



Politics of South Asia

Nationalism, Nationality, and Citizenship
POL2 211¹ - Spring 2021

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Class hours
Monday through Thursday 16:00 - 17:15 EST/EDT

Office hours
directly after class Monday through Thursday at 17.15 EST/EDT
and by appointment

[Zoom Meeting](#)
Please log in 5 minutes early.

Description

This course is focused on national politics in five Southern Asian countries: India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Myanmar, and Sri Lanka (listed by population). Students will have the opportunity to learn about how states formed, how governments work, and how political regimes change in South Asia. The course begins by considering British imperial practices, nationalist movements for independence, and official political histories. The focus then turns to nationalism, nationality, and citizenship in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Myanmar, and Sri Lanka and in comparative perspective.

Course Goals

The course gives students the opportunity to understand (1) the impact of European imperial practice on contemporary political institutions in a significant part of the world (including a fifth of its population); (2) the structure of government in some of the world's most resilient democratic regimes and most persistently non-democratic regimes; and (3) the contemporary domestic political dynamics in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Myanmar, and Sri Lanka. especially as these relate to nationalism and citizenship and to the politics of representation on the basis of ascribed identities.

¹ "Politics of South Asia" (POL2 211) complements "International Relations of South Asia" (POL3 223). POL2 211 focuses on national politics; POL3 223 focuses on relations between governments, including several armed conflicts, some of which have involved governments from outside of South Asia. Neither course is required for the other.

Format

This course is discussion-based. It is not a lecture course. During class, the instructor will present core concepts, describe historical developments, and explain the working of political institutions. But most of what the instructor offers is obtained by following this syllabus and completing the assignments therein.

Time Commitment

The expectation of the College is that a one-unit course in a 7-week term format will have 5 hours of class time weekly and 19 hours of work outside of class weekly. That's four hours per day seven days per week including the weekend. I think that is a reasonable estimate of the out-of-class time required for the work in this course, about four hours each day of the week.

Requirements

The course requires a high level of student engagement. I expect students to prepare for class discussion by reading and considering the assigned work carefully and answering the study questions below in writing by the end of the day before the class in which these questions will be discussed. I also expect students to contribute to class discussion.

Each student is to meet with me in office hours during the first three weeks of the course.

Study Questions

To prepare for classes wherein there is assigned reading, students are required to submit to the course conference, by the end of the day prior to class, an answer or response. One hundred words would be sufficient to answer each question. Most classes have more than one question to answer.

Class Participation

I know that different people have different propensities to speak in class. I will not assess your contribution to class discussion by amount but by relevance, significance, insightfulness, clarity, and benefit to others' thinking and learning. But I do expect each student to speak in each class. I might ask you by name for your thoughts on the discussion.

Roundtable Discussions / Simulations

We will have six roundtable discussions or simulations – one for each country under study (including one for undivided British India) – in which students, in groups, will play the role of a person with significant political influence.

Most are hypothetical encounters between individuals who never met in the same configuration as arranged here; there is one simulation of actual discussions with the same group as is assembled here (as drawn from Admiral Ahsan's report to the Commission of Inquiry). Students are expected to conduct independent research to prepare for these discussions/ simulations. I have prepared resource lists for the first roundtable discussion; I expect you to do research for three roundtable discussions. Helpful sources are noted in the bibliography.

Mid-term and Final Papers and Proposals

The mid-term and final papers must be based on a proposal approved by the instructor. The proposal is not graded, but it is required. The proposal itself is a description of the project consisting of no more than one page. The proposal must articulate a single, focused question that the paper will address, note the importance of addressing that question, justify the method or methods that will be used to discover evidence or test hypotheses, and list the sources that have been identified. The proposal must be approved before students complete and submit their papers. The proposal and paper are to be sent to the instructor, at ccandlan@wellesley.edu, as an attachment to an email in .doc (not a .docx or .pdf) format.

Students may focus their papers on countries in South Asia other than the five on which we focus – Afghanistan, Bhutan, Nepal, and the Maldives.²

Please refer to the attached guides on strategy, style, and citations for the paper.

Paper and Proposal Deadlines

Mid-term paper proposal	4.00 pm, Friday, March 5
Mid-term paper	4.00 pm, Friday, March 12
Final paper proposal	4.00 pm, Friday, March 19
Final paper	4.00 pm, Saturday, April 3

Readings

All readings are available on our Sakai electronic conference. Although engaging, there is a great deal of reading. Reading for each class ranges from 30 to more than 200 pages. You will need to begin some class readings well in advance class. Pages numbers are provide below to help you to assess the reading work load.

² The eight countries of the South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation are Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Nepal, the Maldives, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. The ten countries of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations are Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam. The entire region of South and Southeast Asia is known as Southern Asia. Myanmar, until recently known as Burma, is sometimes studied alongside South Asia countries because of common borders, cultures, and histories, including of British colonial and imperial rule.

Please note that reading might be added or removed and assignments might be changed, as the instructor becomes familiar with students' interests and as events occur in South Asia.

I have compiled recommended South Asian websites, media resources, and films which are available [here](#).

South Asian News

We will make substantial use of contemporaneous political reporting on South Asia from international and South Asian news media. I expect you to consult the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and Al Jazeera daily for news about politics in South Asia for the duration of the course.

[BBC World News from Asia](#)

[Al Jazeera World News from Asia](#)

The BBC website has excellent country profiles for each of the countries we study in this course. Please read these before we begin our study of each country. These profiles include links, provided below, to local English and South Asian language media. Please read news daily from at least one of the media outlets for the country on which we are focused at the time.

[India News Media \(from BBC\)](#)

[Pakistan News Media \(from BBC\)](#)

[Bangladesh News Media \(from BBC\)](#)

[Myanmar News Media \(from BBC\)](#)

[Sri Lanka News Media \(from BBC\)](#)

Graded Assignments

Graded assignments include (1) timely posts in response to the study questions, (2) informed participation in class, including in the roundtable discussions, (3) a 1,500 word (maximum) mid-term paper, (4) a 3,500 word (maximum) final paper, and a brief end of term proficiency test. Word counts include quotations but do not include endnotes or the bibliography. The test will require identification of core terms, concepts, events, issues, policies, or debates in South Asia politics.

Calculation of Grades

Answers to study questions are worth 30% of the final grade. (There are 15 sets of study questions.) Informed participation in class, including the six roundtable discussions at 2% each, is worth 25% of the final grade. The mid-term paper and the final paper are worth 10% and 30% respectively. A very basic proficiency test, done in class at the end of the semester, is worth 5% of the final grade.

I accept late work, but the grade is reduced by a third of a letter grade for each 24 hours after the deadline that work is received. A paper received within 24 hours of the deadline will not have its grade lowered. (i.e., There is a 24-hour grace period.)

Online Applications

This course uses Zoom for hosting our classes; Sakai for accessing readings and posting responses to discussion questions; and Gmail for exchange of messages and documents.

Sakai

The Sakai course conference is private. Nobody other than registered students and the instructor are permitted to see the content or posts. (Wellesley College Computing has access to the Sakai course conference but its staff are not permitted to read your posts.) We will discuss and decide other ways to keep our discussions private.

Please let the Computing Helpdesk and let me know if you have any trouble accessing or using the Sakai course conference.

Complete discussion questions do not always fit in Sakai windows. Please use this syllabus and its updates as the source for all course work and assignments including the complete set of discussion questions.

Electronic Devices

During class, please do not use electronic devices other than the camera, microphone, and speakers needed for the Zoom meeting used in class. If possible, please do not use your laptop or keyboard to take notes. I make this request so that we cultivate the habit of looking at whomever is speaking. Please do let me know if, for any reason, you need to use electronic devices other than those that we use for class.

Office Hours

I will hold office hours, after class, for individual consultations, and by appointment. I will try to ensure that anyone in the Zoom waiting room will not wait for more than 5 minutes.

Accommodations

We live in a world where people have a variety of disabilities, some of which need accommodations. I encourage students who might be eligible for accommodations to contact the office of Accommodation and Disability Resources (ext .2434).

Holidays

Please do let me know in advance if you will observe holidays that require missing class.

Our Emotional and Mental Health

More important than any assignment in this course is your emotional and mental health. Life is stressful, often painful, and even more so in this pandemic era. Our emotional and

mental health is critical to our physical health. If you have emotional or mental discomfort, please consider telling others, including me. I would be pleased to give extensions and make other allowances as needed. Also, please consider using the excellent resources of the Stone Center (at 1-781-283-2839 ext. 1). These include individual counseling and group therapy. It can be tremendously helpful to hear from others who have faced similar difficulties and to learn from others strategies and tactics for staying healthy in this often unhealthy world.

Let us be especially attentive in this course to each other's wellbeing; let us think about what we might say and do for the benefit of others.

* * *

Class Schedule

Monday, February 15

1. Course Overview, Introductions, and Objectives

Students will introduce themselves. The professor will introduce the course.

Assignment: Please read this syllabus carefully and post any questions that you might have to the Sakai course conference.

Assignment: By the end of the day, please post a short description of your learning objectives to the Sakai course conference.

Begin reading Singh, *Train to Pakistan*, (Singh 1956).

Note that the pdf of *Train to Pakistan* in our Sakai course conference includes disturbing images (by photographer Margaret Burke-White). Also, *Train to Pakistan* itself includes disturbing depictions of exploitation and mutilation.

Tuesday, February 16

2. Introductions and Objectives Continued

Students will continue to introduce themselves. The professor will introduce himself and ask questions of students.

Continue reading Singh, *Train to Pakistan*, (Singh 1956).

Assignment: By the end of the day, please post a short introduction – as video to the Media folder on our Sakai conference or in writing to the designated Forum folder.

Wednesday, February 17

3. Introductions and Objectives Continued

Complete reading Singh, *Train to Pakistan*, (Singh 1956).

Study Question: What caused the change from an identity based on place and an identity based on religion?

Assignment: Locate Mano Majra on a map using clues in *Train to Pakistan* and Google Earth. Please post a screen shot of where you think Mano Majra would be.

1. Creation of South Asian 'Nations'

Thursday, February 18

4. Imperial Policies: Language and Culture

Macaulay, "Minutes on Indian Education" (Macaulay in Woodrow 1835: 170-184)

Marx, "British Rule in India" and "The Future Results of British Rule in India"
(Marx and Engels 1972 (Marx 1853: 35-41 and 81-87)

Galanter, "The Compartmental Society" (Galanter 1984: 7-17)

Study Questions: What does Marx mean by "Hindustan is an Italy of Asiatic dimensions" (Marx 1835: 35)? What was Macaulay's and Marx's evaluation of native cultures in 'Hindustan'? What were Lord Macaulay's views on the value of native languages in India? In what ways, according to Galanter, is caste not compartmental?

Monday, February 22

5. Imperial Policies: National and Religious Identities

Tagore, "Nationalism in India" (Tagore 1917: 2-46)

Singh, *Train to Pakistan*, (Singh 1956)

Butalia, "Blood" (Butalia 1997: 13-22)

Candland, "Core Concepts for the Study of Politics" (Candland 2020: 1-4)

Study Questions: What does Tagore mean by "the Nation is the greatest evil for the Nation" (Tagore 1917: 42)? How might Tagore's amphiboly explain the violence in *Mano Majra*? What identities and sentiments could Rana Mama's national identity no longer permit after his decision to remain at home in what had become Pakistan?

Tuesday, February 23

6. Meeting with Daria Hafner, Research Librarian

Ms. Hafner will give us guidance on doing online library research including political biographies for the roundtable debates and simulations.

Wednesday, February 24

7. The Creation of India

Maddison, "The Social and Economic Impact of Colonial Rule," and "The Social Origins and Ideology of the Nationalist Movement" (Maddison 1971: 35-71, and 72-75)

Nehru, "The Quest," "Nationalism versus Imperialism" (partial), and "India's Dynamic Capacity" (partial) (Nehru 1946: 49-68, 356-380, and 499-509)

Tharoor, "Democracy, the Press, the Parliamentary System, and the Rule of Law" (Tharoor 2016: 79-99)

Study Questions: How does Maddison characterize the stages and social origins of Indian nationalism and the Movement for Pakistan? How does Nehru conceive of Indian nationalism? In what sense could it be argued that the British created the Indian nation?

Thursday, February 25

8. Roundtable Discussion One: The Creation of India

Mohandas Gandhi, Thomas Babington Macaulay, Karl Marx, Jawaharlal Nehru, and Rabindranath Tagore. The five meet to discuss the impact of British rule in India.

Reading above and below is sufficient as reference material for Macaulay, Marx, Nehru, and Tagore. For Gandhi, listen to Bhimrao Ambedkhar's 1955 BBC interview about Mohandas Gandhi (here) and read Mohandas Gandhi's *Hind Swaraj* (1910). All should have read Khushwant Singh's *The End of India*, (2003).

Monday, March 1

9. The Creation of Pakistan

Wolpert "Karachi and Bombay Revisited" (Wolpert 1984: 221-236)

Kennedy, "The Mutiny and Its Aftermath" and "Political Culture and Heritage" (Oberst et al 2014: 5-9 and 151-159)

Jalal, "The Demand for Pakistan" (Jalal 1990: 9-24)

Kennedy, "Constitutional Structure" and "Political Parties and Political Leaders," (Oberst et al 2014: 161-178 and 181-202)

FYI: Naidu, *Mohomed Ali Jinnah: Ambassador of Unity: Speeches and Writings, 1912-1917* [here](#)

Study Questions: Why was Pakistan created? What circumstances made it difficult for Pakistan to transition from an imperial possession to a constitutional republic?

Tuesday, March 2

10. Roundtable Discussion Two: The Creation of Pakistan

Mohandas Gandhi, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Sayyid Abul Ala Maududi, Jawaharlal Nehru, and Vinayak Damodar Rao Savarkar. The five discuss (in 1946) whether Pakistan should be created as a homeland for South Asian Muslims.

For reference material, please see “Sources for Roundtable on Creation of Pakistan.”

Note: The mid-term paper proposal is due by 4.00 pm, on Friday, March 5.

Please post as an email attachment in .doc format to the Sakai course conference.

Please read and make helpful suggestions on others’ projects.

2. National Identities

Wednesday, March 3

11. Official Indian and Pakistani Histories

Nayyar and Salim “Introduction” (Nayyar and Salim 2003: 1-7)

Jalal, “Conjuring Pakistan: History as Official Imagination” (Jalal 1995: 73-89)

Kumar, “Introduction,” “Children and the Past” and “Glory and Grief” (Kumar 2001: 1-28 and 195-222)

Study Questions: What are the advantages of an official history? Why do people tend to accept such histories as the complete truth?

Thursday, March 4

12. The Creation of Bangladesh

Kennedy, “Conflict and Mediation,” “Policy Issues,” and “Problems and Prospects” (Oberst et al 2014: 203-242)

Dunbar, “Pakistan: The Failure of Political Negotiations” (Dunbar 1971: 444-461)

Jahan, “The Disintegration of Pakistan and the Birth of Bangladesh” (Jahan 1972: 185-204)

Nicholas and Oldenburg, “Introduction,” “The Agony of the Birth of Bangladesh,” “Geo-Political Background,” and “Language and Culture of Bangladesh” (Nicholas and Oldenburg 1972: 1-16)

Ahsan, Report to Chief Justice and Chairman of the Commission of Inquiry into the 1971 Civil War Hamoodur Rahman, January 24, 1972

Study Questions: Why did Yahya Khan refuse to open the National Assembly? What does the episode indicate about nationalism and citizenship as causes for country breaking apart?

Note: The mid-term paper proposal is due by 4.00 pm, on Friday, March 5.

Please send an electronic copy to me as an email attachment in .doc format and post to the Sakai course conference. Please read and make helpful suggestions on others' projects.

Note: The mid-term paper is due by 4.00 pm on Friday, March 12.

Monday, March 8

13. Roundtable Discussion Three: The Creation of Bangladesh

Syed Ahsan, Admiral and Deputy Martial Law Administrator; Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Pakistan Peoples' Party leader; Indira Gandhi, Indian National Congress leader and Indian Prime Minister; Mujibur Rehman, Awami League leader; and Yahya Khan, Air Marshall and Marital Law Administrator. The five discuss terms (on February 15, 1971) for the opening of the Pakistani National Assembly.

For reference material, please see "Sources for Roundtable on Creation of Bangladesh."

Tuesday, March 9

14. The Break-up of Pakistan

Ahsan, "Report to Chief Justice and Chairman of the Commission of Inquiry into the 1971 Civil War Hamoodur Rahman, January 24, 1972"

Study Questions: What was the irreversible moment in the break-up of Pakistan? At what point, with what decision might the country have held together?

Wednesday, March 10

15. National Identity in Contemporary Bangladesh

Chakma, "The Post-Colonial State and Minority Ethnocide in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, Bangladesh," (Chakma 2010: 281-300)

Study Questions: Why is a homogenous identity being enforced in Bangladesh? Who is doing the enforcement on indigenous people in Bangladesh?

Thursday, March 11

16. Ceylon: 'The Model Colony'

de Silva, "The Model Colony': Reflections on the Transfer of Power in Sri Lanka" (Wilson and Dalton 1982: 77-88)

Wilson, "Abbreviations," "The Leading Actors," Maps," and "The Origins of the Unitary State" (Wilson 1988: x-xvi and 1-24)

DeVotta, "The Official Language Act of 1956" (DeVotta 2004: 73-91)

Oberst et al, "Political Culture and Heritage," "Government Structure," "Political Parties and Interest Groups," and "Conflict Mediation" (Oberst et al 2014: 331-381)

Study Questions: What was implied in the reference to Ceylon as a "model colony"? What were the political factors that allowed the ethnic harmony implied in 'the Model Colony' to break down?

Note: The mid-term paper is due by 4.00 pm on Friday, March 12.

Monday, March 15

17. Roundtable Discussion Four: The End of the 'Model Colony'

In Colombo in June 1956, four of the country's political leaders bump into one another on the Galle Face Green - looking west into the Indian Ocean - and discuss Ceylon's language policy. This is before the Bandaranaike-Chelvanayakam Pact is signed. The four leaders are S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, Prime Minister of Ceylon and President of the Mahajana Eksath Peramuna; S. J. V. Chelvanayakam, President of Federal Party; J. R. Jayawardene, United National Party Minister of Parliament; G. G. Ponnambalam, President of Tamil Congress; and President of the Ceylon Workers Congress, Savumiamoorthy Thondaman. The five meet again at the end of 1957, after the Pact falls apart, for a second discussion.

Tuesday, March 16

18. Nationalism in India

Kapur and Malik, "Political Culture and Heritage," "State Institutions and Changing Political Dynamics," and "Political Parties and Political Leaders" (in Oberst et al 2014: 13-114)

Singh, *The End of India*, (Singh 2003)

Habib, "Nationalism in India: Past and Present" (Habib 2017: 3-8)

Study Questions: What are the dominant interpretations of secularism in India? What is the relationship between Nehruvian secularism and Indian nationalism?

3. Nationality and Citizenship

Wednesday, March 17

19. India's Uniform Civil Code

Reddy, "What Would Your Founding Fathers Think? What India's Constitution Says – And What Framers Would Say – About the Current Debate over a Uniform Civil Code" (Reddy 2009: 405-431)

Menon, "A Uniform Civil Code in India: The State of the Debate in 2014" (2014: 480-486)

Study questions: Why does India not have the same family and property laws for citizens regardless of religion?

Note: Final paper proposals are due by 4.00 pm on Friday, March 19.

Please send an electronic copy to me as an email attachment in .doc format and post to the Sakai course conference. Please read and make helpful suggestions on others' projects.

Thursday, March 18

20. Citizenship in India: The Citizenship (Amendment) Bill of 2016

Jayal, "Legal Citizenship and the Long Shadow of the Partition" (2013: 51-81)

Manor, "Who Is a Citizen? A Multidimensional Question" (2013: 107-120)

PRS Legislative Research, "The Citizenship (Amendment) Bill of 2016" (here)

Study Questions: In what ways can citizenship be defined legally such that its effect is to win elections? In what ways can citizenship be defined legally such that its effect is to prohibit discrimination? What power must a constitution give to a judiciary if it is to prevent discrimination as a matter of public policy in a country with an electoral regime?

Monday, March 22

21. Roundtable Discussion Five: Citizenship in India

Leadership of nine political parties – the Bharatiya Janata Party, Shiv Sena, Indian National Congress, All India Trinamool Congress, Communist Party of India–Marxist, Communist Party of India, Bahujan Samaj Party, Biju Janta Dal, and Asom Gana Parishad – discuss the Citizenship (Amendment) Bill of 2016.

Tuesday, March 23

22. National Identity in Myanmar

Orwell, *On Shooting an Elephant* (Orwell 1936)

Constitution of Myanmar, available here

Cheesman, "How in Myanmar 'National Races' Came to Surpass Citizenship and Exclude Rohingya" (Cheesman 2014: 461-483)

Recommended: Orwell, *Burmese Days* (Orwell 1934)

Study Questions: What is the origin of the sense expressed in the Constitution of Myanmar that people "lost their sovereignty"? Why do the national races exclude the Rohingya?

Wednesday, March 24

23. Roundtable Discussion Six: Rohingya

Min Aung Hlaing, Chairman of the State Administrative Council and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Services of Myanmar; Aung San Suu Kyi, former State Counselor of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar; U Win Myint, former President of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar; U Hau Do Suan, Permanent Representative of Myanmar to the United Nations; Sheikh Hasina, Prime Minister of the Peoples Republic of Bangladesh; Peter Maurer, President of the International Committee of the Red Cross; Atallah Abu Ammar Jununi, Commander of the Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army; and the late Kofi Annan, former Secretary General of the United Nations (9) discuss how to resolve the Rohingya Crisis (i.e., discuss how to treat 1.6 million Rohingya people, most of them in refugee in Bangladesh).

Thursday, March 25

24. Global Citizens and Internationalism

Read at least two of the following

Chatterji, "South Asian Histories of Citizenship: 1946-1970"
(Chatterji 2012: 1049-1071)

Weiner, "Rejected Peoples and Unwanted Migrants in South Asia"
(Weiner 1993: 1737-1746)

Kumar, "Citizenship and the Remains of Partition(s) in South Asia Unauthorized Migrants across India's Eastern Borders," (Kumar 2019: 50-65)

Rajagopalan, "Of Insiders, Outsiders, and Infiltrators: The Politics of Citizenship and Inclusion in Contemporary South Asia" (Rajagopalan 2018: 101-121)

Study questions: What in your view – given what you have read and heard and considered this term – are the requirements for a harmonious citizenry? Does political identity require ethnicity and nationalism? Are elections and distrust of fellow citizens comparable? Is the loyalty demanded by monarchies good for social harmony?

Note: The final paper is due by 4.00 pm on Saturday, April 3.

Monday, March 29

25. Reflection and Review Class

Tuesday, March 30

26. End of Term Examination

References

Included here are full references to course reading as well as to other works that may be useful for final papers and roundtable discussions.

- Albinia, Alice, *Empires of the Indus: The Story of a River*, New York: W. W. Norton, 2008.
- Altaf, Samia, "Pakistan Picaresque," *The Wilson Quarterly*, (Winter 2008) 14-21.
- Baxter, Craig, *Bangladesh: From a Nation to a State*, Boulder: Westview, 1997.
- Bhattacharai, Baburam, *Monarchy vs. Democracy: The Epic Fight in Nepal*, New Delhi: Samkaleen Teesari Duniya, 2005.
- Candland, Christopher, "Institutional Impediments to Human Development in Pakistan," in Amita Shastri and A. Jeyaratnam Wilson, eds., *The Post-Colonial States of South Asia: Democracy, Development, and Identity*, London: Curzon Press, 2001.
- Candland, Christopher, *Labor, Development, and Democratization in India and Pakistan*, Abingdon: Routledge, 2007.
- Chakma, Bhumitra, "The Post-Colonial State and Minority Ethnocide in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, Bangladesh," *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, 48: 3, (July 2010), 281-300.
- Chakravarty, Sudeep, *Red Sun: Travels in Naxalite Country*, New Delhi: Viking, 2008.
- Chatterji, Joya, "South Asian Histories of Citizenship: 1946-1970" *The Historical Journal*, 55:4, 2012, 1049-1071.
- Cheesman, Nick, "How in Myanmar 'National Races' Came to Surpass Citizenship and Exclude Rohingya," *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 47: 3, (July 2017) 461-483.
- Cohen, Stephen, *The Idea of Pakistan*, Washington DC: Brookings, 2004.
- Cohen, Stephen, *The Indian Army*, Berkeley: University of California, 1987.
- Cohen, Stephen, *The Pakistan Army*, Berkeley: University of California, 1984.
- DeVotta, Neil, *Blowback: Linguistic Nationalism, Institutional Decay, and Ethnic Conflict in Sri Lanka*, Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2004.
- Drèze, Jean, and Amartya Sen, *An Uncertain Glory: India and Its Contradictions*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013.
- Embree, Ainslie, Stephen Hay, and Theodore de Bary, eds., *The Sources of Indian Tradition: Modern India and Pakistan*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1988, (1958).
- Fernando, Jude, and Alan Heston, eds., "Nongovernmental Organizations, Micro-Credit and Empowerment," *The Role of NGOs: Charity and Empowerment*, The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 554, Thousand Oaks: Sage Periodical Press, November 1997, 150-177.
- Franke, Richard, and Barbara Chasin, *Kerala: Radical Reform as Development in an Indian State*, San Francisco: Food First, 1989.
- Gadgil, Madhav, and Ramachandran Guha, *This Fissured Land*, New Delhi: Oxford, 1993.
- Galanter, Marc, "Compartmental Society" in *Competing Inequalities: Law and the Backward Classes in India* Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1984, 7-17.
- Guha, Ramachandran, *India After Gandhi: The History of the World's Largest Democracy*, New Delhi: Picador, 2007.
- Habib, Irfan, "Nationalism in India: Past and Present." *Social Scientist* 45: 3&4, (2017) 3-8
- Haq, Kadija ul, "Human Development Challenges in South Asia," *Journal of Human Development*, 1: 1, (2000), 71-82.

- Haq, Khadija ul, et al, *Human Development in South Asia 2005*, Mahbub ul Haq Human Development Centre, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Hardgrave, Robert, and Stanley Kochanek, "Indian Politics on the Internet: A Resource Guide," *Education about Asia*, 4: 2, (Fall 1999), 40-43.
- Hussain, Sabiha. "A Socio-Historical and Political Discourse on the Rights of Muslim Women: Concerns for Women's Rights or Community Identity (Special Reference to 1937 and 1939 Acts)" *Journal of International Women's Studies*, 16: 2, (2015). 1-14.
- Hutchins, Frank, *Democratizing Monarch: A Memoir of Nepal's King Birendra*, Kathmandu: Vajra Publications, 2007.
- Hutt, Michael, "Monarchy and Democracy: Can They Coexist?" *Asian Survey*, 46:1, (January/February 2005), 120-124.
- International Crisis Group, "Nepal's Political Rites of Passage," Brussels: International Crisis Group 2010.
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- Jalal, Ayesha, *Democracy and Authoritarianism in South Asia: A Comparative and Historical Perspective*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
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- Jalal, Ayesha, *The State of Martial Law: The Origins of Pakistan's Political Economy of Defence*, New York: Oxford, 1990.
- Jayal, Niraja Gopal, "Legal Citizenship and the Long Shadow of the Partition" in *Citizenship and Its Discontents: A Indian History*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013, 51-81.
- Khan, Mohammad Ashgar, ed., *Islam, Politics, and the State*, London: Zed Books, 1985.
- Kohli, Atul, ed., *India's Democracy: An Analysis of Changing State-Society Relations*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990.
- Koirala, Girija Prasad, *Simple Convictions: My Struggle for Peace and Democracy*, Kathmandu: Mandala Book Point, 2007.
- Krishna Anirudh, "Poverty Knowledge and Poverty Action in India" in Akhil Gupta and K. Sivaramakrishnan, eds., *The State in India After Liberalization: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), 111-132.
- Kumar, Krishan, *Prejudice and Pride: School Histories of the Freedom Struggle in India and Pakistan*, New Delhi: Penguin, 2001.
- Kumar, Priya, "Citizenship and the Remains of Partition(s) in South Asia Unauthorized Migrants across India's Eastern Borders," *Departures in Critical Qualitative Research*, 8:1, 2019, 50-65.,
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Strategy for Your Papers

Please use this five-staged approach to plan and write your papers.

1. Articulate a question.

The most crucial and most difficult task in designing a good paper is posing a productive question. Take some time to figure out what is most puzzling or most unsatisfying about what you have read and learned in the study of the politics of South Asia. It is not useful to pose a question the answer to which is presentation of information alone. A fruitful question is often posed as a puzzle; and a successful paper resolves that puzzle or presents a new way of looking at things. Perhaps the literature, or common sense, makes a phenomenon puzzling and in need of a novel explanation.

2. Explain briefly why that question is important to study of the politics of South Asia.

Explain why the question or puzzle demands an answer.

3. Defend briefly a strategy for addressing that question.

Different questions demand different methodological approaches. A single case study can answer some questions. Others require explicit comparative analysis. Some questions require interpretive approaches; others statistical analysis. (For discussion of methodological approaches, see Charles Ragin, *The Comparative Method: Moving Beyond Qualitative and Quantitative Strategies*.)

Explain briefly what your approach can deliver. (e.g., "Comparing Kerala's policies and performance in reducing fertility rates to those of China allows for an assessment as to whether nongovernmental public action is required for effective family planning.")

4. Apply that strategy.

Most of your paper should be devoted to analysis. Having done the difficult work of framing the paper with a question and devising a strategy for addressing that question, the analytical steps should be clear.

5. Draw conclusions.

In your conclusion, state forcefully what you established. Avoid the temptations to make policy recommendations, to speculate on the future, or to introduce some last minute variable that explains everything.

Writing Suggestions for Your Papers

Focus. A narrower argument is usually more defensible and more interesting. Be succinct. It's a requirement. (The text of your final paper – not including endnotes and bibliography – must be at or under the word count limit.) As you prepare your final draft, eliminate nonessential material. Papers may be shorter than the word limit. Many excellent papers are. At the end of the paper, give a word count.

In your introduction, state your question and your approach and state your argument. Use topic sentences. The contribution of each paragraph should be clear from its first sentence. Avoid lists, worn-out metaphors, and contractions. Give phrases and the acronym for these phrases in parentheses (e.g., non-governmental organizations (NGOs)) before using an acronym alone. Capitalize acronyms. But do not capitalize common nouns.

Avoid first person claims. A sentence such as "I believe that a theory of group violence requires attention to gender" leads the reader to divide attention between the authority of the writer and the truth of the claim being advanced. ("Hmm...? That's an interesting claim. But I wonder how she came to believe that.") Stating a claim directly usually gives it more credibility. (e.g., "A theory of group violence requires attention to gender.")

Distinguish between countries, states, political regimes, governments, and nations and be clear about the concept to which you refer. Do not use country names as substitutes for states, political regimes, governments, or nations. The claim that "India has used preferential policies to combat caste discrimination" may refer to the administrative apparatus (i.e., the state), to the particular system of recruitment into that apparatus (i.e., the political regime), or to a government (i.e., the people who manage the state). Do not conflate nations and states. A nation is conceived as a community that believes it is united by a collective identity, perhaps by citizenship, culture, ethnicity, history, language, religion, territory, or some mixture of these. A "nation-state," wherein the borders of national identity and state authority coincide perfectly, is a compelling notion and often used to legitimate government, but is very rare, arguably non-existent. Keep in mind that states, countries, and regimes, being inanimate, are not actors. Thus, the notion of a non-state actor is an unnecessary redundancy. All actors, including governments, are non-state.

My recommendation is for Chicago Turabian Humanities format for reference citation format, but any format consistently used is acceptable. I would like footnotes with full citations rather than endnotes; and do please provide a bibliography.

Double-space; do not use one and one half-space formatting. Paginate.

Check your grammar; edit thoroughly; proof read carefully.