

Field Work, Pedagogy, and Re-Energizing Active Learning through Group Projects

Personalities are not formed by what is heard and said, but by labor and activity. Albert Einstein, *Out of My Later Years*, 1950, p. 32
(https://patrick.directchezmoi.com/Out_of_My_Later_Years.A.Einstein.pdf)

By

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WORKING DRAFT

Introduction

After decades of research immersed in the politics of the Middle East and South Asia, we are “reversing the gaze” (Rudolph and Rudolph, 2011) to reflect on the ways in which fieldwork has impacted our pedagogy. We conclude that fieldwork provides at least 6 benefits to those who practice it; two of which are directly impactful on what we do in the classroom. More specifically, being in close proximity or even participating in one’s research setting; having conversations with one’s research subject, both formally (surveys; structured interviews) and informally (everyday conversations and just hanging out) adds at least six layers of value and insight: 1. **As a form of continuing education and active learning in political life** 2. As a credibility enhancer, by narrowing the distance between researcher and subject (interestingly, this strength is used by critics to argue against the “credibility and rigor” fieldwork and its potential biases) (Perry, 2015) 3. **By producing pedagogic anecdotes with which to enhance explanation in writing and teaching.** 4. As a way to collect pioneering data on processes of politics that might otherwise remain unseen or unheard. 5. As a way to generate new research questions and topics of inquiry, especially in areas under theorized or not yet recognized by the field as “political.” And finally, 6. As a way to benchmark or test (emerging) patterns of political change; with which to improve or develop yardsticks for measuring politics, to fact check emerging patterns and generalization; to incorporate local voices/perspectives.

Scholars of effective pedagogy in political science suggest that active learning yields positive outcomes (McCarthy & Anderson 2000; Omelicheva & Avdeyeva 2008). Similarly, Albert Einstein argues that the point of education is “to develop childlike inclination for play” (Einstein, 1950, p. 35). To demonstrate the power of active learning informed by fieldwork, we share examples of the types of learning via play that we use in our classrooms. We argue that fieldwork informs effective teaching for reasons explored more systematically and empirically below.

The origins of our jointly authored paper comes in response to a comment by a senior scholar of Comparative Politics, who observed at an APSA panel in 2019 (where our collaboration began): “people who do fieldwork get the best teaching evaluations and are more dynamic and credible in the classroom because of the stories they tell.” In response, we ask, “Do scholars who are field work practitioners teach differently? More effectively?”

This manuscript takes a jointly authored, comparative regional look at fieldwork and pedagogy from a mixed methodological perspective to examine the benefits and influence of fieldwork on teaching in political science. The working hypotheses of this study are that 1. Professors who engage in fieldwork prefer “active learning.” 2. Professors who practice fieldwork, and prefer active learning opportunities, embed these opportunities in their classroom to “simulate” the kinds of insights only available through fieldwork. 3. Professors who practice fieldwork have more engaging interactions with their students, because they bring the field into the classroom through the stories they tell, the learning exercises they run, and the methods they use. For the purposes of this paper, we draw upon our own fieldwork experiences and pedagogical examples, to provide illustrations of fieldwork influenced/ enhanced active learning exercises (in this case, focusing on simulations and games to align with our conference theme). The ongoing part of this research is a survey of political science professors who engage in fieldwork to collect their thoughts on the potential links between field learning and pedagogy. The data collected will be used to test our working hypotheses, beyond the secondary literature and our own experiences.

Fieldwork Insights from the Middle East, South Asia & Sub-Saharan Africa

Wheeler has examined the insights obtainable through field research in the Middle East, as a pioneering, credibility enhancer, able to generate or polish research questions, and to develop better yardsticks for change over time, especially among actors that might not be included/observable without fieldwork. This research has included voices from Saudi women driving (or not) (Wheeler, 2020) to youths in Internet cafes (Wheeler, 2001 and 2003), to change seekers in authoritarian contexts (Wheeler, 2004, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2011, 2012, 2016, 2017 and 2020). Most recently, Wheeler has asked how long one must stay immersed to reach these critical insights and benefits since many scholars who engage in immersive and ethnographic fieldwork prescribe a “long stay” (Whyte, 1993, and Schatz, 2013). If time is a factor in

determining the benefits and insights of fieldwork, this makes the practice/method out of reach for many, personally, financially, logistically (Wheeler, 2022).

Similarly, Ostermann has used insights gained through fieldwork to illustrate immersion's benefits in South Asia and beyond, including through her work on compliance with conservation, education and child labor regulations (Ostermann 2016, 2019 and 2022, as well as Baul & Ostermann (forthcoming) 2023), through her work on compliance with anti-FGM/C and child marriage regulations in Burkina Faso, Mali and Kenya (Meroka-Mutua, Mwanga, Ostermann & Wouango 2021, Ostermann & Wouango 2022), through her work on state capacity and Indian institutions (Akbar & Ostermann 2015, Ahuja & Ostermann 2018, Ahuja & Ostermann 2021), through her work on skin color in Indian politics (Ahuja, Mehta & Ostermann 2016 and Ahuja & Ostermann (forthcoming) 2023), and through her work on intercaste marriage (Ahuja & Ostermann 2015). Ostermann also serves as an expert and regularly writes the BTI and Freedom House reports for Nepal, for which on-the-ground knowledge is required. Her latest project has taken her to Pakistan where she spent much of the last year on the ground exploring the 2018 FATA merger and trying to explain why coercively capable states sometimes choose not to exercise their monopoly on violence.

Why hands-on activities and learning through play promotes sustainable insights

A wide interdisciplinary literature considers the role of active learning as an alternative to lecturing (Bullard, L., Felder, R., & Raubenheimer, D., 2008; Wolff, M., Wagner, M. J., Poznanski, S., Schiller, J., & Santen, S., 2015; Freeman, S., Eddy, S. L., McDonough, M., Smith, M. K., Okoroafor, N., Jordt, H., & Wenderoth, M. P., 2014; Killian, M., & Bastas, H., 2015; and Archer, C. C., & Miller, M. K. 2011). Research suggests that active learning opportunities help students to retain what they learn by internalizing knowledge, applying it and making it their own (Levin-Banchik 2018 and Wunische, 2019). Within the secondary literature, many synonyms are used to describe versions of active learning. What the terms share in common is that they all conjure “real life” messy opportunities for hands on problem solving. A list of key terms for active learning is available at the following link:(https://www.powerthesaurus.org/active_learning).

We argue that pedagogy is enhanced by drawing upon techniques for learning in the field by **doing** (both participating and observing, interviewing and surveying), **adapting** to unexpected encounters in the field, and **applying** interdisciplinary concepts to help explain complexity—**integrating** what one thought one knew prior to fieldwork, with the learning that emerges while immersed. Scholars who engage in fieldwork are expected to bring these insights and practices into the classroom, for reasons and results as explored in the section that follows. We use these examples to illustrate that active learning activities encourage students to be more engaged in the learning community (Prince, 2004). Studies of “what the best teachers do” (Bain,

2004) frequently argue for an “pedagogy” that “increasingly embraces the idea of a shifting role of the lecturer from a transmitter of knowledge to a facilitator of learning” (Golubchikov, O. 2015).

In spite of the pedagogical benefits of active learning, “most political science instructors continue to rely on a combination of lectures, exams and written work.” (Haynes, 2020, p. 167). Ironically, “introductory courses in comparative politics are less likely than introductory international relations classes to include an active-learning component” (Archer and Miller, 2011). This finding is puzzling, because in their study on *Field Research in Political Science*, Kapiszewski, Maclean and Read found that “Comparativists have been responsible for about half of all field research projects in the discipline.” (Kapiszewski, Maclean and Read, 2015, p. 40)

One would expect “field learning” to be integrated back into the classroom, (both as data and practices used to collect it). If this were true, we would expect Comparativists, who have been found to be the scholars most likely to engage in fieldwork, to be the most reliant on active learning in the classroom—why is this not the case? This puzzle will be explored with survey data to be collected in the Spring and Summer of ‘23. Are the data that Archer and Miller found inaccurate or incomplete regarding active learning pedagogy and those who engage in fieldwork most—Comparativists? If the data they collected are accurate (a point to be tested by our survey) why are comparativists—those most actively engaged in fieldwork—not promoting hands-on learning in their classrooms? We intend for our survey to advance our understanding of the link between fieldwork and pedagogy (or lack thereof); as well as to clarify the puzzle identified in the secondary literature (Archer and Miller, 2011 and Kapiszewski, Maclean and Read, 2015) that those engaged in fieldwork might not be the instructors most committed to learning through simulations, games, and play.

From Intro to Comparative Politics to the Palestinian Israeli Conflict: Promoting “real world” Active Learning at USNA

The United States Naval Academy describes itself as a small liberal arts college with an active ROTC program. Classroom size is small (20 students or fewer). A common core that is STEM heavy means that all students regardless of major, graduate with a bachelor of science degree—even in English! In Political Science, for example, only 10 courses make up the major part of the course work—the rest is core. The student body is geographically diverse—with students drawn from all 50 states and 30 countries. Since tuition is free, we also get a breadth of socio-economic backgrounds in the classroom. Considered demographically, however, the student body is 72% male; and 61% white. The faculty, while mostly white (81%); and male (55%) benefit from a Teaching and Learning Center and a pedagogical culture that promotes innovation and excellence in the classroom. Teaching evaluations are required for every course, and annual merit pay increases and promotion/tenure considerations rely heavily on pedagogy and learning outcomes—as demonstrated by student opinion forms and peer classroom visits.

As a military institution, a degree of conformity and redundancy is built into the learning environment—exhibited in mandatory attendance of classes, mandatory parades, marching, lectures/briefs, weekly inspections, regular fitness, weight and academic standards tests, traditions, uniform dress, decorum and conduct, many rules and limited liberty. The desired attributes of any Naval Academy graduate (<https://www.usna.edu/StrategicPlan/attributes.php>), however, requires space for creativity and critical thinking—which makes the USNA classroom perfect laboratory for the active learning examples explored below. Especially the desire to graduate future officers that are Articulate; Inclusive; Adaptable; Resilient; Learned; and Innovative—makes active learning, cultural immersion, foreign exchanges, and our annual Foreign Affairs Conference (<https://www.usna.edu/NAFAC/index.php>), more relevant to what goes on in the Political Science classroom than one may presuppose.

This section looks at two active learning assignments that Wheeler ran in an Intro to Comparative Politics class (FP 230) and an advanced undergraduate seminar on the causes and consequences of the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict (FP 468) at USNA in 2022 and 2023, respectively. When thinking about cognition and course outcomes, Irvine argues that “Meaningful learning provides students with the knowledge and cognitive processes they need for successful problem solving” (Irvine, 2017). These two active learning assignments, explored below, one using a “simulation” of fieldwork without leaving The Yard (USNA’s name for our campus), and the other using a game, modeled on Shark Tank, to teach confidence building measures through incremental and innovative peacemaking strategies in an intractable conflict. Both of these assignments aim to make learning more meaningful and are informed by extensive fieldwork as both practice and pedagogy.

Field work simulations:

Harry Eckstein, my undergraduate mentor and thesis advisor, observes, “academic work is rooted in autobiography that, despite appearances, gives it coherence” (Eckstein, 1992, p. 12). Autobiographical experiences also shape pedagogy, or so this paper argues. In understanding the formative life experiences that shape this “active learning” assignment, I realized that at its root, are experiences I had in an intro to anthropology course, as an education abroad student, and in my graduate school mentorship.

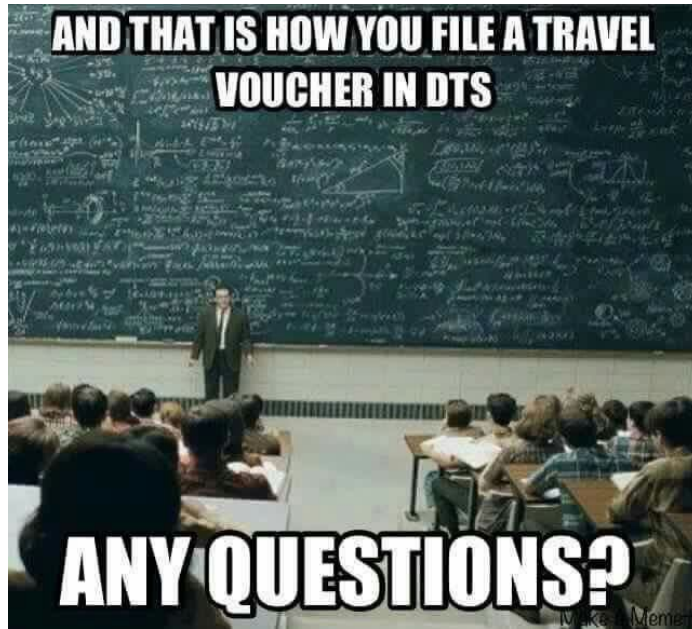
As an undergraduate at the University of California, Irvine, I signed up for an “extra credit” service learning/fieldwork weekend trip to Mexico. This experience introduced me to the “social scientific” practice of learning through immersion. As a woman (it was the early ‘80’s), I was assigned a household to help with watching kids, cooking, cleaning, and fetching water for the day. My boyfriend (and future husband) was assigned to an all male “latrine digging team.” Our joint experiences and memories of the trip set the stage for a lifetime of learning through immersion, including sensitivity to the role that positionality can play in fieldwork practices and outcomes.

While in the field (for a day) I remember eating homemade tortillas and beans, and playing with the kids. I brought the family a bag of food I purchased at a local grocery store before leaving the border. My thoughts were to buy nutritious non-perishables. Unfortunately, PBJ supplies were not culturally appropriate. Giving money, dried beans, rice, flour—these would have been useful with hindsight. Instead, the gift was just that—something to wonder about (as puzzling as the Wonder Bread I brought). The instinct to bring a gift was correct; understanding what such a family’s daily practices and needs might be—was absent. This lesson proved valuable. In the future, I would work for the UNDP in Jordan (2004-5), and would use the lessons learned on a day trip to a Mexican village to seek local input regarding development needs as a first step towards capacity building in Jordan. On the day trip to Mexico, I didn’t speak much Spanish, which provided another early lesson in the importance of language training to doing fieldwork—an insight that led to years of coursework in Hebrew, Arabic, Norwegian and French.

A “quick immersion” in Mexico made me seek out a longer opportunity to do immersive fieldwork in Israel for my junior year abroad. During this year-long immersion living in Haifa for the summer and Jerusalem for the school year, I would learn fluent Hebrew, discover the contest over land and narrative, and find political puzzles linked with cycles of violence that would drive me to seek future research opportunities in graduate school at the University of Chicago. In graduate school, my year in Jerusalem convinced me to write a doctoral thesis on the politics of media, resistance, recognition and reconciliation in the first Intifada and the Oslo peace process; the findings of which inform the second active learning activity described below.

These formative experience including a one day service learning trip to Mexico, a year long study abroad trip to Israel, and conducting ethnographic research for a doctoral thesis on resistance and reconciliation in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, are autobiographical experiences which in part inform what I do in the classroom, and provide the impetus for a simulated “fieldwork” assignment in my intro to comparative politics course. Learning by doing is much more impactful than reading about someone else’s experience of the field, or so I have found in my own fieldwork, and in teaching students to immerse themselves and learn, even if only in the practices of their everyday lives. In “an interactive applied learning opportunity” like this fieldwork assignment, the outcomes are highly “transformative” (Drake, D. M., Elias, A., Ganong, C., Grantham, M. L., & Mills, M. S., 2022 p. 59).

In addition to “bringing the field into the classroom” by drawing on lessons learned during decades of my own fieldwork trips (more than 40 trips to 14 Middle Eastern countries for a total of 10.5 years of immersion), I also want my students to become participant observers of politics in whatever locations they find themselves. Teaching at a military academy where leaving the walls of our institution requires mind boggling levels of rank, permission, and bureaucracy—we are constrained in gaining access to “the field.”



(Photo Credit: This meme was drawn from one of my student's fieldwork assignments (Fall '22). He was an exchange Cadet from West Point to USNA and his project highlighted the everyday life differences between students at USMA and USNA).

So why not make USNA the field site? Simulating what would be possible abroad, or even in our local community, but still managing to learn how and why to do fieldwork, this exercise aims to provide students, “proficiency in social scientific data collection, analysis and written expression,” one of the 3 learning objectives of my FP 230 course, by actively engaging in doing fieldwork or survey research. Through a simulation of fieldwork, while not leaving the USNA campus, students embrace “the power of experiential learning” through “field-based studies” and thus gain first hand knowledge of “the complexities, messiness and imperfections of the real world” (Golubchikov, O (2015), p. 144)--including politics, power and culture at work in everyday life.

For this assignment, students are divided into four teams of 4 students each (given my typical class size of about 20). In a larger class, this number of teams and number of students per team could be scaled up with the same results likely. Collectively these groups will engage in what has been called, “team qualitative focus group fieldwork” (Evans and Smith, 2020, p. 325) on a topic of their choice, as long as the results are relevant to some aspect of comparative politics. The students are allowed to use various qualitative, quantitative or mixed methods field research as their team sees fit. Inevitably one or two students want to work solo. In order to produce comparative insights, I allow the choice to be a group of 1 for this exercise. Collecting field data alone or with a team is a widely discussed topic in the field, with differing results and scale, and we can use these hands-on experiences to highlight the pros and cons of both approaches to participant observation and survey research (Erickson and Stull, 1998). After groups are formed,

the team or individual determines a puzzle or question that they would like to know more about, and they design their research projects accordingly. The assignment requires the following elements from each team: 1. Research Question and Hypothesis. 2. Research Method 3. Field notes from each team member (or survey instrument and results) 4. Research findings. 5. An assessment of the relevance of their research findings to the study of comparative politics. 6. In class presentations of results. Teams plan, collect data and analyze their findings outside of class. Teams present their findings to the class when the work is done. Students in the audience ask questions—as peer reviewers. Every time I have run this assignment, the results are transformative to both understanding how social science works, as well as the insights provided on local politics within the USNA community.

Background and preparation for the assignment

In preparation for this assignment, we first read representative samples of social science that are based upon participant observation and the study of micro-political processes. In Spring 2022-3, for example, we read samples of James Scott's *Weapons of the Weak*, (Scott, 1985), and my study *Digital Resistance in the Middle East* (Wheeler, 2017), which looks at oppositional Internet use in Egypt, Jordan and Kuwait. We also read a piece from 2012 on "Why China Will Democratize" (Liu and Chen, 2012) which is based upon two Chinese political scientists' participant observation and discovery of small acts of resistance in China.

As a follow up to our initial discussion, I send them the following passage in an email—encouraging them that there is “no wrong way to do the assignment” given the fluidity and interactiveness of experiential learning. The following passage was designed to clarify what this observation means in light of our assignment:

“In writing about participant observation as a method, we were immediately confronted with a problem that is also an issue in the analysis of data collected through the method. A good part of what makes up the method of participant observation, both the collection of information and analysis, is difficult to put into words. In part, it is because this is a method in which control of the research situation is less in the hands of the investigator than in other methods, even other qualitative methods. The investigator is reacting to and interacting with others in the events and situations that unfold before him or her. At the same time, investigators are bringing their own unique background and experience into the situation. Therefore, any discussion of “how to do it” must necessarily be abstract. There is no way to anticipate more than a small proportion of the situations in which investigators will find themselves. Just as learning about a new social or cultural context is experiential and, to an extent unspoken or tacit, so is learning to use participant observation effectively” (DeWalt, K and DeWalt, B, 2010)

This passage is discussed in class at the next class meeting in terms of what the observations mean for their emerging projects.

Practice run

As a participatory, in class exercise prior to the fieldwork launch, we practice paired interviews to 1. Experiment with the technique of interviewing a person 2. To appreciate the kind of data an interview can yield as a testimony to the value of qualitative research. This in class exercise is highly enlightening for both student and instructor. The results of the interviews are shared with the class in terms of ‘lessons learned.’ From that day forward, we are transformed into an interconnected learning community by knowing each other more empathetically. The response from one participant is illustrative of this process of knowing, understanding and connecting:

”He used to be the blond guy with arm tats that sat in front of me. The depth of my understanding of him as a person, only went as far as gazing at the back of his head for our class meetings. Now I know him as a whole person. I have new respect for him, based upon the struggles he experienced to become a Midshipman, and we have connected on several levels as a result. Who knows, maybe we will be friends now.” (Student comment, FP 230 Fall 2022)

The kinds of micro-data yielded by the interview exercise, builds a connected, learning community that is informed by diversity and inclusiveness. Students leave that class feeling better informed, more comfortable with each other, and more fully equipped for their participant observation/fieldwork exercise. They are inspired by the data yielded, and can’t wait to see what they and their peers will discover about USNA life, through their projects.

The findings

Before fieldwork begins, each team must submit, and have approved its research question and design. The teams are given two weeks to complete the assignment. Of the 8 projects, run across 2 sections of FP 230—the three most memorable results are examined here. The first project was an “auto-ethnography” on the similarities and differences of West Point and USNA’s leadership and learning culture. The participant observer was a West Point Cadet who was studying at USNA as an exchange student for a semester. His research question was “How are the leadership models different between the service academies with regards to the Chain of Command structure and the day-to-day operation of the brigades?” In addition to his own self reflections, the student conducted a series of interviews with which to ground his assessment in additional data. He interviewed Company Officers, the Deputy Commandant, and the Commandant. He also consulted with other exchange Cadets for comparative insights. He found that the learning environment at West Point was more authoritarian, especially demonstrated by the fact that freshmen, 4th class, students at West Point are not allowed to speak and must walk with hands cupped unless in their rooms or in class. The USNA students were shocked at this rule. The student also observed that Cadets are more integrated into leadership responsibilities in terms of day to day running of student conduct and affairs than at USNA that has senior enlisted performing these roles

at USNA. He also found that there are more mandatory events at USNA and the classroom environment is more formal at West Point.

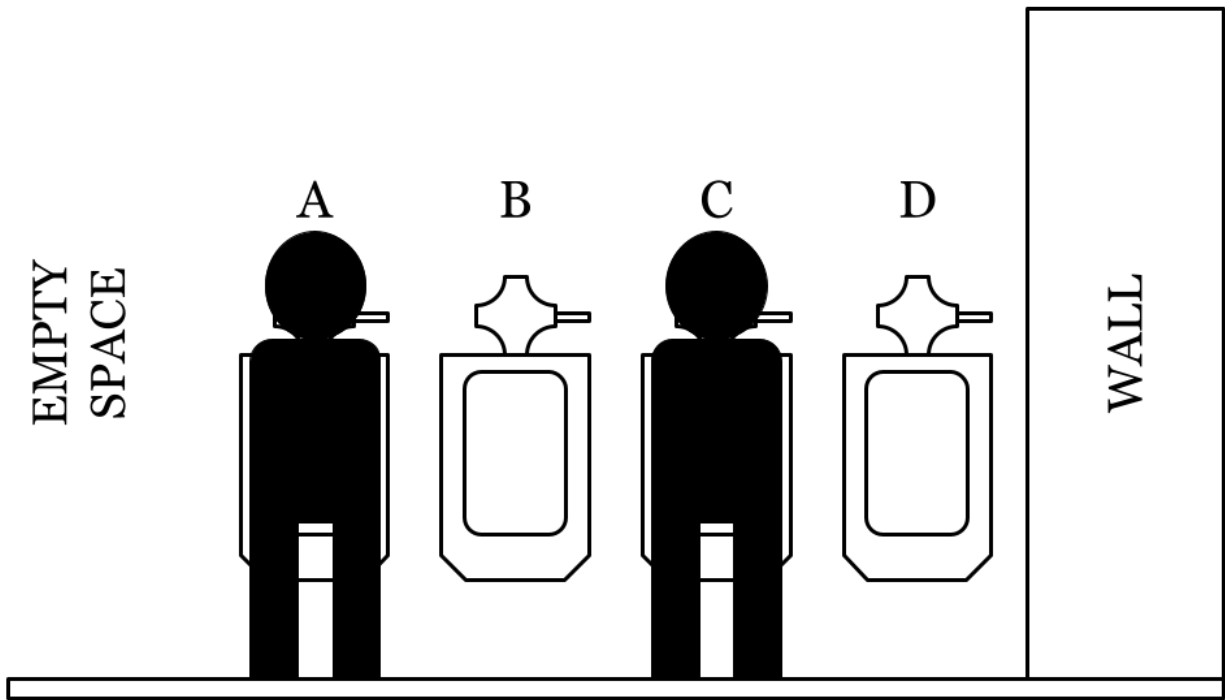


Also insightful, was a study on the differences in time management and quality of life between varsity athletes and intramural athletes at USNA. The findings were that Varsity athletes got one hour less sleep; but had much more time because of excusals from a host of brigade-wide mandatory events that intramural athletes and the rest of the brigade are required to attend.

Perhaps the most surprising fieldwork project was a study of urinal choices among male Midshipmen. The student designed an original survey of 13 different urinal/user configurations and asked 26 male Midshipmen to answer a series of multiple choice questions about which urinal they would choose under given conditions. For example, question #3 below produced the following results:

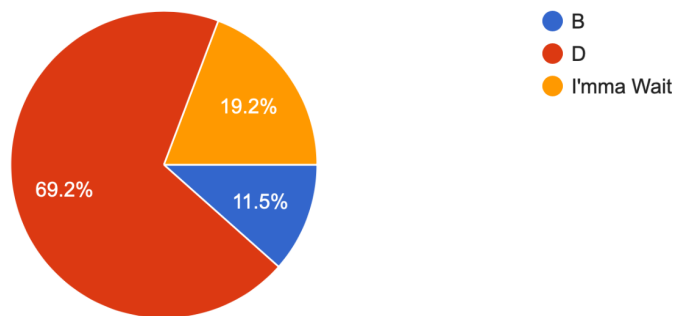
Urinal Choices

Q. 3 Where are you pulling up?



3 Where are you pulling up?

26 responses



The student called this project “a gentlemanly ethical survey.” This project was especially enlightening for the handful of female Midshipmen and the professor, who had no idea there were so many rules about male bathroom etiquette.. The interesting results led to great conversations about gender, social cues, interpersonal relationships, and everyday life practices. From an initial question of, “ How do men know what urinal to choose, consistently, when this is not really taught to them?” we actively learned about broader issues about the ways in which many of our human interactions are constructed according to learned behaviors with unspoken rules and cues guiding us.

Summary

When running “fieldwork simulations” I always learn things from my students that I didn’t expect to find, just like what happens when immersing oneself in another culture, community or country in my research practices. Likewise, students gain an understanding of social science and data collection well beyond what they have been reading about in books. Together the students and I experience what Mampilly argues “the field is everywhere.” (Mampilly, 2020, p. 277). He explains, “we should no longer embrace the uncritical laboratory model of social science research. The field is not over there, isolated and immune from our actions over here.” (Mampilly, 2020, p. 281). By simulating fieldwork at USNA we reconstitute the field in accessible ways that teach the powers of observation, research design, interviews, surveys and learning in active, experiential and integrative ways. In the end, students know more about how the world works—from embedded layers of power, rank, class, positionality and perception, than they did before. And all of these lessons are freely available right here within the four walls of the academy—both in terms of USNA and the wider political science community. The energy and curiosity, capacity building, generated by this assignment prepares the students for a major research paper which each of them will write as a final capstone to their comparative politics semester. The quality of the papers improves immeasurably because they understand how social science works, what limitations their data has, how to develop an effective research question, in part because they have “practiced” and “problem solved” with a simulated fieldwork experience.

Games –Shark Tank for Peace–"Confidence Building Initiatives for creating Peace and Security in Israel/Palestine."

This “game” comes in the last week of a 16 week class on the history, narratives, cycles of violence, and failed attempts at a peace in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. By this late moment in the semester, students are well aware of why the conflict is so intractable. What they are looking for instead, is some kind of closure, hope and agency in using their new knowledge for problem solving. The high human toll for failing to locate solutions, while children die on both sides, rests uneasily with them. They have seen *Born in Gaza*, *5 Broken Cameras*, *the Gatekeepers*, and *Disturbing the Peace*, (<https://www.imdb.com/title/tt5503512/>) to engage in “virtual

ethnography” through each film frame—which captures the human costs of nationally motivated violence. It’s been a long semester of studying tragedy, trauma, and the politics of memory. To break the mental gridlock and emotional malaise we play “Shark Tank for Peace” a team based exercise in creating small, people to people “confidence building and cooperation” projects to reconcile both sides, through small steps towards building trust and understanding.

To explain the assignment I sent the following email to the class:

Objectives of Confidence-Building Measures

Dear All,

This exercise has 3 parts:

1. Part 1 Individual project proposal: 2-4 pp project pitch including project name, project description, project goal/target, logistics/plan of action, budget. This part of the assignment should be able to answer the following questions--what do you want to do; why is this course of action important for solving some aspect of the conflict; how much is it going to cost, and why do you think this project will succeed? The more details given the better. Feel free to use other "real world" initiatives as examples of how and why your proposed project is likely to succeed.

Part 1 is worth 15 points. **Due on _____ before midnight;** please submit by email as the timestamp of the email will be proof of meeting the deadline. Since this assignment is to be your own work, it must be turned in before part 2 begins; This assignment must be turned in on time to receive credit.

2. Team based incubator lab (teams will be determined by lottery/random selection--I will announce the results of the lottery on ____ during class).

During our next class meeting _____, teams will use class time to pool their individual project ideas to create a group designed/synthesized single proposal for a peace project --which will be pitched to the class on _____. (each team will submit a written report on the lessons learned from

the incubator lab--one report per team--1-2 pp (due on _____ by midnight; one report per group submitted electronically). (5 points)

3. Team presentations of peace projects--during this in class session--your group projects will be evaluated for their likelihood to achieve their target of building peace and confidence in the pal is conflict; the soundness of the program design and logistics; the soundness of the budget; any models of success the project aims to emulate or build upon--will all be considered in the evaluation. Teams will turn in a project description for the whole group which emulates the format of the individual part of the assignment--but in this case--for the whole group--project pitch including project name, project description, project goal/target, logistics/plan of action, budget. (Due in class on _____). Also included with this group part of the assignment are any ppt slides your team uses to pitch the project to the class (5 points).

4. The class will vote (Shark Tank Style) on which project to pick for funding/implementation.

Passages to consider when crafting your “Shark Tank for Peace” Project.

“First conceived of in the context of European conflict management in the 1970s, the concept of confidence building measures CBMs includes military, cultural, and social exchange, and has been applied to conflicts throughout the world, particularly in Asia.”

<https://www.csis.org/programs/international-security-program/isp-archives/asia-division/cross-strait-security-initiative-1>

“Limiting or reducing the level of **fear** among parties in conflict is essential for building confidence and a sense of security. Confidence-building measures (CBMs) aim to lessen anxiety and suspicion by making the parties' behavior more predictable.

”https://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/confidence_building_measures#:~:text=Objectives%20of%20Confidence%2DBuilding%20Measures,the%20parties'%20behavior%20more%20predictable.

“Psychological reconciliation requires the formation of an ethos of peace, but this is difficult in cases of intractable conflict. Bar-Tal, Daniel. “From Intractable Conflict through Conflict Resolution to Reconciliation: Psychological Analysis.” Political Psychology, vol. 21, no. 2, 2000, pp. 351–65, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3791795>.”

“Intractable conflicts (raging in Sri Lanka, Chechnya, and the Middle East) are usually characterized as lasting at least 25 years and as being fought over goals that are perceived as

existential; they are violent, perceived as unsolvable, of a zero-sum nature, and preoccupying society members greatly; and the parties involved invest much in their continuation (see Bar-Tal, 1998, 2007a; Kriesberg, 1998b).”

“The younger generation is exposed to this culture through family, through the societal channels of communication, including the mass media, and through other cultural agencies and products. An especially formative role is taken by the educational system, which serves as the major agent for socialization for conflict through school textbooks, instructional materials, teachers’ instructions, school ceremonies, and so on. This form of socialization is so powerful because it reaches all of the younger generation in any society in which education is compulsory. (Bar-Tal & Halperin, in press).”

“Reconciliation in regions of intractable conflict goes beyond the agenda of formal conflict resolution to changing the motivations, goals, beliefs, attitudes, and emotions that prevail among the great majority of the society (Bar-Tal & Bennink, 2004; Kelman, 1999 , 2004; Lederach, 1997 ; Staub, 2006).”

“Reconciliation consists of mutual recognition and acceptance, investing in the development of peaceful relations, mutual trust, and positive attitudes, and fostering sensitivity and consideration of the other party’s needs and interests. (Arthur, 1999; Hayner, 1999; Lederach, 1998 ; Shiver, 1995; Staub, 2000).”

“The element of forgiveness as an outcome of reconciliation is of special importance in cases when one or both parties in conflict are attributed with responsibility for the outbreak and/or maintenance of the conflict and/or misdeeds and atrocities performed during the conflict (see Auerbach, 2004).”

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“In essence, thus, reconciliation requires the setting of new societal goals of peace, the construction of an image of the rival as a human being with equal rights, the active reformation of the collective memory, and the fostering of positive effects and emotions about peaceful relations with the past opponent (Bar-Tal, in press-b).”

With these instructions and words of wisdom to guide them, I turn them loose, to create positive, micro-level, people to people solutions to a conflict that has resisted peace and sustainable compromise for decades, with much bloodshed and tears as a consequence. And create they do. This assignment, more than any other assignment I have ever designed—yielded results beyond my expectations. They learned about problem solving, policy making, and peacemaking. They broke through the hopelessness to imagine pathways out—what it would cost—and forecasted results of their projects. The collective also gained skills in assessing development projects to pick a winning team’s plan. The proposals included concerts (Matisyahu style

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WRmBChQjZPs>) , a new “coexistence and shared narrative” talk radio and music station, coexistence schools, coexistence sports camps, and the winning proposal—a plan to develop mobile critical care units driven and staffed by Palestinian and Israeli EMT’s and ER doctors to be located in areas of the West Bank and Gaza where spotty access to medical care causes unnecessary death and suffering for Palestinians when cut off from trauma hospitals, dialysis centers, chemo-therapy appointments when military curfews and checkpoint stall treatment for women in need of critical neonatal attention and more (the health crisis is detailed here:

<https://www.nytimes.com/2022/12/29/opinion/international-world/palestinians-health-west-bank.html>). The first 15 weeks of the class we explore “why” the conflict exists/persists. The last week of class students engaged in Shark Tank for Peace develop practical solutions—giving them mental and physical pathways out of the violence. I have never, in 30 years of teaching, seen an exercise be so transformative.

Evidence of results:

In these simple words, drawn from the proposals for peace, we see evidence of transformation:

“I propose an orchestra-like production performed by a combined group of Palestinian and Israeli musicians highlighted by instruments that belong to the individual peoples’ cultures.”

“I propose Pen Pals for Peace (PPP), a non-profit service that connects individual Israelis and Palestinians via written letter correspondence. The primary goal is to establish a means of written communication between people on either side of the conflict in order to foster healthy and constructive communication.”

“Introducing the ‘Build Back Better Buildings’ plan, a confidence-building measure for the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (aka the 4B plan). A cooperative rebuilding of Israeli-Palestinian trust begins with a rebuilding of critical infrastructure that demonstrates understanding, willingness, and kindness; there are no better security deposits than shared sweat as opposed to spilled blood.”

Mandela is quoted as saying “Sport has the power to change the world. It has the power to inspire. It has the power to unite people in a way that little else does. Sport can create hope where once there was only despair.”¹ With this said, I believe that the creation of an amateur, community led football (soccer) league throughout Israel, including in the West Bank and Gaza, could be a very effective confidence building measure. The name of this league will be Football for Peace (FFP).

¹ “Laureus USA.” *Laureususa.com*. <https://laureususa.com/>.

I am proposing the creation of a non-profit called Head First whose mission is to provide mental health care to Palestinian children in Gaza and the West Bank in order to combat the cyclic nature of terrorism amongst the Palestinian people.²

While not a complete list of the inspiring ideas the students imagined, and designed as working solutions to an intractable conflict, we reach cognitive levels not possible without such exercises—to “create” solutions. This assignment is inspired by years of fieldwork in Israel/Palestine where lessons learned about individual choices to lead, to take risks for peace, provide hope and light where none seemingly exists—in the headlines, in electoral outcomes, in terrorist attacks. Without this opportunity to problem solve in a real life yet imagined lab, the course would leave students without a sense of purpose and leadership. Through this simple exercise in the art of the possible, students become peacemakers—with applicability far beyond our course.

3. Teaching South Asian Politics, Global Actors & Institutions, Law & Society in Asia and International Development Studies at Notre Dame through simulations and games.

Ostermann teaches in a policy school. She has conducted and continues to conduct extensive field research in India, Nepal and Pakistan, her main area of focus. She has also been involved in fieldwork in Burkina Faso and Kenya. This active engagement in the field, as opposed to being extra-curricular, is actually quite central to her teaching.

Ostermann’s use of and passion for fieldwork-based methods of inquiry date back to a research project she conducted during study abroad in Nepal. One important part of the Pitzer Program in Nepal was the research project students were expected to complete during the last month or so of the program. The entire first part of the program was, in many ways, geared towards learning enough language, culture and historical context to be able to conduct this project. Ostermann remembers the project as daunting and exciting at the same time. She chose to study fiscal irresponsibility in Sagarmatha National Park. The park was bringing in large amounts of money in terms of park entry fees and mountain climbing fees, but reportedly had terrible infrastructure and waste management problems. It appeared the money wasn’t being spent in the park. The only way to find out what was going on was to go to the park and see exactly what was happening. After spending a month talking to park officials, never once being able to locate the warden of the park and speaking to countless residents, she put forward an argument about corruption. Ostermann came away from the project knowing that this newfound understanding would not have been possible without being there, without participant observation.

² I got the name from a book I am reading titled *Head First* by Alastair Santhouse.

Later, in law school, and when working as a lawyer, Ostermann always opted to go and see what was going on—fieldwork—in almost every questionable situation. In one case, involving Invisalign, she did not go herself, but convinced the partner on the case to visit the client's manufacturing hub in Pakistan. What he saw there was highly suspect and changed the course of the lawsuit. When she returned to graduate school, it was to study regulatory compliance in the developing world, South Asia in particular, in order to be able to observe the active interplay between social/cultural norms and legal ones. People are not quick to admit that they are engaging in non-compliance when asked directly, so much of her work has been designed in such a way that she and/or other research assistants can measure compliance through observation, while asking respondents about their demographic characteristics, political attitudes, etc. In addition to being a great way to collect accurate compliance data, spending a lot of time in the field has also often led to a richer understanding of the current project, to new project ideas, and to a whole host of stories and other anecdotes that can be used while teaching.

When Ostermann was hired, it was to teach two courses in particular, South Asian Politics and Global Actors & Institutions. The first is part of the undergraduate curriculum and the latter was a core, required course for Masters of Global Affairs students. She also teaches Law & Society in Asia to Masters of Global Affairs and Law students and International Development Studies to undergraduate students. Fieldwork-derived exercises and learning are relevant and even central to each of these courses, despite different subject materials and audiences.

Ostermann uses fieldwork-related anecdotes extensively in South Asian Politics in order to illustrate a variety of different academic points, as well as to familiarize students with a region of the world that most have never visited. Sometimes these anecdotes are useful in order to provide a critical lens related to a required class reading. If an author has measured a key variable in a particular way, Ostermann will use a fieldwork-related anecdote to help illustrate why that measure is problematical. At other times anecdotes lend credibility to the literature and confirm that a given finding is supported by additional evidence. Finally, Ostermann teaches South Asian Politics to students who, for the most part, have not traveled extensively, are largely caucasian Americans and have very little familiarity with the region. Fieldwork-related anecdotes help to illustrate cultural differences, so that students can understand course readings in context; they also help to undermine biases and false assumptions, one of the most common of which is that those who are poor and uneducated are not savvy political actors. Ostermann uses a variety of different fieldwork-derived examples to demonstrate how politically sophisticated people in the developing world can be.

Using anecdotes as illustrations is not the only way author two brings fieldwork derived knowledge in the classroom. When teaching South Asian Politics, she also uses a variety of games and simulations in order to help students understand some of the nuances of a variety of different academic arguments. Below she introduces three different simulations she uses to teach

South Asian Politics, the materials for which are included in the Appendix. The first relates to public goods provision, the second relates to voting, and the third relates independence/partition.

In the first exercise, the learning objective is to help students understand public goods provision at the local level in the context of resource scarcity and corruption. To do so, she has students play different roles as some of them try to secure an electrical connection. The prompts and materials for this exercise are included in the Appendix. For students unfamiliar with the region, this exercise places them inside the “problem” and allows them to see the incentive structures and challenges that all actors face. Having completed the exercise, students can see that bureaucrats are not inherently “bad” and corrupt; they are often just doing the best they can, given the circumstances they find themselves in. They have families and expenses; the state doesn’t have enough electricity to supply to all who want it, nor the staffing to set up the necessary connections. The same is true for citizens/residents who resort to the black market for electricity provision and the electricians or *katiyabaaz* who create these illegal connections. They often try legal routes first, but find themselves blocked in various ways. Overall, many students are quick to judge in advance of the exercise, but when they see how scarcity and politics interact, they come out with a great deal more empathy for all actors involved prior to their participation.

In the second exercise, Ostermann uses another simulation, set very specifically in Lucknow, India, where she has conducted considerable fieldwork. The learning objective of this exercise is to help students understand voting in contexts in which incumbency is low, multiple identity groups vote in blocks, programmatic politics is limited and politicians regularly switch party alliances. The prompts and materials associated with this exercise are located in the Appendix. For students unfamiliar with the region and accustomed to programmatic politics, the simulation places them in the roles of voters and politicians competing for vote-share at the local level in a context in which the sheer number of voters means that politicians have to find shortcuts to earn the support of large sections of voters. As students move through the exercise, they see for themselves why ethnic voting is often the path of least resistance. Broadly speaking, the exercise allows students to see why identity can be an important point of aggregation and why pre- and post-electoral alliances are often necessary, even in the context of FPTP/SMSP institutions.

In the third exercise, Ostermann simulates pre-Independence/Partition India. The learning objective of this exercise is to facilitate student exploration and understanding of institutional design, as well as the interaction between identity groups and political parties. This exercise is also included in the Appendix. The simulation involves having students play the roles of all of the major actors associated with partition, ranging from Gandhi, Nehru and Jinnah, to the various kings through whom the British ruled directly, to the leaders of various social groups. Rather than simply telling students about the constraints these actors faced, Ostermann uses the simulation to help students see these constraints and how they interact with each other. Students come away understanding why the historical outcome likely occurred, but they can also see what

might be done differently in similar future situations. In addition to learning about the subject material, these and similar active learning exercises allow students to gain experience with negotiation and advocacy.

Fieldwork-derived in class exercises can also be useful in contexts in which students have a great deal of experience. For two years, Ostermann team-taught a required course, alongside a colleague from Sociology, called Global Actors and Institutions. The course was designed to familiarize Master's of Global Affairs students with the topic. All enrolled students had life and work experience to bring to the table and most of them were not from the United States. Ostermann and her co-instructor used cases in order to illustrate how global actors and institutions interact. Unlike in business schools where case-method teaching is common, in social science it is rare and there are few ready-made cases to work from. Thus, Ostermann and her co-instructor drafted their own. Sometimes these were high-level, well known cases. We considered whether ISIS was a Weberian state during a particular period and what that might mean for global and local responses to the threat posed. Others were derived from Ostermann and her co-instructor's fieldwork, for instance, examining how the international community reacted to the 2015 earthquakes in Nepal amidst a stalled constituent assembly and constitution writing process. Cases were designed in such a way as to allow students to bring their unique expertise to the table in an active manner. Some cases were used to set up related games and simulations related to future scenarios.

Fieldwork is not just limited to data collection. A scholar's policy and advocacy work in the field can also inform his or her pedagogy. In International Development Studies, Ostermann focuses less on games and simulations, and more on real-world engagement in development-related work, something she has done and continues to do in the field. Students in the International Development Studies Minor must eventually complete a development-related research project. In order to prepare students for this task, Ostermann walks students through the process of identifying a development-related problem and starting to design a solution to it. She has them work in groups, as this is how almost all development-related work occurs, and encourages them to reach out to organizations and other stakeholders related to their chosen problem. She works with them on adopting a consultative approach, on listening to stakeholder needs and on designing for those needs. Students are required to be realistic about funding and to prepare advocacy materials that would help them raise funding and secure support for their project. Instead of completing a term paper, students make a presentation to fellow students and try to gain their support/funding. They also turn in a policy brief. The feedback Author 2 has received on this assignment from students who later complete the minor, as well as from those who go on to work in development, suggests that this more realistic exercise, designed based upon Author 2's real work experience working in development, provides students with the invaluable opportunity to learn this style of work in a relatively low stakes environment.

Relatedly, Ostermann had a previous career in law and while this work experience is not typically considered “fieldwork,” she brings it to bear regularly in the classroom when teaching Law & Society in Asia. As the course is not doctrinally focussed, like most law classes, work experience/fieldwork is particularly illuminating in terms of how lawyers, judges and legal institutions actually work. The course examines variation between and similarity amongst how law is practiced in India, Japan and China. Because none of the students have actually practiced law and the course is focused on actual practice, Ostermann regularly uses examples of her own work for a large international law firm to illustrate key points and also to bring an additional common law jurisdiction, the United States, into dialogue with the three main cases examined in the course. Because Ostermann had done law-related fieldwork in India, she also shares anecdotes from this experience, as well as her research findings. Evaluations from this course suggest that students find the use of work experience and fieldwork-related anecdotes to be quite useful in terms of providing color and/or texture for the largely academic writing covered in the course.

Conclusion

This paper explores the possibility that scholars who engage in fieldwork teach differently. With fieldwork giving scholars infinite possibilities for active learning we suggest ways in which such lessons learned in the field can inform pedagogy. Together we explore active learning assignments (informed by our fieldwork) that have helped to promote better understanding, curiosity, problem solving, and inspiration for sustained knowledge seeking. The point of this essay is not “do what we do” in the classroom—but rather, seek opportunities for fieldwork and for integrating active learning activities, tailor made to your own classroom objectives—simulated small group fieldwork exercises, games, simulated elections, policy making—variations on these themes brings politics and problem solving alive.

In subsequent weeks, we will conduct a survey of scholars who do fieldwork to see if we can isolate the ways in which they do or don’t teach differently and with what results.

Albert Einstein in his Out of my Later Years observes that “the point of education is to develop child like inclination for play.” We hope that this essay, and our subsequent work will make learning fun, engaging and life sustaining.

Appendix

The below materials are those actually used by Ostermann for her in class exercises, as referenced in the text above. She varies the roles slightly to accommodate different class sizes and, if teaching a larger class, runs two separate simulations.

Public Goods Provision/Corruption Exercise

Ostermann hands out the below prompts to students on a random basis. Below the prompts are a series of forms required to secure the public good in question, an electrical connection. The prompts describe who has which forms. Part of what citizens must do is talk to a variety of different actors and figure out what paperwork is required for a legal connection.

Bureaucrat 1

You work at the Department of Power & Electricity. You are paid very little and, in fact, you had to pay a bribe to a local politician to get this job. On the plus side, no one seems to care if you show up late, take long lunches or provide shoddy customer service. Soon, however, your sister is getting married and the family needs some extra cash in order to pay for the expenses. You normally wouldn't consider taking bribes, but under your current financial constraints you might do so. The problem is that you don't have much power, either. You cannot approve applications for electrical connections. Only Bureaucrat 3 can, after Bureaucrat 2 has already signed off. Many citizens don't know this procedure, so you can help them to navigate the system if you want. You can charge whatever you want for this assistance, but anything less than Rs. 50 would not be worth your time. You also have the forms that citizens need to fill out in order to apply for a new electricity connection, but you only have a limited number and may not give out any more than you have.

Bureaucrat 2

You work at the Department of Power & Electricity. You are paid very little and, in fact, you had to help out extensively with a local politician's campaign in order to get this job. On the plus side, no one seems to care if you show up late, take long lunches or provide shoddy customer service. Right now, however, your uncle is ill and the family needs some extra cash in order to pay for his medical expenses. You normally wouldn't consider taking bribes, but under your current financial constraints you might do so. The problem is that you don't have much power, either. You cannot approve applications for electrical connections. Bureaucrat 3 is the only one who can do so, but only after you have already signed off on the paperwork. Many citizens don't know this procedure, so you can help them to navigate the system if you want. You can charge whatever you want for this assistance, but anything less than Rs. 75 would not be worth your time.

Bureaucrat 3

You work at the Department of Power & Electricity. You got this job because your cousin is a local politician and has quite a bit of power in the area. You are paid very little. On the plus side, no one seems to care if you show up late, take long lunches or provide shoddy customer service. Right now, however, you're trying to save money to buy a car. While your politician cousin's family has some money, your family is not all that well off and it's embarrassing taking public transport to family functions. You normally wouldn't consider taking bribes, but you might do so temporarily so that you can save enough money for a car. Fortunately, you do have some power. You are the last to sign off on all applications for new electrical connections. One constraint on this is that Bureaucrat 2 must sign the forms first. Many citizens do not know this procedure and you can point them in the right direction if you so choose. You can charge whatever you want for this assistance, but anything less than Rs. 100 would not be worth your time. The other problem is that you only have one staffer to install new electrical

connections and, given the nature of the job and the poor state of transport in the area, she can only install two new connections per day. Thus, you can only grant two applications every day.

Citizen 1

You are a fairly poor local farmer. You would like to install a new electrical connection so that you can use the TV the local politician gave you in the lead-up to the last election. Having a functioning TV in your particular village, which is just outside of a larger town, will be a big deal. There are no other TVs in the village and you can set it up outside much of the year and even charge for people to watch particular shows. A connection supposedly costs Rs. 180, but you know that things are rarely that easy. You will need help with the paperwork, as you cannot read or write. You have saved Rs. 250 to cover all costs. If they run any more than that, you will have to take a loan. You must try to get a connection as quickly as you can. If necessary, you can try to get help from the local politician who you supported in the last election and is from your caste.

Citizen 2

You are a middle-class teacher in a private school. You would like to install a new electrical connection in the downstairs flat at your home so that you can rent it out. A connection supposedly costs Rs. 180, but you know that things are rarely that easy. You are willing to pay up to Rs. 500 to make sure this is handled quickly. You are not willing to take a loan or pay more than that. You don't think you have any pull with the local politician as you are known around town to support the opposing party.

Citizen 3

You are a fairly poor resident of the main town in the district. You live in an illegal flat. Nevertheless, you would like to get an electrical connection. A connection supposedly costs Rs. 180, but you know that things are rarely that easy. You will also need help with the paperwork, since you cannot read or write. You are willing to pay up to Rs. 250. If it costs more than that, you will have to take a loan or lean on the local politician, who you supported in the last election.

Citizen 4

You are a member of a rural panchayat that is quite close to the major town in the district. You would like to get an electrical connection in your home. A connection supposedly costs Rs. 180, but you know that things are rarely that easy. You are literate, so you won't need help with the paperwork, but you may have to spend some extra money or use some influence to get this job done. You are not from the same caste as the local politician, but your caste was instrumental in getting him/her elected and you, as a panchayat member, have some credibility in terms of swaying other members of your caste away from supporting the local politician the next time around. If you aren't able to use influence, you are willing to spend up to Rs. 400 to get a connection set up quite quickly. It would be embarrassing if a panchayat member had to wait to get his/her own electrical connection installed. People might wonder about his/her influence in town and beyond.

Citizen 5

You are a fairly poor resident of a rural village just outside of the main town in the district. You would like to install a new electrical connection in your home. A connection supposedly costs Rs. 180, but you know that things are rarely that easy. You are illiterate, so you will also need help with the paperwork. You are willing to spend up to Rs. 250 to secure a connection—anything more than that would require a loan. Finally, you have few options other than payment as you have little influence in the area: you are not from the same caste as the local politician and, in fact, voted for someone else in the last election.

Citizen 6

You are a fairly poor resident of a rural village just outside of the main town in the district. You would like to install a new electrical connection in your home. A connection supposedly costs Rs. 180, but you know that things are rarely that easy. You are literate, however, so at least you won't need help with the paperwork. You are willing to spend up to Rs. 250 to secure a connection—anything more than that would require a loan. Finally, you do have options other than payment, as you are from the same caste as the local politician, even though you voted for someone else in the last election.

Citizen 7

You are an upper middle class resident of the main town in the district. You would like to install a new electrical connection in your new office. The only problem is that your business involves some illegal activity. You buy alcohol in the neighboring state where taxes are much lower, repackage it, and sell it locally. A legal connection supposedly costs Rs. 180, but you know that things are rarely that easy, and you're also not sure whether you want a state representative coming to your office or even knowing it exists. If you decide to go the legal route, you are literate, so at least you won't need help with the paperwork. You are willing to spend up to Rs. 1000 to secure a connection.

Fixer

You are literate and are aware that applicants for new electrical connections must go to Bureaucrats 1, 2, and 3, in that order, if they want to secure an electrical connection. As this is something that most citizens do not know, you can offer assistance with the procedures at the Department of Power & Electricity for a fee of no more than Rs. 100. You also have some of the forms citizens need in order to apply for a new electricity connection. This is important because the bureaucrats in the main office often run out. Finally, you can offer short-term loans to citizens to cover the costs they incur in getting a connection if they don't have enough money themselves. The interest on these loans is 20%. If people do not pay, you can send a group of thugs after them for a price.

Local Politician

You are the local politician and your primary focus is satisfying citizen demands, which are many and varied. Most of the villages outside of the main town in your constituency have limited electrification, but that doesn't mean there isn't demand. In fact, there is far more demand than the Department of Power & Electricity can handle. Thus, part of satisfying citizen demands is helping some citizens get electrical connections. You can't help everyone, however, and you have to consider re-election. The majority of your support comes from your own caste and alienating caste members could prove problematical in more ways than one. You do have influence over Bureaucrat 3, who is your cousin. You got him his job and

didn't charge him a thing for it. Bureaucrat 1 paid a bribe to you to get his job, which gives you a little less influence. Bureaucrat 2 made donations of both time and money to your recent campaign and you rewarded him with his job. His help was quite useful and you want him to help out in the future, so you don't want to influence him too much. Finally, there is one last way you can help citizens. If they cannot cover the costs of a new electrical connection, you can loan them the money at an interest rate of 15%.

Electrician

You are a local electrician and you have few customers. You would like to work for the Department of Power & Electricity, but have not been able to get a job as these are often handed out as political favors. If you can get more electrical connections set up in houses, you will have more work in the future. The problem is that you have no influence at the Department of Power & Electricity. You can, however, tap the electrical lines illegally and get citizens connected to the grid. You're a bit worried about getting in trouble for this, but you have connections amongst the police, so you don't think the risk is that great. You would like to charge Rs. 180 for an electrical connection, which is exactly what the Department of Power & Electricity officially charges. However, if you don't have customers, you can charge less. The materials necessary to do the work cost Rs. 100, however, so you cannot go below this price.

Application for New Electricity Service

Name _____

Father's Name _____

Citizen ID _____

Cost for New Connection: Rs. 180

Deposit to Secure Future Bills: Rs. 100

You must attach your property title or rental contract for the property where electricity will be installed.

Property Title

I, Citizen _____, am the owner of the property located at _____.

Rental Contract

This lease conveys my property located at 1234 Ramnagar Way to _____
for a period of 1 year and is renewable afterward at regular one year intervals.

Voting Exercise

Politician 1

You are an incumbent politician in Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh, running on a Congress ticket. Your constituency is urban and generally contains poor to lower-middle-class voters. It is also roughly 1/3 Muslim, which is a higher percentage than is found in many other constituencies. As a result, you have considered advocating for the inclusion of backward Muslim castes in the state's OBC reservations, but you know this will alienate OBC voters, so you have not formally stated a position yet. You can, however, promise them security in the event of communal tensions; you have the connections in both the local police and the army to make such a promise seem plausible.

There is also the issue of the informal settlement in your district which the government plans to raze. You stand to benefit from this, as your brother is a contractor and, if you stay in office, you could make sure he gets the contract. That said, your constituents will want you to promise to leave the area untouched.

Many of your constituents, especially older voters, cannot read or write, but they do tend to be fairly sophisticated when it comes to their political behavior. Promising them public or private goods in the future is rarely enough to demonstrate a politician's commitment: often handouts of cash, alcohol or other items, like cheap phones or SIM card recharge vouchers, are required. You can also remind them of the things you have already done for them.

You helped Voter 4 get work via the MGNREGA program.

You helped Voter 3 get a below poverty line card.

You can promise to help voters get access to MGNREGA work now.

Your goal is to keep your seat in the Lok Sabha. You have \$5 to spend on wooing constituents.

Alcohol costs \$1, cheap phones cost \$2, sim card recharge vouchers cost \$0.50.

Politician 2

You are a non-incumbent politician in Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh, running on a BJP ticket. Though you are not in office now, you were in office 5 years ago and come from a political family. Your father held a local seat in a neighboring constituency for many years and both your brother and your sister hold seats in the area, one at the state level and one at the national level.

Your constituency is urban and generally contains poor to lower-middle-class voters. It is also roughly 1/3 Muslim, which is a higher percentage than is found in many other constituencies. This is why Politician 1 is considering advocating for the inclusion of backward Muslim castes in UP's OBC reservation. You think this is deeply problematical and you (and the BJP) are against reservations more generally. You can, however, promise Muslims security in the event of communal tensions; the problem is that such promises are not believable, as you do not have the connections in the army and police necessary to secure this protection and the BJP has not been particularly helpful about helping to make these connections.

There is also the issue of the informal settlement in your district, which the government plans to raze. You think that formal housing is the way to go, but realize that many of your potential constituents will feel differently, particularly as they are unlikely to end up living in the formal housing created. You can promise to help constituents who are forced to move that you will help them find housing in your sister's constituency, where there is an informal settlement that the government is not planning to move yet.

Many of your potential constituents, especially older voters, cannot read or write, but they do tend to be fairly sophisticated when it comes to their political behavior. Promising them public or private goods in the future is rarely enough to demonstrate a politician's commitment: often handouts of cash, alcohol or other items, like cheap phones or SIM card recharge vouchers, are required. You can also remind them of the things you did for them when you were in office 5 years ago, as well as things your family members have done in the area.

You helped Voter 7 get access to formal housing through the local housing "lottery."

You helped Voter 6 to get a job through MGNREGA.

You can promise to help voters get access to MGNREGA work, but your ability to deliver on such promises is contingent on winning this election.

Your goal is to re-capture your seat in the Lok Sabha from Politician 1. You have \$7 to spend on wooing constituents. You borrowed \$3 of that sum from your sister, who is well connected within the party and, as a result, has access to resources. You will have to pay it back eventually.

Alcohol costs \$0.50 (because your brother can get you access to government subsidized alcohol sold at the Army canteen, otherwise it would cost \$1), cheap phones cost \$2, sim card recharge vouchers cost \$0.50.

Voter 1

You are a Muslim voter. Unlike many Muslims in your district, you are middle class and live fairly comfortably. You are educated and your children are in school. You are worried about the recent Muzaffarnagar riots which claimed the lives of many Muslims in UP. It had been quite some time since Hindu-Muslim violence had flared up, but between Muzaffarnagar and rising tensions in Kashmir, the future looks bleak once again. You want a politician who can credibly promise security. This person must have the connections necessary to deliver on this promise in both the army and the police. You are also a community organizer and you know that you can get Voter 4 and Voter 7 to vote the same way you do. This will help you to get one of the candidates in your constituency to commit to Muslim protection. If you cannot secure such a promise, you will consider running for office yourself, even though most party tickets in the area have been distributed and you'd probably have to put up the deposit yourself (which would represent your life savings). If you decide to do so, you will likely have to take up the issue of the government's decision to raze the informal settlement in the area. You will also have to consider whether you run on a secular or religious basis.

Voter 2

You are a Hindu, OBC voter. Normally you would vote SP, but SP politicians rarely win in Lucknow, so you will likely have to choose a BJP or Congress politician instead. You and your family are middle-class and have benefited tremendously from reservation policies, both in terms of education and jobs. As a result, you feel some allegiance to Congress, but you are also concerned that the Congress has occasionally talked about putting forward a bill to include backward Muslim castes in the OBC reservation. You don't think this would be a good idea and will not vote for Congress unless they promise to drop the issue.

Voter 3

You are an OBC, Hindu voter. Normally you would vote SP, but SP politicians rarely win in Lucknow, so you will likely have to choose a BJP or Congress politician instead. You live in an informal settlement and the city has been threatening for years to raze it to make way for new, formal housing (that you probably wouldn't have access to). You will likely give your vote to whomever makes the most credible commitment to keeping the informal settlement in place. That is, unless that candidate can get you alternative housing. Finally, you won't promise your vote to anyone who refuses to back up his/her promise with some sort of an advance.

Politician 1 helped you get a below poverty line card. As a result, you trust him/her and wouldn't require any handout to secure future promises; this is not true of Politician 2.

Voter 4

You are a Pasmanda (Dalit), Muslim voter. You stayed in school through grade 5, but had to leave to help your family pay its bills. You are worried about your material well-being. You live in an informal settlement and the city has been threatening for years to raze it to make way for new, formal housing (that you probably wouldn't have access to). You also worry about food and about having a job. You know that the central government passed a work guarantee program, but you've never been able to get access to

work through it. Politician 1 has sometimes advocated for the inclusion of OBC Muslims in the state's OBC reservation. You like this idea, but you think it will never come to pass and it might not benefit you, since you are Dalit, not OBC. You also worry about politicians who are in favor of a Uniform Commercial Code, since that would make Muslims have to follow Hindu laws. But it's not so much the laws that you worry about, it's the fact that politicians who support a Uniform Code are probably not going to come through and protect Muslims when they need it most: in the event of riots. Voter 1 is a friend of yours. Voter 1 is also Muslim and is a good person; you trust Voter 1 for advice. Finally, party doesn't mean much to you, nor do empty promises.

Politician 1 helped you get work through MGNREGA. As a result, you trust him/her and wouldn't require any handout to secure future promises; this is not true of Politician 2.

Voter 5

You are a Hindu voter and you are Dalit. You live in an informal settlement and the city has been threatening for years to raze it to make way for new, formal housing (that you probably wouldn't have access to). You would love to take advantage of SC job reservations, but you're not even sure how to proceed. If the BSP had a chance of winning in your area, you would vote for the BSP candidate, but the BSP has rarely done well in your constituency, which is unreserved, and you know that you and other Dalits can still make deals with non-BSP politicians that are in your interests. Party doesn't mean much to you (if it's not the BSP), nor do empty promises. You won't promise your vote to anyone who refuses to back up that promise with some sort of an advance.

Voter 6

You are an upper caste, Hindu voter. You live in an informal settlement and the city has been threatening for years to raze it to make way for new, formal housing (that you probably wouldn't have access to). You also worry about food and about having a job. Politician 2 helped you to secure work through a central government scheme five years ago and you hope to secure a similar benefit this time. You are against reservations and worry that Politician 1 will try to include backward caste Muslim's in the state's OBC reservation. You live side by side with backward caste Muslims and you have nothing against them, but you don't see why they should benefit just because of their identity. Policies should be pro-poor, not pro-some sub-group of the poor. Finally, party doesn't mean much to you, nor do empty promises. You won't promise your vote to anyone who refuses to back up that promise with some sort of an advance.

Politician 2 helped you get work through MGNREGA five years ago. As a result, you trust him/her and wouldn't require any handout to secure future promises; the same is not true of Politician 1.

Voter 7

You are an OBC, Muslim voter. You stayed in school through grade 8, but had to leave to help your family pay its bills. You no longer live in the informal settlement in the area and have secured "pakka" (real/formal) housing through a local housing lottery that Politician 2 claims to have rigged in your favor. That said, you are still worried about your material well-being, as you have rarely had steady work and you have to prioritize rent over food to make sure you don't have to go back to the informal settlement. Politician 1 has sometimes advocated for the inclusion of OBC Muslims in the state's OBC reservation.

You like this idea, but you think it will never come to pass. You also worry about politicians who are in favor of a Uniform Commercial Code, since that would make Muslims have to follow Hindu laws. But it's not so much the laws that you worry about, it's the fact that politicians who support a Uniform Code are probably not going to come through and protect Muslims when they need it most: in the event of riots. Voter 1 is a friend of yours. Voter 1 is also Muslim and is a good person; you trust Voter 1 for advice. Finally, party doesn't mean much to you, nor do empty promises. You won't promise your vote to anyone who refuses to back up that promise with some sort of an advance.

Voter 8

You are an OBC, Hindu voter. Normally you would vote SP, but SP politicians rarely win in Lucknow, so you will likely have to choose a BJP or Congress politician instead. You are worried about your material well-being, as you have rarely had steady work and you sometimes have to prioritize rent over food. OBCs have job reservations, but you have never benefited from this program. You also know that there is a central government scheme that provides 100 days of paid work per year to anyone who wants it, but you have never been able to figure out how to sign up. You suspect that one has to pay a bribe in order to do so and you're unwilling to do this, but you are willing to trade your vote for this kind of help. Finally, you won't promise your vote to anyone who refuses to back up his/her promise with some sort of an advance.

Voter 9

You are a poor, upper caste, Hindu voter. You live in an informal settlement and the city has been threatening for years to raze it to make way for new, formal housing (that you probably wouldn't have access to). You will give your vote to whomever makes the most credible commitment to keeping the informal settlement in place. That is, unless that candidate can get you alternative housing. Finally, you won't promise your vote to anyone who refuses to back up his/her promise with some sort of an advance.

Voter 10

You are a middle class, upper caste, Muslim voter. You are not in favor of reservations more generally, but would support the inclusion of OBC Muslims in state-level reservation policies, as it would benefit those in your community. You do have some party preferences. You don't trust the BJP to treat your community well. You would vote for them, however, if presented with the right inducements. That would mean some sort of handout or support for OBC Muslim reservations. Otherwise your vote will go to Congress.

Voter 11

You are a poor, Dalit voter and you live in an informal settlement that the government plans to raze to make way for formal housing. Normally you would vote for a BSP candidate, but the BSP rarely wins in Lucknow, so you're willing to throw your weight behind any candidate who makes a credible commitment to getting you formal housing. You are also worried about your material well-being, as you have rarely had steady work and you sometimes have to prioritize rent over food. SCs have job reservations, but you have never benefited from this program. You also know that there is a central government scheme that provides 100 days of paid work per year to anyone who wants it, but you have

never been able to figure out how to sign up. You suspect that one has to pay a bribe in order to do so and you're unwilling to do this, but you are willing to trade your vote for this kind of help. Finally, you won't promise your vote to anyone who refuses to back up his/her promise with some sort of an advance.

Partition Exercise

Nehru

You must agree with at least three of the other nationalist leaders (Gandhi, Jinnah, Patel and Ambedkar) on the future direction of the subcontinent. You must decide whether British India remains a single unit or whether it is partitioned into two or more states. You must also decide on a set of institutions for independent India. Will India be presidential or parliamentary or a combination of both? Federal or unitary? Will it utilize proportional representation in its electoral system or go with a majoritarian first past the post system?

As part of doing so, you will likely need to decide whether to create separate electorates for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, both of which are geographically dispersed minorities who nevertheless have the power to create turmoil during India's crucial first few years after independence. If you decide not to provide separate electorates, you will likely have to make certain other concessions to these groups.

Language is also an issue. Small language groups in the South of India do not want Hindi to be the national language of independent India, even though it makes sense given that it is spoken by the largest number of people. Here too you may need to make concessions in order to keep India from splitting into many different independent states.

Ideology may be problematical as well. Some local leaders have Communist inclinations and you believe it would be best for India to not get caught up in the Communist vs. Anti-Communist political polarization that is happening worldwide.

In addition, there is the issue of religion. It is the most divisive and the most likely to result in partition. One of the other nationalists, Jinnah, wants a Muslim homeland in South Asia. Muslims, while geographically dispersed through much of India, are much more concentrated in certain parts of North and East India. While partition may theoretically be possible, it seems highly impractical; you are quite motivated to find a "one state" solution. You will not, however, bow to Jinnah's every demand and you are willing to call his bluff.

Finally, many of South Asia's traditional rulers remain in power and, over the past 100 years or so, the British have ruled indirectly through them. These Rajas are not enthralled with the idea of an independent and democratic India, as their power will be substantially diluted. If partition becomes an issue, some will likely demand independence or attempt to side with the state that offers them the best terms. You will likely have to offer them concessions in order to secure their peaceful acquiescence to whatever agreement you come to with the other nationalists. You and the other leaders have a total of Rs. 1000 lakh to divide amongst these leaders and can also offer them titles and the ability to keep their land, but

you must agree on what is given to whom. You can also use this money to placate other breakaway groups.

Gandhi

You must agree with at least three of the other nationalist leaders (Nehru, Jinnah, Patel and Ambedkar) on the future direction of the subcontinent. You must decide whether British India remains a single unit or whether it is partitioned into two or more states. You must also decide on a set of institutions for independent India. Will India be presidential or parliamentary or a combination of both? Federal or unitary? Will it utilize proportional representation in its electoral system or go with a majoritarian first past the post system?

As part of doing so, you will likely need to decide whether to create separate electorates for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, both of which are geographically dispersed minorities who nevertheless have the power to create turmoil during India's crucial first few years after independence. You are staunchly against separate electorates and will likely have to make certain other concessions to these groups.

Language is also an issue. Small language groups in the South of India do not want Hindi to be the national language of independent India, even though it makes sense given that it is spoken by the largest number of people. Here too you may need to make concessions in order to keep India from splitting into many different independent states.

Ideology may be problematical as well. Some local leaders have Communist inclinations and you believe it would be best for India to not get caught up in the Communist vs. Anti-Communist political polarization that is happening worldwide.

In addition, there is the issue of religion. It is the most divisive and the most likely to result in partition. One of the other nationalists, Jinnah, wants a Muslim homeland in South Asia. Muslims, while geographically dispersed through much of India, are much more concentrated in certain parts of North and East India. You see partition on a religious basis as almost unthinkable and are highly motivated to find a "one state" solution. You will not, however, bow to Jinnah's every demand.

Finally, many of South Asia's traditional rulers remain in power and, over the past 100 years or so, the British have ruled indirectly through them. These Rajas are not enthralled with the idea of an independent and democratic India, as their power will be substantially diluted. If partition becomes an issue, some will likely demand independence or attempt to side with the state that offers them the best terms. You will likely have to offer them concessions in order to secure their peaceful acquiescence to whatever agreement you come to with the other nationalists. You and the other leaders have a total of Rs. 1000 lakh to divide amongst these leaders and can also offer them titles and the ability to keep their land, but you must agree on what is given to whom. You can also use this money to placate other breakaway groups.

Jinnah

You must agree with at least three of the other nationalist leaders (Nehru, Gandhi, Patel and Ambedkar) on the future direction of the subcontinent. You must decide whether British India remains a single unit or whether it is partitioned into two or more states. Religion is the single most important issue to you. It is also the most divisive and the most likely to result in partition. You want political power for Muslims in South Asia and are willing to engage in brinkmanship to get it. As a result, you have proposed a Muslim homeland in South Asia, to be called Pakistan. You are not, however, truly stuck on the idea, but view it as a bargaining chip to be used with Nehru, Gandhi, Patel and Ambedkar.

You must also decide on a set of institutions for independent India (or for Pakistan, if it comes to pass). Will India/Pakistan be presidential or parliamentary or a combination of both? Federal or unitary? Will it utilize proportional representation in its electoral system or go with a majoritarian first past the post system?

As part of doing so, you will likely need to decide whether to create separate electorates for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, both of which are geographically dispersed minorities who nevertheless have the power to create turmoil during India's crucial first few years after independence. If you decide not to provide separate electorates, you will likely have to make certain other concessions to these groups.

Language is also an issue. Small language groups in the South of India, as well as in much of what might be Pakistan, do not want Hindi to be the national language of independent India, even though it makes sense given that it is spoken by the largest number of people. Here too you may need to make concessions in order to keep India/Pakistan from splitting into many different independent states. If partition happens and Pakistan comes into existence, you prefer using Urdu as the national language, but may be forced to compromise.

Finally, many of South Asia's traditional rulers remain in power and, over the past 100 years or so, the British have ruled indirectly through them. These Rajas are not enthralled with the idea of an independent and democratic India, as their power will be substantially diluted. If partition becomes an issue, some will likely demand independence or attempt to side with the state that offers them the best terms. You will likely have to offer them concessions in order to secure their peaceful acquiescence to whatever agreement you come to with the other nationalists. You and the other leaders have a total of Rs. 1000 lakh to divide amongst these leaders and can also offer them titles and the ability to keep their land, but you must agree on what is given to whom.

Patel

You must agree with at least three of the other nationalist leaders (Gandhi, Nehru, Jinnah and Ambedkar) on the future direction of the subcontinent. You must decide whether British India remains a single unit or whether it is partitioned into two or more states. You must also decide on a set of institutions for independent India. Will India be presidential or parliamentary or a combination of both? Federal or unitary? Will it utilize proportional representation in its electoral system or go with a majoritarian first past the post system?

As part of doing so, you will likely need to decide whether to create separate electorates for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, both of which are geographically dispersed minorities who nevertheless

have the power to create turmoil during India's crucial first few years after independence. You are against separate electorates and will likely have to make certain other concessions to these groups.

Language is also an issue. Small language groups in the South of India do not want Hindi to be the national language of independent India, even though it makes sense given that it is spoken by the largest number of people. Here too you may need to make concessions in order to keep India from splitting into many different independent states.

Ideology may be problematical as well. Some local leaders have Communist inclinations and you believe it would be best for India to not get caught up in the Communist vs. Anti-Communist political polarization that is happening worldwide.

In addition, there is the issue of religion. It is the most divisive and the most likely to result in partition. One of the other nationalists, Jinnah, wants a Muslim homeland in South Asia. Muslims, while geographically dispersed through much of India, are much more concentrated in certain parts of North and East India. You see partition on a religious basis as a regrettable but acceptable proposition.

Finally, many of South Asia's traditional rulers remain in power and, over the past 100 years or so, the British have ruled indirectly through them. These Rajas are not enthralled with the idea of an independent and democratic India, as their power will be substantially diluted. If partition becomes an issue, some will likely demand independence or attempt to side with the state that offers them the best terms. You are very concerned about this possibility and will do whatever it takes to prevent a domino effect that leads to the break-up of India into hundreds of small states. You will likely have to offer them concessions in order to secure their peaceful acquiescence to whatever agreement you come to with the other nationalists. You and the other leaders have a total of Rs. 1000 lakh to divide amongst these leaders and can also offer them titles and the ability to keep their land, but you must agree on what is given to whom.

Ambedkar

You are in a privileged and yet awkward position. Other leaders, because of your British education and reputation for excellence, accept you as one of their own; yet, as a member of a Scheduled Caste, you come from an unusual background to be in such elite circles. You are passionate about the Scheduled Caste cause, but believe that the only way Scheduled caste issues will be addressed must involve having separate electorates. Elected Scheduled Caste leaders would then be able to properly represent scheduled castes in a legislature and potentially form coalitions with parties willing to cooperate with a Scheduled Caste agenda. Many of the other nationalist leaders, Gandhi in particular, are quite opposed to such an idea. They would prefer to have one electorate and to reserve particular seats for individuals from Scheduled Caste backgrounds. You can coordinate with other Scheduled Caste Leaders, but should not be overtly involved in their politics. Doing so would jeopardize your chances (which are currently good) of crafting the new Indian constitution and being able to ensure that constitutional language is as favorable as possible for the SC cause.

You must agree with at least three of the other leaders (Gandhi, Nehru, Jinnah, and Patel) on the future direction of the subcontinent. You must decide whether British India remains a single unit or whether it is partitioned into two or more states. You must also decide on a set of institutions for independent India.

Will India be presidential or parliamentary or a combination of both? Federal or unitary? Will it utilize proportional representation in its electoral system or go with a majoritarian first past the post system?

Language is an issue. Small language groups in the South of India do not want Hindi to be the national language of independent India, even though it makes sense given that it is spoken by the largest number of people. Here too you may need to make concessions in order to keep India from splitting into many different independent states.

In addition, there is the issue of religion. It is the most divisive and the most likely to result in partition. One of the other nationalists, Jinnah, wants a Muslim homeland in South Asia. Muslims, while geographically dispersed through much of India, are much more concentrated in certain parts of North and East India. You are agnostic regarding partition, but see it as a real possibility for which preparation is required. You do not think this issue should be decided by the British or by a few nationalists, but by way of the ballot, with elected representatives from Muslim-majority areas voting on whether to create Pakistan or not.

Finally, many of South Asia's traditional rulers remain in power and, over the past 100 years or so, the British have ruled indirectly through them. These Rajas are not enthralled with the idea of an independent and democratic India, as their power will be substantially diluted. If partition becomes an issue, some will likely demand independence or attempt to side with the state that offers them the best terms. You will likely have to offer them concessions in order to secure their peaceful acquiescence to whatever agreement you come to with the other nationalists. You and the other leaders have a total of Rs. 1000 lakh to divide amongst these leaders and can also offer them titles and the ability to keep their land, but you must agree on what is given to whom.

Lord Mountbatten

In response to the quit India movement, the British have decided to pull out. There was also the matter of not having the resources to effectively rule India after World War II drained British coffers. Your orders are to oversee the transition from British rule to Independence, but not necessarily to decide the fate of the subcontinent. The major debate thus far has been about whether British India should be divided into one state or two. Jinnah argues that Muslims represent a separate nation within India that needs its own territory, particularly because Muslims are a minority and will likely always be a minority in the subcontinent. Other minorities are also making demands. Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes want additional rights and protections. They are not, however, demanding separate statehood. Your goal is to have as smooth a transition as possible and to allow as much room for self-determination as you can. You see widespread protests as problematical; they suggest to you that partition may be necessary in order to keep the peace in the long term. If protests occur, you may have to force partition rather than waiting to see what local leaders decide. If you decide to initiate partition, you must notify the professor.

Scheduled Caste Leader

Scheduled Castes were recognized by the British as being in need of special protections due to the history of discrimination they have experienced, throughout South Asia, at the hands of the traditional social system. Independence represents an opportunity to right historical wrongs by directing state resources

towards individuals who are members of castes (jatis, really) listed on the British Schedule as being particularly “backward.” This is a geographically dispersed group of individuals who, if democracy is installed in India, will only represent 10-15% of the electorate in any given constituency. Given the democratic logic, Scheduled Castes will always be a minority. You are, therefore, willing to do almost anything to ensure protection and/or uplift by whomever ends up governing South Asia. Visible street protests are an important tactic, particularly since the world is watching and nationalist leaders do not want to be embarrassed by disunity in South Asia. Lord Mountbatten is also watching and he may believe that street protests are a thumb on the scale in favor of partition. Finally, you appear to have an ally in Ambedkar, a British educated Scheduled Caste lawyer who looks likely to be in a position to craft a constitution for independent India (regardless of whether that unit includes Pakistan). If you decide to protest, you must notify the professor.

Scheduled Tribe Leader

Scheduled Tribes were recognized by the British as being in need of special protections due to the history of discrimination they have experienced, throughout South Asia, at the hands of the traditional social system. Independence represents an opportunity to right historical wrongs by directing state resources towards individuals who are members of tribes (jatis, really) listed on the British Schedule as being particularly “backward.” Locally concentrated, but geographically dispersed group of individuals who, if democracy is installed in India, will only represent 10-15% of the electorate in any given constituency. Given the democratic logic, Scheduled Tribes will always be a minority. You are, therefore, willing to do almost anything to ensure protection and/or uplift by whomever ends up governing South Asia. Visible street protests are an important tactic, particularly since the world is watching and nationalist leaders do not want to be embarrassed by disunity in South Asia. Lord Mountbatten is also watching and he may believe that street protests are a thumb on the scale in favor of partition. If you decide to protest, you must notify the professor.

Raja of Jammu & Kashmir

You are the Hindu leader of a mountainous Muslim-majority region. Your task is a delicate one. It is not clear whether British India will remain one unit and, if it breaks up, it isn't clear whether you should join India (which will likely be secular) or the Muslim homeland in South Asia that Jinnah has proposed, called Pakistan. You also entertain a vision of an independent Kashmir, where you would remain in power and would be able to continue to steer your territory (as you have in the past) clear of sectarian violence. As a result of all of this, you must be careful not to anger nationalists on either side of the partition debate. You might end up being governed by them or they might be your neighbors and, recognizing Kashmir's dearth of natural resources (save for its natural beauty), you know there's little prospect of supporting an army capable of standing up to the potentially large states on either side of you. If you are offered relative autonomy and a decent development budget (anything above Rs. 500 lakh), or if you are faced with military threats, you will drop your bid for independence. If partition comes to pass, you will have to choose sides, just because of your precarious position on the border and because of the likely violence that will ensue.

Raja of Jaisalmer

You are the Hindu leader of a Hindu-majority desert region in the Western part of the subcontinent. Your task is a delicate one. It is not clear whether British India will remain one unit and, if it breaks up, as a Hindu leader, you would prefer to join India, which will likely be secular, as opposed to so-called Pakistan, which will likely be an Islamic state. That said, you are located in a resource-poor (though culture rich) area that is located near the Kingdoms of several Muslim leaders and you suspect that if British India is divided you will be located quite close to the border or even on the “wrong” side of it. As a result of all of this, you must be careful not to anger nationalists on either side of the partition debate. You might end up being governed by them. If partition comes to pass, you will have to choose sides. Because of your precarious position on the border and because of the likely violence that will ensue, you are willing to join whichever country credibly promises to protect you best. The only other option you have is to negotiate with Lord Mountbatten, the most likely person to be in charge of partition if it comes to pass. You may be able to sway him to either, force further negotiations between the nationalists or, if that isn’t possible, make sure your territory ends up in India.

Raja of Umarkot

You are the Hindu leader of a Muslim-majority desert region. Your task is a delicate one. It is not clear whether British India will remain one unit and, if it breaks up, it isn’t clear whether you should join India (which will likely be secular) or the Muslim homeland in South Asia that Jinnah has proposed, called Pakistan. You also entertain a vision of an independent Umarkot, where you would remain in power. As a result of all of this, you must be careful not to anger nationalists on either side of the partition debate. You might end up being governed by them or they might be your neighbors and you know there’s little prospect of supporting an army capable of standing up to the potentially large states on either side of you. If you are offered relative autonomy and a decent development budget (anything above Rs. 500 lakh), or if you are faced with military threats, you will drop your bid for independence. If partition comes to pass, you will have to choose sides, just because of your precarious position on the border and because of the likely violence that will ensue.

South Indian Tamil Leader

Your major issue is language. The Independence movement has largely been centered in North India and is dominated by North Indian senses of nationalism. Many have suggested the need for a national language. The obvious choice to Nehru, Gandhi and Patel, is Hindi. English also makes sense from a pragmatic point of view, but you and many South Indians are quite proud of your language, culture and heritage. You worry about how all three will be affected if Tamil areas remain in India. You are willing to lead a Tamil separatist movement, but you believe that your best shot at economic development and security is to stick with India. Your best negotiating tool, however, is a credible threat to leave. The Malayali leader is similarly minded and an alliance may be useful. The world is watching the Indian independence experiment with skepticism and the North Indian nationalists do not want to be embarrassed by the break-up of British India into many small countries. They also are likely motivated by the power they will have if they control much of South Asia and without the need to protect against myriad security threats. If you decide to leave, or if you decide to rally Tamils through street protests, you must notify the professor.

South Indian Malayali Leader

Your major issues are language and ideology. The Independence movement has largely been centered in North India and is dominated by North Indian senses of nationalism. Many have suggested the need for a national language. The obvious choice to Nehru, Gandhi and Patel, is Hindi. English also makes sense from a pragmatic point of view, but you and many South Indians are quite proud of your language, culture and heritage. You worry about how all three will be affected if Malayali areas remain in India. You are willing to lead a Malayali separatist movement, but you believe that your best shot at economic development and security is to stick with India. Your best negotiating tool, however, is a credible threat to leave. The Tamil leader is similarly minded and an alliance may be useful. The world is watching the Indian independence experiment with skepticism and the North Indian nationalists do not want to be embarrassed by the break-up of British India into many small countries. They also are likely motivated by the power they will have if they control much of South Asia and don't face imminent security threats. You would be willing, however, to be less insistent about language if you are able to secure a promise that the central government will create a Malayali-dominant state and not interfere in what will likely be locally Communist politics. You should be aware though, that this is also something the nationalists are keen to avoid. Already the world is polarizing along Communist and anti-Communist lines and few leaders want to be caught up in the debate. In order to assure autonomy for a Malayali-dominant state, you will require a development budget of at least Rs. 300 lakh. If you decide to leave, or if you decide to rally Malayalis through street protests, you must notify the professor.

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