### How India Became Democratic

*How India Became Democratic* explores the greatest experiment in democratic human history. It tells the untold story of the preparation of the electoral roll on the basis of universal adult franchise in the world's largest democracy. Ornit Shani offers a new view of the institutionalisation of democracy in India, and of the way democracy captured the political imagination of its diverse peoples. Turning all adult Indians into voters against the backdrop of the partition of India and Pakistan, and in anticipation of the drawing up of a constitution, was a staggering task. Indians became voters before they were citizens – by the time the constitution came into force in 1950, the abstract notion of universal franchise and electoral democracy were already grounded. Drawing on rich archival materials, Shani shows how the Indian people were a driving force in the making of democratic citizenship as they struggled for their voting rights.

Ornit Shani is Senior Lecturer at the Department of Asian Studies, University of Haifa.

# How India Became Democratic

Citizenship and the Making of the Universal Franchise

Ornit Shani University of Haifa, Israel



Cambridge University Press 978-1-107-06803-2 — How India Became Democratic Ornit Shani Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>

### **CAMBRIDGE** UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India

79 Anson Road, #06-04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107068032 DOI: 10.1017/9781107705722

© Ornit Shani 2018

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2018

Printed in the United Kingdom by Clays, St Ives plc

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

ISBN 978-1-107-06803-2 Hardback ISBN 978-1-107-67354-0 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Cambridge University Press 978-1-107-06803-2 — How India Became Democratic Ornit Shani Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>

For Fredrik

### Contents

	List of Figures	page viii
	List of Maps	ix
	Acknowledgements	Х
	Introduction	1
1	Designing for Democracy: Rewriting the Bureaucratic Colonial Imagination	21
2	The Pursuit of Citizenship in the Making of the Electoral Roll: Registering Partition Refugees	52
3	The Roll as 'Serialised Epic' and the Personalisation of the Universal Franchise	85
4	Disciplining the Federal Structure	122
5	Shaping the Constitution from Below and the Role of the Secretariat	160
6	The Limits of Inclusion	208
	Conclusion: A 17 Crore and 220 Yard Democracy	248
	Select Bibliography Index	259 271

vii

### Figures

Postcard from the Election Commission of India Record	
Room files pag	ge 114
B. N. Rau, the Constitutional Adviser of the Constituent	
Assembly of India. Source: courtesy of Dr Anil Seal	199
S. N. Mukherjee, Joint Secretary, Constituent Assembly	
Secretariat. Source: The Hindustan Times, REPUBLIC DAY,	
Special Number, 26 January 1950	201
K. V. Padmanabhan, Under Secretary, Constituent	
Assembly Secretariat. Source: courtesy of Geeta Doctor	203
P. S. Subramanian, Secretary to the Election Commission	
of India (right), and Sukumar Sen, first Chief Election	
Commissioner (left). Source: Photo Division of India	206
	Room filespageB. N. Rau, the Constitutional Adviser of the ConstituentAssembly of India. Source: courtesy of Dr Anil SealS. N. Mukherjee, Joint Secretary, Constituent AssemblySecretariat. Source: The Hindustan Times, REPUBLIC DAY,Special Number, 26 January 1950K. V. Padmanabhan, Under Secretary, ConstituentAssembly Secretariat. Source: courtesy of Geeta DoctorP. S. Subramanian, Secretary to the Election Commissionof India (right), and Sukumar Sen, first Chief Election

viii

(C) in this web service Cambridge University Press

## Maps

1	Provinces, states and districts prior to 15 August 1947.	
	Source: Appendix I to the Government of India White	
	Paper on the Indian States. Reproduced by permission of	
	the British Library.	page 120
2	Pre-Partition India, 1947	120
3	Post-Independence India and Pakistan	121
4	The progress of the political reorganisation of states	
	according to integration and merger schemes up to 31	
	May 1948. Source: Appendix XX to the Government of	
	India White Paper on the Indian States. Reproduced by	
	permission of the British Library.	132

### Acknowledgements

This book is about political hope. The story of the preparation of the first electoral roll in the world's largest democracy provided me with the inspiration that drove the long process of researching and writing this book. But this journey would have not been the same and as meaningful without the support and engagement that I received along the way from friends, colleagues, and family, and the help of a number of institutions.

I deeply thank Gordon Johnson, with whom I first shared the idea of the book. His feedback and encouragement helped me to turn what was at the time a rough plot in my head into a skeleton of a book. Roy Kreitner read parts of the work in the early stages. I am grateful to him for his sharp observations and to our discussions that helped to shape some of my ideas. I owe special thanks to Jennifer Davis, David Gilmartin, Gordon Johnson, Eleanor Newbigin, and Steven Wilkinson who read thoroughly parts of the work at different stages and made important and helpful comments. I am also thankful to Rohit De, Arvind Elangovan, William Gould, Stephen Legg, Eleanor Newbigin, Uditi Sen, and Taylor Sherman for the uniquely collaborative thinking during our two workshops on 'Law, Citizenship, and Democratic State Building in India, 1910s-1960', held at SOAS and the University of Nottingham. Ram Guha, a master chronicler of India's democracy, read the penultimate draft of the manuscript. I deeply thank Ram for his comprehensive engagement and for suggesting the title of this book. I will always be indebted to Raj Chandavarkar, who is sorely missed.

This is also a book about political imagination. I would like to thank Yaron Ezrahi and David Shulman, whose works on imagination, and the conversations I had with them at the beginning of this project inspired me. I thank historians Mushirul Hasan and Mahesh Rangarajan for providing me with important opportunities to present the work in India.

My periods of research in India were immensely rewarding. The most important primary materials for this book were obtained from the record room of the Election Commission of India. This book would

Cambridge University Press 978-1-107-06803-2 — How India Became Democratic Ornit Shani Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>

#### Acknowledgements

not have been possible without them. I am beholden to former Chief Election Commissioners of India Jim Lyngdoh, T. S. Krishnamurthy, N. Gopalaswami, Navin Chawla, S. Y. Quraishi, and Nasim Zaidi for their support. Dr Zaidi took particular interest in the work, read parts of it and gave me a valuable opportunity to present it before election commissioners from across the world at a conference in Delhi. I also had the opportunity over the past fifteen years to meet these and other Election Commissioners at the annual Cambridge Conference on Electoral Democracy in the Commonwealth. I owe a debt of gratitude to their convener, Anil Seal, for inviting me to take part in these annual conferences.

My profound thanks also go to S. K. Mendiratta, Legal Adviser of the Election Commission but really a guru of election laws, practices, and procedures in India. Sharing with him my findings at the end of a day of reading the records, over a cup of tea, was a treasured ritual during my research. I had many questions and Mr Mendiratta was an inexhaustible fount of knowledge and experiences, patiently and generously sharing his wisdom. Moreover, witnessing his conduct and becoming aware of his disposition towards issues of the day brought to life the story of the dusty records and of the bureaucrats who managed the preparation of the first electoral roll on the basis of the universal franchise. It also made clearer the significance of what these unsung heroes of India's democracy bequeathed to its electoral system. Mr Mendiratta is one of its living heroes. At the Election Commission, I would also like to thank the kindness and help of the keeper of the records, R. S. Mahto, Ravinder Luthra, and Ravi Kumar, and to Umesh Sinha, Padma Angmo, and Aarti Aggarwal for their help towards the end of this project.

The book also draws on materials I researched at various archives and libraries. For their great help I would like to thank the librarians and staff of the National Archives of India, especially Jayaprabha Ravindran; the Nehru Memorial and Museum Library, in particular Deepa Bhatnagar and Neelam Vadsa, as well as Jyoti Luthra, Somaya, Mohanti, and D. S. Rawat; and the Maharashtra State Archives. In the UK I would like to thank the librarians and staff of the Asian & African Studies Reading Room at the British Library; the Cambridge University Library; St John's College Library, Cambridge; and the Centre of South Asian Studies library and archives, Cambridge, especially Kevin Greenbank, Barbara Roe, and Rachel Rowe. I obtained some rare research material from the collection of the late Shmuel N. Eisenstadt thanks to the generosity of his daughter Irit Meir. I am enormously grateful to Simrat Dugal and Avesha Sheth who provided superb research assistance in collating and organising the newspaper materials for this project, and to Ayesha for collecting additional materials.

xi

Cambridge University Press 978-1-107-06803-2 — How India Became Democratic Ornit Shani Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>

#### xii Acknowledgements

I presented parts of this book at conferences and seminars in Canberra, Cambridge, Jerusalem, Leeds, Lisbon, London, Madison, New Delhi, New Haven, Princeton, Sydney, Tel Aviv, and The Hague. I am grateful to the participants who pushed me to rethink my ideas. In particular to Pratap Bhanu Mehta, Keith Breckenridge, Arudra Burra, Urvashi Butalia, Joya Chatterji, Assa Doron, John Dunn, Roy Fischel, Niraja Gopal Jayal, Douglas Haynes, Robin Jeffrey, Tahir Kamran, Gyanesh Kudaisya, Kama Maclean, Karuna Mantena, Shail Mayaram, Nikhil Menon, Polly O'Hanlon, Francesca Orsini, Norbert Peabody, Jahnavi Phalkey, Gyan Prakash, Srinath Raghavan, Emilly Rook-Koepsel, Shabnum Tejani, Jyotirmaya Sharma, Benjamin Siegel, A. R. Venkatachalapathy, and David Washbrook.

I also benefitted from the discussions of the research group on 'Twentieth Century Partitions' in Haifa. I thank Eitan Bar-Yosef, Ayelet Ben-Yishai, Yael Berda, Arie Dubnov, Rotem Geva, Sandy Kedar, Moriel Ram, Ran Shauli, and Mahmoud Yazbak. For their financial support, I thank the Van Leer Jerusalem Institute and the Minerva Center for the Rule of Law Under Extreme Conditions Institute, at the University of Haifa.

I wrote the book during a sabbatical leave at Cambridge. I am grateful to the wonderful support I received from my dear friends and colleagues at the Department of Asian Studies at the University of Haifa, both during that time and earlier when I headed the Department, especially Nimrod Baranovich, Michal Daliot Bul, and Arik Moran. I am also thankful to Tamar Katriel. In Cambridge, I would like to thank the Master and Fellows of St John's College for their support and for the stimulating intellectual home they provided during my stay as an Overseas Visiting Fellow. My special thanks are to Robert Tombs who made this fellowship possible. I am also thankful to Duncan Dormor, the late Robert Hinde, Jacqueline Rose, Ulinka Rublack, Simon Szreter, and Christopher Warnes. I would like to thank the Centre for History and Economics, University of Cambridge, for welcoming me as a Visiting Scholar, especially to the directors, Emma Rothschild and Gareth Stedman Jones, and to Tim Harper and Inga Huld. The Centre of South Asian Studies in Cambridge, where I have been an Affiliated Scholar, has been a long-standing intellectual home. I am deeply grateful to the directors, the late Christopher Bayly, and Joya Chatterji. I also thank James Laidlaw and Bhasker Vira.

At Cambridge University Press, I greatly benefitted from working closely with Lucy Rhymer. Her comments always forced me to improve my arguments. I deeply thank her for that. I thank Melissa Shivers, Claire Sissen, and Martin Noble for their help in getting the book ready for

Cambridge University Press 978-1-107-06803-2 — How India Became Democratic Ornit Shani Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>

#### Acknowledgements

publication. For their encouraging and useful comments I thank two anonymous reviewers.

Friends filled the journey of writing this book with support, warmth, hospitality, and love. I deeply thank Sheela Bhatt, Urvashi Butalia, Janti and Pepe Dugal, Mr Dugal, Ajit Ghose, Suzanne Goldenberg, Mushirul Hassan, Zoya Hassan, Horit Herman Peled, Faith Johnson, Roy Kreitner, Diane Leblond, Renaud Lejosne, Gideon Levy, Tony Munter, Neeru and Arun Nanda, Catrin Ormestad, Justin Pears, Yoav Peled, Mahesh Rangarajan, Puneeta Roy, Sanjoy Roy, Avina Sarna, Navtej Sarna, Jyotirmaya Sharma, Jen Simms, Mishka Sinha, John Slight, Isabelle Tombs, and Esther-Miriam Wagner. During the summer of 2014, when the war with Gaza struck, my work came to a complete halt. At that time of hopelessness, in the face of impossible dilemmas, the initiatives, activism, and friendship of Michal Barak, Fatan, Tami Kricheli-Katz, Maram Masarwi, Tali Regev, Maha Sakallah Tali, Samah Salaime Egbariya, and Anat Saragusti was a true source of hope, from which I later drew tremendous strength. I am indebted to these inspiring women. Through all this and far beyond, the love and friendship of Suchitra Balusubramaniam, Michal Barak, Jennifer Davis, Ruchira Ghose, Eleanor Newbigin, and Sunita Thakur have been very meaningful and strengthening. Michal has been there for me over the years in ways that my words of appreciation to her friendship cannot really convey.

I drew much joy and sustenance from the young people in my family: Ana, Maya, Michal, Noa, Roy, and Yoav, as well as from the grownups, Ami, Andreas, Fumi, Harald, Johan, Liv, Rafi, and Sally. My much-loved sisters, Ifat and Shimrit, have provided loving encouragement and an enduring support. Ana and Noa brought much love and joy into my life, for which I am indebted. The example my mother, Haya, set despite leaving us so young, has continued to be a source of much strength. My father, Hanan, has been exceptionally dedicated, supportive and loving. I owe them immense gratitude.

Rom has always been a source of abundant love, happiness, pride, and inner strength. It was in large measure thanks to his support that I was able to take the time away to write this book. Fredrik has been the closest witness to the long and demanding journey on which this book has been, and my constant source of support. His love and understanding made this book journey, and so much beyond, possible.

xiii