

**SEMINAR IN COMPARATIVE POLITICS
POLITICS OF INDIA**

Tuesdays & Thursdays, 3:30-4:45 pm
Susquehanna Hall 1105

Instructor: Dr. Allison Berland
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Office Hours: Tu/Th: 2:00-3:00pm
& 5:00-6:00pm

Course Description

“India has a well-established reputation for violating social science generalizations,” *-India After Gandhi*, by Ramachandra Guha.

Starting with its origins as an independent country and over the following seven decades, there has been speculation about whether India would stay united or would sustain its democratic institutions. Yet, in a relatively short period of time of seventy-five years, India’s political system has become one of the most vibrant examples of democracy. This course provides an introduction to the politics of India, with an emphasis on the key actors, institutions, and ideas that have shaped the evolution of Indian democracy and society.

Learning Objectives

The learning objectives for this course include the ability to 1) identify and discuss the ways in which the legacies of colonialism and the struggle for independence have shaped both the formal structures of governance and the nature of social conflict in India, 2) identify and discuss the role of religion and ethnic identity on the politics in India, 3) identify the key stages and the key actors involved in India’s political development, and 4) identify and discuss key issues and trends influencing contemporary Indian politics.

Summary of Assignments

Each student will be graded based on the following criteria:

- Class participation (20%)
- One reflection paper (2 pages, approx. 500 words) based on a particular week’s readings (15%)
- One reflection paper (2 pages, approx. 500 words) based on a newspaper story or editorial related to one of the week’s topics (15%)
- One quiz (20%)
- One final essay paper (Approx. 1500-1750 words) (30%)

Class Participation

Participation includes coming to each class prepared to discuss readings, pose questions, and make evaluative comments. Please bring the readings with you to class every day. Please let me know if you are going to miss class by sending me an email beforehand. Missing three or more classes will impact your participation grade.

Short Reflection Papers and Final Paper

For the two short reflection papers and the final paper, you may use your notes, the books, or outside materials for these essays, but please include citations and references for all the materials you use, including assigned text for the class. All papers can be submitted to the course page on the ELMS website:

<https://myelms.umd.edu>

Quiz

There will be one online quiz during finals week. The quiz is expected to take about 90 minutes and includes a short multiple-choice section and a short answer question.

Grading

Grades will be calculated according to a standard scale, in which 97 and above is an A+, 93-96 is an A, 90-92 is an A-, 87-89 is a B+, 83-86 is a B, 80-82 is a B-, 77-79 is a C+, 73-76 is a C, 70-72 is a C-, 67-69 is a D+, 63-66 is a D, 60-62 is a D-, and below 60 is a F. Grades are not curved.

Academic Integrity

Academic Integrity is a cornerstone of the values and practices in higher education and the conduct of research. As an academic community, responsibility for maintaining this atmosphere at the University of Maryland lies with the students, faculty and administration. Academic misconduct includes but is not limited to: cheating; plagiarism; providing or receiving assistance in a manner not authorized by the professor; doing unauthorized academic work for which another person will receive credit or be evaluated; attempting to influence one academic evaluation by means other than academic merit; submitting the same paper in two different courses; and assisting other students in misconduct.

Plagiarism always involves failing to document one's sources. This can happen due to a motive of cheating, but it can also happen by accident. It does not have to be committed with a dishonest intention. Plagiarism can include quoting, paraphrasing, summarizing, or utilizing the published or unpublished work of others without proper acknowledgment. If there is any doubt about a particular case, always cite, and if you have any questions about what counts as plagiarism and how to avoid it, please ask me.

Please review the University of Maryland's Code of Academic Integrity and Honor Pledge available here: <https://academiccatalog.umd.edu/undergraduate/registration-academic-requirements-regulations/academic-integrity-student-conduct-codes/>

Policies and Resources for Undergraduate Courses

It is our shared responsibility to know and abide by the University of Maryland's policies that relate to all courses, which include topics like:

- Academic integrity
- Student and instructor conduct
- Accessibility and accommodations
- Attendance and excused absences
- Grades and appeals
- Copyright and intellectual property

Please visit www.ugst.umd.edu/courserelatedpolicies.html for the Office of Undergraduate Studies' full list of campus-wide policies and follow up with me if you have questions.

Main Course Readings

Please note: you do not have to purchase any of these books. I will make the readings available as PDF copies on ELMS. If you are interested in purchasing at least one of these books, I would recommend Ramachandra Guha's *India After Gandhi*.

Kochanek, Stanley and Robert Hardgrave. 2008. *India: Government and Politics in a Developing Nation*. Boston, MA: Thomson Wadsworth

Guha, Ramachandra. 2007. *India After Gandhi: The History of the World's Largest Democracy*. New York, NY: HarperCollins

Denyer, Simon. 2014. *Rogue Elephant: Harnessing the Power of India's Unruly Democracy*. New York, NY: Bloomsbury

COURSE SCHEDULE

Week 1: Course introduction, Introduction to India

Tuesday, August 30

Syllabus & Course introduction

Thursday, September 1

Reading: Guha, Ramachandra, *India After Gandhi*, Prologue, "Unnatural Nation," pp 1-15.

Part I: Setting the Stage before Indian Independence

Week 2: Legacies of Colonialism, Independence and Partition, Origins of the Kashmir conflict

Tuesday, September 6

Reading: Hardgrave and Kochanek, *India: Government and Politics in a Developing Nation*, Chapter 2, pp. 30-60.

Thursday, September 8

Reading: Guha, Ramachandra, *India After Gandhi*, Chapters 1-3, pp 19-73.

Week 3: India's Governing Structures and Institutions

Tuesday, September 13

Reading: Guha, *India After Gandhi*, chapter 6, pp. 115-134.

Thursday, September 15

Reading: Hardgrave and Kochanek, *India: Government and Politics in a Developing Nation*, Chapter 4, pp. 142-189.

Week 4: India's Social Structure and the Context of Political Conflict

Tuesday, September 20

Reading: Hardgrave and Kochanek, *India: Government and Politics in a Developing Nation*, Chapter 1, pp. 14-29.

Reading: Guha, *India After Gandhi*, chapters 4-5, pp. 74-114

Thursday, September 22

Please watch the movie, **Chak de! India** before class on Tuesday. The title means, "Let's Go! India." Information on where to find the movie will be given the week before.

Part II: Major Developments in Indian Democracy

Week 5: Congress Party Part I: Jawaharlal Nehru, Patronage Politics, State Directed Development

→ *First reflection paper due on Sunday, October 2*

Tuesday, September 27

Reading: Rajni Kothari, "The Congress 'System' in India," in Zoya Hasan (ed.), *Parties and Party Politics in India*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 39-55.

Reading: Hardgrave and Kochanek, *India: Government and Politics in a Developing Nation*, Chapter 6, pp. 259-277.

Thursday, September 29

Reading: Wilkinson, Steven, "Explaining changing patterns of party-voter linkages in India," in Herbert Kitschelt and Steven Wilkinson (eds.) *Patrons, Clients and Policies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 110-114.

Reading: Atul Kohli, *State-Directed Development*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), Chapter 7, India's Fragmented-Multi-Class State and Protected Industrialization, pp. 257-270.

Week 6: Congress Party Part II: Indira Gandhi, Emergency, Sanjay Gandhi**Tuesday: October 4**

Reading: Hardgrave and Kochanek, *India: Government and Politics in a Developing Nation*, Chapter 6, pp. 278-301.

Reading: Stanley Kochanek, "Mrs. Gandhi's Pyramid: The New Congress," in Zoya Hasan (ed.), *Parties and Party Politics in India*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 76-106.

Thursday, October 6

Reading: Atul Kohli, *State-Directed Development*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), Chapter 7, India's Fragmented-Multi-Class State and Protected Industrialization, pp. 270-281.

Reading: Arvind Panagariya, *India: The Emerging Giant*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), Chapter 3, pp. 47-55.

Week 7: Politics of Economic Liberalization**Tuesday, October 11**

Reading: Atul Kohli, *State-Directed Development*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), Chapter 7, India's Fragmented-Multi-Class State and Protected Industrialization, pp. 281-288.

Reading: Arvind Panagariya, *India: The Emerging Giant*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), Chapter 4, p. 78-94.

Thursday, October 13

Reading and video: "1991 reforms: The year that transformed India," *BBC*, July 24, 2021.

Link: <https://www.bbc.com/news/av/world-asia-india-57939341>

Reading: Puja Mehra, “1991 reforms aimed at more than just balance of payments crisis,” *Mint*, January 21, 2021.

Link: <https://www.livemint.com/news/india/1991-reforms-aimed-at-more-than-just-bop-crisis-11611247422369.html>

Reading: Remya Nair, “How Narasimha Rao and Manmohan Singh rescued India in 1991 and made history,” *The Print*, July 23, 2021. Link: <https://theprint.in/economy/how-narasimha-rao-and-manmohan-singh-rescued-india-in-1991-and-made-history/700893/>

Week 8: Emergence of Coalition Politics and the Rise of Regional Parties

Tuesday, October 18

Reading: Hardgrave and Kochanek, *India: Government and Politics in a Developing Nation*, Chapter 7, pp. 314-331.

Thursday, October 20

Reading: Kanchan Chandra, “The transformation of ethnic politics in India: The decline of the Congress and the rise of the Bahujan Samaj Party in Hshiarpur,” *Journal of Asian Studies*, Ann Arbor 59(1), February 200, pp. 26-61.

Reading: Ian Duncan, “Dalits and politics in rural North India: The Bahujan Samaj Party in Uttar Pradesh,” *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 27(1), 1999, pp. 35-60.

Week 9: Rise of the Bharatiya Janata Party 1.0 (1996-2004)

Tuesday, October 25

Reading: Hardgrave and Kochanek, *Government and Politics in a Developing Nation*, chapter 7, pp. 331-346.

Thursday, October 27

Ashutosh Varshney, “Contested Meanings: India's National Identity, Hindu Nationalism, and the Politics of Anxiety,” *Daedalus*, 12(3), Summer 1993, pp. 227-261.

Week 10: Congress Party Returns: United Progressive Alliance I and II (2004-2014)

Tuesday, November 1

Reading: Simon Denyer, *Rogue Elephant*, chapter 2, pp. 41-77.

Thursday, November 3

Reading: Simon Denyer, *Rogue Elephant*, Chapter 4, pp. 100-125.

Week 11: The Bharatiya Janata Party 2:0 (2014-present)

→ *Second reflection paper due Sunday, November 13*

Tuesday, November 8

Reading: Simon Denyer, *Rogue Elephant*, Chapter 15, pp. 337-365.

Thursday, November 10

Reading: Christophe Jaffrelot and Gilles Verniers, “The BJP’s 2019 election campaign, not business as usual,” *Contemporary South Asia*, 28(2), 2020, pp. 155-177.

Reading: Kanchan Chandra, “How Hindu Nationalism Went Mainstream,” *Foreign Policy*, June 13, 2019.
<https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/06/13/how-hindu-nationalism-went-mainstream/>

Reading: “Article 370: What happened with Kashmir and why it matters,” *BBC*, August 6, 2019.

Reading: Dharvi Vaid, “One year of India’s Citizenship Amendment Act,” *DW*, December 11, 2020.

Link:

<https://www.dw.com/en/one-year-of-indias-citizenship-amendment-act/a-55909013>

Part III: Contemporary Issues in Indian Politics**Week 12: Criminality in Indian Politics****Tuesday, November 15**

Reading: Milan Vaishnav, *When Crime Pays*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), Chapter 1, pp. 3-24.

Reading: Simon Denyer, *Rogue Elephant*, chapter 3, pp. 78-89.

Thursday, November 17

Reading: Milan Vaishnav, *When Crime Pays*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), Chapter 3, pp. 75-115.

Reading: Milan Vaishnav, A Look at “Why Crime Pays” in Indian Politics,” *The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, available at <https://carnegieendowment.org/2017/02/11/look-at-why-crime-pays-in-indian-politics-pub-67983>

Week 13: Impact of Cable Television and Social Media on Indian Politics

Tuesday, November 22

Reading: Simon Denyer, *Rogue Elephant*, Chapter 6, pp. 153-177.

Thursday, November 24

Reading: Joyojeet Pal, Priyank Chandra and V G Vinod Vydiswaran, “Twitter and the Rebranding of Narendra Modi, *Economic and Political Weekly*, 51(8), February 20, 2016, pp. 52-60.

Reading: Shakuntala Rao, “Making of a Selfie Nation: Narendra Modi, the Paradigm Shift to Social Media Governance, and Crisis of Democracy,” *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, 42(2), 2018, pp. 166-183.

Week 14: India’s Middle Class, Women’s Participation in Politics, India’s Farmers

Tuesday, November 29

Reading: Eric D. Beinhocker, Diana Farrell, and Adil S. Zainulbhai, “Tracking the Growth of India’s Middle Class,” *The McKinsey Quarterly*, No. 3, 2017, pp. 1-12.

Reading: Rakash Kochnar, “In the pandemic, India’s middle class shrinks and poverty spreads while China sees smaller changes,” *Pew Research Center*, March 18, 2021, available at <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2021/03/18/in-the-pandemic-indias-middle-class-shrinks-and-poverty-spreads-while-china-sees-smaller-changes/>

Reading: Sayan Ghosh, “Covid 19 Shrank India’s Burgeoning Middle Class,” *The Diplomat*, August 17, 2021, available at <https://thediplomat.com/2021/08/covid-19-shrank-indias-burgeoning-middle-class/>

Thursday, December 1

Reading: Praveen Rai, “Women’s Participation in Electoral Politics in India: Silent Feminisation,” *South Asia Research*, 37(1), January 20, 2017, pp. 58-77.

Reading: Salimah Shivji, “Burdened by debt and unable to eke out a living, many farmers in India turn to suicide,” *CBC in India*, March 30, 2021, available at <https://www.cbc.ca/news/world/india-farmers-suicide-1.5968086>

Reading: Pradyut Guha and Tiken Das, "Commentary: Farmers' Suicides in India," *Economic and Political Weekly*, January 29, 2022.

Week 15: India and U.S. Relations Past and Present

Tuesday, December 6

Reading: S. Paul Kapur and Sumit Ganguly, "The Transformation of US-India Relations," *Asian Survey*, 47(4), July/August 2007, pp. 642-656.

Reading: R. Nicholas Burns, "The New U.S.-India Partnership," *Foreign Affairs*, 86(6), November/December 2007, pp. 131-146.

Thursday, December 8

Reading: Sheila A. Smith, "The Quad in the Indo-Pacific: What to Know," *Council on Foreign Relations Brief*, May 27, 2021, available at <https://www.cfr.org/in-brief/quad-indo-pacific-what-know>

Reading: Akshay Ranade, "How India Influences the Quad," *The Diplomat*, May 30, 2022, available at <https://thediplomat.com/2022/05/how-india-influences-the-quad/>

Reading: Vikas Pandey, "2+2 talks: How India and US agreed to differ on Ukraine war," *BBC*, April 12, 2022, available at <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-61042314>

→ Final Paper Due Sunday, December 11