

University of Toronto
Department of Political Science

POL328H1F
Politics and Government in South Asia:
Agrarian Change, Rural Politics, Peasant Movements

L0101 TR 4–6
SS 1072

Instructor: Noaman G. Ali
Contact: noaman.ali@utoronto.ca
Office hours and location: W 3:30–4:30, SS 3118

Course Description:

Despite the emergence of India as a world power and measured optimism about democracy and development in other South Asian countries, the Indian sub-continent remains, according to the World Bank, “home to the largest concentration of people living in debilitating poverty and social deprivation on planet Earth.” Most of the poor live in rural areas, where activities related to agriculture continue to be among the most important means of livelihood, and power relations can be complex, variegated and frequently brutal. Although urban economies and politics are becoming increasingly important, and resultantly receiving greater media and scholarly attention, they are important as they interact with rural politics.

This course examines how scholars have understood the relationship between the dynamics of producing and reproducing lives and livelihoods in rural spaces—agrarian change—and political dynamics in the region over the past century. Rural politics continue to form the bedrock of political and economic power in South Asia and many other parts of the Third World—and not only because the majority of people live there. Meanwhile rural-based movements pose considerable challenges to the political and economic *status quo* and stability, mobilizing various groups along lines of religious identity, ethnicity, class and gender. Insurgent movements like the erstwhile Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, the Taliban of Pakistan and the Maoists of India, which supposedly constitute the “greatest internal security threat” to their respective countries, were or are arguably rooted in the political and economic dynamics of rural areas.

The course will familiarize students with substantive issues and important theoretical debates in the region and in the fields of peasant studies and agrarian change. Students will develop an appreciation for the complex ways in which the continuous and changing interaction of market forces and rural livelihoods have impacted political dynamics in South Asia at large. Lectures and class discussion will provide broader understandings of political dynamics and a comparative angle. The course will focus mainly on India and Pakistan, but Nepal, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh will be examined where relevant.

Objectives:

- To gain an empirical understanding of historical and contemporary political economy in South Asia;
- To gain a critical, comparative awareness of scholarly literature on South Asia;
- To gain an understanding of the relationships between economic development, social changes and political dynamics; and,
- To gain a comparative understanding of the dilemmas of democracy and development in South Asia.

Structure:

The course is divided into three broadly chronological sections. The first section focuses on the historical legacies of colonialism on agrarian political economy, and the ways in which nationalist movements negotiated rural aspirations. The second section examines the continuities and changes from colonial rule, as post-colonial regimes sought to maintain political power while managing popular pressures and boost economic productivity. The third section examines contemporary issues as agriculture in South Asia faces crisis and rural livelihoods are increasingly diversified, demonstrating how new political strategies and movements respond to or emerge from the intersections of longstanding problems and changing political economic dynamics.

Assessment:

Assignment	Value	Due Date	Place	Length
Pop Quiz × 3	30% = 10% × 3		Classroom	1-2 pages, double-spaced
Research Paper Proposal/Outline	15%	May 24, 2016	Classroom	5 pages, double-spaced
Final Research Paper	35%	June 16, 2016	Classroom	10 pages, double-spaced
Participation	20%		Classroom	Based on quality

All papers **must be typed** in Times New Roman font, 12-point size, with 1-inch margins on each size. Any paper that deviates from these standards will have **5% deducted** from the assignment grade.

Students are strongly advised to keep rough and draft work and hard copies of their papers **before handing in to the Instructor/Department**. Papers should be kept until the marked papers have been returned to you and the grades are posted on ACORN.

Assessment details:

- **Pop quiz × 3 (10% × 3 = 30%).** There will be a pop quiz **at the beginning** of three classes (not including the first class), each worth 10% of the final grade. Pop quizzes encourage recall skills and help in retaining information. Each quiz will ask you to define a key concept (or concepts) in the **required reading(s)** for that class and to briefly explain the concept's relevance to the study of agrarian change and rural politics. The

response will be written on 1-2 pages, double-spaced.

- **Research paper proposal/outline (15%). *Due May 24, Session 5.*** This paper should be **5 pages, double-spaced at most, and should not be in point form.** The purpose of this assignment is to ensure that you comprehend some of the major themes of the course and that you are able to begin to intervene in scholarly debates. It is also to receive feedback and suggestions for completion of the research paper itself. A list of topics will be posted on Blackboard in the first week of class. You may choose your own topic in consultation with me. The research paper proposal should comprise:

Introduction (maximum 1 page)

- Identify the paper's topic.
- The thesis statement. The thesis statement is the answer to the essay question. A good thesis statement answers the question *why*; that is, it gives a causal explanation for a phenomenon and describes a causal mechanism.
- A 100-150 word abstract or roadmap of your argument, that is, the major points that you will use to support your thesis statement.

Literature review (1.5-2 pages)

- A critical review of the work of other scholars. This means identifying a major debate concerning the essay topic. What are the major sides in explaining the phenomenon you are studying? For example, do scholars tend to attribute an insurgency primarily to ideological/cultural factors, or to political/economic factors? What are the kinds of evidence that scholars use to back up such explanations?

Argument outline (2-3 pages)

- An outline of your own argument, indicating how it will intervene in the scholarly debates. Basically, which side does your argument agree with, and more importantly, why? Each major point of your argument should have its own paragraph. Each paragraph should begin with a topic sentence indicating the main idea represented in that paragraph. The paragraph should end by explicitly connecting its contents to the thesis statement. What is important in each paragraph is that the *logic* of your argument, how each paragraph connects to the next and back to the thesis statement, should be clear.

Conclusion (maximum half a page)

- The conclusion should clearly spell out how your argument outline has proved the thesis statement.

You must show evidence of research beyond the required readings listed on the syllabus, and all sources used must be from peer-reviewed, academic publications. Some evidence or details can be taken from reputable print newspapers (e.g., details of land acquisitions or of insurgent activities.)

SUBMISSION: A soft copy of the proposal/outline must be sent to me as an e-mail attachment before 12PM on Tuesday, May 24, 2016, and an identical hard copy must be submitted in class. The printed copy has to be submitted in class at or before 4:10PM.

- **Final research paper (35%). *Due June 16, Session 12, do not skip this class or come***

late. The research paper should be **no longer than 10 pages** in length, double-spaced. It should be a polished and expanded research paper carrying on from the research paper proposal and outline. The paper should clearly position itself within the themes and problems discussed in the course and provide a well-substantiated and well-written argument about the matters at hand.

SUBMISSION: A soft copy of the final research paper must be sent to me as an e-mail attachment before 12PM on Thursday, June 16, 2016, and an identical hard copy must be submitted in class. The printed copy has to be submitted in class at or before 4:10PM.

Late papers: Papers handed in after 6:00PM on the due date will be subject to a **3% penalty deducted** from the assignment grade. Penalty for late submission of assignments after the due date is **5% deducted** from the assignment grade for each day, including weekends. No papers will be accepted 7 days after the due date. Requests for extensions must be submitted to me in writing, and will only be granted on unavoidable and justifiable grounds (e.g., serious illness).

- **Participation (20%).** Participation is divided into attendance (10%) and discussion (10%). I will take attendance in each class. Attendance is mandatory: students may miss up to two class sessions out of 12 to qualify for the full 10%. Missing three or more classes will result in losing all 10%. Similarly, contributing to the class discussion is mandatory, and is not optional. Students are responsible for all material covered in required readings and lecture. Discussions will encourage you to share your ideas, examine them, pose questions, assess course readings, and learn effective listening. Your informed and respectful engagement with your peers on the themes of the course and the required readings requires prior preparation. You will be graded on the basis of the quality of your contributions, and not on the quantity.

Plagiarism:

Plagiarism is a serious academic offence and will be dealt with accordingly. For further clarification and information on plagiarism see *Writing at the University of Toronto*: <http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources>

Accessibility:

The University of Toronto is committed to accessibility. If you require accommodations for a disability, or have any accessibility concerns about the course, the classroom or course materials, please contact Accessibility Services as soon as possible: disability.services@utoronto.ca or <http://studentlife.utoronto.ca/accessibility>.

Blackboard:

All students must have an active UofT e-mail address. All important information relating to the course will be communicated electronically through Blackboard and in class. It is your responsibility to log on to Blackboard to obtain the posted information.

Reading Schedule:

Required readings (indicated by ☼) are listed immediately below the heading for the session. All required readings are journal articles or book chapters that can be accessed online through the University of Toronto Libraries catalogue/proxy service. You are not responsible for recommended readings; but they will add context to the required readings and may be useful resources in writing your research paper.

INTRODUCTION

1. May 10 – Agrarian change, the rural and politics in South Asia

- ☼ Alpa Shah and Barbara Harriss-White, 2011, “Resurrecting Scholarship on Agrarian Transformations,” *Economic and Political Weekly* 46 (39): **13-18**.
- ☼ Jens Lerche, Alpa Shah and Barbara Harriss-White, 2013, “Introduction: Agrarian Questions and Left Politics in India,” *Journal of Agrarian Change* 13 (3): **337-350**.

Recommended reading:

- Hamza Alavi, 1972, “The State in Post-Colonial Societies: Pakistan and Bangladesh,” *New Left Review* I (74): 59-81. (Read pp. 59-76.)
- Pranab Bardhan, 1984, “The Dominant Proprietary Classes,” Chapter 6 of *The Political Economy of Development in India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press. Pp. 40-53.

PART I: COLONIALISM AND ANTI-COLONIALISM

2. May 12 – Imperialism and the production of the agrarian

- ☼ Imran Ali, 1987, “Malign Growth? Agricultural Colonization and the Roots of Backwardness in the Punjab,” *Past & Present* (114): **110-132**.

Recommended reading:

- Aditya Mukherjee, 2010, “Empire: How Colonial India Made Modern Britain,” *Economic and Political Weekly*, XLV (50): 73-82.
- Irfan Habib, 1975, “Colonization of the Indian Economy, 1757-1900,” *Social Scientist*, 3 (8): 23-53.
- Neeladri Bhattacharya, 1992, “Colonial State and Agrarian Society,” in *The Making of Agrarian Policy in British India, 1770-1900*, ed. Burton Stein. New Delhi: Oxford University Press. Pp. 113–149.
- D.A. Washbrook, 1981, “Law, State and Agrarian Society in Colonial India,” *Modern Asian Studies* 15 (3): 649-721.

3. May 17 – Nationalisms and peasants: what kind of nation?

- ✪ Partha Chatterjee, 1986, “The Colonial State and Peasant Resistance in Bengal 1920-1947,” *Past & Present* (110): Read pages **173-204**.

Recommended reading:

- Kathleen Gough, 1974, “Indian Peasant Uprisings,” *Economic and Political Weekly* 9 (32/34): 1391-1412.
- Sumit Sarkar, 1982, “Popular Movements and National Leadership, 1945-47,” *Economic and Political Weekly* 17 (14/16): 677-689.
- Ranajit Guha, 1999 [1983], “Introduction” of *Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India*. Durham and London: Duke University Press. Pp. 1-18.
- John Roosa, 2001, “Passive Revolution meets Peasant Revolution: Indian Nationalism and the Telangana Revolt,” *Journal of Peasant Studies* 28 (4): 57-94.

PART II: INDEPENDENCE AND DEVELOPMENTALISM

4. May 19 – Land and power after independence: convergences and divergences between democracy and dictatorship

- ✪ Terence J. Byres, 1981, “The New Technology, Class Formation and Class Action in the Indian Countryside,” *Journal of Peasant Studies* 8 (4): Read pages **406-408** and **420-424**.
- ✪ Hamza Alavi, 1974, “Rural Bases of Political Power in South Asia,” *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 4 (4): **413-422**.

Recommended reading:

- P.C. Joshi, 1970, “Land Reform in India and Pakistan,” *Economic and Political Weekly* 5 (52): A145-A152.
- Saghir Ahmad, 1977, *Class and Power in a Punjabi Village*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Joseph Tharamangalam, 1981, *Agrarian Class Conflict: The Political Mobilization of Agricultural Labourers in Kuttanad, South India*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Ronald J. Herring, 1983, *Land to the Tiller: The Political Economy of Agrarian Reform in South Asia*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- Bina Agarwal, 1988, “Who Sows? Who Reaps? Women and Land Rights in India,” *Journal of Peasant Studies* 15 (4): 531-581.
- Mick Moore, 1989, “The Ideological History of the Sri Lankan ‘Peasantry,’” *Modern Asian Studies* 23 (1): 179-207.

5. May 24 – Green revolution: productivity and politics

★ *Research paper proposal/outline due*

- ✪ Terence J. Byres, 1981, “The New Technology, Class Formation and Class Action in the Indian Countryside,” *Journal of Peasant Studies* 8 (4). Read pages **409-411** (to understand the distinction between the two types of “new technology”) and **424-449**.

Recommended reading:

- Hamza Alavi, 1976, “The Rural Elite and Agricultural Development in Pakistan,” *Pakistan Economic and Social Review* 14 (1/4): 173-210.
- Miriam Sharma, 1985, “Caste, Class, and Gender: Production and Reproduction in North India,” *Journal of Peasant Studies* 12 (4): 57-88.
- B.H. Farmer, 1986, “Perspectives on the ‘Green Revolution’ in South Asia,” *Modern Asian Studies* 20 (1): 175-199.
- Raju J. Das, 1998, “The Green Revolution, Agrarian Productivity and Labor,” *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 22 (1): 122-135.
- Tarique Niazi, 2004, “Rural Poverty and the Green Revolution: The Lessons from Pakistan,” *Journal of Peasant Studies* 31 (2): 242-260.

6. May 26 – Peasant resistance and rebellion

- ✪ Gail Omvedt, 1978, “Women and Rural Revolt in India,” *Journal of Peasant Studies* 5 (3): **370-398**.

Recommended reading:

- Mohan Ram, 1972, “Five Years after Naxalbari,” *Economic and Political Weekly* 7 (31/33): 1471-1476.
- Afzal Bangash, 1972, “Class Struggle, Not a Tribal War,” *Pakistan Forum* 2 (9/10): 14-18.
- “Sarhad Peasants Under Attack,” 1972, *Pakistan Forum* 2 (9/10): 19-22.
- N. Subba Reddy, 1977, “Crisis of Confidence Among the Tribal People and the Naxalite Movement in Srikakulam District,” *Human Organization* 36 (2): 142-149
- Amitabha Chandra, 1990, “The Naxalbari Movement,” *Indian Journal of Political Science* 51 (1): 22-45.
- Paul Alexander, 1981, “Shared Fantasies and Elite Politics: The Sri Lankan ‘Insurrection’ of 1971,” *The Australian Journal of Anthropology* 13 (2): 113-132.
- Mick Moore, 1993, “Thoroughly Modern Revolutionaries: the JVP in Sri Lanka,” *Modern Asian Studies* 27 (3): 593-642.
- Bina Agarwal, 1994, “Gender, Resistance and Land: Interlinked Struggles Over Resources and Meanings in South Asia,” *Journal of Peasant Studies* 22 (1): 81-125.
- Mallarika Sinha Roy, 2011, *Gender and Radical Politics in India: Magic Moments of Naxalbari (1967–1975)*. Oxford and New York: Routledge.

7. May 31 – Populisms from above and from below: expanding or selective participation?

- ✪ Ronald J. Herring, 1979, “Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and the ‘Eradication of Feudalism’ in Pakistan,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 21 (4): 519-557.

Recommended reading:

- Newton Gunasinghe, 1982, “Land Reform, Class Structure and the State in Sri Lanka: 1970-1977,” Chapter 3 of *Rural Poverty and Agrarian Reform*, ed. Steve Jones et al. New Delhi: Allied Publishers Pvt. Ltd. Pp. 46-65.
- Ronald J. Herring, 1983, *Land to the Tiller: The Political Economy of Agrarian Reform in South Asia*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- Tom Brass, ed., 1994, *New Farmers’ Movements in India*, Special Issue of *Journal of Peasant Studies* 21 (3-4).
- Sucha Singh Gill, 1994, “The Farmers’ Movement and Agrarian Change in the Green Revolution Belt of North-West India,” *Journal of Peasant Studies* 21 (3-4): 195-211.
- Terence J. Byres, 1988, “Charan Singh, 1902-87: An Assessment,” *Journal of Peasant Studies* 15 (2): 139-189.
- Tom Brass, 1991, “Moral Economists, Subalterns, New Social Movements, and the (Re-) Emergence of a (Post-) Modernized (Middle) Peasant,” *Journal of Peasant Studies* 18 (2): 173-205.

PART III: CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

8. June 2 – Rural political economy and religious/ethnic mobilization

- ✪ Amita Shastri, 1990, “The Material Basis for Separatism: The Tamil Eelam Movement in Sri Lanka,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 49 (1): 56-77.

Recommended reading:

- Patrick Peebles, 1990, “Colonization and Ethnic Conflict in the Dry Zone of Sri Lanka,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 49 (1): 30-55.
- Zoya Hasan, 1994, “Shifting Ground: Hindutva Politics and the Farmers’ Movement in Uttar Pradesh,” *Journal of Peasant Studies* 21 (3-4): 165-194.
- Thomas Blom Hansen, 1996, “The Vernacularisation of Hindutva: The BJP and Shiv Sena in Rural Maharashtra,” *Contributions to Indian Sociology* 30 (2): 177-214.
- Magnus Marsden and Benjamin Hopkins, ed., 2012, *Beyond Swat: History, Society and Economy Along the Afghanistan-Pakistan Frontier*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Tahir Kamran, 2009, “Contextualizing Sectarian Militancy in Pakistan: A Case Study of Jhang,” *Journal of Islamic Studies* 20 (1): 55-85.
- Aasim Sajjad Akhtar, 2010, “Islam as Ideology of Tradition and Change: the ‘New Jihad’ in Swat, Northern Pakistan,” *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 30 (3): 595–609.

- Samanthi J. Gunawardana, 2013, “Rural Sinhalese Women, Nationalism and Narratives of Development in Sri Lanka’s Post-War Political Economy,” Chapter 4 of *The Global Political Economy of the Household in Asia*, ed. Juanite Elias and Samanthi J. Gunawardana. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. Pp. 59-74.
- A. Haroon Akram-Lodhi, 2016, “‘One Stone is Enough to Drive Away a Hundred Birds’: Peasants, Land and Resistance in Contemporary Afghanistan,” *Journal of Agrarian Change* 16 (1): 168-179.

9. June 7 – Neoliberalism and agrarian crisis

- ✪ Kathy Le Mons Walker, 2008, “Neoliberalism on the Ground in Rural India: Predatory Growth, Agrarian Crisis, Internal Colonization, and the Intensification of Class Struggle,” *Journal of Peasant Studies* 35 (4): Read pages 557-564 and 572-586.

Recommended reading:

- Saad Sarfraz Sheikh, 2015, “Cash Cows,” *Herald*.
<http://herald.dawn.com/news/1153231/cash-cows>
- Ronald J. Herring, 1987, “Economic Liberalisation Policies in Sri Lanka: International Pressures, Constraints and Supports,” *Economic and Political Weekly* 22 (8): 325-333.
- Utsa Patnaik, 2007, “Neoliberalism and Rural Poverty in India,” *Economic and Political Weekly* 42 (30): 3132-3150.
- Sukhpal Singh, 2000, “Contract Farming for Agricultural Diversification in the Indian Punjab: A Study of Performance and Problems,” *Indian Journal of Agricultural Economics* 55 (3): 283-294.
- Sukhpal Singh, 2002, “Contracting Out Solutions: Political Economy of Contract Farming in the Indian Punjab,” *World Development* 30 (9): 1621-1638.
- A. Haroon Akram-Lodhi, 2008, “Modernising Subordination? A South Asian Perspective on the *World Development Report 2008: Agriculture for Development*,” *Journal of Peasant Studies* 36 (3): 611-619.
- Katharine N. Rankin, 2001, “Governing Development: Neoliberalism, Microcredit, and Rational Economic Woman,” *Economy and Society* 30 (1): 18-37.
- Sabeel Rahman, 2006, “Development, Democracy and the NGO Sector: Theory and Evidence from Bangladesh,” *Journal of Developing Societies* 22 (4): 451-473.
- Lamia Karim, 2008, “Demystifying Micro-Credit: The Grameen Bank, NGOs, and Neoliberalism in Bangladesh,” *Cultural Dynamics* 20 (1): 5-29.
- P.D. Jeromi, 2007, “Farmers’ Indebtedness and Suicides: Impact of Agricultural Trade Liberalisation in Kerala,” *Economic and Political Weekly* 42 (31): 3241-3247.
- Gerry Rodgers and Janine Rodgers, 2001, “A Leap Across Time: When Semi-Feudalism Met the Market in Rural Purnia,” *Economic and Political Weekly* 36 (22): 1976-1983.

- Kristoffel Lieten and Jan Breman, 2002, “A Pro-Poor Development Project in Rural Pakistan: An Academic Analysis and a Non-Intervention,” *Journal of Agrarian Change* 2 (3): 331-355.
- Nina Gera, 2004, “Food Security under Structural Adjustment in Pakistan,” *Asian Survey* 44 (3): 353-368.
- Mohammed Nuruzzaman, 2007, “Neoliberal Economic Reforms, the Rich and the Poor in Bangladesh,” *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 34 (1): 33-54.
- Jan Breman, 2007, *The Poverty Regime in Village India: Half a Century of Work and Life at the Bottom of the Rural Economy*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

10. June 9 – Peasant rebellion redux

- ★ Rita Manchanda, 2004, “Maoist Insurgency in Nepal: Radicalizing Gendered Narratives,” *Cultural Dynamics* 16 (2-3): 237-258.

Recommended reading:

- Richard Bownas, 2003, “The Nepalese Maoist Movement in Comparative Perspective: Learning from the History of Naxalism in India,” *Himalaya* 23 (1): 31-38.
- Aasim Sajjad Akhtar, 2006, “The State as Landlord in Pakistani Punjab: Peasant Struggles on the Okara Military Farms,” *Journal of Peasant Studies* 33 (3): 479-501.
- Alpa Shah, 2006, “Markets of Protection: The ‘Terrorist’ Maoist Movement and the State in Jharkhand, India,” *Critique of Anthropology* 26 (3): 297-314.
- Kaustav Banerjee and Partha Saha, 2010, “The NREGA, the Maoists and the Developmental Woes of the Indian State,” *Economic and Political Weekly* 45 (28): 42-48.
- Jonathan Kennedy and Sunil Purushotham, 2012, “Beyond Naxalbari: A Comparative Analysis of Maoist Insurgency and Counterinsurgency in Independent India,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 54 (4): 832-862.
- Deepankar Basu and Debarshi Das, 2013, “The Maoist Movement in India: Some Political Economy Considerations,” *Journal of Agrarian Change* 13 (3): 365-381.
- Alpa Shah, 2013, “The Tensions over Liberal Citizenship in a Marxist Revolutionary Situation: The Maoists in India,” *Critique of Anthropology* 33 (1): 91-109.
- Alpa Shah, 2013, “The Agrarian Question in a Maoist Guerrilla Zone: Land, Labour and Capital in the Forests and Hills of Jharkhand, India,” *Journal of Agrarian Change* 13 (3): 424-450.
- Swati Parasar, 2013, “Armed Resistance, Economic (In)Security and the Household: A Case Study of the Maoist Insurgency in India,” Chapter 4 of *The Global Political Economy of the Household in Asia*, ed. Juanite Elias and Samantha J. Gunawardana. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. Pp. 43-58.
- Film: Sanjay Kak, 2013, *Red Ant Dream*.

- Jonathan Kennedy, 2014, “Gangsters or Gandhians? The Political Sociology of the Maoist Insurgency in India,” *India Review* 13 (3): 212-234.

11. June 14 – Farm and/or/nor factory

- ☛ Jens Lerche, 2010, “From ‘Rural Labour’ to ‘Classes of Labour’: Class Fragmentation, Caste and Class Struggle at the Bottom of the Indian Labour Hierarchy,” Chapter 4 of *The Comparative Political Economy of Development*, ed. Barbara Harriss-White and Judith Heyer. London and New York: Routledge. **Pp. 64-85.**

Recommended reading:

- Amit Basole and Deepankar Basu, 2011, “Relations of Production and Modes of Surplus Extraction in India: Part I – Agriculture,” *Economic and Political Weekly* 46 (14): 41-58.
- Amit Basole and Deepankar Basu, 2011, “Relations of Production and Modes of Surplus Extraction in India: Part II – ‘Informal’ Industry,” *Economic and Political Weekly* 46 (15): 63-79.
- Sylvia Chant, 1998, “Households, Gender and Rural-Urban Migration: Reflections on Linkages and Considerations for Policy,” *Environment & Urbanization* 10 (1): 5-22.
- Richard H. Adams, Jr., 1998, “Remittances, Investment, and Rural Asset Accumulation in Pakistan,” *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 47 (1): 155-173.
- Randall Kuhn, 2003, “Identities in Motion: Social Exchange Networks and Rural-Urban Migration in Bangladesh,” *Contributions to Indian Sociology* 37 (1-2): 311-337.
- Haris Gazdar and Hussain Bux Mullah, 2013, “Informality and Political Violence in Karachi,” *Urban Studies* 50 (15): 3099-3115.
- G.M. Arif et al., 2000, “Rural Non-agriculture Employment and Poverty in Pakistan,” *Pakistan Development Review* 39 (4): 1089-1110.
- Shapan Adnan, 2013, “Land Grabs and Primitive Accumulation in Deltaic Bangladesh: Interactions Between Neoliberal Globalization, State Interventions, Power Relations and Peasant Resistance,” *Journal of Peasant Studies* 40 (1): 87-128.
- Sanjoy Chakravorty, 2013, *The Price of Land: Acquisition, Conflict, Consequence*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. [Available online.]
- Fahim Zaman and Naziha Syed Ali, 2016, “Bahria Town Karachi: Greed Unlimited,” *Dawn*. <http://www.dawn.com/news/1252809/bahria-town-karachi-greed-unlimited>

12. June 16 – *Plus ça change?*

★ *Final research paper due*

- ✪ Hassan Javid, 2011, “Class, Power, and Patronage: Landowners and Politics in Punjab,” *History and Anthropology* 22 (3): Read pages 337-339, 343-350, and 357-365.

Recommended reading:

- Jonathan Pattenden, 2011, “Gatekeeping as Accumulation and Domination: Decentralization and Class Relations in Rural South India,” *Journal of Agrarian Change* 11 (2): 164-194.
- John Harriss, 2013, “Does ‘Landlordism’ Still Matter? Reflections on Agrarian Change in India,” *Journal of Agrarian Change* 13 (3): 351-364.
- Craig Jeffrey and Jens Lerche, 2000, “Stating the Difference: State, Discourse and Class Reproduction in Uttar Pradesh, India,” *Development and Change* 31 (4): 857-878.
- Nicolas Martin, 2014, “The Dark Side of Political Society: Patronage and the Reproduction of Social Inequality,” *Journal of Agrarian Change* 14 (3): 419-434.
- Talat Anwar et al., 2004, “Landlessness and Rural Poverty in Pakistan,” *Pakistan Development Review* 43 (4): 855-874.
- Raju J. Das, 2007, “Looking, But Not Seeing: The State and/as Class in Rural India,” *Journal of Peasant Studies* 34(3-4): 408-440.
- D. Bandyopadhyaya, 2008, “Does Land Still Matter?” *Economic and Political Weekly* 43 (10): 37-42.
- Haris Gazdar, 2011, “The Fourth Round, and Why They Fight On: the History of Land Reform in Pakistan,” in *Leveling the Playing Field: A Survey of Pakistan’s Land Reforms*. Kathmandu: Panos South Asia. Pp. 8-65. [Available online.]
- Fraser Sudgen, 2013, “Pre-capitalist Reproduction on the Nepal Tarai: Semi-feudal Agriculture in an Era of Globalisation,” *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 43 (3): 519-545.