

## PS W145A – Understanding Political Developments in India Syllabus 2014

### Course Instructor

Dr. Pradeep Chhibber

### Graduate Student Instructor (GSI)

Susan Ostermann

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 GSI will be your immediate contact and direct instructor for this course.

### Office Hours

Susan Ostermann: Office Hours will be regularly scheduled both in person and via online chat to be announced at least 24 hours in advance.

### Course Mail

Make sure to check the Course Mail for messages from the instructor/GSI. You can access course mail from the Help are located at the top right of each page within the course. **All course interaction happens within [Course Mail](#).** Although you may forward course messages to your own personal email address, you can **only** reply to messages from within [Course Mail](#).

### Course Schedule

For an at-a-glance view of due dates and projects, refer to the course [Calendar](#).

### Course Credits

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.

### **Course Objectives**

Upon successful completion of 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

### **Textbook & 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.

### **Learning Activities**

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

## **VERY IMPORTANT**

You won't be able to access your course material until you read and make your pledge to Academic Integrity. Click the button below to navigate to and complete the Academic Integrity pledge, found in the Academic Integrity module.

Academic Integrity module

### **Readings**

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 in the various topics of the course, as well as PowerPoint slides, which you can open either as PDFs or as presentations. You will also be able to download MP3 files of the video lectures. 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 includes 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 25th 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.

### **Discussions**

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. We will then post these questions on the course website and you will be responsible for trying to answer one of them for most modules. (See schedule below for details.) You will be graded on the quality of your contribution, both in terms of your 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.

<u>Module</u>	<u>Topics Included</u>	<u>Question Due Date</u>	<u>Response Due Date</u>
1	1-7	June 30	July 3
2	1-3	July 9	July 14
3	1-3	July 17	July 21
4	NA	No question required.	No response required.
5	1	July 29	August 1
6	1-2	August 4	August 6
7	1	No question required.	No response required.

### Questions and Answers 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.

### 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 13<sup>th</sup> from 9 am to 12 pm**, 141 McCone Hall 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 18th, 2014.

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.  
our course grade will be calculated as follows:

Discussion Participation	20%
Quizzes (6)	30%
Class Project	20%
Final Exam	30%

You must receive a score of at least 60% in the final exam to pass the course. 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 Class Project will be evaluated according to specific criteria as detailed in the guidelines.

### Grading Rubric

	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.	Good organization with few statements out of place. Minor grammatical errors.	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.

Your grades for assignments are recorded in the course gradebook, and you can see them by clicking on the [Grades](#) tab. Your final grade, however, will not appear online. **Your final letter grade will be mailed to you by the registrar's office.** Final grades are assigned according to the following percentages.

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

### Policies

#### Late Work

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).

#### Students with Disabilities

Any students requiring course accommodations due to a physical, emotional, or learning disability must contact UC Berkeley's Disabled Students' Program (DSP), <http://dsp.berkeley.edu/services.html>. The DSP will review all requests on an individual basis. Please have your Disabled Student Program Specialist send the instructor a formal request **BEFORE** the course start date by email. In addition, inform the instructor, your GSI and Online Program Coordinator prior to the course start date.

### **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 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. In order to guarantee that you are not suspected of cheating, please keep your eyes on your own materials and do not converse with others during the quizzes and 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, see, for example: <http://www.lib.berkeley.edu/instruct/guides/citations.html#Plagiarism> <http://gsi.berkeley.edu/teachingguide/misconduct/prevent-plag.html>

### **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.

### **End of Course Evaluation**

Before your course end date, please take a few minutes to participate in our End of Course Evaluation to share your opinions about this course. The evaluation does not request any personal information, and your responses will remain strictly confidential. You may only take the evaluation once.

## Schedule of Reading and Other Class Materials

### MODULE I: THE IDEA OF INDIA

#### June 23: Topic 1

1. **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.*)
2. Edward Luce, 2008. *In Spite of the Gods: The Rise of Modern India*. First Anchor Books—Read the Introduction and Chapter 1.

#### June 24-25: Topics 2-4

##### Introduction—The Idea of India

- **The Case for Democracy**
- **India's Democratic Institutions**

1. Khilnani, S. (1999). *The Idea of India*, Farrar, Straus and Giroux, Ch. 1-2.

#### June 26-27: Topics 5-6

##### India's Political Institutions

- **Federalism and Local Government**
- **The Role of the State in Economic Development**

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

#### June 30-July 1: Topic 7

##### Political Parties

- **Political Parties and Group Accommodation**

1. Hasan, Zoya (2010). "Political Parties." In Niraja Gopal Jayal and Bratap Bhanu Mehta (Eds), *The Oxford Companion to Politics in India* (Student Edition, pp. 241-253). New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

2. Kothari, R. (1964). "The Congress' System in India." *Asian Survey*: 1161-1173—Read the entire article.
  3. Chhibber, P.K., and J.R. Petrocik. 1989. "The Puzzle of Indian Politics: Social Cleavages and the Indian Party System." *British Journal of Political Science*, 19 (2):191-210—Read the entire article
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## MODULE II: ACCOMMODATING CASTE

### July 2-3: Topics 1-3

#### Caste, Jati and the Politics of Social Justice

- Caste over the years
  - The History and Effects of Reservations
1. Bayly, S. (2001). Caste, society and politics in India from the eighteenth century to the modern age, Cambridge Univ Pr., pp. 1-24—Read the entire article.
  2. Jensenius, F. (forthcoming): Mired in Reservations: The Path Dependent History of Political Quotas in India, pp. 1-33—Read the entire article.
  3. Pande, R. (2003). "Can mandated political representation increase policy influence for disadvantaged minorities? Theory and evidence from India." *The American Economic Review* 93(4): 1132-1151—Read the entire article.

### July 7-8: Topics 4-6

#### Explaining Caste and Jati

- The Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP)
  - The Other Backward Classes
1. 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.
  2. 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.
  3. Luce, Edward. 2008. *In Spite of the Gods: The Rise of Modern India*. First Anchor Books—Read Chapter 3.
  4. **Film: *In the Name of God***
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## MODULE III: DEMOCRACY AND RELIGION



## July 10-11: Topics 1-2

### Secularism in a Religious Society

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

## July 14-15: Topics 3-4

### Hindu and Muslim Political Mobilization

- Religious Practice and Democracy in India
  - Muslim Politics in India
1. Chhibber, Pradeep and Jasjeet Singh Sekhon. 2013. "The Asymmetric Role of Religious Appeals in India". Read the entire article.
  2. Jaffrelot, Christophe, et al, 2009. "Understanding Muslim voter behavior," Seminar 602: October.
  3. Ahmed, Hilal. 2009. "Muslims as a Political Community," Seminar 602: October.
  4. Luce, Edward. 2008. *In Spite of the Gods: The Rise of Modern India*. First Anchor Books—Read Chapter 6.

## July 16-17: Topics 5-6

### Religion and Political Violence

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

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## MODULE IV: WHEN DOES ACCOMODATION FAIL?

## July 18-21: Topics 1-3

### Separatism and Secessionism: Kashmir, Punjab, Mizoram and Nagaland.

1. Stepan, A., J. Linz Juan, et al. (2011). "Crafting State Nations." The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore—Read Chapter 3, Section on Kashmir.
2. Stepan, A., J. Linz Juan, et al. (2011). "Crafting State Nations." The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore—Read Chapter 3, Section on Punjab.

3. Stepan, A., J. Linz Juan, et al. (2011). "Crafting State Nations." The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore—Read Chapter 3, Section on Mizoram and Nagaland.
4. Hoelscher, Kristian, Jason Miklian, and K.C. Vadlamannati. 2012. "Hearts and Mines: A District Level Analysis of the Maoist Conflict in India". Read the entire article.

### **July 22-25: Work on Response Project**

**Op-Ed Response Project Due July 25, Midnight PST**

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## **MODULE V: INEQUALITY & DEMOCRACY**

### **July 28-29: Topics 1-2**

**Why do poverty and democracy co-exist in India? Why do the poor vote?**

1. Jean Dreze and Amartya Sen. 2013. *An Uncertain Glory: India and its Contradictions*. Allen Lane—Read Chapters 1 & 8.
  2. Banerjee, Mukulika. 2014. *Why India Votes*. Routledge—Read Chapter 4.
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## **MODULE VI: DEMOCRATIC UPSURGE, PARTY POLITICS AND ELECTIONS**

### **July 30 – August 1: Topics 1-3**

**Party Politics Today: Dynasties and Fragmentation**

1. 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.
  2. Ziegfeld, Adam. 2012. "Coalition Government and Party System Change: Explaining the Rise of Regional Political Parties in India," *Comparative Politics* 45:1 pp. 69-87—Read the entire article.
  3. Chhibber, P. 2011. "Dynastic Parties: Organization, Finance and Impact," *Party Politics*, pp. 1-34—Read the entire article.
  4. Luce, Edward. 2008. *In Spite of the Gods: The Rise of Modern India*. First Anchor Books—Read Chapter 5.
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## **CONCLUSION**

### **August 4-6: Topics 1-2**

#### **What next? Wither Caste and Religion?**

1. Luce, Edward. 2008. *In Spite of the Gods: The Rise of Modern India*. First Anchor Books—Read Chapter 8 and the Conclusion.
2. Chhibber, Pradeep and Ashutosh Varshney. 2013. "Caste, Religion, and Economic Growth" (mimeo)—Read the entire article.
3. Ahuja, Amit and Susan L Ostermann. 2013. "Blurred Lines: Inter-marriage and the Weakening Caste Cleavage in Urban Indian Politics"—Read the entire article.

### **August 7-11: Topics 3**

#### **Democratic India: A look at the 2014 national elections**

1. Jean Dreze and Amartya Sen. 2013. *An Uncertain Glory: India and its Contradictions*. Allen Lane—Read Chapters 9 and 10.