

POL 377H1F

Topics in Comparative Politics I : Politics and Government in South Asia

Time: Tuesdays, noon – 2pm

Format: Online with synchronous and asynchronous components

Instructor: Professor Kanta Murali

Online office hours: Tuesdays, 2-3pm or by appointment (through BB Collaborate)

Email: kanta.murali@utoronto.ca

Themes

This course is designed to introduce students to politics in South Asia in the period after independence from colonial rule. The themes discussed during the course will be those that are important both to South Asia as well as to a general study of politics in developing countries. The course is organized around two main themes – colonial inheritance, and state formation and nation-building.

The course will begin by analyzing the impact of colonialism. It will then trace the historical process of political change and nation-building in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka. The class will end by comparing trajectories of democracy and authoritarianism across the four countries.

Format and delivery

The course will be delivered online. The course includes synchronous and asynchronous components.

Asynchronous component:

- Starting with the material for week 2, lectures will be pre-recorded and uploaded to Quercus. The material uploaded to Quercus may also include links to documentaries or movies that you should view.
- Pre-recorded lectures will be approximately 1 – 1.25 hours each week, typically divided into smaller lecture segments of 20-30 minutes.
- You are expected to view the pre-recorded lectures and related material prior to our synchronous class meetings every Tuesday.
- All pre-recorded material on a given week's topic (lectures/ any other material to view) will be uploaded five days prior to the online synchronous session on Tuesday (i.e., by Thursday evening of the previous week).
- Slides used in pre-recorded lecture segments will be posted under Modules on Quercus.

Synchronous component:

- The class will also have a synchronous component and will meet every week during the term at the scheduled time (Tuesdays, noon) for an interactive discussion of the course material with the professor.
- The synchronous component will consist primarily of interactive class discussions and exercises on the course material. For class discussions, I will typically assign discussion questions/prompts/exercises on the course material and will divide the class into smaller breakout groups. In addition to smaller breakout groups, we will also have discussions collectively as a class. I will answer questions on the course material or provide any clarifications

in the synchronous sessions as well. The synchronous component of the class will be approximately 1 hour.

- The synchronous discussion component will not be recorded. Students are expected to attend and participate in the weekly synchronous session. Class participation will form part of the final grade.
- If you are in a different time zone and cannot attend the synchronous session, please contact me and we can work out alternate methods of participation.
- To prepare for the synchronous component, you are expected to view the pre-recorded material posted on Quercus and complete the readings for the week prior to our meeting each Tuesday.
- You are encouraged (but not required) to turn on your camera if you are able to and connectivity permits in the synchronous online sessions, especially for small group exercises and discussions.

Readings

All readings are available electronically through Quercus (q.utoronto.ca) either as links through the library's website or as scanned copies.

Course evaluation and requirements

- **Attendance in synchronous sessions (5%):** Students are expected to attend and participate in synchronous discussion sessions. If you are in a different time zone, please contact me as soon as possible for alternate arrangements.
- **Class participation (20%):** Class participation consists of two components:
 - **A) Short written reflections on asynchronous lectures and weekly readings (10%; 5 x 2% each):** You will be expected to watch pre-recorded lectures and complete weekly readings prior to our class meeting each Tuesday at noon. You are required to post five reflections on weekly asynchronous lectures and readings through the term in the class discussion board. These reflections have to be posted by noon on Tuesday. You may post these reflections in any five weeks from week 2 to week 12. You are required to post reflections for that particular week's course material and cannot post reflections on earlier weeks. These reflections can be comments and/or questions on the lectures and readings that you wish to pose to the class. These reflections should be 100- 300 words (no more than 300 words). Please note that you are encouraged to post reflections on the course material on the discussion board as often as possible. If you post more than five reflections, the five best marks will be counted to the final grade.
 - **B) Short written responses in synchronous class discussions (10%; 5 x 2% each):** As part of the synchronous discussions, you will be assigned questions/prompts in most weeks and will be asked to complete short written exercises/reflections based on these prompts. You are required to post five written responses through the term to assigned questions/prompts in synchronous sessions on the discussion board. You will be given time in the synchronous discussion session to post on the discussion board but these responses should be posted no later than 9pm on Tuesday when the synchronous session occurs. These responses should be 100- 300 words (no more than 300 words). If

you post more than five responses, the five best marks will be counted to the final grade.

- **Essay 1 (20% of final grade): Due by noon on Tuesday, October 13th**. Essays will be on an assigned question. Question(s) will be posted on Quercus ahead of time. Essays should be 6-8 pages in length, double-spaced with regular margins.
- **Essay 2 (20% of final grade): Due by noon on Tuesday, November 24th**. Essays will be on an assigned question. Question(s) will be posted on Quercus ahead of time. Essays should be 6-8 pages in length, double-spaced with regular margins.
- **Final take-home assessment (35% of final grade):** Open book and open notes. The take-home assessment will be scheduled during the December end of term assessment period. **The take-home test will be posted on Quercus on 9am on December 14th and will be due by 9am on Thursday, December 17th**. The exam is designed to be completed in two hours but you will have up to 72 hours within which to complete it.

Course policies and procedures

Virtual office hours: Office hours will be held on Tuesdays, 2-3pm or by appointment through BB Collaborate. Other virtual options for appointments such as Skype or Zoom are also possible if necessary (please note the scheduled office hours on Tuesdays, 2-3pm will be on BB Collaborate).

Emails: I will attempt to respond to all emails within 48 hours (excluding weekends and holidays). Questions on course material cannot be adequately addressed via email. I will discuss course material or address substantial questions on course lectures and readings in the online synchronous sessions, during virtual office hours or by appointment.

Quercus, student email, and course information: This course will use Quercus to disseminate all course-related information and assignments. Please ensure you have a valid U of T email. It is your responsibility to log on to Quercus regularly and obtain relevant information. To login, please go to: q.utoronto.ca

Submitting written assignments: All written assignments and responses have to be submitted through Quercus.

Technological difficulties: I hope to create an equitable and inclusive class environment. I do recognize that technological limitations and other factors might occasionally inhibit your ability to access materials, participate in the online synchronous session or submit assignments. If you face such difficulties, especially on a regular basis, please get in touch with me as soon as possible and we can work together to try to find an alternate solution.

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

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 essays as well as your final assessment. You will be able to access the Academic Integrity Checklist on Quercus.

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: Assignments handed in any time after the specified deadline will be treated as late. There will be a penalty of 4% per each late day or fraction of a day for late papers and exams (including weekends and holidays). The cut off time for the determination of each late day is 5pm.

Illness and other extenuating circumstances: Students who are absent from class for any reason (e.g., COVID, other illness or injury, family situation) and who require consideration for missed academic work should report their absence through the online absence declaration (for more, please see: <https://www.viceprovoststudents.utoronto.ca/covid-19/>). The declaration is available on ACORN under the Profile and Settings menu. Students should also advise their instructor of their absence. It is important that you utilize the online absence declaration and get in touch with me as soon as possible should you require an extension.

Extensions: I recognize that we are in the midst of unprecedented circumstances and I aim to be as accommodating as possible in case of extenuating circumstances. Extensions will be granted in extenuating circumstances that could not be anticipated ahead of time and with appropriate supporting documentation. Please see procedures above in illness and extenuating circumstances regarding the online absence declaration.

Student support: In light of the pandemic, we are in the midst of unprecedented circumstances. The circumstances have placed unprecedented stress on many. There are a range of health services for your physical and mental health and wellness offered by U of T to help support you in achieving your personal and academic goals. For further resources, please see: <https://studentlife.utoronto.ca/task/support-when-you-feel-distressed/>

Appealing grades: If you would like to appeal your grades, please submit a written grade appeal to me within a week of receiving the graded assignment or exam. To submit a grade appeal, please email me a detailed written statement 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 (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/>.

Online code of conduct

In this course, you will be participating in class discussions and assignments through a variety of online tools. Although we will not be meeting in a physical classroom, you are expected to adhere to the same standards of behaviour and engagement that you would follow in person and on campus.

- Respectful conduct
 - All participants in online discussions should maintain an environment that is free of harassment towards members of the class and the instructor. This includes demeaning

written or oral comments based on race, ancestry, place of origin, colour, ethnic origin, citizenship, sex, sexual orientation, gender identity, creed, age, marital status, family status, disability, receipt of public assistance or record of offences of that individual or those individuals. All participants must abide by the University of Toronto [Code of Student Conduct](#). Please refer to the Code for additional information.

- All participants should respect the views of others and respond in a courteous manner in our discussions about the materials and issues explored in the course.
- All participants should make contributions to online discussions. Contributions should be thoughtful and in keeping with the tone and direction of our discussions.
- All participants should respect the privacy of other members of the class by not sharing or spreading private information.
- All participants should respect the integrity of the University of Toronto's computer systems, such as Quercus.
- Participation
 - I expect active participation from everyone in our online discussions. This includes asking questions, responding to discussion prompts, offering reflections and comments, respectfully engaging other participants in discussions, and introducing ideas and information to our discussions.
 - These are stressful times but I hope the course will introduce you to material on an important region of the world and be a pleasant experience for you. Be kind and enjoy the discussions!

Fall Term Reading List

Week 1 (September 15th): Introduction

- No assigned readings

Part I: The colonial inheritance

Week 2 (September 22nd): Colonial legacies I: British India

- Bose, Sugata and Jalal, Ayesha. 2004. *Modern South Asia: History, Culture, Political economy* (2nd edition). New York: Routledge, {Chapter 7 ("The First Century of British Rule, 1757-1857: State and Economy"), Chapter 8 ("Company Raj and Indian Society 1757-1857: Reform and 'Reinvention' of Tradition"), Chapter 9 ("1857: Rebellion, Collaboration, and Transition to Crown Raj"), Chapter 10 ("High Noon of Colonialism: State and Political Economy") and Chapter 12 ("Colonialism Under Siege: State and Political Economy After WWI"), pgs. 53-78 and pgs. 102-108} <http://go.utlib.ca/cat/7997721>
- Basu, Shrabani. 2015. *For King and Another Country: Indian Soldiers on the Western Front, 1914-1918*. London: Bloomsbury {Introduction, pgs. xv-xxvii; Chapter 4, pgs. 55-69, Chapter 8, pgs. 109-121}
- Davis, M., 2002. *Late Victorian holocausts: El Niño famines and the making of the third world*. Verso Books. Chapter 1 {"Victoria's Ghosts", pgs. 25-59} <http://go.utlib.ca/cat/13479408>

Week 3 (September 29th): Colonial legacies II: Nationalism and the Partition of India and Pakistan

- Bose, Sugata and Jalal, Ayesha. 2004. *Modern South Asia: History, Culture, Political economy* (2nd edition). New York: Routledge, Chapters 13, 15 and 16 {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, 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>
- Khan, Yasmin. 2017. *The Great Partition: The making of India and Pakistan*. Yale University Press. Chapter 7 {"Blood on the Tracks, pgs. 128-142} <http://go.utlib.ca/cat/12013314>

Week 4 (October 6th): Colonial Legacies III: Sri Lanka

- Wickramasinghe, Nira. 2014. *Sri Lanka in the Modern Age: A History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, Chapter {"Colonial Encounters", pgs. 1-35}
- De Silva, K.M. 2011. "Sri Lanka: National Identity and the Impact of Colonialism" in Holt, John Clifford (ed.), *The Sri Lanka Reader: History, Culture, Politics*. Durham: Duke University Press {pgs. 135-151} <http://go.utlib.ca/cat/8160887>

Part II: State Formation and Nation-Building

Week 5 (October 13th): Formation of Modern India – Nehru’s India (1947-1964)

- 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}
- Teltumbde, Anand. 2017. *Dalits: Past, Present, and Future*. New York: Routledge. {"Dalit Movement Under Ambedkar", pgs. 68-87} <http://go.utlib.ca/cat/11151361>

Week 6 (October 20th): Political Change in India – the Indira Gandhi Years (1966-1984)

- 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}
- Guha, Ramachandra. 2007. *India After Gandhi: The History of the World's Largest Democracy*. New York: Ecco. {"Autumn of the Matriarch", pgs. 491-518}

Week 7 (October 27th): 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}
- Chatterji, Angana, Hansen, Thomas Blom and Christophe Jaffrelot. 2019. "Introduction" in Chatterji, Angana, Hansen, Thomas Blom and Christophe Jaffrelot (eds). *The Majoritarian State: How Hindu Nationalism is Changing India*. London: Hurst {pgs. 1-18}
- Basu, Amrita. 2018. "Narendra Modi and India's Populist Democracy". *Indian Politics and Policy* 1(1): 83-106 <https://joom.ag/BM5Y> {Please open and scroll down to pg. 83}
- The Economist. "Intolerant India" (1 page) and "Marching to a Nastier Tune" (3 pages). January 25th, 2020.

Week 8 (November 3rd): Political Change in Pakistan I (from independence to Zia-ul-Haq)

- Cohen, Stephen P. 2004. *The idea of Pakistan*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press {"Introduction", pgs. 1-13 and Chapter 2, "The State of Pakistan", pgs. 37-84} <http://go.utlib.ca/cat/8505835>
- Haqqani, Husain. 2005. *Pakistan: between mosque and military*. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace: Distributor, Brookings Institution Press {Chapter 4, "From Islamic Republic to Islamic State, pgs. 131-157}

Week 9 (November 17th): Contemporary Pakistan after 1988

- Jalal, Ayesha. 2014. *The Struggle for Pakistan: A Muslim Homeland and Global Politics*. Cambridge, MA: The Bellknap Press of Harvard University Press. {Chapter 9, "A Geostrategic Riddle", pgs. 309-344 and Chapter 10, "Entangled Endgames", pgs. 345-383} <http://go.utlib.ca/cat/11263498>
- Shah, Aqil. 2019. "Pakistan: Voting Under Military Tutelage". *Journal of Democracy*. 30(1): 128-142

- Gazdar, Haris, Kureshi, Yasser and Asad Sayeed. 2014. "The Rise of Jihadi Militancy in Pakistan's Tribal Areas" in Sundar, Aparna and Sundar, Nandini (eds). *Civil Wars in South Asia: State, Sovereignty, Development*. Delhi: Sage {Chapter 7, pgs. 165-187}

Week 10 (November 24th): Formation of Bangladesh and Political Change in Bangladesh since independence

- Baxter, Craig. 1997. *Bangladesh: from a nation to a state*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press {Chapter 7, "A Province of Pakistan", pgs. 61-79}
- van Schendel, Willem. 2013. "The Pakistan Experiment and the Language Issue." In *The Bangladesh Reader: History, Culture and Politics*, eds. Guhathakurata, Meghna and Willem van Schendel. Durham: Duke University Press. {Pgs. 177-183} <http://go.utlib.ca/cat/9228922>
- Jahan, Rounaq. 2013. "A Vernacular Elite." In *The Bangladesh Reader: History, Culture and Politics*, eds. Guhathakurata, Meghna and Willem van Schendel. Durham: Duke University Press. {pgs. 184-186} <http://go.utlib.ca/cat/9228922>
- Raghavan, Srinath. 2013. *1971: A Global History of the Creation of Bangladesh*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press {"Prologue: The Chronicle of a Birth Foretold?", pgs. 1-13 and "Epilogue", pgs. 264-273} <http://go.utlib.ca/cat/9870399>
- Lewis, David. 2011. *Bangladesh: politics, economy, and civil society*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press. {Chapter 4, pgs. 75-108}

Week 11 (December 1st): Political Change in Sri Lanka (Part 1: Independence to the Civil War)

- DeVotta, Neil. 2010. "Politics and Governance in Post-Independence Sri Lanka." In *Routledge Handbook of South Asian Politics*, ed. P. R. Brass. New York: Routledge. {pgs.118-130} <http://go.utlib.ca/cat/8775068>
- De Silva, K.M. 2011. "Sri Lanka in 1948" in Holt, John Clifford (ed.), *The Sri Lanka Reader: History, Culture, Politics*. Durham: Duke University Press {pgs. 591-598} <http://go.utlib.ca/cat/8160887>
- Wilson, A. Jeyaratnam. 2011. "The Militarisation of Tamil Youth" in Holt, John Clifford (ed.), *The Sri Lanka Reader: History, Culture, Politics*. Durham: Duke University Press {pgs. 503-522} <http://go.utlib.ca/cat/8160887>
- Tambiah, Stanley. 1996. *Leveling Crowds: Ethnonationalist Conflicts and Collective Violence in South Asia*. Berkeley: University of California Press. {Chapter 4, "Two post-independence ethnic riots in Sri Lanka, pgs. 82-100}
- Wickramasinghe, Nira. 2014. *Sri Lanka in the Modern Age: A History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, Chapter 9 {"Only a Great Land Wounded: The End of the War, pgs. 351-377}

- Thiranagama, Sharika. 2011. *In My Mother's House: Civil War in Sri Lanka*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. {Excerpt from the Introduction – pgs. 1-31 and Chapter 1, "Growing Up at War: pgs. 41-76}

Week 12 (December 8th): Part 1: Sri Lanka after the Civil War;

Part II: Wrapping up: Evaluating Democracy and Authoritarianism in South Asia

- Hansen, Thomas Blom. 2019. "Democracy Against the Law: Reflections on India's Illiberal Democracy" in Chatterji, Angana, Hansen, Thomas Blom and Christophe Jaffrelot (eds). *The Majoritarian State: How Hindu Nationalism is Changing India*. London: Hurst {pgs. 19-40}
- Varshney, Ashutosh. 1998. "Why Democracy Survives." *Journal of Democracy* 9 (3):36-50. <http://simplelink.library.utoronto.ca/url.cfm/292596>
- Tudor, Maya. 2013. *The Promise of Power: The Origins of Democracy in India and Autocracy in Pakistan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press {Chapter 1: pgs. 1-35} <http://go.utlib.ca/cat/8874350>
- Wickramasinghe, Nira. 2014. *Sri Lanka in the Modern Age: A History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, Chapter 10 {"The Post-War State: The Making of Oppressive Stability, pgs. 379-407}
- DeVotta, Neil. 2002. "Illiberalism and Ethnic Conflict in Sri Lanka." *Journal of Democracy* 13 (1):84-98 <http://simplelink.library.utoronto.ca/url.cfm/292607>
- Kochanek, Stanley A. 2000. "Governance, Patronage Politics, and Democratic Transition in Bangladesh." *Asian Survey* 40 (3):530-50 <http://simplelink.library.utoronto.ca/url.cfm/292608>