

State-Society Relations and Governance: Reflections on India

Semester 1 – 2016-2017

Instructor: Rahul Mukherji

Aims

This seminar will reflect on the relationship between the Indian state and society, and the conditions under which governance succeeds and fails in India. Public institutions within and outside the state embody social norms. Governance is produced when the play of institutions produces certain predictable social behaviour based on the dominant ideas or norms in society. We are interested not only in how certain types of institution induced behaviour are produced but also why institutions change.

A few examples will highlight this point. Indian corporations would behave differently when the economy was closed to international trade than under globalization. Similarly, citizens are likely to demand their rights when these rights are guaranteed by laws. They will demand work, education and privileged government information, if these have been legislated as the legitimate rights of citizens. Citizens living in democracies are likely to demand more from governments compared with situations where they lack voting rights.

The seminar will first engage with the comparative literature on the relationship between state and society in the process of development. Governance and development are viewed as social processes. The seminar will engage important theories of social change and persistence. It will interrogate the power of capitalism. Can the state be understood as being autonomous from the interests of capital? Does capitalism produce democracy? What is a developmental state? What is the political power of policy ideas? Do elite networks rather than the state engender governance?

We will interrogate comparative politics on India's diverse experiences with governance and development. The country is the third largest economy measured in terms of purchasing power parity, alongside being the carrier of the largest number of poor people in the world. The process of development in India has occurred within a democratic framework.

The social science of comparative politics and historical sociology will be used to investigate how and why India is different. Can its unusual trajectory contribute to social science puzzles and theory enrichment? Some significant research puzzles discussed in this seminar include:

How did India become a democracy, despite having an underdeveloped capitalist class?

Why does the Indian economy grow rapidly, despite the country's not fulfilling the requirements of a classic "developmental state"?

Calendar and Syllabus

1. 25.10.2016

Introduction: Social Power

We will discuss the organization of this class in this session. This is a free-thinking session. It will be used to introduce the class. Students are not expected to read for the first seminar class.

Politics is largely about power relations. This session will discuss three dimensions of power. What are the three faces of power? Can we recognize the three faces of power in social life? Do they comprehensively tell us about power relations? We will try to see whether these faces of power manifest themselves in social and political life in India. Do institutions reflect power relations?

Steven Lukes. *Power: A Radical View* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005), chapter 1.

Supplementary

Robert Dahl, *Who Governs* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).

Paul Pierson, "Power in Historical Institutionalism," in Orfeo Fioretos, Tulia G Falletti and Adam Sheingate, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Historical Institutionalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016): 124-43.

2. 8.11.2016

Social Roots of the State: Capitalism and Democracy

Does capitalism produce democracy? How strong are the arguments in favour of the rise capitalism as the basis for democracy?

Barrington Moore, *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966), chapter 7.

Torben Iversen, "Capitalism and Democracy," in Barry R Weingast and Donald A Wittman, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Political Economy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008): 602-23.

Supplementary

Barrington Moore, *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966), especially chapters 1 & 6.

Adam Przeworski, *Democracy and the Market* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

3. 15.11.2016

India's Democracy

Does India challenge the view that capitalism produces democracy? If capitalism did not produce democracy, what did? What is the evolving nature of Indian democracy?

Rajni Kothari, "The Congress System in India," *Asian Survey* 4, 12 (December 1964): 1161-73.

Maya Tudor, "Explaining Democracy's Origins," *Comparative Politics* 45, 3 (April 2013): 253-72.

Louise Tillin, "Questioning Borders," *Pacific Affairs* 84, 1 (March 2011): 67- 87.

Supplementary Readings

Sumit Ganguly and Rahul Mukherji, *India Since 1980* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), especially chapter 4.

Subrata Mitra, *Politics in India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2014).

Myron Weiner, "The Struggle for Equality," in Atul Kohli, ed., *The Success of India's Democracy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001): 193-225.

Atul Kohli, ed., *The Success of India's Democracy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

Christophe Jaffrelot, *India's Silent Revolution* (Delhi: Permanent Black, 2003).

Kanchan Chandra, *Why Ethnic Parties Succeed* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

4. 22.11.2016

Capitalism & Institutions

Does capitalism produce institutions and institutional change? Do changes in technology and prices produce social and political effects.

Douglass C North and Barry R. Weingast, “The Evolution of Institutions Governing Public Choice in 17th Century England,” *Journal of Economic History* 49 (1989): 803-32.

Kathleen Thelen, *How Institutions Evolve* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004): 1-38.

Supplementary

Peter A Hall and David Soskice, ed., *Varieties of Capitalism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001).

Douglass C North, *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

James Conran and Kathleen Thelen, “Institutional Change,” in Orfeo Fioretos, Tulia G Falletti and Adam Sheingate, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Historical Institutionalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016): 31-50.

5. 29.11.2016

Capitalism and India's Institutions

Does the capitalist class determine economic governance in India? Or, is it the larger and more chaotic “dominant and proprietary classes” that shape India’s institutions? Can we define interest groups differently to understand how institutions are shaped?

Pranab Bardhan (1984). *The Political Economy of Development in India* (New York: Basil Blackwell), pp.40-53.

Atul Kohli, *Poverty Amid Plenty in the New India* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 19-78.

Vivek Chibber, *Locked in Place* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 3-12.

Supplementary

Vivek Chibber, *Locked in Place* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003).

John Harriss, *Power Matters* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006).

Pranab Bardhan, *Political Economy of Development in India* (New York: Basil Blackwell, 1984).

6. 6.11.2016

The State

Can the state be viewed as an actor that is separate from the capitalist class and other powerful actors in society?

Theda Skocpol, "Bringing the State Back In," in Peter B Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer and Theda Skocpol, eds., *Bringing the State Back In* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985): 3-43.

Stephen D. Krasner, "Approaches to the State," *World Politics* 16, 2 (January 1984): 223-45.

Supplementary

Peter J Katzenstein, *Between Power and Plenty* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1978).

Kathleen Thelen and Sven Stienmo, "Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Perspective," in Sven Steinmo, Kathleen Thelen and Frank Longstreth, eds., *Structuring Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992): 1-32.

Jeffrey Herbst, *States and Power in Africa* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014).

7. 13.11.2016

Developmental State

What is a classic developmental state modelled after the East Asian success story? Can states pursue other trajectories as well?

Meredith Woo-Cumings, "Introduction," in Meredith Woo Cumings, ed., *The Developmental State* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989): 1-31.

Peter Evans, *Embedded Autonomy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995): 21-42.

Supplementary

Meredith Woo-Cummings, ed., *The Developmental State* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999).

Robert Wade, "East Asia's Economic Success," *World Politics* 44, 2 (January 1992): 270-320.

Robert Wade, *Governing the Market* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990).

8. 20.12.2016

Is India a Developmental State?

India seems not to be a classic developmental state. Can India therefore not develop in terms of economic growth and human well-being?

Rahul Mukherji, "Is India a Developmental State" in Yin-Wah Chu, ed., *The Asian Developmental State* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2016): 117-138.

Ronald Herring, "India's Failed Developmental State," in Meredith Woo-Cummings, ed., *The Developmental State* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989): 306-34.

Supplementary

Yin-Wah Chu, ed., *The Asian Developmental State* (New York: Plagrave Macmillan, 2016).

9. 10.01.2017

State and Ideas

How important are the policy ideas of bureaucrats, technocrats and the political elite? Are policy makers driven by powerful groups in society or do their own thoughts also matter? How do these thoughts become part of policy, institutions and governance?

Peter A Hall, "Introduction," in Peter A Hall, edited, *The Political Power of Economic Ideas* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989): 3-26.

Mark Blyth, *Great Transformations* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002): 17-48.

Supplementary

Daniel Beland and Robert H Cox, eds., *Ideas and Politics in Social Science Research* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

Mark Blyth, Oddny Helgadóttir, and William Kring, “Ideas and Historical Institutionalism,” in Orfeo Fioretos, Tullia G Falletti and Adam Sheingate, *The Oxford Handbook of Historical Institutionalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016): 142-62.

10.17.01.2017

Indian State and Ideas

How important are the policy ideas within the Indian state for its institutions and governance?

Rahul Mukherji, *Globalization and Deregulation: Ideas, Interests and Institutional Change in India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press): chapter 2.

Myron Weiner, *The Child and the State in India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 3-18.

Supplementary

Rahul Mukherji, *Globalization and Deregulation: Ideas Interests and Institutional Change in India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2014).

Francine Frankel, *India's Political Economy* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2005).

Roger Jeffery, *The Politics of Health in India* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988).

Sudipta Kaviraj, “A Critique of the Passive Revolution,” in Partha Chatterjee, ed., *State and Politics in India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1997): 45-88.

11.24.01.2017

Networks & Institutions

Are institutions produced by social networks? The social capital literature seems to view connections or social networks as the basis of good institutions because they create trust. Networks can also create advocacy networks that change global and national level norms.

Robert Putnam, *Making Democracy Work* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), chapter 1.

Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), chapter 1.

Supplementary

Robert Putnam, *Making Democracy Work* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992).

Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998).

12.31.01.2017

Elite Networks and Governance in India

This section explores the social basis of development in India. Does this literature appeal to the social capital literature discussed in the previous week?

Tariq Thachil, "Embedded Mobilization," *World Politics* 63, 3 (July 2011): 434-69.

Subrata K Mitra, "Making Local Government Work," in Atul Kohli, ed., *The Success of India's Democracy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001): 103-126.

Anirudh Krishna, "Politics in the Middle," in Herbert Kitschelt and Steven I Wilkinson, ed., *Patrons, Clients and Policies* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007): 141-58.

Supplementary

Tariq Thachil, *Elite Parties, Poor Voters* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

Subrata Kumar Mitra, *Power, Protest and Participation* (London: Routledge, 1992).

Anirudh Krishna, *Active Social Capital* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001).

13.07.02.2017

Politics of Redistribution in India

This session will discuss more the state-centric accounts of the politics of redistribution in India. Redistributive politics refers to the process of transferring resources to the poor who cannot easily be served by the market.

Rahul Mukherji, *Political Economy of Reforms in India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2014): chapter 3.

Jean Dreze, "Employment Guarantee and the Right to Work," in Niraja G Jayal and Pratap B Mehta, eds., *The Oxford Companion to Politics in India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2010): 510-518.

Supplementary

Louise Tillin, Rajeshwari Deshpande and K K Kailash, eds., *Politics of Welfare* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2015).

Patrick Heller, "Degrees of Democracy," *World Politics* 52 (July 2000): 484-519.

Prior Requirements

This is an MA level class. What is required is a commitment to South Asia and to social science theory. The instructor and the lecturers are happy to work with students. Students are required to go through the readings mentioned just below the titles. This is essential. The supplementary materials are further readings for students who want to learn more about a particular topic. This material will be useful for research students, especially those who wish to present in a particular class.

Organization

This is a seminar class. It builds on the Vorlesung titled: *Political Economy of South Asia* but is different from it. The demands on reading and discussion here greater than in the Vorlesung.

The first meeting will be a discussion on how we will run the seminar. From the second session onwards, we will have presenters who will present every week for about 10-15 minutes. These presentations will discuss the readings for the class. Students should present a short paper based on the readings, which can be blown-up into a larger paper of 5000-6000 words.

I will need a 1000 to 1500 - word assignment on the discussions in class by every presenter. This short paper will summarize the presentation and comments received from the seminar participants. This paper will be turned in within a week after the presentation (Only those who present in week 2, we will get an extra week to submit the paper).

The essential readings will be uploaded on Moodle. Much of the supplementary material will be available in the library reserves. The essential readings are the minimal requirements for participating in this class. The supplementary material should be consulted by those who are making the seminar presentation. There is no limit to how much you can read.

I have pointed to additional resources in the following section titled: Scholarly Resources.

Students who desire a “Schein” must register on Moodle by the second week after the lecture begins (9 November 2016).

The password for registering for this class is: Governance 1617.

Assessment

Attendance in the Hauptseminar is voluntary for those who do not wish to get a ‘Schein’ at the semester’s end. For others, attendance is compulsory.

The short paper (1000-1500 word) will be due one week after the class presentation. The final paper submitted at the end of class can vary between 5000-6000 words. An exception will be made for those presenting in the second week. They can take two weeks to turn in the short paper.

Discussions in class carry 30% of the grade. The short paper will be 20% of the grade. And, the final paper will amount to half (50%) of the grade. It is important therefore to consistently participate in class to benefit from it and to earn a good grade.

Scholarly Resources

These resources are useful for writing your paper and if you want to develop a research interest on state-society relations, comparative politics and India.

Journals: The journals given below are scholarly in nature. They often carry papers on India. You can go to their web sites, if you are keen to learn more about this

class. Heidelberg University library should have either e-access or hard copies of these journals.

Economic and Political Weekly: <http://www.epw.in/>

World Politics

Comparative Politics

Governance

Studies in Indian Politics

World Development

Pacific Affairs

Asian Survey

Contemporary South Asia

India Review

Seminar: <http://www.india-seminar.com/>

Contemporary South Asia

Journal of South Asian Development

Journal of Asian Studies

Leading newspapers: *Economic Times* (India), *The Hindu* (India), *Indian Express* (India), *Times of India* (India).