

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

- Susan Ostermann

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. 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

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

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. 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."**

For 24/7 Tech Help Support: Call **1-855-308-2758** or e-mail support@instructure.com

Learning Activities

VERY IMPORTANT

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

[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 assigned during the course
4. Compose and post assigned responses to lectures and readings
5. Complete the quizzes 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**.

Readings

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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 28th 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

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

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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.

Module	Topics Included	Question Due Date	Response Due Date
1	1-6	June 29	July 2
2	1-6	July 8	July 13
3	1-6	July 21	July 24
4	NA	No question required	No question required
5	1-6	August 5	August 7

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 12th from 9 am to 12 pm**, 159 Mulford 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 17th, 2015.

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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 14. 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.

Letter Grade	A	A-	B+	B	B-	C+	C	C-	D+	D	D-	F
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Percentage	100-94	93-90	89-86	85-83	82-80	79-76	75-73	72-70	69-66	65-63	62-60	< 60
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Table 2: UC Berkeley Grading System

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.

	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.

Table 3: Criteria for Writing Assignments

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

	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.

Table 4: Grading Rubric for Discussion Assignments

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. It should simply be used to assess your performance on the components that are included within it: the discussions and written assignments. Your final letter grade will be mailed to you by the registrar's office.

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

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.

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- 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 Littlejohn and her email is twgallen@berkeley.edu

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. To access the evaluation, please select the "Course End Evaluation" link in the left navigation menu. The evaluation will be available starting on July 29th, 2015. You may only take the evaluation once.

Schedule of Readings & Other Class Materials

MODULE I: THE IDEA OF INDIA

June 22-23: 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 26-29: 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.

MODULE II: ACCOMMODATING CASTE

June 30-July 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. Mired in Reservations: The Path Dependent History of Political Quotas in India, *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 74, No. 1, (Feb. 2015), pp. 85-105—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 4-8: 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. Whitsoe, Jeffrey. (2013). Democracy Against Development: Lower-Caste Politics and Political Modernity in Postcolonial India, University of Chicago Press—Read the Introduction.
4. **Film: *In the Name of God***

MODULE III: DEMOCRACY AND RELIGION

July 9-13: Topics 1-2

Secularism in a Religious Society

1. Madan, T.N. Secularism in Its Place, *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 46, No. 4 (Nov., 1987), pp. 747-759.
2. Edward Luce. 2008. *In Spite of the Gods: The Rise of Modern India*. First Anchor Books—Read Chapter 4.

July 14-17: 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 18-21: 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.

MODULE IV: WHEN DOES ACCOMODATION FAIL?

July 22-25: 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 26-28: Work on Response Project

Op-Ed Response Project Due July 28, Midnight PST

MODULE V: DEMOCRATIC UPSURGE, PARTY POLITICS AND ELECTIONS

**July 29 – August 2: Topics 1-3
Political Parties**

- **Political Parties**
 - **The Congress System**
 - **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. and Verma, R. The BJP's 2014 'Modi Wave', *Economic & Political Weekly*, Vol. 46, No. 39 (2014).
 4. Palshikar, Suhas. The Defeat of the Congress, *Economic & Political Weekly*, Vol. 49, No. 39 (2014).
 5. Kailash, K.K. Regional Parties in the 16th Lok Sabha Elections, *Economic & Political Weekly*, Vol. 46, No. 39 (2014).

August 2 – 5: Topics 4-6

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., Jensenius, F., and Suryanarayan, Party Organization and Party Proliferation in India, *Party Politics*—Read the entire article.
4. Luce, Edward. 2008. *In Spite of the Gods: The Rise of Modern India*. First Anchor Books—Read Chapter 5.

CONCLUSION

August 6 - 7: 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. 2015. "Exchanging Caste and Class in the Modern Indian Marriage Market"—Read the entire article.
4. Verma, A.K. Development and Governance Trump Caste Identities in Uttar Pradesh, *Economic & Political Weekly*, Vol. 49, No. 39 (2014).

August 8-11: Topic 3

Democratic India: A look at the 2014 national elections.

1. Chhibber, Pradeep and Susan L. Ostermann. 2014. "The BJP's Fragile Mandate: Modi and Vote Mobilizers in the 2014 General Elections."