

Index

- 2G scam, 139, 148–53, 174n78,
189–90, 210
- Aam Aadmi Party (AAP), 168
- Adarsh Housing Society Scam
(2002), 138
- administrative bureaucracy
corruption in, 206
politicization of, 206
- Administrative Reforms Commission,
80n49, 172n51
- advocacy coalitions, 21
- Agnivesh, Swami, 147
- agrarian society, 56
- Ahluwalia, Montek Singh, 177n128,
198, 200
- Ahmed, Fakhruddin Ali, 56, 69, 71
- Aiyar, Yamini, 230
- Akali Dal, 62
- Akhil Bharatiya Hindu Mahasabha,
172n48
- Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Prasad
(ABVP), 82n61
- Allahabad High Court judgment,
against corrupt campaign
practices, 66–67, 70
- All India Anna Dravida Munnetra
Kazhagam (AIDMK), 51n103
- All-India Conference of Educators
for Secularism, Socialism, and
Democracy (1975), 99
- All-India Congress Committee
(AICC), 65, 77n17, 108–09
83rd Plenary Session of, 143
- All-India Radio, 66
- All India Students' Association, 143
- All India Trinamool Congress
(TMC), 137
- Ambedkar, B. R., 131n129
- American imperialism, 24
- Anand Marg, 62, 70
- anti-CAA protests, in BJP-governed
states, 232
- anti-corruption movements, 2–3, 5, 7,
13, 20, 41n39, 98, 159, 227,
232
in Brazil, 233–34
in Bulgaria, 241
credibility crisis in India and, 4–6
function of, 236
India Against Corruption (IAC)
movement (*see* India
Against Corruption [IAC]
movement)
in Indonesia, 237
Jayaprakash Narayan movement
(*see* Jayaprakash Narayan
movement [JPM, 1974–
75])
in Malaysia, 239
mobilization of religious nationalist
groups within, 24

INDEX

- National Coordination
 Committee (NCC), 66
 in Romania, 243
 in Turkey, 235–36
 anti-corruption ombudsman, 158. *See*
also Jan Lokpal Bill, Lokpal
 (anti-corruption ombudsman)
 anti-corruption reform measures, 187
 anti-national activities and
 associations, 102
 legislation banning, 102
 anti-poverty programs, 114
 anti-social behaviors, 28
 Antony, A. K., 147, 156
 Article 370, revocation of (2019), 23,
 231
 Arya Samaj, 172n48
 Arya Veer, 172n48
 Association for Democratic Reforms
 (ADR), 224n106
 Atatürk, Mustafa Kemal, 235
 Austin, Henry, 117n2
 auxiliary hypothesis, 23, 34n1, 44n59
- backwardness, notion of, 204
 Balachandran, K., 72
 balance-of-payments crisis (1991),
 189, 196–97
 Balogh, Thomas, 114
bandh (strike), 167
 banks, nationalization of, 101, 107–08,
 128n105
 Supreme Court's striking down of
 ordinances on, 111
 Barooah, D. K., 66, 68, 70, 72
 Barr, William P., 227
 Bedi, Kiran, 141–42, 144, 171n40
 Bersih (clean) movement (Malaysia),
 239
- Bhagwati, Jagdish, 198–99, 219n72,
 220n73, 221n79
 Bhagwat, Mohan, 142
 Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), 12,
 14n11, 91, 152, 182, 228, 241.
See also National Democratic
 Alliance (NDA)
 anti-CAA protests in BJP-
 governed states, 232
 association with Baba Ramdev, 185
 Citizenship Amendment Act
 (CAA, 2019), 231
 concepts of the Indian nation
 under, 229
 economic order under, 229
 election manifesto, 231
 Hindutva ideology, 229
 ideological homogenization under,
 230
 support for the IAC, 183
 Bharatiya Lok Dal (BLD), 62
bhrashtachar hatao (remove
 corruption) movement, 116
 Bhushan, Prashant, 144
 Bhushan, Shanti, 144
 Bihar famine (1966–67), 57
 Bihar Movement. *See* Jayaprakash
 Narayan movement (JPM,
 1974–75)
 black money, issue of, 58, 185
 Blyth, Mark, 26, 44n54
 Border Security Force, 103
 Brazil, credibility crises in, 233–35
 anti-corruption demonstrations,
 233–34
 Lula da Silva, Luiz Inácio, 233
 “national pact” of reforms, 234
 Odebrecht scandal, 234
 Rousseff, Dilma, 233–34

INDEX

- Workers' Party coalition (PT),
 233–34
- Bretton Woods, 198
- Bulgaria, credibility crises in, 241–42
 anti-corruption protests, 241
 Ataka Party, 242
 Bulgarian Socialist Party, 242
 Movement for Rights and
 Freedoms, 242
 Movement for Rights and
 Freedoms party, 242
 nationwide protests over austerity
 measures, 242
- Oresharski, Plamen, 241–42
- bullying and intimidating
 subordinates, 28
- bumiputra* (indigenous Malay), 239
- bureaucracy, distrust of, 32
- bureaucrats, management of, 206
- business–state nexus, 209
- cabinet members, parliamentary
 control of, 8
- Camdessus, Michel, 198
- Cardoso, Fernando Henrique, 234
- Carras, Mary, 101
- Central Bureau of Investigation
 (CBI), 139
- Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)
 alleged meddling in Indian
 politics, 41n38
- Central Reserve of Police, 103
- Century Bank (Indonesia), 237–38
- Chandra, Naresh, 178n144, 202, 246
- Chatterjee, Bhola, 64
- Chaudhuri, Rudra, 134n151
- Chavan, Y. B., 68, 93, 115
- Chidambaram, P., 149, 159, 160, 162,
 167, 177n128, 184, 198
- Citizen's Charter, 159
- Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA,
 2019), 231, 251n29
 anti-CAA protests in BJP-
 governed states, 232
- citizenship, principle for, 231
- citizenship verification processes,
 government's push for, 232
- citizens, rights of, 32
- civic activism, 207
 in rights-based movements, 31
- coal allocations scam, 139, 141
 CAG report on, 142
- coalition government, 1, 3, 9, 32,
 35n8, 48n79, 51n105, 135,
 201, 203, 214, 222n94, 237,
 242–43
- coalition politics, 49n89
 institutional inflexibility of, 165
- cognitive locking, 45n63, 119n6
- collusive corruption, democratization
 of, 212
- Common Minimum Program
 (CMP), 136, 204
- communal organizations, 110
- communal violence, 110, 123n61, 146,
 232
- Communist Party of India (Marxist)
 (CPI[M]), 51n103, 160
- Comptroller and Auditor General
 (CAG) Reports, 8, 138–40,
 153, 160, 191, 216n44
 on coal allocations scandal, 142
 exposure of government
 corruption, 140
- Confederation of Indian Industry
 (CII), 143
- Congress (O), 55, 62, 128n100
 right-of-center Congress, 105

INDEX

- Congress (R), 55, 56, 90
 AICC meeting, 108–09, 111
 constitutional bills, 113
 difference in manifestos compared
 with right parties, 110
 government under Indira Gandhi,
 111–16
 “Harijan” (Scheduled Caste)
 welfare, 112
 ideology of, 105, 109–11
 nationalization program proposed
 by, 108
 party split and rise of, 105–09
 Pledge to People, 112
 plenary session in Bombay, 109
 secularism, socialism, and minority
 rights, 109–11
 Tasks Before the Organization,
 112
- Congress Forum for Socialist Action
 (CFSA), 77n17, 126n88
- Congress Party. *See* Indian National
 Congress
- Congress Socialist Party (CSP), 57
- Congress Working Committee
 (CWC), 87n114, 110
- Constitution of India
 amendments of
 25th Amendment, 113
 during the Emergency, 111
 parliament’s power for, 113
 Article 31 of, 113
 Article 352 of, 69, 71
 Article 368 of, 113
 Article 370 of, 23, 231
 Fundamental Rights, 113
 objectives of, 113
 Part III of, 113
 consumption–investment balance, 210
 308
- coronavirus pandemic, 231–32
- corruption scandals, 3, 54, 57
 2G spectrum, 139, 148–53,
 174n78, 189–90, 210
- Adarsh Housing Society Scam
 (2002), 138
- allegations of, 58
- bhrashtachar hatao* (remove
 corruption) movement,
 116
- bribery of politicians, 58
- coal allocations scam, 139, 141–42,
 158, 160
- as consequence of economic
 liberalization and reforms,
 192
- and corrupt state, 58–60
- Delhi Commonwealth Games
 (2010), 138, 152
- demonstrations against, 57
- exposure of, 58
- Fodder Scam, 208
- food grains scam in UP, 139
- global levels of, 209
- Group of Ministers (GOM)
 committee for
 investigation of, 143
- handling of the L. N. Mishra case,
 59
- Indira Gandhi’s abuse of state
 mechanisms, 92
- in Indonesia, 237
- JP demonstrations against, 61
- Maruti factory near Gurgaon, 58
- Pondicherry License Scam, 58–59
- sale of trade licenses for private
 favors, 58
- corrupt state narrative
 and credibility crisis, 4–6, 57–64

INDEX

- crystallization of, 137–40
- exposure of, 61
- handling of the Mishra case, 59
- national-level collective action, 4
- scandals and, 58–60
- social and political ideals, 5
- cottage industry, 107
- credibility crisis, in India, 152. *See also*
 - cross-national perspectives,
 - during credibility crises
 - and anti-corruption movement,
 - 4, 26
- behavior of decision-making elites
 - during, 16
- corrupt state narrative and, 4–6, 57–64
- determinants of government
 - behavior during, 4
- re-establishment of, 26
- and rise of
 - IAC, 140–43
 - JPM, 60–62
- technocrats authoritative positions
 - of power during, 43
- visions of, 31–34
- crony capitalism, 186, 191, 194, 204, 208–09
- cross-national perspectives, during
 - credibility crises
 - in Brazil, 233–35
 - in Bulgaria, 241–42
 - in developing democracies, 232–44
 - in Indonesia, 237–39
 - in Malaysia, 239–41
 - in Romania, 243–44
 - in Turkey, 235–37
- Dasgupta, Sugata, 36n13, 92
- decision-makers
 - authoritative positions of power in
 - the UPA, 31
 - distribution and salience of power
 - among, 27
 - exchange of ideas, 51n101
 - faith and confidence in Indira
 - Gandhi's leadership, 68
 - goal of, 38n20
 - ideational anchoring of, 31
 - incentive structures and priorities,
 - 31
 - from minority communities, 27
 - in Prime Minister's Office (PMO),
 - 153–54
- decision-making, 7, 9, 23, 25, 214
 - behavioral psychology of, 25
 - during credibility crises in India, 16
 - "fast" system of, 26
 - government decision-making, 2, 5
 - drivers of, 19
 - in India, 227, 244–47
 - Indira Gandhi's executive power to
 - monopolize, 53, 69, 229
 - Kahneman and Tversky approach
 - to, 25–26
 - monopolization of, 9
 - power and, 25–31
 - preceding the Emergency, 67
 - "slow" system of, 26
 - during the UPA government, 197
- decision-making behaviors
 - anti-social, 28
 - pro-social, 28
 - risk-seeking, 26, 29
- Delhi Commonwealth Games (2010)
 - scam, 138, 152
- Kalmadi, Suresh, 139
- V. K. Shunglu Committee report
 - on, 139

INDEX

- democracy–authoritarianism
 dichotomy, 19
 democratic “backsliding”, 19
 democratic liberty, 99
 demonetization policy (2016), 23,
 142, 215n17, 249n14
 Desai, Morarji, 55, 67, 77n16, 85n106,
 105, 107–08, 128n100
 Deshmukh, Nanaji, 65
 Deshmukh, Vilasrao, 160
 developing democracies, 2, 4, 6, 13,
 16–18, 37n16, 227
 cross-national perspectives in,
 232–44
 Dey, Nikhil, 206
 Dhar, D. P., 59, 78n27
 Dharia, Mohan, 93
 Dhar, P. N., 65, 67–68, 70, 73, 74n2,
 92–93, 98, 106, 113
 prediction of “gimmicky” politics,
 68
 Dhawan, R. K., 71–72
 dictatorship, 6
 Direct Taxes Enquiry Committee
 (1970), 58
 disloyal opposition, 171n36
 division of power, within the
 government, 137, 156
 Dragnea, Liviu, 243
 Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam
 (DMK), 62, 137, 159,
 176n109
 Drèze, Jean, 204–06, 208
 Dwivedi, Janardhan, 156

 economic liberalization, 22, 32, 196–
 200, 235
 mechanisms of, 182, 186
 education, socializing role of, 42n42
 310

 Election Commission of India (ECI),
 8, 20, 157, 188, 230
 electoral business cycles, 18
 Emergency of 1975, 5, 14n11, 247
 aftermath of, 102–04
 under Article 352 of the Indian
 Constitution, 69, 71
 Congress Party government’s
 institutionalization of, 6, 29
 constitutional amendments during,
 111
 decision-making process, 67
 declaration of, 70, 73, 100
 end of, 116–17
 functioning of, 53
 government proclamation of, 54
 Indira Gandhi’s declaration of, 53–54
 institutionalization of, 66
 justification for, 95
 partisans proclamation of, 69–73
 policy mechanism, 6
 role of ideology in the case of, 89
 Twenty-Point Program, 103
 entertainment industry, 228
 epistemic communities, 17, 21, 31
 Erdogan, Recep Tayyip, 235, 237,
 253n49
 ethnic nationalism, 242–43
 European politics, 33
 Euroskepticism, 242
 exogeneity, of the ideas of technocrats,
 104–17
 extra-judicial killings, 14n11

 federal bureaucracy, 4
Federalist Papers, The, 230
 Federation of Indian Chambers of
 Commerce and Industry
 (FICCI), 143, 156

INDEX

- Fernandes, George, 116
 fight against corruption, 137, 183, 187
 financial crisis of 1991, 196–200
 flailing state, notion of, 32
 Fodder Scam, 208
 food grains scam, in UP, 139
Foreign Affairs, 115
 foreign direct investment (FDI), 161, 163
 foreign exchange, rationing of, 192
 Foreign Exchange Regulation Act 1973 (FERA), 114
 freedom of speech and expression, 100
 freedom of the press, 6, 53
 free-market, 21
 free trade agreement (FTA), 163
 Fundamental Rights, 111, 113, 131n134
- Gadkari, Nitin, 141, 185
 Galinsky, Adam, 27
 Gandhi, Aditi, 225n118
 Gandhi, Indira, 6, 9, 20, 23, 27–28, 235–36, 245–46
 absolute political power in India, 54
 abuse of state powers, 53
 Allahabad High Court judgment against, 66–67
 appeal against the Allahabad High Court judgment, 68
 campaigning in Gujarat, 67
 centralized policymaking power, 115
 concepts of the nation, 105
 Congress government led by, 10
 Congress Party and power of, 52–56
- Congress Party ideology under, 91
 constitutional amendments during the Emergency, 111
 correspondence between Dorothy Norman, 126n87
 corrupt campaign practices, 62, 172n41
 corruption scandals, 54
 credibility crisis for, 61
 decision-making style, 93
 de facto presidential powers, 10
 defensive position on
 governmental corruption, 79n31
 dissolving of National Assembly, 110
 electoral sweep in 1971, 228
 electoral victory over Morarji Desai, 55
 executive power to monopolize
 decision-making, 53, 69, 229
 harnessing of state power to reshape society, 229
 ideas of secularism, socialism, and the representation of minorities, 55
 ideological fixations in economic matters, 108
 imposition of Emergency, 5–6, 29, 53–54, 69
 under Article 352 of the Indian Constitution, 69, 71
 instructions to crush JPM demonstrations, 65
 JP letter to, 64
 kitchen cabinet, 56, 71
 leadership of, 25

INDEX

- linking of RSS to fascism, 97
- meeting with JP, 64
- moral right to rule, 69
- My Reminiscences of 'Bapu' (1957), 95
- plans to suppress the JPM, 71
- populism of (*see under* populism)
- populist strategy, 56
- power in the ruling Congress
 - government, 115
- premiership of, 24
- return to power, 45n60
- rise to power, 54–56, 77n17, 90
- suppression of
 - anti-corruption JPM, 53, 56
 - civil liberties, 53
 - freedom of the press, 53
- Ten-Point Program, 107
- Twenty-Point Program, 103
- Gandhi, Mahatma, 92, 95, 115
 - killing by Hindu nationalist Nathuram Godse, 99
- Gandhi Peace Foundation, 69
- Gandhi, Rahul
 - emergence in the government's faceoff with the IAC, 157
- India Against Corruption (IAC)
 - movement, 148–58
- parliamentary speech on August 27, 2011, 158
- role in the Congress and the government, 165–66
- UPA's views on IAC relationship
 - with, 166
- views in favour of the Lokpal bill, 156
- Gandhi, Rajiv, 45n63, 200–01
- Gandhi, Sanjay, 67, 72, 87n119
 - countering of rallies of the JPM, 68
- Maruti factory in Gurgaon, 58
- Gandhi, Sonia, 1, 10, 28, 135–36, 141, 143, 146, 155–56, 163, 183–84, 206, 212
 - as chairperson of UPA, 27
 - de facto parallel cabinet, 31
 - as longest-serving Congress Party president in Indian history, 169n7
 - positions of power during the UPA government, 31
 - proposal of reforms to anti-corruption measures, 144
 - social welfare schemes, 173n64
- garibi hatao* (remove poverty)
 - campaign, 90, 111, 116
- General Anti-Avoidance Rule (GAAR), 161
- general election results, 37n15, 55
- general insurance industry,
 - nationalization of, 107
- "ghar wapsi," process of, 251n29
- Giri, V. V., 129n108
- global financial crisis of 2008, 94, 140, 194–95, 209
- global levels of corruption, 209
- Gokhale, H. R., 70, 113
- Golak Nath* case (1967), 111, 132n134
- Golwalkar, M. S., 110
- good governance, 5
- goods and services tax (GST), 249n14
- government–business alliance, 18
- government in "paralysis," notion of, 152
- gram raj* (village self-government), 78n19
- Grievance Redressal bill, 159
- gross domestic product (GDP), 61
- Group of Ministers (GOM)
 - committee, 143

INDEX

- Gul, Abdullah, 236
 Gulen, Fethullah, 236–37
- habeas corpus* case of 1976, 130n126
 Haksar, P. N., 56, 90, 106–08, 113,
 116, 128n101, 128n105
 “Harijan” (Scheduled Caste) welfare,
 112
 Hazare, Anna, 3, 137, 142, 144, 148,
 160, 188
 arrest of, 148–58
 fast-unto-death, 137, 149
 presentation of the Lokpal bill,
 149
 release from imprisonment, 156
 Hedgewar, Keshav Baliram, 91
 Hindu cultural customs, 91
 Hindu faith, 90–91
 Hindu nationalism, 64, 90, 91, 119n8
 Hindu nationalist politics, 249n11
 Hindu superiority, doctrine of, 97
Hindu, The (newspaper), 66
 Hindutva, 81n60, 163, 229
 ideology of, 231
 mobilizations of the late 1980s
 and early 1990s, 82n60
 hoarding and black-market practices,
 61
 human capital, 204, 207
 Human Rights Watch, 251n32
 Husain, Zakir, 129n108
- ideas in political behavior, role of,
 21–25
 ideological homogenization, 230, 236
 import licensing, 192
 India Against Corruption (IAC)
 movement, 3, 5, 30, 135, 137,
 181
- 2G scam, 139, 149–50, 152
 alliance of non-Congress parties
 against Congress party,
 160
 anti-corruption demonstrations
 across India, 141
 against Congress party, 167
 approach of supra-level activism,
 187
 arrest of Anna Hazare, 148–58
 August 15 deadline, 154–55
 backing from opposition parties,
 142
 citizens’ anger at corruption, 140
 coalitions of support, 141–43
 composition of, 141–43
 Comptroller and Auditor General
 (CAG) Reports, 138–40
 conflation of economic
 liberalization and
 corruption, 192
 credibility crisis and rise of,
 140–43
 Delhi Commonwealth Games
 (2010) scandal, 138
 demand of jurisdiction of Lokpal
 over PMO, 154
 demonstrated outside the homes
 of
 Gandhi, Sonia, 167
 Singh, Manmohan, 167
 drive to formally politicize, 168
 election victory in 1971, 9
 end of, 159–68
 final wave of, 158–68
 first wave of, 143–48
 government divisions, IAC
 pressure, and the joint
 committee, 143–48

INDEX

- government paralysis and negotiations, 143–68
- Hazare, Anna, 137
- institutionalization of an anti-corruption ombudsman, 137
- Kejriwal, Arvind, 137–38
- leadership of, 146–47
- Lokpal (anti-corruption ombudsman), 137
- mobilization against the Congress-led government, 160
- NAC–PMO stand-off, 147
- negotiations with government over Lokpal, 155
- failure of, 160
- policy prescriptions, 159–68
- political opposition's support of, 149
- public demonstrations at Jantar Mantar in Delhi, 138, 144, 167
- public support for, 145
- Rahul Gandhi's intervention on the Lokpal debate, 148–58
- Ramdev's role in, 185
- RSS–BJP support for, 183–84
- second wave of, 148–58
- “Sense of the House” resolution, 158
- and shrinking credibility of the government, 153
- standoff with UPA, 165
- storming of Delhi's South Block, 167
- targeting of government, 159–68
- UPA government's response to, 6, 165, 196
- Indian Administrative Service (IAS), 206
- Indian citizenship, 231
- Indian Civil Service. *See* Indian Administrative Service (IAS)
- Indian Council for Research on International Economic Relations (ICRIER), 221n79
- Indian federalism, 230
- Indian nation
 - concept of, 228
 - under Narendra Modi's BJP government, 229
- Indian National Congress, 161
 - alliance of non-Congress parties against, 160
 - concepts of the secular Indian nation, 10, 30, 33
 - immediate aftermath of the Emergency, 102–04
 - proclaiming the Emergency, 94–102
- factions of
 - “organization” faction (O), 55, 62
 - “requisitionist” faction (R), 55, 56, 90
- general election performance (1951–71), 54
- Gujarat election results, 67
- idea of secularism, 76n7
- ideological opposition to the JPM, 102
- ideology under Indira Gandhi, 91
- as India's “Grand Old Party,” 1
- and Indira Gandhi's power, 53–56
- institutionalization of an internal Emergency, 6
- political capital of, 67

INDEX

- political strength of, 54
- politicians in key decision-making positions, 30
- pro-government demonstrations, 68
- Right to Information (RTI) bill, 204
- secular nationalism, 23
- social security schemes, 204
- Soviet Union patronage of, 75n6
- split of, 90, 105–09
- suppression of the JPM, 10, 12, 33
 - ideological drivers of, 91–94
 - justification for, 104
- Syndicate faction in, 107
- Ten-Point Program, 107
- Indian national movement
 - emergence of, 119
 - notion of
 - cultural, 119n8
 - religious, 119n8
 - territorial, 119n8
- Indian policymaking, technocracy of, 199
- Indian politics
 - clash of interests between majorities and minorities, 17
 - dirigiste* political economy, 213
 - fragmentation of, 9
 - history of, 1
 - intra-government struggle, 17
 - one-party dominance, 20
 - RSS influence on, 100
 - study of, 46n72
- Indian Railways, 116
- India–Pakistan War (1971), 54, 102, 114, 251n30
- “India Shining” campaign (2004), 203–06, 211
- Indira batao* (remove Indira) campaign, 111
- Indonesia, credibility crises in, 237–39
 - anti-corruption demonstrations, 237
 - bailout fund for Century Bank, 238
 - demonstrators’ criticism against the government, 238
 - exposure of corruption scandals, 237
 - ideological fault lines, 238
 - Kabinet Indonesia Bersatu, 238
 - pancasila* (five principles), 238
 - People’s Representative Council (DPR), 238
 - Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), 238
 - solvency crisis of Century Bank, 237–38
 - Yudhoyono, Susilo Bambang, 237–38
- industrial licensing, 192
 - for private sector, 108
- information technology (IT), 38n19
- institutional politics, in India
 - alternative explanations to, 18–21
 - idea of, 16–18
 - politics of ideas and crisis, 21–25
 - power and decision-making, 25–31
 - visions of credibility, 31–34
- integrity of the nation, 102
- intra-government struggle, 17
- Islamic ethics, 235
 - promotion of, 253n49
- Iyer, V. R. Krishna, 68
- Jaitley, Arun, 185
- Jammu and Kashmir (J&K)

INDEX

- cancellation of Hindu pilgrimage, 231
- detention of politicians and citizens, 231
- integration with Indian nation, 231
- Reorganization Act, 231
- revocation of Article 370 in, 231
- semi-autonomous status, 231
- Janaagraha (force of the people), 224n106
- Jana Sangh, 62, 91, 97, 99–100, 109, 117
- Janata Dal (U), 160
- Janata Front, 67, 81
- Jan Lokpal Bill, 138, 141, 160, 163, 179n157, 188, 192, 225n116
- implementation of, 168
- NAC's criticism of, 159
- jansunwaai* (social audit), 207
- Jayakar, Pupul, 92, 120n14
- Jayaprakash Narayan movement (JPM, 1974–75), 5–6, 9, 53, 56–57, 89, 110, 140
- anti-corruption agenda of, 97, 99
- arrest of JPM leaders and activists, 69
- Charter of Demands, 66
- confrontations with the Government, 64–69
- Congress government suppression of, 10, 12, 33, 63, 95, 113
- ideological drivers of, 91–94
- justification for, 104
- Congress's ideological opposition to, 102
- crackdown on, 63
- Indira Gandhi's instruction to crush, 65
- march to the parliament, 66
- Mukherjee's perspective on, 92
- opposition parties' support for, 62–63, 96
- public unrest, 29
- purpose of, 62
- relation with RSS, 63–64
- religious nationalism mobilized under, 97
- rise of, 58
 - credibility crisis and, 60–62
- RSS activists of, 97
- spread of, 61
- support and composition of, 62–64
- suppression of ideological others within, 24
- Jethmalani, Ram, 185
- job creation, 233
- Joint Parliamentary Committee (JPC)
 - on allocation and pricing of telecom licenses and 2G spectrum, 174n78
- JP. *See* Narayan, Jayaprakash
- judiciary–parliament stand-off, 111
- Kahneman, Daniel, 25–26, 47n73
- Kalmadi, Suresh, 139
 - arrest of, 152
- Kapoor Commission, 59, 87n117
- Kapoor, Coomi, 70, 125n82
- Kapoor, Yashpal, 60
- Kejriwal, Arvind, 137–38, 141–42, 144, 147, 160, 168, 207
- Aam Aadmi Party (AAP), 168
- politicization of the IAC, 168
- Swaraj*, 138, 169n10
- “Kemalist” institutions, Turkey, 235, 254n51
- Kesavananda Bharati v. State of Kerala*, 132n138

INDEX

- Knightian uncertainty, 26, 48n79
 Krishnamachari, T. T., 59
 Krishna, S. M., 159
 Kumar, A. K. Shiva, 205–06
 Kumaramangalam, Mohan, 56,
 76n11, 108, 113, 131n133,
 132n138, 219n69

 Lakatosian sense, 23
 Lal, Bansi, 58
L. C. Golak Nath v. State of Punjab,
 132n134
 Left Front parties, 136–37
 left-wing populism, 229
 liberalization in India, 246
 liberalization reforms,
 implementation of, 18, 31,
 38n19, 178n132, 187, 189,
 192–93, 195, 200, 202, 209,
 211, 216n41, 222n91
 license–permit–quota raj, 197
 license raj, 107
 Little, I. M. D., 198
 Lokayukta (state-level ombudsman),
 140–41, 163
 jurisdiction of, 158
 Lokpal (anti-corruption
 ombudsman), 140–41
 establishment of, 144
 grievance redressal, 159
 idea of, 172n51
 institutionalization of, 62, 137
 to investigate cases of political
 corruption against
 ministers, 62
 investigatory powers, 149
 Jan Lokpal bill, 138, 141, 160, 168,
 179n157, 188, 225n116
 jurisdiction of, 158

 Lok Sabha (Lower House), 54, 96,
 105, 136, 153, 168
 Lok Sangharsh Samiti, 69
 Lukas, Anthony, 103
 Lula da Silva, Luiz Inácio, 233

 Mahalanobis, P. C., 106, 127n99
 Maintenance of Internal Security Act
 (MISA), 69–70, 102
 amendment of, 102
 detainees arrested under, 102
 mobilization against right-wing
 organizations, 102
 sections 16A and 18 of, 102
 Malaysia, credibility crises in, 239–41
 anti-terrorism and anti-sedition
 legislation, 240
 Barisan Nasional (BN)
 government, 239
 Bersih (clean) movement
 government response to, 239
 public demonstrations, 239
 controversial 2008 election, 239
 emergence of a two-party bloc, 240
 Mohammed, Mahathir, 240
 personalization of party
 factionalization, 240
 politics of division and alienation
 of out-groups, 239
 privatization schemes, 239
 Razak, Najib, 239
 ultra-Malay nationalism, 239
 United Malays National
 Organization (UMNO),
 239–41
 Malaysian United Indigenous Party
 (Bersatu), 240
 Malkani, K. R., 103
 Mandal Commission, 208

INDEX

- Mander, Harsh, 145, 158, 206
 Manipur People's Party, 160
 market-based capitalism, 205
 market competitiveness, 23
 market liberal ideas, stability of,
 38n19, 200–03
 Maruti factory, Gurgaon, 58
 mass communications, 228
 “master narratives” of Indian
 nationalism, 94
 Mattis, Jim, 247n2
 Mazdoor Kisan Shakti Sangathan
 (MKSS), 207
 Mehta, Om, 71–72, 103
 Menon, Krishna, 59
 merit-based recruitment, principle
 of, 4
 Middle East, 237
 Ministry of Commerce and Industry,
 58–59
 minority rights, 229
 protection of, 115
 Mishra, L. N., 58–59, 65, 70
 Mishra, S. N., 77n17
 Modi, Narendra, 12, 20, 171n33,
 228–29, 232
 BJP government under, 249n18
 consolidation of political power
 under, 228
 economic order under, 229
 Kashmir decision, 231
 revocation of Article 370, 23
 Mohammed, Mahathir, 240
 Monopoly and Restrictive Trade
 Practices (MRTP), 114
 Moraes, Dom, 101, 128n101
Motherland newspaper, 103
 Mukherjee, Pranab, 86n112, 92,
 133n149, 149, 153, 159, 194
 318
 addition of the retroactive tax to
 the budget, 177n128
 General Anti-Avoidance Rule
 (GAAR), 161
 perspective on the JPM, 92
 Mulyani, Sri, 238
 Municipal Corporation of Delhi
 (MCD), 138
 My Reminiscences of ‘Bapu’ (1957), 95
 Nair, T. K. A., 158
 Narain, Raj, 60
 Narayan, Jayaprakash, 5, 57, 99, 168.
 See also Jayaprakash Narayan
 movement (JPM, 1974–75)
 anti-corruption movement, 57, 61
 breaking away from the Congress,
 57
 confrontation with the prime
 minister, 78n18
 demonstrations against corruption,
 61
 detention under Maintenance
 of Internal Security Act
 (MISA), 69
 gram raj (village self-government),
 78n19
 intellectual and political evolution,
 57
 involvement in social activism, 57
 letter to Indira Gandhi, 64
 meeting with Indira Gandhi, 64
 rally at
 Gandhi Maidan in Patna, 66
 Ramlila Maidan in Delhi, 69
 relation with Indira Gandhi, 92
 Sarvodaya movement, 57
 National Advisory Council (NAC), 8,
 31, 136, 144, 145, 155–56, 161

INDEX

- Common Minimum Program (CMP), 204
- criticism of the Lokpal bill, 159
- denunciation of the government's land acquisition bill, 159
- establishment of, 212
- Working Group on Transparency, Accountability, and Governance, 187
- National Campaign for People's Right to Information (NCPRI), 204, 206–07
- National Coordination Committee (NCC), 66
- National Democratic Alliance (NDA)
 - "India Shining" campaign (2004), 203–06
 - reliance on pseudo trickle-down effects, 204
- national economic slowdown, 231
- nationalism
 - importance of, 115
 - master narratives of, 94
 - notion of, 46n69
- Nationalist Congress Party, 160
- National Population Register (NPR), 232
- National Register of Citizens (NRC), 232, 251n30
- National Rural Employment Guarantee Act 2005 (NREGA), 175n91, 207, 211
- National Works Program, 131n128
- nation, concept of
 - Congress's, 23, 30, 31–34
 - immediate aftermath of the Emergency, 102–04
 - Nehru–Mahalanobis conceptualization, 106
 - populism and, 89–91
 - proclaiming the Emergency, 94–102
- Nehru, Jawaharlal, 54, 59, 94–95, 105, 115
- New York Times*, 103
- Niira Radia tapes, publication of, 170n16
- Nijalingappa, S., 107–08
- non-governmental organizations (NGOs), 224n106
- Norman, Dorothy, 121n32, 124n72, 126n87
- Nuclear Suppliers Group, 174n82
- Nuland, Victoria, 156
- Nurkse, Ragnar, 199, 220n75
- Odebrecht scandal (Brazil), 234
- Official Secrets Act of 1923, 224n110
- one-party dominance, 20
- Oresharski, Plamen, 241–42
- Orwell, George, 228
- Pande, B. D., 73
- paradoxical positionality, 63
- party–government relationship, 173n64
- Patel, Ahmed, 156, 159
- Patel, Praful, 160
- Patel, Rajni, 70
- Patwardhan, Anand, 82n63
- Peevski, Delyan, 242
- Pendleton Act of 1883, 4
- Peoples' Democratic Front (PDF), 160
- people's power, 62
- People's Struggle Committee. *See* Lok Sangharsh Samiti
- people *versus* the corrupt elite, 228

INDEX

- Planning Commission of India, 8,
 161, 181, 189, 196, 213
 industrialization planning
 mechanisms of, 114
 under the UPA government, 200
 Poisson distribution, 246
 Polanyian double transformation, 11,
 15n16, 19, 31, 33, 213
 policymaking power, division of, 10
 policymaking, roles in India's social
 and economic development,
 30
 political-business alliance, 186, 209
 political capital, 27, 61, 67, 197, 207
 political community, creation of, 31
 political contestation, 24
 political decentralization, 26
 political disequilibria, 26
 political economy, 2, 16, 18, 39n24,
 61, 197–99, 213, 227
 political party ideology, 31
 political science, 28
 politics of ideas in India
 past and present, 227–32
 polyarchy, concept of, 19, 30
 polycentric power center, 135–36
 Pompeo, Mike, 228
 Pondicherry License Scam, 58, 59
 populism
 Indira Gandhi's, 24, 33, 90
 and concepts of the nation,
 89–91
 garibi hatao (remove poverty)
 campaign, 111
 party split and rise of
 Congress (R)
 ideology, 105–09
 policy measures, 114
 “thin-centered” ideology, 117
 right-wing, 229
 twin pillars of, 229
 populist politics, 228
 and movements, 30, 46n67, 46n69
 pork barrel politics, 2
 power
 centralization of, 27
 decision-making, 25–31
 of domestic institutions, 42n43
 perception of
 objective, 27
 subjective, 27
 salience of, 27
 state elites' sense of, 29
 Praja Socialist Party (PSP), 130n116
 Prasad, H. Y. Sharada, 73, 90, 92,
 129n105
 “presumptive” losses, notion of, 191
 Prime Minister's Economic Advisory
 Council (PMEAC), 177n124
 Prime Minister's House (PMH), 67, 71
 Prime Minister's Office (PMO), 11,
 31, 143, 151, 161, 181, 197,
 204, 212
 decision-makers in, 153–54
 pro-government demonstrations, 68
 progressive socialist policies, 132n135
 pro-social behaviors, 28
 public and private sector strikes, 116
 public auditing, of official claims, 207
 public information exchange, 207
 public-private partnerships (PPPs),
 187, 209–10, 211
 public-sector institutions, quality of,
 206
 public welfare, state mechanisms of, 212
 Putin, Vladimir, 253n49

INDEX

- Quit India movement (1942), 57
- Radhakrishna, K. S., 62
- Rai, Vinod, 139, 170n20, 172n41, 189
- Raja, A., 149, 174n78
- Rajan, Raghuram, 177n128, 229–30
- Rajya Sabha (Upper House), 99, 101, 169n5, 182, 183
- Ramdev, Baba, 168, 184
 - association with BJP, 185
 - beaten and chased from Delhi in the night by police, 185
 - call to social and political boycott of government, 168
 - issue of “black money,” 185
 - role in the IAC, 185
- Ram, Jagjivan, 66, 68, 76n11, 93, 115
- Ram, Tulmohan, 58
- Rangarajan, C., 198, 200
- Rao, Koka Subba, 132n134
- Rao, P. V. Narasimha, 115, 197, 202, 246
- Rashtriya Janata Dal, 160
- Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), 5, 63–64, 70, 110, 182
 - fomenting of communal riots and communal hatred, 100
 - Hindu nationalism, 91
 - history of, 99
 - influence on Indian politics, 100
 - as key mobilization vehicle for the JPM, 96
 - mobilization of, 101
 - Motherland* newspaper, 103
 - as non-political social organization, 81n60
 - relation with JPM, 63–64
 - support for the IAC, 183
 - as threat to India’s identity, 99
 - withdrawing of support for the JPM, 117
- Rawat, Harish, 151
- Ray, S. S., 59, 70–72, 113
- Razak, Najib, 239, 240
- Reddy, Brahmananda, 72
- religious nationalism, 64, 91, 94, 99, 112
 - Hindutva, 81n60
- religious nationalist groups, 10, 24, 63, 86n112, 91, 95, 103, 110, 141
- religious nationalist organizations
 - crackdown on, 103
 - government’s targeting of, 103
- rent extraction
 - deal-making between businesses and politicians, 32
 - mechanism of, 18
- rent maximization, 38n20
- rent-seeking motivations, of political elites, 22
- rent-seeking politicians, 46n72
- Reserve Bank of India (RBI), 20, 140, 189
- right-of-center parties, coalition of, 91
- rights-based movements, 11, 203–06, 208
 - civic activism in, 31
- rights-based reform movements, 186
- Right to Education (RTE), 164
- Right to Information (RTI) bill, 137, 204, 206–07, 222n94
- right-wing parties
 - ban on, 69
 - discovery of weapons in the offices of, 103
- right-wing populism, 229
- right-wing religious nationalists, 10, 30, 33, 86n112

INDEX

- risk-seeking behaviors, 26, 29
 Ritambhara, Sadhvi, 142
 Romania, credibility crises in, 243–44
 Democratic Alliance of
 Hungarians in Romania
 (UDMR), 243
 Dragnea, Liviu, 243
 Liberal-Democrat Alliance
 (ALDE), 243
 Social Democratic Party (PSD),
 243
 Rousseff, Dilma, 233
 Odebrecht scandal, 234
 Roy, Aruna, 145, 156, 158–59, 206–07
 rural development, 137
 rural poverty, 61
 rural–urban divide, 62, 66

 Samajwadi Party, 38n20
 Santhanam Committee (1975), 58, 66
 findings to combat corruption, 62
 implementation of, 62
 Sanyukta Socialist Party (SSP), 62
sarsangbhalak, 142
sarvadharm samabhava, 90
 Sarvodaya movement, 57
 satyagraha (non-violent
 demonstration), 99
 Scheduled Castes (SCs), 55, 111–12,
 123n50
 secular Indian nation, concept of, 10,
 30
 secular nationalism, 12, 23–24, 73, 89,
 90, 104, 115, 119n8, 122n48,
 196, 214n3
 secular–religious nationalism, 228
 secular–religious nationalist
 divergence, 228
 self-determination, 57
 322

 Sen, Amartya, 204–05
 “Sense of the House” resolution, 158
 separation of powers, among diverse
 parties, 212–13
 Seshan, T. N., 188
 Shah, Amit, 251n30
 Shah Commission, 72, 74n2, 86n110,
 100, 103
 Shamim, M., 100
 Sharma, Shankar Dayal, 117n2
 Shastri, Lal Bahadur, 54, 58, 106
 Shekhar, Chandra, 65, 93, 130n115
 Sibal, Kapil, 147, 158, 160
 Singh, Charan, 117
 Singh, Dalijeet, 139
 Singh, Digvijaya, 178n142
 Singh, Krishna Ballabh Prasad
 Narayan, 117
 Singh, Manmohan, 1, 3, 6, 8, 10–11,
 23, 27–28, 135, 137, 141, 146,
 154, 159, 162, 188, 192, 199,
 212, 220n75, 245–46
 coal portfolio, 160
 corruption scandals, 139
 *India’s Export Trends and the
 Prospects for Self-Sustained
 Growth*, 199
 intellectual lineage of, 198
 on jurisdiction of Lokpal over
 PMO, 154
 support for business and market
 opening, 178n132
 support for the removal of, 153
 tenure as finance minister and
 prime minister, 199
 Singh, Swaran, 115
 Singh, V. P., 200
 Sinha, Jagmohanlal, 60
 social emancipation, program of, 112

INDEX

- social equality, 57
- social incentives, 205
- socialism
 - educational programme, 108
 - and minority rights, 94
 - as a political tool for governing in India, 106
- socialist economy, 229
- social justice, 3, 111
- social learning, 44n59, 51n101
- social provisioning, 205, 210
- social psychology, 12, 28, 48n85
- social security, 175n91, 204–05
- social service delivery
 - and accountability, 186
 - state mechanisms of, 212
- social value orientation (SVO), 48n85
- social welfare issues, 233
- socioeconomic development, 2, 16, 136, 187
 - concept of, 31–34
 - role of state institutions in, 32
- Soni, Ambika, 161
- South Commission, 197–98, 221n78
- Soviet Union
 - breakup of, 246
 - patronage of the Indian Congress, 75n6
 - state-led industrialization, 106
- special interest groups, 17, 32, 245
- special interest lobbies, mobilization of, 19
- Spock, Benjamin, 98
- state-controlled economy, 111, 114
- state elites
 - legacies of, 28
 - sense of power, 29
- state-led social welfare programs, 32
- Statement of Objects and Reasons, 102
- state power, 62
 - centralization of, 229
- state-sanctioned assault, against India's Muslims, 232
- Subramanian, Arvind, 230
- Supreme Court of India, 20, 230
 - decision in 2G embezzlement case, 174n78
 - hearing of the prime minister's appeal against the Allahabad High Court judgment, 68
 - judgment on Gandhi's appeal, 68–69 *L. C. Golak Nath v. State of Punjab*, 132n134
 - on parliament's right to amend the fundamental right to property, 131n134
 - striking down of the ordinances on bank nationalization, 111
- Swamy, Subramanian, 125n82, 134n155
- Swaraj, Sushma, 185
- Syrian Civil War, 254n50
- Tandon, B. N., 59, 92–93, 126n87
- Tarlo, Emma, 75n3, 87n119
- technocrats, 91
 - defined, 51n101
 - exogeneity of the ideas of, 104
 - marketist, 30–31, 32
 - market liberal, 200
 - in policymaking roles, 30
 - positions of power during the 2012 credibility crisis, 43n44
 - reformist, 31
 - social reformist ideas, 32
 - in UPA government, 186
- Telangana Rashtra Samithi (TRS), 137

INDEX

- Telecom Regulatory Authority of India (TRAI), 190
- Ten-Point Program, 107
- Thaper, Raj, 75n4
- trade barriers, 107
- trade nationalization, 116
- Transaction of Business Rules, 72
- trickle-down economics, 23
- Trinamool Congress (TMC), 159, 165, 167
- Turkey, credibility crises in, 235–37
 - anti-corruption demonstrations in Gezi Park, 235
 - anti-corruption movements, 235
 - centralized power under Erdogan, 237
 - corruption in public tenders, 235
 - “dark circles” and “criminal gangs,” 236
 - Erdogan, Recep Tayyip, 235, 237
 - Gul, Abdullah, 236
 - Gulen, Fethullah, 236–37
 - Gulen movement, 236
 - intra-AKP unity, 237
 - Justice and Development Party (AKP), 235–36
 - “Kemalist” institutions, 235
 - political and corruption crises, 235
 - proposals for anti-corruption legislation, 236
- Tversky, Amos, 25–26, 47n73
- Twenty-Point Program, 103
- United Progressive Alliance (UPA), 3, 9, 247
 - arbitrary power of, 11
 - association of the IAC wave with the religious nationalist right, 185
 - authoritative positions of power, 181
 - backlash of wrong fiscal policies, 194
 - balance-of-payments crisis (1991), 189
 - coalition of, 136–37
 - Common Minimum Program (CMP), 204
 - contracts pertaining to the 2G telecommunications spectrum, 189
 - corruption scandals in, 188
 - decision-makers authoritative positions of power in, 31
 - decision-makers in, 136
 - decision-making power in India during, 197
 - diverse decision-makers and perspectives, 182–95
 - market liberal perspective, 182, 189–95
 - secular nationalist perspective, 182–86
 - social reformist perspective, 182, 186–89
 - economic growth strategy, 191
 - elite decision-making in, 181
 - exogeneity, 196
 - first term (2004–09), 137
 - government–party dynamic, 137
 - IAC agitation. *See* India Against Corruption (IAC) movement
 - ideational checks and balances, 212–14
 - inter-coalition factions, 164
 - liberal technocrats in, 186
 - market liberal idea carriers

INDEX

- financial crisis (1991)
 - and economic liberalization, 196–200
 - stability of, 200–03
- party-technocratic government, 51n105
- Polanyian double transformation, 11, 15n16, 19, 31, 33
- polycentric institutional environment in, 33
- polycentric power center, 135–36
- push to promote market liberal economic reforms, 167
- on relationship between the IAC and Rahul Gandhi, 166
- response to IAC (2011–12), 6, 196
- role in rights-based movements of the 1990s and early 2000s, 204
- scale and exposure of the
 - corruption scandals, 138
- second term (2009–14), 137
- secular nationalists in, 182
- social and economic development, 180–81
- social reformist idea carriers
 - “India Shining” and rights-based movements, 203–06
 - stability of, 206–11
 - state leadership positions in, 27
- unity of India, 90
- Unlawful Activities Prevention Act (UAPA), 232
- UPA–IAC standoff (2012), 165
- US–India Civilian Nuclear Cooperation Agreement, 140, 174n82
- utility, economic theories of, 28
- Vadra, Robert, 179n150
- Vaishnav, Milan, 91
- Vajpayee, Atal Bihari, 129n114, 163–64, 249n11
- Varshney, Ashutosh, 36n12, 119n8, 229, 249n12
- Veerangana Dal, 172n48
- V. K. Shunglu Committee report, on CWG scam, 139
- volonté générale* (general will) of the people, 46n70, 117n1, 228
- vote maximization, 38n20
- wage inequality, 196
- Walton, Michael, 225n118
- Wanchoo, K. N., 58
- wants, construction of, 22
- welfare state
 - citizen-oriented, 32
 - development of, 19, 211, 213
- Yadav, Chandrajit, 115
- Yadav, Sharad, 185
- Yudhoyono, Susilo Bambang, 237–38