

THE TRANSFORMATION OF MODERN INDIA (NPOL3275A)

Fall 2008

Time: Tuesday 6:00 – 7:50 p.m.

Location: 66 West 12 Street (Room 702)

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Office Hours: Wednesday 4:00 – 6:00 p.m.

Introduction

This course examines the transformation of India from 1947 until the present. According to its constitutional founders, India emerged at independence as a “sovereign, democratic, federal, socialist, secular” republic. Its subsequent history has pursued, contested, and altered this original vision. What were the legacies of British imperial rule and Partition for India’s postcolonial state? To what extent has the country’s representative democracy secured political liberty, economic opportunity, and social equality for its most disadvantaged citizens? How have global economic liberalization, militant Hindu nationalism, and the rise of historically subaltern groups reinvented the idea of India? The course takes a critical historical approach that focuses on the interplay between state power and social and economic forces to address such questions.

Requirements & Assessment

The success of the class partly depends on your active and informed participation. Being active means contributing your insights to and asking questions in class; being informed entails careful reading of the set material prior to class. Class participation is worth 20% of your final grade.

In addition, you are required to submit:

1. One short mid-term paper (5 pages, 12-point font, double-spaced – worth 20% of your final grade) that engages with issues emerging from the first half of the course: due October 28; questions to be distributed in class.
2. One take-home final exam (15 pages, 12-point font, double-spaced – worth 60% of your final grade) that evaluates your understanding of the entire course.

Both written assignments will be assessed for their clarity of expression, comprehension of material and organization of argument.

Course Material

There are two required texts. Both are available at Barnes & Noble, 105 Fifth Avenue (at 18th Street).

- Stuart Corbridge and John Harriss, *Reinventing India: liberalization, Hindu nationalism and popular democracy* (Polity Press; OUP: 2000)
- Sunil Khilnani, *The Idea of India* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1999)

The other assigned readings will be available on reserve in the Fogleman Library, located in the basement of the 65 Fifth Avenue (at 13th Street). A course reader will also be available at Village Copier Services, 20 East 13 Street (T: 212-924-3456).

University Policies and Resources

Please note the following policies, resources and procedures of the university.

Disabilities

In keeping with the University's policy of providing equal access for students with disabilities, any student with a disability who may need academic accommodations should contact the office of Student Disability Services. Students requesting any accommodations will need to meet with Jason Luchs, who will conduct an intake, and if appropriate, provide an academic accommodation notification letter. All conversations will be kept confidential. Mr. Luchs's office is located at 79 5th Avenue on the 5th floor (luchs@newschool.edu, 212.229.5626 x3135). You may also access more information at <http://www.newschool.edu/student-services/disability/>.

Incompletes

A grade of Incomplete ("I") indicates that your instructor has granted you an extension to complete outstanding work for a course. The grade of Incomplete will not be assigned automatically. It will only be assigned at the request of the student by the last day of class. Incomplete grades cannot be granted for students who are graduating seniors.

If circumstances require you to request a grade of Incomplete—and the instructor approves your request—the terms of the Incomplete should be agreed upon in writing, using the "Request for a Grade of Incomplete" form (http://www.newschool.edu/forms/registrar_incomplete_grade.pdf). This ensures that both the student and the instructor understand the exact nature of the required work, the manner in which it is to be submitted, and the date by which it must be submitted.

Your instructor will determine the deadline for submission of outstanding work. Students with a grade of Incomplete who do not complete their work by the agreed-upon deadline will receive a grade of Withdrawal/Failure ("WF"). Students who complete outstanding work according to the terms of the Incomplete will receive a letter grade. (The "I" will be converted to a letter grade after your instructor submits a Change of Grade form on your behalf.)

Libraries

The New School Library offers frequent research workshops for students, the day, time, and location of which are posted to the Library webpage

(<http://library.newschool.edu/events/>) each semester. The library also provides one-on-one support for students who in conducting research for a paper or project require additional assistance. Students can contact the library about scheduling a one-on-one appointment with a reference librarian at the following link:
<http://library.newschool.edu/reference/request.php>.

Plagiarism

Plagiarism is the use of another person's words or ideas in any academic work. (This could be using books, journals, internet postings, or other students' papers.) For further information on avoiding plagiarism through proper acknowledgements, including expectations for paraphrasing source material and forms of citation in research and writing, students should consult the *MLA Style Manual and Guide to Scholarly Publishing* (2nd edition), Chapter 6, on documentation. The Bachelor's Program provides useful online resources to inform students of correct forms of research and writing. To access these resources, go to <http://www.newschool.edu/ba/> and click on the link "Resources for Current Students."

The New School Writing Center also provides online resources about avoiding plagiarism. (See <http://www.newschool.edu/admin/writingcenter/index.html>.)

Please note that students must receive prior permission from instructors to submit the same or substantially overlapping material for two different assignments. Submission of the same work for two assignments without prior permission is plagiarism.

Writing Center

Students are highly encouraged to take advantage of the university writing center, located at 65 5th Avenue, room 105. To make an appointment, you can e-mail the writing center at writingcenter@newschool.edu or call 212.229.5121. For further information, please visit the Writing Center web site: www.newschool.edu/admin/writingcenter/.

Schedule & Readings

Week 1 (September 2): Introduction

Week 2 (September 9): The Foundations of Modern India

Required:

- Stuart Corbridge and John Harriss, *Reinventing India: liberalization, Hindu nationalism and popular democracy* (Delhi: OUP, 2001), pp. vii-xx and 3-43.
- Partha Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: a derivative discourse* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), pp. 131-167.
- Sugata Bose and Ayesha Jalal, *Modern South Asia: history, culture, political economy* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 165-201.

Suggested Further Reading:

- Urvashi Butalia, *The Other Side of Silence: voices from the Partition of India* (New Delhi: Penguin Books, 1998)
- Mushiral Hasan (ed.), *India's Partition: process, strategy and mobilization* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999 [1993])
- Nicholas B. Dirks, *Castes of Mind: colonialism and the making of modern India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001)

Week 3 (September 16): The Nehruvian State

Required:

- Corbridge and Harriss, *Reinventing India*, pp. 43-67.
- Sunil Khilnani, *The Idea of India* (New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1999), pp. 15-42 and 61-88.
- Partha Chatterjee, "The national state," in his *The Nation and its Fragments: colonial and postcolonial histories* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1994 [1993]), pp. 200-220.

Suggested Further Reading:

- Rajni Kothari, *Politics in India* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1970)
- Paul R. Brass, *Language, Religion and Politics in north India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974)
- Myron Weiner, *Party Building in a New Nation: the Indian National Congress* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1967)

Week 4 (September 23): India under Indira

Required:

- Corbridge and Harriss, *Reinventing India*, pp. 67-93.
- Khilnani, *The Idea of India*, pp. 42-55 and 88-95.
- Ashis Nandy, "Indira Gandhi and the Culture of India Politics," in his *At the Edge of Psychology: essays in politics and culture* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 112-131.

Suggested Further Reading:

- Francine Frankel, "Compulsion and social change: is authoritarianism the solution to India's economic development problems?" in Atul Kohli (ed.), *The State and Development in the Third World* (1986), pp. 143-168.
- Atul Kohli (ed.), *India's Democracy: an analysis of changing state-society relations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988)
- Pranab Bardhan, *The Political Economy of Development in India* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984)

September 30: Rosh Hashonah – No Class

Week 5 (October 7): Crises of Governability

Required:

- Corbridge and Harriss, *Reinventing India*, pp. 93-119.
- Atul Kohli, "Centralization and powerlessness: India's democracy in comparative perspective," in Zoya Hasan (ed.), *Politics and the State in India* (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2000), pp. 206-233.
- James Manor, "Parties and the party system," in Partha Chatterjee (ed.), *State and Politics in India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 45-89.

Suggested Further Reading:

- Atul Kohli, *Democracy and Discontent: India's growing crisis of governability* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990)

Week 6 (October 14): Questioning the Strategy of Development

Required:

- Amartya Sen, "Indian development: lessons and non-lessons," *Daedalus* 118 (4) Fall 1989: 369-393.
- Jagdish Bhagwati, *India in Transition: freeing the economy* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993), pp. 5-39.

- Sudipta Kaviraj, “A critique of the passive revolution,” in Partha Chatterjee (ed.), *State and Politics in India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 45-89.

Suggested Further Reading:

- Pranab Bardhan, *The Political Economy of Development in India* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984)
- Vijay Joshi and I.M.D. Little, *India – Macroeconomics and Political Economy, 1964-1991* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994)

Week 7 (October 21): Federalism under Siege

Mid-term assignment distributed

Required:

- T.V. Sathyamurthy, “Impact of Centre-state relations on Indian politics: an interpretative reckoning, 1947-84,” in Partha Chatterjee (ed.), *State and Politics in India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 232-71.
- Sumantra Bose, *Kashmir: roots of conflict, paths to peace* (New Delhi: Vistaar Publications, 2003), pp. 44-102.

Suggested Further Reading:

- Katherine Adeney, *Federalism and Ethnic Conflict Regulation in India and Pakistan* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007)
- Sanjib Baruah, *India Against Itself: Assam and the politics of nationality* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999)
- Ayesha Jalal, *Democracy and Authoritarianism in South Asia: a comparative and historical perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002 [1995])

Week 8 (October 28): A Silent Revolution

Mid-term assignment due

Required:

- Francine R. Frankel, “Decline of a social order,” in Zoya Hasan (ed.), *Politics and the State in India* (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2000), pp. 233-246.
- Rajni Kothari, “Rise of the dalits and the renewed debate on caste,” in Partha Chatterjee (ed.), *State and Politics in India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 439-459.
- Nicholas B. Dirks, “Caste politics and the politics of caste,” in his *Castes of Mind: colonialism and the making of modern India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), pp. 275-297.

Suggested Further Reading:

- Marc Galanter, *Law and Society in Modern India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1997)
- Christophe Jaffrelot, *India's Silent Revolution: the rise of the low castes in north Indian politics* (New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2003)
- D.L. Sheth, "Society," in Philip Oldenburg and Marshall Bouton (eds.), *India Briefing: a transformative fifty years* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1999), pp. 91-120.

Week 9 (November 4): The Contradictions of Secularism

Required:

- Corbridge and Harriss, *Reinventing India*, pp. 173-200.
- Khilnani, *The Idea of India*, pp. 150-196.
- Nivedita Menon, "Women and citizenship," in Partha Chatterjee (ed.), *Wages of Freedom: fifty years of the Indian nation-state* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 241-267.

Suggested Further Reading:

- Rajeev Bhargava (ed.), *Secularism and its Critics* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999 [1998])
- Niraja Gopal Jayal, "The secular state," in her *Democracy and the State: welfare, secularism and development in contemporary India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002 [1999]), pp. 101-151.

Week 10 (November 11): Liberalizing the Economy

Required:

- Corbridge and Harriss, *Reinventing India*, pp. 143-173.
- Jean Dreze and Amartya Sen, *India: development and participation* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 306-347.
- Pranab Bardhan, "The political economy of reform in India," in Zoya Hasan (ed.), *Politics and the State in India* (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2000), pp. 158-177.

Suggested Further Reading:

- Rob Jenkins, *Democratic Politics and Economic Reform in India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999)
- C.P. Chandrashekar and Jayati Ghosh, *The Market that Failed: a decade of neoliberal economic reforms in India* (New Delhi: LeftWord Books, 2002)
- Jeffrey D. Sachs, Ashutosh Varshney and Nirupam Bajpai (eds.), *India in the Era of Economic Reforms* (New York: OUP, 1999)

Week 11 (November 18): Militant Hindu Nationalism

Required:

- Corbridge and Harriss, *Reinventing India*, pp. 119-143.
- Christophe Jaffrelot and Thomas Blom Hansen, "Introduction," in their co-edited *The BJP and the Compulsions of Politics in India, 2nd Edition* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 1-22.
- George Perkovich, *India's Nuclear Bomb: the impact of global proliferation* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 404-444.

Suggested Further Reading:

- Christophe Jaffrelot, *The Hindu Nationalist Movement and Indian Politics: 1925 to the 1990s* (New Delhi: Penguin Books, 1999 [1996])
- Thomas Blom Hansen, *The Saffron Wave: democracy and Hindu nationalism in modern India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999)
- Sanjay Ruparelia, "Rethinking institutional theories of political moderation: the case of Hindu nationalism in India, 1996-2004," *Comparative Politics*, Volume 38, Number 3, April 2006: 317-337.

November 25: Thanksgiving – No Class

Week 12 (December 2): Democratization amidst Fragmentation

Required:

- Corbridge and Harriss, *Reinventing India*, pp. 200-231.
- Yogendra Yadav, "Politics," in Philip Oldenburg (ed.), *India Briefing 1997-1998: a transformative fifty years* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1999), pp. TBD.
- Zoya Hasan, "Representation and redistribution: the new lower caste politics in north India," in her edited volume, *Parties and Party Politics in India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 370-397.

Suggested Further Reading:

- Atul Kohli (ed.), *The Success of India's Democracy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001)
- Kanchan Chandra, "Ethnic parties and democratic stability," *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 3, No. 2, June 2005: 235-253.
- E. Sridharan, "The fragmentation of the Indian party system, 1952-1999," in Zoya Hasan (ed.), *Parties and Party Politics in India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 475-504.

Week 13 (December 9): The Search for Major-Power Status

Required:

- Sunil Khilnani, “Branding India,” *Seminar 533* (January 2004), available at: <http://www.india-seminar.com/2004/533/533%20sunil%20khilnani.htm>
- Baldev Raj Nayar and T.V. Paul, *India in the World Order: searching for major-power status* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 27-65.
- Praful Bidwai and Achin Vanaik, “Preface to the paperback edition” and “South Asia in the nuclear trap: the causes and consequences of crossing the threshold,” in their *South Asia on a Short Fuse: nuclear politics and the future of global disarmament* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002 [2001], pp. xiii-xxxviii and 85-126.

Suggested Further Reading:

- George Perkovich, *India’s Nuclear Bomb: the impact of global proliferation* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002)
- Stephen P. Cohen, *India: emerging power* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2003 [2001])
- C. Raja Mohan, *Crossing the Rubicon: the shaping of India’s new foreign policy* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004)

Week 14 (December 16): The Future of Indian Democracy

Final Exam Distributed

Required:

- Corbridge and Harriss, *Reinventing India*, pp. 231-241.
- Khilnani, *The Idea of India*, pp. 196-209.
- Ashutosh Varshney, “Why democracy survives,” *Journal of Democracy* 9 (3) July 1998: 36-50.

Suggested Further Reading:

- Pratap Bhanu Mehta, *The Burden of Democracy* (New Delhi: Penguin Books, 2003)
- Ashutosh Varshney, “Is India becoming more democratic?” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 59 (1) February 2000: 3-26.

Week 15 (December 23): Conclusion

Final Exam Due