



אוניברסיטת בן-גוריון בנגב
הפקולטה למדעי הרוח והחברה



תשע"ח – 2018-19

שם הקורס: פוליטיקה, חברה ומשפט בהודו המודרנית

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שם המרצה: ד"ר אילת הראל-שלו

שעות קבלה: בתיאום מראש.

מטרות הקורס:

קורס זה עוסק בחקר סכסוכים ובניתוח הדינמיקה הפוליטית בדמוקרטיה ההודית, הדמוקרטיה הגדולה והמגוונת ביותר בעולם. במהלך הקורס נתמקד בחקר סוגיות מרכזיות בתחום הממשל, המשפט, והפוליטיקה בהודו לאור השערים הדתיים, אתניים, לשוניים, מגדריים, מעמדיים ואזוריים המצויים בה, וכן ביחסי החוץ שלה עם שכנותיה. הקורס יתמקד בחקר הפוליטיקה של הודו העצמאית (מ-1947 ואילך), בפרספקטיבה תיאורטית והשוואתית. במסגרת הקורס הסטודנטים ירכשו כלים לגבי ניתוח מקרה מבחן, בנוסף לידע אודות מקרה המבחן ההודי.

הנחיות ודרישות:

נוכחות והשתתפות פעילה בשיעורים – חובה; כולל קריאת חומרים ביבליוגרפים וקבצי עזר שיועלו לאתר המודל של הקורס. ביצוע המטלות בהצלחה. בקורס ייערכו מפגשים בכיתה ועוד מגוון מטלות קריאה וצפייה בסרטים. **הקורס אינו מומלץ לתלמידי שנה א'.**

הציון בקורס יינתן באופן הבא:

- השתתפות פעילות ונוכחות בשיעורים -לא תינתן הוספת ציון על מילוי חובה זו, אך יכול לרדת ציון, או להיות לא זכאים להיבחן במקרה של חיסורים מעל המכסה.
- 20% מטלת ביניים – **רשות בלבד** - ניתוח מאמר או שני מאמרים מתוך מאמרי הבחירה בסילבוס בתיאום המרצה והצגתם בכיתה (20%).
- 80% מבחן בית מסכם. (ייחשב כ-100% למי שלא מציג/ה מאמר). מבחן הבית המסכם יוגש לא יאוחר מיום שישי – 6.07.18. תאריך מוסכם ייקבע בכיתה באפריל.

מבנה הקורס:

הנושאים שידונו במסגרת הקורס:

שיעור מס' 1 : 26.02. כיצד חוקרים מקרה מבחן? חוקרים חברות מפולגות: הגדרות, מושגי יסוד ומתודולוגיה, דמוקרטיזציה וקונפליקטים אתניים

Readings:

Chatterjee, Partha. "Whose Imagined Community?" *Millennium-Journal of International Studies* 20(3) 1991: 521-525.

Optional Readings:

Brass, Paul. *Ethnicity and Nationalism, Theory and Comparison.* Newbury Park (Ca): Sage Publication, 1991.

Connor, Walker. "The Nation and its Myth." *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 33(1-2) 1992: 48-57.

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Skocpol, Theda. "Bringing the State Back in." In Peter Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, & Theda Skocpol (Eds.). *Bringing the State Back In*. Cambridge University Press, 1985: 3-37.

Migdal, Joel, Atul Kohli & Vivienne Shue (Eds.). *State Power and Social Forces: Domination and Transformation in the third world*. Cambridge University Press, 1994: 1-4, 7-30.

Hardin, Russell. *One for All: The Logic of Group Conflict*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997.

Huntington, Samuel. "Democracy's Third Wave." *Journal of Democracy*, 1991: 12-34.

Rabushka, Alvin & Kenneth Shepsle. *Politics in Plural Societies*. Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill, 1972: 23-105.

Przeworski, Adam, Michael Alvarez, Jose Antonio Cheibub & Fernando Limongi. "What Makes Democracies Endure?" *Journal of Democracy* 7(1) 1996.

Diskin, Abraham, Hanna Diskin, & Reuven Hazan. "Why Democracies Collapse: The reasons for democratic Failure and Success." *International Political Science Review* 26(3) 2005: 291-309.

Connor, Walker. "A Nation is a Nation, is a State, is an Ethnic Group, is a..." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 1(10) 1978: 377-400.

Harel-Shalev, Ayelet. *The Challenge of Sustaining Democracy in Deeply Divided Societies: Citizenship, Rights, and Ethnic Conflicts in India and Israel*. Lanham: Lexington Press, 2010; New-Delhi: Cambridge, 2013. Chapter 1 & 5.



שיעור 2 : 5.03. תיאור המקרה – השערים המרכזיים בהודו – מוזאיקה גדולה

Readings:

The Constitution of India, The Indian Parliament website – מספר סעיפים מהחוקה ההודית - <http://indiacode.nic.in/coiweb/welcome.html> Selected Articles: Preamble, Articles 1, 5-7, 13-17, 25-30, 44, 48.

Ludden, David (Ed.). *Making India Hindu*. Oxford University press, 1996. Introduction, 1-23.

Optional Readings:

Brass, Paul. *The Politics of India Since Independence*. Cambridge University Press, South Asian Edition, 1990. Chapter 1, 1-28.

Naidu, M.V. "Indian Democracy: A Case Study in Conflict Resolution and Peace Building." *Peace Research* 38(2) 2006: 71-97.

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Larson, Gerald James. "Partition: The Pulsing Heart that Grieved". *The Journal of Asian Studies* 2013: 1 – 4.

Rudolph, Lloyd I & Susanne Hoeber Rudolph. *In Pursuit of Lakshmi: The Political Economy of the Indian State.* Chicago: University of Chicago press, 1987. 1-15.

Gill, Manohar Singh. "India: Running the World's Biggest Elections." *Journal of Democracy* 9(1) 1998: 164-168.

Shalini, Sharma. "'Yeh azaadi jhooti hai!': The shaping of the opposition in the first year of the Congress raj". *Modern Asian Studies*, 2014: 1 – 31. doi: 10.1017/S0026749X13000693.

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Chakrabarty, Dipesh. "'In the Name of Politics': Democracy and the Power of the Multitude in India." *Public Culture* 19(1) 2007: 35-57.

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שיעור 3 – 12.03. השסע האתנו-דתי - הינדואיזם ומוסלמים והימין ההודי – דינמיקה של רוב ומיעוט

Readings:

Hasan, Mushirul. *Legacy of a Divided Nation: India's Muslims since Independence.* Oxford University Press, 2001. Chapter 2.

Selected parts of Supreme Court Verdicts.

Optional Readings:

Bose, Sumantra. "Hindu Nationalism and the Crisis of the Indian State: A Theoretical Perspective." In Bose Sugata & Jalal Ayesha (Eds.). *Nationalism, Democracy and Development: State and Politics in India.* Oxford University press, 1999. 104-164.

Jaffrelot, Christophe. *The Hindu nationalist movement and Indian politics: 1925 to the 1990s: strategies of identity-building, implantation and mobilization.* Delhi: Penguin Books India, 1999.

Noorani, A.G. "Introduction." In *The Muslims of India – A Documentary Record.* New-Delhi: Oxford, 2003. 1-33.

Thakur, Manish K. "Democracy, Pluralism and the Religious Minorities: The Muslim Question in India." *Social Change* 43, 2013: 581-594.

Harel-Shalev, Ayelet. "The Problematic Nature of Religious Autonomy to Minorities in Democracies – The Case of India's Muslims." *Democratization* 16(6) 2009: 1261-1281.

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Brass, Paul. "Elite Groups, Symbol Manipulation and Ethnic Identity among the Muslims of South Asia." In David Taylor and Malcolm Yapp (Eds.). *Political Identity in South Asia.* Curzon Press, 1979. 35-77.

Aslam, Mohammad. 1989. "State Communalism and the Reassertion of Muslim Identity". In *The State, Political Processes and Identity*, edited by Zoya Hasan, S. N. Jha, and Rasheeduddin Khan, 270–282. New-Delhi: Sage.

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שיעור 4 : 19.03. מדיניות לשונית במדינה רב-לשונית

Readings:

Apte, Mahadev L. "Language Controversies in the Indian Parliament (Lok Sabha) 1952-1960." In William O'Barr and Jean F. O'Barr (Eds.). *Language and Politics*, Mouton, 1976. 213-234.

Optional Readings:

Jayaram, N. "Disparities in Access to Higher Education in India: Persistent Issues and Changing Context." In Fred Lazin, Matt Evans, & N. Jayaram (Eds.). *Higher Education and the Equality of Opportunities*. Lexington Books, 2010.

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Tyagi, Yogesh. "Some Legal Aspects of Minority Languages in India." *Social Scientist* 31(5/6) 2003: 5-28.

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Rahman, Tariq. "Urdu as an Islamic Language." *The Annual of Urdu Studies* 21, 2006: 101-119.

Brass, Paul. "Elite Interests, Popular Passions, and Social Power in the Language Politics of India". *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 27(3) 2004: 353-375.



שיעור 5 : 26.03. על החיים החברתיים בהודו – מציאות מורכבת בעולם שלישי

דיון בקטעי סרטים – יפורסם בהמשך*



שיעור 6 : 2.04. קסטה, כסף ופוליטיקה ב"מדינה חילונית"

Readings:

Vaid, Divya. "Caste in contemporary India: Flexibility and Persistence." *Annual Review of Sociology* 40, 2014: 391-410.

Optional Readings:

גנדי, מהטמה. שלטון עצמי. תל-אביב: אדם עולם, 2016. תרגום מאת שמעון לב.

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Pande, Rohini. "Can mandated political representation increase policy influence for disadvantaged minorities? Theory and evidence from India." *The American Economic Review* 93(4) 2003: 1132-1151.

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Shani, Ornit. "The Politics of Communalism and Caste." In Isabelle Clark-Decès (Ed.). *A Companion to the Anthropology of India*. Wiley-Blackwell, 2011. 297-312.

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Nayar, Baldev Raj. *Globalization and India's economic integration*. Georgetown University Press, 2014.

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סיוור של התכנית לניהול וישוב סכסוכים, מ.א. 9.4 – אין שיעור - למידה עצמית

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חופשת פסח – אין שיעורים

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שיעור 7 : 30.04 - מגדר ופוליטיקה – הודו כמקרה מבחן

Readings:

Basu, Srimati. "Sexual property: Staging rape and marriage in Indian law and feminist theory." *Feminist Studies* 37(1) 2011: 185-211.

Harel-Shalev, Ayelet. "Gendering Ethnic Conflicts: Minority women in divided societies and the case of Muslim women in India." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 40(12), 2017.

Optional Readings:

Hale, Sylvia M. "The status of women in India." *Pacific Affairs*, 1989: 364-381.

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Hassan Zoya. "Communalism, State Policy and Question of Women's rights in Contemporary India." *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars* 25, no. 4 (October 1993): 5-15.

Mehta, Akanksha. "The aesthetics of 'everyday' violence: narratives of violence and Hindu right-wing women." *Critical Studies on Terrorism* 8(3) 2015: 416-438.

Menon, Nivedita. "Sexuality, Caste, Governmentality: Contests over 'Gender' in India." *Feminist Review* 91, 2009: 94-112.

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Rochona Majumdar "self-sacrifice versus self-interest: A Non-Historicist Reading of the History of Women's Rights in India" *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 22(1-2), 2002: 20-35.

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Subramanian, Narendra. *Nation and Family: Personal Law, Cultural Pluralism, and Gendered Citizenship in India*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2014.

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Torgovnick, May Kate. TED Fellow Shalini Kantayya bravely shares her story of sexual assault in India, 2013: <http://blog.ted.com/ted-fellow-shalini-kantayya-bravely-shares-her-story-of-sexual-assault-in-india>

Basu, Srimati. "Looking through Misogyny: Indian Men's Rights Activists, Law, and Challenges for Feminism." *Canadian Journal of Women and the Law* 28(1) 2016: 45-68.

Krishnan Jayanath & Galanter, Marc. "Personal Law and Human Rights in India and Israel." *Israel Law Review* 34, 2000: 101-33.

Som, Reba. "Jawaharlal Nehru and the Hindu code A Victory of Symbol over Substance?" In Sumit Sarkar & Tanika Sarkar (Eds.). *Women and Social Reform in Modern India – a Reader*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2008. 473-94.

Verma, Williams Rina. "Failure to Launch: Women and Hindu Nationalist Politics in Colonial India." *Politics, Religion & Ideology* 14(4) 2013: 541-556.

Banerjee, Sikata. "Gender and Nationalism: the Masculinization of Hinduism and female political participation in India." *Women's Studies International Forum* 26(2) 2003: 167-179.

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7.05. ערב יום הזיכרון - אין שיעור

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שיעור 8 : 14.05. על המערכת הפדרלית, ומגוון מגמות אזוריות בהודו

Readings:

Varshney, Ashutosh. "How has Indian Federalism Done?" *Studies in Indian Politics* 1(1) 2013: 43-63.

Heller, Patrick "Degrees of Democracy: Some Comparative Lessons from India." *World Politics* 52(4) 2000: 484-519.

Optional Readings:

Shneiderman, Sara & Louise Tillin. "Restructuring States, Restructuring Ethnicity: Looking Across Disciplinary Boundaries at Federal Futures in India and Nepal." *Modern Asian Studies*, 2014. Doi:10.1017/S0026749X1300067X.

Das Gupta, Jyotirindra. "India's Federal Design and Multicultural National Construction." In Atul Kohli (Ed.). *The Success of India's Democracy*. Cambridge University Press, 2001. 49-77.

Bhaumik, Subir. "Ethnicity, Ideology and Religion: Separatist Movements in India's Northeast." In SP Limaye ,M. Malik & ,RG Wirsing (Eds.). *Religious Radicalism and Security in South Asia*. Honolulu, HI: Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies, 2004. 219-244.

Manor, James. "India Defies the Odds: Making Federalism Works." *Journal of Democracy* 9(3) 1998: 21-35.

Darnell, Alfred T., & Sunita Parikh. "Religion Ethnicity and the Role of the State: Explaining Conflict in Assam." *Ethnic and Racial studies* 11(3) 1988: 263-281.

Varshney, Ashutosh. *Democracy, development, and the countryside: Urban-rural struggles in India.* Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Naidu M. V. "Indian Democracy: A case Study in Conflict Resolution and Peace Building". *Peace Research* 2006 38(2): 71-97.

Bhattacharyya Harihar "Federalism and Regionalism in India", working paper no. 27, *Heidelberg papers in South Asian and Comparative Politics*, May, 2005. 1-28.

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שיעור 9 : 21.05. על בדלנות, אלימות וקונפליקטים אתניים – על סיקיזם, מאויזם ועוד.

Readings:

Ganguly, Sumit. "Domestic Turmoil and External Hopes." *Asian Survey* 49(1) 2009: 39-52.

Optional Readings:

Varshney, Ashutosh, & Joshua R. Gubler. "Does the state promote communal violence for Electoral Reasons?" *India Review* 11(3) 2012: 191-199.

Ganguly Sumit, and Fidler D.P. *India and Counter insurgency.* Routledge, 2009.

Bose, Sugata, Ayesha Jalal, *Modern South Asia: History, Culture, Political Economy.* London and New York: Routledge, 1998. Chapter 16 – The partition of India and The creation of Kashmir. 165-189.

Parvinder Mehta. "Repressive silences and whispers of history: lessons and legacies of 1984." *Sikh Formations*, 2015. DOI: 10.1080/17448727.2015.1099342

Brass, Paul. *The Politics of India since Independence.* Cambridge University Press, South Asian Edition, 1990. Chapters 6 & 7.

Review Symposium. "The Production of Hindu-Muslim Violence in Contemporary India by Paul R. Brass." Reviews of his book by Thomas Blom Hansen, A. R. Momin, and Roger Petersen, with my response. *Ethnicities* 6(1) 2006: 102-117.

Mukherji, P. N., Chakrabarti, P., Chattopadhyay, M., & Ghosh, A. *From left extremism to electoral politics: Naxalite participation in elections.* Delhi: Manohar, 1983.

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שיעור 9 – 28.05 – אחד מהשניים –

או הרצאת אורח – (פרופ' קומארושוואמי), הודו והמזה"ת - הודו ישראל, ההרצאה תתקיים באנגלית או שיעור על הבחירות

בכל מקרה, קריאת חובה: **קבצי העזר מפת המחוזות + הסבר על קואליציות**. (נמצא במודל).

Optional Readings:

Kumaraswamy, P. R. 2017. What does Modi's Israel visit mean to the Palestinians? https://idsa.in/idsacomments/what-does-modi-israel-visit-mean-to-the-palestinians_prkumaraswamy_030717

Pawan Kumar. "Coalition Governments in India: 1952-1999", *International Journal of Science Technology & Management*, Vol 1(4), 2013.

Nussbaum, Martha C. "The Clash Within: Democracy and the Hindu Right." *Journal of Human Development* 9(3) 2008: 357-375.

Wilkinson, Steven. "Elections in India: Behind the Congress comeback." *Journal of Democracy* 16(1) 2005: 153-167.

Heitmeyer, Carolyn. "Intimate Transgressions and Communalist Narratives: Inter-religious romance in a divided Gujarat". *Modern Asian Studies* 50, 2016: 1277-1297. Doi:10.1017/S0026749X15000177.

Special Report: Sixty years of independence – India Charges Ahead, TIME, vol 170(6), 2007.

Kronstadt Alan K. India's 2004 national elections, Congressional Research service, July 12, 2004.

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שיעור 10 - 4.06. יש מקום רק לשמש אחת באסיה?

על ענייניה הבינ"ל של הודו – סין, פקיסטן, קשמיר ועוד. ועל מצבה ומעמדה הכלכלי של הודו.

Readings:

Ganguly, Sumit & Manjeet S. Pardi. "Explaining Sixty Years of India's Foreign Policy." *India Review* 8(1) 2009: 4-19.

Mohan, Malik. "The China Factor in the India-Pakistan Conflict." *Parameters* 33(1) 2003: 35-50.

Optional Readings:

Poorvi Chitalkar and David M. Malone, India and Global Governance in *The Oxford Handbook of Indian Foreign Policy*, Edited by David M. Malone, C. Raja Mohan, and Srinath Raghavan. Oxford: 2015.

Chenoy, Kamal. "Contending Nationalisms." *Harvard International Review* 28(3) 2006: 24-27.

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Wideman, Sten. "The rise and fall of Democracy in Kashmir 1975-1989." In Amrita Basu & Atul Kohli (Eds.). *Community conflicts and the state in India*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998. 149-182.

Lohia, S. P. *Modernisation of ethnic upsurge and conflict in South Asia*. Mumbai: Gaurav Book Centre Pvt. Ltd, 2016.

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שיעור 11 – 18/06 - ניסיון להסביר את שרידות הדמוקרטיה ההודית כנגד כל הסיכויים

Readings:

Lijphart, Arend. "The Puzzle of the Indian Democracy: A Consociational Interpretation." *American Political Science Review* 90(2) 1996: 258-268.

Wilkinson, Steven. "India, Consociational Theory and Ethnic Violence." *Asian Survey* 35(5) 2000: 767-91.

Optional Readings:

Varshney, Ashutosh. "India Defies the Odds: Why Democracy Survives." *Journal of Democracy* 9(1) 1998: 36-50.

Lijphart, Arend. "Consociational Democracy." *World Politics* 21(2) 1969: 207-225.

Brass Paul. "Ethnic Conflict in Multiethnic Societies; The Consociational Solution and Its Critics." In Paul Brass (Ed.). *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Theory and Comparison*. New Delhi: Sage, 1991. 333-349.

Austin, Granville. *The Indian Constitution*. Oxford University Press, (1966) 2002. Chapter 13 – Conclusion – Comments on a Successful constitution – 308-330.

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Smootha, Sammy. "Types of Democracy and Modes of Conflict Management in Ethnically Divided Societies." *Nations and Nationalism* 8(4) 2002: 423-431.

הראל-שלו אילת ושרינה חן. 2015. "ישראל והודו בין דמוקרטיה ללאומנות דואליות נורמטיבית- בחברות שסועות", תיאוריה וביקורת 144, 151-175.

Nandan, Nilekani. *Ted Talk: Ideas for India's future*, 2009: http://www.ted.com/talks/nandan_nilekani_s_ideas_for_india_s_future.

Khalidi, Omar. "Hinduising India: Secularism in practice." *Third World Quarterly*, 29(8) 2008:1545-1562.

הראל-שלו, אילת. "המיעוט המוסלמי בהודו וזכויות מיעוטים." זמנים 2013 : 122, 30-41.

Madan, T. N. "Secularism and Its Place." *Journal of Asian Studies* 46, no. 4 (November 1987): 747-58.

