

PETER RONALD DE SOUZA

Brief Curriculum Vitae:

Professor Peter Ronald de Souza.

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**Personal Statement:**

*Academic training:*

I did my first degree in Chemistry graduating with a First class with distinction in 1975. This was also the year when the Emergency was declared in India when Civil and Political liberties were suspended and, although faced with the prospect of a promising career in Biochemistry, I resolved to change faculties and registered after a years personal study for a Master's in Political Science at New Delhi's Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU) where I got a first in 1978. I then went on to do an M.Phil at JNU which I completed, again with a first in 1981, and, on being awarded a National Scholarship for Study Abroad of the Government of India, proceeded to do my D.Phil at the University of Sussex (U.K.) where I worked with Professor T.B.Bottomore a leading scholar in sociology and political sociology. I wanted to work on Democratic theory and chose to explore the ideas of Weber, Schumpeter, Fromm and Marcuse for my thesis titled **Leadership, Participation, and Democratic Theory** for which I was awarded a D.Phil in 1987. The relationship between the legal-rational and the charismatic sources of authority intrigued me, particularly when seen through the lens of a realistic redefinition of democracy offered by Schumpeter and also through the neo-Freudian and neo-Hegelian lenses proposed by Fromm and Marcuse concerning the pathologies of

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modernity and the possibilities of freedom. My dissertation should be seen as an exegetical elaboration and an intellectual engagement with the ideas of these thinkers.

### *Intellectual concerns:*

The concerns that emerged during my years of formal study, from the early questions during the Emergency, of the core relationship between democracy and civil and political liberties, to later questions of the links between fundamental principles, institutional designs and political outcomes have remained present during my subsequent intellectual journey. The years from 1987 till date can be seen as a period when my thinking about democracy was at several levels, at the theoretical level where normative issues such as freedom of expression, minority rights, equality and discrimination, social justice and affirmative action, and political trust were explored, at the institutional level where design issues such as federalism, local government institutions, party systems and electoral reform were examined, at the process level where political nomadism, violence and party mobilization, politics of regional elites, dalits and local government etc., were studied. Several papers were written and presented, several courses of study started, several seminars organized, several research projects initiated, and several networks of scholars and policy makers established.

From this record five issues of deep engagement need special mention. The **first** concerns the place of freedom of expression in a plural democracy such as India. From 1988, when India banned Salman Rushdie's *The Satanic Verses*, till 2006 when certain states of India banned the film based on Dan Brown's *The Da Vinci Code* the issue of the place of freedom of expression in India's Democracy has remained a contested one. Several reasons have been advanced for banning, such as the prudential ones of avoiding public violence and maintaining law and order to normative ones such as avoiding harm particularly psychological hurt as well as the need to make trade-offs in a plural society between different basic values. The jury on this issue, which is of concern for all plural democracies, is still out. I hope to write a book on it since I have been thinking about it for nearly two decades. The **second** concerns the significance of the arguments on 'path dependence and increasing returns' for building democracies in conflict-prone societies such as Nepal, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, etc. These arguments about the sequencing of political choices, about inertia and costs of reversal, have implications for policy initiatives these need to be probed more systematically. This theme is a good point of entry for comparative studies on democracy. The **third** concerns decentralization and local government which has now gained global interest. The drivers of decentralization vary with different societies but it is fair to locate the global discourse of decentralization at the meeting point of four discourses, the development discourse that is concerned with issues of service delivery and the development of the local, the democratic discourse that is concerned with participation and empowerment of local communities, the discrimination discourse that is concerned with going 'voice' to excluded and marginal groups through quotas in local government, and the rights discourse that seeks to return rights to the locality which have been surreptitiously usurped by the central government. The **fourth** concerns the status of marginal citizens especially those that are discriminated against, such as dalits in India. Understanding the sources and forms of

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discrimination, and the policy responses required to eliminate them and build equal citizenship, are issues that have occupied me and on which I wish to keep working. The **fifth** concerns the issue of political and social trust in democracies. I am interested in examining not just the relationship between the two, i.e., is a background of high interpersonal trust necessary for high political trust in institutions, but also in looking at the comparative Barometer data of the different regions to reflect on the declining trust in the disaffected democracies of the trilateral countries as compared to the higher trust in South Asia.

### *Career history:*

After the award of my doctorate in 1987 in the UK I returned home to Goa and joined the Political Science Department at Goa University where I worked for 16 years. I was head of the Department from 1996 to 2002. Since 2003 I have been Visiting Senior Fellow at the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies where I am Co-director of the Lokniti programme on Comparative Democracy. These ten years were years of providing intellectual leadership first to the Department of Political Science as Chair of the Department, Chair of the Board of Studies and member of the Academic Council, and then to the Lokniti network which is both a programme of the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies but also a network of about 25 scholars located in political science departments in universities across India.

I am currently one of the PIs of a large project on the **State of Democracy in South Asia (SDSA)** supported by the EU Cross Cultural Programme, International IDEA and the Ford Foundation. This involves assessing the state of democracy in five countries Pakistan, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh and India. I am responsible for two components of the SDSA project: the Case studies and the Dialogues components. I am also PI of a project on **Youth Attitudes in India** funded by the Konrad Adenauer Foundation. Another study I am also currently coordinating is a UNDP study on **Electoral Violence and Conflict Resolution** involving the countries of Philippines, Indonesia, Thailand, Nepal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, and Bangladesh and India.

I am a member of the International Political Science Association and was associated with the Research Committees on Political Philosophy and Political Sociology and also was a member to the University Grants Commission's expert panel in political science from 1997 to 2000. In 1992 I was awarded the British Council Visitorship to the U.K. where I made presentations at LSE, SOAS, Warwick and Sussex Universities. In March 2000 I was a Visiting Professor at Birkbeck College, London University, and in May 2001 a Visiting scholar at the Taubman Centre, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University. I have been a member of the Editorial Committee for the Indian Council for Social Science Research Survey on trends in Political Science and on the of Indian Journal of Social Science Review.

I am also a member of the 'Dalit Intellectuals Collective' a group concerned with examining the forms of discrimination and humiliation faced by Dalits. More recently in

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June 2006 I have been appointed to the Board of an NGO, 'Children's Rights in Goa', which works on children's rights especially that of vulnerable children exposed to the threat of paedophilia. I am a member of the 'Indo-Irish Friendship Council' set up in January 2006 during the visit of the Irish P.M to India. In November 2005 I was appointed Chairperson of the 'Knowledge Commission, Goa' to prepare a vision document for Education in Goa.

### *Institutional associations:*

Over the years I have worked as consultant and intellectual partner with various organizations. Some of those are as follows:

- (i) International IDEA: From 1999 I have been associated with IDEA first in the brainstorming that preceded the preparation of their Democracy Assessment instrument where, with Professors David Beetham and Stuart Weir, we refined the instrument to make sure it travelled to various locations and could be used globally for democracy assessment. Since then I have worked with IDEA on various projects such as the EPIC project in 2004, the Democracy Assessment in South Asia study 2003-2006, the support in July 2005 for Mongolia's Democracy Assessment exercise under ICNRD-5, and more recently in April 2006 with SIDA in assessing Democracy Assistance programs.
- (ii) UNDP: In 2005 I was invited to guide the Regional Bureau in Bangkok, whose mandate is to support Country Offices on issues of Democracy, on their proposed comparative study on *Electoral Violence and Conflict Resolution* in the 8 countries of Philippines, Indonesia, Thailand, Nepal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, and Bangladesh and India. The country studies will be completed in September 2006 and I have the responsibility, in addition to overall supervision, of writing the overview essay.
- (iii) World Bank: I have consulted for the World Bank on three projects. The first was in 2000 to give them an overview article on the status of Local Government in India (Panchayati Raj Institutions). Many articles based on this study have since been published. The second was in 2003 when I was commissioned to explore the issue of Democracy and Discrimination with respect to Dalits in India. I gave a report in 2003 and hope to convert some of the research findings into a book. The third was in December 2005 when I was invited to present a paper on 'Political Trust, Institutions and Democracy in India, Sri Lanka and Pakistan' for a conference on '*New Frontiers in Social Policy: Development in a Globalizing World*' held in Arusha, Tanzania.
- (iv) IPU: I have been part of the Inter-Parliamentary Union's initiative to prepare a *Guide to Parliament and Democracy in the 21<sup>st</sup> century*. The project, which began in January 2005, has been completed in July 2006 and the Guide prepared by the rapporteur Professor David Beetham, with inputs from all of

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us as members of the committee, has just been published in July 2006. To be part of an initiative that had the support of all the Speakers of the member Parliaments, and that would help in reforming parliament for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, was personally very satisfying.

- (v) Ford Foundation: I have been part of an FF initiative in Asia begun in 2003 to establish a network on Non-Traditional Security or Human Security. The Asia wide network has now been established and has 11 member institutes and has published a book on *Human Security: Studying Non-Traditional Security in Asia Trends and Issues*. I have a chapter on 'Human Security in South Asia: A People's Commonsense'
- (vi) SSRC: In 2001 I was part of a group invited by the Social Science Research Council, New York to review *Social Science Research Capacity in South Asia*. I did the component on Western India. The report was published in 2001.
- (vii) TERI: Adviser to The Energy and Resources Institute for their IDRC project concerning Mineral development in Goa on the Governance component of the study.
- (viii) Goa Knowledge Commission: Appointed Chair of the Commission set up in November 2005 to prepare a Vision Document on Education for Goa so that a policy framework can be in place to position Goa more effectively in the global knowledge economy and thereby to build up its human resources. The report should be ready in September 2006.

### *Research pathways:*

In the course of undertaking these various studies I have employed and supported the use of various research methods. In addition to using a historical institutional approach and an analytical approach I have also relied on cross-sectional surveys, political ethnographies and case studies, dialogues, and democracy assessments. The use of diverse methods is based on an acceptance of the arguments for epistemic pluralism.

### *Research and Training:*

The preceding account of my work places me at an advantage to guide and organize research and training on a range of aspects of relevance to democracy. Some of these would be (i) Federalism and Power sharing solutions, (ii) Administrative, Fiscal and Political Decentralization, (iii) Political parties and Party systems, (iv) Electoral reform, (v) Minority rights and Multiculturalism, and (vi) Parliaments and democracy.

**Papers presented:**

I have presented over 82 papers at National and International Seminars and conferences. Some of the published ones are as follows. The full list is in the annexure.

*Articles in Professional / Refereed journals*

- with Solano Dasilva, Sushma Pawar and Edzia Carvalho ‘The Dynamics of a Working Democracy: Representative Politics in a Goa Constituency’, **Economic and Political Weekly**, 22, April 2006.
- ‘Between Aurora and Maria: Being and Becoming in Goa’, Review of *Goa: A Daughter’s Story* by Maria Aurora Couto, in **The Book Review**, January 2005.
- ‘Democracy’s inconvenient fact’, in **Seminar**, 543, November 2004, pp. 14-19.
- ‘The Struggle for Local Government: Indian Democracy’s New Phase’, in **Publius**, Volume 33, Number 4, Fall 2003, pp. 99-118.
- ‘Intellectuals and their Domain’, in **Economic and Political Weekly**, March 2-8, 2002, pp. 890-2.
- ‘Whose Representative?’ in **Seminar**, 506, October 2001, pp. 57-61.
- ‘La vie politique dans l’ Etat de Goa (1987-1999)’, in Lusotopie, **Lusophonies asiatiques, Asiatiques en Lusophonies**, Karthala, Pris, 2000, pp. 31-46.
- ‘Pragmatic Politics in Goa 1987-99’ in **Economic and Political Weekly**, August 21-28, 1999 pp 2434-2439. Special Issue: Electoral Politics in India 1989-99.
- ‘I partiti e il processo elettorale in India. Nodi centrali nel dibattito politico corrente’, in **L’ India Contemporanea**, Fondazione Giovanni Agnelli, Torino, 1998, pp. 115-136.
- ‘The idea of the Political: Boundary, Significance and Agency’ in Jyotirmaya Sharma, (ed) *The Idea of the Political*, **Studies in Humanities and Social Sciences**, Shimla, Vol IV, no 2, Winter 1997, pp 51-59.
- ‘Goa Elections: A Democratic Verdict’, **Economic and Political Weekly**, January 13-20, 1996.
- ‘Living Together, Living Differently’, **Diversity Journal**, Chowgule College, February 1996.
- ‘The Accountability Factor’ **Seminar**, Vol 440, April 1996.
- ‘Liberalization and the Discourse on ‘Natural’ Inequality’ **Indian Journal of Public Administration**, July-Sept 1996, no 3, pp 264-267.
- ‘The Church and Politics in Goa : Utilitarian Calculus or Ethical Imperative’ in **Social Action**, Vol 44, Jan-March 1994.
- (with Errol D’Souza) ‘Restating Arguments on Intellectual Property Rights’ **Economic and Political Weekly**, May 26, 1990.
- ‘Pluralization of World – Views and Charismatic Domination’ **Indian Journal of Social Science**, Volume III, Jan – Mar 1990.

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*Articles in Edited Volumes*

- ‘Institutional Visions and Sociological Imaginations: The debate on Panchayati Raj in the Constitutional Assembly’, in Rajeev Bhargava (ed) **Philosophy of the Indian Constitution**, Oxford University Press, New Delhi. (In press)
- ‘Humiliation in a Crematorium’ in Gopal Guru (ed) **Dalits and Humiliation**, Oxford University Press, New Delhi. (In Press)
- ‘Decentralization and Panchayati Rraj in India: Pursuing the Holy Grail of Decentralization’, in Paul Flather (ed) **Recasting Indian Politics**, Palgrave, London. (In press)
- ‘Decentralization: Explorations of Local Government In India and the US’ in S.Bajpai (ed) **Democracy and Diversity: Indian and American Experiences**, Oxford University Press, New Delhi. October 2006.
- ‘Human Security in South Asia: A People’s Commonsense’ in Ralf Emmers, Mely Cabellero-Anthony and Amitav Acharya (eds) **Human Security: Studying Non-Traditional Security in Asia – Trends and Issues**, Marshall Cavendish Academic, Singapore, March 2006.
- ‘Political Nomadism and the Party System in India: the Struggle between the Fence and the Field’ in Peter Ronald deSouza and E.Sridharan (eds) **India’s Political Parties**, Sage, New Delhi, October 2006.
- ‘Decentralization and Local Government: the ‘Second Wind’ of democracy in India’ in Z. Hasan (et al) **India's Living Constitutions: Ideas, Practices, Controversies**, Permanent Black, New Delhi, 2002.
- ‘Appeasement of Minorities’ and Multiculturalism : The Indian Debate’, in D.L. Sheth and G. Mahajan (eds) **Minority, Identities and the Nation-State**, Oxford University Press: New Delhi, 1999, pp 206-219.
- ‘Democratic Decentralization of Power in India’ in D.D. Khanna & G.W. Kueck,(eds) **Principles, Power and Politics**, Macmillan, New Delhi, 1999, pp 136-149.
- ‘Religion and Politics: Modern India at the Crossroads’ in A. Ashraf (ed) **The Emerging Political Culture in India**, Hira Publications, New Delhi, 1995.
- ‘For and Against Participatory Democracy’ in Gandhian Institute of Studies, **J.P. and Social Change**, (ed) Nageshwar Prasad, Radiant Press, Varanasi, 1992.
- ‘Science, Values and Democratic Theory’ in G. Hermet and H. Trinidad (eds) **Paradox of Democracy**, Gian Publishers, New Delhi, 1988.

*Edited Books (published)*

- (with E. Sridharan) In the Readings in Indian Government and Politics series. **India’s Political Parties**, Sage, New Delhi. (October 2006)
- **Contemporary India: Transitions**, Sage, New Delhi, September 2000.
- (member Scientific Council) **Lusophonies Asiatiques, Asiatiques en Lusophonies**, Karthala, Paris Lusotopie, 2000.

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- (with Patha Chatterjee et al) **Social Science Research Capacity in South Asia**, published by Social Science Research Council, New York, October 2001.

*Edited books (forthcoming)*

- **Dalits, Discrimination and Democracy.** (Proceedings of a seminar and findings of a WB project) Final draft under preparation.
- **Democracy's Inconvenient Facts.** (Commissioned papers for the SDSA project. Final draft under preparation)

*Book Reviews and newspaper articles:*

- Reviews in journals such as Sociology, British journal of Sociology, Sociological Bulletin, The Book Review.
- I have also contributed several articles to local and national newspapers such as: Goa Today, Navhind Times, Gomantak Times, The Herald, Times of India, Indian Express, The Economic Times, and Frontline.