

## **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

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## **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

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## **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.

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**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)

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## **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

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## **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.

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## 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*, 2<sup>nd</sup>. 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.

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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.

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### **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.

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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. Sridharan 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.

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## 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.

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## 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 & Vivienne Shue, (eds.), *State Power and Social Forces*, Cambridge University Press, 1994.

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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

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## **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.

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

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## **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.

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**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 Policies*, University of Strathclyde, Glasgow, 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 Bureaucracy', 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

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**.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

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## 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.

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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.

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## **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:**

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- J.S. Goldstein, *International Relations*, Sixth Edition, Pearson Publishers, Delhi, 2008
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- Shahrbanou Tadjbakhsh and Anuradha Chenoy, *Human Security*, Routledge Publishers, Delhi, 2008
- P. Hirst, *War and Power in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, Polity Press, Cambridge, UK, 2001

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### 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.

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## **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.

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

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## 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

## **READINGS:**

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

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## **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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## **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

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## 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**

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## 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**

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## 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**

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## **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:**

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## 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:**

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**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:**

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**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.

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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.

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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](http://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. 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. 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.

Gyanendra Pandey, *The Construction of Communalism in Colonial North India*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.

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.

Sekhar Bandyopadhyay ed., *Nationalist Movement in India: A Reader*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2011.

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.

## **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. 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.

Daniel Posner, *Institutions and Ethnic Politics in Africa*, Cambridge, USA: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Daniel Posner, The Colonial Origins of Ethnic Cleavages: The Case of Linguistic Divisions in Zambia, *Comparative Politics* 35(2), pp. 127-146, 2003.

Daniel Posner, The Political Salience of Cultural Difference : Why Chewas and Tumbukas are Allies in Zambia and Adversaries in Malawi, *American Political Science Review* 98 (4), pp. 529-545, 2004

David Laitin, *Language Repertoires and State Construction in Africa*, New York:

Cambridge University Press, 1992.

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, *Millennium: 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.

Donald L. Horowitz, *The Deadly Ethnic Riot*, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, California, 2002.

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.

Gyanendra Pandey, *The Construction of Communalism in Colonial North India*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Joseph E. Schwartzberg, Factors in the Linguistic Reorganization of Indian States, in Asha Sarangi ed., *Language and Politics in India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2009.

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.

Kanchan Chandra, Ethnic Parties and Democratic Stability, *Perspectives on Politics* 3(2) June 2005, pp. 235-252.

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. 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.
- Bryan Turner, *Citizenship and Social Theory*, London: Sage, 1993.
- 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.
- Iris Marion Young, The Logic of Masculinist Protection: Reflections on the Current Security State, in *Global Challenges, War, Self Determination and Responsibility for Justice*, Cambridge: Polity, 2007.
- 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.

Nira Yuval-Davis and Pnina Werbner eds., *Women, Citizenship and Difference*, London: Zed, 1999.

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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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.

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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.

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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. 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.

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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.

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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 University Press, 1991.

Merilee Grindle, *Bureaucrats, Politicians and Peasants in Mexico: A Case Study in Public Policy*, University of California Press, Berkeley, pp. 41-110, 1977.

Peter P. Houtzager, Coalition Building from Below, in Peter Houtzager and Moore eds., *Changing Paths: International Development and the New Politics of Inclusion*, Oxford University Press, pp. 88-118, 2002.

Rajni Kothari, *Politics in India*, New Delhi: Orient Longman, 1995.

Satyajit Singh, Decentralizing Water Services in India: The Politics of Institutional Reforms, *Asian Survey* 54(4), University of California Press, July-August, 2014.

Satyajit Singh, Diverse Property Rights, Institutions and Decentralisation: Forest Management by Village Councils in Uttarakhand, *Policy and Society* 31(1). 2013.

Satyajit Singh, State, Planning & Politics of Irrigation Development: A Critique of Large Dams in India, in Rajeev Bhargava and Achin Vanaik eds., *Politics in Contemporary India*, Hyderabad: Orient Longman, 2010.

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.

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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.

Jean Dreze, Meera Samson & Satyajit Singh (eds), *The Dam and the Nation: Displacement and Resettlement in the Narmada Valley*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1997.

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.

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

Nicholas Stern, *The Economics of Climate Change*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Nicholas Stern, The Economics of Climate Change, *The American Economic Review*, 98 (2), pp. 1-37, 2008.

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.

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

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. 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

**Readings:**

Amy Gutmann, *Democratic Education*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987

Anne Phillips, *The Politics of Presence*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995

Anthony Arblaster, *Democracy*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition, Milton Keynes, Open University Press, 1994

Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996

Benjamin R. Barber, *Strong Democracy: Participatory Politics for a New Age*, California: University of California Press, 1984

C. B Macpherson, *The Life and Times of Liberal Democracy*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977

Carole Pateman, *Participation and Democratic Theory*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970

Charles Tilly, *Democracy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007

David Held, *Models of Democracy*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition, USA: Stanford University Press, 1996

Hanna Pitkin, *The Concept of Representation*, California: University of California Press, 1967

Ian Shapiro, *The State of Democratic Theory*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003

Joseph Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy*, New York: Harper and Row, 1942

Juan J Linz and Alfred Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation*,

Larry Diamond, et al., *Consolidating the Third Wave Democracies*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997

Robert A. Dahl, *On Democracy*, Yale: Yale University Press, 1998

Seyla Benhabib, ed. *Democracy and Difference*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996

## 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.

#### Readings:

Achin Vanaik, P.K.Datta, Suhas Palshikar eds., *ICSSR Research Surveys and Explorations, Political Science Vol. 3: Indian Political Thought*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Aakash Singh, Silika Mohapatra eds., *Indian Political Thought: A Reader*, London and New York: 2010.

Akeel Bilgrami ed., *Democratic Culture: Historical and Philosophical Essays*, New Delhi: Routledge, 2011.

Akeel Bilgrami, *Secularism, Identity and Enchantment*, Ranikhet Cantt: Permanent Black, 2014.

Andrew Sartori, *Bengal in Global Concept History: Culturalism in the Age of Capital*, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2008.

C. A. Bayly, *Recovering Liberties: Indian Thought in the age of Liberalism and Empire*, New Delhi: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Kumkum Roy, *The Power of Gender and the Gender of Power: Explorations in Early Indian History*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Partha Chatterjee, *Lineages of Political Society*, Ranikhet Cantt: Permanent Black, 2011.

Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and its fragments: Colonial and Post Colonial Histories*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993

Prem Chowdhury, *Political Economy of Production and Reproduction: Caste, Custom and Community in North India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Rajeev Bhargava ed., *Politics and Ethics of the Indian Constitution*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Sudipta Kaviraj, *The Imaginary Institution of India*, Ranikhet Cantt: Permanent Black, 2010

Sudipta Kaviraj, *The Trajectories of the Indian State: Politics and Ideas*, Ranikhet Cantt: Permanent Black, 2010

Sumit Sarkar, *Beyond Nationalist Frames: Post Modernism, Hindu Fundamentalism, History*, Ranikhet: Permanent Black, 2005.

Tanika Sarkar, *Rebels, Wives, Saints: Designing Selves and Nations in Colonial times*, Ranikhet Cantt: Permanent Black, 2011.