

Understanding Political Developments in India, W145A

Four (4) semester credits

Course Description

Much has been written and said about the link between democracy and development, religious and ethnic fragmentation. When India gained independence from British Rule in 1947, observers noted that the likelihood of the new country remaining democratic was limited. Yet, India proved such observers wrong and remained one of the world's most thriving democracies for over 60 years, and, in doing so offered a puzzle for many political scientists.

How did a country with hundreds of social, economic, ethnic and linguistic cleavages manage to remain democratic, when other countries with lesser amounts of such diversity were collapsing? How did a country with the world's largest poor population and slow rates of development consolidate a democracy? How did India with a history of social discrimination against former untouchables (now called dalits) and women implement corrective mechanisms to improve the conditions of marginalized groups and give them political representation and voice.

Of course, none of this history has been perfect. However, with every political tension that arose, the Indian state also responded in different ways. Sometimes it repressed its people; sometimes it created new mechanisms and institutions to channel dissent. But the "system" endured for six and a half decades.

In this course, you will engage in a deep, historical institutional analysis about the conditions that have allowed the Indian state to remain democratic. To explain Indian democracy we will look at various institutional mechanisms, elite bargaining, and the deployment of force, accommodation of regional leaders and their political aspirations, economic development and the constant reconfiguration of caste, party and religious alliances.

Prerequisites

There are no prior course requirements.

Course Objectives

After successfully completing this course, you will be able to

- Describe and explain how institutions are set up to govern deeply diverse societies
- Analyze the transformation of caste and assess the impact of democratic institutions on caste
- Explore the interaction between democratic institutions and India's varied religious interests
- Analyze the role of tribes in insurgencies and armed conflicts
- Analyze the impact of centralization of power in the separatist and secessionist movements
- Recognize political parties and evaluate how party politics and elections create and impact India's democratic institutions

Instructor Information, Contact, Office Hours, & Communication

Course Instructor

Dr. Pradeep Chhibber

Graduate Student Instructors (GSIs)

While Dr. Chhibber will interact with the whole class and will oversee all activities and grading, as well as being available to resolve any issues that may arise, your GSIs will be your immediate contact and direct instructor for this course.

- Tanu Kumar
- Nirvikar Jassal

Office Hours

Office Hours will be regularly scheduled both in person and via online chat to be announced at least 24 hours in advance. Zoom conferencing will be used for office hours.

Course Mail

Make sure to check the Course Mail for messages from the instructor. You can access course email within the Learning Management System by clicking on the Inbox link on the Corner Help toolbar (see also [Canvas Overview Video](#)) or choose to have your course mail forwarded to your personal email account or your cell phone.

Question & Answer Forum

Please use this forum to post questions about the course material, assignments, the learning management system or online homework. **The instructor/GSIs will monitor this forum**, but you should also feel free to post answers to help other students. This helps to create a general FAQ so that all students in the course may benefit from the exchange.

Course Materials and Technical Requirements

Required Materials

Edward Luce, 2008. *In Spite of the Gods: The Rise of Modern India*

- Video lectures and PowerPoint slides in each module
- Readings are provided in each module (PDF files)
- Additional videos and other materials as provided by the instructor

You are free to purchase your textbooks from any vendor. Please be sure to thoroughly review the return policies before making a purchasing decision as UC Berkeley does not reimburse students for course materials in the event of a textbook change or an unexpected cancellation or rescheduled course section.

Technical Requirements

This course is built on a Learning Management system (LMS) called Canvas and you will need to meet these [computer specifications to participate within this online platform](#).

Optional

Canvas allows you to record audio or video files of yourself and upload them in the course. Although doing so is not required for any of the activities, using these features will enhance your engagement in the course. If you would like to use these features, you will need to have a webcam and a microphone installed on your computer.

Technical Support

If you are having technical difficulties please alert one of the GSIs immediately. However, understand that neither the GSIs, nor the professor can assist you with technical problems. You must call or email tech support and make sure you resolve any issues immediately.

In your course, click on the "Help" button on the bottom left of the global navigation menu. Be sure to document (save emails and transaction numbers) for all interactions with tech support.

Extensions and late submissions will not be accepted due to "technical difficulties."

Learning Activities

VERY IMPORTANT

You won't be able to access your course material until you read and make your pledge to Academic Integrity.

You are expected to fully participate in all the course activities described here.

1. Read the assigned textbook pages
2. Watch and listen to the lecture presentations
3. Read web-based announcements and postings assign during the course
4. Compose and post assigned responses to lectures and readings
5. Complete the midterm exam and final exam
6. Complete writing assignments

Modules

A module is a grouping of topics related to one area of study, typically with readings, lectures and various kinds of assignments. Each module contains a list of Learning Outcomes for the module. Your assignments reflect the learning activities to perform to reach those outcomes. For an at-a-glance view of due dates and projects, refer to the course **Calendar**.

Reading Assignments

Each module includes assigned readings relevant to each topic covered in that module. You will find links to PDFs on the Learning Activities page for each module.

Multimedia Lectures

Each module includes multiple video lectures/conversations by Dr. Chhibber and other experts on the various topics of the course, as well as PowerPoint slides, which you can open as PDFs. In order to make the most of the material, start by doing the readings, then watch the video lectures and interviews and use the slides as highlights.

Take notes as needed while viewing the lectures, and write down any questions that these conversations raise for you. You can use the Questions & Answers forum in the course to post your questions and discuss them with your classmates.

Quizzes

Most modules include a quiz that must be completed and submitted within 48 hours of the completion of the module. Refer to the calendar for all due dates. You may take the quiz only once and have a set period of time to complete each quiz. (See each quiz for details.) Late submission and inability to complete a quiz will lead to one-third of a grade being docked and/or the quiz score and grade being dropped from the final grade assessment.

Op-Ed Response Project

We will provide you with a number of op-eds written by academics who are responding to one another's ideas. After reading the entire dialogue, your assignment will be to write an additional op-ed in which you respond to the arguments made by the other authors and develop your own ideas on the topic.

This assignment will be due on July 23rd by midnight PST. You will receive your grade on this project, as well as comments, in time to allow you to prepare for the final exam.

Discussion Forums

Weekly Discussion Forums

Dropbox Questions

During the first portion of each module you will be responsible for submitting a single, thoughtful question that occurs to you as you go through the materials. We will read all submitted questions and select the five best (most thoughtful and interesting) questions from among them.

Module Discussion Assignments

After we have selected the five top dropbox questions, we will then post these questions on the course module page. You will be responsible for trying to them for each module. (See schedule below for details.)

Grading

You will be graded on the quality of your contribution, both in terms of your drop box question and your response to the posted questions.

In terms of the 20% of your grade that stems from discussion, half will be assigned based upon the quality of the questions you ask and the remaining half will be based upon our assessment of the responses you provide to the posted questions.

Module	Topics Included	Question Due Date	Discussion Response Due Date
1	1-6	June 20th	June 26th
2	1-6	July 3 rd	July 10 th

Module	Topics Included	Question Due Date	Discussion Response Due Date
3	1-6	July 12 th	July 17 th
4	n/a	n/a	n/a
5	1-6	July 28 th	August 6 th
6	1-4	n/a	n/a

Questions and Answers Forum

Please use this forum to post questions about the course or topics being studied. The questions will be answered in the forum by the course instructor or GSIs. This way, all students benefit from seeing the answers. This is the preferred place to ask and get answers to questions that are likely to be of general interest.

Final Exam

This course includes a 3-hour, in-person final exam. The exam format will reflect that of the quizzes and will include both essay and multiple choice questions. You must pass the final exam with a score of at least 60% to pass the course. The final exam will take place on **Wednesday, August 9th from 9 am to 12 pm**, location to is TBD, on the Berkeley campus.

If you will not be on campus for the final, it might be possible to take a proctored final off campus. Review the Proctor Info on the left navigation menu. Proctor applications are due by July 15th, 2017.

If you cannot attend the final on campus, you **must** make arrangements to take a proctored version of the exam at least **four** weeks before the final exam date.

If you miss taking the final or try to take it in a manner for which you have not received permission, you will fail this class automatically.

Reminder: Your Course End Date

Your course will end on August 11th, 2017. As you work through the course, please keep the end date in mind, and if you want to save any commentary or assignments for future reference, please make sure to print or copy/paste those materials before your access ends.

Grading and Course Policies

Your final course grade will be calculated as follows:

Category	Percentage of Grade
Discussion Participation	20%
Quizzes (5)	30%
Op-Ed Response Project	20%
Final Exam	30%

Table 1: Final Grade Percentages

You must receive a score of at least 60% in the final exam to pass the course.

It is important to note that not all components are graded online and included in the online course grade book. Because of this, the online course grade book will not display your overall course grade at any given time or your final grade. Your final letter grade will be mailed to you by the registrar's office.

Grading System

Letter Grade	A	A-	B+	B	B-	C+	C	C-	D+	D	D-	F
Percentage	100 - 94	93 - 90	89 - 86	85 - 83	82 - 80	79 - 76	75 - 73	72 - 70	69 - 66	65 - 63	62 - 60	< 60

All of your assignments will be graded on a 100-point scale according to the following criteria. The rubric below gives you an idea of levels of competence. In addition, your Op-Ed Response Project will be evaluated according to specific criteria as detailed in the guidelines.

Criteria for writing assignments

Criterion	Poor	Needs Improvement	Meets Expectations	Exceptional
Content	Poor writing style with little or no specific details, no evidence of having studied the material, and/or off topic.	Adequately written; some points elaborated but with minimal use of concepts from the material.	Well written, most points elaborated with clear and detailed information that supports thoughts and ideas and uses concepts from the material.	Well written, fully elaborates points. Clear and detailed information supports thoughts and ideas and shows full acquisition of concepts from the material.
Organization and Mechanics	Little or no structure present. Grammatical errors interfere with comprehension.	Organization present but awkward. Some grammatical errors present.	Organization present but awkward. Some grammatical errors present.	Clearly organized and remains focused. Few or no grammatical errors.

Your discussion assignments will be graded for accuracy and for quality of response. The rubric below gives you an idea of levels of competence

Criteria for Discussion Assignments

Criterion	Poor	Needs Improvement	Meets Expectations	Exceptional
Content	Poor writing style with little or no specific details, no evidence of	Adequately written; some points elaborated but with minimal	Well written, most points elaborated with clear and detailed	Well written, fully elaborates points. Clear and detailed

	having studied the material, and/or off topic.	use of concepts from the material.	information that supports thoughts and ideas and uses concepts from the material.	information supports thoughts and ideas and shows full acquisition of concepts from the material.
Organization and Mechanics	Little or no structure present. Grammatical errors interfere with comprehension.	Organization present but awkward. Some grammatical errors present.	Organization present but awkward. Some grammatical errors present.	Clearly organized and remains focused. Few or no grammatical errors.
Participation	Minimal posts in number or length. Posts show little or no reflection on the topics or previous posts.	Posts address the topic but consist mostly of a rote repetition of the study materials. Little or no reflection on previous posts.	Posts address the topic with reflection. Many responses build on previous posts.	Posts show a genuine interest in contributing to the overall life of the forum.

Late Work Policy

One-third of a grade will be docked for every day an assignment is late. All due dates and times are given in Pacific Daylight Time (PDT).

Course Policies

Promptness

Homework assignments and discussion forum postings all have specific final due dates and times. You will not receive full credit if assignments are submitted after the indicated due date.

Further, each online activity must be submitted through the course website by the due date. Fax or mail submission will not be accepted. Students who wait until the final hours prior to a submission deadline risk having problems with their ISP, hardware, software, or various other site access difficulties. Therefore, it is advisable to submit assignments and tests through the course website early. The multiple days allowed for submission are to accommodate the busy schedules of working professionals, not to accommodate procrastination. Students should plan accordingly and get into the habit of checking the course website several times each week, and submitting and posting early.

Honor Code

The student community at UC Berkeley has adopted the following Honor Code: "As a member of the UC Berkeley community, I act with honesty, integrity, and respect for others." The expectation is that you will adhere to this code.

Collaboration and Independence

Reviewing lecture and reading materials and studying for exams can be enjoyable and enriching things to do with fellow students. This is recommended. However, unless otherwise instructed, homework assignments and the online exam are to be completed independently and materials submitted as homework should be the result of one's own independent work.

Cheating

A good lifetime strategy is always to act in such a way that no one would ever imagine that you would even consider cheating. Anyone caught cheating on a quiz or exam in this course will receive a failing grade in the course and will also be reported to the University Center for Student Conduct. Exams are to be completed without the assistance of other people, and without reference to texts, notes, and other materials. The expectation is that you will be honest in the taking of exams.

Plagiarism

To copy text or ideas from another source without appropriate reference is plagiarism and will result in a failing grade for your

assignment and usually further disciplinary action. For additional information on plagiarism and how to avoid it, explore the resources linked below:

[UC Berkeley Library Citation Page, Plagiarism Section](#)

[GSI Guide for Preventing Plagiarism](#)

Academic Integrity and Ethics

Cheating on exams and plagiarism are two common examples of dishonest, unethical behavior. Honesty and integrity are of great importance in all facets of life. They help to build a sense of self-confidence, and are key to building trust within relationships, whether personal or professional. There is no tolerance for dishonesty in the academic world, for it undermines what we are dedicated to doing - furthering knowledge for the benefit of humanity.

Incomplete Course Grade

Students who have substantially completed the course but for serious extenuating circumstances, are unable to complete the final exam, may request an Incomplete grade. This request must be submitted in writing or by email to the GSI and course instructor. You must provide verifiable documentation for the seriousness of the extenuating circumstances. According to the policy of the college, Incomplete grades must be made up within the first three weeks of the next semester.

Students with Disabilities

Any students requiring course accommodations due to a physical, emotional, or learning disability must contact the [Disabled Students' Program \(DSP\)](#). They will review all requests on an individual basis.

- Request your Disabled Student Program Specialist to send the instructor a formal request before the official course start date by email
- In addition, notify the instructor and your Online Learning Support Specialist, which accommodations you would like to use.
 - Your Online Learning Support Specialist is Tracie Allen and her email is summer_online_support@berkeley.edu

End of Course Evaluation

Before your course end date, please take a few minutes to participate in our Course Evaluation to share your opinions about this course. You will be receiving the Course Evaluation via email. The evaluation does not request any personal information, and your responses will remain strictly confidential. You may only take the evaluation once. It will close **August 8th, 2017**.

Course Outline

Quizzes should be completed by the end of each module. They will be open for the last 48 hours of the module.

MODULE 1: THE IDEA OF INDIA (June 19th-June 28th)

Assignments:

Question Dropbox due: June 20th

Discussion responses due: June 26th

Quiz: Jun 28th

June 19-23rd: Topic 1

Introduction

Readings

- Film: *The Story of India*. PBS documentary, Part 6. (Available on the course website. An HD version is also available on Netflix on instant play).
- Edward Luce, 2008. *In Spite of the Gods: The Rise of Modern India*. First Anchor Books—Read the Introduction and Chapter 1.

Lectures

- Topic 1: Introduction (5:35)

June 22-26th: Topics 2-4

The Idea of India

- The Case for Democracy
- India's Democratic Institutions

Readings

- Khilnani, S. (1999). *The Idea of India*. Farrar, Straus and Giroux. Read chapters 1 & 2.
- Chhibber, P., and Verma, R. "Ideological polarization in multi-ethnic states: Ideology in the Indian party system." Read the Introduction and Chapters 1 and 2 (entire document).
- Varshney, Ashutosh. 2013. *Battles Half Won: India's Improbable Democracy*. Penguin. Read Chapters 1 & 2.

Lectures

- Topic 1.1 The Idea of India (7:35)
- Topic 2: Why Democracy (13:00)
- Topic 3: India's Main Democratic Institutions (9:23)

June 26-28th: Topics 5-6

India's Political Institutions

- Federalism and Local Government

Readings

- Stepan, A., J. Linz Juan, et al. (2011). *Crafting State Nations*. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press. Read Chapters 1, 2 & 4.
- Tillin, Louise. (2013) *Remapping India*. Oxford University Press. Read Chapter 2.
 - Luce, Edward. 2008. *In Spite of the Gods: The Rise of Modern India*. First Anchor Books. Read Chapter 2.
 - Varshney, Ashutosh. 2013. *Battles Half Won: India's Improbable Democracy*. Penguin Books. Read Chapter 6.

Lectures

- Topic 5: Accommodating Regional Differences (9:07)
- Topic 6: India's Political Institutions (8:00)

MODULE 2: ACCOMMODATING CASTE (June 28th-July 10th)

Assignments:

Question Dropbox due: July 3rd

Discussions responses due: July 10th

Quiz: July 10th

June 28th-July 3rd: Topics 1-3

Caste, Jati and the Politics of Social Justice

- Caste over the years
- The History and Effects of Reservations

Readings

- Bayly, S. (2001). *Caste, Society and Politics in India*, Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-24. Read the entire article.
- Jensusius, F. (2015). "Development from representation? A study of quotas for the scheduled castes in India." *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* 2015, 7(3): 196-220. Read the entire article.
- Chauchard, S. (2014). "Can descriptive representation change beliefs about a stigmatized group? Evidence from rural India." *American Political Science Review*, 108(2): 403-422. Read the entire article.

- Trivedi, et al. (2016). "Does untouchability exist among Muslims? Evidence from Uttar Pradesh." *Economic and Political Weekly*, 51(15): 32-36. Read the entire article.

Lectures

- Topic 1: Accommodating Caste (8:20)
- Topic 2: Do Reservations Help? (18:22)

July 3rd -10th: Topics 4-6

The Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP): The Other Backward Classes

Readings

- Chandra, K. (2000). "The transformation of ethnic politics in India: The decline of Congress and the rise of the Bahujan Samaj Party in Hoshiarpur." *Journal of Asian Studies*, Ann-Arbor, 59 (1): 26-61. Read the entire article.
- Jaffrelot, C. (2000). "The rise of the other backward classes in the Hindi belt." *Journal of Asian Studies-Ann Arbor*, 59 (1): 86-108. Read the entire article.
- Film: *In the Name of God*

MODULE 3: DEMOCRACY AND RELIGION (July 10th-July 19th)

Assignments:

Question Dropbox due: July 12th

Discussions responses due: July 17th

Quiz: July 19th

July 10th – 12th: Topics 1-2

Secularism in a Religious Society

Readings

- Smith, D. E. (1963). *India as a Secular State*. Princeton University Press, Read Chapter 4, pp. 100-134.
- Edward Luce. 2008. *In Spite of the Gods: The Rise of Modern India*. First Anchor Books. Read Chapter 4

Lectures

- Topic 1: Accommodating Religion (7:04)
- Topic 2: Failure of Religious Accommodation (3:18)

July 12th-17th: Topics 3-4

Hindu and Muslim Politics in India

Readings

- Varshney, Ashutosh. (2013). *Battles Half Won: India's Improbable Democracy*. Penguin Books. Read Chapter 4.
- Alam, M. (2009). "Whither Muslim politics?" *Economic and Political Weekly*, 44(39): 92-95—Read the entire article.
- Ahmed, Hilal. (2009). "Muslims as a Political Community" *Seminar 602: October*.
- Luce, Edward. (2008). *In Spite of the Gods: The Rise of Modern India*. First Anchor Books. Read Chapter 6.

Lectures

- Topic 3: Understanding Political Violence: Explanations (26:04)

July 17th-19th: Topics 5-6

Religion and Political Violence

Readings

- Varshney, Ashutosh, (2012). "The State and Civil Society in Communal Violence: Sparks and Fires," mimeo. Read the entire article.
- Wilkinson, S.I. (2006). *Votes and Violence: Electoral Competition and Ethnic Riots in India*. Cambridge University Press. Read Chapter 1.

MODULE 4: WHEN DOES ACCOMMODATION FAIL? (July 19th-July 24th)

Assignments:

Op-Ed Response Project Due July 23rd, Midnight PST

Quiz: July 24th

July 19th-July 23rd: Topics 1-2

Contested Statehood: Kashmir, Punjab, Mizoram and Nagaland.

Readings

- BBC Documentary: *Operation Blue Star 1984*
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ykcvlKz8JoY>
- Stepan, A., J. Linz Juan, et al. (2011). "Crafting State Nations." The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore—Read Chapter 3, the sections on Kashmir, Punjab, Mizoram, and Nagaland.

Lectures

- Topic 1: Failure to Accommodate Regional Differences (6:19)
- Topic 2: Kashmir (1:39:55)—Optional

MODULE 5: DEMOCRATIC UPSURGE, PARTY POLITICS AND ELECTIONS (July 24th-August 2nd)

Assignments:

Question dropbox due: July 26th

Discussion responses due: August 6th

Quiz: August 6th

July 23rd-July 26th: Topics 1-3

Political Parties and Elections

Readings

- Gowda, M.V., and Sridharan, E. *The roles of political parties and the party system in deepening Indian democracy*. Read Chapter 1.
- Kothari, R. (1964). "The Congress' System in India." *Asian Survey: 1161-1173*. Read the entire article.
- Chhibber, P. and Verma, R. (2014). "The BJP's 2014 'Modi Wave' An Ideological Consolidation of the Right." *Economic & Political Weekly, Vol. 46, No. 39*.

Lectures

- Topic 1: Political Parties in India (9:50)
- Topic 2: Fragmentation of the Indian Party System (25:00)

July 26th- August 2nd: Topics 4-6

Party Politics Today: Dynasties and Fragmentation

Readings

- Palshikar, Suhas. (2014). "The Defeat of the Congress." *Economic & Political Weekly, Vol. 49, No. 39*.
- Yadav, Y., and S. Palshikar. (2003). "From Hegemony to Convergence: Party System and Electoral Politics in the Indian

- States, 1952-2002." *Journal of Indian School of Political Economy*, 15 (1):5-44. Read the entire article.
- Kailash, K.K. (2014). "Regional Parties in the 16th Lok Sabha Elections." *Economic & Political Weekly*, Vol. 46, No. 39. Read the entire article.
 - Kailash, K. (2014). "Institutionalizing a coalitional system and games within coalitions in India (1996-2014)." *Studies in Indian Politics*, 2(2) 185-202. Read the entire article.
 - Luce, Edward. 2008. *In Spite of the Gods: The Rise of Modern India*. First Anchor Books. Read Chapter 5.

MODULE 6: DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL CHANGE (August 2nd-August 9th)

Assignments:

Final Exam: August 9th

August 2nd-August 4th: Topics 1-2

Economic Development

Readings

- Jean Dreze and Amartya Sen. 2013. *An Uncertain Glory: India and its Contradictions*. Allen Lane. Read Chapters 1.
- Jean Dreze and Amartya Sen. 2013. *An Uncertain Glory: India and its Contradictions*. Allen Lane. Read Chapter 8.
- Jagdish Bhagwati and Arvind Panagriya. 2013. *Why Growth Matters: How Economic Growth in India Reduced Poverty and the Lessons for Developing Countries*. Read part 1.

Lecture

- Topic 1: Economic Development in India (8:13)

- Topic 2: The State's Role in Economic Development (14:41)

August 4-8th: Topics 3-4

Social Change and Conclusion

Readings

- Luce, Edward. 2008. *In Spite of the Gods: The Rise of Modern India*. First Anchor Books—Read Chapter 8 and the Conclusion.
- Chhibber, Pradeep and Ashutosh Varshney. 2013. "Caste, Religion, and Economic Growth." *Mimeo*. Read the entire article.
- Ahuja, Amit and Susan L Ostermann. 2013. "Blurred Lines: Intermarriage and the Weakening Caste Cleavage in Urban Indian Politics." Read the entire article.
- Verma, A.K. (2014). "Development and Governance Trump Caste Identities in Uttar Pradesh," *Economic & Political Weekly*, Vol. 49, No. 39.
- Ahuja, A., Ostermann, S., and Mehta, A. "Is only fair lovely in Indian politics? Consequences of skin color in a survey experiment in Delhi." Read the entire article.