

DEMOCRACY IN INDIA – HOW FAR?

Professor: Christophe Jaffrelot
Academic Year 2017/2018: Spring Semester

BIOGRAPHY

Dr. Christophe JAFFRELOT joined the CNRS in 1991; was awarded the CNRS Bronze Medal in 1993; became senior research fellow of second class in 2002 and senior research fellow of first class in 2008.

He has served as deputy director of CERI from 1997 to 2000 and as director from 2000 to 2008.

Has founded four book series published by Fayard, Autrement, Hurst and Palgrave.

Former editor-in-chief (1998-2003) and director (2003-2008) of the quarterly journal Critique Internationale.

Member of the editorial boards of Critique Internationale, Anatolia, Cultures et Conflits, Nations and nationalism, International Political Sociology, Third Frame and India Review.

Professor of Indian Politics and Sociology in the King's India Institute (King's College, London) since 2011.

Permanent Consultant at the Direction de la Prospective of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

President of the research group on emerging countries at Institut Montaigne.

Member of the scientific councils of the Südasiens Institut of Heidelberg University, of the Zentrum Moderner Orient / Centre for Modern Oriental Studies, Berlin, of the Jindal University (Sonapat - India), of the Center for the Study of Multilevel Federalism (New Delhi), of the South Asia Center of Göttingen University, of the Encyclopaedia of Mass Violence and of Sciences Po Master of Public Affairs.

Christophe Jaffrelot chairs the Scientific council of the six research centers of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs and CNRS in Asia since 2007.

He is president of the Political Science section of the French National Committee for Scientific Research (CoNRS) since 2012.

Christophe Jaffrelot is Senior Research Fellow at CERI-Sciences Po/CNRS in Paris. He teaches South Asian politics at Sciences Po, Yale and King's College (London).

He is the author of The Hindu nationalist movement and Indian politics, 1925 to the 1990s, London/Hurst; New York, Columbia University Press and New Delhi/Penguin India, 1996 and 1999, Indian Silent Revolution. The Rise of the Lower Castes in North India, London/Hurst; New York Columbia University press and New Delhi, Permanent Black, 2003, Dr Ambedkar and untouchability. Analysing and fighting caste, London/Hurst, New York/ Columbia University Press and New Delhi/Permanent Black, 2005 and Religion, caste and politics in India, New Delhi/Primus; London/Hurst and New York/Columbia University Press, 2010.

Among his most recent edited volumes are, *Pakistan: Nationalism Without a Nation?*, Delhi, Manohar ; London/New York, Zed Books, 2002, *A History of Pakistan and its origins*, London, Anthem Press, 2004, *Hindu nationalism. A reader*, Princeton (Nj)/ Princeton University Press, 2007, with L. Gayer (eds), *Armed Militias of South Asia. Fundamentalist, Maoists and Separatists*, London/Hurst, New York/Columbia University Press, New Delhi/Foundation Books, 2009 and with L. Gayer (eds), *Muslims in Indian Cities. Trajectories of marginalization*, London/Hurst; New York/Columbia University Press; New Delhi/HarperCollins, 2012.

COURSE OUTLINE

Introduction

Session 1: The « world's largest democracy » and political theory – India as the exception?

Readings:

- Niraja Gopal Jayal, "Introduction. Situating Indian Democracy", in Niraja Gopal Jayal (ed.), *Democracy in India*, Delhi, Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Arend Lijphart, "The puzzle of Indian democracy: a consociational interpretation", *American political science review*, 90 (2), June 1996.
- Christophe Jaffrelot, "Voting in India: Electoral Symbols, the Party System and the Collective Citizen", in R. Bertrand, J.L. Briquet and P. Pels (eds), *Cultures of Voting. The Hidden History of the Secret Ballot*, London, Hurst, 2007, pp. 78-99.

Part one: Why and how democracy in India

Session 2: Why democracy in India? (1) The British graft

Readings:

- James Chiriyankandath, "'Democracy' under the Raj: elections and separate representation in British India", *Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, 30 (1), 1992, pp. 39-64.
- David Washbrook, "The rhetoric of democracy and development in late colonial India", in S. Bose and A. Jalal (eds), *Nationalism, development and democracy: state and politics in India*, Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1998, pp. 36-49.
- James Manor, "How and why liberal and representative politics emerged in India", *Political studies*, 28 (1990).
- Gopal Krishna, "The development of the Indian National Congress as mass organization", *Journal of Asian Studies*, 25 (3), May 1966.

Session 3: Why democracy in India? (2) The long-term political and societal factors

Readings:

- D. Dalton, "The concepts of politics and power in India's ideological tradition", in A. Jeyaratnam Wilson and Dennis Dalton (eds), *The states of South Asia. Problems of national integration*, London, Hurst, 1982.
- M. Weiner, "The Indian political tradition and the shaping of the ideological and institutional features of Indian modernity", in S.N. Eisenstadt (ed.), *Patterns of modernity*, vol. 2, London, Frances Pinter, 1987.
- Burton Stein, "The segmentary state in South Indian history", in R. Fox (ed.), *Realm and region in traditional India*, New Delhi, Vikas, 1977.
- Sudipto Kaviraj, "The modern state in India" and Ravinder Kumar, "State formation in India" in M. Doornbos and S. Kaviraj (eds), *Dynamics of state formation*, Delhi, Sage, 1997, pp. 225-250 and pp. 395-410.

Part two: Elitism and authoritarianism

Session 4: The « Congress system » or conservative democracy

Readings:

- Rajni Kothari, "The 'Congress system' in India", *Asian survey*, 4 (12), Dec. 1964.
- P. Bardhan, "Dominant proprietary classes and India's democracy", in A. Kohli (ed.), *India's democracy. An analysis of changing state-society relations*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1990.
- B.D. Graham, "The Congress and Hindu traditionalism", in D.A. Low (ed.), *The Indian National Congress*, Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1998.

Session 5: The Emergency: the black face of Indian politics

Readings:

- S.A. Kochanek, "Mrs Gandhi's pyramid: the new Congress", in H.C. Hart, *Indira's Gandhi India. A political system reappraised*, Boulder, Westview, 1976.
- J. Das Gupta, "An era of Caesars: emergency regimes and development-politics in Asia", *Asian survey*, 18 (4), April 1978.
- H.W. Blair, "Mrs Gandhi's Emergency, the Indian elections of 1977, pluralism and marxism", *Modern Asian Studies*, 2 (1980)

Part three: the democratisation of Indian democracy

Session 6: Democracy by caste: the rise to power of the lower castes

Readings:

- R. Kothari and R. Maru, "Federating for political interests: the Kshatriyas of Gujarat" in R. Kothari (ed.), *Caste in Indian politics*, New Delhi, Orient Longmans, 1970.
- C. Jeffrey, P. Jeffery and R. Jeffery, "Dalit revolution? New politicians in Uttar Pradesh, India", *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 67 (4), Nov. 2008, pp. 1365-1396.
- Christophe Jaffrelot, "Caste and the rise of marginalized groups", in S. Ganguly, L. Diamond and M.F. Plattner (eds), *The state of India's democracy*, Baltimore and Washington, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007, pp. 67-88.

Session 7: Federalism, from the era of coalitions to BJP's hegemony

Readings:

- R. Saxena, *Situating federalism. Mechanisms of intergovernmental relations in Canada and India*, Delhi, Manohar, 2006, pp. 98-154.
- B. Arora, "Negotiating differences: federal coalitions and national cohesion" in F. Frankel, Z. Hasan, R. Bhargava et B. Arora (eds), *Transforming India. Social and Political Dynamics of Democracy*, Delhi, Oxford University Press, 2000, pp. 176-206.
- Katharine Adeney and Lawrence Sàez (eds), *Coalition Politics and Hindu Nationalism*, New-York, Routledge, 2005

Part Four: The ethnicisation of Indian democracy

Session 8: Hindu nationalism takes over

Readings:

- Rajeev Bhargava, "What is secularism for?", in R. Bhargava (ed.), *Secularism and its critics*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1998, pp. 486-542.
- Pratap Bhanu Mehta, "Secularism and the identity trap", in M. Hasan (ed.), *Will secular India survive?*, New Delhi, Imprint One, 2004, pp. 72-93.
- Christophe Jaffrelot, «Hindu Nationalism and Democracy», in: F. Frankel, Z. Hasan, R. Bhargava et B. Arora (eds), *Transforming India. Social and Political Dynamics of Democracy*, Delhi, Oxford University Press, 2000, pp. 353-378.

Session 9: The marginalisation of Muslims

Readings:

- M. Hasan, Legacy of a divided nation. India's Muslims since independence, London, Hurst, 1997, chapter 8, pp. 253-297.
- P. Brass, The production of Hindu-Muslim violence in contemporary India, Delhi, Oxford University Press, 2003, "Introduction", pp. 5-42.
- Y. Sikand, "Islamist assertion in contemporary India: the Students Islamic Movement of India", Electronic: Islam Interfaith, 2005.

Part Five: What « shining India »?

Session 10: Corruption cum criminalisation of politics and the resilience of the rule of law

Readings:

- Arun Kumar, The black economy in India, New Delhi, Viking, 1999, pp. 17-54.
- Chandan Mitra, The corrupt society New Delhi, Viking, 1998, pp. 111-143.
- Christophe Jaffrelot, « Indian democracy: the rule of law on trial », Indian review, 1 (1), January 2002, pp. 77-121.
- Rajeev Dhavan, "Judges and Indian democracy: the lesser evil?" in: F. Frankel, Z. Hasan, R. Bhargava et B. Arora (eds), Transforming India. Social and Political Dynamics of Democracy, Delhi, Oxford University Press, 2000, pp. 314-352.
- A.G. Noorani, "The Prime Minister and the judiciary", in J. Manor (ed.), Nehru to the nineties, New Delhi, Viking, 1994.

Session 11: The agricultural crisis and the spreading of Maoism

Readings:

- Deaton and J. Drèze, "Poverty and Inequality in India. A Re-examination", Economic and political weekly, 7 septembre 2002, pp. 3734-3735.
- Sudeep Chakravarti, Red sun. Travels in Naxalite country, New Delhi, Penguin, 2008, "Introduction", pp. 1-19.
- Christophe Jaffrelot, "India, An Emerging Power, but How Far?" in C. Jaffrelot (ed.), Emerging Powers: The Wellspring of a New World Order, Londres/Hurst; New York/Columbia University Press, 2008-2009 (Coll. "Global insights"), pp. 76-89.

Session 12: The economic reform and the new middle class

Readings:

- Ashutosh Varshney, "Mass politics or elite politics? Understanding the politics of India's economic reforms", in J. Sachs, A. Varshney and N. Bajpai (eds), *India in the era of economic reforms*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1999, p. 222-60.
- R. Jenkins, *Democratic politics and economic reform in India*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1999, pp. 172-207.
- Zoya Hasan, "Changing political orientations of the middle classes in India", in *Middle class values in India and Western Europe*, New Delhi, Social Science Press, 2002, pp. 152-170.
- Christophe Jaffrelot, « 'Why Should We Vote?' – The Indian Middle Class and the Functioning of the World's Largest Democracy », in C. Jaffrelot et P. Van der Veer (eds), *Patterns of middle class consumption in India and China*, New Delhi, Sage, 2008, pp. 35-54.

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- Bardhan, P., *The Political Economy of Development in India*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1984.
- Baxi, U., *The Supreme Court and Politics*, Lucknow, Eastern Book, 1980.
- Brass, P., *The Politics of India since Independence*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Chhibber, P., *Democracy without associations. Transformation of the party system and social cleavages in India*, Ann Arbor, The University of Michigan Press, 1999.
- Corbridge, S. and Harriss, John (dir.), *Reinventing India. Liberalization, Hindu nationalism and popular democracy*, Delhi, Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Frankel, F., *India's Political Economy, 1947-1977*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1978.
- Frankel, F. and Rao, M.S.A. (dir.), *Dominance and State Power in Modern India*, Delhi, Oxford University Press, 2 vol., 1989 et 1990.
- Hasan, Z., *Quest for power. Oppositional Movements and post-Congress Politics in Uttar Pradesh*, Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1998.
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- Jaffrelot, C., *The Hindu nationalist movement and indian politics , 1925 to the 1990s*, Delhi, Penguin India, 1999, 592 p.
- Jaffrelot, C. et Hansen, T.B. (dir.), *The BJP and the compulsions of politics in India*, Oxford, Oxford university press, 2001.
- Kohli, A. (ed.), *The success of India's democracy*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Kothari, R., *Politics in India*, Hyderabad, Orient Longman, 1970.

- Mahajan, G., Identities and rights. Aspects of liberal democracy in India, Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Morris-Jones, W.H., The Government and Politics of India, Londres, Hutchinson, 1964.
- Rudolph, Lloyd and Susanne Hoeber, In Pursuit of Lakshmi: The Political Economy of the Indian State, Hyderabad, Orient Longman, 1987.
- Zavos, John, Andrew Wyatt et Vernon Hewitt (dir.), The Politics of Cultural Mobilization in India, Oxford, New York, Oxford University Press, 2004.

Democracy was ushered in India when the Constitution of India was framed on 26th of January, 1950, the world's longest written constitution. Democracy in India should ideally function as a well-oiled machine but certain detrimental factors throw the spanner in the works, the result of which is that the constitutional goals and democratic aspirations of India remains unrealized. In the Preamble to the Constitution of India, the pledge to make India a democratic republic and ascertain equality, liberty and justice to all its citizens remains just a promise. Democracy is for the people, by the people and of the people, as quoted by Abraham Lincoln. In a democratic country the laws are made for the people. However, in this aspect India can be safely declared to be a minimally lawful country. India can hardly shine as a lone beacon of true democracy, an island where the freedom of expression flowers, dissidence is cherished and a civil political discourse enlightens the voters. Treachery and betrayal. Prime Minister Narendra Modi's critics say India has been turned into a Republic of Fear bedevilled by majoritarianism and religious polarisation. In this dismal scenario, one may recall that democracy had a glorious beginning in India. This young Republic did better than the UK or the USA some 67 years ago, when it went in for universal adult suffrage despite a very high level of illiteracy and the preponderance of poor people. It surprised the world by winning what was seen as the greatest gamble of democracy. Data | How has the state of democracy in India changed since 2008? Outcomes differ among countries that are democracies. Take for instance the life satisfaction that citizens report. Further, its ranking has dropped in recent years. We should be giving serious thought to both the fact of India's low ranking on the happiness index and its slide. To my mind, the criterion that in a democracy the people must be satisfied with their life is given very little thought these days. So far, Indian democracy has endured rather well in a multi-ethnic, linguistically diverse and rather large country with a billion people. People's faith and moral approval of democracy continues despite distaste with corruption and criminalisation of politics. So far it has been largely agreed that procedural democracy in India functions quite well. Elections are held regularly and India has never faced a military coup. The three constitutionally mandated institutions, the Supreme and the high courts, the President and the Election Commission are autonomous. Several examples in the past have proved this. However formation of Indian National Congress under democratic principles caught the imagination of the common man. Elsewhere in the British E... India leads the rest of the world by its largest population and diversity. India does not have any draconian laws to discipline the people. India has one of the largest most disciplined military forces in the world which never played politics. Indian democracy is strong and complete with its election process from its grass root level of administration. No individual can be taken for granted. There is no restriction on people's movement or settle down any where in India.