. However, he/she will have to clear the remaining paper/s while studying in the 2nd year of the programme

DIVISION CRITERIA

Successful candidates will be classified on the basis of the combined results of Part-I and Part-II examination as follows:

Candidates securing 60% and above	:	I Division
Candidates securing 50% and above, up to 60%	:	II Division
Candidates securing 40% and above, up to 50%	:	III Division

SPAN PERIOD

No student shall be admitted as a candidate for the examination for any of the Parts/Semesters after the lapse of **four** years from the date of admission to the Part-I/Semester-I of the M.A (Pol. Sc.).

ATTENDANCE REQUIREMENT

The student are required to attend tutorials, seminars etc. arranged by the Department/College from time to time.

COMPULSORY PAPERS

PAPER 101: DEBATES IN POLITICAL THEORY

Course Objective: This course proposes to build on a prior understanding of the nature and value of theoretical inquiry in politics. Political theory begins with a few fundamental questions that have a bearing on the good life, and the ways in which we seek to collectively secure it. It does not claim to have any final answers to such questions and instead acknowledges disagreements. Our basic disagreements on how we must constitute our collective life are part of our evaluations that we make on a continual basis of the political and social order we inhabit. Evaluation usually entails an intense engagement with the political context within which we live, the nature of our values and political institutions, their clarification and analyses, together with weighing the necessity of just institutions and values. The activity of evaluation lays bare a wide range of arguments that are used in political discourse sharpening thereby our political judgment. It is imperative to evaluate, argue and judge and then raise for the consideration of justification our existing or appropriate political practices, decisions, policies and institutions. This course seeks to explore and understand some of the major debates that contemporary political theory is engaged in, and hopes thereby to enrich our skills of analysis and judgment..

Debates will relate to concepts:

1. Introduction

- a. What is Political Theory?
- b. Disagreements and Debates in Political Theory
- c. Normative judgement in a Political Context

2. The Political Context

- a. Understanding Power
- b. The Faces of Power (Steven Lukes)
- c. Ideology and Power (Althusser)
- d. Class Power
- e. Power and the Subject: Foucault
- f. On the Colonial State in India (Naoroji, Dutt and Gandhi)

3. Debates on freedom

- a. Ancient vs. Modern Liberty (Constant)
- b. Freedom as autonomy (Kant, Mill)
- c. Negative vs. Positive Liberty (Berlin, MacCallum)
- d. Freedom and the market (Libertarians)
- e. Republican Conception (Skinner)
- f. Freedom as Development (Sen)
- g. Freedom as Swaraj (Gandhi)

4. Debates on Equality

- a. Value of Equality (Bernard Williams)
- b. Equality of Opportunity (Rawls)
- c. Equality of What? (Welfare, Resources, Capability)
- d. Luck egalitarianism and its critique (Elizabeth Anderson)
- e. Equality, Priority or Sufficiency (Scheffler, Parfit, Frankfurt)

5. Debates on Justice

- a. Consequentialist vs. Deontological (Utilitarians, Rawls)

- b. Justice as Fairness (Rawls)
- c. Communitarian and Feminist Conceptions (Walzer, Sandel, Okin)
- d. Global Justice (Thomas Pogge)

6. Debates on Rights:

- a. Moral vs. Legal conceptions
- b. Choice and Interest theories
- c. Conflicts between rights
- d. Rights as Trumps
- e. Civil Disobedience and Satyagraha

7. Debates on Democratic Political Community

- a. Procedural vs. Substantive Conceptions of Democracy
- b. Recognition and Democratic Struggles
- c. Political Community and the Challenges of Pluralism
- d. Citizenship, Virtues and Democratic Education

READINGS:

Hampton, Jean (1989) 'Should Political Philosophy be Done without Metaphysics?' *Ethics*: 99, 791-814.

Mckinnon, Catriona, 2008, 'Introduction' in Mckinnon, Catriona (ed), *Issues in Political Theory*, New York: Oxford University Press.

Haugaard, Mark, 2002, *Power: A Reader*, Manchester University Press: 1-66; 181-204.

Althusser, L, 1977, 'Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes Towards an Investigation)' in Althusser *Lenin and Philosophy' and Other Essays*, London: New Left Books.

Lukes, Steven. *Power: A Radical View*. London: Macmillan Press, 1974.

Constant, Benjamin, 1988, 'The Liberty of the Ancients Compared with that of the Moderns', in Benjamin Constant, *Political Writings*, Cambridge University Press: 308-28.

Berlin, I., 1969, 'Two Concepts of Liberty', in I. Berlin, *Four Essays on Liberty*, London: Oxford University Press: 118-72.

Nelson, E., 2005, 'Liberty: One Concept Too Many?', *Political Theory*, 33, pp. 58-78.

MacCallum, G. C. Jr., 1967, 'Negative and Positive Freedom', *Philosophical Review*, 76, pp. 312-34.

Pettit, P., 2007, 'Republican Freedom: Three Axioms, Four Theorems', in Laborde, C. and Maynor, J. (eds), *Republicanism and Political Theory*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Taylor, C., 1979, 'What's Wrong with Negative Liberty', in A. Ryan (ed.), *The Idea of Freedom*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Skinner, Q., 2002, 'A Third Concept of Liberty', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 117, no. 237, pp. 237-68.

Sen, Amartya, 2000, *Development as Freedom*, Delhi: OUP: Introduction, Ch. 1: 3-34.

Dworkin, Ronald, 1981, 'What is Equality? Part I: Equality of Welfare'; 'Part II: Equality of Resources', *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, Vol. 10.

Arneson, R., 1989, 'Equality and Equal Opportunity for Welfare', *Philosophical Studies*, 56 (1): 77-93.

Cohen, G. A., 1989, 'On the Currency of Egalitarian Justice', *Ethics*, 99 (4): 906-44.

Parfit, D., 2000, 'Equality or Priority?', in M. Clayton and A. Williams (eds.) *The Ideal of Equality*, London: Macmillan: 81-126.

Frankfurt, H., 1987, 'Equality as a Moral Ideal', *Ethics*, 98 (1): 21-43.

Rawls, John, 1971, *A Theory of Justice*, Harvard: Bellknap.

Sandel, Michael, 1982, *Liberalism and the Limits of Justice*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Walzer, M., 1983, *Spheres of Justice*, New York: Basic Books.

Steiner, Hillel, 1994, *An Essay on Rights*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Raz, Joseph, 1986, *The Morality of Freedom*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Dworkin, Ronald, 1977, *Taking Rights Seriously*, Harvard University Press.

Taylor, Charles, et al, 1994, *Multiculturalism: Examining The Politics of Recognition*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Callann, Eamonn, 'Citizenship and Education', *Annual Review of Political Science*, 7 (2004): 71-90.

Bhikhu Parekh, *Gandhi's Political Philosophy*, London, Macmillan Press, 1989

Bhikhu Parekh, *Colonialism, Tradition and Reform: An Analysis of Gandhi's Political Discourse*, New Delhi, Sage, 1989

Thomas Pantham, "Habermas's Practical Discourse and Gandhi's Satyagraha", in Bhikhu Parekh and Thomas Pantham, (ed.), *Political Discourse: Explorations in Indian and Western Political Thought*, New Delhi, Sage, 1987, pg 292-310

Anthony J. Parel, (ed.), *Gandhi, Freedom and Self-Rule*, New Delhi, Vistaar Publications, 2002

PAPER 201: COMPARATIVE POLITICAL ANALYSIS

Course Objective: Each topic is to be studied with reference to concepts, theories and the historical experiments of developing countries as well as advanced industrialised countries. A central concern of the course is to discern the Eurocentric bias in the field of comparative politics, and to identify the processes of de-centring which have reconfigured the field in significant ways.

1. Comparative Methods and Approaches

- a. Comparative methods: An overview of the field of Comparative Political Analysis
- b. Approaches to Comparative Political Analysis
 - i. Formal – Institutional
 - ii. Political Systems and Structural Functional Approach
 - iii. Culture-centric
 - iv. Political Economy
 - v. New Institutionalism

2. Nationalism and Anti-Colonial Struggles

3. Development

- a. Theories of Modernisation
- b. Underdevelopment
- c. Dependency
- d. World System
- e. Post Development

4. Theories of the State

- a. State
 - i. Theories of the State
 - ii. Development of Modern States in Europe and Non-European Societies
- b. State and Social Classes in
 - i. Capitalist
 - ii. Socialist
 - iii. Post-Colonial Societies

5. State Forms

- a. Federalisms
- b. Patterns of Democracy, Authoritarian and the Security State

6. Comparative Party Systems

7. Social Movements and Revolutions

- a. Theories of Movements
- b. New Social Movements
- c. Theories of Revolutions
- d. Comparative Study of Revolutions

READINGS:

Adil Khan, *Politics of Identity: Ethnic Nationalism and the State in Pakistan*. Sage, New Delhi 2005

- Alexander Hamilton, John Jay and James Madison, *The Federalist Papers* (edited with Introduction and notes by Max Beloff) New York, Basil Blackwell Inc. 1987
- Angelo Panebianco, *Political Parties, Organisation and Power*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 1998.
- Arend Lijphart, *Thinking About Democracy*, Routledge, London, 2008
- Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London, Verso, 1991
- Craig Calhoun, *Nationalism*, Open University Press, Buckingham, 1997
- Barrie Axford, Gary K. Browning, Richard Huggins and Ben Rosamond eds. *Politics: Na Introduction*, Routledge, London and New York, 1997
- Barrington Moore Jr., *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World*, Penguin 1967
- Daniel Caramani, *Comparative Politics*, OUP, Oxford, 2008
- David Collier, David ed., *The New Authoritarianism in Latin America*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1979
- David Lane, *The Rise and Fall of State Socialism: Industrial Society and the Socialist State*, Polity Press, 1996
- Faulks, Keith, *Political Sociology*, Edinburgh University Press, 1999
- Giorgio Agamben, *State of Exception*, (Translated by Kevin Attel), University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 2005
- Gerardo L. Munck and Richard Snyder, *Passion, Craft and Method in Comparative Politics*, The John Hopkins University Press, 2008
- Gerald F. Gaus and Chandran Kukathas (ed.), *Handbook of Political Theory*, Sage, London, 2004
- Giovanni Sartori, *Parties and Party System: A Framework for Analysis*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1976.
- Hamza Alavi and Teodor Shanin eds. *Introduction to the Sociology of 'Developing Societies'*, Macmillan, London and Basingstoke, 1982
- Howard J. Wiarda (ed.), *Comparative Politics*, Vol. I-V, Routledge, 2005
- Iris Marion Young, *Global Challenges, War, Self Determination and Responsibility for Justice*, Polity, Cambridge, 2007
- Jean Blondel, *The Discipline of Politics*, Butterworths, London, 1981
- John Harriss, *Depoliticizing Development: The World Bank and Social Capital*, Leftword, Delhi, 2001

- John S. Dryzek, Bonnie Honig and Anne Phillips eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Political Theory*, OUP, Oxford, 1994
- Joseph La Palombara and Myron Weiner (eds.), *Political Parties and Political Development*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1966.
- Mattei Dogan and Ali Kazancigili (eds.), *Comparing Nations, Concepts, Strategies, Substance*, Blackwell, Oxford, 1994
- Manoranjan Mohanty, *Contemporary Indian Political Theory*, Samskriti, Delhi
Partha Chatterjee, *Nation and its Fragments*, New Delhi, Oxford, 1994
- Michael Burgess, *Comparative Federalism: Theory and Practice*, Routledge, London, 2006
- Maurice Duverger, *Political Parties: Their Origin and Activities in Modern State*, John Wiley, London, 1954.
- Peter Evans, B.Dietrich Rueschmeyer and Theda Skocpol ed., *Bringing the State Back In*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1985
- Peter Limqueco and Bruce McFarlane, *Neo-Marxist Theories of Development*, London, Croom Helm and St. Martin Press, 1983
- Peter Mair, *Party System Change: Approaches and Interpretations*, Clarendon Press, OUP, 1997.
- Ray Keily, *Sociology and Development: The Impasse and Beyond*, UCL Press, London, 1995
- R.E. Goodin and H. Klingemann eds., *The New Handbook of Political Science*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1996
- Ramchandra Guha, *Environmentalism: A Global History*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2002.
- Rod Hague and Martin Harrop, *Comparative Government and Politics*, Macmillan, 2007, seventh edition.
- Ronald H. Chilcote, *Theories of Comparative Politics*, Westview Press, Boulder, 1994
Sarah Joseph, *Political Theory and Power*, Foundation Books, New Delhi 2004 (Second edition).
- Ronald L. Watts, *Comparing Federal Systems*, 3rd Edition Institute of Intergovernmental Relations, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008
- Stanley Aronowitz and Peter Bratsis eds., *Paradigm Lost: State Theory Reconsidered*, 2004.
Stuart Hall and Bram Gieben, eds. *Formations of Modernity*, Cambridge, Polity Press, 1982.
- Sven Steinmo and Kathleen Thelen and Frank Longstreth, *Structuring Politics: Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Analysis*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1992.
- Theda Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia and China*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1979.

Tom Mertes (ed.), *A Movement of Movements: Is Another World Really Possible?* Verso, London, 2004.

Wolfgang Sachs (eds), *The Development Dictionary*, Orient Longman, Delhi, 1997.

PAPER 301: POLITICS IN INDIA

Course Objective: This course focuses on societal dynamics and their impact on political processes. It identifies specific themes which are significant for the study of politics in India, explores the way in which these themes have acquired salience, and how their changing forms have impacted upon the nature and course of Indian politics. It seeks in particular to understand how state and politics are informed by social processes and political mobilizations, historically and in contemporary contexts.

1. Approaches to Indian Politics

- a. Historical, cultural, legal and political economy perspectives

2. State in India

- a. Democratic, developmental and coercive dimensions

3. Class, Caste, Tribe and Gender

- a. The changing nature of class dominance in India
- b. Politics and social mobilizations
- c. Issues of equality and representation

4. Religion, Region and Language

- a. Communalism and secular politics
- b. Region and language: issues of recognition, autonomy and secession

5. Development Process

- a. Concept, strategies, policies, and critiques
- b. Poverty alleviation programmes
- c. Globalisation and impact on the weaker sections

6. Political Parties

- a. Party system and reforms

7. Elections

- a. Caste, class, religion, gender and region in electoral politics
- b. Election Commission and electoral reforms

8. Social Movements: objectives, methods, impact and recent trends

- a. Labour: organized and unorganized, (b) Peasantry, (c) Adivasis, (d) Women

READINGS:

A.R.Desai (ed.), *Peasant Struggles in India*, OUP, New Delhi, 1974.

A.R. Desai (ed.), *Agrarian Struggles in India*, OUP, New Delhi, 1986.

- Abhay Kumar Dube (ed.), *Rajniti ki kitab, Rajni Kothari ka krititva*, Vani, Delhi, 2003.
- Abhay Kumar Dube (ed.), *Bharat ka Bhumandalikaran*, Vani, Delhi, 2005.
- Achin Vanaik, *The Painful Transition: Bourgeois Democracy in India*, Verso, London, 1990.
- Aditya Nigam, *The Insurrection of Little Selves: The Crisis of Secular-Nationalism in India*, OUP, New Delhi, 2006.
- Ashis Nandy, *At the Edge of Psychology*, OUP, New Delhi, 1980, second impression 1993.
- Atul Kohli, *India's Democracy: An Analysis of Changing State-Society Relations*, Orient Longman, New Delhi, 1991.
- Atul Kohli (ed.), *The Success of India's Democracy*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2001.
- Atul Kohli, *Democracy and Development: Essays on State, Society, and Economy*, OUP, New Delhi, 2009.
- Atul Kohli, *State and Development*, CUP, Cambridge, 2007
- Baldev Raj Nayar (ed.), *Globalization and Politics in India*, OUP, New Delhi, 2007.
- Bina Agarwal (ed.), *Structures of Patriarchy: State, Community and Household in Modernizing Asia*, Kali for Women, New Delhi, 1988.
- Christophe Jaffrelot, *The Hindu Nationalist Movement and Indian Politics, 1925 to the 1990s*, Penguin, New Delhi, 1996.
- Francine Frankel and M.S.A.Rao (eds.), *Dominance and State Power in India: Decline of a Social Order, Volume I and II*, OUP, New Delhi, 1989.
- Gail Omvedt, *Reinventing Revolution, New Social Movements and the Socialist Tradition in India*, Sharpe, 1993.
- Ghanshyam Shah (ed.), *Dalit Identity and Politics*, Sage, New Delhi, 2001.
- Ghanshyam Shah (ed.), *Social Movements and the State*, Sage, New Delhi, 2002.
- Ghanshyam Shah (ed.), *Social Movements in India, A Review of Literature*, Sage, New Delhi, 2004.
- Javeed Alam, *Who Wants Democracy?*, Orient Longman, New Delhi, (2004) 2006.
- John Zavos, Thomas Blom Hansen and Christophe Jaffrelot (eds.), *Hindu Nationalism and Indian Politics: An Omnibus*, OUP, New Delhi, 2004.
- Leela Fernandes, *India's New Middle Class: Democratic Politics in an Era of Economic Reform*, OUP, New Delhi, 2007.
- Lloyd I. Rudolph and Susanne Hoeber Rudolph, *In Pursuit of Lakshmi, The Political Economy of the Indian State*, Orient Longman, New Delhi, 1987

Lloyd I. Rudolph and Susanne Hoeber Rudolph, *Explaining Indian Democracy: A Fifty Year Perspective 1950-2006*, Vol. I-III, OUP, Delhi, 2008

M.P. Singh and Rekha Saxena, *India at the Polls: Parliamentary Elections in a Federal Phase*, Orient Longman, Delhi, 2003

Manoranjan Mohanty, Partha Nath Mukherji with Olle Tornquist (ed.), *People's Rights, Social Movements and the State in the Third World*, Sage, New Delhi, 1998.

Manoranjan Mohanty ed., *Caste, Class and Gender*, Sage, New Delhi, 2000.

Niraja Gopal Jayal (ed.), *Democracy in India*, OUP, New Delhi, 2001.

Nivedita Menon, (ed.), *Gender and Politics in India*, OUP, New Delhi, 2001.

Nivedita Menon and Aditya Nigam, *Power and Contestation in India: India since 1989*, Orient Longman, New Delhi, 2007.

Partha Chatterjee (ed.), *State and Politics in India*, OUP, New Delhi, (1997), 2004.

Partha Chatterjee, *The Politics of the Governed: Reflections on Popular Politics in Most of the World*, Permanent Black, Delhi, 2004.

Paul R. Brass, *Language, Religion and Politics in North India*, CUP, London, 1974.

Paul R. Brass, *The Politics in India since Independence*, CUP, reprinted by Foundation Book, New Delhi, 1999.

Peter Ronald deSouza, (ed.), *Contemporary India – transitions*, Fundacao Oriente and Sage, New Delhi, 2000.

Peter Ronald deSouza and E. Sridharan (eds.), *India's Political Parties*, Sage, New Delhi, 2006.

Pralay Kanungo, *RSS's Tryst with Politics: From Hedgewar to Sudarshan*, Manohar, Delhi, 2004.

Pranab Bardhan, *The Political Economy of Development in India*, OUP, New Delhi, 1998.

Rajni Kothari, *Politics in India*, Orient Longman, Delhi, (1970), 1985.

Rajni Kothari, *Bharat Mein Rajniti: Kal aur Aaj*, Hindi presentation by Abhay Kumar Dube, Vaani, Delhi, 2005.

Ranjit Guha (ed.), *Subaltern Studies I: Writings on South Asian History and Society*, OUP, New Delhi, 1982.

Randhir Singh, *Of Marxism and Indian Politics*, Ajanta, Delhi, 1990.

Rajendra Vora and Suhas Palshikar (ed.), *Indian Democracy, Meanings and Practices*, Sage, New Delhi, 2004.

Rajeev Bhargava ed., *Secularism and Its Critics*, OUP, New Delhi (1998), 2006.

Raka Ray and Mary Fainsod Katzenstein (ed.), *Social Movements in India, Poverty, Power, and Politics*, OUP, New Delhi, 2006.

Sandeep Shastri, Yogendra Yadav and K.C Suri , *Electoral Politics in Indian States*, OUP, New Delhi, 2009.

Sanjib Baruah, *India Against Itself: Assam and the politics of nationality*, OUP, New Delhi, 2003.

Sanjib Baruah, *Durable Disorder: Understanding the Politics of Northeast India*, OUP, New Delhi, 2007.

Sudha Pai, *Dalit Assertion and the Unfinished Democratic Revolution: The Bahujan Samaj Party in Uttar Pradesh*, Sage, New Delhi, 2002.

Sudipta Kaviraj (ed.), *Politics in India*, OUP, New Delhi, 1997.

Sumit Ganguly, Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner, *The State of India's Democracy*, OUP, New Delhi, 2008.

T.V.Sathyamurthy ed., *Region, Religion, Caste, Gender and Culture in India*, OUP, New Delhi, 1998.

Thomas Hansen and Christophe Jaffrelot eds., *The BJP and the Compulsions of Politics in India*, OUP, New Delhi, 1998.

Ujjwal Kumar Singh, *Institutions and Democratic Governance: A Study of the Election Commission and Electoral Governance in India*, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library (NMML), New Delhi, 2004.

Veena Das (ed.), *The Oxford India Companion to Sociology and Social Anthropology*, OUP, New Delhi, 2003.

Zoya Hasan (ed.), *Politics and the State in India*, Sage, New Delhi, 2000.

PAPER 401: THEORIES OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Course Objective: This course introduces graduate students to diverse traditions of theoretical endeavours in the International Relations as they have evolved around the world. It will cover both explanatory and normative paradigms in international relations theory and give a brief overview of the state of the art of IR to students. The purpose of the course is to provide a thorough background in all schools of IR theory and the debates between them regarding their perspective on the nature of international politics and how it is to be conceptualized, understood and judged, bearing in mind their geo-cultural specificities

1. Introduction

- a. Evolution of the Discipline
- b. The Great Debates
- c. State of the Art

2. Realism: Its Variants and Complements

- a. Structural Realism
- b. Indian Tradition: Kautilya's Realpolitik
- c. Chinese Tradition
- d. European Schools of Thought
- e. The English School
- f. Neo-Liberalism Institutionalism

3. Alternative Approaches in IR

- a. Critical Theory
- b. Constructivism
- c. Post-Modernism
- d. Feminism
- e. Neo-Marxism
- f. Ethics in IR

4. Problematic of the 'International'

READINGS:

Scott Burchill et al, *Theories of International Relations* 3rd ed, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.

Steve Smith, Ken Booth and Marysia Zalewski, (eds.), *International Theory: Positivism and Beyond*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Chris Brown with Kirsten Ainley, *Understanding International Relations*, 3rd Ed., Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.

Tim Dunne, M. Kurki Steve Smith, *International Relations. Discipline and Diversity*, Oxford University Press, 2007.

Hedley Bull, *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics*, 3rd edn., Basingstoke: Palgrave. 2002.

Arlene B. Tickner and Ole Wever, (eds.), *International Relations Scholarship Around the World*, London: Routledge, 2009.

Navnita Chadha Behera, ed., *International Relations in South Asia: Search for an Alternative Paradigm*, New Delhi, Sage, 2008.

Kautilya, *Arthashastra*, Penguin Classics, 1993.

Sun Tzu and Lionel Giles (translator), *The Art of War*, Ulysses Press, 2007.

Raymond Aron, *Peace and War: A Theory of International Relations*, New York, Anchor Books, 1973.

Simon Bromley, William Brown and Suma Athreya, (eds.), *Ordering the International: History, Change and Transformation*, Pluto Press with The Open University, London, 2004.

Robert Cox, with T. Sinclair, *Approaches to World Order*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

David A. Baldwin (ed.), *Neo-Realism and Neo-liberalism: The Contemporary Debate* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993)

John Baylis and Steve Smith (eds.), *The Globalization of World Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001)

R. B. J Walker, *Inside/Outside: International Relations as Political Theory*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Anthony Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity*, London: Polity Press, 1991.

Rebecca Grant and Newland, eds., *Gender and International Relations*, Buckingham: Open University Press and Millennium Press, 1991.

Chris Brown, *International Relations Theory: New Normative Approaches*, Hamel Hamstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1992.

E.H. Carr, *The Twenty Years Crisis: 1919-1939* (London: Macmillan, 1981)

Kenneth Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (London: Addison-Wesley Publishing, 1979).

Justin Rosenberg, *The Empire of Civil Society*, Verso, London, 1994.

Fred Halliday, *Rethinking International Relations*, London: Macmillan Press, 1994.

Martin Hollis & Steve Smith, *Explaining and Understanding International Relations*, Oxford University Press, 1991.

W. Carlsnaes, T. Risse & B. Simmons, (eds.), *Handbook of International Relations*. London, Sage, 2006.

Allen Buchanan, *Justice, Legitimacy and Self-Determination*, OUP, Oxford, 2007

Charles Beitz, *Political Theory and International Relations*, OUP, Oxford, 1979

PAPER 102: ADMINISTRATIVE THEORY

Course Objective: The focus of this course is on the theories that have shaped the emergence of modern systems of governance and their related structures and processes. These include Western and Non-Western traditions. The course has a clear normative thrust inasmuch as it seeks to clarify what can be the prerequisites for promoting effective and just administration at the local and national levels.

1) Theories and Approaches to the Study of Public Administration

I. Evolution of the Discipline of Public Administration:

- a. Western Traditions
- b. Non-Western Traditions

II Classical Schools

- a. The Scientific Management School
- b. The Classical Theory of Management/Administrative Management Theory
- c. The Ideal organization: Max Weber.
- d. Human Relations: Elton Mayo.
- e. Behavioural and Systems approaches
 - i. Argyris, Maslow, McGregor: the behavioural approach
 - ii. System Approaches: open/closed systems

2) Contextual Public Administration

- a. Ecological Approach: Fred Riggs
- b. Rational Decision-Making Approach: Herbert Simon
- c. Development Administration Approach
 - i. Political Economy Approach
 - ii. Marxist Approach

3) Contemporary Developments

a) New Public Administration

- a. Non-Weberian perspectives
- b. Value questions
- c. Clientele perspective

b) New Public Management

- a. Good Governance and Development
- b. Feminist Perspectives on Public Administration

4) Grassroots governance: alternative perspectives

- a. Gandhi
- b. J.Nyerere
- c. Mao

READINGS:

Albrow, Martin, *Bureaucracy*, London, Macmillan, 1978.

Arora, Ramesh K, *Comparative Public Administration: An Ecological Perspective*, New Delhi, Associated Publishing House, 1979.

Bhattacharya, Mohit, *Restructuring Public Administration Essays in Rehabilitation*, New Delhi, Jawahar, 1999.

Gant, George F., *Development Administration: Concepts, Goals, Methods*, Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1979.

Henry, Nicholas, *Public Administration and Public Affairs*, Delhi, Prentice-Hall of India, 1999.

Leftwich, A., 'Governance, in the State and the Politics of Development', *Development and Change*, Vol. 25r 1994.

Minogue, Martin, *'The Internationalization of New Public Management'* in *The Internationalization of Public Management: Reinventing the Third World State* edited, McCourt W and M. Minogue. U.K., Edward, Elgar, 2001.

Self, Peter, *Administrative Theories and Politics: An Inquiry into the Structure and process of Modern Government*. New Delhi, S. Chand and Co, 1984.

Stivers, Camilla, *'Towards a Feminist Theory of Public Administration in Gender'* in *Images in Public Administration: Legitimacy and the Administrative Slate*. New Delhi, Sage, 1993

Trembley, Chaudhary and Prema Kumtakar, *Governance and Representation: A Study of Women and Local Self Government*, in *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, 44(3), Jul.-September 1995 : pp 54-67.

PAPER 202: THEMES IN INDIAN POLITICAL THOUGHT

Course Objective: The purpose behind this course is to introduce students to the richness and variety of the tradition of Indian Political Thought, a tradition that spans centuries if not millennia culminating in the various present day understandings of Indian society.

1. Perspectives

- a. Classical and Shramanic
- b. Islamic and Syncretic
- c. Contemporary Theories: Liberal, Marxist, Gandhian, Post colonial, Hindutva

2. Theories and Practices of Knowledge

- a. Classical and Shramanic
- b. Colonial

3. State

- a. Monarchical
- b. Colonial and Post Colonial

4. Conception and Forms of Community

- a. Community in pre-modern and modern times
- b. Forms of Community: Janapada, Sangha, Jati, Quam, Samaj

5. Critical Perspectives on Indian Society

- a. Shramanic
- b. Syncretist
- c. Reformist
- d. Socialist
- e. Gandhian

6. The Nation in Indian Political Thought

- a. Cultural and Religious Nationalism
- b. Economic Nationalism
- c. Critiques of Nationalism

READINGS:

Drekmeir, Charles, *Kingship and Community in early India*, California Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1962,.

Pt. Sastri, N.A., *Cultural Heritage of India*, v.1, Ramakrishna Mission

Roy, Asim (ed.), *History and Politics: Perspective from South Asia*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 2006.

Heesterman, J.C, *The Inner Conflict of Tradition: Essays in Indian Ritual, Kingship and Society*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1988.

Subhramanyam, Sanjay, Muzaffar, Alam (eds.), *Moghul State: 1526-1750*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1998.

Jalal, Ayesha, *Self and Sovereignty: Individual and Community in South Asian Islam since 1850*, Routledge, 2001.

Anderson and Guha (eds.), *Changing Concepts of Rights and Justice in South Asia*, School of Oriental and African Studies, London, 2001.

Chatterjee, Partha (ed.), *State and Politics in India*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 2005.

Thapar R. *From Lineage to State: Social Formations of the Mid-First Millennium BC*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1984.

Srinivas M.N., *Social Change in Modern India*, Orient Longman, India, 1967.

Jafferlot C (ed.), *The Sangh Parivar: A Reader*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 2005.

Chatterjee Partha, *Nationalist thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse?*, Zed Books for United Nations University, London, 1986.

Cohn Bernard, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge*, Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1996.

V.R. Mehta and Thomas Pantham,(ed.), *Political Ideas in Modern India: Thematic Explorations*, New Delhi, Sage, 2006, Introduction and other selected chapters.

Anthony Parel, "From Political Thought in India to Indian Political Thought," in *Western Political Thought in Dialogue with Asia*, edited by Takashi Shogimen and C.J. Nederman, Plymouth, UK, Lexington Books, 2009, pg 187-208

Anthony Parel, *Gandhi's Philosophy and the Quest for Harmony*, Cambridge University Press, 2006

PAPER 302: THEMES IN WORLD POLITICS AND INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ECONOMY

Course Objective: The twin objectives of this course are to familiarize the graduate students with certain key concepts for analyzing world politics and, the core theoretical issues and empirical explanations in the field of International Political Economy (IPE). International political economy addresses issues relating to distribution of power, wealth and resources among nations. The course debates key issues pertaining to the relationship between security and economic affairs, the tensions between the ‘national’ and ‘international’ loci for decision making on matters of global economic governance and, politics of international trade, finance and labour. The centrality of North-South conflict in several domains especially that of global environmental governance and the role of global social movements in resisting pressures of globalization are also discussed at length.

1. Concepts

- a. State
- b. Power
- c. Security
- d. Culture and Religion

2. International Political Economy

- a. Theoretical Debates and Critical Perspectives
- b. Global Economic Governance (IMF, WB and WTO)
- c. Politics of International Trade, Finance and Labour
- d. Knowledge and Technology
- e. International Alignments (G-8, BRICS and G-77)

3. Environmental Governance

4. Global Challenges and Movements

- a. Global Social Movements
- b. Global Justice

READINGS:

Simon Bromley, William Brown and Suma Athreya, (eds.), *Ordering the International: History, Change and Transformation*, Pluto Press with The Open University, London, 2004.

Anthony Giddens and David Held, eds., *Classes, Power and Conflict*, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1982.

Steven Lukes, *Power: A Radical Review*, London: The Macmillan Press, 1982.

Keith Krause and Michael C. Williams, eds., *Critical Security Studies: Concepts and Cases* (London: UCL Press, 1997).

Stuart Croft and Terry Terriff, (eds.), *Critical Reflections on Security and Change*, London: Frank Cass, 2000.

Barry, Buzan, Ole Waever and Jaap de Wilde, (eds.), “Security: A New Framework for Analysis,” Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1998.

L.I. Rudolph and S.H. Rudolph, *Explaining Indian Democracy A Fifty Year Perspective, 1956-2006: The Realm of Institutions: State Formation and Institutional Change*, New Delhi, OUP, 2008.

Klaus Knorr, *Power and Wealth: The Political Economy of International Order*, London: Macmillan, 1973

Navnita Chadha Behera, (ed.), *State, People and Security: The South Asian Context*, New Delhi: Har-Anand, 2002.

RBJ Walker, ed., *Culture, Ideology and World Order*, Boulder: Westview Press, 1984.

Richard Falk et.al., *Reframing the International: Law, Culture and Politics*, New York: Routledge, 2002

Yosef Lapid and Friedrich Kratochwil, eds., *The Return of Culture and Identity in IR Theory*, (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1997

David N. Balaam and Michael Veseth, *Introduction to International Political Economy* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 2001.

George Crane and Abba Amawi, *The Theoretical Evolution of International Political Economy* (Oxford: OUP, 1997).

Robert Gilpin, *The Political Economy of International Relations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987

John Ravenhill, Second Edition (2008), *Global Political Economy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press)

Robert O'Brian and Williams, Marc, Second Edition (2007), *Global Political Economy* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan)

Richard Stubbs and Underhill, Geoffrey R. D, Third Edition, *Political Economy and the Changing Global Order* (Ontario: Oxford University Press)

David McGrew & Anthony Held (eds.) Second Edition (2003), *The Global Transformations Reader* (Cambridge: Polity Press)

Peter Dicken, Fifth Edition (2007), *Global Shift* (London: Sage)

B. Hoekman, M. and Kostecki, M. M., (2008), *The Political Economy of the World Trading System* (Oxford: Oxford University Press)

P.S., Chasek, Downie, D.L., and Brown, J.W., Fourth Edition (2006), *Global Environmental Politics* (Boulder: West view Press)

John Baylis, Steve Smith and Patricia Owens, Fourth Edition (2008), *The Globalisation of World Politics* (New York: Oxford University Press)

Mary Kaldor, (2003), *Global Civil Society* (Cambridge: Polity Press)

C. Roe Goddard, Patric Cronin and Kishore C. Dash, eds., *International Political Economy: State-Market Relations in a Changing Global Order* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2003).

Stephen Krasner, *Structural Conflict: The Third World Against Global Liberalism* (University of California press, 1985)

The Independent Commission on International Development Issues, *North-South: A Programme for Survival* (London: Pan Books, 1980).

Samir Amin, *Delinking: Towards a Polycentric World* (London: Zed Books, 1990).

Vinod K Aggarwal, *Debt Games: Strategic Interaction in International Debt Rescheduling*, Cambridge University Press (1996)

Tyrone Ferguson, *The Third World and Decision Making in the International Monetary Fund: The Quest for Full and Effective Participation*, Pinter (1988)

Stephan Haggard, *Developing Nations and the Politics of Global Integration*, Brookings (1995);

Miles Kahler (Ed), *The Politics of International Debt*, Cornell University Press (1986)

Miles Kahler (Ed), *Capital Flows and Financial Crises*, Cornell University Press (1998).

D Kapur, J Lewis & R Webb, *The World Bank: Its First Half Century*, Vol 1 and 2, Brookings (1997);

Robert L Rothstein, *The Weak in the World of the Strong: The Developing Countries in the International System*, Columbia University Press (1977);

Diana Tussie, *The Less Developed Countries and the World Trading System: A Challenge to the GATT*, St Martin's Press (1987).

Henrik Secher Marcussen and Jens Erik Torp, *The Internationalization of Capital: The Prospects for the Third World*, London: Zed Books, (1982)

PAPER 402: KEY TEXTS IN POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

Course Objective: The objective of this course is to introduce students to select classical texts in Western Political Philosophy through two methods (i) an intensive reading of selected parts of the text, and (ii) by making them familiar with different interpretations of the texts. The idea is to instil in students an interest in reading original works, in the desire to closely follow the debates around the work, and become aware of the different ways in which a text can be read.

Though the following texts are listed, only four of these texts will be taught every year. Out of these four texts four hours will be spent in reading selected portions of the text. Each text will be taught over 3 weeks that is 6 classes of two hours each. This adds up to 12 weeks of teaching in the fourth semester, plus two or three weeks for the first topic.

A detailed study of any four texts from the given list will be offered in an academic session.

Introduction

- a. Why study the History of Ideas?
- b. What is Interpretation?
- c. Problems in Interpreting Data
- d. Theories of Interpretation

- e. Meaning and Context
- f. The Importance of Language

Texts

1. **Plato:** *The Republic*
2. **Aristotle:** *The Politics*
3. **Machiavelli:** *The Prince*
4. **Hobbes:** *Leviathan*
(Parts 1 & 2, ch. 46 of Part 4 & A Review and Conclusion)
5. **Locke:** *The Second Treatise of Government*
6. **Rousseau:** *Social Contract*
7. **Kant:** *Groundwork of the Metaphysic of Morals*
8. **Hegel:** *Philosophy of Right* (excerpts)
Introduction: Para 1, 4-7, 29, 33
Abstract Right: Para 33-37, 41-45, 49-51, 53, 65-67, 71-75, 82-83, 93-94, 96, 102-104
Morality: Para 105-107, 113-114, 115-121, 124R, 126-128, 130-132, 135, 137, 141
Ethical Life: Para 142, 146-147, 149, 155, 157, 158, 161-163, 165-166, 170-171, 173-176, 181, 182-183, 185, 187-188, 194-195, 199, 202, 205, 207, 209, 211-212, 229, 230, 236-239, 241-245, 252-253, 257-258, 260-261, 268, 270, 291, 301-304, 308-309, 311, 314-316, 318-319, 322, 324, 328, 331, 344-345, 347, 351, 353-358
9. **Marx & Engels** (excerpts from *Preface to A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy, Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844, Theses on Feuerbach, The German Ideology, Manifesto of the Communist Party, Critique of the Gotha Programme, The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte.*)
10. **Mill:** *On Liberty*
11. **Mary Wollstonecraft:** *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*
12. **Alexandra Kollantai:** *The Social Basis of the Woman Question*
13. **Nietzsche:** *On the Genealogy of Morals*
14. **Rawls:** *A Theory of Justice* (1971) (excerpts)
Part 1 (Theory), Part 2 (Institutions) and from Part 3 (Ends) § 66-67 of Ch. VII, § 69, 77 of Ch. VIII, § 82, 85-86 of Ch. IX.
15. **Mahatma Gandhi:** *Hind Swaraj*, and Trial Speech of 1922

READINGS

Introduction:

Ball, Terence, 'History and the Interpretation of Texts,' in Gerald F Gaus and Chandran Kukathas (eds.), *Handbook of Political Theory* (Sage, 2004).

Skinner, Quentin, 'Meaning and understanding in the history of ideas' *History and Theory*, 1969, 8: 3–53.

Pocock, J. G. A., 'The history of political thought: a methodological enquiry' in Peter Laslett and W. G. Runciman, (eds) *Philosophy, Politics and Society*, 2nd series. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1962)

Strauss, Leo, *What is Political Philosophy?* (Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1959)

Texts:

Plato

Plato, *The Republic*, trans. P. Shorey, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1930)

Aristotle

Aristotle, *The Politics, The Politics and the Constitution of Athens*, trans. B. Jowett, ed. S. Everson. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996)

Machiavelli

Machiavelli, *The Prince*, ed. and trans. G. Bull (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1961)

Hobbes

Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ed. C. B. Macpherson (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1968).

Locke

John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*, ed. Peter Laslett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960).

Rousseau

Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *On the Social Contract, with Geneva Manuscript and Political Economy*, ed. Roger D. Masters, trans. Judith R. Masters (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1978)

Kant

Kant, I., *Groundwork of the Metaphysics of Morals*, trans. H.J. Paton, (New York: Harper & Row, 1964)

Hegel

Hegel, G.W.F. (1979) *The Philosophy of Right*, trans. T.M. Knox. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979).

Marx & Engels

Tucker, Robert C, ed., *The Marx-Engels Reader*, 2nd Edition, (New York: W W Norton & Co.; 1978)

Preface to A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy: pg. 3-6

Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844: pg. 73-93

Theses on Feuerbach: pg. 143-145

The German Ideology: pg. 146-200

Manifesto of the Communist Party: pg. 469-500

Critique of the Gotha Programme: pg. 525-541

The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte: pg. 594-617

Mill

Mill, John Stuart, *On Liberty and other writings*, ed. Stefan Collini (Cambridge, 1989).

Wollstonecraft

Wollstonecraft, Mary, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, ed. by Miriam Brody (London: Penguin Books, 1992)

Kollontai

Kollontai, A., [1909] *The Social Basis of the Woman Question*.

Nietzsche

Nietzsche, F. *On the Genealogy of Morals*, trans. D. Smith. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996)

Rawls

Rawls, John, *A Theory of Justice*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971)

Mahatma Gandhi

Anthony J. Parel, (ed.), *Gandhi: Hindi Swaraj and Other Writings Centenary Edition*, CUP, 2009

PAPER 103: INTERPRETING MODERN INDIA

Course Objective: This course is about introducing students to the conflicting ideas of what India is today and where it might be heading. Therefore, the focus is on the various related discourses of the cultural, social, political, economic that are the sites of intense debate today.

1. Conceptions of the “Modern”

- a. Indological
- b. Gandhian
- c. Nehruvian
- d. Tradition-Modernity Debate
- e. Post Colonial

2. Perspectives on Justice and Social Transformation

- a. Gender
- b. Caste
- c. Class

3. Conceptions of Nationalism

- a. Subaltern Nationalism
- b. Communal Nationalism
- c. Secular Nationalism, Toleration
- d. Internationalism, Cosmopolitanism

4. Development and its critiques

- a. Debates in Environmental Studies
- b. Debates in Industrialisation and dispossession

5. Community, Civil Society, Public Sphere

- a. The Community vs. civil Society debate
- b. The Public Sphere

6. Debates on Globalisation

READINGS:

Thapar, Romila, *The Aryan: Recasting Concepts*, Gurgaon: Three Essays Collective, 2008

Inden, Ronald, *Orientalist constructions of India*, *Modern Asian Studies*, xxx3, pgs.401-446, 1986

Thapar, Romila, *Early Indian History and the legacy of D D Kosambi*, *EPW*, XLIII:30, July 26, 2008

Parekh, Bhikhu, *Gandhi*, Oxford University Press, USA, 1997

Hardiman, David, *Gandhi in his time and our: Indian Legacy*, Permanent Black, New Delhi, 2003.

Chakrabarty, Dipesh, *Provincialising Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Differnece*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 2000.

Nandy, Ashis, *The Intimate enemy: Loss and Recovery of the Self Under Colonialism*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1983.

Rudolph and Rudolph, *The Modernity of Tradition: Political Development in India*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1984.

Guha, Ranajit, *Dominance without Hegemony: History and Power in Colonial India*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge Mass, 1998.

Sarkar, Sumit, *A Critique of Colonial India*, Papyrus, Calcutta, 1985.

Khilnani, Sunil, *The Idea of India*, Hamish Hamilton, London, 1997.

Sarkar, Tanika, *Hindu wife Hindu Nation: Community Religion and Cultural Nationalism*, Permanent Black, Delhi, 2001.

Nair, Janaki, *Women and Law in Colonial India*, Zubaan/Kali for Women, New Delhi, 1996.

Chatterjee, Partha (ed.), *State and Politics in India*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1998.

Bhargava, Rajeev (ed.), *Secularism and its Critics*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1999.

Omvelt, Gail, *Dalits and the Democratic Revolutions: Dr. Ambedkar and the Dalit Movement in Colonial India*, Sage, New Delhi, 1991.

Gadgil, Madhav & Guha, Ramchandra, *This Fissured Land: An Ecological History of India*, Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Agrawal, Sivaramkrishnan, (eds), *Social Nature: Resources, Representations and Rule in India*,

Jayal, N.G. (ed.), *Democracy in India*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 2001.

Chatterjee, Partha, *The Nation and its Frangments: Colonial and Post-Colonial Histories*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1991.

Thomas Pantham, *Political Theories and Social Reconstruction: A Critical Survey of the Literature on India*, New Delhi, Sage, 1995

Thomas Pantham, "The Indian Nation-State," in *Handbook of Indian Sociology*, edited by Veena Das, New Delhi, OUP, 2004, pg 426-450. Also in *Oxford India Companion to Sociology and Social Anthropology*, edited by Veena Das, New Delhi, OUP, 2003

PAPER 104: DEMOCRACY AND POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS IN INDIA

Course Objective: Studying political institutions is indispensable for an adequate understanding of democracies. While institutions are often studied as parts of the state apparatus, this course hopes to place them within the shared common space of democracy, which is created by the exchanges and interactions among institutions. The manner in which institutions are constituted and function in relation to each other, and in the context of the wider social and political processes, are therefore, crucial for making sense of the democratic practices of the state. While the focus in this course will be on contemporary institutional forms and practices, their historical underpinnings, will also be studied through an exploration of the debates that endure from the past.

1. Theory and Practice of the Indian Constitution

- a. Historical origins and Constituent Assembly Debates
- b. Transformative Constitutionalism in Post-colonial context

2. Governmental Institutions: Functioning and inter-relationships

- a. Judiciary: judicial review, judicial independence, judicial activism and judicial accountability

- b. Executive: coalition governments and changing role of President and Prime Minister
- c. Legislature: issues of representation and diversity; functioning, parliamentary committees and privileges
- d. Issues of institutional supremacy and the debate on basic structure doctrine

3. Federalism

- a. Union-State relations
- b. Accommodation of diversity
- c. Intergovernmental mechanisms.

4. Local Self Government

- a. Panchayats
- b. Municipalities

5. Rule of law, rights and accountability

- a. Rule of law, debates on extraordinary laws, and civil liberties
- b. Institutional mechanisms: The National Human Rights Commission, The National Commission for Scheduled Castes, The National Commission for Scheduled Tribes, The National Commission for Minorities, Central Information Commission

READINGS:

B.N. Kirpal et al. *Supreme but not Infallible: Essays in Honour of the Supreme Court of India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2000.

B.D Dua, M.P Singh and Rekha Saxena (eds.) *Indian Judiciary and Politics: The Changing Landscape*, Manohar, Delhi, 2006.

B.D Dua and M.P Singh (eds.) *Federalism in the New Millennium*, Manohar, Delhi, 2003.

B. Shiva Rao, *The Framing of India's Constitution, A Study and Select Documents*, Tripathi, Bombay, 1968.

Balveer Arora and Douglas Verney, eds., *Multiple Identities in a Single State: Indian Federalism in Comparative Perspective*, Konark, New Delhi, 1995.

Bibek Debroy and Arnab Kumar Hazra, *Judicial Reforms in India: Issues and Aspects*, Academic Foundation, New Delhi, 2007.

B.S. Baviskar and George Mathew (eds.), *Inclusion And Exclusion In Local Governance: Field Studies From Rural India*, New Delhi, Sage, 2009

D.C.Wadhwa, *Endangered Constitutionalism: Documents of a Supreme Court Case*, Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Pune, 2008.

D.D. Basu, *Introduction to the Constitution of India*, Prentice Hall, New Delhi, 1992.

Niraja Gopal Jayal , *Representing India: Ethnic Diversity and governance of Public Institutions*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2006

Rajeev Bhargava, (ed.), *Politics and Ethics of the Indian Constitution*, OUP, New Delhi, 2008.

Devesh Kapur and Pratap B. Mehta, eds., *Public Institutions in India: Performance and Design*, OUP, New Delhi, 2007.

Granville Austin, *The Indian Constitution: Cornerstone of a Nation*, OUP, New Delhi, 1966.

Granville Austin, *Working a Democratic Constitution: A History of the Indian Experience*, OUP, New Delhi, 1999.

James Manor, ed., *Nehru to the Nineties: The Changing Office of Prime Minister in India*, Viking, New Delhi, 1994.

Joel Ruet and Stephanie Tawa Lama-Rewel, *Governing India's Metropolises*, Routledge, New Delhi, 2009.

K.C Sivaramakrishnan , *Power to the People? (2008) Courts and Panchayats: Background and Review of the Case Law, and Nagarpalikas* , Academic Foundation ,2009.

Lawrence Saez, *Federalism without a Centre: The Impact of Political and Economic Reforms on India's Federal System*, Sage, New Delhi, 2002

Lloyd and Susanne Rudolph, *The Realm of Institutions: State Formation and Institutional Change*, Vol II, OUP, New Delhi, 2008.

Lloyd I. Rudolph and Susanne Hoeber Rudolph, *Explaining Indian Democracy: A Fifty Year Perspective 1950-2006*, Vol. I-III, OUP, Delhi, 2008

M.Govimda Rao and Nirvikar Singh, *The Political Economy of Federalism in India*, OUP, New Delhi, 2005.

Madhav Godbole, *The Judiciary and Governance in India*, Rupa, Delhi, 2008.

Nirmal Mukherji & Balveer Arora, ed., *Federalism in India: Origins and Development*, Vikas, New Delhi, 1992.

Prakash Louis and R.Vashum, *Extraordinary Laws in India*, Indian Social Institute, New Delhi, 2002.

Rajeev Dhavan and Rekha Saxena, “ *Republic of India” A Global Dialogue on Federalism: Legislative, Executive, and Judicial Governance in Federal Countries*, Vol.3, edited by Katy Le Roy and Cheryl Saunders, Quebec: McGill – Queen’s University Press, 2006.

Rajendra Vora and Suhas Palshikar, *Indian Democracy: Meanings and Practices*, Sage, New Delhi, 2004

S.K. Chaube, *Constituent Assembly of India: Springboard of Revolution*, PPH, New Delhi, 1973, reprinted, Manohar, Delhi, 2000.

S.P. Sathe, *Judicial Activism in India: Transgressing Borders and Enforcing Limits*, OUP, New Delhi, 2002.

Sarvani Sen, *The Constitution of India, Popular Sovereignty and Democratic Transformations*, OUP, New Delhi, 2007.

Shylashri Shankar, *Scaling Justice: India's Supreme Court, Anti-terror Laws, and Social Rights*, OUP, New Delhi, 2009.

Subash Kashyap, (ed.), *Constitutional Reforms: Problems, Prospects and Perspectives*, Radha Publications, New Delhi, 2004.

Sudhir Krishnaswamy, *Democracy and Constitutionalism in India: A Study of the Basic Structure Doctrine*, OUP, New Delhi, 2008.

Ujjwal Kumar Singh, *The State, Democracy and Anti-terror Laws in India*, Sage, New Delhi, 2007.

Upendra Baxi, *The Supreme Court in Indian Politics*, Eastern Book Company, New Delhi, 1980.

Upendra Baxi, *Courage, Craft and Contention, The Indian Supreme Court in the Eighties*, N.M.Tripathi, Bombay, 1985.

Upendra Baxi, 'The Rule of Law in India', SUR – International Journal On Human Rights, www.surjournal.org

W.H. Morris Jones, *Parliament in India*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, PA, 1957.

Zoya Hasan, E.Sridharan and R.Sudarshan (ed.), *India's Living Constitution: Ideas, Practices, Controversies*, Permanent Black, New Delhi, 2002.

OPTIONAL PAPERS

OPTIONAL PAPER 1: ETHICS AND POLITICS

Course Objective: The purpose of this course is expressed in the title itself. Ethics is inseparable from all domains of life from the issues of hunger and poverty to matters of violence and war to the problems of family decency to political virtues to the ethics of professional behaviour. As many contemporary political practices demand ethical reasoning we need a more focused and comprehensive engagement between ethics and politics that the paper provides.

- 1) **The Nature of Ethical Reasoning**
 - a. The Domain of Ethics
 - b. Rationality and objectivity in Ethics
 - c. Ethical Reasoning in politics
- 2) **Sexual, Racial and Caste Discrimination**
 - a. What is wrong with discrimination?
 - b. Affirmative action: Right or Wrong?
- 3) **Poverty and Hunger**

- a. Hunger, Homelessness and Freedom
 - b. Hunger and Capabilities
 - c. International obligation to remove poverty
- 4) **Environment.**
- a. The moral limits on the use of nature
 - b. Environment and Equality
 - c. Environment, Displacement and Culture
- 5) **Militarization**
- a. Just and unjust wars
 - b. Militarization, Women and Children
 - c. What is wrong with Nuclearisation?
 - d. Terrorism
- 6) **Corruption**
- a. Public ethics and Private Morality
 - b. Corruption as the Intrusion of Inappropriate Principles
 - c. Corruption in Public Life
 - d. Corruption in Private Life
- 7) **The Problem of Dirty Hands**
- a. Must politicians always dirty their hands?
 - b. Morally defensible ways of dealing with dirty hands
 - c. Dirty hands and Democracy
- 8) **Free Speech**
- a. Values of Free Speech
 - b. Free Speech and Democracy
 - c. The moral limits of Free Speech
 - d. Hate Speech: Gender and Religious community
- 9) **Secularism, Tolerance and Minority Rights**
- a. Traditions of Tolerance in India
 - b. Values of Secularism
 - c. Secularism and Minority rights
 - d. Secularism and Legal pluralism
 - e. Fundamentalism
- 10) **The Morality of Representation**
- a. When is representation justified?
 - b. Who should represent me/us?
 - c. Representation and the value of privacy
 - d. Non-Political representation
- 11) **Ethics and the Politics of the Family**
- a. Politics and the private-public distinction
 - b. Justice within the family
 - c. Family and the Ethics of Care
- 12) **Ethics and the Professions**
- a. Medical, Legal and Business ethics
 - b. The Ethics of Research

READINGS:

Beitz, Charles, R. Marshall Cohen, Thomas Scanlon and A. John Simmons, *International Ethics*, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1985.

Cohen, Marshall, Thomas Nagel and Thomas Scanlon (eds.), *Equality and Preferential Treatment*, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1977..

Emanuel, Ezekiel J., *The Ends of Human Life: Medical Ethics in a Liberal Polity*, Harvard Mass, Harvard University Press, 1994.

Gutmann, Amy, *Democratic Education*, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1987.

Honneth, Axel. *The Struggle for Recognition*, Cambridge Mass, MIT Press, 1996.

LaFollette, Hugh, *Ethics in Practice*, Massachusetts, 1997.

Luban, David, *Lawyers and Justice an Ethical Study*, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1988.

Nussbaum, Martha, *Cultivating Humanity*, Harvard Mass, Harvard University Press, 1997.

Sagoff Mark, *The Economy of the Earth*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Sen, Amartya, *Development as Freedom*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2000.

Shue, Henry, *Basic Rights*, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1980.

Singer, Peter, *Practical Ethics*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1979.

Taylor, Charles, *Philosophical Arguments*, Harvard Mass, Harvard University Press, 1997.

Thompson, Dennis F., *Political Ethics and Public Office*, Harvard Mass, Harvard University Press, 1987.

Walzer, Michael, *On Toleration*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1997.

Walzer, Michael, *Spheres of Justice: A Defence of Pluralism & Equality*, Great Britain, Pitman Press, 1983.

Young, Iris Marion, *Justice and the Politics of Difference*, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1990.

OPTIONAL PAPER 2: CRITICAL TRADITIONS IN POLITICAL THEORY

Course Objective: While the compulsory papers provide the necessary and mainstream bedrock of political theory, ancient and modern, this course highlights the primary challenges to mainstream liberal theory. It does so from various perspectives which would not otherwise receive the fuller treatment they deserve.

- 1) **Introduction**
 - a. Interrogating tradition
 - b. What is a critique?
 - c. The importance of a critical tradition

- 2) **Marxism**
 - a. Debates on Historical Materialism
 - b. Critique of Capitalism: Alienation, Exploitation
 - c. Theories of Revolution and non-western Marxism
 - d. Philosophical encounters- Feminism, Psychoanalysis, Environmentalism, Postmodernism

- 3) **Feminism**
 - a. Theories of knowledge, critiques of science and rationality
 - b. Theories of the Public/Private, Equality/Difference
 - c. Development of the sex/gender distinction, gender and caste/class/race
 - d. Gender and Sexuality

- 4) **Dalit Bahujan Critique**
 - a. Critique of the theory and practice of caste
 - b. Theorising the encounter with modernity

- 5) **Critical race theory**
 - a. The problematization of "race"
 - b. Critiques of the theory and practice of race

- 6) **Ecological Critique**
 - a. Ecological democracy and Ecological citizenship
 - b. Ecofeminism, Ecosocialism, Social Ecology

READINGS:

- Dobson, Andrew, *Green Political Thought*, 2nd. Ed., London, Routledge, 1995.
- Dobson, Andrew, *Justice and the Environment*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Barrett, Michelle, *Women's Oppression Today: Problems in Marxist Feminist Analysis*, London, Verso, 1980.
- Evelyn, Fox Keller and Helen Longino (eds.), *Feminism and Science*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1996.
- Geetha, V and S Rajadularai, *Towards a non-Brahmin Millenium*, Calcutta, samya, 1998.
- Gilroy, Robert, *Green Political Theory*, Cambridge, Polity, 1992.
- Jaggar, Alison, *Feminist Politics and Human Nature*, Harvester Press, 1983.
- Kolakowski, Leszek, *Main Currents in Marxism*, (Volumes 1-3), Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1978.

La, CapraDominick (ed.), *The Bounds of Race: Perspectives on Hegemony and resistance*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1991.

Laclau, Ernesto and Chantal Mouffe. *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy*. London, verso 1985.

Laclau, Ernesto, *New Reflections on the Revolution of our Time*, London, Verso, 1990.

Maria, Mies and Vandana Shive, *Ecofeminism*, Delhi, Kali for Women, 1993.

Merchant, Carolyn edited, *Ecology: Key concepts in Critical Theory Series*, Jaipur, Rawat.

Meszaros, Istvan, *Marx's theory of Alienation*, London, Merlin Press, 1970.

Nicolson, Lynda J., edited, *Feminism/Postmodernism*, London, Routledge 1990.

Rodinson, Maxine, *Marxism and The Muslim World*, Hyderabad Orient Longman, 1980.

Munck, Ronaldo, *A Difficult Dialogue: Marxism and Nationalism*, London, Zed.

Ryle, Martin, *Ecology and Socialism*, London, Radius, 1988.

Scott, Joan and Judith Butler edited. *Feminists Theorize the Political*. London, Routledge, 1992.

Hayward, Tim. *Ecological Thought: An Introduction*, Cambridge, Polity Press, 1994.

Williams. Patricia, *The Alchemy of Race and Rights*, Harvard Mass, Harvard University Press, 1991.

OPTIONAL PAPER 3: THE MODERN STATE IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

Course Objective: This course focuses on studying the state in its historical and conceptual variations. It would focus on how the state may be studied as a conceptual variable, how states have been historically emergent and specific, and how the modern state has developed in various forms in history and in contemporary contexts viz., the state in Europe, Africa and Asia. The course also identifies certain themes viz., gender, class, race and nationality, which are relevant for the study of states especially for etching out a common experience in the unfolding of state formation and state practices of rule.

- 1) Studying the State/Idea of the State: Modern, Colonial and Postcolonial State(s)**
- 2) The Promise of the State, Constitutionalism and Postcolonial Legality**
- 3) The State and Practices of Ruling**
 - a. Governmentality, enumeration, identification
 - b. The security state: patriotism, surveillance, suspect communities, the masculinist / protective state and subordinate citizenship
 - c. The Nation-state and gendered citizenship

4) The State and the Politics of the Governed

READINGS:

Achille Mbembe, *On the Postcolony*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 2001.

Adeel Khan, *Politics of Identity: Ethnic Nationalism and the State in Pakistan*, New Delhi and London, Sage, 2005 [Chapter 2: Ethnicity, Nationalism and the Modern State, Chapter 3: Colonial State and Colonial Difference in India]

Ashis Nandy, *The Romance of the State and the Fate of Dissent in the Tropics*, Delhi, Oxford Indian Paperbacks, 2007 (1st edition 2003)

Austen Sarat, *Law, Violence, and the Possibilities of Justice*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2001.

Bernard S. Cohn and Nicholas B. Dirks, 'Beyond the Fringe: *The Nation-State, Colonialism and Technologies of Power*', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, Vol.1, No.2, June 1988.

David Dyzenhaus, *The Constitution of Law: Legality in a Time of Emergency*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2003.

David Held, 'The Development of the Modern State', Stuart Hall and Bram Gieben, eds. *Formations of Modernity*, Cambridge, Polity Press, 1982.

David Scott, 'Colonial Governmentality' in *Refashioning Futures: Criticism after Postcoloniality*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1999.

Gargi Chakravartty, *Coming Out of Partition: Refugee Women of Bengal*, New Delhi and Calcutta, Bluejay Books, 2005.

Georgio Agamben, *State of Exception*, (translated by Kevin Attell) the University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 2005.

Hamza Alavi, *State in Post Colonial Societies: Pakistan and Bangladesh*, New Left Review, 1972.

Iris Marion Young, 'The Logic of Masculinist Protection: Reflections on the Current Security State' (Part II, Ch.6) in *Global Challenges, War, Self Determination and Responsibility for Justice*, Polity, Cambridge, 2007, pp.117-139.

James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1990.

James Ferguson and Akhil Gupta, 'Spatialising States: Towards an Ethnography of Neoliberal Governmentality', in Jonathan Xavier Inda ed., *Anthropologies of Modernity: Foucault, Governmentality and Life Politics*, Blackwell, 2005, pp.105-130.

James Tully, *Strange Multiplicity: Constitutionalism in an Age of Diversity*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1995.

- Joel S. Migdal, '*Studying the State*', in Mark Irving, Lichback and Alan S. Zukerman, *Comparative Politics, Rationality, Culture and Structure*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Jose Maria Maravall and Adam Przeworski, *Democracy and the Rule of Law*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2003.
- Judith Butler, *Precarious Life: The Powers of Mourning and Violence*, Verso, London, New York, 2004.
- Julia M. Eckert ed., *The Social Life of Anti-Terrorism Laws: The War on Terrorism and the Classification of the Dangerous Other*, Transaction, Piscataway, 2008.
- Laura Nader, *The Life of the Law: Anthropological Projects*, University of California Press, California, 2002.
- Michel Foucault, '*Governmentality*', in G. Burchell, C. Gordon and P. Miller eds., *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, London, Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991.
- Mohammad Waseem, *Constitutionalism in Pakistan: The Lingering Crisis of Dyarchy* (Conference paper)
- Partha Chatterjee, *Nation and its Fragments*, OUP, Delhi, 1993 (chapter 2: The Colonial State]
- Partha Chatterjee, *Politics of the Governed*, OUP, Delhi, 2004.
- Philip Abrams, *Notes on the Difficulty of Studying the State (1977)*, *Journal of Historical Sociology*, Vol.1, No.1, March 1988.
- Quentin Skinner and Bo Strath eds., *States and Citizens: History, Theory, Prospects*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Ritu Menon and Kamla Bhasin, *Borders and Boundaries: Women in India's Partition*, Delhi, Kali for Women, 1998.
- Sandro Mezzadra, '*Citizen and Subject: A Postcolonial Constitution for the European Union*', *Situations*. 1(2): 31-42, 2006.
- Sarbani Sen, *Popular Sovereignty and Democratic Transformation: The Constitution of India*, Delhi, OUP, 2007.
- Sudipta Kaviraj, '*On the Construction of Colonial Power: Structure, Discourse, Hegemony*' in Dagmar Engels and Shula Marks (eds.), *Contesting Colonial Hegemony*, Academic Press, London, 1994.
- Upendra Baxi, '*Outline of a 'Theory of Practice' of Indian Constitutionalism*', in Rajiv Bhargava ed. *Politics and Ethics of the Indian Constitution*, OUP, Delhi, 2008, pp.92-118.
- Upendra Baxi, '*The (Im)possibility of Constitutional Justice: Seismographic Notes on Indian Constitutionalism*' in Zoya Hasan, E. Sridhran and R. Sudarshan eds., *India's Living Constitution: Ideas, Practices, Controversies*, Permanent Black, Delhi, 2002, pp.31-63.

Upendra Baxi, 'Postcolonial Legality', in Henry Schwartz and Sangeeta Ray eds., A Companion to Postcolonial Studies, Blackwell, 2000, pp.540-555.

Upendra Baxi 2000. 'Constitutionalism as a Site of State Formative Practices', 21 Cardozo Law Review 1183, 2000.

Urvashi Butalia, 'Migration/Dislocation: A Gendered Perspective', in Navnita Chadha Behera (ed), Gender, Conflict and Migration, Delhi, Sage, 2006.

Shahanaz Rouse, *Shifting Body Politics: Gender, Nation, State in Pakistan*, Women Unlimited, New Delhi, 2004.

Uma Chakravarty, *Archiving Disquiet: Feminist Praxis and the Nation-State*, CWDS Occasional Paper, 2007.

OPTIONAL PAPER 4: SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND REVOLUTIONS

Course Objective: This course is a comparative study of social movements and revolutions in their historical and contemporary contexts. The course details the ideology, practice, and social bases of different movements, emphasizing the conceptual, historical and empirical distinction between revolutions and social movements, the diverse kinds of social movements, and the manner in which they have unfolded in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

- 1) **Revolution**
 - a. Why revolutions? Different theories
 - b. Comparative study and recent interpretations of Ideology, Strategy and Social base of major Revolutions
 - i. French Revolution
 - ii. Bolshevik Revolution
 - iii. Chinese Revolution
- 2) **Ideology and Politics of liberation struggles in Asia and Africa**
- 3) **Social Movements**
 - a. What are social movements?
 - b. Theories of social movements
- 4) **Ideology and Politics of Social Movements**
 - a. Peasant
 - b. Women
 - c. Workers
 - d. Environment
 - e. Ethnic
 - f. Civil rights

READINGS:

Charles Tilly, *From Mobilisation to Revolution*, Menlo Park, CA, Addison Wesley, 1978.

David Potter, David Goldblatt, Margaret Kiloh and Paul Lewis (eds.), *Democratization, Polity* in Association with The Open University, 1997.

Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution, Europe 1789-1848*, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, 1975, Reissued, 1995.

Ghanshyam Shah (ed.), *Social Movements and the State*, Sage, New Delhi, 2002.

Gail Omvedt, *Reinventing Revolution, New Social Movements and the Socialist Tradition in India*, Sharpe, 1993.

Hoarce B. Davis, *Toward a Marxist Theory of Nationalism*, Monthly Review Press, New York and London, 1978.

James Petras, 'The Centrality of Peasant Movements in Latin America: Achievements and Limitations', *Synthesis/Regeneration*, No.38, Fall 2005.

Manoranjan Mohanty, Partha Nath Mukherji with Olle Tornquist (eds.) *People's Rights: Social Movements and the State in the Third World*, Sage, 1998.

Maurice Cranston (ed.), *The New Left*, National Academy, Delhi, 1973.

Paul W. Zagorski, *Comparative Politics: Continuity and Breakdown in the Contemporary World*, Routledge, New York, 2009.

Rajendra Vora and Suhas Palshikar (ed.), *Indian Democracy, Meanings and Practices*, Sage, 2004.

Ralph Miliband and John Saville eds. *The Socialist Register, 1972*, The Merlin Press, London, 1972.

Roland Axtmann, (ed.), *Understanding Democratic Politics*, Sage.

Shahnaz Rouse, *Shifting Body Politics, Gender, Nation, State in Pakistan*, Women Unlimited, 2004.

Stan Taylor, *Social Science and Revolutions*, Macmillan, London and Basingstoke, 1984.

Theda Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions, A Comparative analysis of France, Russia and China*, Cambridge University Press, 1979.

Tom Mertes (ed.), *A Movement of Movements, Is Another Really World Possible?*, Verso, London, 2004.

OPTIONAL PAPER 5: PARTIES, ELECTIONS AND POLITICAL PROCESS IN INDIA

Course Objective: This course provides a much fuller treatment, otherwise not available, on political parties and on the electoral process and on the factors that shape and influence both in the specifically Indian context.

1) Typology of Political Parties in India

- a. Historical
- b. Sociological
- c. Political
- d. Economic

2) Party System in India

- a. Single Party to Dominant and Multi Party System
- b. Regional and State Parties
- c. Coalition Politics; Party Alliances and Government Formation
- d. Federalism, Regionalism and Political Parties

3) The Changing Profile of National Political Parties

- a. Ideology
- b. Leadership
- c. Social Base
- d. Support Structure
- e. Electoral Performance

4) Regional and State Parties

- a. Origin and Development
- b. Social Base and Leadership Patterns
- c. Regionalism
- d. Electoral Performance

5) Elections in India

- a. Determinants of Voting Behaviour: Caste, Community, Class, Gender and Region
- b. Money Power, Violence and the Electoral Process
- c. Electoral Reforms, Funding of Elections

6) Non Party Movements, NGOs and their Impact on Political Parties

- a. Trade Union and Peasant Movements
- b. Dalits, Tribals and Unorganised Labour
- c. Religious and Linguistic Minorities
- d. Women and Environment Movements
- e. Role of Pressure Groups and Lobbies

7) Political Parties and Representation of People's Interests: An Evaluation

READINGS:

Adeney Katharine and Lawrence Saez, *Coalition Politics and Hindu Nationalism*, Routledge, 2005.

Chandra Kanchan, *Why Ethnic Parties Succeed?: Patronages and Ethnic Head Counts in India*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004.

Hasan, Zoya (ed.). *Parties and Party Politics in India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2001

Jafferlot, Christophe, *The Hindu Nationalist Movement In India*, Part I& II, Penguin India, New Delhi, 1996.

Kanungo Pralay, *RSS' Tryst with Politics: From Hedgewar to Sudarshan*, Manohar, New Delhi 2002.

Kohli, Atul, *Centralization and Powerlessness: India's Democracy in a Comprehensive Perspective*, in Joe Midgal, Atul Kohli & Vivenne Shue, (eds.), *State Power and Social Forces*, Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Kothari. Rajni, '*The Congress System Revisited: A Decennial Review*', Asian Survey Vol. XIV: 12, Dec, 1974

Morris-Jones, W.H., *Politics Mainly Indian*, New Delhi, Orient Longman, 1979

Pai, Sudha, *State Politics, New Dimension: Party System Liberalization and Politics of Identity*, New Delhi, Shipra, 2000.

Roy, Ramashray and Paul Wallace, (eds.), *Indian Politics and the 1998 Election: Regionalism, Hindutva and Stale Politics*, New Delhi, Sage, 1999.

Sartori, G., *Parties and Party Systems: A framework for Analysis*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1976

Singh M.P. and Rekha Saxena, *India at the Polls: Parliamentary Elections in a Federal Phase*, Oriend Longman, Delhi, 2003

DeSouza Peter Ronald and E. Sridharan, *India's Political Parties*, Sage, New Delhi, 2006

OPTIONAL PAPER 6: DEVELOPMENT PROCESS AND POLITICS IN INDIA

Course Objective: This course aims to familiarize students with the theory and practice concerning development issues in India. It, therefore, also traces the history and subsequent course of public policies and planning at the national, state and local level.

- 1) **Relationship between Development and Politics; Theory of the Developmentalist State**
- 2) **Concept of Development**
 - a. Concept of Human Development
 - b. Gender Development Debates
- 3) **Socio-Economic Problems and Issues of Development in India**
 - a. Poverty
 - b. Social Backwardness and Disparities
 - c. Role of Historical, Sociological and Economic Forces
- 4) **Development Strategy and State Policies in India**

- a. Priorities
 - b. Target Groups
 - c. Approaches and Methods
- 5) **Shift in Developmental Policies and Strategies**
- a. Liberalisation
 - b. Privatisation and Globalisation
 - c. Implications for Weaker Sections
- 6) **Critiques of Development and Alternative Models**
- 7) **Democracy, Decision Making and Development**
- a. Participatory Development
 - b. Decentralised Planning
- 8) **Non-Governmental Initiatives and People's Empowerment**
- 9) **Assessment**
- a. Impact of Development on the Political Process
 - b. India as a Developmentalist State

READINGS:

Bardhan, Pranab, *The Political Economy of Development in India*, London, Blackwell, 1984.

Bhaduri, Amit and Nayyar, Deepak, *The Intelligent Person's Guide to Liberalization*, New Delhi, Penguin 1995.

Jalan, Bimal(ed), *The Indian Economy: Problems and Prospects*, New Delhi, Viking, 1992

Brass, Paul, *The Politics of India since Independence*, Delhi, Foundation Book, 1992.

Casseu, Robert and Vijay Joshi (eds.) *India: the Future of Economic Reform*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press. 1995.

Frankel, Francine et. al. (eds.), *Transforming India: Social and Political Dynamics of Democracy*, Delhi, Oxford University Press, 2000.

Jayal, Niraja Gopal (ed.), *Democracy in India*, New Delhi. Oxford University Press, 2001.

Kaviraj, Sudipta, 'Dilemmas of Democratic Development in India' in Adrian Leftwich edited *Democracy and Development: Theory and Practice*, Cambridge, Polity Press, 1996.

Kohli, Atul. *The State and Poverty in India: The Politics of Reform*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Lewis, John P. *Governance and Reform: Essays in Indian Political Economy*. New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1995.

NCAER. *Economic Policy and Reforms in India*. New Delhi, 2001.

Rudolph L.I. and Rudolph, Susanne H. *In Pursuit of Lakshmi: The Political Economy of the Indian State*. New Delhi, Orient Longman, 1987.

Sathyarmurthy T.V. *Social Change and Political Discourse in India: Structures of Power, Movements of Resistance*, Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1999, 4 volumes.

Sen, Amartya, *Development as Freedom*, Delhi, Oxford University Press, 2000.

UNDP. *Human Development Report*. 2001.

Vanaik, Achin. *The Painful Transition: Bourgeois Democracy in India*. London, Verso, 1990.

OPTIONAL PAPER 7: DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN INDIA

Course Objective: All rights, indeed most rights, are not human rights and general rights discourse reflects this reality. Insofar as human rights are a crucial sub-set of this discourse, they require a specific yet comprehensive treatment as given here by this course to interested students.

- 1) **The Concept of Human Rights**
 - a. Western
 - b. In the Third World Context
- 2) **Human Rights: National and International Dimensions**
- 3) **Human Rights and Constitutional - Legal Framework in India**
 - a. Fundamental Rights
 - b. Directive Principles of State Policy
 - c. Protection of Human Rights Act, 1993
- 4) **Human Rights: Issues and Challenges**
 - a. Refugees and Displaced Persons
 - b. Caste
 - c. Minorities
 - d. Women
 - e. Children
 - f. Tribals, Landless, Bonded Labour, Unorganised Labour and Peasants
 - g. Undertrials, Prisoners and P.O.W's
 - h. People with Disability
- 5) **Impact on Deprived Groups**
 - a. Gender Based Violence (Domestic and Public)
 - b. Caste Based Violence and Discrimination
 - c. Fundamentalism
 - d. Organised Crime
 - e. Custodial Torture and Death
- 6) **State Response to Human Rights**
 - a. Role of Police, Administration, Army and Paramilitary Forces
 - b. Administration of Justice, Judicial Intervention and Activism, Judicial Commissions on Human Rights
 - c. Affirmative Action for Weaker Sections

d. Development Strategies

- 7) **Civil Society and Human Rights**
 - a. Media, Public Opinion and Human Rights
 - b. New Social Movements and NGO's
- 8) **NHRC and Other Commission Reports**
- 9) **Democracy, Development and Human Rights in India**

READINGS:

Alston Philip, *The United Nations and Human Rights-A Critical Appraisal*, Oxford, Clarendon, 1995.

Baxi, Upendra (ed.), *The Right to be Human*, Delhi, Lancer, 1987

Beetham, David edited, *Politics and Human Rights*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1995

Desai, A R. (ed), *Violations of Democratic Rights in India*, Bombay, Popular Prakashan, 1986.

Evans, Tony, *The Politics of Human Rights: A Global Perspective*, London, Pluto Press, 2001.

Haragopal, G, *Good Governance: Human Rights, Perspective*, Indian Journal of Public Administration, Vol. 44 (3), July-September, 1998.

Hargopal. G. *Political Economy of Human Rights*, Hyderabad, Himalaya, 1999.

Human Rights in India- *The Updated Amnesty International Reports*, Delhi, Vistaar

Iyer, V.R. Krishna, *The Dialectics and Dynamics of Human Rights in India*, Delhi, Eastern Law House, 1999.

Kothari, Smitu and Sethi, Harsh (eds.), *Rethinking Human Rights*, Delhi, Lokayan, 1991.

Saksena, K.P. edited, *Human Rights: Fifty Years of India's Independence*, Delhi, Gyan, 1999.

Subramanian, S., *Human Rights: International Challenges*, Delhi, Manas, 1997.

OPTIONAL PAPER 8: PUBLIC POLICY

Course Objective: This course aims to familiarize students with the broader theoretical financial and practical context in which public policies are discussed, justified, designed and sought to be implemented.

A. What is Public Policy?

1) Public Policy: Concept and Dimensions

- a. Characteristics and Norms
- b. Politics- Administration Relationship
- c. Political Science and Public Administration as Mela-Policy Science

2) **Approaches to Public Policy Studies**

- a. Political Economy: Western, Marxist and non-Western traditions
- b. Development Policy and Administration
- c. Public Policy Approach: Post-Behavioural Approach
- d. Public Choice Theory
- e. Public Management Theory

3) **Public Policy Process**

- a. Policy Context: Political, constitutional, legal, administrative, socio-cultural, economic, environmental, and scientific.
- b. Interfaces of the Policy process: institutions, actors and role of public policy planning and analysis, resource mobilization, policy formulation, policy implementation, policy monitoring and evaluation.
- c. Role of the government, bureaucracy, parliament, courts, political parties, corporate sector, interest groups, citizens, and NGOs in the policy processes.

4. **Public Policy analysis: Quantitative and Qualitative Models**

5. **Public Policy Research and Development B. Practical Issues**

6) **Public Policy in India: Models and Trends**

- a. Nehruvian Model: public sector undertakings and development
- b. Economic Liberalization Model: privatization,) marketization, disinvestment, corporate Governance
- c. Civil Society: cooperatives, NGO's, social action groups and citizen bodies
- d. Decentralization Model: Panchayati Raj institutions; Municipal Corporations and Rural-Urban Development.

7) **Globalization, MNC'S, W.T.O and Development in India**

8) **Impact of Public Policies on Socio-Economic Development and Nation-building in India.**

READINGS:

Birkland, Thomas A., *An Introduction to the Policy Process*, London, M. E. Sharpe, 2001.

Dror, Yehezket, *Public Policy Making Reexamined*, Oxford, Transaction Publication, 1989.

Dye, Thomas R., *Understanding Public Policy*, New Jersey, Prentice Hall. 1975. Frohock, Fred M., *Public Policy: Scope and Logic*, New Jersey, Prentice-Hall. 1979.

Ham, Christopher and Hill, Michael, *The Policy Process in the Modern Capitalist State*, Sussex, Harvester, 1984.

House, Peter W., *The Art of Public Policy Analysis*, Delhi, Sage, 1982.

Gunn, L. and Hogwood, B., *Modes of Public Polices*, University of Strathclyde, Glasson, 1982.

Pandya, Hiren J. and Venkatranam, A. 'Policy Approach to Public Administration'. *Indian Journal of Administrative Science*, Jan-Jun., 1990.

Peters, B. Guy. 'Public Policy and Public Bureaucracy1, in Douglas E. Ashford edited, *History and Context in Comparative Public Policy*, Pittsburgh. University of Pittsburgh Press, 1992.

Self, Peter, 'Market Ideology and Public Policy', in Peter Self, *Government by the Market? The Political of Public Choice*, Boulder. Westview, 1993.

Wamsley, Gary, et.al. 'Public Administration and the Governance Process: Shifting the Political Dialogue', In Trary Wamsley, et. al. *Refounding Public Administration*, New Delhi, Sage, 1990

OPTIONAL PAPER 9: PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS AND GOVERNANCE

Course Objective: This course focuses on matters pertaining to public enterprises and their functioning as well as to administrative and civil services reform and their consequences. The treatment is both historical and comparative as well as having reference to the Indian experience.

A. Theoretical Issues:

- 1) **State and Development: Historical & Comparative Experiences**
- 2) **From Structural Adjustment to Good Governance**
 - a. State versus Markets
 - b. Structural Adjustment Programs to Comprehensive Development Framework
- 3) **Public Finance & Management**
 - a. Budget, deficit & subsidies
 - b. Financial Management & Accountability
 - c. Privatization, Public-Private Partnership, Service Delivery & Regulation
- 4) **Administrative and Civil Service Reform**
 - a. Rule of Law & Contract Enforcement
 - b. Improving Public Administration - Incentives & Accountability
 - c. Improving Public Services, Strategies for Civil Engagement

B. Practical Issues in India

- 5) **State Governments: Comparative Development Performance**
- 6) **Public Enterprises in India**
 - a. Promise. Performance and Reforms
 - b. Disinvestment

- 7) **Social Development: Issues, Policies & Challenge**
 - a. Health & Population
 - b. Education and Social Development

- 8) **Infrastructure Development: Issues, Policies & Challenges**
 - a. Power
 - b. Transport
 - c. Telecommunication
 - d. Water
 - e. Sanitation & Wastewater
 - f. Ports

READINGS:

Clague, Christopher (ed). *Institutions & Economic Development Growth & Governance in Less-Developed & Post-Socialist Countries*, Baltimore, The John Hopkins University Press, 1997.

Dreze, Jean & Sen, Amartya, *India: Economic Development & Social Opportunity*. Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1995

Hanson, A. H. *Managerial Problems of Public Enterprises India* 1971.

Kessides, Christine, *The Contribution of Infrastructure to Economic Development: A Review of Experience and Policy Implications*. The World Bank, Washington D.C., 1993

Ostrom, Elinor. *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Robinson, Mark & White Gordon (eds) *The Democratic Developmental State: Politics and Institutional Design*. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1999.

Saunders, Robert J. *Telecommunication and Economic Development*, The World Bank, 1994.

World Bank. *World Development Report: Infrastructure for Development*. Washington D.C.1994.

.OPTIONAL PAPER 10: RURAL-URBAN DEVELOPMENT AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN INDIA

Course Objective: This course looks at the Indian experience in respect of rural-urban development and local government both before and after the establishment of Panchayati Raj Institutions. Issues of development, planning and grassroots and participatory democracy naturally feature in this paper.

- 1) **Understanding the 'rural' and the 'urban' in India.**

- 2) **What is Development?**
 - a. Historical Legacies: continuities and discontinuities

- b. The Origins of Development Studies
 - c. Overview of Economic Development and Development thinking
- 3) **Institutional framework for Rural & Urban Development:**
- a. Political Executive
 - b. Planning Agencies
 - c. Agencies and Processes of Implementation at Central, State & Local Levels
- 4) **Planning Rural Development: Approaches, Policies and Programmes:**
- a. Community development
 - b. Democratic decentralization
 - c. Cooperatives
 - d. Decentralized Planning
 - e. Specially targeted programs - agriculture, area development, employment, poverty alleviation, special groups, integrated rural development programmes.
- 5) **Planning Urban Development: Approaches, Policies and Programs**
- a. Anti-urbanization thrust: deconcentration, regional development, IDSMT
 - b. Services- slum improvement, urban management and investment. Programs
 - c. Land & Housing, Employment & Poverty Alleviation
 - d. Water, Sanitation & Waste
 - e. Transport
 - f. Environment
- 6) **Decentralization and Local Governments**
- a. Decentralization and Development: Emerging Global Trends
 - b. 73rd & 74th Constitutional Amendments
 - c. State Finance Commissions
 - d. The emerging role of Panchayati Raj Institutions and Municipal Bodies
- 7) **Devolution and functioning of Panchayati Raj Institutions**
- a. Capacity building of local governments
 - b. Transfer of funds
 - c. Functions & functionaries to PRI's
 - d. Politics of decentralization - case studies of Kerala. Karnataka & Madhya Pradesh
- 8) **Devolution and functioning of Urban Local Bodies**
- a. Fiscal Decentralization
 - b. Financial Health of ULBs
 - c. State Municipal Fiscal Relations
 - d. Devolution of Funds to ULBs
 - e. Central Funds to ULBs
- 9) **People's Participation in Rural-Urban Development: Role of NGO's and Citizen Groups**

READINGS:

Abdul, Aziz, *Decentralised Planning*, New Delhi, Sage, 1993

Bose, Ashish, *National Commission on Urbanization*, Ministry of Urban Development, New Delhi, 1988.

Issac, Thomas & Franke., Richard W., *Local Government and Development: People's Campaign for Decentralized Planning in Kerala*. Delhi. Leftword, 2000.

Jain L.C., Krishnamurthy, B.V. & Tripathi , P.M.. *Grass Without Roots: Rural Development Under Government Auspices*. New Delhi, Sage, 1987.

Maddick, Henry, *Panchayati Raj: A Study of Rural Local Government in India*. London, Longmans, 1970.

Mathur, Om (ed). *India: The Challenge of Urban Governance*. New Delhi, National Institute of Public Finance & Policy, 1999.

Mishra, B.B. *District Administration and Rural Development in India*. Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1983.

Mukherjee, Amitava, *Decentralization: Panchayats in the Nineties*, New Delhi, Vikas, 1994.

Prasad, Kamta, *Planning and Poverty Alleviation*. New Delhi, Agricole, 1985.

Ravillion, M. & G. Datt, *Growth and Poverty in Rural India*, Washington D.C. World Bank, 1995.

Sen, Amartya, *Development as Freedom*, Delhi, Oxford University Press, 2000.

Streeten, Paul. 'Development Dichotomies' in G. M. Meier & Dudley Seers edited *Pioneers in Development*

Toye, John. *Dilemmas of Development*. Oxford, Blackwell, 1987

OPTIONAL PAPER 11: ENVIROMENT AND DEVELOPMENT: POLICY AND POLITICS

Course Objective: The central focus here is on environmental problems, policies and practices in India and how government institutions have sought to tackle them and with what consequences. Possible solutions and directions to be taken are discussed.

- 1) **Environment and Development: An Introduction**
 - a. Environmental Philosophies, Politics and Ethics
 - b. Historical Legacies: Continuities and Discontinuities i India
 - c. Understanding the Environment in India.
- 2) **State, Market, Community & Local Governments**
 - a. State: Hardin and the Tragedy of the Commons
 - b. Market: Pricing for Sustainability
 - c. Community & Local Government Management: A Developing Country Perspective
- 3) **Policy, Politics, Institutions and Resources**
 - a. Forests: State, Trade & Community

- b. Biodiversity, protected areas & people
- c. Irrigation- Dams & Canals: State, Science & Inequities
- d. Groundwater Management & Rainwater Harvesting
- e. Agriculture, Soil Management & Cash Crops: implications for environment and women's lives
- f. Displacement and Resettlement: power, culture and resistance
- g. Industrialization, Urbanization & Pollution: institutional challenges
- h. Pastoralists & Nomads: taming of mobile livelihoods

4) Poverty-Environment Inter-linkages

- a. Enhancing Livelihoods
- b. Reducing Environmental Health Risks
- c. Reducing Vulnerability to Environmental Hazards

5) Caste, Gender and Environment

6) Global Commons and Initiatives

7) Environmental and Social Movements

READINGS:

Arnold, David & Guha, Ramachandra (ed), *Nature, Culture & Imperialism: Essays on the Environmental History of South Asia*, Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1996.

Baviskar, Amita, *In the Belly of the River*, Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1996

Dryzek, John S., *The Politics of the Earth: Environmental Discourses*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1997.

Guha, Ramachandra & Alier, Juan Martinez. *Varieties of Environmentalism: Essays North & South*, London, Earthscan, 1997.

Guha, Ramachandra, *Environmentalism*, Delhi, Oxford University Press, 2000.

Guha, Ramachandra, *The Unquiet Woods*, Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1992.

Johnston, R. J. *Nature, State and Economy: A Political Economy of the Environment*. Chichester, John Wiley & Sons, 1996.

McCully, Patrick, *Silenced Rivers: The Ecology and Politics of Large Dams*, New Jersey, Zed Books, 1996

Ostrom, Elinor, *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Redclift, Michael. *Political Economy of Environment: Red & Green Alternatives*. London. Methun, 1987

Shiva, Vandana, *Staying Alive: Women, Ecology & Survival in India*. New Delhi, Kali for Women, 1989.

Taylor, Charles, 'Two Theories of Modernity', in *Public Culture* 11(1):153-74, 1999.

OPTIONAL PAPER 12: PEACE AND CONFLICT IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

Course Objective: This course is about Peace and Conflict studies, about the meaning, causes and course of the Cold War era. It is also about important developments in post-cold war period and about crucial and enduring contemporary problems such as terrorism, related ethnic wars, oil politics and different security perspectives.

- 1) Peace and Conflict Studies**
 - a. History of Peace Ideas and Movements
 - b. Revolutions in Military Affairs

- 2) Dominant Concepts of Security**
 - a. Traditional Security and Threat Perceptions
 - b. Concept of Strategy
 - c. Nuclear Weapons and Security through Deterrence
 - d. Disarmament Measures: Chemical, Biological and Nuclear Weapons

- 3) The Cold War and Beyond**
 - a. Nature and Origin of the Cold War
 - b. Evolution of the Cold War: Its Different Phases
 - c. Sino-Soviet Rift
 - d. US-West European Relations
 - e. End of the Cold War and Geo-Politics Thereafter
 - f. The European Union: From Origins to the Present

- 4) Internal and Transnational Security Issues**
 - a. Ethnicity and Culture
 - b. Ecological Dangers
 - c. Terrorism
 - d. Demography
 - e. Narcotics
 - f. Politics of Oil

- 5) Understanding Globalization: Concepts, Mechanism, Impact and Theoretical Disputes**

- 6) Alternative Perspectives on Security**
 - a. Feminist Critique
 - b. Cooperative Security, Common Security, Collective Security, Comprehensive Security
 - c. Human Security and Development
 - d. UN Peace-Keeping and Peace-Keeping
 - e. Military Humanism

READINGS:

F. Halliday, *Rethinking International Relations*, Macmillan Press, London, 1994

F. Halliday, *The Making of the Second Cold War*, Verso, London, 1983

- F. Halliday, *The World at 200: Perils and Promises*, Palgrave Publishers, New York, 2001
- P. Gowan & P. Anderson (eds.), *The Question of Europe*, Verso, London, 1997
- S. Hall, D. Held, T. McGrew (eds.), *Modernity and its Futures*, Polity Press, UK, 1996
- J. Baylis & S. Smith (eds.), *The Globalization of World Politics*, OUP, UK, 4th edition, 2007
- W. Bello, *Deglobalization*, Zed Books, London, 2002
- A. Vanaik, "The Ethics and Efficacy of Political Terrorism", in E. Hershberg & K.W. Moore (eds.), *Critical Views of September 11*, Social Science Research Council, New York, 2002
- Clive Ponting, *The Pimlico History of the Twentieth Century*, Pimlico Press, London, 1998
- Dipankar Dey (ed.), *Sustainable Development: Perspectives and Initiatives*, ICFAI University Press, Hyderabad, 2007
- P.R. Vioti and M.V. Kauppi, *International Relations and World Politics: Security, Economy, Identity*, Third Edition, Pearson Publishers, Delhi, 2007
- J.S. Goldstein, *International Relations*, Sixth Edition, Pearson Publishers, Delhi, 2008
- D. Held & A. McGrew (eds.), *The Global Transformations Reader: An Introduction to the Globalization Debate*, Polity Press, 2000
- Shahrbanou Tadjbakhsh and Anuradha Chenoy, *Human Security*, Routledge Publishers, Delhi, 2008
- P. Hirst, *War and Power in the 21st Century*, Polity Press, Cambridge, UK, 2001

OPTIONAL PAPER 13: INDIA AND THE WORLD

Course Objective: This paper is about the internal and external determinants of Indian foreign policy and its evolution since independence as well as the new pressures brought about by economic globalization and how India has sought to respond to them by involving itself and interrogating various regional and global groupings. Particular attention is paid to Indian post-cold War relations with various countries and regions.

- 1) **The Nature of India's Foreign Policy: Domestic Determinants**
 - a. History and Geopolitical context
 - b. Political and Ideological factors
 - c. Economic compulsions
 - d. Social dimensions
 - e. Emergence of Non-Alignment

- 2) **Evolution of India's Foreign Policy**
 - a. Cold War and non-alignment
 - b. End of Cold War and Bipolarity
 - c. Regionalism
 - d. Nuclearization

- 3) **India and the International Economy**
 - a. Traditional Foreign Economic Policy
 - b. Liberalization and Globalization: Imperatives and Critical Evaluation
 - c. India and the W.T.O with special reference to TRIPS, TRIMS and Social Clauses
 - d. Relations with IMF; World Bank
- 4)
 - I India's Security: Policy, Perspectives, Problems.**
 - a. Changing Security Perspectives: form Traditional to non Traditional
 - b. Internal and External linkages
 - c. Defence Policy- Parameters, Evolution, Problems
 - d. India and the Disarmament Regimes- N.P.T, C.T.B.T, Missile Technology Regime, Chemical and Biological Weapons Regimes.
 - e. Nuclear Policy; the debate on nuclearization.
 - II India's security: Transnational Dimensions.**
 - a. Ethno-cultural
 - b. Demographic
 - c. Terrorism
 - d. Narcotics
 - e. Ecological.
- 5) **India and Her Neighbours: Contemporary Issues**
 - a. Characteristics of the region
 - b. India and Pakistan
 - c. India and China
 - d. India and Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan.
 - e. India and Central Asia and Afghanistan.
- 6) **India's Post-Cold War Relations with:**
 - a. U.S.A
 - b. Russia
- 7) **India and Regional Cooperation**
 - a. Significance of Regionalism
 - b. India and SAARC
 - c. India and I.O.R.
 - d. India and the Arab World
- 8) **India and Other Regional Blocs**
 - a. E.U
 - b. ASEAN
 - c. APEC
 - d. AU
- 9) **India and The United Nations**
 - a. NIEO
 - b. U.N Reforms
 - c. Participation and Development.

READINGS:

- Ahmed, Imtiaz., *State and Foreign Policy: India's Role in South Asia*, Delhi, Vikas Publishing House Ltd, 1993.
- Bandyopadhyaya, Jayanta, *The Making of India's Foreign Policy*. New Delhi, Allied, 1970.
- Bradnock, Robert. *India's Foreign Policy Since 1971*. London., Royal Institute for International Affairs, 1990.
- Brands, H.W. *India and the United States: The Cold Peace*. Boston, Twayne Publishers, 1990.
- Choudhury, G.W. *India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and the Major Powers*. New York., The Free Press, 1975.
- Cohen, Stephen P., and Richard L. Park. *India: Emergent Power?* New York: Crane, Russak and Company, 1978.
- Damodaran, AX and Rajpai.U.S., (eds.), *Indian Foreign Policy: The Indira Gandhi years*. New Delhi, Radiant, 1990.
- Ganguly, Sivaji, *U. S.Policy Toward South Asia*, Boulder, Westview,1990.
- Ganguly, Sumit. *The Origins of War in South Asia*, Boulder, Westview, 1986.
- Gordon Sandy and Henningham. Srephert (eds.) *India Looks East An Emerging Power and Its Asia-Pacific Neighbours*. The Australian National University. Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, 1995.
- Gould, Harold A. and Ganguly, Sumit, (eds.), *The Hope and the Reality: U.S - Indian Relations from Roosevelt to Bush*. Boulder. Westview, 1992.
- Harrison, Selig S. and Subrahmanyam, K.. (eds.) *Superpower Rivalry in the Indian Ocean: Indian and American Perspectives*. New York, Oxford University Press, 1989.
- Heimsath, Charles H., and Surjit Mansing. *A Diplomatic History of Modern India*. New Delhi, Allied, 1971.
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- Kapur, Ashok, *Pokhran and Beyond: India's Nuclear Behavior*. New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Kapur, Ashok. *Pakistan in Crisis*. London, Routledge, 1991.
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- Kheli, Shirim and Tahir R.. *India, Pakistan and the United States: Breaking with the Past*. New York, Council on Foreign : Relations Press, 1997.
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Merrill, Dennis and et al. *The United States and India's Economic Development, 1947-1961*. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1990.

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Nanda, B.R. (ed.), *India's Foreign Policy in the Nehru Years*. New Delhi, Vikas, 1976.

Phadnis, Urmila and Ganguly Rajat, *Ethnicity and National Building in South Asia*. New Delhi, Sage. 1989.

Punjabi, Riyaz and A.K., Pasha (eds.) *India and the Islamic World*. Delhi Radiant Publishers, 1998.

Rose, Leo E. and Sisson, Richard. *War and Secession: Pakistan, India and the Creation of Bangladesh*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1990.

C Rajamohan, *Crossing the Rubicon: The Shaping of India's New Foreign Policy* (New Delhi: Penguin, 2005).

Kanti Bajpai, "Indian Conception of Order/Justice in International Relations: Nehruvian, Gandhian, Hindutva and Neo-Liberal", in *Political Ideas in Modern India*, edited by V.R. Mehta and Thomas Pantham, New Delhi, Sage, 2006, pg 367-390

OPTIONAL PAPER 14: FOREIGN POLICY OF MAJOR POWERS

Course Objective: This is the only paper that as its title states, takes up the task of exploring the foreign policies of the major continental and world powers namely, US, Russia, China, Germany and Japan. The value of this course is self-evident.

- 1) **Why Study Foreign Policy of Major Powers;**
- 2) **Concept and Bases of Power.**
 - a. Framework of Analysis
 - b. Determinants of the Foreign Policies of U.S., Russia, China, Germany and Japan
- 3) **U.S. Foreign Policy**
 - a. Main Features
 - b. Policy of continuity and change
 - c. U.S. threat perceptions and security interests
 - d. Foreign Economic Policy
- 4) **Foreign Policy of Russia**

- a. Main Features
 - b. Continuity and change; Russia's threat perceptions and security interests
 - c. Foreign Economic Policy
- 5) **Foreign Policy of Germany**
- a. Main Features
 - b. Relations with Regional and Major Powers
 - c. Foreign Economic Policy of Germany
- 6) **Foreign Policy of China**
- a. Main Features
 - b. Relations with Regional and Major Powers
 - c. Foreign Economic Policy.
- 7) **Foreign Policy of Japan**
- a. Main Features
 - b. Relations with Regional and Major Powers
 - c. Foreign Economic Policy

READINGS:

Chan Gerald, *Chinese Perspective on International Relations*, New Zealand, Houndsmill, Macmillan University Press, 1999.

Cronin Patrick M. *From Globalism to Regionalism: Sew Perspectives on US Foreign and Defence Policies*, Washington, National Defence University Press, 1993.

Ellison Herbert J. *Japan and The Pacific Quadrille: The Major Powers in East Asia*, Boulder, Westview Press, 1987.

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Dumbrell, John, *American Foreign Policy: Carter to Clinton*, Houndsmill, Macmillan, 1997.

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Larrabee, Stephen. *The Two German States and European Security*, Houndsmill, Macmillan, 1999.

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Mendelson, Sarah E., *Changing Course*, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1998.

Sutter, Robert G., *Shaping China's Future in World Affairs: The Role of U.S.* Boulder, Westview, 1996.

Whetten, Lawrence L., *Germany East and West: Conflicts, Collaboration and Confrontations*, New Jersey, Princeton University. Press, 1980.

Zwick Peter. *Soviet Foreign Relations: Process and Policy*. New Jersey, Prentice Hall, 1990.

David Harvey, *The New Imperialism*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2003.

John Pilger, *The New Rulers of the World*, Verso, 2003.

Robert Kagan, *Of Paradise and Power: America and Europe in the New World Order*, KNOPE Publishers, 2003.

OPTIONAL PAPER 15: STATE AND SOCIETY IN SOUTH ASIA

Course Objective: This course seeks to present an analytical perspective on societal dynamics and their impact on political processes in South Asia. This paper focuses on the political economy, social history of South Asia as a whole as well as on the variant forms of government-authoritarian and democratic- of its member nations. The thrust of this course is not to study the national constituents separately but to look at the institutions, processes, problems, and solutions that pertain to the region as a whole.

- 1) **The Significance of South Asia**
- 2) **The South Asia Region: Political Geography and Social History**
- 3) **Colonialism and Nationalism**
 - a. Nature, Phases and Impact of the Colonial Experience
 - b. Growth of Nationalism: Evolution and Character, Recent Trends
- 4) **South Asian Political Economy**
 - a. Strategies and Policies of Development; Performance and Problems, the Emerging Trends
 - b. Poverty and Human Development in South Asia
 - c. Globalization and Liberalization in South Asia
 - d. Debt, famine, and hunger in the region.
- 5) **Patterns of Politics and Types of Governments**
 - a. Democracy
 - b. Monarchy
 - c. Authoritarianism
 - d. Military
- 6) **Political Institutions and Citizen Groups**
 - a. Party Systems

- b. Pressure Group.
- c. Trade Unions
- d. Mass Movements
- e. NGOs

7) Politics of Identities

- a. Tribal
- b. Religious
- c. Caste
- d. Linguistic
- e. Regional
- f. Majoritarianism in South Asia

8) Environmental Issues in South Asia:

- a. Policies
- b. Movements
- c. Trends

9) Issues and Problems of Democratic Transformation in South Asia

- a. Democratization and People's Participation
- b. People's Rights: perspective and problems
- c. Democracy and Development in South Asia: Assessment
- d. Challenges to Nation-building in South Asia: As
- e. Non-Traditional forms of Security

READINGS:

A. Jeyaratnam Wilson, *The Break-Up of Sri Lanka: The Sinhalese-Tamil Conflict*, Honolulu, University of Hawai Press, 1988.

Ayesha Jalal, *Democracy and Authoritarianism in South Asia; A Comparative and Historical Perspective*, New Delhi: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Asim Roy (ed.), *Islam in History and Politics: Perspectives from South Asia*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2006.

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Deepa M. Ollapally, *The Politics of Extremism in South Asia*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

D. Suba Chandran and P. R. Chari (ed.), *Armed Conflict in South Asia: Growing Violence*, New Delhi, Routledge, 2008.

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Kulwant Kaur and Baljit S. Mann (eds.), *South Asia: Dynamics of Politics, Economy and Security*, Knowledge World, New Delhi, 2006.

Kumar Rupesinghe and Khawar Mumtaz (eds.), *Internal Conflicts in South Asia*, OS10: International Peace Research Institute, Sage, 1996.

Maya Chaddha, *Building Democracy in South Asia*, Vistar, New Delhi, 2000.

Mohanlal Sharma, Olive Peacock and Krishna Gopal, *Globalization, Democracy and Governance in South Asia*, South Asian Studies, New Delhi, 2003

P. R. Kumarswamy and Ian Copland (ed.), *South Asia: The Specter of Terrorism*, London, New York, New Delhi: Routledge, 2009.

Robert W. Stern, *Democracy and Dictatorship in South Asia*, India Research Press, New Delhi, 2001.

S. Partha Ghosh, *Cooperation and Conflict in South Asia*, New Delhi, Manohar, 1995.

Subrata K. Mitra and Dietmar Rothermund (eds.), *Legitimacy and Conflict in South Asia*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1997.

Subrata K. Mitra, Mike Enskat and Clemeno Spieb (eds.), *Political Parties in South Asia*, Praeger, Westport, 2004..

Urmila Phadnis and Rajat Ganguly, *Ethnicity and Nation Building in South Asia*, New Delhi: Sage, 2001.

V. A. Panandiker (ed.), *Problems of Governance in South Asia*, Konark, New Delhi, 2000.

W. Robert Stern, *Democracy and Dictatorship in South Asia*, New Delhi, Indian Research Press, 2001

OPTIONAL PAPER 16: SOUTH ASIA AND THE WORLD

Course Objective: The purpose of this course is to present a comprehensive analytical perspective on South Asia's regional politics vis-à-vis world affairs. The course focuses on the issues on peace and security in the South Asia region, on inter-state conflicts and other matters concerning bilateral relations of South Asian States. Regional cooperation and confidence building measures in South Asia are also taken up.

1) International Politics, Peace and Security in South Asia.

- 2) **South Asia: Conceptual Framework**
 - a. South Asia as a region.
 - b. South Asia as a subsystem
 - c. Territory and the Nation State

- 3) **South Asian Strategic Environment**
 - a. Global and Regional Environment
 - b. Linkages between Domestic Political Processes and Foreign Policies of South Asian States

- 4) **Contextualising the Foreign Policies of South Asian States**
 - a. Global Politics
 - b. Globalization and South Asia
 - c. Role of external powers with special reference to U.S.A. Russia, China, Europe, Japan, West Asian States and Contextualising

- 5) **Security Issues in South Asia (Transnational Dimensions of Security)**
 - a. Ethnicity, Language and Religion
 - b. Demographic factors: Refugees, Immigrants, Diaspora
 - c. Economic, Ecological and Gender Security
 - d. Terrorism
 - e. Narcotics

- 6) **Nuclear Issues in South Asia**
 - a. Nuclear Weapon's Programme in South Asia and its-Implications.
 - b. Response of Non-nuclearized South Asian States
 - c. Militarization and Prospects' for Regional Arms Control J

- 7) **Inter-State Conflicts in South Asia**
 - a. Kashmir issue
 - b. Tamil question
 - c. Water disputes
 - d. Other issues in bilateral relations

- 8) **Regional cooperation in South Asia: SAARC**

- 9) **Confidence Building Measures**
 - a. Social and cultural interaction, People to people exchanges
 - b. Political and Diplomatic
 - c. Non-Governmental
 - d. Economic Cooperation
 - e. Military and CBM's

- 10) **South Asia's role in international politics and the UN**

READINGS:

Basrur, Rajesh, M., edited, *Security in the New Millennium: Views from South Asia*, New Delhi, India Research Press, 2001.

Bhola, P.L., and Ramakant, edited. *Post Cold War Developments in South Asia*, Jaipur, RBSA Publisher, 1995.

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OPTIONAL PAPER 17: STATE AND SOCIETY IN PAKISTAN

Course Objective: This course seeks to present an analytical perspective on societal dynamics and their impact on political processes in Pakistan. It identifies specific themes which are significant for the understanding of state and society in Pakistan. The course deals with the historical evolution of Pakistan, the power structure in the country, and its political economy, nationalism, regionalism and religious extremism underlying the political processes, and a struggle for restoration of democracy and the future prospects of the idea of Pakistan.

- 1) **Emergence of Pakistan**
 - a. Two-nation theory: ideological and economic bases
 - b. Political and geographical dimensions
- 2) **Nature of the State**
 - a. Social and class basis of the state power and the elite
 - b. Form of government, federalism and decentralisation
 - c. Concept of district government at local level
- 3) **The Army in the Power Structure of Pakistan**
 - a. Rise of military and bureaucratic authoritarianism
 - b. Social base of military regimes
 - c. Changing role and parameters of the military
 - d. Nominal civilianization and legitimization of the military regimes
- 4) **Political Economy of Pakistan**
 - a. Development strategy and policies
 - b. Role of foreign capital in Pakistan's economic growth
 - c. Problems of regional imbalances, concentration of wealth, debt trap and recent trends
 - d. Problem of corruption and drug trafficking, army-narcotic nexus
- 5) **Pakistani National Identity and Regional Aspirations**

- a. Construction of Pakistani nationalism
 - b. East-West conflict and emergence of Bangladesh
 - c. Demand for Pakhtunistan
 - d. Baluch nationalist movement
 - e. Sindhi identity and the Mohajir movement
- 6) State, Society and Religion**
- a. Perspectives on Islam in Pakistan
 - b. Sectarian conflict and violence
 - c. Religious minorities
 - d. Islamic fundamentalism
- 7) Party System and Election**
- a. Muslim League, Pakistan People's Party, MQM and MMA
 - b. Ideology, programme, social base and electoral trends
- 8) Struggle for Democracy in Pakistan**
- a. Phases and characteristics
 - b. Civil society: students' movement, women's movement, peasant movement and trade union movement
 - c. Movement for restoration of democracy

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Adeel Khan, *Politics of Identity: Ethnic Nationalism and the State in Pakistan*, New Delhi, Sage, 2005.

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Ayesha Jalal, *The Sole Spokes-man: Jinnah the Muslim League and the Demand for Pakistan*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1985.

Ayesha Jalal, *The State of Martial Rule: the origin of Pakistan's political economy of defence*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990

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Farzana Shaikh, *Making Sense of Pakistan*, New Delhi: Foundation Books, 2009.

Gyandera Pandey and Yunus Samad, *Fault Line of Nationhood*, New Delhi, Roli Books, 2007.

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Hamza Alavi, "The Army and Bureaucracy in Pakistan", *International Socialist Journal*, Vol. III, no 14(March-april 1996), pp 149-81.

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- Hassan Abbas, *Pakistan's Draft into Extremism: Allah the Army, and America's War on Terror*: M.E Sharp 2005.
- Hassan Gardezi and Jamil Rashid (ed.), *Pakistan: The Roots of Dictatorship: The Political-Economy of a Praetorian State*, New Delhi: OUP, 1983.
- Hussain Haqqani, *Pakistan: Between Mosque and Military*, Washigton: Carnegie Endowment for Peace, 2005.
- Ian Talbot, *Pakistan: A Modern History*, London: Hurst Revised Edn. 2005.
- Iftikhar H. Malik, *State and Civil Society in Pakistan*, Houndmills, Macmillan, 1997.
- Ishtiaq Ahmed, *The concept of an Islamic state: An Analysis of the Ideological Controversy in Pakistan*, London: Frances Pinter, 1987.
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- Mohammad Waseem, *Politics and State in Pakistan*, Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1994.
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- Rafique Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan, 1947-58*, Islamabad, National Commission on Historical and Cultural Research, 1976.
- Rais Rasul Bakhsh (ed.), *State Society and Democratic Change in Pakistan*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Rajshree Jetly (ed.), *Pakistan in Regional and Global Politics*, London and New York, Routledge, 2009.
- Rounaq Jahan, *Pakistan's Failure in to National Integration*, New York: Colombia University Press, 1972.
- S.Akbar Zaidi, *Issues in Pakistan; Economy* (2nd Edition), Karachi: OUP, 2005.

Shahid Javed Burki, *Pakistan: Fifty Years of Nationhood*, Lahore, Vanguard, 1999.

Shuja Nawaz, *Crossed Sword: Pakistan its Army and the Wars Within*, Karachi :OUP, 2008.

Stanley Wolpert, *Jinnah of Pakistan*, Delhi: OUP, 2005.

Stephen P. Cohen, *the Pakistan Army*, New Delhi: Himalayan Books, 1984.

Stephen P. Cohen, *The Idea of Pakistan*, Lahore: Vanguard Books, 2005.

Tariq Ali, *Can Pakistan Survive?*, London, Penguin Books Ltd., 1983

Tariq Ali, *The Duel: Pakistan on the Flight Path of American Power*, London: Simon and Schuster, 2008.

Tariq Rehman, *Language and Politics in Pakistan*, Karachi, OUP, 1996.

OPTIONAL PAPER 18: PAKISTAN AND THE WORLD

Course Objective: The purpose of this course is to present a comprehensive analytical perspective on Pakistan's foreign policy, the domestic roots and evolution of its foreign policy in term of precepts and objectives including the nuclear quest. The course goes on to offer a focused discussion on Pakistan's relations with its immediate neighbours and regional as well as global powers. Pakistan's role in SAARC is also taken into account.

- 1) **Foreign Policy Analysis: A Framework**
 - a. Determinants of Pakistan's foreign policy
 - b. Evolution of Pakistan's foreign policy
- 2) **Pakistan's Relations with the U.S.**
 - a. U.S. Pakistan relationship during the Cold War
 - b. Pakistan's role in war against terror
- 3) **Pakistan's Relations with India**
 - a. The roots of antagonism
 - b. Kashmir problem; genesis, wars, proxy war and peace process
 - c. Nuclear issue and Indo-Pak relations
 - d. Efforts for conflict resolution and confidence building measures
- 4) **Pakistan and China**
 - a. Factors governing Pakistan-China relations
 - b. Chinese nuclear and missile technology transfer to Pakistan
 - c. China Pakistan strategic relations: the terrorism factor
- 5) **Pakistan and Russia**
 - a. Patterns of USSR-Pak relations during the Cold War
 - b. Pakistan-Russian relations after the Cold War
- 6) **Islam and Foreign policy**
 - a. Pan Islamism and Pakistan's role in OIC

- b. Islam and foreign policy: diplomatic, economic and security dimensions
- c. Militant Islam and 'Terrorism'
- d. Pakistan's role in the creation of Taliban in Afghanistan and the post 9/11 phase

7) Pakistan's Nuclear Quest

- a. Concerns, calculation and compulsions
- b. Policies, debates, strategic doctrines and emerging trends

8) Pakistan and SAARC

READINGS:

Ahmed Rashid, *Descent into Chaos: How the War Against Islamic Extremism is being lost in Pakistan, Afghanistan and Central Asia*, London: Allen Lane, 2008.

Arif Hussain, *Pakistan, Its Ideology and Foreign Policy*, London: Frank Cass and Co., 1996.

Ashok Kapur, *Pakistan's Nuclear Development*, London, Croom Helm, 1987.

Ayub Khan, *Friends Not Masters: A Political Autobiography*, London: OUP, 1967.

C. Das Gupta, *War and Diplomacy in Kashmir 1947-48*, New Delhi, Sage 2002.

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Dennis Kux, *The United States and Pakistan, 1947-2000:*

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G. C. Raju Thomas (ed.), *Perspectives on Kashmir: the Role of Conflict in South Asia*, Boulder: Westview Press, 1992.

G.W.Choudhury, *The Foreign Policy of Pakistan*, New York, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1958.

Hasan Askari Rizvi, *Pakistan and Geo-strategic Environment: A Study of Foreign Policy*, New York, St. Martin's Press, 1993.

J.N. Dixit, *Anatomy of a Flawed Inheritance*, New Delhi, Konark, 1994.

Jasjit Singh (ed.), *Kargil 1999: Pakistan's Forth War for Kashmir*, New Delhi, Knowledge Work, 1999.

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Masooma Hasan, *Pakistan and the Changing world*, Karachi: Pakistan Institute of International Affairs, 1978.

Prem Shankar Jha, *Kashmir 1947, Rival Versions of History*, New Delhi, Oxford University press, 1999.

Rajshree Jately(ed.), *Pakistan in Regional and Global Politics*, London, New York: Routledge 2009.

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S.M. Burke, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy: A Historical Analysis*, London, Oxford University Press, 1973.

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Shahid M. Amin, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy a Reappraisal*, Karachi: OUP, 2000.

Sumantra Bose, *Kashmir: Roots of Conflict, Path to Peace*, Cambridge, Harward University Press, 2003.

Sumit Ganguly, *Conflict Unending: India Pakistan Tensions since 1947*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2001.

T.V.Paul (ed.), *The India- Pakistan Conflict: An Enduring Rivalry*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

T.V. Paul, *The Crisis in Kashmir: Portents of War, Hopes and Peace* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press and Woodrow Wilson Centre Press, 1997.

Victoria Schofield, *Kashmir in the Crossfire*, London: Tauris, 1996.

William Maley (ed.), *Fundamentalism Reborn? Afghanistan and the Taliban*, London: Hust, 1998.

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, *Foreign Policy of Pakistan, A Compendium of Speeches made in the National Assembly of Pakistan*, Karachi: Pakistan Institute of International Affairs, 1964.

Z.A. Bhutto, *The Myth of Independence*, London, Oxford University Press, 1969.

OPTIONAL PAPER 19: STATE AND SOCIETY IN AFRICA

Course Objective: This course provides an overview of African history and culture, the experience of colonialism and the emergence and course of successful national liberation struggles as well as a broad survey of post colonial developments in the continent, its problems and successes.

- 1) **Approaches to the Study of African Politics**
- 2) **African History and Culture-An Overview**
 - a. Traditional Social and Political systems
 - b. Africa between 15th-19th Century; Slave Trade.

- 3) **Colonialism: Patterns of Colonialism**
 - a. Distinct Experiences
 - b. Impact and Balance Sheet of Colonialism and Imperialism; Theoretical Perspectives
- 4) **Nationalism**
 - a. Factors leading to Nationalism
 - b. European and African Perceptions of Nationalism
- 5) **National Liberation Movements**
 - a. Mass Movements and Armed Struggle.
 - b. Role of Workers, Peasants and Women.
- 6) **Post Colonial States in Africa**
 - a. Characteristics
 - b. Political Processes and Institution Building
 - c. Political Parties
 - d. Role of Military
- 7) **Democracy**
 - a. Experience of democracy
 - b. Democratic Action and Democratization
 - c. The Second Liberation of Africa in 1990s
- 8) **Civil Society**
 - a. Problems and Issues
 - b. Contemporary protest movements
 - c. Role of NGOs
- 9) **Human Rights**
 - a. African Charter on Human Rights
 - b. Achievements and Constraints
 - c. Civil Wars and Refugees
 - d. Military and Authoritarian Regimes and Human Rights
- 10) **Political Economy of African Development**
 - a. Economic Structures
 - b. Production Patterns
 - c. Strategies of Development
 - d. Structural Adjustment Programmes.
- 11) **Famines and Food Crisis**
 - a. Environmental decay
 - b. Cropping patterns
 - c. Consequences of famine.

12. Role of Women in Social and Political Process

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- Bakut, T and S. Dutt edited, *Africa at the Millenium: An Agenda for Mature Development*, New York, Palgrave 2000.
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- Chazan, Naomi and Rothchiid D. (ed.), *The Precarious Balance: State and Society in Africa*. Boulder, Westview 1988 .
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- Heinz. Klug, *Constituting Democracy, Law, Globalism and South Africa's Political Reconstructions*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Lewis, Peter, (ed.), *Africa: Dilemmas of Development and Change*. Boulder, Westview, 1998. 93
- Markovitz, I.L. edited *Studies in Power and Class in Africa*. Oxford, Oxford University Press. 1987.
- Neuberger, Benyamin. *National Self-Determination in Post-colonial Africa*. Colorado. Lynne Rienner, 1986.
- Ntalaja, Nzongola. *Revolution and Counter Revolution in Africa; Essays in Contemporary Politics*. London, Zed, 1987.
- Nyongo, Peter (ed.), *Popular Struggles for Democracy in Africa* London, Zed, 1987 .
- Tordoff, William, *Government and Politics in Africa*. Houndsmill, Macmillan, 1997.
- Patrick, Bond, *Talk Left Walk Right*, University of Kwazulu Natal Press, 2004
- Patrcik Bond, *Looting Africa: The Economics of Exploitation*, Zed Books, 2006.
- Paul Nugent, *Africa since Independence*, Palgrave, Houndmills, UK, 2004.
- Forster, Peter G., Hitchcock Michael Lyin, *Race and Ethnicity in East Africa*, Palgrave Macmillan (2000).

OPTIONAL PAPER 20: AFRICA AND THE WORLD

Course Objective: The focus here is much more directly political and post-colonial. It deals with the impact of Cold War rivalry on Africa, the changes accompanying the collapse of that rivalry, the impact of economic globalization over the last three decades and finally the evolving relationship between Africa and India.

- 1) **Historical Significance of the Emergence of Africa in World Politics**
- 2) **Africa in The International System: Theoretical models**
- 3) **Africa and the Cold War:**
 - a. Geo-Politics
 - b. Strategic dimensions
 - c. Security issues
 - d. Role of Super Powers
- 4) **Africa in Post Cold War Period:**
 - a. Strategic issues
 - b. Security issues
- 5) **Africa in the New International Economic Order:**
 - a. Globalization
 - b. Trade
 - c. Aid
 - d. Investments.
 - e. Africa and the U.N.
- 6) **Non-alignment: African Perceptions**
- 7) **AU and Regional Organization**
 - a. OAU
 - b. AU (including African Charter of Human Rights)
 - c. AEC
 - d. SADL
 - e. EAC
- 8) **Political Economy of Regional Cooperation in African**
- 9) **Regional Conflicts and Civil Wars in Africa**
- 10) **Foreign Policy:**
 - a. Decision-Making and Conduct
 - b. Case studies of South Africa and Nigeria
- 11) **Africa and the Developing World**
 - a. India-Africa

b. Cooperation with other Developing Countries.

READINGS:

Arnold, Guy, *The New South Africa*. Houndsmill, Macmillan, 2000.

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Charles C. Okeanalam, *Strategic Alliances and Merges of Financial Exchanges: The case of the SADC* ; Journal of Southern African Studies Vol. 31 No. 1 March 2005 PP. 75 – 93.

OPTIONAL PAPER 21: COMPARATIVE FEDERALISM: THEORY AND PRACTICE

Course Objective: The purpose of this course is to familiarize the students with contemporary comparative federal theory and practice. In the discourse on comparative politics today, federalism is a buzz word in the domain of governance as well as in post conflict situations in the politics within as well as among nations. The course is primarily

focused at the national level, but supranational confederal developments are also briefly explored. The successes and “best practices” of federal experiments in one or a group of countries will receive attention alongside the pathologies and failure of federations in a comparative perspective.

- 1) **Overview of Concepts and Theories: territorial, ethnic, asymmetrical**
- 2) **Typology of Federal Systems: parliamentary, presidential, devolutionary, supranational federal tendencies**
- 3) **Supranational Federalism**
- 4) **Fiscal Federalism: distribution of revenue resources, fiscal transfers, equalization of payments**
- 5) **Intergovernmental Relations: forms and extent, cooperative vs. competitive, issue of accountability**
- 6) **Federal Judiciary: constitutional courts and judicial review, judicialization of the political process**
- 7) **Federalism and Foreign Policy: treaty making power, regional and global integration**
- 8) **Pathology of Federations: post-conflict situation**

READINGS:

Alexander Hamilton, John Jay and James Madison , *The Federalist Papers*(edited with Introduction and notes by Max Beloff) New York, Basil Blackwell Inc. , 1987

Daniel Elazar, *Exploring Federalism*, Tuscaloosa, AL; University of Alabama Press, 1987.

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Michael Burgess, *Comparative Federalism: Theory and Practice*, Routledge, London, 2006

Thomas O. Hueglin and Alan Fenna , *Comparative Federalism : A Systematic Inquiry*, Broadview Press Ltd., 2006

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Robert Agranoff, *Accommodating Diversity: Asymmetry in Federal States*, series of the European Centre for research on Federalism Tuebingen,vo.10, Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft,1999.

George Anderson, *Federalism: An Introduction*, Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 2008

Raol Blindenbacher and Arnold Koller, eds., *Federalism in a Changing World: Learning from Each Other* , Montreal & Kingston: Queens University Press, 2003

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Michelmann, Hans,J. *Global Dialogue on Federalism,vo.5: Foreign Relations in Federal Countries*, Montreal & Kingston, published for Forum of Federations and International Association for Federal Studies by McGill Queens University Press, 2008

Akhtar Majeed, Ronald Watts and Douglas Brown,eds.*A Global dialogue on Federalism,vol.2: Distribution of Responsibilities in Federal Countries*, Montreal & Kingston, published for Forum of Federations and International Association for Federal Studies by McGill Queens University Press, 2006

Anwar Shah,ed. *A Global Dialogue on Federalism, vol.4: The Practice of Fiscal Federalism: Comparative Perspectives*, Montreal & Kingston, published for Forum of Federations and International Association for Federal Studies by McGill Queens University Press, 2006

Ronald L.Watts, *Executive Federalism: A Comparative Analysis*, Kingston: Institute of Intergovernmental Relations, Queens University, 1989

Balveer Arora and Douglas V. Verney (eds.). *Multiple Identities in a Single State: Indian Federalism in Comparative Perspective*, New Delhi, Konark publishers, 1995

Rekha Saxena (ed.), *Varieties of Federal Governance*, Foundation Books, Cambridge University Press, Delhi, (Forthcoming).

OPTIONAL PAPER 22: CULTURE AND POLITICS IN INDIA

Course Objective: This course aims at familiarizing students with the various ways in which conceptions of the self and of the nation are intertwined and shaped by the impact of various cultural processes and their institutionalized expressions. The role of literature and cinema, not usually part of most political science courses, is here given extensive treatment and importance.

- 1) **Pre-Colonial and Colonial conception of Society**
- 2) **The Modern Self**
- 3) **Cultural Nationalism: Conceptions of Identity, Past and Violence**
- 4) **Culture and Subaltern Resistance**
- 5) **Literature, Cinema and Nationalism**
- 6) **Urban Cultures**

READINGS:

Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2000.

J.N. Mohanty, *The Self and its Other: Philosophical Essays*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 2001.

Chetan Bhatt, *Hindu Nationalism: Origins, Ideology and Modern Myths*, Berg, Oxford, 2001.

Madhav Prasad, *The Ideology of Hindi Films*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 2000.

Janaki Nair, *The Promise of the Metropolis: Bangalore's Twentieth Century*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 2005.

OPTIONAL PAPER 23: SOCIAL EXCLUSION: THEORY AND PRACTICE

Course Objective: Social exclusion is a process that deprives individuals as well as groups from their due share in an unequal social order. Social categories of exclusion have become heterogeneous over the years. No longer are class and caste the only social cleavages. Issues like religion, gender, alternative sexuality have occupied an important space in the debates on exclusion. In these circumstances it becomes imperative to study, understand and explain social exclusion in its various dimensions. No linear understanding will do justice to the process of explaining exclusion. What is required is an understanding of the intersection of various social categories and their interdependence on each other. The purpose of introducing this paper to students is to familiarize them with the concept of social exclusion having dimensions ranging from the social to the political, economic and cultural. This paper would also look critically at the exclusion located of time and space.

- 1) **Social Exclusion: Theoretical Premises**
 - a. Origin, Concept, Dimensions
 - b. Theories, Debates
 - c. Issues and Challenges

- 2) **Dimensions of Social Exclusion in India**
 - a. Socio- Cultural
 - b. Political
 - c. Economic
 - d. Sexual
 - e. Religious

- 3) **Social Categories and Social Exclusion**
 - a. Caste, Class
 - b. Gender
 - c. Religion

- 4) **Social Exclusion: Emerging Trends**
 - a. Alternative Sexuality
 - b. Migrants
 - c. Disability

- d. Time and Space
- e. Body and Language

READINGS:

Silver, Hilary, “*Social Exclusion: Comparative Analysis of Europe and Middle East Youth*,” Middle East Youth Initiative Working Paper (September 2007)

Sen, Amartya, “*Social Exclusion-concept application scrutiny*”, *Critical Quest*, New Delhi.

De Haan, Arjan, “*Social Exclusion-towards a holistic understanding of deprivation*”, Arjan de Haan and Naila Kabeer, 2008, *Critical Quest*.

Jordan, Bill “*A Theory of Poverty and Social Exclusion*” Polity Press, Oxford (August, 1996)

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Sen, Amartya, ‘*Development as Freedom*’ Oxford University Press, 1999

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Thorat, Sukhadeo and S Newman, Katherine ‘*Caste and Economic Discrimination: causes, consequences and remedies*’ –; *Economic and Political Weekly*, 13 October 2007

S Jodhka, Surinder S Newman, Katherine ‘*In the name of Globalisation Meritocracy, Productivity and the Hidden language of Caste*’–; *Economic and Political Weekly*, 13 October 2007

Deshpande, Ashwini and Katherine S Newman, ‘*Where the path leads, the role of Caste in post university employment expectations*’- ; *Economic and Political Weekly*, 13 October 2007

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- Manoranjan Pal, Premananda Bharati, Bholanath Ghosh and T.S. Vasulu, *Gender 'Discrimination: Health, Nutritional Status, and Role of Women in India'*, Oxford University Press, 2009
- Raju, Saraswati, '*Locating women in social development in India*': Social Development Report, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006
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- Anand, S. 2007. *'On Claiming Dalit Subjectivity'*, Seminar, 558, 01 January.
- Nigam, Aditya. 2000. *'Secularism, Modernity, Nation: Epistemology of the Dalit Critique'*, Economic and Political Weekly, 35 (48), 25 November.
- Sarukkai, Sundar. 2007. *'Dalit Experience and Theory'*, Economic and Political Weekly, 42 (40), 6-12 October.
- Sukumar, N. 2008. *'Living a Concept: Semiotics Of everyday Exclusion'*, Economic and Political Weekly, 43 (46), 15-21 November.
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- Ambedkar B.R., *States and Minorities, Writings and Speeches Vol – 1*, ed by Vasant Moon, Government of Maharashtra Publications, 1991.
- Ambedkar B.R., *Writings and Speeches Vol – 1*, ed by Vasant Moon, Government of Maharashtra Publications, 1991.
- Mohanty Manoranjan, *Caste, Class and Gender*, Sage Publications, Delhi, 2008.
- G. Aloysius (ed.), *No Freedom with Caste*, Media Publications, Delhi, 2004
- Ilaiah Kancha, *Why I am not a Hindu*, Samya Publications, Calcutta, 1996
- Ilaiah Kancha, *Post-Hindu India*, Sage Publications, Delhi 2009
- BrijRanjan Mani, *De-Bramhinising History*, Manohar Publications, Delhi 2006
- Thomas Pantham, "Against Untouchability: The Discourses of Gandhi and Ambedkar", in *Humiliation: Claims and Context*, edited by Gopal Guru, New Delhi, OUP, 2009 pg 179-208

OPTIONAL PAPER 24: GENDER IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Course Objective: This course introduces the students to gender 'in' International Relations. Its aim is not only to make them understand how IR has been constituted and sustained by a number of so-called 'hegemonic' masculinities' and how these particular gendered constructions of a sovereign state, nationalism, security and militarism impact on the lives of particular groups of men and women, but, more importantly, to evaluate the specific contribution that feminist critiques have made as part of the so-called 'Critical Turn' in IR.

- 1) **What's at Stake? The Nature of the Debate**
- 2) **Gendered Concepts of IR**
 - a. Sovereignty
 - b. Security
 - c. Power

- 3) **Hegemonic Masculinities: State & Nationalism**
- 4) **Militarization of Women's Lives**
- 5) **Women in War and Peace Movements**
- 6) **Sex Trafficking and the Politics of Security**
- 7) **Gender, Conflict and Forced Migration**
- 8) **Gender and the 'Critical Turn': Where IR Does Understand**

READINGS:

J. Ann Tickner, *Gendering World Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001)

Jan Jindy Pettman, *Worlding Women: A Feminist International Politics* (New York: Routledge, 1996)

V. Spike Peterson & Anne Sisson Runyan, *Global Gender Issues* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1993)

Anuradha M. Chenoy, 2002. *Militarism and Women in South Asia*. New Delhi: Kali for Women.

Neelam Hussain, Samiya Mumtaz and Rubina Saigol (eds.), *Engendering the Nation-State*, Volume 1 & II, Lahore: Simorgh Publication, 1997.

Vivienne Jabri & Eleanor O'Gorman (eds.), *Women, Culture, and International Relations* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1999)

Christine Sylvester, *Feminist International Relations* (Cambridge: CUP, 2002)

V. Spike Peterson (ed.), *Gendered States* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1992)

Rebecca Grant & Kathleen Newland (eds.), *Gender and International Relations* (Milton Keynes: OUP, 1991)

Paul R. Highgate (ed.), *Military Masculinities* (London: Praeger, 2003)

Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagerman, & John Tosh (eds.), *Masculinities in Politics and War* (Manchester: MUP, 2004)

Jean Bethke Elshtain, *Women and War* (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1987)

Cynthia Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990)

Kumari Jayawardena, *Feminism and Nationalism in the Third World*. London: Zed Books, 1986

Waller, M. and J. Rycenga (eds.), 2000. *Frontline Feminisms: Women, War, and*

Resistance. New York: Garland.

Lois Ann Lorentzen & Jennifer Turpin (eds.), *The Women and War Reader* (New York: NYUP, 1998)

Navnita Chadha Behera, (ed.), *Gender, Conflict and Migration* (Editor), New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2006.

Cockburn, Cynthia. 1998. *The Space Between Us: Negotiating Gender and National Identities in Conflict*. New York: Zed Books.

Rita Manchanda (ed.), *Women, War and Peace in South Asia: Beyond Victimhood to Agency*, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2000.

OPTIONAL PAPER 25: INDIAN STRATEGIC THOUGHT

Course Objective: The aim of the course is to make students develop an awareness of the traditions and modern practices of Indian strategic thought. It explores the historical sources ranging from classic texts and Vedic traditions to empire building practices of Mughals and, writings of modern political leaders and thinkers. Students will learn about the Indian conceptualizations of key strategic concepts such as non-alignment, sovereignty and deterrence and, understand the dynamics of instrumentalities India deploys for gaining its strategic goals. Finally, it will involve the students in class debates on India's strategic culture, both theoretical and policy-oriented.

- 1) **Historical Sources**
 - Classic Texts (Kautilya's Arthshastra)
 - Thinking of Mughal Empires
 - Colonial Heritage
 - Modern Thinkers (Nehru, Tagore, Patel)
- 2) **Key Concepts**
 - Non-Alignment and International Order
 - State and Sovereignty
 - Deterrence
- 3) **Instrumentalities**
 - Military Means & Nuclear Weapons
 - The 'Big' Indian Market
 - A Knowledge Power?
- 4) **Debates on Indian Strategic Culture**

READINGS:

K M Panikkar (K M Panikkar, *Asia and Western dominance* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1959)

Kautilya, *Arthshastra*

Jawaharlal Nehru, *Glimpses of World History*

Kanti Bajpai, Amitabh Mattoo and George Tanham (eds.) *Securing India: Strategic Thought and Practice in an Emerging Power* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1996)

C Rajamohan, *Crossing the Rubicon: The Shaping of India's New Foreign Policy* (New Delhi: Penguin, 2005).

Jaswant Singh, "Strategic culture", in *Defending India*, (New Delhi: Palgrave Macmillan 1999)

Stephan Cohen, *Emerging Power: India* (New Delhi, OUP, 2001)

A Appadorai, *India: Studies in Social and Political Development, 1947-1967* (New Delhi: Asia Publishing House, 1967)

J N Dixit, *Across Borders: Fifty Years of India's Foreign Policy*, (New Delhi: Picus, 1998).

Swarna Rajagopalan, ed., *Security and South Asia: Ideas, Institutions and Initiatives*, Routledge India, 2006

J Bandyopadhyaya, *The Making of India's Foreign Policy* (New Delhi: Allied Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1980 second edition).

JOURNAL ARTICLES:

Benoy Kumar Sarkar, "Hindu Theory of International Relations", *The American Political Science Review*, Vol-13, no-3, (Aug., 1919).

Manjeet Singh Pardesi, "Deducing India's Grand Strategy of Regional Hegemony from Historical and Conceptual Perspectives", IDSS Working Paper, April 2005.

Baljit Singh, "The Sources of Contemporary Political Thought in India – A Reappraisal", *Ethics*, vol-75, no-1, Oct. 1964

W. S. Armour, "Customs of Warfare in Ancient India", *Transactions of the Grotius Society*, Vol-8, 1922

Sheldon Pollock "Ramayana and Political Imagination in India", *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 52, No. 2 (May, 1993), pp. 261-297

Roger Boesche, "Kautilya's Arthashastra on War and Diplomacy", *The Journal of Military History* - 67 (January 2003): pp.9-38.

George Modelski, "Kautilya: Foreign Policy and International System in the Ancient Hindu World", *The American Political Science Review*, Vol-58, No-3 (Sept., 1964).

Rashed Uz Zaman, "Kautilya: The Indian Strategic Thinker and Indian Strategic Culture", *Comparative Strategy*, Volume 25, Number 3 / July-September 2006.

A.K. Das Gupta, "Non-Alignment and the International Economic Order", *International Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 1-2, 133-142 (1981)

Ramesh Thakur, "India After Nonalignment", *Foreign Affairs*, 71, Spring 1992.

Herbert H. Gowen, “The Indian Machiavelli” or Political Theory in India two thousand years ago”, *Political Science Quarterly*, vol-44, no-2, (Jan, 1929).

Paul F. Power, “Indian Foreign Policy: The Age of Nehru”, *The Review of Politics*, vol-26, no-2, April 1964.

Kanti Bajpai, “Indian Strategic Culture”, in Michael R. chambers *South Asia in 2020: Future Strategic Balances and Alliances* (Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College, Carlisle, 2002) ,

Z. Hilai, India’s Strategic Thinking and it National Security Policy” *Asian Survey*, vol-41, no-5, September-October 2001.

Nuclear Weapons and Indian Strategic Culture, Rajesh M. Basrur, *Journal of Peace Research*, vol-38, no-2 (March 2001)

Deepa M. Ollapally, “Mixed Motives in India’s search Nuclear Status”, *Asian Survey*, Vol-41, No-6, Nov-Dec. 2001

OPTIONAL PAPER 26: THE POLITICS OF VIOLENCE IN SOUTH ASIA

Course Objective: This course introduces students to the diverse range of violent conflicts in South Asia. It explores the colonial legacy in the subcontinent and, the political character of the state for explaining their genesis, nature and political mobilization. Students will also learn about different strategies adopted by states for coping with such conflicts. These issues will be examined in a comparative framework and as part of the course work, students will be encouraged to undertake some case studies of conflicts to understand ‘what works’ and ‘what doesn’t’ in managing or resolving such conflicts.

- 1) **Colonial Legacy in South Asia**
 - a. Institutions and Practices
 - b. The Colonial State
- 2) **Genesis of Conflicts**
 - a. Political Character of the (Post-colonial) Nation-State
 - b. Economic and Social Inequities
- 3) **Nature of Conflicts**
 - a. Identity-related Conflicts
 - b. Anti-Systemic Conflicts
 - c. Religion and Political Violence
- 4) **Coping with Conflicts**
 - a. Constitutional Measures
 - b. Counter-insurgency Strategies

READINGS:

S. Mahmud Ali (1993) *The Fearful State: Power, People and Internal War in South Asia*, London: Zed Books.

Rajni Kothari (ed.), *State and Nation-Building: A Third World Perspective*, New Delhi: Allied Publishers, 1976.

Ayesha Jalal (1995) *Democracy and Authoritarianism in South Asia: A Comparative and Historical Perspective*, New Delhi: Foundation Books.

Navnita Chadha Behera (2000) *State, Identity and Violence: Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh*, New Delhi: Manohar.

Madhav Gadgil and Ramchandra Guha (1995) *Ecology and Equity: The Use and Abuse of Nature in Contemporary India*, New Delhi: Penguin Books.

Navnita Chadha Behera (ed.), *State, People and Security: The South Asian Context*, New Delhi: Har Anand.

John Dunn (ed.), *Contemporary Crisis of the Nation-State*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Urmila Phadnis (1989) *Ethnicity and Nation Building in South Asia*, New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Ponna Wignaraja and Akmal Hussain (1989) (eds.), *The Challenge in South Asia: Development, Democracy and Regional Cooperation*, New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Douglas Allen, ed., *Religion and Conflict in South Asia*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Amena Mohsin, *The Politics of Nationalism: the Case Study of CHT*, Dhaka: UPL, 2002.

Udayon Misra, *The Periphery Strikes Back: Challenges to the Nation-State in Assam and Nagaland*, Indian Institute of Advances Studies, 2000.

Godfrey Gunatilleke et. al., *Ethical Dilemmas of Development in Asia*, Toronto: Lexington Books, 1983.

Asghar Khan (ed.), *Islam, Politics and the State: the Pakistan Experience*, London: Zed Books, 1985.

Satchi Ponnambalam, *Sri Lanka: The National Question and the Tamil Liberation Struggle*, London: Zed Books, 1983.

Robert Kaplan, *Soldiers of God: With Islamic Warriors in Afghanistan and Pakistan*, New York: Vintage books, 1990.

Rajmohan Gandhi, *Revenge and Reconciliation: Understanding South Asian History*, New Delhi: Penguin Books, 1999.

Ania Loomba, *Colonialism/ Postcolonialism*, London: Routledge, 2005.

Caroline Thomas and P. Saravanmuttu, (eds.), *The State and Instability in the South*, New York: St. Martin Press, 1989.

Ponna Wignaraja, (ed.), *New Social Movements in the South: Empowering the People*, New Delhi: Vistaar Publications, 1993.

P. Chatterjee, (1994) *The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

OPTIONAL PAPER 27: INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

Course Objective: The aim of this course is to give students a thorough introduction to the literature on international security, both theoretical and policy-oriented. It deploys the use of sectors to understand the new international security agenda (political, economic, societal and environmental) and, emphasizes the salience of levels-of-analysis (individual, national, regional and global) in thinking about international security. The course begins with the mainstream IR literature on the subject and then works its way towards understanding the security problematique of Third World countries and especially the way South Asians theorize security.

- 1) International Security: An Introduction**
- 2) Theoretical Approaches**
 - a. Structural Realism
 - b. Critical Security Studies
 - c. Feminist Conceptions
 - d. The Copenhagen School
- 3) Broadening the Security Agenda**
 - a. Environmental Security
 - b. Economic Security
 - c. Migration
- 4) Deepening the Security Debates**
 - a. Human Security
 - b. Regional Security
 - c. Global Security
- 5) Security Problematique of the Third World Countries**
- 6) South Asian Conceptions of Security**

READINGS:

Stuart Croft and Terry Terriff, (eds.), *Critical Reflections on Security and Change*, London: Frank Cass, 2000

Keith Krause, and Michael C. William (eds.) *Critical Security Studies*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997.

Ken Booth (ed.), *Critical Security Studies and World Politics* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2005

V. Spike Peterson, (ed.), *Gendered States: Feminist (Re)visions of International Relations*

Theory, Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1992

Barry Buzan, Ole Waever and Jaap de Wilde, (eds.), *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1998.

Barry Buzan and Ole Waever, (ed.), *Regions and Powers: The Structure of International Security*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2004

Alan Collins, *Cotemporary Security Studies*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Mohammed Ayoob, *The Third World Security Predicament : State Making, Regional Conflict and International System*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1995

Caroline Thomas, *In Search of Security: The Third World in International Relations*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1987.

Navnita Chadha Behera, (ed.), *State, People and Security: The South Asian Context*, New Delhi: Har-Anand, 2001.

Navnita Chadha Behera, (ed.), *International Relations in South Asia: Search for an Alternative Paradaigm*, New Delhi: Sage, 2008.

OPTIONAL PAPER 28: STATE AND SOCIETY IN CANADA

Course Objective: Canada and India are two major examples of asymmetrical federal democracies. As such, there is much to be learned and valued by Indian students from the Canadian political experience, be it the nature of its constitution and political and judicial institutions or its pattern of Centre-State relations.

- 1) Geography, History and Political Economy: Canadian Nationalism between Imperialism and Continentalism**
- 2) Political Culture**
 - a. Canada between Bi-culturalism and Multi-culturalism
 - b. Regionalism and Separatism with special Reference to Quebec
- 3) The Canadian Constitution**
 - a. Evolution and Politics of constitutional change
 - b. Charter of Rights and Freedoms
 - c. The Amending Formula
- 4) The Parliament**
 - a. House of Commons
 - b. Senate Reforms
 - c. Committee System
- 5) Federal-Provincial Relations: Centralization and Politics of Province-Building, Intergovernmental Relations**
- 6) The Judiciary**
 - a. Structure

- b. Judicial Review
 - c. Charter of Rights and Freedoms
 - d. Inter-Governmental Relations cases
- 7) **The Bureaucracy**
- a. Federal
 - b. Provincial
- 8) **Electoral Politics**
- a. Political Parties and Pressure Groups
 - b. Women and Politics
 - c. Social Movements
- 9) **Patterns of Provincial Politics: Local Politics and Aboriginal Self-government**
- 10) **Canada's Foreign Policy: Canada and the United States, Canada and NAFTA, Canada and APEC, Canada and India**

READINGS:

Cairns, Alan. C, 'The Judicial Committee and its Critics', *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. IV, No. 3, 1971

Dyck Rand, *Canadian Politics: Critical Approaches*, 2nd Edition, Nelson Canada, International Thomson Publication Company, Toronto, 1996.

Grewal, J.S. and Hugh Johnston (eds.), *India-Canada Relationship: Exploring the Political Economic and Cultural Dimensions*, New Delhi, Sage, 1994.

Jackson, Robert J. and Doreen Jackson., *Politics in Canada: Culture, Institutions, Behaviour and Public Policy*, Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice Hall Allyn and Bacon Canada. 1999.

Mallory. J.R. *The Structure of Canadian Government*, Toronto, Macmillan, 1971.

Me Naught, Kenneth., *The Penguin History of Canada*, London, Penguin Books, 1988.

Meekison, J. Peta (ed.), *Canadian Federalism: Myth or Reality?* Toronto, Methuen, 1977.

Russell, Peter, "The End of Mega-Constitutional Politics in Canada?" *Political Science and Politics*, Vol. XXVI, No. 4, 1993

Russell, Peter, "The Political Purposes of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms", *The Canadian Bar Revised*, Vol. L XI, No. 1, March 1983

Russell, Peter. *Canada's Judicial Odyssey*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1998.

Russell Peter. *Leading Constitutional Decision: Cases on the BNA Act*. Toronto, Me Clelland and Stewart, 1973.

Saxena Rekha (ed.), *Mapping Canadian Federalism for India*, Konark Publishers, Delhi, 2002

Saxena Rekha, *Situating Federalism: Mechanisms of Intergovernmental Relations in Canada and India*, Manohar Publishers, Delhi, 2006

Watts R., L. 'Canada; Three Decades of Periodic Crises'. *International Political Science Review*, Vol. XVII, No. 4, 1996

Watts R.L., 'Federalism, Federal Political System and Federations', *Annual Review of Political Science*, No. I, 1998.

Whittington, Michael and Glen Williams (ed.), *Canadian Politics in the Twenty - First Century*, 5th Ed. Scarborough, Nelson Shompson Learning, 2000.

Young, Robert (ed.) *Stretching the Federation: The Art of the State in Canada*. Kingston, Institute of Inter-governmental Relations, 1999

OPTIONAL PAPER 29: STATE AND SOCIETY IN THE US

Course Objective: The US is the world's oldest democracy and has provided to a greater or lesser extent a model of emulation and learning for later democracies including India. Given that the US is and will remain for some time the world's single most dominant power, it is important to study its state and the social institutions that have shaped its political trajectory which is what this course seeks to do.

- 1) **American Political tradition**
 - a. Nature
 - b. Stages of Evolution.
- 2) **Ideological and socio-economic Foundations of the US policy**
 - a. Ideas
 - b. Socio-economic determinants.
- 3) **Institutional framework**
 - a. Structure and Dynamics
 - b. Trends in Institutional Functioning
- 4) **Nature of the federal polity**
 - a. Issues
 - b. Debates
- 5) **Character of the party system**
 - a. Ideological and Regional dimensions
 - b. Relationship with Interest Groups
 - c. Role in Presidential and Congressional elections
- 6) **Ideology in the US: Debates and trends**
- 7) **Government and Business**
 - a. Debates on the Role of Government
 - b. Trends in the functioning of the Capitalist state
- 8) **Power Elite in the US**

- a. Political elite
- b. Economic elite
- c. Military elite

9) The problem of equality and integration in the US

- a. The Civil Rights movement
- b. State
- c. Language policy
- d. Rolling back of Affirmative Action

10) Role of the Mass Media in the Political Process

11) Politics of Development in a post-industrial society

- a. Patterns of High Technology Development
- b. Problems of Affluence and Poverty
- c. Ecological and Social Tensions
- d. Alienation
- e. Social Movements

22) Domestic politics and international role of the US

READINGS:

Babu. Ramesh (ed), *Contemporary American Politics and Society*, New Delhi, Sterling, 1972

Barker, Lucius & Twiloy, Barker, *Civil Liberties and the Constitution: Cases and Commentaries*, Prentice-Hall, 1978.

Dennis Welland, edited, *The United States: A Companion to American Studies*, Mathuen and Co Ltd, London, 1974

Di palma, Giuseppe (ed), *Mass Politics in Industrial Societies*, Chicago, Markham, 1972.
Ernest , S.Griffith, *The American System of Government*, Mathuen and Co Ltd, 1983

Gillian Peele, *Revival and Reaction: The Right in Contemporary America*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1985

Horowitz, IX & James, Katz E., *Social Science and Public Policy in the United States*, Praeger, 1975.

Horowitz, I.L., *Ideology and Utopia in the United States*, NY, Oxford University Press, 1977.

James, Macgregor, Burns, *The Workshop of Democracy; The American Experiment*, Volume 11, New Delhi, Asian Books,1987

Laski, Harold J., *American Democracy: A Commentary and an Interpretation*, Kelley, 1948.

Melvin Gurtov and Ray Maghroori, *Roots of Failure: United States Policy in the Third World*, London, Green Wood press, 1984

Nicholas., H.G., *The Nature of American Politics*, New York. Oxford University Press, 1986

Oli R. Horsti and James N. Rosenau, *American Leadership in World Affairs: Vietnam and the Breakdown of Consensus*, George Allen and Unwin Publishers Ltd., London, 1984

Vile, M.J.C., *Politics in the United States*, Penguin, 1977.

Kpalan, Robert D., *Warrior Politics*, New York, Random House, 2001.

Small, Meluin, *Democracy and Diplomacy*, Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press, 1995.

Brinkley, Alan, *The New Federalist Papers Essays in Defence of the Constitution*, Norton, 1997.

OPTIONAL PAPER 30: CONSTITUTIONALISM IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

Course Objective: This course intends to expose students to the multitudinous and differentiated forms of constitutional practices. Distinguishing between constitutions as historical texts and constitutionalism as ideological sites which justify specific constitutional theory and practices, the course will attempt to familiarise students with the pluralities of these sites, and their diverse manifestations. The course encourages students to ask questions such as, what is a constitution, what are the processes through which constitutions evolve, and what are the different underlying principles they pledge, what rights are incorporated in the constitutions and what are the implications of their incorporation are constitutions static/stagnant or do they embody principles of transformative change? For adequate responses to these questions, the course takes the students along the diverse historical experiences of constitutional development and their forms, their relationship with culture and democracy, the notion of transformative constitutionalism in societies transitioning from colonial to postcolonial constitutionalism or from authoritarianism to democracy, and the debates around emergency, states of exception and constitutionalism.

- 1) **What is constitutionalism?**
- 2) **Culture and Constitutionalism**
- 3) **Democracy and Constitutionalism**
- 4) **Postcolonial Constitutionalism**
- 5) **Socialist Constitutionalism**
- 6) **Constitutionalism in times of Emergency**

READINGS:

Anil Kalhan, 'Constitution and 'extraconstitution': Emergency powers in postcolonial Pakistan and India', Drexel University Earle Mack School of Law Legal Studies Research Paper Series 2009 – A-16, available at <http://www.ssrn.com/link/Drexel-U-LEG.html>

Carl J Friedrich, *Constitutional Government and Democracy*,

David Dyzenhaus (ed.), *Civil Rights and Security*, Ashgate, Surrey, 2009.

Helen Irving, *Gender and the Constitution, Equity and Agency in Comparative Constitutional Design*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2008.

James Tully, *Strange Multiplicity, Constitutionalism in an age of diversity*, Cambridge University press, 1995.

Julian Go, 'A Globalizing Constitutionalism?, Views from the Postcolony', *1945–2000, International Sociology*, March 2003, Vol 18(1).

Kim Lane Scheppele, 'The Agendas of Comparative Constitutionalism,' 13, *Law and Courts*, 2003.

Larry Alexander, *Constitutionalism*, Legal Studies Research Paper Series, Research Paper No.07-04, September 2005, e.copy available at <http://ssrn.com/abstract>

Larry Cata Backer, 'The Party as Polity, The Communist party, and the Chinese Constitutional State: A Theory of State-Party Constitutionalism', *Journal of Chinese and Comparative Law*, Vol.16, e.copy available at <http://ssrn.com/abstract>

Muhammed Waseem, 'Constitutionalism in Pakistan: The Lingering Crisis of Dyarchy' (Conference Paper).

Ranabir Samaddar, 'Colonial Constitutionalism' in *The Materiality of Politics*, Anthem Press, London, 2007.

Upendra Baxi, 'Constitutionalism as a Site of State Formative Practices', 21 *Cardozo Law Review*, 1183, 2000.

Upendra Baxi, 'Postcolonial Legality', in Henry Schwartz and Sangeeta Ray (eds.), *A Companion to Postcolonial Studies*, Blackwell, 2000.

Upendra Baxi, 'Alternate Constitutionalisms under Signatures of Capitalism', *Modern Law review Symposium on Globalisation and Constitutionalism*, 6 June 2003.

Upendra Baxi, 'Preliminary Notes on Transformative Constitutionalism', BISA Conference: Courting Justice, Delhi, April 27-29, 2008

Upendra Baxi, 'The Colonialist Heritage', *Comparative Legal Studies: Traditions and Transitions*, University of Cambridge, A conference at the Millennium, July 2000.

Optional Paper No. 31

Religion, Reform and Religious Nationalism in Modern India

Objective: The paper will examine the ways in which religion has been imbricated in movements of reform and nationalism. It will study new areas and modes of religious thought. Individual thinkers will be seen as points of anchorage to explore more general issues. The list of suggested readings is designed to generate critical thought about the large issues and not to limit the paper to the study of discrete thinkers alone.

- I. The Gender Question; Vedanta: Rammohon Roy.**
- II. Critique of Orthodoxy Dayanand Saraswati.**
- III. Modernising Islam: Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan.**
- IV. Hinduism and Hindu Nationalism: Bankim Chatterjee, Vivekananda and Savarkar.**
- V. Nationalism and the Pan Islamic Ummah: Muhammad Iqbal, A.K Azad, Maududi.**
- VI. Dalit Theology: Ambedkar.**

Readings:

A. Jalal, *Self and Sovereignty: Individual and Community in South Asian Islam since 1950*, New Delhi: Oxford, 2001.

A. Raghuramraju ed., *Debating Vivekananda: A Reader*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Amiya Sen, *Rammohon Roy: A Critical Biography*, New Delhi; Penguin Books, 2012.

Dermot Killingley, *Rammohon Roy in Hindu and Christian Tradition: The Teape Lectures 1990*, Newcastle upon Tyne: Grevatt and Grevatt, 1993.

Iqbal Singh Sevea, *The Political Philosophy of Muhammad Iqbal*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Johannes Beltz, and S Jondhale, eds., *Reconstructing the World: B.R. Ambedkar and Buddhism in India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2004.

M.Hasan ed., *Islam and Indian Nationalism: Reflections of Abul Kalam Azad*, New Delhi: 1992.

Peter Hardy, *The Muslims of British India*, Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 1972.

Roy Jackson, *Maulana Mawdudi and Political Islam: Authority and the Islamic State*, Routledge, 2010.

S. Clarke, D. Manchal, P.V. Peacock, eds., *Dalit Theology in the Twenty-Century: Discordant Voices, Dissenting Pathways*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Shruti Kapila, Feisal Devji eds., *Political Thought in Action: The Bhagavad Gita and Modern India* (Ch.8), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Tanika Sarkar, *Rebels, Wives, Saints: Designing Selves and Nations in Colonial times*, Ranikhet Cantt: Permanent Black, 2011.

Vinay Lal ed., *Political Hinduism: The Religious Imagination in Public Spheres* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2009.

William Radice ed., *Swami Vivekananda and the modernization of Hinduism*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Optional Paper No. 32
Gandhi, Autonomy and Discourse

Objective: To capture the Gandhi's social and political ideas, the course revolves around the Gandhian texts which are easily available. Although these ideas are historical since they evolved in a particular era of human history they are also cosmological given their transcendental application and importance in articulating a powerful voice of protest in various parts of the globe. It is simply not possible to comprehend the entire gamut of Gandhian thinking in a course. Hence this course draws on a selective set of ideas that Gandhi articulated to mobilize an unarmed section of humanity against perhaps the most powerful colonial power in the entire course of human history. Structurally, the course focuses on: transformation of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi from MK Gandhi to Gandhi: the South African sojourn – intellectual roots of Gandhi's socio-political and economic ideas – endeavour at providing an alternative method of political struggle which was shaped in the wake of 1918-19 Champaran, Kheda and Ahmedabad Satyagrahas.- recreating a space for organized politics drawing upon indigenous sources of inspiration, major themes in his socio-political and economic ideas.

- I. Critique of modern civilization**
- II. Swaraj and Swadeshi**
- III. Ahimsa or the creed of non-violence**
- IV. Mass movements – civil disobedience or Satyagraha, in Gandhi's vocabulary**
- V. Feminism and gender-based ideas**
- VI. Caste and untouchability**
- VII. Socialism and trusteeship**
- VIII. Nation, nationalism and national identity**
- IX. Communal harmony and multiculturalism**

Readings:

Anthony J Parel ed., *Hind Swaraj and Other Writings*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Bidyut Chakrabarty ed., *Nonviolence: Challenges and Prospects*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Bidyut Chakrabarty, *Confluence of Thought: Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King Jr*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2013.

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Claude Markovits, *The UnGandhian Gandhi: the Life and Afterlife of the Mahatma*, London: Anthem Press, 2005.

David Hardiman, *Gandhi in His Time and Ours*, New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2003.

EMS Namboodiripad, *The Mahatma and the Ism*, New Delhi: PPH, 1959.

Erik H Erikson, *Gandhi's Truth: on the Origins of Militant Nonviolence*, New York: WW Norton & CO, 1969.

Hiren Mukherjee, *Gandhiji: a Study*, New Delhi: PPH, 1991 (4th edition).

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MK Gandhi, *An Autobiography or the Story of My Experiments with Truth*, Ahmedabad: Navajivan, 1948.

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MK Gandhi, *The Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule*, Ahmedabad: Navajivan, 1938.

Raghavan Iyer, *The Moral and Political Thought of Mahatma Gandhi*, New York: Oxford University, 1973.

Richard Gregg, *The Power of Nonviolence*, Ahmedabad: Navajivan, 1960.

Roanld J Tarchek, *Gandhi: Struggling for Autonomy*, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 1998.

Sabyasachi Bhattacharya ed., *The Mahatma and the Poet: Letters and Debates Between Gandhi and Tagore, 1915-1941*, New Delhi: National Book Trust, 1997.

Optional Paper No. 33
Ambedkar in Contemporary India

Objective: This course is proposed to introduce Ambedkar's ideas, thoughts and their relevance in contemporary India. To creatively engage students with the existing social concerns, state and economic structures and other (non) institutional mechanisms/paradigms of dominance and emancipation; it is essential to approach Ambedkar beyond his contextual and clichéd readings. Ambedkar's textual, contextual, symbolic, discursive, creative and emancipatory methods and contents explore substantial questions of state, society and governance in contemporary India.

- I. Introducing Ambedkar**
 - a. Philosophical Groundings of Ambedkar's thought and Ideas
- II. Nation and Constitutional Democracy**
 - a. Nation, Nationalism and inclusive Citizenship
 - b. Constitutionalism and Democracy
- III. Political Vision and State Institutions**
 - a. Rights and Representations
 - b. Organs of State and Relations: Executive, Legislature, Judiciary
- IV. Economy and Class Question**
 - a. Planning and Development
 - b. Land and Labor
- V. Religion and Emancipation**
 - a. Philosophy of Religion
 - b. Buddhism and Conversion
- VI. Women's Question**
 - a. Inter-sectionality between Caste, Religion and Patriarchy
 - b. Universal Civil Code and Hindu Code Bill
- VII. Caste and Social Order**
 - a. Caste, Untouchability and the Critique of Hindu Social Order
 - b. Ways to Annihilate Caste
- VIII. Contemporary Concerns, Contradictions and Debates**

Readings:

Aishwary Kumar, *Ambedkar's Inheritances, Modern Intellectual History, Vol.7*, pp. 391-415, 2010.

Anand Teltumbde and Shoma Sen eds., *Caste Question in India*, in *Scripting the Change, Selected Writings of Anuradha Gandhi*, Delhi: Daanish Books, 2013.

Anupama Rao ed., *Gender and Caste: Issues in Contemporary Indian Feminism*, New Delhi: Kali for Women and Women Unlimited. 2006.

Anupama Rao, *Sexuality and the Family Form*, *Economic and Political Weekly* 40 (8), 2005.

Arun Shourie, *Worshipping False Gods: Ambedkar and the Facts that have Been Erased*, India: Harper Collins, 2012.

B R Ambedkar, *Philosophy of Hinduism*, New Delhi: Critical Quest, 2010.

B. R Ambedkar, *Babasaheb Ambedkar Writing and Speeches, Vol. 1*, Maharashtra: Education Department Government of Maharashtra, 1979.

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B. R Ambedkar, *Dr. Ambedkar and the Hindu Code Bill*, *Babasaheb Ambedkar Writing and Speeches. Vol. 14, Part I, II*, Maharashtra: Education Department Government of Maharashtra, 1995.

B. R Ambedkar, *Who Were the Shudras? How they came to be the Fourth Varna in the Indo-Aryan Society Vol. 7, The Untouchables: Who Were They and Why they Became Untouchables?* Babasaheb Ambedkar Writing and Speeches, Education Department Government of Maharashtra, Vol. 1, 1990.

B. R. Ambedkar, *Ambedkar's Speech on Draft Constitution in the CAD Vol. 7*, (Nov. 8, 1948). BSW&S, Vol. 13, p. 321, 2005.

B. R. Ambedkar, *Buddha and His Dhamma*, *Babasaheb Ambedkar Writing and Speeches. Vol. 11*. Maharashtra: Education Department Government of Maharashtra, 2010.

B. R. Ambedkar, *Castes in India: Their Mechanism, Genesis and Development*. New Delhi: Critical Quest, 2013.

Brajanjan Mani, *Debrahmanising History: Dominance and Resistance in Indian Society*, Delhi: Manohar, 2011.

Debjani Ganguly, History's Implosions: A Benjaminian Reading of Ambedkar, *Journal of Narrative Theory* 32 (3), pp. 326-347, 2002.

Eleanor Zelliott, *Ambedkar's Conversion*, Delhi: Critical Quest, 2013.

Francisco Jesús and Cháirez-Garza, Touching Space: Ambedkar on the Spatial Features of Untouchability, London: Routledge, available at, <http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/ccsa20>, 2014.

G Aloysius, *Nationalism without a Nation in India*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Gail Omvedt, *Liberty Equality and Community: Dr. Ambedkar's Vision of New Social Order*, Delhi: Navyana Publication, 2013.

Gail Omvedt, *Seeking Begampura*, Delhi: Navyana Publication, Delhi, 2011.

Gail Omvedt, *Understanding Caste: From Buddha to Ambedkar and Beyond*, Delhi: Orient Black Swan, 2011.

Guru, Gopal. Appropriating Ambedkar, *Economic and Political Weekly* 26 (27/28), pp. 1697-1699, 1991.

Jotirao Phuley, *Slavery*, New Delhi: Critical Quest, 2008.

M. S. Gore, *The Social Context of an Ideology: Ambedkar's Political and Social Thought*, Delhi: Sage Publication, 1993.

Pundita Ramabai, *The High Caste Hindu women*. New Delhi: Critical Quest, 2013.

Ronki Ram, Dr. Ambedkar, Neo Liberal Market-Economy and Social Democracy in India, *Human Rights Global Focus*, 5 (384), pp. 12-38, available at roundtableindia.co.in (Part-I, II) 2010.

Sharmila Rege, *Against the Madness of Manu: B. R. Ambedkar's Writings on Brahmanical Patriarchy*, Delhi: Navyana Publication, 2013.

Sukhdeo Thorat and Aryama, *Ambedkar in Retrospect: Essays on Economics, Politics and Society*, New Delhi: Rawat publications, 2007.

Sumit Sarkar and Tanika Sarkar ed., *Women and Reform in Modern India: A Reader. Vol. II*. Ranikhet: Permanent Black Publisher, 2007.

Valerian Rodrigues, *The Essential Writings of B. R. Ambedkar*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Optional Paper No. 34

Dalit - Bahujan Political Thought

Objective: This course will focus on the political thoughts of dalit-bahujan thinkers in India. So far the pedagogy has remained exclusive to the various egalitarian ideas put forward by dalit-bahuj thinkers. Still caste, community, religion and gender are the major categories on which society is being governed. A complete understanding of the society its, evolution and transformation needs to unfold the dalit-bahujan thinkers whose ideas and thought rendered inclusive and egalitarian. Their ideas have contemporary relevance to the wider extent. Their ideas has remained confined as a critic and radical thinking of past times, but this course brings in a complete historical presence of egalitarian thought since the ancient time to modern, Budhha to Kanshi Ram.

- I. **Buddha**
- II. **Ravidas**
- III. **Kabir**
- IV. **Jyotiba Phule**
- V. **Ambedkar**
- VI. **Periyar**
- VII. **Tarabai Shinde**
- VIII. **Kanshi Ram**

Readings:

B R Ambedkar, *Caste in India*, Panjab: Patrika Publications, 1916.

B R Ambedkar, *Who Were the Shudra and Why They have Become Untouchables*, available at http://www.ambedkar.org/ambcd/39A.Untouchables%20who%20were%20they_why%20they%20became%20PART%20I.htm#pr, accessed: 5 June 2015.

B. R. Ambedkar, *Annihilation of Caste*, available at <http://www.ambedkar.org/ambcd/02.Annihilation%20of%20Caste.htm>, accessed on % June 2015.

Callewaert and Friedlander, *The Life and Works of Ravidass Ji*, Delhi: Manohar, 1992.

- G. Aloysius eds. *Lakshmi Narasu, Religion of Modern Buddhist*, Delhi: Wordsmiths, 2002.
- G. P. Deshpande eds., *Selected works of Jyotirao Phule*, Delhi: LeftWord, 2002.
- G. P. Deshpande ed., *Slavery*, in *Selected works of Jyotirao Phule*, New Delhi: LeftWord, 2002.
- Gail Omvedt, *Seeking Begumpura: the Social Vision of Anti-Caste Intellectuals*, Delhi: Navyana, 2008.
- Kancha Illaiah, *God as Political Philosopher: Buddhism's Challenge to Brahminism*, Calcutta: Samya, 2000.
- M. S. S. Pandian, *Brahmin and Non-Brahmin: Geneology of Tamil Political Present*, Ranikhet: Permanent Black, 2007.
- Mirabai, V.K. Subramanian, *Mystic Songs of Meera*, Delhi: Abhinav, 2006.
- Rabindranath Tagore (Translated), *Songs of Kabir*, available at www.globalgrey.co.uk/songs-of-kabir/, accessed: 5 June 2015, 1915.
- Ram Kanshi, *Chamcha Yug*, Delhi: Gautam Book Centre, 2008.
- Rosalind O'Hanlon, *Caste, Conflict and ideology: Mahatma Jyotirao Phule and Low Caste protest in Nineteenth Century Western India*, Hyderabad: Orient Longman, 1995.
- Rosalind O'Hanlon, *For the Honour of My Sister Countrywomen: Tarabai Shinde and the Critique of Gender Relations in Colonial India*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Tarabai Shinde, Stripurushtulana (Translated by Maya Pandit), in S. Tharu and K. Lalita eds., *Women writing in India. 600 B.C. to the present, Volume I: 600 B.C. to the Early 20th century*, The City University of New York, New York: The Feminist Press, 1982.
- V. Gita and S. V. Rajdurai, *Towards Non-Brahmin Millennium: Iyothee Thass to Periyar*. Calcutta: Samya, 1998.

Optional Paper No. 35

Contemporary Explorations in Tagore's Ideas and Actions.

Objective: This course will introduce the student to a multi-disciplinary study of Tagore's ideas and institutional practices. By studying the relative singularity of Tagore's positions amongst the other iconic figures of nationalism, the course will probe the boundaries of nationalist thought and the possibilities that are imagined and practiced beyond these. The student will be required to engage in intensive studies of selected texts of Tagore and discuss these in the light of recent commentaries drawn from different disciplinary backgrounds.

- I. Nationalism, Cosmopolitanism and Tagore's thought**
- II. Tagore's Theology**
- III. Viswa Bharati and the concept of a global institution**
- IV. Theories of Pedagogy**
- V. Debates between Gandhi and Tagore**
- VI. Gender Questions in Tagore's literary and discursive works**

Readings.

Tagore's Works

1. Gitanjali.
2. Ghare Baire
3. Gora
4. Strir Patra
5. Nationalism.
6. The Religion of Man.
7. The Centre of Indian Culture

Readings:

Amiya P.Sen ed., *Religion and Rabindranath Tagore: Select Discourses, Addresses and Letters in Translation*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Chinmoy Sehanavis, *Tagore and the World*, Kolkata: Bibliophil, 2012, (first pub. 1961)

H.B. Mukherjee, *Education for Fullness: A Study of the Educational Thought and Experiment of Rabindranath Tagore*, New Delhi: Routledge, 2013 (first. pub.1962).

Kathleen M.O'Connell and Joseph T.O'Connell eds., *Rabindranath Tagore: Reclaiming a Cultural Icon*, Calcutta: Vishwa Bharti, 2009

Martha C. Nussbaum, *Political Emotions: Why Love Matters for Justice*, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press, 2013.

P.K. Datta, *Heterogeneities: Identity formations in Modern India* (Ch. 9), New Delhi: Tulika Books, 2010.

Partha Chatterjee, *Lineages of Political Society*, Ranikhet Cantt: Permanent Black, 2011.

S.K. Das, *A History of Indian Literature 1911-1956: A Struggle for Freedom: Triumph and Tragedy*, New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1995.

Sabyasachi Bhattacharya ed., *The Mahatma and the Poet: Letters and Debates between Gandhi and Tagore 1915-1941*, New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 2011 (first pub.1997)

Sudhir Kakkar, *Young Tagore: The makings of a Genius*, Gurgaon: Penguin Books, 2013.

Sumit Sarkar, *Swadeshi Movement in Bengal: 1903-1908*, Ranikhet Cantt, Permanent Black, 2010 (first .pub. 1973).

Swati Ganguly and Abhijit Sen, eds., *Rabindranath Tagore and the Nation: Essays in Politics, Society and Culture*, Kolkata: Punascha in association with Viswa Bharati, 2011.

Optional Paper No. 36

Discourses on Hindu Nationalism

Objective: Hindu Nationalism over the last few decades has emerged as one of the major discourses in Indian Politics. The idea of modern Hindu nationalism emerged since 1870s, after the failure of 1857. The core issues revolved around nationalism, religious conversion, cow protection, identity questions and social reforms. The debates on Hindu Nationalism focussed primarily on the writings of Savarkar and Golwalkar, while adequate attention was not paid to the writings of several other political thinkers of the 19th and 20th century. The purpose of this course is to familiarize the students with the original writings of thinkers who have contributed to the discourse on Hindu nationalism in order to understand its basic premises and core issues.

- I. Hindu Nationalism: Core Premises and Issues**
- II. Dayanand Saraswati**
- III. Bankimchandra Chatterjee**
- IV. Aurobindo**
- V. Vivekananda**
- VI. Bipin Chandra Pal**
- VII. Gandhi**
- VIII. V D Savarkar**
- IX. Golwalkar**
- X. Deendayal Upadhyay**
- XI. Hindu Nationalism in Contemporary India**

Readings:

Aurobindo, *On Nationalism*, Sri Aurobindo Ashram: Pondicherry, 1996.

B. K. Bhattacharya ed., *India's Freedom Movement: Legacy of Bipin Chandra Pal*, New Delhi: Deep & Deep. 2007.

Bhabatosh Datta, *Resurgent Bengal: Rammohun, Bankimchandra, Rabindranath*, Calcutta: Minerva Associates Pvt. Ltd., 2000.

Bipin Chandra Pal, *The Spirit of Nationalism*, reprinted in Elie Kedourie ed., *Nationalism in Asia and Africa*, London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1971.

Chetan Bhatt, *Hindu Nationalism: Origins, Ideologies and Modern Myths*, Oxford: Beg, 2001.

Christophe Jaffrelot, *Hindu nationalism: A Reader*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2007.

Dayanand Saraswati, *Satyarth Prakash: The Light of Truth*, New Delhi: Sarvadeshik Arya Pratinidhi Sabha. 1882.

Deen Dayal Upadhyay, *Political Diary*, New Delhi: Suruchi Prakashan, 1968.

Devendra Swaroop ed., *Deen Dayal Upadhyaya's Integral Humanism*, New Delhi: DRI, 1992.

Dhananjay Keer, *Veer Savarkar*, Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1966.

Gyanendra Pandey, *Routine Violence: Nations, Fragments, Histories*, Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2006.

Jose Kuruvachira, *Hindu Nationalists of Modern India: A critical Study of Genealogy of Hindutva*, New Delhi: Rawat Publication, 2006.

Jyotirmaya Sharma, *Hindutva: Exploring the Idea of Hindu Nationalism*, 3rd edition, India: Penguin Books, 2011.

M. K. Gandhi, *Hinduism, Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, Delhi: National Book Trust, available at www.new1.dli.ernet.in/mkg/mgandhi.htm/, www.gandhiserve.org/e/cwmg/cwmg.htm, accessed: 15 June 2015.

M.S. Golwalkar, *Bunch of Thought*, Bangalore: Jagaran Prakashan & Suruchi Prakashan, Delhi. 1980.

Samya and M. K. Haldar, *Renaissance and Reaction in Nineteenth Century Bengal: Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay* (Translation of Bengali Essay), Calcutta: Minerva Associates. 1977.

Shamita Basu, *Religious Revivalism as Nationalist Discourse: Swami Vivekanand and New Hinduism in Nineteenth Century Bengal*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002.

V D Savarkar, *Hindutva*, Bombay: Veer Savarkar Prakashan, 1969.

Optional Paper No. 37
Social Conservatism in India

Objective: India is a society where social conservatives have often passed off as anti-colonial and hence 'radical' - for example, sections of the Swadeshi movement. Opposing the colonial state and its intervention was part of defending the 'inner private/spiritual domain', a domain which also included 'women' and 'home' or domesticity. This had another consequence: the supposedly underdeveloped free market conservatism, partly expressed in the Swatantra Party, which never really took off. Often ignored, this crucial dimension and its impact in political life will be explored in this course.

This course intends to bring together different strands of conservative thought across the political spectrum.

- I. Edmund Burke and conservative political thought**
- II. Anti-colonial Hindu revivalism:**
 - a. Bankim Chatterji
 - b. Tilak and karma-yoga
- III. Religion**
 - a. 'Way of life': Dharma
 - b. Rationalist: Ambedkar's Navayana
- IV. Atheism and rationalism as socio-political critique**
- V. Communists and Hindu social order**
- VI. Free market anti-statism:**
 - a. Mino Masani and the Swatantra Party
 - b. Rajaji and Indian conservative thought

Readings:

Ariel Glucklich, Conservative Hindu Response To Social Legislation In 19th Century India, *Journal of Asian History*, 20, (1), pp. 33-53, 1986.

B.R. Ambedkar, *Budhha or Karl Marx*, New Delhi: Critical Quest, 2009.

B.R. Ambedkar, The Buddha and His Dhamma, available at: <http://www.ambedkar.org/buddhism/BAHD/45A.Buddha%20and%20His%20Dhamma%20PART%20I.htm>, accessed: 5.5.2015.

Bankim Chatterjee, *Samya: An Essay on Equality*, 1879.

Bhagat Singh, *Why I am an Atheist?* New Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1994.

C. Rajagopalachari, *Hinduism: Doctrine and Way of Life*, New Delhi: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1959.

Debiprasad Chattopadhyay, *Indian Atheism*, New Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1969.

Dilip Menon, *Blindness of Insight: Essays on Caste in Modern India*, New Delhi: Navanya, 2006.

Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the French Revolution*, London: J.M Dent and Son, 1953.

Howard L. Erdman, Conservatism in India, *Journal of Contemporary History*, 13, (4), A Century of Conservatism, pp. 791-802, 1978.

Howard L. Erdman, Conservative Politics in India, *Asian Survey*, 6, (6), pp. 338-347, 1966.

Johannes Quack, *Disenchanted India: Organized Rationalism and Criticism of Religion in India*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Kalpatru Maharaj, *Ramrajya aur Marxbad*.

Mino Masani, *Our India*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1940.

Nandan Nilekani, *Imagining India: The Idea of a Renewed Nation*, New Delhi: Penguin, 2010.

Partha Shah, *Milton Friedman on India*, New Delhi: Centre for Civil Society, 2000.

Rahul Sankrityayan, *Buddhism: The Marxist View*: New Delhi, People's Publishing House, 1970.

Rahul Sankrityayan, *Marxbad aur Ramrajya*.

Ramachandra Guha, Where are India's Conservative Intellectuals? *The Caravan*, 1 March 2015.

S. G. Sardesai, Dr. Ambedkar and the Emancipation of the Scheduled Castes, *Mainstream* 35 (19), 1997.

S. Radhakrishnan, *The Hindu View of Life, Upton Lectures*, London: George Allen & Unwin, 1926.

Shamita Basu, *Religious Revivalism as Nationalist Discourse: Swami Vivekananda and New Hinduism in Nineteenth Century Bengal*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Tanika Sarkar, *Hindu Wife, Hindu Nation: Community, Religion and Cultural Nationalism*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001.

Tilak, *Shrimad Bhagvad Gita Rashya*, (Eng Trans), Poona: R.B. Tilak, 1&2, 1935 & 1936.

Optional Paper No. 38

Indian Polity in State-Society Interaction since the 1960s

Objective: This course aims at studying Indian politics within the discourse of state-society relationship through a historical unraveling of major developments in Indian politics since the decade of 1960s. The intent of this course is to see how India provides a unique model in which the political is enmeshed in the wider social, economic and cultural matrix. This course takes up a range of themes to study political processes and their sociological underpinnings namely, emergency, coalitional politics, reservation debates, social movements, neo-liberal economic policies, etc.

- I. The chaotic decade of the 1960s**
- II. The national level coalition government in 1977 at the backdrop of the 1975-77 internal Emergency**
- III. Challenges of the 1990s – redefining social contour of Indian politics**
- IV. The study of India’s distinctive coalition experiments (in the wake of the NDA and the UPA)**
- V. Changing texture of Indian politics in the neo-liberal context, especially following the official endorsement of neo-liberal economic policies in 1991**
- VI. The consolidation of Maoism in India**
- VII. The failure of the conventional left, especially the major communist parties in India**
- VIII. Three major forces of colonialism, nationalism and democracy shaping the political in India**

Readings:

Bidyut Chakrabarty, *Indian politics and society since independence*, London & New York: Routledge, 2008.

Bidyut Chakrabarty, *Forging Power: coalition politics in India*, Delhi and New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Bidyut Chakrabarty and Rajat Kujur, *Maoism in India*, London & New York: Routledge, 2010.

Bidyut Chakrabarty, *Communism in India*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Rahul Mukherji, *Globalization and Deregulation: ideas, interests and institutional change in India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Sumantra Bose, *Transforming India: challenges to the world's largest democracy*, India: Picador, 2013.

Atul Kohli, *Poverty amid plenty in the new India*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Rob Jenkins, Loraine Kennedy and Partha Mukhopadhyay eds., *Power, policy and protest: the politics of India's Special Economic Zones*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Zoya Hasan, *Politics of Inclusion: castes, minorities and affirmative action*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Aseema Sinha, *The regional roots of developmental politics in India: a divided leviathan*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Stuart Corbridge and John Harriss, *Reinventing India: liberalization, Hindu Nationalism and Popular Democracy*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Rajesh M Basur, ed., *Challenges to Democracy in India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Lloyd I. Rudolph and Susanne H. Rudolph, *Explaining Indian Democracy* (three volumes), New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Stuart Corbridge, John Harriss and Craig Jeffrey, *India: economy, politics and society*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Optional Paper No. 39

State Politics in India

Objective: Politics in each state has its own internal dynamics, and it is different from others, multifacetedly. It has undergone significant transformation over the decades since the formation of states in terms of social structure, their power relations, electoral participation on the one hand and political governance and economic development on the other. This course attempts to examine the commonalities, diversities and perspectives to study state politics in India. It also seeks to examine the changing role of caste, class and community and their impact on state politics, particularly in the context of global market economy.

I. State Politics: Perspectives and Approaches

- a. Institutional
- b. Political Economy
- c. Cultural - diversities

II. Patterns of State Formation

- a. Administrative Units
- b. Linguistic and Identity Formation
- c. Developmental

III. Power and Participation

- a. Changing Centre-State Relations
- b. Party Politics and Coalition Governments
- c. Mobilizations and Movements

IV. Development and Governance

- a. Empowering the 'Local'
- b. Public Policies and their Implementation
- c. Varying Developmental Patterns: Some Case Studies (Jammu and Kashmir, Mizoram, Kerala, Gujarat, and Madhya Pradesh)

V. Globalization and States

- a. State and Investment
- b. Uneven Development

Readings:

Achin Vanaik, Is There a Nationality Question in India, *Economic and Political Weekly*, 23 (44), 1988.

Amareesh Bagchi and John Kurian, Regional Inequalities in India: Pre- and Post-Reform Trends and Challenges for Policy, in Jos Mooij ed., *The Politics of Economic Reforms in India*, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2005.

Aseema Sinha, *The Regional Roots of Developmental Politics in India: A Divided Leviathan*, Indiana University Press, 2004.

Ashutosh Kumar ed. *Rethinking State Politics in India: Regions within Regions*. Delhi: Routledge, 2012.

Bidyut Chakrabarty, *Forging Power: Coalition Politics in India*. New Delhi: Oxford, 2006.

Francine R Frankel and M. S. A. Rao eds., *Dominance and State Power in Modern India: Decline of a Social Order*, 2 vols., New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Francine R Frankel *et al*, *Transforming India: Social and Political Dynamics of Democracy*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Francine R Frankel, *India's Political Economy 1947-2004: The Gradual Revolution*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Himanshu Roy, Regional Business and Federalism in India, *Journal of Parliamentary Studies*, Government of Kerala 2 (1), Jan-June, 2011.

John R Wood ed., *State Politics in India: Crisis or Continuity?* Boulder Co: Westview Press, 1984.

Lloyd Rudolph, and Susanne Rudolph (1987). *In Pursuit of Lakshmi: The Political Economy of the Indian State*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

M. P Singh, Himanshu Roy and A P S Chauhan eds., *State Politics in India*, Delhi: Primus, 2015.

Myron Weiner ed., *State Politics in India*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968.

Rahul Mukherjee and Bibek Debroy eds. *India: The Political Economy of Reforms*, New Delhi: Rajiv Gandhi Foundation and Bookwell, 2004.

Rob Jenkins, *Regional Reflections: Comparing Politics across India's States*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Sanjaya Baru, Economic Policy and the Development of Capitalism in India: The Rise of Regional Capitalists and Political Parties, in Francine R Frankel *et al*, *Transforming India: Social and Political Dynamics of Democracy*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Sudha Pai ed., *Handbook of Politics in Indian States: Region, Parties, and Economic Reforms*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Sudipto Mundle, Pinaki Chakraborty *et al*, The Quality of Governance: How Indian States Have Performed? *Economic and Political Weekly*, 47 (49), 2012.

Yogendra Yadav, Understanding the Second Democratic Upsurge: Trends of Bahujan Participation in Electoral Politics in the 1990s, in Francine R Frankel *et al*, *Transforming India: Social and Political Dynamics of Democracy*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Zoya Hasan ed., *Politics and the State in India*, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2000.

Optional Paper No. 40

Identities and Political Transformation in India

Objective: This course explores various facets of the politics of identity in India. It analyses the consequences of colonial rule for identity-formation, and colonialism's shaping of the identity-based conflicts that were to later emerge in the postcolonial phase. It examines how the politics of nationalism affected, and was itself affected by, the politics of caste, class, religion and gender. It probes the efforts made by the postcolonial state to deal with cultural difference and conflict, and historically deep ascriptive inequalities, focusing specifically on the legal and institutional innovations adopted in this regard. Identities are moulded not just by state processes, but also by political mobilization undertaken in electoral arenas and outside; the course thus explores the interaction between identities on the one hand, and movement and party politics on the other. Also looking at the relationship between identity politics and collective violence, it ends with a focus on globalization, and the consequences it has had for caste- and class-based politics in India.

I. Identities and Colonial Rule

- a. Colonialism, caste, tribe and religion

II. The National Movement, Partition and Identity Politics

- a. Indian nationalism and the question of caste
- b. Women and the nationalist movement
- c. Peasants and Indian nationalism
- d. Muslim identity and the Pakistan movement

III. The Legal and Institutional Treatment of Cultural Diversity and Ascriptive Inequality in Postcolonial India

- a. Caste and affirmative action
- b. Secularism and the recognition of personal law
- c. Tribal autonomy and the Sixth Schedule

IV. Identities, Political Mobilization and Conflict

- a. The modernity of tradition : identities in practice
- b. Identities and electoral politics : caste-based and religion-based parties ; nativist parties
- c. Identities and movement politics : tribal and linguistic movements
- d. The struggle for gender rights

e. Identities and collective violence

V. Globalization and Identity Politics

(a) The emergence and politics of the new middle class

(b) The dalit movement in the era of globalization

(c) Globalization and labour

Readings :

Amita Baviskar, 'Red in Tooth and Claw? : Searching for Class in Struggles over Nature,' in Raka Ray and Mary Katzenstein eds., *Social Movements in India: Poverty, Power and Politics*, Rowman and Littlefield, Lanham, Maryland, pp. 161-178, 2005.

Amita Baviskar, The Politics of Being 'Indigenous,' in Bengt G. Karlsson and Tanka B. Subba eds. *An Anthropologist Among Historians and Other Essays*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, pp. 224-254, 1987.

Anand Teltumbde, *Globalization and the Dalits*, Sanket Prakashan, Nagpur, 2001.

B.L. Hansaria, *Sixth Schedule to the Constitution*, New Delhi: Universal Law Publishing, 2011.

Christophe Jaffrelot, A Specific Party-Building Strategy: The Jana Sangh and the RSS Network in Zoya Hasan ed. *Parties and Party Politics in India*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp. 190-231, 2002.

Christophe Jaffrelot, The Rise of the Other Backward Classes in the Hindi Belt, *Journal of Asian Studies*, 59 (1), pp. 86-108, 2000.

Corbridge, Stuart, Competing Inequalities: the Scheduled Tribes and the Reservations System in India's Jharkhand, *Journal of Asian Studies*, 59 (1), 2000, pp. 62-85.

Francis Robinson, 'Islam and Muslim Separatism,' in Malcolm Yapp and David Taylor eds. *Political Identity in South Asia*, Curzon Press, London, 1979, pp. 78-112.

Gyanendra Pandey, Peasant Revolt and Indian Nationalism, in Ranajit Guha and Gayatri Chakraborty Spivak eds. *Selected Subaltern Studies*, New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 233-287, 1988.

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Jan Breman, *Outcast Labour in Asia: Circulation and Informalization of the Workforce at the Bottom of the Economy*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Kenneth Jones, Religious Identity and the Indian Census, in N. Gerald Barrier ed. *The Census in British India: New Perspectives*, New Delhi: Manohar, pp. 73-101, 1991.

Leela Fernandes & Patrick Heller, Hegemonic Aspirations: New Middle Class Politics and India's Democracy in Comparative Perspective, *Critical Asian Studies* 38 (4) 2006, pp. 495-522.

Marc Galanter, *Competing Equalities: Law and the Backward Classes in India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1984.

Marc Galanter, *Law and Society in Modern India*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Mary F. Katzenstein, *Ethnicity and Equality: The Shiv Sena Party and Preferential Policies in Bombay*, Cornell University Press, New York: Ithaca, 1979.

Mary John E. ed. *Women's Studies in India: A Reader*, Penguin, New Delhi, 2008.

Myron Weiner, *Sons of the Soil: Migration and Ethnic Conflict in India*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1978.

Narendra Subramanian, Making Family and Nation: Hindu Marriage Law in Early Postcolonial India, *Journal of Asian Studies* 69 (3), pp. 1-28, 2010.

Partha Chatterjee ed. *Wages of Freedom: Fifty Years of the Indian Nation-State*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Paul Brass, Elite Groups, Symbol Manipulation and Ethnic Identity among the Muslims of South Asia, in Brass, *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Theory and Comparison*, Newbury Park, California: Sage, pp. 75-108, 1991.

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

Peter Robb ed., *The Concept of Race in South Asia*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1998.

Rajeev Bhargava ed. *Politics and Ethics of the Indian Constitution*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Rajni Kothari, *Caste in Indian Politics*, Delhi: Orient Longman, 1970.

Rohini Hensman, *Workers, Unions and Global Capitalism: Lessons from India*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2011

S.K. Chaube, *Hill Politics in North East India*, New Delhi: Orient Longman, 1999.

Sangari, Kumkum and Sudesh Vaid eds., *Recasting Women: Essays in India's Colonial History*,

Sarangi, Asha ed., *Language and Politics in India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2009.

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Shiv Vishvanathan, Durban and Dalit Discourse, *Economic and Political Weekly* 36 (33), pp. 3123-3127, 2001.

Shiv Vishvanathan, The Race for Caste: Prolegomena to the Durban Conference,' *Economic and Political Weekly* 36 (27), pp. 2512-2516, 2001.

Steven I Wilkinson, *Votes and Violence: Electoral Competition and Ethnic Riots in India*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK, 2004.

Sudha Pai, ed., *Handbook of Politics in Indian States: Regions, Parties and Economic Reforms*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Thomas Blom Hansen & Christophe Jaffrelot eds. *The BJP and the Compulsions of Politics in India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Thomas Pantham, Against Untouchability: The Discourses of Gandhi and Ambedkar,' in Gopal Guru ed. *Humiliation: Claims and Context*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, pp.

179-208, 2011.

Optional Paper No. 41

Politics and Ethnic Conflicts in Jammu & Kashmir

Objective: The state of Jammu Kashmir has been a contested political space in the history of nation-making in India. The societal, political and ethnic specificities of the state provide an entry point into studying various debates and processes in politics in India. Through this course an attempt is being made to study Jammu and Kashmir in its historicity which engages with ideas about constitutionalism, federalism, electoral politics and political violence, etc.

I. State in Historical Perspective

- a. State and Society: A Historical Overview
- b. Transition from Kingship to Constitutional Democracy

II. Constitution within the Constitution

- a. State Constitution and Governing Structures
- b. Citizenship Rights
- c. Debate on Article 370

III. Political Parties and Electoral Politics

- a. Legitimacy of Elections and Politics of Representation
- b. Demands for Delimitation of Electoral Constituencies
- c. Identity Politics: Kashmiriyat, Communalism and Communal Politics

IV. Terrorism, Violence and Internal Migration

- a. Terrorism : Factors and Forces
- b. Migration of Pandits from Valley
- c. Debates and Controversies over Armed Forces Special Act, Issues in Human Rights

V. State Autonomy and Federal Questions

- a. Secessionism and Secessionist Politics
- b. Political Economy of Insurgencies
- c. Debates on State Autonomy

Readings:

A.G. Noorani, *Article 370: A Constitutional History of Jammu and Kashmir*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Abdul Haq, Azad Kashmir: Story of repression & Tyranny, *Kashmir Scene* (Srinagar) Vol. 1(6) Oct, 1966.

Ananya Jahanara Kabir, *Territory of Desire: Representing the Valley of Kashmir*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009.

Asghar Ali Engineer, Autonomy Only Solution, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 30 (35), pp. 2167-2168, 1995.

Ashutosh Varshney, Contested Meanings: India's National Identity, Hindu Nationalism, and the Politics of Anxiety, *Daedalus*, Summer, 1993.

B. Varma, *Insurgency and Counter-Terrorism*, New Delhi: Uppal Publishing House, 1988.

Cabeiri deBergh Robinson, *Body of Victim, Body of Warrior: Refugee Families and the making of Kashmiri Jihadists*, USA: University of California Press, 2013.

DN, Kashmir and India, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 26 (34), pp. 1959-1961, 1991.

Reeta Chowdhari Tremblay, Kashmir's Secessionist Movement Resurfaces: Ethnic Identity, Community Competition, and the State, *Asian Survey*, Vol. 49 (6), pp. 924-950, University of California Press, 2009.

Jagmohan, *My Frozen Turbulence in Kashmir*, New Delhi: Allied Publishers Limited, 1991.

Karan Arakotaram, "The Rise of Kashmiriyat: People-Building in 20th Century Kashmir," *Columbia Undergraduate Journal of South Asian Studies*, Vol. 1(1), 2009.

M J Akbar, *Kashmir: Behind the Veil*, Delhi: Roli Books, 2002.

Navnita Chadha Behera, A Tangled Web: Jammu & Kashmir India, *International Centre Quarterly*, Vol. 37 (3/4), pp. 80-89, (Winter 2010 - Spring 2011).

Navnita Chadha Behera, *Demystifying Kashmir*, New Delhi: Pearson, 2007.

Sten Widmalm, *Kashmir in Comparative Perspective: Democracy and Violent Separatism in India*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Sumantra Bose, Kashmir: Sources of Conflict, Dimensions of Peace, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 34 (13), pp. 762-768, 1999.

Sumantra Bose, *The Challenge in Kashmir: Democracy, self-determination and a Just Peace*, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1997.

Sumit Ganguly, *The Crisis in Kashmir: Portents of War, Hopes of Peace*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Optional Paper No. 42
Law, Crime, and Politics in India

Objective: In this course, the aim is to understand the relationship between law, crime, judicial interventions and political processes. The students will explore this relationship by asking questions about law's origins (viz., the colonial state, a nationalist elite, popular struggles), the plural sites in which struggles around laws takes place, and the manner in which legal categories are produced and contested. In this context, it also aims to problematize the notion of crime, by locating the historical and political contexts within which definitions of crime and its transformations take place. Specific laws, judgments which enhance the frontiers of law, and government reports form a significant content of the course. Law and judicial pronouncements have to be woven into the dynamics of Indian politics and examined in their specific historical context as well as for their enduring significance in the larger political process. The course will identify in particular, the social and political forces, political and ideological divides that frame the contours of the debates on crime and law, and the relationships between the governmental institutions.

- I. Law, crime and colonialism**
- II. The Constitution and rule of law**
- III. Criminal justice system in India**
- IV. Crimes against women: sexual harassment and rape**
- V. Custodial crimes: death, rape and torture**
- VI. Criminalisation of politics and electoral laws**
- VII. Caste, atrocities and special laws**
- VIII. Terrorism and extraordinary laws**
- IX. Offences against the state, waging war, conspiracy and sedition**

Readings:

A.G. Noorani, *Challenges to Civil Rights Guarantees in India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2012,

Akhilshwar Pathak, *Law, Strategies, Ideologies: Legislating Forests in Colonial India*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Andrew Altman, *Arbitrary Government and the Rule of Law in Arguing About Law: An Introduction to Legal Philosophy*, Boston: Wadsworth, pp.3-19, 1996.

Bernard S. Cohn, *Law and the Colonial State in India* in June Starr and Jane F. Collier, ed., *History and Power in the Study, New Directions in Legal Anthropology*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, pp.131-152, 1989.

Combatting Terrorism, Protecting by Righteousness, Eighth Report, Second Administrative Reforms Commission, June 2008.

David Sugarman, ed., *Legality, Ideology and the State*, London and New York: Academic Press, 1983.

Elizabeth Kolsky, *A Note on the Study of Indian Legal History*, *Law and History Review*, Fall 23 (3), pp.703-706, 2005.

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Flavia Agnes, *Protecting Women against Violence? Review of a Decade of Legislation, 1980-1989* in Partha Chatterjee ed., *State and Politics in India*, Oxford University Press, pp.521-565, 1997, sixth impression 2004.

Gilles Tarabout and Ranabir Samaddar eds., *Conflict, Power and the Landscape of Constitutionalism*, London and New York: Routledge, 2008.

Girish Agrawal and Colin Gonsalves, *Dalits and the Law*, *Human Rights Law Network*, New Delhi, 2005.

Herman Schwendinger and Julia Schwendinger, *Social Class and the Definition of Crime*, in Tony Platt and Paul Takaji eds., *Crime and Social Justice*, London: Macmillan, 1981.

Jorg Fisch, *Cheap lives and Dear Limbs, The British Transformation of the Criminal law*, Wiesbaden, 1983.

Jorg Fisch, Law as a Means and as an End: Some Remarks on the Function of European and Non-European Law in Process of European Expansion, in W. J. Mommsen and J.A. De Moor eds., *European Expansion and Law*, Oxford and New York: Berg, 1992.

Kalpna Kannabiran and Ranbir Singh eds., *Challenging the Rule(s) of Law: Colonialism, Criminology and Human Rights in India*, New Delhi: Sage, 2008.

Kalpna Kannabiran, *Tools of Justice: Non-discrimination and Indian Constitution*, New Delhi: Routledge, 2012.

Kamala Sankaran and U.K. Singh, *Towards Legal Literacy: An Introduction to Law in India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2015.

Landmark Judgements on Election Law, Election Commission of India, New Delhi, 2006.

Law Commission of India, Forty third report on Offences against the National Security, 1971.

Manoranjan Mohanty *et al*, *Weapons of the Oppressed: Inventory of People's Rights in India*, Council for Social Development, Delhi, 2011.

Michael Head, *Crimes Against the State: From Treason to Terrorism*, Surrey: Ashgate, 2011.

Michael R. Anderson, Classifications and Coercions: Themes in South Asian Legal Studies in the 1980s, *South Asia Research*, 10 (2), pp.158-177, 1990.

Nandini Sundar, *Legal Grounds: Natural Resources, Identity and the Law in Jharkhand* (Chapters 1 and 8), Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2009.

Naseer Hussain, *The Jurisprudence of Emergency: Colonialism and the Rule of Law*, Ann Arbor: Michigan University Press, 2003.

Nivedita Menon, *Recovering Subversion: Feminist Politics Beyond the Law*, New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2004.

Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and its Fragments* (ch.2), New Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp.14-34, 1994.

Prakash Louis and R.Vashum, *Extraordinary Laws in India*, New Delhi: Indian Social Institute, 2002.

Pratiksha Baxi, *Public Secrets of Law: Rape Trials in India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Radhika Singha, *A Despotism of Law: Crime and Justice in Early Colonial India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Ranjit Guha, Chandra's Death in Ranajit Guha ed., *Subaltern Studies, Volume V*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 135-165, 1987, paperback ed., 1990.

Roger Cotterrell, *The Politics of Jurisprudence: A Critical Introduction to Legal Philosophy*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Satish Saberwal and Heiko Seivers ed, *Rules, Laws, Constitutions*, New Delhi: Sage, 1998.

Shahid Amin, Approver's Testimony, Judicial Discourse: The Case of Chauri Chaura in Partha Chatterjee and Gyanendra Pandey eds., *Subaltern Studies, Volume VII*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.166-202, 1992, 1993.

South Asia Human Rights Documentation Centre, *Oxford Handbook of Human Rights and Criminal Justice: The System and Procedure*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2011.

T.B. Macaulay *et al*, *The Indian Penal Code*, 1837, Higginbotham and Company, Madras, 1888.

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Ujjwal Kumar Singh, *The State, Democracy and Anti-Terror Laws in India*, New Delhi: Sage, 2007.

Upendra Baxi, Rule of Law in India: Theory and Practice, in Randall Peerenboom ed. *Asian Discourses of Rule of Law*, London and New York: Routledge, pp.324-345, 2004.

Upendra Baxi, *The Crisis of the Legal System in India*, Delhi: Vikas, 1982.

Upendra Baxi, Towards A Sociology of Indian Law, New Delhi: Satvahan, pp.125-130, 1986.

Optional Paper No. 43

The State in Diverse Political Traditions

Objective: States and state formation is a historical phenomenon. States have existed in diverse forms and even the ‘modular’ state-form of the European tradition has had plural trajectories. Debates on the modern state, however, continue to be influenced by the dominant western European intellectual tradition. This course aims at making the students familiar with the diverse forms in which historically states have existed and evolved. These historical forms will be studied through the specific ways in which political authority has taken form in different contexts, and also through the ways in which it understood and expressed in different socio-cultural and political traditions.

- I. State as an analytical category
- II. European
- III. Chinese
- IV. Arab
- V. African
- VI. Latin American
- VII. Indian

Readings:

Adeel Khan, *Politics of Identity: Ethnic Nationalism and the State in Pakistan*, New Delhi: Sage, 2005.

Barrington Moore Jr, *Social Origin of Democracy and Dictatorship: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World*, Harmondsworth, Penguin University Books, 1966.

Charles Tilly, Reflections on the History of European State-Making, in Charles Tilly ed., *The Formation of National States in Western Europe*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975, pp. 3-83.

Charles Tilly, Western State-Making and Theories of Political Transformation, in Charles Tilly ed., *The Formation of National States in Western Europe*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975, pp. 601-638.

David Collier, *The New Authoritarianism in Latin America*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979.

David Held, The Development of the Modern State, in Stuart Hall and Bram Gieben, eds. *Formations of Modernity*, Cambridge, Polity Press, 1992.

David Shambaugh ed., *The Modern Chinese State*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Deng Zhenglai, *State and Civil Society: The Chinese Perspective*, World Scientific: Singapore, 2011.

Gregor McLennan, David Held and Stuart Hall eds., *The Idea of the Modern State*, Buckingham: Open University Press, 1984.

Henri J.M. Claessen, Peter Skalnik eds, *The Study of the State*, The Hague: Mouton Publishers, 1981.

Jeffrey Herbst, *States and Power in Africa, Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2008.

John A. Hall ed., *States in History*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986.

John J. Breuilly, The State, in Alexander J. Motyl ed., *Encyclopedia of Nationalism, Vol. 1*, London: Academic Press, 2001, pp.769-792.

Laura Guazzone and Danila Pioppi, *Arab State and Neo-Liberal Globalization: The Restructuring of the State Power in Middle East*, Reading, UK: Ithaca Press, 2009.

Lisa Anderson, The State in the Middle East and North Africa, *Comparative Politics*, 20 (1), pp. 1-18, Published by: Ph.D. Program in Political Science of the City University of New York, 1987.

M. Kawabata, An Overview of the Debate on the African State, *Afrasian Centre for Peace and Development Studies*, Ryukoku University 1-5 Yokotani, Seta, Oe-cho, Otsu, Shiga, Japan Working Paper Series No.15, 2006.

Martin Carnoy, *The State and Political Theory*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984.
Miguel A Centeno and Augustin E. Ferraro, *State and Nation Making in Latin America and Spain*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Nazih N. Ayubi, *Over-Stating the Arab State: Politics and Society in the Middle East*, London: I B Tauris, 1995.

Quentin Skinner and Bo Strath eds, *States and Citizens: History, Theory, Prospects*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Quentin Skinner, The State, in T. Ball, *et al.* eds., *Political Innovation and Conceptual Change*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

R.S. Sharma, *Origin of the State in India*, Bombay: University of Bombay, 1989.

Samuel E. Finer, State and Nation Building in Europe: The Role of the Military, in Charles Tilly ed., *The Formation of National States in Western Europe*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975.

Theda Skokpol, *State and Social Revolutions, a Comparative Analysis of France, Russia and China*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979.

Thomas Pantham, Indian Nation State in Veen Das ed., *Oxford Handbook of Indian Sociology*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 2004.

Optional Paper No. 44
Society, State and Politics: Comparing Israel and India

Objective: This course seeks to examine the changing nature of society, state and politics in Israel and India. Rooted in parliamentary democracies, both Israel and India share many commonalities, notwithstanding diversities in their political set up, society and culture. The course focuses on issues and challenges that have shaped the democratic politics of these two nations, and examines the proposed models for the study of contemporary multicultural societies.

I. Nature of Society in Israel and India

- a. The concept of a multi-cultural society amid pluriculturalism
- b. Israel and India as multi-ethnic Societies
- c. Democratic politics in a pluricultural milieu

II. State Structures and Institutions in Israel and India

- a. State Formation: A historical backdrop
- b. Parliamentary Democracy
- c. Politics of Autonomous Areas
- d. Nature of State
- e. State and Globalization.

III. Party Politics in Israel and India

- a. Working of the Locals
- b. Parties and Party Systems
- c. Coalition Politics

IV. Emerging Issues and Contemporary Challenges

Readings:

Asher Arian, N Atmor and Y Hadar, *Auditing Israeli democracy: Changes in Israel's Political Party System: Dealignment or Realignment?* Jerusalem: Israeli Democracy Institute, 2006.

Ashis Nandy, *et al*, *Creating a Nationality: The Ramjanmabhumi Movement and Fear of the Self*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Atul Kohli, *Democracy and Development in India: From Socialism to Pro-Business*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Bidyut Chakrabarty, *Forging Power: Coalition Politics in India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Charles S Liebman ed., *Religion, Democracy and Israeli Society*, Amsteldijk: Harwood, 1997.

Colin Shindler, *A History of Modern Israel*, 2nd Edition. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2013.

Dan Horowitz, and Moshe Lissak eds., *Trouble in Utopia: The Overburdened Polity of Israel*, Albany: The State University of New York Press, 1989.

Francine R Frankel *et al*, *Transforming India: Social and Political Dynamics of Democracy*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Lloyd I Rudolph and Susanne Hoeber Rudolph, *Explaining Indian Democracy: A Fifty Year Perspective, 1956-2006*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Mahendra Prasad Singh, and Rekha Saxena eds., *India's Political Agenda: Perspectives on the Party System*, Delhi: Kalinga, 1996.

Oren Yiftachel, Israeli Society and Jewish Palestinian Reconciliation: Ethnocracy and its Territorial Contradictions, *Middle East Journal* 51(4), 1997.

Rajendra Vora and Suhash Palshikar eds., *Indian Democracy: Meanings and Practices*, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2004.

Rajni Kothari, The Congress System in India, *Asian Survey*, 4 (12), 1964.

Raphael Cohen-Almagor, ed. *Israeli Democracy at the Crossroads*, Abingdon, UK: Routledge 2005

Sammy Smooha, Ethnic Democracy: Israel as an Archetype, *Israel Studies* 2 (2), 1997.

Shmuel Noah Eisenstadt, *Israeli Society*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1967.

Suhas Palsikar and Rajendra Vora eds., *Indian Political Parties*, New Delhi: Sage, 2007.

Sunil K Choudhary, From Conciliation to Confrontation: Changing Civil Society-State Relations in Israel and India, *IASSI Quarterly* 32 (2), pp. 77-97, 2013

Uri Ram, *The Globalization of Israel: McWorld in Tel Aviv; Jihad in Jerusalem*, London and New York: Routledge, 2007.

Yael Yishai, Bringing Society Back In: Post Cartel Parties in Israel, *Party Politics*, 7 (6), 2001.

Yoav Peled, Ethnic Democracy and the Legal Construction of Citizenship: Arab Citizens of the Jewish State, *American Political Science Review* 86 (2), 1992.

Yogesh Atal, Managing Multiplicity: The Insider-Outsider Duality, *Economic and Political Weekly* 36 (36), 2001.

Yogesh Atal, *Sociology: A study of the Social Sphere* (Chapter 19), Delhi: Pearson, 2012.

Optional Paper No. 45
Religious Nationalism and Political Violence

Objective: This course will examine how religious ideologies, practices and institutions have been politically mobilized in the public spheres of South and Southeast Asia. The course will emphasize a multidisciplinary intersection of religion, politics and conflict in modern South and Southeast Asia, with a particular focus on the interrelationship between religious nationalism and political violence drawing from communal violence in India, Buddhist nationalism and civil war in Sri Lanka, and Islamic radicalism in Indonesia.

I. Rethinking Key Concepts, Issues, Approaches and Arguments

- a. Understanding Religious Nationalism: Context and Debates
- b. ‘Religion’, Religious Nationalism and Globalisation
- c. Religious Violence and communal conflicts

II. India: Hindutva, Nation-Building and Contentious Communal Politics

- a. The social organization and production of collective violence
- b. Violence and the religious remaking of masculinity and femininity
- c. The politics of religious conversion
- d. Violence and communal politics

III. Sri Lanka: Sinhalese Buddhist Nationalism, Pluralism and Civil War

- a. Imaginaries of community, ethnicity and religion in Sri Lanka
- b. Buddhist nationalism, ‘othering’ and communal conflict
- c. Sangha politics, civil warfare and the peace process
- d. Remaking inter-religious spaces and relations

IV. Indonesia: Islamic Radicalism and Democratic Turbulence

- a. The logical genesis of communal religious violence
- b. Democracy, Islamic radicalism and Violence
- c. Changing modalities for organizing religious violence
- d. Vicissitudes of Islamic Nationalism and Intolerance

Readings:

Adrian Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Nationalism and Religion*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Amalendu Misra, Religion, Politics and Violence in India, in Ali Riaz ed., *Religion and Politics in South Asia*, London and New York: Routledge, pp. 71-97, 2010.

Amir Ali, Political Buddhism, Islamic Orthodoxy and Open Economy: The Toxic Triad in Sinhalese-Muslim Relations in Sri Lanka, *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 49 (3), pp. 298-314, 2014.

Ananda Wickremeratne, Historiography in Conflict and Violence in Mahinda Deegalle ed, *Buddhism, Conflict and Violence in Modern Sri Lanka*,. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 114-133, 2006.

Ananda Abeyssekara, The Saffron Army, Violence, Terror(ism): Buddhism, Identity, and Difference in Sri Lanka. *Numen* 48(1), pp. 1-46, 2001.

Andreas Hasenclever and Volker Rittberger, Does Religion Make a Difference? Theoretical Approaches to the Impact of Faith on Political Conflict, *Millennium – Journal of International Studies* 29 (3), pp. 641-674, 2000.

Anthony D. Smith, The ‘Sacred’ Dimension of Nationalism, *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 29 (3), pp. 791-814, 2000.

ARM Imtiyaz, The Politicization of Buddhism and Electoral Politics in Sri Lanka in Ali Riaz ed., *Religion and Politics in South Asia*,. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 146-177. 2010.

Ashis Nandy, *The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self Under Colonialism*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Bob S. Hadiwinata, From Reformasit to an Islamic State? Democratization and Islamic Terrorism in Post-New Order Indonesia in Aurel Croissant, Beate Martin, and SaschaKneip eds.

The Politics of Death: Political Violence in Southeast Asia,. Berlin: Lit Verlag, pp. 107-145. 2006.

Catarina Kinnvall, Globalization and Religious Nationalism: Self, Identity, and the Search for Ontological Security, *Political Psychology* 25 (4), pp. 741-767, 2004.

Chad Bauman, Hindu-Christian Conflict in India: Globalization, Conversion, and the Coterminal Castes and Tribes. *Journal of Asian Studies* 72(3), pp.633-653, 2013

Christophe Jaffrelot, The Militias of Hindutva: Communal Violence, Terrorism and Cultural Policing in Gayer and Christophe Jaffrelot eds., *Armed Militias of South Asia: Fundamentalists, Maoists and Separatists*, Laurent New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 199-235. 2009

Dibyesh Anand, Anxious Sexualities: Masculinity, Nationalism and Violence. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 9(2), pp. 257-269, 2007

Edward Aspinall, From Islamism to Nationalism in Aceh, Indonesia, *Nations and Nationalism*, 13(2), pp. 245-263, 2007.

Edward Simpson, The State of Gujarat and the Men without Souls. *Critique of Anthropology* 26 (3), pp.331-348, 2006

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Roger Finke and Jaime Harris, War and Rumors of War: Explaining Religiously Motivated Violence, in Jonathan Fox ed., *Religion, Politics, Society and the State*, New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 53-71, 2011

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Optional Paper No. 46

The Politics of Identity in Comparative Perspective

Objective: This course examines different theoretical approaches to, and dimensions of, the politics of identity. Focusing, in particular, on societies that experienced colonial rule, it explores how the colonial intervention shaped identities, and moulded the patterns of identity-based mobilization that unfolded over the colonial era and postcolonial phase. It examines the politics of nationhood, and its intersection with the politics of race, caste, religion, and gender, and the efforts made by postcolonial states to deal with cultural difference and conflict, and historically deep ascriptive inequalities. Identities are shaped not merely by state processes, but also by mobilization undertaken by parties and movements, often in response to state processes themselves; the course traces the interaction between identities and this mobilizational politics. Finally, it explores how identity politics has impacted various facets of the process of democratization in postcolonial societies.

I. Identity: Theoretical Approaches

- (a) Identity as primordial attachment, strategic choice and outcome of political processes

II. Identities and the Nation

- (a) Anti-colonial nationalisms
- (b) The nation's engagement with race, caste, religion, and gender
- (c) Whose nation? Nation-making and the politics of exclusion

III. Identities and the Colonial State

- (a) Colonial rule, group identities and group conflict

IV. Identities and the Postcolonial State

- (a) The legal and institutional treatment of cultural diversity: language, religion and tribe
- (b) State policy and ascriptive inequalities: caste and race
- (c) Between individual and community, between tradition and modernity: identities and the postcolonial constitution

V. Identities, Political Mobilization and Conflict

- (a) Political mobilization and social cleavages: when do social cleavages assume political salience, and why

- (b) Identities and political parties
- (c) Identities and social movements
- (d) Identity politics and collective violence

VI. Identities and the Question of Democracy

- (a) Identity politics, democratic deepening and democratic stability

Readings:

Anthony Marx, *Faith in Nation: Exclusionary Origins of Nationalism*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Anthony Marx, *Making Race and Nation: A Comparison of the United States, South Africa and Brazil*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Atul Kohli, Can Democracies Accommodate Ethnic Nationalism? Rise and Decline of Self-Determination Movements in India, *Journal of Asian Studies* 56 (2), May, pp. 325-344, 1997.

Bernard S. Cohn, The Census, Social Structure and Objectification in South Asia, in Cohn, *An Anthropologist Among Historians and Other Essays*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1987.

Carrie Rosefsky Wickham, *Mobilizing Islam: Religion, Activism and Political Change in Egypt*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2002.

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David Laitin, *Language Repertoires and State Construction in Africa*, New York:

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Deborah Yashar, *Contesting Citizenship in Latin America: The Rise of Indigenous Movements and the Postliberal Challenge*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Deniz Kandiyoti, Identity and Its Discontents: Women and the Nation, *Millenium: Journal of International Studies* 20(3), pp. 429-443, 1991.

Donald L. Horowitz, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, California, 1985.

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Donna Lee Van Cott, *From Movements to Parties in Latin America: The Evolution of Ethnic Politics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Gary Jeffrey Jacobsohn, Three Models of Secular Constitutional Development: India, Israel and the United States, *Studies in American Political Development* 10 (1), pp. 1-68, 1996.

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Jyotirindra Dasgupta, Community, Authenticity and Autonomy: Insurgence and Institutional Development in India's North-East, in Amrita Basu and Atul Kohli eds. *Community Conflicts and the State in India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Kanchan Chandra ed. Symposium: Cumulative Findings in the Study of Ethnic Politics, *Comparative Politics Newsletter of the American Political Science Association* 12 (1), Winter, pp. 6-25, 2001.

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Kumkum Sangari, and Sudesh Vaid eds., *Recasting Women: Essays in Indian Colonial History*, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1990.

Mahmood Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1996.

Marc Galanter, *Competing Equalities: Law and the Backward Classes in India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1984.

Marc Galanter, *Law and Society in Modern India*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Michael C. Hudson, The Problem of Authoritative Power in Lebanese Politics: Why Consociationalism Failed, in Nadim Shehadi and Dana Haffar Mills eds., *Lebanon: A History of Conflict and Consensus*, Oxford and London: Centre for Lebanese Studies and I.B. Taurus, 1988.

Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1993.

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

Peter Van der Veer & Harmut Lehmann eds., *Nation and Religion: Perspectives on Europe and Asia*, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1999.

Rajeev Bhargava eds., *Politics and Ethics of the Indian Constitution*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Sekhar Bandyopadhyay, ed. *The Nationalist Movement in India: A Reader*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2011.

Optional Paper No. 47

Nationalism in a Comparative Perspective

Objective: This course aims at familiarising the students with the debates on nationalism, contestations over its political and cultural framing, inclusions and exclusions, cartographies, and the post-national imaginations. These debates will be studied in the context of the historical changes that produced nationalisms, the diverse historical forms, political contexts, the social base, and ideological frameworks.

- I. Concepts: nation, nationality, nationalism,**
- II. Theories of nationalism: primordialism and modernism**
- III. Nationalism in European traditions**
- IV. Anti-colonial traditions**
- V. Nationalism and identities: class, race, gender and ethnicity**
- VI. Post-nation and globalisation**

Readings:

G. Aloysius, *Nationalism without a Nation in India*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1997

Anthony D Smith, *Theories of Nationalism*, London: Duckworth, 1st Edition, 1971.

Anthony D Smith, *Nationalism in the Twentieth Century*, Oxford: Martin Robertson, 1979.

Ashis Nandy, *The Illegitimacy of Nationalism, Rabindranath Tagore and the Politics of Self*, Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1994.

Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflection on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*, London: Verso, 1991.

Craig Calhoun, *Nationalism*, Buckingham: Open University Press, 1997.

E.J Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780, Programme Myth and Reality*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, Oxford: Blackwell, Oxford, 1983.

Etienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein, *Race, Nation, Class, Ambiguous Identities*, London: Verso, 1991.

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Floya Anthiyas and Nira Yuval-Divas, *Women and the Nation-State*, London: Macmillan, London, 1989.

Horace B. Davis, *Towards a Marxist Theory of Nationalism*, New York and London: *Monthly Review Press*, 1978.

Hugh Seton-Watson, *Nations and States, An Enquiry into the Origins of Nations and the Politics of Nationalism*, Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1977.

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K Jayawardena, *Feminism and Nationalism in the Third World*, New Delhi, 1986.

Liah Greenfeld, Etymology, Definitions, Types, in Alexander J. Motyl ed., *Encyclopedia of Nationalism*, Vol. 1, London: Academic Press, pp.251-265, 2001.

Michael Billig, *Banal Nationalism*, London: Sage, 1995.

Mike Featherstone ed., *Global Culture: Nationalism, Globalisation and Modernity*, London: Sage, 1990.

Nira Yuval-Davis, *Gender and Nation*, London: Sage, 1997.

Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and its Fragments*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1994.

Paul Gillen and Devleena Ghosh, *Colonialism and Modernity*, Sydney: UNSW Press, 2007.

Patrick Williams, and Laura Chrisman eds., *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory, a Reader*, London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1993.

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Umut Ozkirimli, *Theories of Nationalism, a Critical Introduction*, New York: Macmillan, New York, 2000.

Walker Connor, *The National Question in Marxist-Leninist Theory and Strategy*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994.

Optional Paper No. 48
Themes in Citizenship

Objective: This course intends to explore the contests over citizenship to show how citizenship unfolds in state practices, is experienced differentially by people across caste, class, religion and gender, and the expressions of citizenship that emerge from marginalised locations. It places these within the broader debates on citizenship, and the contemporary contexts within which some of the earlier relationships between the nation-state, state, and citizenship have become unsettled. In this context, the course will help the students revisit the earlier debates on citizenship, by studying citizenship in the contemporary context, particularly the plural political and social cultures of citizenship and its practices in different locations.

- I. Conceptual frameworks: citizenship and social class, group-differentiated citizenship, multicultural citizenship, civil society and citizenship**
- II. Nation, state-formation and citizenship: law and liminality**
- III. Differentiated citizenship: caste, gender, sexuality, religion**
- IV. Globalisation and citizenship: mutations, flexible citizenship, dual citizenship**
- V. Security, surveillance and suspect citizenship**
- VI. Citizenship performances: global street, politics of the governed, citizen democracy, insurgent citizenship**

Readings:

Aihwa Ong, Please Stay: Pied-a-Terre, Subjects in the Megacity, *Citizenship Studies* 11(1), 2007.

Aihwa Ong Mutations in Citizenship, *Theory, Culture & Society*, 23 (2–3), 2006.

Aihwa Ong, *Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics of Transnationality*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999.

- Anupama Roy, *Mapping Citizenship in India*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 2010.
- Btihaj Ajana, Biometric citizenship, *Citizenship Studies*, 2012.
- Bryan Turner, *Citizenship and Capitalism: The Debate Over Reformism*, London: Allen and Unwin, 1986.
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- Chantal Mouffe, ed., *Dimensions of Radical Democracy*, London: Verso, 1992.
- Derek Heater, *Citizenship: The Civic Ideal in World History, Politics and Education*, London, Orient Longman, 1990.
- Derek Heater, *What is Citizenship?*, Cambridge: Polity, 1999.
- Etienne Balibar, Propositions on Citizenship, *Ethics*, 98 (4), 1988.
- Iris Marion Young, Polity and Group Difference: A critique of the Ideal of Universal Citizenship, *Ethics* 99 (2), 1989.
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- James Holston, *Insurgent Citizenship*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008.
- John Torpey, *The Invention of the Passport: Surveillance, Citizenship and the State*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Kamal Sadiq, *Paper Citizens: How Illegal Immigrants Acquire Citizenship in Developing Countries* (Chapter 2: 56-69; Chapter 3, pp. 72-85; Chapter 4, pp. 101-124), New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Keith Faulks, *Citizenship*, London & New York: Routledge, 2000.

Michael Walzer, Citizenship in Terence Ball, James Farr and Russell L. Hanson eds. *Political Innovation and Conceptual Change*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

Nira Yuval-Davis, The 'Multi-Layered Citizen', *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 1(1), 1999.

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Niraja Gopal Jayal, *Citizenship and Its Discontents: An Indian History* (Chapter 2, pp. 51-81), Ranikhet: Permanent Black, 2013.

Nivedita Menon, State/Gender/Community, Citizenship in Contemporary India, *Economic and Political Weekly* 33 (5), 1998.

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Quentin Skinner and Bo Strath eds., *States and Citizens: History, Theory, Prospects*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Roger Brubaker, *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992.

Ruth Lister, *Citizenship: Feminist Perspectives*, London: Macmillan, 1997.

Sanjib Baruah, The Partition's Long Shadow: The Ambiguities of Citizenship in Assam, *Citizenship Studies* 13(6), 2009.

Sanjib Baruah, Protective Discrimination and Crisis of Citizenship in North-East India, *Economic and Political Weekly* 38 (17), 2003

Saskia Sassen, Citizenship Destabilised, *Liberal Education* Spring. 2003.

Saskia Sassen, The Global Street: Making the Political, *Globalizations* 8 (5), 2011.

Seyla Benhabib, Twilight of Sovereignty or the Emergence of Cosmopolitan Norms? Rethinking Citizenship in Volatile Times, *Citizenship Studies*, 11 (1), 2007.

T. H. Marshall, *Citizenship and Social Class*, Marshall, T.H., *Citizenship and Social Class and Other Essays*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1950.

T.H. Marshall and Tom Bottomore eds., *Citizenship and Social Class*, London: Pluto Press, 1992.

Vazira Fazila-Yacoobali Zamindar, *The Long Partition and the Making of Modern South Asia: Refugees, Boundaries, Histories*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2007

Veena Das, State, Citizenship, and the Urban Poor, *Citizenship Studies* 15 (3 & 4), pp. 319-333, 2011.

Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship* (Chapter 9 & Conclusion, pp. 173-95), Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995

Yasemin Soysal, *Limits of Citizenship*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.

Optional Paper No. 49

Democracy and Violence: Contestation, Convergence, and Discourse

Objective: How does one view the relationship between democracy and violence? Is it that violence resides in the margins of democracy and the boundaries of violence are constrained by the possibilities of democracy? Or is it that democracy and violence share a constitutive yet incongruous relationship? This course introduces students to the literature that probes the conceptual field within which the ambiguous affiliation between democracy and violence operates. It is an introduction to a set of significant dimensions and questions along which the normative connection between democracy and violence would be examined.

I. Exploring the Connection

- a. Thinking Democracy
- b. Thinking Violence

II. Politics of representation and Violence

- a. Electoral politics
- b. Social Movements

III. Democratic order and Violence

- a. State
- b. Anti-State
- c. Civil Society

IV. Democracy and the Logic of Exceptions

- a. Regimes of surveillance
- b. Extraordinary Laws

V. Democracy, Globalization and Violence

Readings:

Ashutosh Varshney, *Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life: Hindus and Muslims in India*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003.

- Bonnie Honig, *Emergency Politics: Paradox, Law, Democracy*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009.
- C.W. Barrow, *Critical Theories of the State: Marxist, Neo Marxist, Post-Marxist*, University of Madison Press, 1993.
- Charles Tilly, *The Politics of Collective Violence*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Eric Hobsbawm, *Globalisation, Democracy and Terrorism*, London: Abacus, 2007.
- Hannah Arendt, *On Violence*, CA: Harvest Books, 1970.
- J Walton ed., *Free Markets and Food Riots: The Politics of Global Adjustment*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1994.
- Jef Huysmans, Minding Exceptions: The Politics of Insecurity and Liberal Democracy, *Contemporary Political Theory* 3, pp. 321–341, 2004.
- John Keane, *Global Civil Society?* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
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- N Poulantzas, *State, Power, Socialism*, London: *New Left Books*, 1978.
- Paul Collier, *War, Guns & Votes: Democracy in Dangerous Places*, New York: Harper, 2009
- Steven Wilkinson, Votes and Violence: Electoral Competition and Ethnic Riots in India, in B Crawford & RD Lipschutz (eds), *The Myth of 'Ethnic:' Conflict: Politics, Economics, and 'Cultural' Violence*, Berkeley, CA: International and Area Studies, University of California, 1998.
- Walter Benjamin, Critique of Violence, in *Reflections: Essays, Aphorisms, Autobiographical Writings* (Translated by Edmund Jephcott) New York: Schocken Books, 1986.

Optional Paper No. 50

Collaborative Governance: Transforming Engagements in Public Management

Objective: In the context of the growing popularity of governance as a new paradigm of public administration, collaborative governance has gained salience in contemporary discourse. The objective of this course is to acquaint the students with the basic idea of what constitutes collaborative governance and its complex manifestation in various parts of the globe. Conceptually, this is not a new design because public administration is itself a collaborative endeavour; what is apparently new is the package in which it has been presented as part of the wider governance of both public and private institutions. India is a unique case study since despite being appreciative of collaborative governance, Indian administration continues remain committed to some of the fundamental precepts of Weberian hierarchical bureaucracy in which collaboration seems to be an anathema. The course will thus be a footstep towards understanding the connect between bureaucracy and other institutions in a context when governance needs collaboration for being effective.

- I. Collaborative government: Meanings, Dimensions, Drivers and Outcomes**
- II. The governance debate and the rise of Collaborative governance and Multilevel Governance (Horizontal, vertical, and diagonal governance)**
- III. Linkages in Collaborative Governance - Collaborative Processes, Activity and Strategy**
- IV. Political Dynamics of Collaboration (Power/ politics and turning conflict into collaboration)**
- V. Collaboration for Open Innovation Processes in Public Policy and Administrations**
- VI. The Art of Collaboration – Rationales, Tasks and Tools**
- VII. Collaborative Governance and Policy Design: Core Principles**
- VIII. Collaboration with Citizens (Governance as civic enabler)**
- IX. Models of Collaborative Governance- Galvanising government–non-profit/voluntary sector relations (collaborative network governance)**
- X. Collaborative governance: The PPP phenomenon as collaboration**
- XI. Indian case studies of Collaboration**
 - a. Collaboration in infrastructure development
 - b. Collaboration in education sector
 - c. Collaborating in health and sanitation
 - d. Collaboration in sustainable development

XII. The Future of Collaborative Governance and the Challenge of Collaboration.

Readings:

Andreas Rasche, Collaborative Governance 2.0, *Corporate Governance* 10(4), pp. 500-511, 2010.

Bidyut Chakrabarty, Participatory governance In India - The field experience, *ICSSR Journal of Abstracts and Reviews* 36 (1), 2010.

Carmen Sirianni, Investing in Democracy, *Engaging Citizens in Collaborative Governance Corporate Governance: An International Review* 14(3), pp.159-171, 2006.

Chris Ansell and Alison Gash, *Collaborative Governance in Theory and Practice*, *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 18 (4), pp. 543–57, 2008.

Daniel Lathrop and Ruma Laurel, *Open Government: Collaboration, Transparency, and Participation in Practice*, California: O’Rrilly Media, 2010.

Ernst and Young, Accelerating public private partnerships in India, available at [http://www.ey.com/Publication/vwLUAssets/Accelerating_PPP_in_India/\\$FILE/Accelerating%20PPP%20in%20India%20-%20FINAL%28Secured%29.pdf](http://www.ey.com/Publication/vwLUAssets/Accelerating_PPP_in_India/$FILE/Accelerating%20PPP%20in%20India%20-%20FINAL%28Secured%29.pdf), accessed: 5th June. 2015.

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K.B. Rai, *The Second Administrative Reforms Commission 12 Report* available at http://www.delhi.gov.in/wps/wcm/connect/75a2290040321a36ab05ffb8bfd93f2e/Presentation_RTI_04112009.pdf?MOD=AJPERES&lmod=2064173231&CACHEID=75a2290040321a36ab05ffb8bfd93f2e, accessed: 5th June. 2015.

Kumar Gaurav & Mayank Singhal, Bhagidari: Good Intention, Bad Implementation?, available at http://ccs.in/internship_papers/2003/chap7.pdf accessed: 5th June. 2015.

Martin Karlsson, Democratic Legitimacy and Recruitment Strategies in eParticipation Projects in Yannis Charalabidis, Sotirios Koussouris eds. *Empowering Open and Collaborative Governance: Technologies and Methods for Online Citizen Engagement in Public Policy Making*, London: Springer, 2012.

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Mike Smith, et.al. Corporate Governance in a Collaborative Environment: What Happens When Government, Business and Civil Society Work Together? Available at <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1467-8683.2006.00496.x/abstract>, accessed: 5th June 2015.

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http://mhrd.gov.in/scheme_ppp

<http://pib.nic.in/newsite/efeatures.aspx?relid=88689>

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<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/indiahome/article-2218737/India-Inc-build-model-schools-Ambani-Tata-Mittal-government-plan-public-private-partnership.html>

<http://www.scribd.com/doc/236899332/PPP-Reference-Guide>

https://www.scribd.com/WBG_PPP

www.indiaenvironmentportal.org.in/.../activists-experts-question-ppp-model

www.energetica-india.net/download.php?seccion=articles&archivo

Optional Paper No. 51

Corporate Citizenship and Governance: Theories and Practices

Objective: Globalisation's hold through financial control, deregulation and privatisation has seen the increasing rise and power of multinational corporations at the expense of national governments. The ability to engage in regulatory arbitrage has enabled some multinational corporations to disregard their core responsibility of being a positive net contributor to each nation-state in which they operate. While it is not a zero-sum game, globalisation has shown the defects and weaknesses.

Corporations have an inherent stake in their relationship with the state and civil society as economic engine of growth and facilitator of new technologies. However, the global financial crisis of 2007/2008 has heightened the economic inequality between the haves and have nots. The socialisation of private losses has increasingly focused the role of corporate social responsibility as the inherent obligation by corporations to contribute to the community and address issues of inequality. At the same time, anthropogenic climate change is becoming a major issue of the 21st century. This issue will affect the global eco-system to, in effect, ask whether globalisation's march can co-exist with sustainable development. By comparing and contrasting the policies of governments in the face of sustainable development pressures and moves to legislate corporate responsibility, this course seeks to discuss the present role of government and its future and emerging role in the corporate social responsibility debate.

I. Introduction to Corporate Citizenship and Governance: Definitions and drivers

II. Background: How Globalization is Affecting Corporate Social Responsibility:

- a. Dynamics of the Interaction Between Corporate Social Responsibility and Globalization (Current Economic Crisis, Inequality and Responsible Capitalism (Conscious Capitalism) debate)
- b. The Triple bottom line debate Rio 20+ debates)

III. Corporate Responsibility Typology- Global Public Rules and Citizenship Rights: A New Responsibility of Private Business Firms

- a. Corporates and "Economic Society": Social Responsibility
- b. Corporates and "Political Society": Civil Responsibility
- c. Corporates and Governance – The Political Role of Corporations

IV. Transnational Actors and World Politics, Regulatory Arbitrage and MNCs -

- a. Underpinning debates in Power and Responsibility taxonomy (Policy capture ,lobbying and costs of failed corporate responsibilities - Examples – Union Carbine, Nike, B.P , Enron, Shell , Satyam)

V. Reining In the Government Again

- a. International and National Initiatives for Responsible Governance –Global initiatives’, policies and reforms (some examples like Charters of Values, Codes of Ethics, GRI, MDGs and SD, Fair Trading , Ethical Investment, ISO 26000, etc)

VI. Corporate Governance Practices in India – Regulatory and institutional landscape

- a. History of Responsible Corporate Governance in India ,
- b. Principals provisions of the company act 1956 with respect to improving quality of governance, Clause 49 of the listing Agreement. (SEBI), Sustainability and CSR Guidelines 2011, and Companies Act-2013

VII. Regulatory pyramid and the cycles of regulation debates:

Interaction of cycles of regulation and ‘law and norms’ discourse, self regulation and mandatory regulations etc and soft and hard laws

Readings:

Andreas Georg Scherer and Guido Palazzo, Corporate Citizenship in a Globalized World, (Introduction), in Georg Scherer and Guido Palazzo eds. *Handbook of Research on Global Corporate Citizenship*, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2008, pp. 1-21.

Andreas Georg Scherer and Guido Palazzo, *Handbook of Research on Global Corporate Citizenship*, Elgar Original Reference, 2008.

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Bidyut Chakrabarty, *Corporate Social Responsibility in India*, Routledge, Contemporary South Asia Series, 2011.

Dirk Matten & Jeremy Moon, eds. *Corporate Citizenship: Introducing Business as an Actor in Political Governance*, *The International Library of Critical Writings on Business and Management*, Cheltenham : Edward Elgar, 2013.

Dirk Matten, Jeremy Moon and Andrew Crane, Can Corporations Be Citizens? Corporate Citizenship as a Metaphor for Business Participation in Society, *Business Ethics Quarterly*, 15, (1), 2005.

Hunniche, Mahad; Pedersen and Esben Rahbek, eds. *Corporate Citizenship in Developing Countries - New Partnership Perspectives*, Frederiksberg: Copenhagen Business School, 2006.

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Peter Utting and José Carlos Marques eds. *Business, Politics and Public Policy*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

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Robert A. Phillips and R. Edward Freeman, Corporate Citizenship and Community Stakeholders, in Andreas Georg Scherer and Guido Palazzo eds. *Handbook of Research on Global Corporate Citizenship*, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, pp.99-115, 2008.

Rüdiger Hahn, The Ethical Rational of Business for the Poor – Integrating the Concepts Bottom of the Pyramid, Sustainable Development and Corporate Citizenship, *Journal of Business Ethics*, 84, (3), pp. 313-324, 2009.

Surya Deva, Global Compact: A Critique of UN's Public-Private Partnership for Promoting Corporate Citizenship, *Syracuse Journal of International Law & Commerce*, 34, (1) pp. 107-151, 2006.

Govt reports/ guidelines (India)

CSR Guidelines: Companies Act 2013

CSR Guidelines for CPSEs - Department of Public Enterprises

Guidelines on Sustainable Development for CPSEs

Action Aid Report on CSR – Behind the Mask

UN Global Compact Report

Optional Paper No. 52
Institutions, Development and Poverty

Objective: The goal of the course is for students to gain a fundamental knowledge of the institutions, development and poverty. The sections are thematically divided so that there can be changes in specific cases that are taught depending on the tutor (public administration, comparative or Indian politics or indeed a theoretical disposition) and current debates in society.

I. Introduction to Institutions

- a. Understanding Institutions and interplay of macro and micro levels.
- b. How the political impacts institutions?
- c. Introduction to institutions and economic development.
- d. Administrative institutions of the Indian state.
- e. Different approaches to study institutions.

II. Institutions, Development and Political Power

- a. Extent to which political institutions constrain or facilitate effective and pro-poor policies.
- b. Extent to which political institutions can be “engineered”.
- c. The “autonomy” and “power” of institutions once they are created (e.g. reservations or decentralization) and understanding the political that they unleash.

III. The Policy Process: Decision Making and Implementation

- a. Understanding how policy is made and the politics of policy making.
- b. Different ways in which politics shapes the implementation process.

IV. Understanding Poverty and the Politics of Poverty Alleviation

- a. Poverty alleviation as a primary focus of national and international politics.
- b. The debate on the poverty line.
- c. Changing emphasis on poverty reduction strategies.
- d. People, participation, empowerment and democratization for poverty alleviation.

V. Bureaucrats, Technocrats and Policy Change

- a. Bureaucratic power over policy choices.

- b. The choice of implementable policies.
 - c. The role of a technocrat in shaping policy process.
 - d. Limiting bureaucratic and technocratic power.
- VI. **Economic and Political Agency for Policy Change**
- a. Understanding how domestic economic and political actors influences policy choices.
 - b. Success and constraints on their power to determine policy choices.
- VII. **International Influences on Policy Change**
- a. The role of international economic actors in determining policy choices in developing countries.
 - b. Nature of policy choices they advocate.
 - c. Conditions under which they are more influential and conditions when their influence is reduced.
- VIII. **New Technologies and Innovations for Policy Change**
- a. New technologies of administration for social change - ranging from focusing of capacities and capabilities for human development
 - b. Creating mechanism for greater accountability
 - c. Focused allocation of public resources linked to outputs and outcomes
 - d. Decentralization and creating more opportunities for participatory governance
 - e. Mechanisms of collective financial and marketing initiatives
 - f. Mainstreaming gender in public policy

Readings:

Akhil Gupta, *Bureaucracy, Structural Violence and Poverty in India*, Durham: Duke University Press, 2012.

Anne Krueger & Robert Bates eds., *Political and Economic Interactions in Economic Policy Reform*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1993.

Anne Krueger ed., *Economic Policy Reform and the Indian Economy*, Oxford University Press, 2002.

Ashutosh Varshney, *Democracy, Development, and the Countryside: Urban-Rural Struggles in India*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Barbara Stallings, International Influence on Economic Policy: Debt, Stabilization and Structural Reform, in Stephan Haggard and Robert Kaufman eds., *The Politics of Economic Adjustment*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 41-88, 1992.

Bashevkin, Interest Groups and Social Movements, in Lawrence LeDue, Richard Nieme & Pippa Noris eds., *Comparing Democracies: Elections and Voting in Global Perspective*, Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 1996.

Chatterjee, Partha ed., *State and Politics in India*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Christopher Clague ed., *Institutions and Economic Development*, Baltimore & London: John Hopkins University Press, 1997.

Christopher Udry, Gender, Agricultural Productivity and the Theory of the Household, *Journal of Political Economy* 104, pp. 1010-1046, 1996.

Dani Rodrik, Institutions for High-Quality Growth: What They Are and How to Acquire Them, *Studies in Comparative International Development* 35(3), 2000.

Deborah Brautigam, *Aid Dependence and Governance*, 2000: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 2000.

Deepa Narayan et.al., *Voices of the Poor: Crying out for Change*, New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 133-150, 2000.

Diamond Schedler & Plattner eds., *The Self Restraining State: Power and Accountability in New Democracies*, 1998.

Douglass C. North, *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance*, Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Graham Allison, *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*, Little Boston Brown, pp. 294-313, 323-324, 1999.

James Malloy, Policy Analysis, Public Policy and Regime Structure in Latin America, *Governance: An International Journal of Public Policy and Administration*, 2 (3), pp. 315-338, 1989.

James Manor, *The Political Economy of Democratic Decentralization*, Washington: World Bank, 1999.

James P. Pinkerton, Bureaucrat, in *What Comes Next: The End of Big Government and the New Paradigm Ahead*, New York: Hyperion, pp. 51-67, 1995.

James Scott, 'Everyday Forms of Resistance', in Forrest D. Colburn ed., *Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*, Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1989.

James Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition have Failed*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.

Jean Dreze & Amartya Sen, *India: Economic Development and Social Opportunity*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Jonathan Lynn & Antony Jay eds., *The Complete Yes Minister: The Diaries of a Cabinet Minister*, Harper and Row, New York, pp. 5-29, 55-77, 1981.

Joseph Stiglitz, The New Development Economics, in G.M. Meier & J.E. Rauch, *Leading Issues in Economic Development*, New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 352-355, 1970.

Kaivan Munshi & Mark R. Rosenzweig, *Traditional Institutions Meet the Modern World: Caste, Gender and Schooling Choice in a Globalizing Economy*, BREAD Working Paper, No. 038, July, 2003.

Lloyd I. Rudolph & Susanne H. Rudolph, *In Pursuit of Lakshmi: The Political Economy of the Indian State*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987.

Margaret Keek & Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics* (Chapters 1 and 16), Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, pp. 1-38, 199-217, 1998.

Mark Eric Williams, Market Reforms, Technocrats and Institutional Innovation, *World Development* 30 (3), pp. 395-412, 2002.

Merilee Grindle & John Thomas, *Public Choices and Policy Change: The Political Economy of Reforms in Developing Countries*, Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins Univeristy Press, 1991.

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Satyajit Singh, Decentralizing Water Services in India: The Politics of Institutional Reforms, *Asian Survey* 54(4), University of California Press, July-August, 2014.

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Stuart Corbridge & John Harris, *Reinventing India: Liberalization, Hindu Nationalism and Popular Democracy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Stuart Corbridge et.al., *Seeing the State: Governance and Governmentality in India, Contemporary South Asia*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Optional Paper No. 53
Environmental Policies & Politics

Objective: The course will equip the students with theoretical perspectives of understanding of the challenges posed by nature from a developing country and livelihoods perspective. It will also equip them to understand the emerging political and policy issues related to the environment as well as various social and economic dimensions due to environmental degradation.

- I. Environmental Philosophies, Politics and Ethics**
- II. Environment, Institutions and Governance: State, Market, Community & Local Governments:**
 - a. State: Hardin and the Tragedy of the Commons
 - b. Market: Pricing for Sustainability
 - c. Community & Local Government Management: A Developing Country Perspective
- III. Resources, Protest & Poverty:**
 - a. Forests: State, Trade & Community
 - b. Biodiversity, Protected Areas & People
 - c. Irrigation - Dams & Canals: State, Science & Inequities
 - d. Agriculture, Soil Management & Cash Crops: Implications to Environment & Women's Lives
 - e. Land, Displacement & Resettlement: Power, Culture & Resistance
 - f. Industrialization, Urbanization & Pollution: Institutional Challenges
- IV. Gender and Environment**
- V. Climate Change: Global Commons and Local Initiatives**

Readings:

Amita Baviskar, *In the Belly of the River*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Arun Agrawal, *Greener Pastures: Politics, Markets, and Community among a Migrant Pastoral People*, Durham NC: Duke University Press, 1999.

Arun Agrawal, *Environmentality: Technologies of Government and Political Subjects*, Durham: Duke University Press, 2005.

Bina Agarwal, The Gender and Environment Debate: Lessons from India, *Feminist Studies*, 18(1), Spring, pp. 119-158, 1992.

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David Arnold & Ramachandra Guha (ed), *Nature, Culture & Imperialism: Essays on the Environmental History of South Asia*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996.

David Hardiamn, Power in the Forest: The Dangs, 1820-1940, *Subaltern Studies VIII*, David Arnold and David Hardiman eds., pp. 89-147, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1994.

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Elinor Ostrom, *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990.

Ismail Serageldin & Andrew Steer (eds), *Valuing the Environment*, The World Bank, Washington D.C., 1993.

J. T. Houghton et al, *Climate Change 1992: The Supplementary Report to the IPCC Scientific Assessment*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

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John S. Dryzek, *The Politics of the Earth: Environmental Discourses*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.

K. Sivaramakrishnan, A Limited Forest Conservancy in Southwest Bengal, 1864-1912, *Journal of Asian Studies* 56(1): 75-112, 1997.

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Mahesh Rangarajan, *India's Wildlife History*, New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2001.

Michael Redclift & Graham Woodgate eds., *The International Handbook of Environmental Sociology*, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 1997.

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Patrick McCully, *Silenced Rivers: The Ecology and Politics of Large Dams*, N.J: Zed Books, 1996.

R. J. Johnston, *Nature, State and Economy: A Political Economy of the Environment*, Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 1996.

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Ramachandra Guha, *The Unquiet Woods*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Ramachandra Guha, *Environmentalism*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Richard Grove, The Origins of Western Environmentalism, *Scientific American*, 267, 1992.

Richard Peet & Michael Watts, *Liberation Ecologies: Environment, Development and Social Movements*, London: Routledge, 1996.

S Buckingham-Hatfield, *Gender and Environment*, Routledge, 1999.

Satyajit Singh, *Taming the Waters: The Political Economy of Large Dams in India*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Sumit Sarkar, *Modern Times: India 1880s to 1950s*, Ranikhet: Permanent Black, 2014.

Ted Benton (ed), *The Greening of Marxism*, London: The Guilford Press, 1996.

Thayer Scudder, The Human Ecology of Big Projects: River Basin Development and Resettlement, *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 2: 45-61, 1973.

Vandana Shiva, *Staying Alive: Women, Ecology & Survival in India*, New Delhi: Kali for Women, 1988.

World Commission on Environment & Development, *Our Common Future*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1987.

Optional Paper No. 54
The Political in local Governance

Objective: The course will equip the students to understand the nuances of development as it relates to greater decentralization and democratization. It will equip the students with a theoretical understanding of decentralization and how institutional architecture and power relations affect governance outcomes.

- I. **The Local in Development: Overview of Economic Development and the Centrality of Local in Development**
- II. **Understanding ‘Rural’ and ‘Urban’ Power & Biases**
- III. **Institutional framework for Development: Political Executive, Planning Agencies; Agencies and Processes of Implementation at Central, State & Local Levels**
- IV. **Decentralization and Local Governments**
- V. **Devolution and functioning of Panchayati Raj Institutions**
- VI. **Development, Devolution and Urban Local Bodies**
- VII. **People’s Participation in Rural-Urban Development: Role of Citizens Groups & NGO’s**

Readings:

Abdul Aziz, *Decentralised Planning*, Sage, New Delhi, 1993.

Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Amitava Mukherjee, *Decentralization: Panchayats in the Nineties*, New Delhi: Vikas, 1994.

Ashish Bose, *National Commission on Urbanization*, New Delhi: Ministry of Urban Development, 1988.

Ashutosh Varshney, *Democracy, Development, and the Countryside: Urban-Rural Struggles in India*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

B.B.Mishra, *District Administration and Rural Development in India*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1983.

Partha Chatterjee ed., *State and Politics in India*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Gerald M. Meier, *Emerging from Poverty*, (Chapter 7), 'Development Strategies Revised', pp. 159-187, 1985.

H. W. Singer, Poverty, Income Distribution and Levels of Living: Thirty Years of Changing Thought on Development Problems, in C.H. Hanumantha Rao & P. C. Joshi eds. *Reflections on Economic Development and Social Thought, Essays in Honour of Prof VKRV Rao*, New Delhi: Allied Publishers, 1980.

Henry Maddick, *Panchayati Raj: A Study of Rural Local Government in India*, London: Longman Green, 1970.

Jagdish Bhagwati, Development Economics: What have we Learnt? in K. Ahooja Patel et. al. *World Economy in Transition*, Oxford: Pergamon Press, pp. 11-27, 1986.

Jean Dreze & Amartya Sen, *India: Economic Development and Social Opportunity*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1995.

John Toye, *Dilemmas of Development*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1987.

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Paul Streeten, 'Development Dichotomies' in G. M. Meier & Dudley Seers ed., *Pioneers in Development*, pp. 337-361, 1984.

Rakesh Mohan Committee Recommendations on Housing & Urban Development, New Delhi: Planning Commission, Government of India, 1983.

Satyajit Singh and Pradeep Sharma ed., *Decentralization: Institutions and Politics in Rural India*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Thomas Issac & Richard W. Franke, *Local Government and Development: People's Campaign for Decentralized Planning in Kerala*, Delhi: Leftworld, 2000.

UNDP, *Decentralisation in India: Challenges & Opportunities*, New Delhi: HDRC, UNDP, 2001.

Optional Paper No. 55
Global Justice and the South

Objective: This course will study debates surrounding global justice from the perspective of the global south. A distinctive aspect of the course will involve using the voices of the global south as vital inputs toward a reevaluation of contemporary debates in global justice. The course will probe themes of global distributive justice, human rights, migration, climate change, the politics of aid and trade, and global institutions against the backdrop of increasing global inequality and current efforts underway to democratize institutions of global governance.

- I. Justice: Domestic and Global**
- II. Cosmopolitanism: Moral and Institutional**
- III. Global Inequality, Poverty and Distributive Justice**
- IV. Human Rights & Capabilities Approaches**
- V. Migration and the Global Order**
- VI. Climate Change**
- VII. The Politics of Aid and Trade; Illicit Financial Flows**
- VIII. Democratizing Global Norms and Institutions**

Readings:

Andrew Robinson, and Simon Tormey, Resisting ‘Global Justice’: Disrupting the Colonial ‘Emancipatory’ Logic of the West, *Third World Quarterly* 30(8), pp. 1395–1409, 2009

Aziz Choudry, and Dip Kapoor, *Learning from the Ground Up: Global Perspectives on Social Movements and Knowledge Production*, New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010.

Baogang He, and Hannah Murphy, Global Social Justice at the WTO? The Role of NGOs in Constructing Global Social Contracts, *International Affairs* 83, pp. 707–727, 2007.

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Joseph Carens, Aliens and Citizens: The Case for Open Borders, *The Review of Politics*, 49, 1987.

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Simon Caney, Cosmopolitanism, Democracy and Distributive Justice, *Canadian Journal of Philosophy*, Supplementary Volume 31, 2005

Thomas Pogge, *World Poverty and Human Rights*, 2nd edition, USA: Polity Press, 2008.

Thomas-Slayter, Barbara P, *Southern Exposure: International Development and the Global South in the Twenty-First Century*, USA: Kumarian Press, 2003.

Optional Paper No. 56
The Theory and Practice of Democracy

Objective: This course will trace the evolution of democracy with a focus on modern and contemporary influences, approaches and theories. It aims to deepen an understanding of the relationship between norms, institutions and political processes as they have evolved in some political communities, including India.

I. The Idea of Democracy

- a. The historical evolution of the idea
- b. Ancient and modern variants
- c. Democracy: plural traditions

II. Democracy and Political Community

- a. Boundaries of Political Community: nationalism and nation-state
- b. Membership in political community: who belongs?
- c. Citizenship and rights: common vs. differentiated
- d. Democratic education and the idea of civic virtues

III. Democracy and Representation

- a. Majority Rule and Majoritarian systems
- b. Political Equality and Proportional Representation
- c. The idea of group representation
- d. Democratic recognition of marginalized groups

IV. Democracy and Liberal Constitutionalism

- a. Foundations of modern democracy
- b. Rights as trumps
- c. Institutions of power-sharing: federalism; consociationalism
- d. Challenges of plural societies

V. Contemporary Democratic Politics: Issues

- a. Development vs. Growth
- b. Democratic Transition and Consolidation

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Optional Paper No. 57

Key Ideas in contemporary Critical Theory in India

Objective: The paper will identify key concepts in Indian political and social theory which have been developed over the recent past. It will inculcate a critical look at these concepts by exposing the students to debates conducted over them.

- I. East and West.
- II. Modernity.
- III. Passive Revolution.
- IV. Nationalism.
- V. Community.
- VI. Political Society.
- VII. Primitive Accumulation.
- VIII. Gender.
- IX. Secularism.
- X. Liberalism.

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