



Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship, 1961-1962  
Carnegie Study of New Nations Fellowship (Honorary), 1962-1963  
Committee on Southern Asian Studies Fellowship, 1962-1963  
Carnegie Study of New Nations Fellowship (Honorary), 1963-1964  
National Defense Foreign Language Fellowship, 1963-1964  
Foreign Area Fellowship (Ford), 1964-1965, 1965-1966  
Ford Faculty Research Grant, 1969-1970  
National Research Council (Office of Education, HEW), 1971-1973  
American Institute of Indian Studies, 1974  
University Research Institute, December 1976-January 1977  
Smithsonian Institution, December 1979-January 1980  
American Institute of Indian Studies (Smithsonian), 1982  
University Research Institute, July-August 1985  
University Research Institute, Summer 1987  
American Institute of Indian Studies, May-June 1990  
University Research Institute, Spring 1991

### **Research Interests:**

South Asia: domestic and international politics (India specialty)  
Comparative ethnic conflict  
British India: European images and artists' representation  
American government and politics: Constitutional law and civil liberties

### **Selected Professional Activities:**

Member, Editorial Board, *Asian Survey*, 1979-1996.  
Consultant on "The Study of Indian Trends," U.S. Department of State,  
1982-1983.  
Consultant, Global Assessments, Inc., 1988-1995.  
Member, Fellowship Selection Committee, Indo-U.S. Subcommission on  
Education and Culture, 1983-date. Acting chairman, 1984; Co-chair, 1987;  
Chair, 1988-1993.  
Member, Research Council for the International Forum for Democratic  
Studies, National Endowment for Democracy, 1994-2003.  
Senior Policy Advisor for South Asia, Political Risk Services, Inc.,  
1982-1011.  
Member, Kashmir Study Group, 1996-present.  
Member, Editorial Board, *India Review*, 2001-present.  
Editorial Advisor, *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, 2001-present.  
Member, Editorial Board, *Foreign Policy Bulletin*, 2006-2012.

## **Publications**

### **Books:**

*The Dravidian Movement* (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1965).

*The Nadars of Tamilnad: The Political Culture of a Community in Change* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969);  
Indian edition, (Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1969).  
Tamil translation, *Tamilaga Nadar Varalaru* (Tuticorin; Murugan Press, 1979).  
New Edition (New Delhi: Manohar, 2006).  
New Tamil translation, *Thamizhaka nadaarkal* (Puthanatham, Tamil Nadu: Adaiyaalam, 2019).

*India: Government and Politics in a Developing Nation* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1970); second edition (1975); Indian reprint (New Delhi, Freeman, 1979); third edition (1980); (with Stanley A. Kochanek) fourth edition (1986); (with Stanley A. Kochanek) fifth edition (1993); (with Stanley A. Kochanek) sixth edition (Ft. Worth: Harcourt College Publishers, 2000); (with Stanley A. Kochanek) seventh edition (Boston: Thomson Wadsworth, 2008).

(With James A. Bill) *Comparative Politics: The Quest for Theory* (Columbus, Ohio: Charles Merrill, 1973); reprint (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1981).  
Korean translation (Seoul: Pak Young-Sa, 1983) (tr. by Kiwoo Kim).

(With Santiago Hinojosa) *The Politics of Bilingual Education: A Study of Four Southwest Texas Communities* (Austin: Sterling Swift Publishing Co., 1975).

*Essays in the Political Sociology of South India* (New Delhi: Usha Publishers, 1979; New Delhi: Manohar, 1993).

*India Under Pressure: Prospects for Political Stability* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1984).

*American Government: The Republic in Action* [high school text] (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1986).

(With Stephen M. Slawek) *Musical Instruments of North India: Eighteenth Century Portraits by Baltazard Solvyns*. New Delhi: Manohar, 1997.

*Boats of Bengal: Eighteenth Century Portraits by Balthazar Solvyns*. New Delhi: Manohar, 2001.

*A Portrait of the Hindus: Balthazar Solvyns and the European Image of India, 1760-1824*. New York: Oxford University Press (South Asia Research series)/Ahmedabad: Mapin, 2004.

**Edited:**

*Word as Mantra: The Art of Raja Rao.* New Delhi: Katha, 1998

Special issue on "Film and Mass Politics in the Developing Areas," *American Behavioral Scientist*, 17 (January-February 1974).

"Kashmir 1947: Burdens of the Past, Options for the Future--Four Perspectives," *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, 36 (March 1998), pp. 92-123.

"Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life: Hindus and Muslims in India: A Review Symposium," *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, 39 (March 2001), pp. 96-141.

### **Articles and Chapters:**

"Caste, Class, and Politics, in Kerala," *Political Science Review (India)*, 3 (May 1964), pp. 120-126.

"Caste in Kerala: A Preface to the Elections," *Economic Weekly*, 16 (November 21, 1964), pp. 1841-1847.

"The DMK and the Politics of Tamil Nationalism," *Pacific Affairs*, 37 (Winter 1964-65), pp. 396-411.

"Caste and the Kerala Elections," *Economic Weekly*, 17 (April 11, 1965), pp. 660-672.

"The Riots in Tamilnad: Problems and Prospects of India's Language Crisis," *Asian Survey*, 5 (August 1965), pp. 399-407.

"Religion, Politics and the DMK," in *South Asian Politics and Religions*, Donald E. Smith (ed.), (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966), pp. 213-234.

"Varieties of Political Behavior Among the Nadars of Tamilnad," *Asian Survey*, 6 (November 1966), pp. 614-621.

"The Justice Party and the Tamil Renaissance," in *The Justice Party Golden Jubilee Souvenir* (Madras: Shanmugam Press, 1968), pp. 73-75.

"The Breast-Cloth Controversy," *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 5 (June 1968), pp. 171-187.

"Caste: Fission and Fusion," *Economic and Political Weekly*, 3, Special Number (July 1968), pp. 1065-1070.

"The New Mythology of a Caste in Change," *Journal of Tamil Studies*, 1(1)

(April 1969), pp. 61-87. REPRINTED: *Indo-British Review*, 12 (January-June 1987), pp. 64-76.

"Political Culture and Projective Techniques," *Comparative Political Studies*, 2 (July 1969), pp. 249-155.

"The Congress in India: Crisis and Split," *Asian Survey*, 10 (March 1970), pp. 256-262.

"Film and Society in Tamil Nadu," *Monthly Public Opinion Surveys of the Indian Institute of Public Opinion*, 15 (March, April 1970), pp. 1-62.

"Political Participation and Primordial Sentiment: The Nadars of Tamilnad," in *Caste in Indian Politics*, Rajni Kothari (ed.), (New Delhi: Orient Longmans, 1970), pp. 102-128. Second Edition, Revised with a Prologue by James Manor. New Delhi: Orient Black Swan, 2010. Pp. 96-120.

"Urbanization and the Structure of Caste," in *Urban India: Society, Space, and Image*, Richard G. Fox (ed.) Durham: Duke University Press, 1970), pp. 39-50.

"The Marxist Dilemma in Kerala: Administration and/or Struggle," *Asian Survey*, 10 (November 1970), pp. 993-1003.

"The Celluloid God: M.G.R. and the Tamil Film," *South Asian Review*, 4 (July 1971), pp. 307-314.

"Politics and the Film in Tamil Nadu: The Stars and the DMK," *Asian Survey*, 13 (March 1973), pp. 288-305. Reprinted in *Tamil Cinema: The Cultural Politics of India's Other Film Industry*, Selvaraj Velayutham (ed.), (London: Routledge, 2008), pp. 59-76.

"The Kerala Communists: Contradictions of Powers," in *Radical Movements in South Asia*, Paul Brass and Marcus Franda (eds.) (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1973), pp. 119-180.

"Film and Political Consciousness in Tamil Nadu," with Anthony C. Neidhart, *Economic and Political Weekly*, 10 (January 11, 1975), pp. 27-35.

"The Communist Parties of Kerala: An Electoral Profile," in *Electoral Politics in the Indian States: Party Systems and Cleavages*, Myron Weiner and John O. Field (eds.) (Delhi: Manohar, 1975), pp. 167-209.

"When Stars Displace the Gods: The Folk Culture of Cinema in Tamil Nadu," Occasional Papers No. 3, Center for Asian Studies, University of Texas at Austin, 1975; reprinted in *The Allahabad University Magazine*, 54 (June

- 1976), pp. 38-78; reprinted *Essays in the Political Sociology of South India*, Robert L. Hardgrave, Jr. (Delhi: Manohar, 1979, 1993), pp. 92-124.
- "Peasant Mobilization in Malabar: The Mappilla Rebellion, 1921," in *Aspects of Political Mobilization in South Asia*, South Asian Series, No. 1, Robert I. Crane (ed.) (Syracuse: Maxwell School, Syracuse University, 1976), pp. 67-108.
- "The Mappilla Rebellion, 1921: Peasant Revolt in Malabar," *Modern Asian Studies*, 11 (1977), pp. 57-99.
- "Caste, Cleavage and Political Conflict, in *Main Currents in Indian Sociology*, Vol 3: *Cohesion and Conflict*, Giri Raj Gupta (ed.) (Delhi: Vikas, 1977), pp. 224-241.
- "Protective Discrimination in the United States: From *DeFunis* to *Bakke*," *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 11 (December 3, 1977), pp. 2013-2020.
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- "India: From Crisis to Crisis," *Current History*, 76 (April 1979), pp. 159-163.
- "India Enters the 1980s," *Current History*, 81 (May 1982), pp. 197-201.
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- "The Northeast, the Punjab, and the Regionalization of Indian Politics," *Asian Survey*, 13 (November 1983), pp. 1171-1181. REPRINTED: in B. H. Shafruddin and Iftikhar A.M.Z. Fadzli, eds., *Between Centre and State: Federalism in Perspective* (Kuala Lumpur: Institute of Strategic and International Studies, Malaysia, 1988), pp. 111-119.
- "India in 1983: New Challenges, Lost Opportunities," *Asian Survey*, 14 (February 1984), pp. 209-218.
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- "India on the Eve of Elections: Congress and the Opposition," *Pacific Affairs*, 57 (Fall 1984), pp. 404-428.
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- "Positive Discrimination in Indian Constitutional Law: From *Dorairajan to Thomas*," in *Judges and Judicial Power: Essays in Honor of Justice Krishna Iyer*, R. Dhavan et.al. (eds.), (Bombay: N.M. Tripathi, 1986), pp. 214-228.
- "Social Change and Political Stability in India," in *Modern India: Society and Politics in Transition*. T.P. Sankarankutty Nair (ed.) (New Delhi: Inter-India Publications, 1988), pp. 49-66.
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- "South Asia," *Global Assessment*, 7 (Spring/Summer 1989), pp. 97-100.
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- "A Portrait of Black Town: Baltazard Solvyns in Calcutta, 1791-1804," in *Changing Visions, Lasting Images: Calcutta Through 300 Years*. Pratapaditya Pal (ed.), (Bombay: Marg Publications, 1990), pp. 31-46.
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"Projected U.S. and U.S.S.R. Roles in South Asia," in *United States-India Relations*, Leo E. Rose and Eric Gonzalves (eds.), (Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, The University of California), 1992, pp. 65-77.

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(with Stanley A. Kochanek), "Indian Politics on the Internet: A Resource Guide," *Education About Asia*, 4 (Fall 1999), pp. 40-43.

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"An Academic Odyssey: West Texas to South India" [an autobiographical essay], in William Roger Louis, ed., *Burnt Orange Britannia*, London: I. B. Tauris/Austin, Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, 2005, pp. 196-211.

"Politics and the Film in Tamil Nadu: The Stars and the DMK" [reprinted from *Asian Survey*, 1973], in Selvaraj Velayutham, ed., *Tamil Cinema: The Cultural Politics of India's Other Film Industry*, London: Routledge, 2008, pp. 58-76.

"Balthazar Solvyns and Eighteenth-Century Calcutta" ["The Search for Balthazar Solvyns and an Indian Past: The Anatomy of a Research Project"], in William Roger Louis, ed., *Ultimate Adventures with Britannia: Personalities, Politics and Culture in Britain*, London: I. B. Tauris/Austin, Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, 2009. Pp. 109-119.

"Foundations of the Dravidian Movement" [reprinted from *The Dravidian Movement*], in T. K. Oommen, ed., *Social Movements I: Issues of Identity*. Oxford in India Readings in Sociology and Social Anthropology. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2010, pp. 165-71.

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