

POL 328H1F

Politics and Government in South Asia

Time: Thursdays 2-4pm
Location: UC179

Instructor: Professor Kanta Murali
Office hours: Thursdays 11am-1pm or by appointment
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Themes

This course is designed to introduce students to politics in South Asia in the period after independence from colonial rule. For the academic year 2016-17, this course will focus specifically on democracy and development in India. The themes discussed during the course will be those that are important to India as well as to a general study of politics in developing countries. Topics include colonial legacies, state and nation-building, democracy and democratic performance, state institutions, political parties, identity politics, class, ethnic violence and secessionist conflict, and the political economy of development. The course will begin with an overview of the colonial legacy and the historical process of political change in India. It will then be organized thematically. Prior background in South Asian politics and history is not required.

Readings

All readings are available electronically through Blackboard (portal.utoronto.ca) under the heading "Course Readings" either as links through the library's website or scanned copies. Where the reading is available as a link, the durable link is provided next to the item in the reading list. Those readings without links can be found as scanned copies under the "Course Readings" heading in Blackboard. All readings can also be located in various U of T libraries.

News Sources and Journals

It is highly recommended that you keep up with current affairs from India as a complement to the readings in the course. Being familiar with news and examples from the region will also help you formulate stronger arguments in your assignments. International news sources such as *BBC News*, *The Economist* and *The Financial Times* are very useful. A selection of English newspapers, magazines and electronic sources from India include *The Indian Express*, *The Hindu*, *The Telegraph*, *The Wire*, *Business Standard*, *Frontline*, *Outlook* and *Caravan*. *Economic and Political Weekly*, *Seminar India* and *Asian Survey* are useful scholarly sources that you can access through the library's website.

Course evaluation and requirements

Students are expected to attend lectures and complete assigned readings every week. Course evaluation will include a paper, a midterm test, and a final exam.

Midterm test (25% of final grade): In class on October 20th, 2016. The test will cover all material from week 1 to week 5 (including readings and lectures for week 5). The test is closed book and closed notes.

Paper (30% of final grade): Due at the start of class on November 17th, 2016. Topics will be posted on Blackboard.

Final Exam (45% of final grade): Will be held during the final exam period in December. The exam will focus on material covered in the entire term. The exam is closed book and closed notes.

Course policies and procedures

Contacting the instructor: Please feel free to stop by my office (SS 3043) during office hours. If you cannot make the weekly office hours, please email me to set up an alternative time. I will attempt to respond to all emails within 48 hours (excluding weekends and holidays). If you have questions on the material covered in the course, please come to my office hours or set up an appointment with me. Questions on material covered in lectures and readings cannot be adequately addressed via email and you should plan to meet me during office hours or by appointment in case of such queries.

Student email, Blackboard and course information: This course will use Blackboard. Important course information may also be sent occasionally via email. Please ensure you have a valid U of T email and that it is properly entered in the ROSI system. Important course information and question topics for papers will be posted electronically. It is your responsibility to log on to Blackboard regularly and obtain relevant information. To login, please go to: portal.utoronto.ca

Format of papers: Papers should be typed in 12 point font, double-spaced with proper margins and page numbers. Please staple your papers securely and include a signed copy of the Academic Integrity Checklist (see pg.3 of syllabus). Papers exceeding stated page limits may be penalized.

Procedures to hand in papers: Hard copies, including a signed and printed Academic Integrity Checklist statement (see pg. 3 of syllabus), should be handed in to me **at the start of lecture on November 17th, 2016.** Emailed or faxed papers will not be accepted without my prior approval.

Procedures to hand in *late* papers: Late papers must be turned in to the Political Science department office on the 3rd floor of Sidney Smith during regular business hours. Students should make sure that late submissions are signed and dated by departmental staff. Please do not leave papers under/outside my office door. Only hard copies of late papers, including a signed and printed Academic Integrity Checklist statement will be accepted.

Rough drafts and hard copies of papers: Students are strongly advised to keep rough/ draft work and hard copies of their papers before handing it in. These should be kept until marked papers have been returned and the grades posted on ROSI.

Turnitin: Normally, students will be required to submit their course essays to Turnitin.com for a review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. In doing so, students will allow their essays to be included as source documents in the Turnitin.com reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University's use of the Turnitin.com service are described on the Turnitin.com web site. The use of Turnitin is voluntary. Should you choose not to turn in your papers to Turnitin, please speak to me about alternate procedures. Typically these will involve turning in all notes and rough drafts in addition to the final paper.

Late penalty: Papers handed in any time after the start of lecture on the due date will be treated as late. There will be a penalty of 4% per each late day or fraction of a day for late papers (including weekends

and holidays). Papers received after the start of lecture but before 5pm on the due date will be subject to a penalty of 2%. The cut off time for the determination of each late day is 5pm.

Extensions for papers: Since the due date for the paper is on the syllabus, I am unlikely to grant extensions. I will only consider extensions in extenuating circumstances that could not be anticipated ahead of time and with appropriate supporting documentation. Assignments in other courses are not grounds for an extension. If you have extenuating medical reasons for not meeting the paper deadline, an acceptable doctor's note on the official U of T Medical Note form must be submitted to me within two days of the late assignment. Please note all extensions are at my discretion and do not assume that you will be given one.

Missed midterm test and make-up: Barring extenuating circumstances, which could not be anticipated ahead of time, students missing the midterm will receive a 0. If you miss the midterm test due to extenuating circumstances, it is your responsibility to contact me within **two days** of the missed test. Make-up tests are solely at my discretion and please do not assume you will be granted one. Appropriate supporting documentation is required to grant a make-up test. Assignments in other courses are not grounds for a make-up test. If you have medical reasons for missing the test, an acceptable doctor's note on the official U of T Medical Note form must be submitted to me within two days of the test. The form can be found at: <http://www.illnessverification.utoronto.ca>.

Missed final exam and make-up: The final exam is in the **exam period in December**. In case of a missed final exam, you are required to petition the registrar directly to get approval to write a deferred/special exam.

Academic Integrity and Plagiarism: Academic integrity is fundamental to learning and scholarship at the University of Toronto. Please familiarize yourself with the University of Toronto's *Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters* (<http://www.governingcouncil.utoronto.ca/policies/behaveac.htm>). It is the rule book for academic behaviour at the U of T, and you are expected to know the rules. Failure to understand what constitutes plagiarism and academic integrity at U of T will not be accepted as an excuse.

Potential offences include, but are not limited to:

Papers:

- Using someone else's ideas or words without appropriate acknowledgement.
- Copying material word-for-word from a source (including lecture and study group notes) and not placing the words within quotation marks.
- Submitting your own work in more than one course without the permission of the instructor.
- Making up sources or facts.
- Including references to sources that you did not use.
- Obtaining or providing unauthorized assistance on any assignment including
 - working in groups on assignments that are supposed to be individual work,
 - having someone rewrite or add material to your work while "editing".
- Lending your work to a classmate who submits it as his/her own without your permission.

Tests and exams:

- Using or possessing any unauthorized aid, including a cell phone.
- Looking at someone else's answers
- Letting someone else look at your answers.
- Misrepresenting your identity.
- Submitting an altered test for re-grading.

Misrepresentation:

- Falsifying or altering any documentation required by the University, including doctor's notes.
- Falsifying institutional documents or grades.

The University of Toronto treats cases of academic misconduct very seriously. The consequences for academic misconduct can be severe, including a failure in the course and a notation on your transcript. If you have any questions about what is or is not permitted in this course, please do not hesitate to contact me. For further information on appropriate research and citation methods and plagiarism, please see <http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources>. If you are experiencing personal challenges that are having an impact on your academic work in this course, please speak to me and seek the advice of your college registrar.

Academic Integrity Checklist: To remind you of the above expectations, and help you avoid accidental offences, I will ask you to include a signed Academic Integrity Checklist with your papers as well as your test and exam. For papers, you can access the Academic Integrity Checklist on Blackboard under "Assignments". If you do not include the Academic Integrity Checklist with your assignments, your work will not be graded.

Appealing grades: If you have concerns about your grades, please submit a written grade appeal to me **within a week** from when you received the grade. To submit a grade appeal, please email me a written statement (no more than 1 page) explaining why you believe your grade should be changed. Please note decisions on appeals are at my discretion. Once an appeal is submitted, I will examine the entire assignment again (and not specific questions/parts). **Please note that your grade may go down, go up or remain unchanged after this process.**

Accessibility: The University of Toronto is committed to accessibility. If you require accommodations or have accessibility concerns, please contact Accessibility Services as soon as possible at <http://www.accessibility.utoronto.ca/>.

Part I: Colonial legacies

Week 1 (September 15th): Introduction

- No assigned readings

Week 2 (September 22nd): Colonial legacies and the nationalist movement

- Bose, Sugata and Jalal, Ayesha. 2004. *Modern South Asia: History, Culture, Political economy* (2nd edition). New York: Routledge, Chapter 10 {pgs. 78-85, "High Noon of Colonialism, 1858-1914"}, Chapter 12 {"Colonialism Under Siege: State and Political Economy after World War 1", pgs. 102-108}, Chapter 13 {pgs. 109-119, "Gandhian Nationalism and Mass Politics in the 1920s"}, Chapter 15 {"Nationalism and Colonialism During World War II and its Aftermath: Economic Crisis and Political Confrontation", pgs. 128-134}, and Chapter 16 {pgs. 135-156, "The Partition of India and the Creation of Pakistan"}{<http://go.utlib.ca/cat/7997721>
- Mehta, Pratap Bhanu. 2003. "The Nationalist Movement." In *Understanding Contemporary India*, ed. S. Ganguly and N. DeVotta. Boulder, Colorado: Lynn Reiner. {pgs. 41-60}
- Butalia, Urvashi. 2000. *The Other Side of Silence: Voices from the Partition of India*. Durham: Duke University Press. Chapter 1 {"Beginnings", pgs. 1-20} and Chapter 2 {"Blood", pgs. 23-51} <http://go.utlib.ca/cat/8020343>

Part II: State Formation and Nation-Building

Week 3 (September 29th): Nehru's India (1947-1964) and the Indira Gandhi years (1966-1984)

Formation of Modern India – Nehru's India

- Corbridge, S, and J Harriss. 2000. *Reinventing India: Liberalisation, Hindu Nationalism and Popular Democracy*. Cambridge: Polity {Chapter 3, pgs. 43-66}
- Guha, Ramachandra. 2007. *India After Gandhi: The History of the World's Largest Democracy*. New York: Ecco. {"Ideas of India", pgs.115-134}
- Brass, Paul R. 1990. *The Politics of India Since Independence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. {"Language Problems", pgs. 158-174}

Political Change in India – the Indira Gandhi Years

- Corbridge, S, and J Harriss. 2000. *Reinventing India: Liberalisation, Hindu Nationalism and Popular Democracy*. Cambridge: Polity {Selections from Chapter 4, pgs. 67-78 (until 4.2 on pg.78), pgs. 85-92 (from 4.3 on pg. 85)}
- Kohli, Atul. 2010. *Democracy and Development in India: From Socialism to Pro-Business*, Oxford Collected Essays. New Delhi; Oxford: Oxford University Press.{Chapter 1, "Centralization and Powerlessness: India's Democracy in Comparative Perspective, pgs. 23-42}

Week 4 (October 6th): Contemporary India: 1985 – present

- Corbridge, S, and J Harriss. 2000. *Reinventing India: Liberalisation, Hindu Nationalism and Popular Democracy*. Cambridge: Polity {Chapter 6, pgs.119-139}
- Jaffrelot, Christophe. 2000. "The Rise of the Other Backward Classes in the Hindi Belt." *Journal of Asian Studies* 59 (1): 86-108. <http://simplelink.library.utoronto.ca/url.cfm/442476>
- Dreze, Jean and Amartya Sen. 2013. *An Uncertain Glory: India and its Contradictions*. London: Allen Lane {Chapter 1, "A New India?", pgs. 1-16}

Part III: Democracy

Week 5 (October 13th): Democracy and democratic performance

- Kohli, Atul ed. 2001. *The Success of India's Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. {Introduction: pgs. 1-19}
- Varshney, Ashutosh. 1998. "Why Democracy Survives." *Journal of Democracy* 9 (3):36-50. <http://simplelink.library.utoronto.ca/url.cfm/292596>
- Varshney, Ashutosh. 2000. "Is India Becoming More Democratic?" *Journal of Asian Studies* 59 (1):3-25. <http://simplelink.library.utoronto.ca/url.cfm/442458>
- Drèze, Jean, and Amartya Sen. 2010. "India: development and participation." Oxford: Oxford University Press {Chapter 10, "The Practice of Democracy", pgs.348-379} <http://simplelink.library.utoronto.ca/url.cfm/292642>

Week 6 (October 20th): ***MIDTERM TEST (in class)**

Midterm test: closed book, closed notes

Part IV: State and Society

Week 7 (October 27th): State institutions and political parties

- Selections from Jayal, Niraja Gopal and Mehta, Pratap Bhanu eds. 2010. *The Oxford Companion to Politics in India*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. {"Parliament" by Hewitt and Rai: pgs 28-42; "Federalism" by Mitra and Pehl: pgs. 43-60; "Political Parties" by Hasan: pgs. 241-253}

- Mehta, Pratap Bhanu. 2007. "The rise of judicial sovereignty." *Journal of Democracy* 18(2): 70-83. <http://simplelink.library.utoronto.ca/url.cfm/508754>
- Chhibber, Pradeep, and Irfan Nooruddin. 2004. "Do Party Systems Count?" *Comparative Political Studies* 37 (2):152-87. <http://simplelink.library.utoronto.ca/url.cfm/292632>
- Thachil, Tariq. 2011. "Embedded Mobilization: Nonstate Service Provision as Electoral Strategy in India." *World Politics* 63(3): 434-469 <http://simplelink.library.utoronto.ca/url.cfm/377265>

Week 8 (November 3rd): Caste and class politics

Caste politics in India

- Jaffrelot, Christophe. 2007. "Caste and the Rise of Marginalized Groups". In *The State of India's Democracy*, eds. Sumit Ganguly, Larry Diamond and Marc Plattner. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. {pgs. 67-88}
- Weiner, Myron. 2001. "The struggle for equality: caste in Indian politics" in *The Success of India's Democracy*. ed. Atul Kohli. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. {pgs. 193-225}

Class politics in India

- Harris, John. 2010. "Class and Politics" in *The Oxford Companion to Politics in India*, eds. Niraja Gopal Jayal and Pratap Bhanu Mehta. Oxford: Oxford University Press. {pgs. 140-150}

**Recommended: It will be useful for you to review two readings covered earlier in the course: 1) Jaffrelot, Christophe. 2000. "The Rise of the Other Backward Classes in the Hindi Belt." (see Week 4); 2) Varshney, Ashutosh. 2000. "Is India Becoming More Democratic?" (see Week 5). Aspects highlighted in these articles will be discussed in lecture.

Week 9 (November 10th): Social movements and civil society

- Katzenstein, Mary, Smitu Kothari and Uday Mehta. 2001. "Social movement politics in India: institutions, interests and identities" in *The Success of India's Democracy*. ed. Atul Kohli. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (pgs. 242-269)
- Bussell, Jennifer. 2013. "People's Movements in India." In *Routledge Handbook of Indian Politics*, ed. A.Kohli and P. Singh. New York: Routledge. {pgs. 178-185}

- Gadgil, Madhav, and Ramachandra Guha. 1994. "Ecological Conflicts and the Environmental Movement in India." *Development and Change* 25 (1):101-36.
<http://simplelink.library.utoronto.ca/url.cfm/442478> [*Click on the Get PDF link]
- Hertel, Shareen. 2015. "Hungry for Justice: Social Mobilization on the Right to Food in India." *Development and Change* 46.(1): 72-94.
- Jenkins, Rob. 2010. "Non-governmental Organizations" in *The Oxford Companion to Politics in India*, eds. Niraja Gopal Jayal and Pratap Bhanu Mehta. Oxford: Oxford University Press. {pgs. 423-440}

Part V: Challenges to nation-building

Week 10 (November 17th): Ethnic and secessionist conflict

Hindu-Muslim violence

- Varshney, Ashutosh. 2001. "Ethnic Politics and Civil Society: India and Beyond", *World Politics* 53 (3), pgs. 362-398 <http://simplelink.library.utoronto.ca/url.cfm/292635>
- Wilkinson, Steven. 2004. *Votes and Violence : Electoral Competition and Ethnic Riots in India*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press { Read chapter 1 - "The Electoral Incentives for Ethnic Violence", pgs. 1-18} <http://simplelink.library.utoronto.ca/url.cfm/104938>
- Brass, Paul R. 2003. *The Production of Hindu-Muslim Violence in Contemporary India* {pgs. 5-39 }

Regional and Secessionist Crises in India

- Kohli, Atul (1997). "Can Democracies Accommodate Ethnic Nationalism", *Journal of Asian Studies* 56(2), pgs. 323-344 <http://simplelink.library.utoronto.ca/url.cfm/442480>
- Staniland, Paul. 2013. "Insurgencies in India." In *Routledge Handbook of Indian Politics*, ed. A.Kohli and P. Singh. New York: Routledge. {pgs. 167-177}
- Kapur, S. Paul (2010). "Kashmir and the Indo-Pakistani Conflict." In *The Routledge Handbook of Asian Security Studies*. eds. Ganguly, Sumit, Andrew Scobell and Joseph Liow. New York: Routledge {chapter 8, pgs. 103-112}; <http://go.utlib.ca/cat/8775029> [Book is also on reserve in Robarts]

Part VI: Political Economy of Development

Week 11 (November 24th): Politics of Growth and Industrialization in India

State-directed development

- Kohli, Atul . 2004. *State-directed development: political power and industrialization in the global periphery*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. {Chapter 7, pgs. 257-288}
<http://go.utlib.ca/cat/8158225>

Economic liberalization

- Kohli, Atul.. 2012. *Poverty amid plenty in the new India*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press. {"Introduction", pgs. 1-18; 79-121}
- Panagariya, Arvind. 2008. *India: the emerging giant*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. {Chapter 1, pgs. 3-21}

Week 12 (December 1st): Social development, poverty and corruption in India; Exam review

- Drèze, Jean, and Amartya Sen. 2010. *India: development and participation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press {Chapter 3, "India in Comparative Perspective", pgs.64-93}
<http://simplelink.library.utoronto.ca/url.cfm/292642>
- Singh, Purna (2013). "Public goods provision and social development in India." In *Routledge Handbook of Indian Politics*, ed. A.Kohli and P. Singh. New York: Routledge. {pgs. 230-245}
- Corbridge, Stuart (2013). "Corruption in India." In *Routledge Handbook of Indian Politics*, ed. A.Kohli and P. Singh. New York: Routledge. {pgs. 222-229}
- Corbridge, Stuart, John Harriss and Craig Jeffrey. 2013. *India Today: Economics, Politics and Society*. Cambridge: Polity Press. {Pgs. 158-176, "Is Government in India Becoming More Responsive?"}