UNIVERSITY OF DELHI

MASTER OF ARTS (POLITICAL SCIENCE)

(Semester based Course)

Rules, Regulations and Course Contents

Semester I   - Nov./Dec. Examination 2010
Semester II - April/May Examination 2011
Semester III - Nov./Dec. Examination 2011
Semester IV - April/May Examination 2012

M.A. (Political Science syllabus as per revised course structure to be effective from Academic year 2010-11 and onwards

Syllabus of optional papers added to MA Political Science

Optional Paper No. 31

Religion, Reform and Religious Nationalism in Modern India

Objective: The paper will examine the ways in which religion has been imbricated in movements of reform and nationalism. It will study new areas and modes of religious thought. Individual thinkers will be seen as points of anchorage to explore more general issues. The list of suggested readings is designed to generate critical thought about the large issues and not to limit the paper to the study of discrete thinkers alone.

   I.   **The Gender Question; Vedanta: Rammohon Roy.**
  II.   **Critique of Orthodoxy Dayanand Saraswati.**
 III.   **Modernising Islam: Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan.**
  IV.   **Hinduism and Hindu Nationalism: Bankim Chatterjee, Vivekananda and Savarkar.**
   V.   **Nationalism and the Pan Islamic Ummah: Muhammad Iqbal, A.K Azad, Maududi.**
  VI.   **Dalit Theology: Ambedkar.**

Readings:

A. Jalal, *Self and Sovereignty: Individual and Community in South Asian Islam since 1950*, New Delhi: Oxford, 2001.

A. Raghuramraju ed., *Debating Vivekananda: A Reader*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Amiya Sen, *Rammohon Roy: A Critical Biography*, New Delhi; Penguin Books, 2012.

Dermot Killingley, *Rammohon Roy in Hindu and Christian Tradition: The Teape Lectures* 1990, Newcastle upon Tyne: Grevatt and Grevatt, 1993.

Iqbal Singh Sevea, *The Political Philosophy of Muhammad Iqbal*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Johannes Beltz, and S Jondhale, eds., *Reconstructing the World: B.R. Ambedkar and Buddhism in India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2004.

M.Hasan ed., *Islam and Indian Nationalism: Reflections of Abul Kalam Azad*, New Delhi: 1992.

Peter Hardy, *The Muslims of British India*, Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 1972.

Roy Jackson, *Maulana Mawdudi and Political Islam: Authority and the Islamic State*, Routledge, 2010.

S. Clarke, D. Manchal, P.V. Peacock, eds., *Dalit Theology in the Twenty-Century: Discordant Voices, Dissenting Pathways*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Shruti Kapila, Feisal Devji eds., *Political Thought in Action: The Bhagavad Gita and Modern India* (Ch.8), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Tanika Sarkar, *Rebels, Wives, Saints: Designing Selves and Nations in Colonial times*, Ranikhet Cantt: Permanent Black, 2011.

Vinay Lal ed., *Political Hinduism: The Religious Imagination in Public Spheres* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2009.

William Radice ed., *Swami Vivekananda and the modernization of Hinduism*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Optional Paper No. 32

Gandhi, Autonomy and Discourse

Objective: To capture the Gandhi's social and political ideas, the course revolves around the Gandhian texts which are easily available. Although these ideas are historical since they evolved in a particular era of human history they are also cosmological given their transcendental application and importance in articulating a powerful voice of protest in various parts of the globe. It is simply not possible to comprehend the entire gamut of Gandhian thinking in a course. Hence this course draws on a selective set of ideas that Gandhi articulated to mobilize an unarmed section of humanity against perhaps the most powerful colonial power in the entire course of human history. Structurally, the course focuses on: transformation of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi from MK Gandhi to Gandhi: the South African sojourn – intellectual roots of Gandhi's socio-political and economic ideas – endeavour at providing an alternative method of political struggle which was shaped in the wake of 1918-19 Champaran, Kheda and Ahmedabad Satyagrahas.- recreating a space for organized politics drawing upon indigenous sources of inspiration, major themes in his socio-political and economic ideas.

I. **Critique of modern civilization**
II. **Swaraj and Swadeshi**
III. **Ahimsa or the creed of non-violence**
IV. **Mass movements – civil disobedience or Satyagraha, in Gandhi's vocabulary**
V. **Feminism and gender-based ideas**
VI. **Caste and untouchability**
VII. **Socialism and trusteeship**
VIII. **Nation, nationalism and national identity**
IX. **Communal harmony and multiculturalism**

Readings:

Anthony J Parel ed., *Hind Swaraj and Other Writings*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Bidyut Chakrabarty ed., *Nonviolence: Challenges and Prospects*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Bidyut Chakrabarty, *Confluence of Thought: Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King Jr*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2013.

Bidyut Chakrabarty, *Social and Political Thought of Mahatma Gandhi*, Routledge, New York, 2006.

BR Nanda, *In Search of Gandhi: Essays and Reflections*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Claude Markovits, *The UnGandhian Gandhi: the Life and Afterlife of the Mahatma*, London: Anthem Press, 2005.

David Hardiman, *Gandhi in His Time and Ours*, New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2003.

EMS Namboodiripad, *The Mahatma and the Ism*, New Delhi: PPH, 1959.

Erik H Erikson, *Gandhi's Truth: on the Origins of Militant Nonviolence*, New York: WW Norton & CO, 1969.

Hiren Mukherjee, *Gandhiji: a Study*, New Delhi: PPH, 1991 (4th edition).

Joan V Bondurant, *Conquest of Violence: the Gandhian Philosophy of Conflict*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971.

Lloyd I Rudolph and Susanne Hoeber Rudolph, *Post-modern Gandhi and Other Essays: Gandhi in the World and at Home*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2006.

Martin B Steger, *Gandhi's Dilemma: Nonviolent Principles and Nonviolent Power*, New York: St. Martin Press, 2000.

MK Gandhi, *An Autobiography or the Story of My Experiments with Truth*, Ahmedabad: Navajivan, 1948.

MK Gandhi, *Satyagraha in South Africa*, Ahmedabad: Navajivan, 1972.

MK Gandhi, *The Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule*, Ahmedabad: Navajivan, 1938.

Raghavan Iyer, *The Moral and Political Thought of Mahatma Gandhi*, New York: Oxford University, 1973.

Richard Gregg, *The Power of Nonviolence*, Ahmedabad: Navajivan, 1960.

Roanld J Tarchek, *Gandhi: Struggling for Autonomy*, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 1998.

Sabyasachi Bhattacharya ed., *The Mahatma and the Poet: Letters and Debates Between Gandhi and Tagore, 1915-1941*, New Delhi: National Book Trust, 1997.

Optional Paper No. 33

Ambedkar in Contemporary India

Objective: This course is proposed to introduce Ambedkar's ideas, thoughts and their relevance in contemporary India. To creatively engage students with the existing social concerns, state and economic structures and other (non) institutional mechanisms/paradigms of dominance and emancipation; it is essential to approach Ambedkar beyond his contextual and clichéd readings. Ambedkar's textual, contextual, symbolic, discursive, creative and emancipatory methods and contents explore substantial questions of state, society and governance in contemporary India.

I.   **Introducing Ambedkar**
   a. Philosophical Groundings of Ambedkar's thought and Ideas

II. **Nation and Constitutional Democracy**
   a. Nation, Nationalism and inclusive Citizenship
   b. Constitutionalism and Democracy

III. **Political Vision and State Institutions**
   a. Rights and Representations
   b. Organs of State and Relations: Executive, Legislature, Judiciary

IV. **Economy and Class Question**
   a. Planning and Development
   b. Land and Labor

V.   **Religion and Emancipation**
   a. Philosophy of Religion
   b. Buddhism and Conversion

VI. **Women's Question**
   a. Inter-sectionality between Caste, Religion and Patriarchy
   b. Universal Civil Code and Hindu Code Bill

VII. **Caste and Social Order**
   a. Caste, Untouchability and the Critique of Hindu Social Order
   b. Ways to Annihilate Caste

VIII. **Contemporary Concerns, Contradictions and Debates**

Readings:

Aishwary Kumar, *Ambedkar's Inheritances, Modern Intellectual History, Vol.7*, pp. 391-415, 2010.

Anand Teltumbde and Shoma Sen eds., Caste Question in India, in *Scripting the Change, Selected Writings of Anuradha Gandhi*, Delhi: Daanish Books, 2013.

Anupama Rao ed., *Gender and Caste: Issues in Contemporary Indian Feminism*, New Delhi: Kali for Women and Women Unlimited. 2006.

Anupama Rao, Sexuality and the Family Form, *Economic and Political Weekly* 40 (8), 2005.

Arun Shourie, *Worshipping False Gods: Ambedkar and the Facts that have Been Erased*, India: Harper Collins, 2012.

B R Ambedkar, *Philosophy of Hinduism*, New Delhi: Critical Quest, 2010.

B. R Ambedkar, *Babasaheb Ambedkar Writing and Speeches, Vol. 1*, Maharashtra: Education Department Government of Maharashtra, 1979.

B. R Ambedkar, *Babasaheb Ambedkar Writing and Speeches.Vol. 13*. Maharashtra: Education Department Government of Maharashtra, 2005.

B. R Ambedkar, Dr. Ambedkar and the Hindu Code Bill, *Babasaheb Ambedkar Writing and Speeches. Vol. 14, Part I, II,* Maharashtra: Education Department Government of Maharashtra, 1995.

B. R Ambedkar, Who Were the Shudras? How they came to be the Fourth Varna in the Indo-Aryan Society Vol. 7, *The Untouchables: Who Were They and Why they Became Untouchables?* Babasaheb Ambedkar Writing and Speeches, Education Department Government of Maharashtra, Vol. 1, 1990.

B. R. Ambedkar, *Ambedkar's Speech on Draft Constitution in the CAD Vol. 7*, (Nov. 8, 1948). BSW&S, Vol. 13, p. 321, 2005.

B. R. Ambedkar, Buddha and His Dhamma, *Babasaheb Ambedkar Writing and Speeches. Vol. 11*. Maharashtra: Education Department Government of Maharashtra, 2010.

B. R. Ambedkar, *Castes in India: Their Mechanism, Genesis and Development*. New Delhi: Critical Quest, 2013.

Brajranjan Mani, *Debrahmanising History: Dominance and Resistance in Indian Society*, Delhi: Manohar, 2011.

Debjani Ganguly, History's Implosions: A Benjaminian Reading of Ambedkar, *Journal of Narrative Theory* 32 (3), pp. 326-347, 2002.

Eleanor Zelliot, *Ambedkar's Conversion,* Delhi: Critical Quest, 2013.

Francisco Jesús and Cháirez-Garza, Touching Space: Ambedkar on the Spatial Features of Untouchability, London: Routledge, available at, http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/ccsa20, 2014.

G Aloysius, *Nationalism without a Nation in India*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Gail Omvedt, *Liberty Equality and Community: Dr. Ambedkar's Vision of New Social Order*, Delhi: Navyana Publication, 2013.

Gail Omvedt, *Seeking Begampura*, Delhi: Navyana Publication, Delhi, 2011.

Gail Omvedt, *Understanding Caste: From Buddha to Ambedkar and Beyond*, Delhi: Orient Black Swan, 2011.

Guru, Gopal. Appropriating Ambedkar, *Economic and Political Weekly* 26 (27/28), pp. 1697-1699, 1991.

Jotirao Phuley, *Slavery*, New Delhi: Critical Quest, 2008.

M. S. Gore, *The Social Context of an Ideology: Ambedkar's Political and Social Thought*, Delhi: Sage Publication, 1993.

Pundita Ramabai, *The High Caste Hindu women*. New Delhi: Critical Quest, 2013.

Ronki Ram, Dr. Ambedkar, Neo Liberal Market-Economy and Social Democracy in India, *Human Rights Global Focus*, 5 (384), pp. 12-38, available at roundtableindia.co.in (Part-I, II) 2010.

Sharmila Rege, *Against the Madness of Manu: B. R. Ambedkar's Writings on Brahmanical Patriarchy*, Delhi: Navyana Publication, 2013.

Sukhdeo Thorat and Aryama, *Ambedkar in Retrospect: Essays on Economics, Politics and Society*, New Delhi: Rawat publications, 2007.

Sumit Sarkar and Tanika Sarkar ed., *Women and Reform in Modern India: A Reader. Vol. II*. Ranikhet: Permanent Black Publisher, 2007.

Valerian Rodrigues, *The Essential Writings of B. R. Ambedkar*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Dalit - Bahujan Political Thought

Objective: This course will focus on the political thoughts of dalit-bahujan thinkers in India. So far the pedagogy has remained exclusive to the various egalitarian ideas put forward by dalit-bahuj thinkers. Still caste, community, religion and gender are the major categories on which society is being governed. A complete understanding of the society its, evolution and transformation needs to unfold the dalit-bahujan thinkers whose ideas and thought rendered inclusive and egalitarian. Their ideas have contemporary relevance to the wider extent. Their ideas has remained confined as a critic and radical thinking of past times, but this course brings in a complete historical presence of egalitarian thought since the ancient time to modern, Budhha to Kanshi Ram.

    I.   **Buddha**
    II.   **Ravidas**
    III.   **Kabir**
    IV.   **Jyotiba Phule**
    V.   **Ambedkar**
    VI.   **Periyar**
    VII.   **Tarabai Shinde**
    VIII.   **Kanshi Ram**

Readings:

B R Ambedkar, *Caste in India*, Panjab: Patrika Publications, 1916.

B R Ambedkar, *Who Were the Shudra and Why They have Become Untouchables*, available at http://www.ambedkar.org/ambcd/39A.Untouchables%20who%20were%20they_why%20they%20became%20PART%20I.htm#pr, accessed: 5 June 2015.

B. R. Ambedkar, *Annihilation of Caste*, available at http://www.ambedkar.org/ambcd/02.Annihilation%20of%20Caste.htm, accessed on % June 2015.

Callewaert and Friedlander, *The Life and Works of Ravidass Ji*, Delhi: Manohar, 1992.

G. Aloysius eds. *Lakshmi Narasu, Religion of Modern Buddhist*, Delhi: Wordsmiths, 2002.

G. P Deshpande eds., *Selected works of Jyotirao Phule*, Delhi: LeftWord, 2002.

G. P. Deshpande ed., Slavery, in Selected works of Jyotirao Phule, New Delhi: LeftWord, 2002.

Gail Omvedt, *Seeking Begumpura: the Social Vision of Anti-Caste Intellectuals*, Delhi: Navyana, 2008.

Kancha Illaiah, *God as Political Philosopher: Buddhism's Challenge to Brahminism,* Calcutta: Samya, 2000.

M. S. S. Pandian, *Brahmin and Non-Brahmin: Geneology of Tamil Political Present*, Ranikhet: Permanent Black, 2007.

Mirabai, V.K. Subramanian, *Mystic Songs of Meera*, Delhi: Abhinav, 2006.

Rabindranath Tagore (Translated), *Songs of Kabir*, avavilable at www.globalgrey.co.uk/songs-of-kabir/, accessed: 5 June 2015, 1915.

Ram Kanshi, *Chamcha Yug*, Delhi: Gautam Book Centre, 2008.

Rosalind O'Hanlon, *Caste, Conflict and ideology: Mahatma Jyotirao Phule and Low Caste protest in Nineteenth Century Western India*, Hyderabad: Orient Longman, 1995.

Rosalind O'Hanlon, *For the Honour of My Sister Countrywomen: Tarabai Shinde and the Critique of Gender Relations in Colonial India*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994.

Tarabai Shinde, Stripurushtulana (Translated by Maya Pandit), in S. Tharu and K. Lalita eds., *Women writing in India. 600 B.C. to the present, Volume I: 600 B.C. to the Early 20th century*, The City University of New York, New York: The Feminist Press, 1882.

V. Gita and S. V. Rajdurai, Towards Non-Brahmin Millennium: Iyothee Thass to Periyar. Calcutta: Samya, 1998.

Optional Paper No. 35

Contemporary Explorations in Tagore's Ideas and Actions.

Objective: This course will introduce the student to a multi-disciplinary study of Tagore's ideas and institutional practices. By studying the relative singularity of Tagore's positions amongst the other iconic figures of nationalism, the course will probe the boundaries of nationalist thought and the possibilities that are imagined and practiced beyond these. The student will be required to engage in intensive studies of selected texts of Tagore and discuss these in the light of recent commentaries drawn from different disciplinary backgrounds.

    I.   **Nationalism, Cosmopolitanism and Tagore's thought**
    II.   **Tagore's Theology**
    III. **Viswa Bharati and the concept of a global institution**
    IV. **Theories of Pedagogy**
    V.   **Debates between Gandhi and Tagore**
    VI. **Gender Questions in Tagore's literary and discursive works**

Readings.

Tagore's Works

1. Gitanjali.
2. Ghare Baire
3. Gora
4. Strir Patra
5. Nationalism.
6. The Religion of Man.
7. The Centre of Indian Culture

Readings:

Amiya P.Sen ed., *Religion and Rabindranath Tagore: Select Discourses, Addresses and Letters in Translation*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Chinmoy Sehanavis, *Tagore and the World*, Kolkata: Bibliophil, 2012, (first pub. 1961)

H.B. Mukherjee, *Education for Fullness: A Study of the Educational Thought and Experiment of Rabindranath Tagore*, New Delhi: Routledge, 2013 (first. pub.1962).

Kathleen M.O'Connell and Joseph T.O'Connell eds., *Rabindranath Tagore: Reclaiming a Cultural Icon*, Calcutta: Vishwa Bharti, 2009

Martha C. Nussbaum, *Political Emotions: Why Love Matters for Justice*, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press, 2013.

P.K. Datta, *Heterogeneities: Identity formations in Modern India* (Ch. 9), New Delhi: Tulika Books, 2010.

Partha Chatterjee, *Lineages of Political Society,* Ranikhet Cantt: Permanent Black, 2011.

S.K. Das, *A History of Indian Literature 1911-1956: A Struggle for Freedom: Triumph and Tragedy*, New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1995.

Sabyasachi Bhattacharya ed., *The Mahatma and the Poet: Letters and Debates between Gandhi and Tagore 1915-1941,* New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 2011 (first pub.1997)

Sudhir Kakkar, *Young Tagore: The makings of a Genius*, Gurgaon: Penguin Books, 2013.

Sumit Sarkar, *Swadeshi Movement in Bengal: 1903-1908*, Ranikhet Cantt, Permanent Black, 2010 (first .pub. 1973).

Swati Ganguly and Abhijit Sen, eds., *Rabindranath Tagore and the Nation: Essays in Politics, Society and Culture*, Kolkata: Punascha in association with Viswa Bharati, 2011.

<p style="text-align:center">Optional Paper No. 36</p>

<p style="text-align:center">Discourses on Hindu Nationalism</p>

Objective: Hindu Nationalism over the last few decades has emerged as one of the major discourses in Indian Politics. The idea of modern Hindu nationalism emerged since 1870s, after the failure of 1857. The core issues revolved around nationalism, religious conversion, cow protection, identity questions and social reforms. The debates on Hindu Nationalism focussed primarily on the writings of Sawarkar and Golwalkar, while adequate attention was not paid to the writings of several other political thinkers of the 19th and 20th century. The purpose of this course is to familiarize the students with the original writings of thinkers who have contributed to the discourse on Hindu nationalism in order to understand its basic premises and core issues.

I. **Hindu Nationalism: Core Premises and Issues**
II. **Dayanand Saraswati**
III. **Bankimchandra Chatterjee**
IV. **Aurobindo**
V. **Vivekananda**
VI. **Bipin Chandra Pal**
VII. **Gandhi**
VIII. **V D Savarkar**
IX. **Golwalkar**
X. **Deendayal Upadhyay**
XI. **Hindu Nationalism in Contemporary India**

Readings:

Aurobindo, *On Nationalism*, Sri Aurobindo Ashram: Pondicherry, 1996.

B. K. Bhattacharya ed., *India's Freedom Movement: Legacy of Bipin Chandra Pal*, New Delhi: Deep & Deep. 2007.

Bhabatosh Datta, *Resurgent Bengal: Rammohun, Bankimchandra, Rabindranath*, Calcutta: Minerva Associates Pvt. Ltd., 2000.

Bipin Chandra Pal, The Spirit of Nationalism, reprinted in Elie Kedourie Elie ed., *Nationalism in Asia and Africa,* London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1971.

Chetan Bhatt, *Hindu Nationalism*: *Origins, Ideologies and Modern Myths*, Oxford: Beg, 2001.

Christophe Jaffrelot, *Hindu nationalism: A Reader*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2007.

Dayanand Saraswati, *Satyarth Prakash: The Light of Truth*, New Delhi: Sarvadeshik Arya Pratinidhi Sabha. 1882.

Deen Dayal Upadhyay, *Political Diary*, New Delhi: Suruchi Prakashan, 1968.

Devendra Swaroop ed., *Deen Dayal Upadhya's Integral Humanism*, New Delhi: DRI, 1992.

Dhananjay Keer, *Veer Savarkar,* Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1966.

Gyanendra Pandey, *Routine Violence: Nations*, *Fragments, Histories*, Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2006.

Jose Kuruvachira, *Hindu Nationalists of Modern India: A critical Study of Genealogy of Hindutva*, New Delhi: Rawat Publication, 2006.

Jyotirmaya Sharma, *Hindutva: Exploring the Idea of Hindu Nationalism*, 3rd edition, India: Penguin Books, 2011.

M. K. Gandhi, Hinduism, *Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, Delhi: National Book Trust, available at www.new1.dli.ernet.in/mkg/m**gandhi**.htm/,www.**gandhis**erve.org/e/cwmg/cwmg.htm, accessed: 15 June 2015.

M.S. Golwalkar, *Bunch of Thought*, Bangalore: Jagaran Prakashan & Suruchi Prakashan, Delhi. 1980.

Samya and M. K. Haldar, *Renaissance and Reaction in Nineteenth Century Bengal: Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay* (Translation of Bengali Essay), Calcutta: Minerva Associates. 1977.

Shamita Basu, *Religious Revivalism as Nationalist Discourse: Swami Vivekanand and New Hinduism in Nineteenth Century Bengal*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002.

V D Savarkar, *Hindutva*, Bombay: Veer Savarkar Prakashan, 1969.

Optional Paper No. 37

Social Conservatism in India

Objective: India is a society where social conservatives have often passed off as anti-colonial and hence 'radical' - for example, sections of the Swadeshi movement. Opposing the colonial state and its intervention was part of defending the 'inner private/spiritual domain', a domain which also included 'women' and 'home' or domesticity. This had another consequence: the supposedly underdeveloped free market conservatism, partly expressed in the Swantantra Party, which never really took off. Often ignored, this crucial dimension and its impact in political life will be explored in this course.

This course intends to bring together different strands of conservative thought across the political spectrum.

    I.   **Edmund Burke and conservative political thought**

   II.   **Anti-colonial Hindu revivalism:**

        a. Bankim Chatterji

        b. Tilak and karma-yoga

 III.   **Religion**

        a. 'Way of life': Dharma

        b. Rationalist: Ambedkar's Navayana

 IV.   **Atheism and rationalism as socio-political critique**

   V.   **Communists and Hindu social order**

 VI.   **Free market anti-statism:**

        a. Minoo Masani and the Swatantra Party

        b. Rajaji and Indian conservative thought

Readings:

Ariel Glucklich, Conservative Hindu Response To Social Legislation In 19th Century India, *Journal of Asian History*, 20, (1), pp. 33-53, 1986.

B.R. Ambedkar, *Budhha or Karl Marx*, New Delhi: Critical Quest, 2009.

B.R. Ambedkar, The Buddha and His Dhamma, available at: http://www.ambedkar.org/buddhism/BAHD/45A.Buddha%20and%20His%20Dhamma%20PART%20I.htm, accessed: 5.5.2015.

Bankim Chatterjee, Samya: An Essay on Equality, 1879.

Bhagat Singh, *Why I am an Atheist*? New Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1994.

C. Rajagopalachari, *Hinduism: Doctrine and Way of Life*, New Delhi: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1959.

Debiprasad Chattopadhyay, *Indian Atheism*, New Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1969.

Dilip Menon, *Blindness of Insight: Essays on Caste in Modern India*, New Delhi: Navanya, 2006.

Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the French Revolution*, London: J.M Dent and Son, 1953.

Howard L. Erdman, Conservatism in India, *Journal of Contemporary History*, 13, (4), A Century of Conservatism, pp. 791-802, 1978.

Howard L. Erdman, Conservative Politics in India, *Asian Survey*,6, (6), pp. 338-347, 1966.

Johannes Quack, *Disenchanting India: Organized Rationalism and Criticism of Religion in India*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Kalpatru Maharaj, Ramrajya aur Marxbad.

Minoo Masani, *Our India*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1940.

Nandan Nilekani, *Imagining India: The Idea of a Renewed Nation*, New Delhi: Penguin, 2010.

Partha Shah, Milton Friedman on India, New Delhi: Centre for Civil Society, 2000.

Rahul Sankrityayan, *Buddhism: The Marxist View*: New Delhi, People's Publishing House, 1970.

Rahul Sankrityayan, Marxbad aur Ramrajya.

Ramachandra Guha, Where are India's Conservative Intellectuals? *The Caravan*, 1 March 2015.

S. G. Sardesai, Dr. Ambedkar and the Emancipation of the Scheduled Castes, *Mainstrem* 35 (19), 1997.

S. Radhakrishnan, *The Hindu View of Life*, *Upton Lectures*, London: George Allen & Unwin, 1926.

Shamita Basu, *Religious Revivalism as Nationalist Discourse: Swami Vivekananda and New Hinduism in Nineteenth Century Bengal*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Tanika Sarkar, *Hindu Wife, Hindu Nation: Community, Religion and Cultural Nationalism*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001.

Tilak, *Shrimad Bhagvad Gita Rashsya*, (Eng Trans), Poona: R.B. Tilak, 1&2, 1935 & 1936.

Optional Paper No. 38
Indian Polity in State-Society Interaction since the 1960s

Objective: This course aims at studying Indian politics within the discourse of state-society relationship through a historical unraveling of major developments in Indian politics since the decade of 1960s. The intent of this course is to see how India provides a unique model in which the political is enmeshed in the wider social, economic and cultural matrix. This course takes up a range of themes to study political processes and their sociological underpinnings namely, emergency, coalitional politics, reservation debates, social movements, neo-liberal economic policies, etc.

I. **The chaotic decade of the 1960s**

II. **The national level coalition government in 1977 at the backdrop of the 1975-77 internal Emergency**

III. **Challenges of the 1990s – redefining social contour of Indian politics**

IV. **The study of India's distinctive coalition experiments (in the wake of the NDA and the UPA)**

V. **Changing texture of Indian politics in the neo-liberal context, especially following the official endorsement of neo-liberal economic policies in 1991**

VI. **The consolidation of Maoism in India**

VII. **The failure of the conventional left, especially the major communist parties in India**

VIII. **Three major forces of colonialism, nationalism and democracy shaping the political in India**

Readings:

Bidyut Chakrabarty, *Indian politics and society since independence*, London & New York: Routledge, 2008.

Bidyut Chakrabarty, *Forging Power: coalition politics in India,* Delhi and New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Bidyut Chakrabarty and Rajat Kujur, *Maoism in India*, London & New York: Routledge, 2010.

Bidyut Chakrabarty, *Communism in India*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Rahul Mukherji, *Globalization and Deregulation: ideas, interests and institutional change in India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Sumantra Bose, *Transforming India: challenges to the world's largest democracy*, India: Picador, 2013.

Atul Kohli, *Poverty amid plenty in the new India*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Rob Jenkins, Loraine Kennedy and Partha Mukhopadhyay eds., *Power, policy and protest: the politics of India's Special Economic Zones*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Zoya Hasan, *Politics of Inclusion: castes, minorities and affirmative action*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Aseema Sinha, *The regional roots of developmental politics in India: a divided leviathan*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Stuart Corbridge and John Harriss, *Reinventing India: liberalization, Hindu Nationalism and Popular Democracy*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Rajesh M Basur, ed., *Challenges to Democracy in India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Lloyd I. Rudolph and Susanne H. Rudolph, *Explaining Indian Democracy* (three volumes), New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Stuart Corbridge, John Harriss and Craig Jeffrey, *India: economy, politics and society*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Optional Paper No. 39

State Politics in India

Objective: Politics in each state has its own internal dynamics, and it is different from others, multifacetedly. It has undergone significant transformation over the decades since the formation of states in terms of social structure, their power relations, electoral participation on the one hand and political governance and economic development on the other. This course attempts to examine the commonalities, diversities and perspectives to study state politics in India. It also seeks to examine the changing role of caste, class and community and their impact on state politics, particularly in the context of global market economy.

I. **State Politics: Perspectives and Approaches**
   a. Institutional
   b. Political Economy
   c. Cultural - diversities

II. **Patterns of State Formation**
   a. Administrative Units
   b. Linguistic and Identity Formation
   c. Developmental

III. **Power and Participation**
   a. Changing Centre-State Relations
   b. Party Politics and Coalition Governments
   c. Mobilizations and Movements

IV. **Development and Governance**
   a. Empowering the 'Local'
   b. Public Policies and their Implementation
   c. Varying Developmental Patterns: Some Case Studies (Jammu and Kashmir, Mizoram, Kerala, Gujarat, and Madhya Pradesh)

V. **Globalization and States**
   a. State and Investment
   b. Uneven Development

Readings:

Achin Vanaik, Is There a Nationality Question in India, *Economic and Political Weekly,* 23 (44), 1988.

Amaresh Bagchi and John Kurian, Regional Inequalities in India: Pre- and Post-Reform Trends and Challenges for Policy, in Jos Mooij ed., *The Politics of Economic Reforms in India,* New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2005.

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Himanshu Roy, Regional Business and Federalism in India, *Journal of Parliamentary Studies,* Government of Kerala 2 (1), Jan-June, 2011.

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Rob Jenkins, *Regional Reflections: Comparing Politics across India's States*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Sanjaya Baru, Economic Policy and the Development of Capitalism in India: The Rise of Regional Capitalists and Political Parties, in Francine R Frankel *et al*, *Transforming India: Social and Political Dynamics of Democracy*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Sudha Pai ed., *Handbook of Politics in Indian States: Region, Parties, and Economic Reforms*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Sudipto Mundle, Pinaki Chakraborty *et al*, The Quality of Governance: How Indian States Have Performed? *Economic and Political Weekly*, 47 (49), 2012.

Yogendra Yadav, Understanding the Second Democratic Upsurge: Trends of Bahujan Participation in Electoral Politics in the 1990s, in Francine R Frankel *et al*, *Transforming India: Social and Political Dynamics of Democracy*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Zoya Hasan ed., *Politics and the State in India*, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2000.

Identities and Political Transformation in India

Objective: This course explores various facets of the politics of identity in India. It analyses the consequences of colonial rule for identity-formation, and colonialism's shaping of the identity-based conflicts that were to later emerge in the postcolonial phase. It examines how the politics of nationalism affected, and was itself affected by, the politics of caste, class, religion and gender. It probes the efforts made by the postcolonial state to deal with cultural difference and conflict, and historically deep ascriptive inequalities, focusing specifically on the legal and institutional innovations adopted in this regard. Identities are moulded not just by state processes, but also by political mobilization undertaken in electoral arenas and outside; the course thus explores the interaction between identities on the one hand, and movement and party politics on the other. Also looking at the relationship between identity politics and collective violence, it ends with a focus on globalization, and the consequences it has had for caste- and class-based politics in India.

I.   **Identities and Colonial Rule**
   a.   Colonialism, caste, tribe and religion

II.   **The National Movement, Partition and Identity Politics**
   a.   Indian nationalism and the question of caste
   b.   Women and the nationalist movement
   c.   Peasants and Indian nationalism
   d.   Muslim identity and the Pakistan movement

III.   **The Legal and Institutional Treatment of Cultural Diversity and Ascriptive Inequality in Postcolonial India**
   a.   Caste and affirmative action
   b.   Secularism and the recognition of personal law
   c.   Tribal autonomy and the Sixth Schedule

IV.   **Identities, Political Mobilization and Conflict**
   a.   The modernity of tradition : identities in practice
   b.   Identities and electoral politics : caste-based and religion-based parties ; nativist parties
   c.   Identities and movement politics : tribal and linguistic movements
   d.   The struggle for gender rights

e. Identities and collective violence

V. Globalization and Identity Politics

  (a) The emergence and politics of the new middle class

  (b) The dalit movement in the era of globalization

  (c) Globalization and labour

Readings :

Amita Baviskar, 'Red in Tooth and Claw? : Searching for Class in Struggles over Nature,' in Raka Ray and Mary Katzenstein eds., *Social Movements in India: Poverty, Power and Politics*, Rowman and Littlefield, Lanham, Maryland, pp. 161-178, 2005.

Amita Baviskar, The Politics of Being 'Indigenous, in Bengt G. Karlsson and Tanka B. Subba eds. *An Anthropologist Among Historians and Other Essays*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, pp. 224-254, 1987.

Anand Teltumbde, *Globalization and the Dalits*, Sanket Prakashan, Nagpur, 2001.

B.L. Hansaria, *Sixth Schedule to the Constitution*, New Delhi: Universal Law Publishing, 2011.

Christophe Jaffrelot, A Specific Party-Building Strategy: The Jana Sangh and the RSS Network in Zoya Hasan ed. *Parties and Party Politics in India,* Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp. 190-231, 2002.

Christophe Jaffrelot, The Rise of the Other Backward Classes in the Hindi Belt, *Journal of Asian Studies*, 59 (1), pp. 86-108, 2000.

Corbridge, Stuart, Competing Inequalities: the Scheduled Tribes and the Reservations System in India's Jharkhand, Journal *of Asian Studies*, 59 (1), 2000, pp. 62-85.

Francis Robinson, 'Islam and Muslim Separatism,' in Malcolm Yapp and David Taylor eds. *Political Identity in South Asia*, Curzon Press, London, 1979, pp. 78-112.

Gyanendra Pandey, Peasant Revolt and Indian Nationalism, in Ranajit Guha and Gayatri Chakraborty Spivak eds. *Selected Subaltern Studies*, New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 233-287, 1988.

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Jan Breman, *Outcast Labour in Asia: Circulation and Informalization of the Workforce at the Bottom of the Economy*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Kenneth Jones, Religious Identity and the Indian Census, in N. Gerald Barrier ed. *The Census in British India: New Perspectives*, New Delhi: Manohar, pp. 73-101, 1991.

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Marc Galanter, *Competing Equalities: Law and the Backward Classes in India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1984.

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Mary F. Katzenstein, *Ethnicity and Equality: The Shiv Sena Party and Preferential Policies in Bombay*, Cornell University Press, New York: Ithaca, 1979.

Mary John E. ed. *Women's Studies in India: A Reader*, Penguin, New Delhi, 2008.

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Narendra Subramanian , Making Family and Nation: Hindu Marriage Law in Early Postcolonial India, *Journal of Asian Studies* 69 (3), pp. 1-28, 2010.

Partha Chatterjee ed. *Wages of Freedom: Fifty Years of the Indian Nation-State*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Paul Brass, Elite Groups, Symbol Manipulation and Ethnic Identity among the Muslims of South Asia, in Brass, *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Theory and Comparison*, Newbury Park, California: Sage, pp. 75-108, 1991.

Paul Brass, *The Production of Hindu-Muslim Violence in Contemporary India*, Washington: University of Washington Press, 2003.

Peter Robb ed., *The Concept of Race in South Asia*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1998.

Rajeev Bhargava ed. *Politics and Ethics of the Indian Constitution*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Rajni Kothari, *Caste in Indian Politics,* Delhi: Orient Longman, 1970.

Rohini Hensman, *Workers, Unions and Global Capitalism: Lessons from India*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2011

S.K. Chaube, *Hill Politics in North East India*, New Delhi: Orient Longman, 1999.

Sangari, Kumkum and Sudesh Vaid eds., *Recasting Women: Essays in India's Colonial History*,

Sarangi, Asha ed., *Language and Politics in India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2009.

Sekhar Bandyopadhyay ed., *Nationalist Movement in India: A Reader,* New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Shiv Vishvanathan, Durban and Dalit Discourse, *Economic and Political Weekly* 36 (33), pp. 3123-3127, 2001.

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Steven I Wilkinson, *Votes and Violence: Electoral Competition and Ethnic Riots in India*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK, 2004.

Sudha Pai, ed., *Handbook of Politics in Indian States: Regions, Parties and Economic Reforms*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Thomas Blom Hansen & Christophe Jaffrelot eds. *The BJP and the Compulsions of Politics in India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Thomas Pantham, Against Untouchability: The Discourses of Gandhi and Ambedkar,' in Gopal Guru ed. *Humiliation: Claims and Context*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, pp.

179-208, 2011.

Optional Paper No. 41

Politics and Ethnic Conflicts in Jammu & Kashmir

Objective: The state of Jammu Kashmir has been a contested political space in the history of nation-making in India. The societal, political and ethnic specificities of the state provide an entry point into studying various debates and processes in politics in India. Through this course an attempt is being made to study Jammu and Kashmir in its historicity which engages with ideas about constitutionalism, federalism, electoral politics and political violence, etc.

I.   **State in Historical Perspective**
   a.   State and Society: A Historical Overview
   b.   Transition from Kingship to Constitutional Democracy

II.   **Constitution within the Constitution**
   a.   State Constitution and Governing Structures
   b.   Citizenship Rights
   c.   Debate on Article 370

III. **Political Parties and Electoral Politics**
   a.   Legitimacy of Elections and Politics of Representation
   b.   Demands for Delimitation of Electoral Constituencies
   c.   Identity Politics: Kashmiriyat, Communalism and Communal Politics

IV.   **Terrorism, Violence and Internal Migration**
   a.   Terrorism : Factors and Forces
   b.   Migration of Pandits from Valley
   c.   Debates and Controversies over Armed Forces Special Act, Issues in Human Rights

V.   **State Autonomy and Federal Questions**
   a.   Secessionism and Secessionist Politics
   b.   Political Economy of Insurgencies
   c.   Debates on State Autonomy

Readings:

A.G. Noorani, *Article 370: A Constitutional History of Jammu and Kashmir*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Abdul Haq, Azad Kashmir: Story of repression & Tyranny, *Kashmir Scene* (Srinagar) Vol. 1(6) Oct, 1966.

Ananya Jahanara Kabir, *Territory of Desire: Representing the Valley of Kashmir*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009.

Asghar Ali Engineer, Autonomy Only Solution, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 30 (35), pp. 2167-2168, 1995.

Ashutosh Varshney, Contested Meanings: India's National Identity, Hindu Nationalism, and the Politics of Anxiety , *Daedalus*, Summer, 1993.

B. Varma, *Insurgency and Counter-Terrorism*, New Delhi: Uppal Publishing House, 1988.

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DN, Kashmir and India, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 26 (34), pp. 1959-1961, 1991.

Reeta Chowdhari Tremblay, Kashmir's Secessionist Movement Resurfaces: Ethnic Identity, Community Competition, and the State, *Asian Survey*, Vol. 49 (6), pp. 924-950, University of California Press, 2009.

Jagmohan, *My Frozen Turbulence in Kashmir*, New Delhi: Allied Publishers Limited, 1991.

Karan Arakotaram, "The Rise of Kashmiriyat: People-Building in 20th Century Kashmir, *Columbia Undergraduate Journal of South Asian Studies*, Vol. 1(1), 2009.

M J Akbar, *Kashmir: Behind the Veil*, Delhi: Roli Books, 2002.

Navnita Chadha Behera , A Tangled Web: Jammu & Kashmir India, *International Centre Quarterly*, Vol. 37 (3/4), , pp. 80-89, (Winter 2010 - Spring 2011).

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Sumantra Bose, Kashmir: Sources of Conflict, Dimensions of Peace, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 34 (13), pp. 762-768, 1999.

Sumantra Bose, T*he Challenge in Kashmir: Democracy, self-determination and a Just Peace*, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1997.

Sumit Ganguly, *The Crisis in Kashmir: Portents of War, Hopes of Peace*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Optional Paper No. 42

Law, Crime, and Politics in India

Objective: In this course, the aim is to understand the relationship between law, crime, judicial interventions and political processes. The students will explore this relationship by asking questions about law's origins (viz., the colonial state, a nationalist elite, popular struggles), the plural sites in which struggles around laws takes place, and the manner in which legal categories are produced and contested. In this context, it also aims to problematize the notion of crime, by locating the historical and political contexts within which definitions of crime and its transformations take place. Specific laws, judgments which enhance the frontiers of law, and government reports form a significant content of the course. Law and judicial pronouncements have to be woven into the dynamics of Indian politics and examined in their specific historical context as well as for their enduring significance in the larger political process. The course will identify in particular, the social and political forces, political and ideological divides that frame the contours of the debates on crime and law, and the relationships between the governmental institutions.

    I. **Law, crime and colonialism**
   II. **The Constitution and rule of law**
  III. **Criminal justice system in India**
  IV. **Crimes against women: sexual harassment and rape**
   V. **Custodial crimes: death, rape and torture**
  VI. **Criminalisation of politics and electoral laws**
 VII. **Caste, atrocities and special laws**
VIII. **Terrorism and extraordinary laws**
  IX. **Offences against the state, waging war, conspiracy and sedition**

Readings:

A.G. Noorani, *Challenges to Civil Rights Guarantees in India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2012,

Akhilshwar Pathak, Law, Strategies, *Ideologies: Legislating Forests in Colonial India*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Andrew Altman, Arbitrary Government and the Rule of Law in *Arguing About Law: An Introduction to Legal Philosophy*, Boston: Wadsworth, pp.3-19, 1996.

Bernard S. Cohn, Law and the Colonial State in India in June Starr and Jane F.Collier, ed., *History and Power in the Study, New Directions in Legal Anthropology*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, pp.131-152, 1989.

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Flavia Agnes, Protecting Women against Violence? Review of a Decade of Legislation, 1980-1989 in Partha Chatterjee ed., *State and Politics in India*, Oxford University Press, pp.521-565, 1997, sixth impression 2004.

Gilles Tarabout and Ranabir Samaddar eds., *Conflict, Power and the Landscape of Constitutionalism,* London and New York: Routledge, 2008.

Girish Agrawal and Colin Gonsalves, Dalits and the Law, *Human Rights Law Network*, New Delhi, 2005.

Herman Schwendinger and Julia Schwendinger, Social Class and the Definition of Crime, in Tony Platt and Paul Takaji eds., *Crime and Social Justice*, London: Macmillan, 1981.

Jorg Fisch, *Cheap lives and Dear Limbs*, *The British Transformation of the Criminal law*. Wiesbaden, 1983.

Jorg Fisch, Law as a Means and as an End: Some Remarks on the Function of European and Non-European Law in Process of European Expansion, in W. J. Momsen and J.A. De Moor eds., *European Expansion and Law*, Oxford and New York: Berg, 1992.

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Kalpana Kannabiran, *Tools of Justice: Non-discrimination and Indian Constitution*, New Delhi: Routledge, 2012.

Kamala Sankaran and U.K. Singh, *Towards Legal Literacy: An Introduction to Law in India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2015.

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Manoranjan Mohanty *et al*, *Weapons of the Oppressed: Inventory of People's Rights in India*, Council for Social Development, Delhi, 2011.

Michael Head, *Crimes Against the State: From Treason to Terrorism*, Surrey: Ashgate, 2011.

Michael R. Anderson, Classifications and Coercions: Themes in South Asian Legal Studies in the 1980s, South Asia Research, 10 (2), pp.158-177, 1990.

Nandini Sundar, *Legal Grounds: Natural Resources, Identity and the Law in Jharkhand* (Chapters 1 and 8), Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2009.

Naseer Hussain, *The Jurisprudence of Emergency: Colonialism and the Rule of Law*, Ann Arbor: Michigan University Press, 2003.

Nivedita Menon, *Recovering Subversion: Feminist Politics Beyond the Law*, New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2004.

Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and its Fragments* (ch.2), New Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp.14-34, 1994.

Prakash Louis and R.Vashum, *Extraordinary Laws in India*, New Delhi: Indian Social Institute, 2002.

Pratiksha Baxi, *Public Secrets of Law: Rape Trials in India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Radhika Singha, *A Despotism of Law: Crime and Justice in Early Colonial India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Ranjit Guha, Chandra's Death in Ranajit Guha ed., *Subaltern Studies, Volume V*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 135-165, 1987, paperback ed., 1990.

Roger Cotterrell, *The Politics of Jurisprudence: A Critical Introduction to Legal Philosophy*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Satish Saberwal and Heiko Seivers ed, *Rules, Laws, Constitutions*, New Delhi: Sage, 1998.

Shahid Amin, Approver's Testimony, Judicial Discourse: The Case of Chauri Chaura in Partha Chatterjee and Gyanendra Pandey eds., *Subaltern Studies, Volume VII,* Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.166-202, 1992, 1993.

South Asia Human Rights Documentation Centre, *Oxford Handbook of Human Rights and Criminal Justice: The System and Procedure*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2011.

T.B. Macaulay *et al*, *The Indian Penal Code*, 1837, Higginbotham and Company, Madras, 1888.

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Ujjwal Kumar Singh, *The State, Democracy and Anti-Terror Laws in India*, New Delhi: Sage, 2007.

Upendra Baxi, Rule of Law in India: Theory and Practice, in Randall Peerenboom ed. *Asian Discourses of Rule of Law*, London and New York: Routledge, pp.324-345, 2004.

Upendra Baxi, *The Crisis of the Legal System in India*, Delhi: Vikas, 1982.

Upendra Baxi, Towards A Sociology of Indian Law, New Delhi: Satvahan, pp.125-130, 1986.

Optional Paper No. 43

The State in Diverse Political Traditions

Objective: States and state formation is a historical phenomenon. States have existed in diverse forms and even the 'modular' state-form of the European tradition has had plural trajectories. Debates on the modern state, however, continue to be influenced by the dominant western European intellectual tradition. This course aims at making the students familiar with the diverse forms in which historically states have existed and evolved. These historical forms will be studied through the specific ways in which political authority has taken form in different contexts, and also through the ways in which it understood and expressed in different socio-cultural and political traditions.

I.   **State as an analytical category**

II.   **European**

III.   **Chinese**

IV.   **Arab**

V.   **African**

VI.   **Latin American**

VII.   **Indian**

Readings:

Adeel Khan, *Politics of Identity: Ethnic Nationalism and the State in Pakistan*, New Delhi: Sage, 2005.

Barrington Moore Jr, *Social Origin of Democracy and Dictatorship: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World*, Harmondsworth, Penguin University Books, 1966.

Charles Tilly, Reflections on the History of European State-Making, in Charles Tilly ed., *The Formation of National States in Western Europe*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975, pp. 3-83.

Charles Tilly, Western State-Making and Theories of Political Transformation, in Charles Tilly ed., *The Formation of National States in Western Europe*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975, pp. 601-638.

David Collier, The New Authoritarianism in Latin America, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979.

David Held, The Development of the Modern State, in Stuart Hall and Bram Gieben, eds. *Formations of Modernity*, Cambridge, Polity Press, 1992.

David Shambaugh ed., *The Modern Chinese State*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Deng Zhenglai, *State and Civil Society: The Chinese Perspective*, World Scientific: Singapore, 2011.

Gregor McLennan, David Held and Stuart Hall eds., *The Idea of the Modern State*, Buckingham: Open University Press, 1984.

Henri J.M. Claessen, Peter Skalnik eds, T*he Study of the State*, The Hague: Mouton Publishers, 1981.

Jeffrey Herbst, *States and Power in Africa, Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2008.

John A. Hall ed., *States in History*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986.

John J. Breuilly, The State, in Alexander J. Motyl ed., *Encyclopedia of Nationalism, Vol. 1*, London: Academic Press, 2001, pp.769-792.

Laura Guazzone and Danila Pioppi, *Arab State and Neo-Liberal Globalization*: *The Restructuring of the State Power in Middle East*, Reading, UK: Ithaca Press, 2009.

Lisa Anderson, The State in the Middle East and North Africa, *Comparative Politics*, 20 (1), pp. 1-18, Published by: Ph.D. Program in Political Science of the City University of New York, 1987.

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Martin Carnoy, *The State and Political Theory*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984.
Miguel A Centeno and Augustin E. Ferraro, *State and Nation Making in Latin America and Spain*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Nazih N. Ayubi, *Over-Stating the Arab State: Politics and Society in the Middle East*, London: I B Tauris, 1995.

Quentin Skinner and Bo Strath eds, *States and Citizens: History, Theory, Prospects*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Quentin Skinner, The State, in T. Ball, *et al*. eds., *Political Innovation and Conceptual Change*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

R.S. Sharma, *Origin of the State in India*, Bombay: University of Bombay, 1989.

Samuel E. Finer, State and Nation Building in Europe: The Role of the Military, in Charles Tilly ed., *The Formation of National States in Western Europe*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975.

Theda Scokpol, *State and Social Revolutions, a Comparative Analysis of France, Russia and China*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979.

Thomas Pantham, Indian Nation State in Veen Das ed., *Oxford Handbook of Indian Sociology*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 2004.

Optional Paper No. 44

Society, State and Politics: Comparing Israel and India

Objective: This course seeks to examine the changing nature of society, state and politics in Israel and India. Rooted in parliamentary democracies, both Israel and India share many commonalities, notwithstanding diversities in their political set up, society and culture. The course focuses on issues and challenges that have shaped the democratic politics of these two nations, and examines the proposed models for the study of contemporary multicultural societies.

I. Nature of Society in Israel and India

    a. The concept of a multi-cultural society amid pluriculturism

    b. Israel and India as multi-ethnic Societies

    c. Democratic politics in a pluricultural milieu

II. State Structures and Institutions in Israel and India

    a. State Formation: A historical backdrop

    b. Parliamentary Democracy

    c. Politics of Autonomous Areas

    d. Nature of State

    e. State and Globalization.

III. Party Politics in Israel and India

    a. Working of the Locals

    b. Parties and Party Systems

    c. Coalition Politics

IV. Emerging Issues and Contemporary Challenges

Readings:

Asher Arian, N Atmor and Y Hadar, *Auditing Israeli democracy: Changes in Israel's Political Party System: Dealignment or Realignment?* Jerusalem: Israeli Democracy Institute, 2006.

Ashis Nandy, *et al*, *Creating a Nationality: The Ramjanmabhumi Movement and Fear of the Self*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Atul Kohli, *Democracy and Development in India: From Socialism to Pro-Business*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Bidyut Chakrabarty, *Forging Power: Coalition Politics in India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Charles S Liebman ed., *Religion, Democracy and Israeli Society*, Amsteldijk: Harwood, 1997.

Colin Shindler, *A History of Modern Israel*, 2nd Edition. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2013.

Dan Horowitz, and Moshe Lissak eds., *Trouble in Utopia: The Overburdened Polity of Israel*, Albany: The State University of New York Press, 1989.

Francine R Frankel *et al, Transforming India: Social and Political Dynamics of Democracy*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Lloyd I Rudolph and Susanne Hoeber Rudolph, *Explaining Indian Democracy: A Fifty Year Perspective, 1956-2006*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2008.

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Oren Yiftachel, Israeli Society and Jewish Palestinian Reconciliation: Ethnocracy and its Territorial Contradictions, *Middle East Journal* 51(4), 1997.

Rajendra Vora and Suhash Palshikar eds., *Indian Democracy: Meanings and Practices*, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2004.

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Sammy Smooha, Ethnic Democracy: Israel as an Archetype, *Israel Studies* 2 (2), 1997.

Shmuel Noah Eisenstadt, *Israeli Society*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1967.

Suhas Palsikar and Rajendra Vora eds., *Indian Political Parties*, New Delhi: Sage, 2007.

Sunil K Choudhary, From Conciliation to Confrontation: Changing Civil Society-State Relations in Israel and India, *IASSI Quarterly* 32 (2), pp. 77-97, 2013

Uri Ram, *The Globalization of Israel: McWorld in Tel Aviv; Jihad in Jerusalem*, London and New York: Routledge, 2007.

Yael Yishai, Bringing Society Back In: Post Cartel Parties in Israel, *Party Politics*, 7 (6), 2001.

Yoav Peled, Ethnic Democracy and the Legal Construction of Citizenship: Arab Citizens of the Jewish State, *American Political Science Review* 86 (2), 1992.

Yogesh Atal, Managing Multiplicity: The Insider-Outsider Duality, *Economic and Political Weekly* 36 (36), 2001.

Yogesh Atal, *Sociology: A study of the Social Sphere* (Chapter 19), Delhi: Pearson, 2012.

Optional Paper No. 45

Religious Nationalism and Political Violence

Objective: This course will examine how religious ideologies, practices and institutions have been politically mobilized in the public spheres of South and Southeast Asia. The course will emphasize a multidisciplinary intersection of religion, politics and conflict in modern South and Southeast Asia, with a particular focus on the interrelationship between religious nationalism and political violence drawing from communal violence in India, Buddhist nationalism and civil war in Sri Lanka, and Islamic radicalism in Indonesia.

I. **Rethinking Key Concepts, Issues, Approaches and Arguments**
   a.   Understanding Religious Nationalism: Context and Debates
   b.   'Religion', Religious Nationalism and Globalisation
   c.   Religious Violence and communal conflicts

II. **India: Hindutva, Nation-Building and Contentious Communal Politics**
   a.   The social organization and production of collective violence
   b.   Violence and the religious remaking of masculinity and femininity
   c.   The politics of religious conversion
   d.   Violence and communal politics

III. **Sri Lanka: Sinhalese Buddhist Nationalism, Pluralism and Civil War**
   a.   Imaginaries of community, ethnicity and religion in Sri Lanka
   b.   Buddhist nationalism, 'othering' and communal conflict
   c.   Sangha politics, civil warfare and the peace process
   d.   Remaking inter-religious spaces and relations

IV. **Indonesia: Islamic Radicalism and Democratic Turbulence**
   a.   The logical genesis of communal religious violence
   b.   Democracy, Islamic radicalism and Violence
   c.   Changing modalities for organizing religious violence
   d.   Vicissitudes of Islamic Nationalism and Intolerance

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ARM Imtiyaz, The Politicization of Buddhism and Electoral Politics in Sri Lanka in Ali Riaz ed., *Religion and Politics in South Asia*,. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 146-177. 2010.

Ashis Nandy, *The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self Under Colonialism*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2010.

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Catarina Kinnvall, Globalization and Religious Nationalism: Self, Identity, and the Search for Ontological Security, *Political Psychology* 25 (4), pp. 741-767, 2004.

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Christophe Jaffrelot, The Militias of Hindutva: Communal Violence, Terrorism and Cultural Policing in Gayer and Christophe Jaffrelot eds., *Armed Militias of South Asia: Fundamentalists, Maoists and Separatists*, Laurent New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 199-235. 2009

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Gananath O` beyesekere, Buddhism, Ethnicity and Identity: A Problem of Buddhist History. *Journal of Buddhist Ethics* 10, pp. 192-242. 2003

Ipsita Chatterjee, Globalization and the Production of Difference: A Case Study of the Neoliberal Production of Hindu Nationalism in India, *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 30(3), pp.621-632. 2010

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Iselin Frydenlund, Canonical Ambiguity and Differential Practices: Buddhism and Militarism in Contemporary Sri Lanka in Vladimir Tikhonov and Torkel Brekke ed. *Buddhism and Violence: Militarism and Buddhism in Modern Asia*, New York and London: Routledge, pp. 95-119. 2013

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Jeremy Menchik, Productive Intolerance: Godly Nationalism in Indonesia, *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 56(3), 591-621, 2014.

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Premakumara de Silva, Reordering of Postcolonial Sri Pada Temple in Sri Lanka: Buddhism, State and Nationalism, *History and Sociology of South Asia* 7(2), pp. 155-176, 2012.

R. Scott Appleby, Religious Violence: The Strong, the Weak, and the Pathological, *Practical Matters*, 5, pp. 1-25. 2012

Rajmohan Ramanatha Pillai, Past Traumas and Present Suffering: Consequences of Buddhist Narratives in the Sri Lankan Peace Process, *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 35 (4), pp. 832-857, 2012.

Robert Hefner, Muslim Democrats and Islamist Violence in Post-Soeharto Indonesia in Robert Hefner ed., *Remaking Muslim Politics: Pluralism, Contestation, Democratization*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 273-301, 2005.

Roger Finke and Jaime Harris, War and Rumors of War: Explaining Religiously Motivated Violence, in Jonathan Fox ed., *Religion, Politics, Society and the State*, New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 53-71, 2011

Rogers Brubaker, Religion and Nationalism: Four Approaches, *Nations and Nationalism* 18(1), 2012.

Rohan Bastin, Sri Lankan Civil Society and its Fanatics, *Social Analysis* 53(1), pp.123-140, 2009.

Shankar Gopalakrishnan, Defining, Constructing and Policing a 'New India': Relationship Between Neoliberalism and Hindutva, *Economic and Political Weekly* 41(26), pp. 2803-2813. 2006.

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William Cavanaugh, The Myth of Religious Violence in Andrew Murphy ed., *The Blackwell Companion to Religion and Violence*, New York: Blackwell, pp. 23-33, 2011

Optional Paper No. 46

The Politics of Identity in Comparative Perspective

Objective: This course examines different theoretical approaches to, and dimensions of, the politics of identity. Focusing, in particular, on societies that experienced colonial rule, it explores how the colonial intervention shaped identities, and moulded the patterns of identity-based mobilization that unfolded over the colonial era and postcolonial phase. It examines the politics of nationhood, and its intersection with the politics of race, caste, religion, and gender, and the efforts made by postcolonial states to deal with cultural difference and conflict, and historically deep ascriptive inequalities. Identities are shaped not merely by state processes, but also by mobilization undertaken by parties and movements, often in response to state processes themselves; the course traces the interaction between identities and this mobilizational politics. Finally, it explores how identity politics has impacted various facets of the process of democratization in postcolonial societies.

I. Identity: Theoretical Approaches

   (a) Identity as primordial attachment, strategic choice and outcome of political processes

II. Identities and the Nation

   (a) Anti-colonial nationalisms

   (b) The nation's engagement with race, caste, religion, and gender

   (c) Whose nation? Nation-making and the politics of exclusion

III. Identities and the Colonial State

   (a) Colonial rule, group identities and group conflict

IV. Identities and the Postcolonial State

   (a) The legal and institutional treatment of cultural diversity: language, religion and tribe

   (b) State policy and ascriptive inequalities: caste and race

   (c) Between individual and community, between tradition and modernity: identities and the postcolonial constitution

V. Identities, Political Mobilization and Conflict

   (a) Political mobilization and social cleavages: when do social cleavages assume political salience, and why

(b) Identities and political parties

(c) Identities and social movements

(d) Identity politics and collective violence

VI. Identities and the Question of Democracy

(a) Identity politics, democratic deepening and democratic stability

Readings:

Anthony Marx, *Faith in Nation: Exclusionary Origins of Nationalism*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Anthony Marx, *Making Race and Nation: A Comparison of the United States, South Africa and Brazil*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Atul Kohli, Can Democracies Accommodate Ethnic Nationalism? Rise and Decline of Self-Determination Movements in India, *Journal of Asian Studies* 56 (2), May, pp. 325-344, 1997.

Bernard S. Cohn, The Census, Social Structure and Objectification in South Asia, in Cohn, *An Anthropologist Among Historians and Other Essays*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1987.

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Deborah Yashar, *Contesting Citizenship in Latin America: The Rise of Indigenous Movements and the Postliberal Challenge*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Deniz Kandiyoti, Identity and Its Discontents: Women and the Nation, Millenium: *Journal of International Studies* 20(3), pp. 429-443, 1991.

Donald L. Horowitz, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, California, 1985.

Donald L. Horowitz, *The Deadly Ethnic Riot*, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, California, 2002.

Donna Lee Van Cott, *From Movements to Parties in Latin America: The Evolution of Ethnic Politics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Gary Jeffrey Jacobsohn, Three Models of Secular Constitutional Development: India, Israel and the United States, *Studies in American Political Development* 10 (1), pp. 1-68, 1996.

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Joseph E. Schwartzberg, Factors in the Linguistic Reorganization of Indian States, in Asha Sarangi ed., Language and Politics in India, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2009.

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Kumkum Sangari, and Sudesh Vaid eds., *Recasting Women: Essays in Indian Colonial History*, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1990.

Mahmood Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1996.

Marc Galanter, *Competing Equalities: Law and the Backward Classes in India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1984.

Marc Galanter, *Law and Society in Modern India*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Michael C. Hudson, The Problem of Authoritative Power in Lebanese Politics: Why Consociationalism Failed, in Nadim Shehadi and Dana Haffar Mills eds., *Lebanon: A History of Conflict and Consensus,* Oxford and London: Centre for Lebanese Studies and I.B. Taurus, 1988.

Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1993.

Paul R. Brass, *The Production of Hindu-Muslim Violence In Contemporary India*, Washington: University of Washington Press, 2003.

Peter Van der Veer & Harmut Lehmann eds., *Nation and Religion: Perspectives on Europe and Asia*, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1999.

Rajeev Bhargava eds., *Politics and Ethics of the Indian Constitution*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Sekhar Bandyopadhyay, ed. *The Nationalist Movement in India: A Reader*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2011.

Optional Paper No. 47

Nationalism in a Comparative Perspective

Objective: This course aims at familiarising the students with the debates on nationalism, contestations over its political and cultural framing, inclusions and exclusions, cartographies, and the post-national imaginations. These debates will be studied in the context of the historical changes that produced nationalisms, the diverse historical forms, political contexts, the social base, and ideological frameworks.

I. **Concepts: nation, nationality, nationalism,**
II. **Theories of nationalism: primordialism and modernism**
III. **Nationalism in European traditions**
IV. **Anti-colonial traditions**
V. **Nationalism and identities: class, race, gender and ethnicity**
VI. **Post-nation and globalisation**

Readings:

G. Aloysius, *Nationalism without a Nation in India*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1997

Anthony D Smith, *Theories of Nationalism*, London: Duckworth, 1st Edition, 1971.

Anthony D Smith, *Nationalism in the Twentieth Century*, Oxford: Martin Robertson, 1979.

Ashis Nandy, *The Illegitimacy of Nationalism, Rabindranath Tagore and the Politics of Self*, Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1994.

Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflection on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*, London: Verso, 1991.

Craig Calhoun, *Nationalism*, Buckingham: Open University Press, 1997.

E.J Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780, Programme Myth and Reality*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, Oxford: Blackwell, Oxford, 1983.

Etienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein, *Race, Nation, Class, Ambiguous Identities*, London: Verso, 1991.

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Floya Anthiyas and Nira Yuval-Divas, *Women and the Nation-State*, London: Macmillan, London, 1989.

Horace B. Davis, Towards a Marxist Theory of Nationalism, New York and London: *Monthly Review Press*, 1978.

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Michael Billig, *Banal Nationalism*, London: Sage, 1995.

Mike Featherstone ed., *Global Culture: Nationalism, Globalisation and Modernity*, London: Sage, 1990.

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Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and its Fragments*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1994.

Paul Gillen and Devleena Ghosh, *Colonialism and Modernity*, Sydney: UNSW Press, 2007.

Patrick Williams, and Laura Chrisman eds., Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory, a Reader, London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1993.

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Umut Ozkirimli, *Theories of Nationalism, a Critical Introduction*, New York: Macmillan, New York, 2000.

Walker Connor, *The National Question in Marxist-Leninist Theory and Strategy*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994.

Optional Paper No. 48

Themes in Citizenship

Objective: This course intends to explore the contests over citizenship to show how citizenship unfolds in state practices, is experienced differentially by people across caste, class, religion and gender, and the expressions of citizenship that emerge from marginalised locations. It places these within the broader debates on citizenship, and the contemporary contexts within which some of the earlier relationships between the nation-state, state, and, citizenship have become unsettled. In this context, the course will help the students revisit the earlier debates on citizenship, by studying citizenship in the contemporary context, particularly the plural political and social cultures of citizenship and its practices in different locations.

I. **Conceptual frameworks: citizenship and social class, group-differentiated citizenship, multicultural citizenship, civil society and citizenship**
II. **Nation, state-formation and citizenship: law and liminality**
III. **Differentiated citizenship: caste, gender, sexuality, religion**
IV. **Globalisation and citizenship: mutations, flexible citizenship, dual citizenship**
V. **Security, surveillance and suspect citizenship**
VI. **Citizenship performances: global street, politics of the governed, citizen democracy, insurgent citizenship**

Readings:

Aiwha Ong, Please Stay: Pied-a-Terre, Subjects in the Megacity, *Citizenship Studies* 11(1), 2007.

Aihwa Ong Mutations in Citizenship, Theory, *Culture & Society*, 23 (2–3), 2006.

Aiwha Ong, Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics of Transnationality, Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999.

Anupama Roy, *Mapping Citizenship in India,* Oxford University Press, Delhi, 2010.

Btihaj Ajana, Biometric citizenship, *Citizenship Studies*, 2012.

Bryan Turner, *Citizenship and Capitalism: The Debate Over Reformism,* London: Allen and Unwin, 1986.

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Chantal Mouffe, ed., *Dimensions of Radical Democracy*, London: Verso, 1992.

Derek Heater, *Citizenship: The Civic Ideal in World History, Politics and Education*, London, Orient Longman, 1990.

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Iris Marion Young, The Logic of Masculinist Protection: Reflections on the Current Security State, in *Global Challenges*, *War*, *Self Determination and Responsibility for Justice*, Cambridge: Polity, 2007.

James Holston, *Insurgent Citizenship*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008.

John Torpey, *The Invention of the Passport: Surveillance, Citizenship and the State*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Kamal Sadiq, *Paper Citizens: How Illegal Immigrants Acquire Citizenship in Developing Countries* (Chapter 2: 56-69; Chapter 3, pp. 72-85; Chapter 4, pp. 101-124), New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Keith Faulks, *Citizenship,* London & New York: Routledge, 2000.

Michael Walzer, Citizenship in Terence Ball, James Farr and Russell L. Hanson eds. *Political Innovation and Conceptual Change*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

Nira Yuval-Davis, The 'Multi-Layered Citizen', *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 1(1), 1999.

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Niraja Gopal Jayal, *Citizenship and Its Discontents: An Indian History* (Chapter 2, pp. 51-81), Ranikhet: Permanent Black, 2013.

Nivedita Menon, State/Gender/Community, Citizenship in Contemporary India, *Economic and Political Weekly* 33 (5), 1998.

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Quentin Skinner and Bo Strath eds., *States and Citizens: History, Theory, Prospects*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Roger Brubaker, *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992.

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Sanjib Baruah, The Partition's Long Shadow: The Ambiguities of Citizenship in Assam, *Citizenship Studies* 13(6), 2009.

Sanjib Baruah, Protective Discrimination and Crisis of Citizenship in North-East India, *Economic and Political Weekly* 38 (17), 2003

Saskia Sassen, Citizenship Destabilised, *Liberal Education* Spring. 2003.

Saskia Sassen, The Global Street: Making the Political, *Globalizations* 8 (5), 2011.

Seyla Benhabib, Twilight of Sovereignty or the Emergence of Cosmopolitan Norms? Rethinking Citizenship in Volatile Times, *Citizenship Studies*, 11 (1), 2007.

T. H. Marshall, *Citizenship and Social Class*, *Marshall*, *T.H.*, *Citizenship and Social Class and Other Essays*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1950.

T.H. Marshall and Tom Bottomore eds., *Citizenship and Social Class*, London: Pluto Press, 1992.

Vazira Fazila-Yacoobali Zamindar, *The Long Partition and the Making of Modern South Asia: Refugees*, *Boundaries*, *Histories*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2007

Veena Das, State, Citizenship, and the Urban Poor, *Citizenship Studies* 15 (3 & 4), pp. 319-333, 2011.

Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship* (Chapter 9 & Conclusion, pp. 173-95), Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995

Yasemin Soysal, *Limits of Citizenship*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.

Democracy and Violence: Contestation, Convergence, and Discourse

Objective: How does one view the relationship between democracy and violence? Is it that violence resides in the margins of democracy and the boundaries of violence are constrained by the possibilities of democracy? Or is it that democracy and violence share a constitutive yet incongruous relationship? This course introduces students to the literature that probes the conceptual field within which the ambiguous affiliation between democracy and violence operates. It is an introduction to a set of significant dimensions and questions along which the normative connection between democracy and violence would be examined.

   I.   **Exploring the Connection**
       a.   Thinking Democracy
       b.   Thinking Violence

  II.   **Politics of representation and Violence**
       a.   Electoral politics
       b.   Social Movements

 III.   **Democratic order and Violence**
       a.   State
       b.   Anti-State
       c.   Civil Society

 IV.   **Democracy and the Logic of Exceptions**
       a.   Regimes of surveillance
       b.   Extraordinary Laws

  V.   **Democracy, Globalization and Violence**

Readings:

Ashutosh Varshney, *Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life: Hindus and Muslims in India*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003.

Bonnie Honig, *Emergency Politics: Paradox, Law, Democracy*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009.

C.W. Barrow, *Critical Theories of the State: Marxist, Neo Marxist, Post-Marxist*, University of Madison Press, 1993.

Charles Tilly, *The Politics of Collective Violence*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Eric Hobsbawm, *Globalisation, Democracy and Terrorism*, London: Abacus, 2007.

Hannah Arendt, *On Violence*, CA: Harvest Books, 1970.

J Walton ed., *Free Markets and Food Riots: The Politics of Global Adjustment*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1994.

Jef Huysmans, Minding Exceptions: The Politics of Insecurity and Liberal Democracy, *Contemporary Political Theory* 3, pp. 321–341, 2004.

John Keane, *Global Civil Society?* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

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Steven Wilkinson, Votes and Violence: Electoral Competition and Ethnic Riots in India, in B Crawford & RD Lipschutz (eds), *The Myth of 'Ethnic:' Conflict: Politics, Economics, and 'Cultural' Violence*, Berkeley, CA: International and Area Studies, University of California, 1998.

Walter Benjamin, Critique of Violence, in *Reflections: Essays, Aphorisms, Autobiographical Writings* (Translated by Edmund Jephcott) New York: Schocken Books, 1986.

Optional Paper No. 50

Collaborative Governance: Transforming Engagements in Public Management

Objective: In the context of the growing popularity of governance as a new paradigm of public administration, collaborative governance has gained salience in contemporary discourse. The objective of this course is to acquaint the students with the basic idea of what constitutes collaborative governance and its complex manifestation in various parts of the globe. Conceptually, this is not a new design because public administration is itself a collaborative endeavour; what is apparently new is the package in which it has been presented as part of the wider governance of both public and private institutions. India is a unique case study since despite being appreciative of collaborative governance, Indian administration continues remain committed to some of the fundamental precepts of Weberian hierarchical bureaucracy in which collaboration seems to be an anathema. The course will thus be a footstep towards understanding the connect between bureaucracy and other institutions in a context when governance needs collaboration for being effective.

I.   **Collaborative government: Meanings, Dimensions, Drivers and Outcomes**

II. **The governance debate and the rise of Collaborative governance and Multilevel Governance (Horizontal, vertical, and diagonal governance)**

III. **Linkages in Collaborative Governance - Collaborative Processes, Activity and Strategy**

IV. **Political Dynamics of Collaboration (Power/ politics and turning conflict into collaboration)**

V.   **Collaboration for Open Innovation Processes in Public Policy and Administrations**

VI. **The Art of Collaboration – Rationales, Tasks and Tools**

VII. **Collaborative Governance and Policy Design: Core Principles**

VIII. **Collaboration with Citizens (Governance as civic enabler)**

IX. **Models of Collaborative Governance- Galvanising government–non-profit/voluntary sector relations (collaborative network governance)**

X.   **Collaborative governance: The PPP phenomenon as collaboration**

XI. **Indian case studies of Collaboration**

   a. Collaboration in infrastructure development

   b. Collaboration in education sector

   c. Collaborating in health and sanitation

   d. Collaboration in sustainable development

XII.   The Future of Collaborative Governance and the Challenge of Collaboration.

Readings:

Andreas Rasche, Collaborative Governance 2.0, *Corporate Governance* 10(4), pp. 500-511, 2010.

Bidyut Chakrabarty, Participatory governance In India - The field experience, *ICSSR Journal of Abstracts and Reviews* 36 (1), 2010.

Carmen Sirianni, Investing in Democracy, *Engaging Citizens in Collaborative Governance Corporate Governance: An International Review* 14(3), pp.159-171, 2006.

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John D. Donahue and Richard J. Zeckhauser Collaborative, *Governance: Private Roles for Public Goals in Turbulent Times*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011.

John D. Donahue Joseph S. Nye Jr. eds. *Governance Governance Everywhere*, Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2001.

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Martin Karlsson, Democratic Legitimacy and Recruitment Strategies in eParticipation Projects in Yannis Charalabidis, Sotirios Koussouris eds. *Empowering Open and Collaborative Governance: Technologies and Methods for Online Citizen Engagement in Public Policy Making*, London: Springer, 2012.

McGuire, Michael. Collaborative Public Management: Assessing what we know and How we know it, *Public Administrative Review* 66(33), 2006.

Mike Smith, et.al. Corporate Governance in a Collaborative Environment: What Happens When Government, Business and Civil Society Work Together? Available at http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1467-8683.2006.00496.x/abstract, accessed: 5th June 2015.

N. Sridharan, *Fiscal Decentralisation, Participatory Processes & Inclusive Development, WP-6 Combined Field Report Brazil, Peru, South Africa & India*, available at http://www.chance2sustain.eu/fileadmin/Website/Dokumente/Dokumente/Publications/pub_2013/C2S_FR_No03_WP6__Fiscal_Decentralisation__Participatory_Processes___Inclusive_Development.pdf, accessed: 5th June. 2015.

Nidhi Vij, Collaborative Governance: Analysing Social Audits in MGNREGA in India, *IDS Bulletin* 42(6), pp. 28-34, Nov. 2011.

Ryan Gibson, A Primer on Collaborative - Multi-Level Governance, available at http://cdnregdev.ruralresilience.ca/wpcontent/uploads/2013/03/primercollaborativemultilevelgovernance-gibson.pdf, accessed: 5th June, 2015.

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http://pib.nic.in/newsite/efeatures.aspx?relid=88689

http://www.adb.org/countries/india/public-private-partnerships/implementation

http://www.dailymail.co.uk/indiahome/article-2218737/India-Inc-build-model-schools-Ambani-Tata-Mittal-government-plan-public-private-partnership.html

http://www.scribd.com/doc/236899332/PPP-Reference-Guide

https://www.scribd.com/WBG_PPP

www.**india**environmentportal.org.in/.../activists-experts-question-**ppp**-model

www.energetica-**india**.net/download.php?seccion=articles&archivo

Optional Paper No. 51

Corporate Citizenship and Governance: Theories and Practices

Objective: Globalisation's hold through financial control, deregulation and privatisation has seen the increasing rise and power of multinational corporations at the expense of national governments. The ability to engage in regulatory arbitrage has enabled some multinational corporations to disregard their core responsibility of being a positive net contributor to each nation-state in which they operate. While it is not a zero-sum game, globalisation has shown the defects and weaknesses.

Corporations have an inherent stake in their relationship with the state and civil society as economic engine of growth and facilitator of new technologies. However, the global financial crisis of 2007/2008 has heightened the economic inequality between the haves and have nots. The socialisation of private losses has increasingly focused the role of corporate social responsibility as the inherent obligation by corporations to contribute to the community and address issues of inequality. At the same time, anthropogenic climate change is becoming a major issue of the 21st century. This issue will affect the global eco-system to, in effect, ask whether globalisation's march can co-exist with sustainable development. By comparing and contrasting the policies of governments in the face of sustainable development pressures and moves to legislate corporate responsibility, this course seeks to discuss the present role of government and its future and emerging role in the corporate social responsibility debate.

I. Introduction to Corporate Citizenship and Governance: Definitions and drivers

II. Background: How Globalization is Affecting Corporate Social Responsibility:

   a. Dynamics of the Interaction Between Corporate Social Responsibility and Globalization (Current Economic Crisis, Inequality and Responsible Capitalism (Conscious Capitalism) debate

   b. The Triple bottom line debate Rio 20+ debates)

III. Corporate Responsibility Typology- Global Public Rules and Citizenship Rights: A New Responsibility of Private Business Firms

   a. Corporates and "Economic Society": Social Responsibility

   b. Corporates and "Political Society": Civil Responsibility

   c. Corporates and Governance – The Political Role of Corporations

IV. Transnational Actors and World Politics, Regulatory Arbitrage and MNCs -

    a. Underpinning debates in Power and Responsibility taxonomy (Policy capture ,lobbying and costs of failed corporate responsibilities - Examples – Union Carbine, Nike, B.P , Enron, Shell , Satyam)

V. Reining In the Government Again

    a. International and National Initiatives for Responsible Governance –Global initiatives', policies and reforms (some examples like Charters of Values, Codes of Ethics, GRI, MDGs and SD, Fair Trading , Ethical Investment, ISO 26000, etc)

VI. Corporate Governance Practices in India – Regulatory and institutional landscape

    a. History of Responsible Corporate Governance in India ,

    b. Principals provisions of the company act 1956 with respect to improving quality of governance, Clause 49 of the listing Agreement. (SEBI), Sustainability and CSR Guidelines 2011, and Companies Act-2013

VII. Regulatory pyramid and the cycles of regulation debates:

    Interaction of cycles of regulation and 'law and norms' discourse, self regulation and mandatory regulations etc and soft and hard laws

Readings:

Andreas Georg Scherer and Guido Palazzo, Corporate Citizenship in a Globalized World, (Introduction), in Georg Scherer and Guido Palazzo eds. *Handbook of Research on Global Corporate Citizenship*, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2008, pp. 1-21.

Andreas Georg Scherer and Guido Palazzo, *Handbook of Research on Global Corporate Citizenship*, Elgar Original Reference, 2008.

Andrew Crane, Dirk Matten and Jeremy Moon, The Emergence of Corporate Citizenship: Historical Development and Alternative Perspectives, (Chapter 2) in Scherer, A.; Palazzo, G. eds. *Handbook of Research on Global Corporate Citizenship*, Cheltenham : Edward Elgar, 2008, pp 25-49.

Bidyut Chakrabarty, *Corporate Social Responsibility in India*, Routledge, Contemporary South Asia Series, 2011.

Dirk Matten & Jeremy Moon, eds. Corporate Citizenship: Introducing Business as an Actor in Political Governance, *The International Library of Critical Writings on Business and Management*, Cheltenham : Edward Elgar, 2013.

Dirk Matten, Jeremy Moon and Andrew Crane, Can Corporations Be Citizens? Corporate Citizenship as a Metaphor for Business Participation in Society, *Business Ethics Quarterly*, 15, (1), 2005.

Huniche, Mahad; Pedersen and Esben Rahbek, eds. *Corporate Citizenship in Developing Countries - New Partnership Perspectives*, Frederiksberg: Copenhagen Business School, 2006.

Jesas Conill, Christoph Luetge and Tatjana Schnwalder-Kuntze, *Corporate Citizenship, Contractarianism and Ethical Theory*, Ashgate, 2008.

Marc Orlitzky and Diane L. Swanson, eds. *Toward Integrative Corporate Citizenship: Research Advances in Corporate Social Performance*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.

Munmun Dey and Shouvik Sircar, Integrating Corporate Social Responsibility Initiatives with Business Strategy: A Study of Some Indian Companies, *The IUP Journal of Corporate Governance*, 11, (1) pp. 36-51, January 2012.

Panozzo, Fabrizio, Triple Bottom Lines, Standards and Balanced Scorecards: The Making of Private Firms Commensurable with the Public Good, available at: http://ssrn.com/abstract=1857544 on 5.6.2015.

Paul Tracey, Nelson Phillips and Helen Haugh eds. Beyond Philanthropy: Community Enterprise as a Basis for Corporate Citizenship, *Journal of Business Ethics*, 58, (4), 2005, pp. 327-44.

Peter Utting and José Carlos Marques eds. *Business, Politics and Public Policy*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

Peter Utting and José Carlos Marques Eds. *Corporate Social Responsibility and Regulatory Governance: Towards Inclusive Development*? Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

Robert A. Phillips and R. Edward Freeman, Corporate Citizenship and Community Stakeholders, in Andrease Georg Scherer and Guido Palazzo eds. *Handbook of Research on Global Corporate Citizenship*, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, pp.99-115, 2008.

Rüdiger Hahn, The Ethical Rational of Business for the Poor – Integrating the Concepts Bottom of the Pyramid, Sustainable Development and Corporate Citizenship, *Journal of Business Ethics*, 84, (3), pp. 313-324, 2009.

Surya Deva, Global Compact: A Critique of UN's Public-Private Partnership for Promoting Corporate Citizenship, *Syracuse Journal of International Law & Commerce*, 34, (1) pp. 107-151, 2006.

Govt reports/ guidelines (India)

CSR Guidelines: Companies Act 2013

CSR Guidelines for CPSEs - Department of Public Enterprises

Guidelines on Sustainable Development for CPSEs

Action Aid Report on CSR – Behind the Mask

UN Global Compact Report

<p style="text-align:center">Optional Paper No. 52</p>
<p style="text-align:center">Institutions, Development and Poverty</p>

Objective: The goal of the course is for students to gain a fundamental knowledge of the institutions, development and poverty. The sections are thematically divided so that there can be changes in specific cases that are taught depending on the tutor (public administration, comparative or Indian politics or indeed a theoretical disposition) and current debates in society.

I.   **Introduction to Institutions**
   a. Understanding Institutions and interplay of macro and micro levels.
   b. How the political impacts institutions?
   c. Introduction to institutions and economic development.
   d. Administrative institutions of the Indian state.
   e. Different approaches to study institutions.

II.   **Institutions, Development and Political Power**
   a. Extent to which political institutions constrain or facilitate effective and pro-poor policies.
   b. Extent to which political institutions can be "engineered".
   c. The "autonomy" and "power" of institutions once they are created (e.g. reservations or decentralization) and understanding the political that they unleash.

III.   **The Policy Process: Decision Making and Implementation**
   a. Understanding how policy is made and the politics of policy making.
   b. Different ways in which politics shapes the implementation process.

IV.   **Understanding Poverty and the Politics of Poverty Alleviation**
   a. Poverty alleviation as a primary focus of national and international politics.
   b. The debate on the poverty line.
   c. Changing emphasis on poverty reduction strategies.
   d. People, participation, empowerment and democratization for poverty alleviation.

V.   **Bureaucrats, Technocrats and Policy Change**
   a. Bureaucratic power over policy choices.

b. The choice of implementable policies.

c. The role of a technocrat in shaping policy process.

d. Limiting bureaucratic and technocratic power.

VI. **Economic and Political Agency for Policy Change**

a. Understanding how domestic economic and political actors influences policy choices.

b. Success and constraints on their power to determine policy choices.

VII. **International Influences on Policy Change**

a. The role of international economic actors in determining policy choices in developing countries.

b. Nature of policy choices they advocate.

c. Conditions under which they are more influential and conditions when their influence is reduced.

VIII. **New Technologies and Innovations for Policy Change**

a. New technologies of administration for social change - ranging from focusing of capacities and capabilities for human development

b. Creating mechanism for greater accountability

c. Focused allocation of public resources linked to outputs and outcomes

d. Decentralization and creating more opportunities for participatory governance

e. Mechanisms of collective financial and marketing initiatives

f. Mainstreaming gender in public policy

Readings:

Akhil Gupta, *Bureaucracy, Structural Violence and Poverty in India*, Durham: Duke University Press, 2012.

Anne Krueger & Robert Bates eds., *Political and Economic Interactions in Economic Policy Reform*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1993.

Anne Krueger ed., *Economic Policy Reform and the Indian Economy*, Oxford University Press, 2002.

Ashutosh Varshney, *Democracy, Development, and the Countryside: Urban-Rural Struggles in India*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Barbara Stallings, International Influence on Economic Policy: Debt, Stabilization and Structural Reform, in Stephan Haggard and Robert Kaufman eds., *The Politics of Economic Adjustment*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 41-88, 1992.

Bashevkin, Interest Groups and Social Movements, in Lawrence LeDue, Richard Nieme & Pippa Noris eds., *Comparing Democracies: Elections and Voting in Global Perspective*, Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 1996.

Chatterjee, Partha ed., *State and Politics in India*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Christopher Clague ed., *Institutions and Economic Development*, Baltimore & London: John Hopkins University Press, 1997.

Christopher Udry, Gender, Agricultural Productivity and the Theory of the Household, *Journal of Political Economy* 104, pp. 1010-1046, 1996.

Dani Rodrik, Institutions for High-Quality Growth: What They Are and How to Acquire Them, *Studies in Comparative International Development* 35(3), 2000.

Deborah Brautigan, *Aid Dependence and Governance,* 2000: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 2000.

Deepa Narayan et.al., *Voices of the Poor: Crying out for Change*, New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 133-150, 2000.

Diamond Schedler & Plattner eds., *The Self Restraining State: Power and Accountability in New Democracies*, 1998.

Douglass C. North, *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance*, Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Graham Allison, *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*, Little Boston Brown, pp. 294-313, 323-324, 1999.

James Malloy, Policy Analysis, Public Policy and Regime Structure in Latin America, *Governance: An International Journal of Public Policy and Administration*, 2 (3), pp. 315-338, 1989.

James Manor, *The Political Economy of Democratic Decentralization*, Washington: World Bank, 1999.

James P. Pinkerton, Bureaucrat, in *What Comes Next: The End of Big Government and the New Paradigm Ahead*, New York: Hyperion, pp. 51-67, 1995.

James Scott, 'Everyday Forms of Resistance', in Forrest D. Colburn ed., *Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*, Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1989.

James Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition have Failed*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.

Jean Dreze & Amartya Sen, *India: Economic Development and Social Opportunity*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Jonathan Lynn & Antony Jay eds., *The Complete Yes Minister: The Diaries of a Cabinet Minister*, Harper and Row, New York, pp. 5-29, 55-77, 1981.

Joseph Stiglitz, The New Development Economics, in G.M. Meier & J.E. Rauch, *Leading Issues in Economic Development*, New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 352-355, 1970.

Kaivan Munshi & Mark R. Rosenzweig, *Traditional Institutions Meet the Modern World: Caste, Gender and Schooling Choice in a Globalizing Economy*, BREAD Working Paper, No. 038, July, 2003.

Lloyd I. Rudolph & Susanne H. Rudolph, *In Pursuit of Lakshmi: The Political Economy of the Indian State*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987.

Margaret Keek & Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics (*Chapters 1 and 16), Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, pp. 1-38, 199-217, 1998.

Mark Eric Williams, Market Reforms, Technocrats and Institutional Innovation, *World Development* 30 (3), pp. 395-412, 2002.

Merilee Grindle & John Thomas, *Public Choices and Policy Change: The Political Economy of Reforms in Developing Countries*, Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins Univeristy Press, 1991.

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Rajni Kothari, *Politics in India*, New Delhi: Orient Longman, 1995.

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Stuart Corbridge & John Harris, *Reinventing India: Liberalization, Hindu Nationalism and Popular Democracy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Stuart Corbridge et.al., *Seeing the State: Governance and Governmentality in India, Contemporary South Asia*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Environmental Policies & Politics

Objective: The course will equip the students with theoretical perspectives of understanding of the challenges posed by nature from a developing country and livelihoods perspective. It will also equip them to understand the emerging political and policy issues related to the environment as well as various social and economic dimensions due to environmental degradation.

I. **Environmental Philosophies, Politics and Ethics**

II. **Environment, Institutions and Governance: State, Market, Community & Local Governments:**
   a. State: Hardin and the Tragedy of the Commons
   b. Market: Pricing for Sustainability
   c. Community & Local Government Management: A Developing Country Perspective

III. **Resources, Protest & Poverty**:
   a. Forests: State, Trade & Community
   b. Biodiversity, Protected Areas & People
   c. Irrigation - Dams & Canals: State, Science & Inequities
   d. Agriculture, Soil Management & Cash Crops: Implications to Environment & Women's Lives
   e. Land, Displacement & Resettlement: Power, Culture & Resistance
   f. Industrialization, Urbanization & Pollution: Institutional Challenges

IV. **Gender and Environment**

V. **Climate Change: Global Commons and Local Initiatives**

Readings:

Amita Baviskar, *In the Belly of the River*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Arun Agrawal, *Greener Pastures: Politics, Markets, and Community among a Migrant Pastoral People*, Durham NC: Duke University Press, 1999.

Arun Agrawal, *Environmentality: Technologies of Government and Political Subjects*, Durham: Duke University Press, 2005.

Bina Agarwal, The Gender and Environment Debate: Lessons from India, *Feminist Studies*, 18(1), Spring, pp. 119-158, 1992.

Charles Taylor, Two theories of Modernity, *Public Culture*, 11(1): 153-74, 1999.

David Arnold & Ramachandra Guha (ed), *Nature, Culture & Imperialism: Essays on the Environmental History of South Asia*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996.

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Dennis L. Soden & Brent S. Steel, *Handbook of Global Environmental Policy & Administration*, New York: Mooirol Dekker, 1999.

Elinor Ostrom, *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990.

Ismail Serageldin & Andrew Steer (eds), *Valuing the Environment*, The World Bank, Washington D.C., 1993.

J. T. Houghton et al, *Climate Change 1992: The Supplementary Report to the IPCC Scientific Assessment*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Jean Dreze, Meera Samson & Satyajit Singh (eds), *The Dam and the Nation: Displacement and Resettlement in the Narmada Valley*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1997.

John S. Dryzek, *The Politics of the Earth: Environmental Discourses*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.

K. Sivaramakrishnan, A Limited Forest Conservancy in Southwest Bengal, 1864-1912, *Journal of Asian Studies* 56(1): 75-112, 1997.

L C Zelezny et al, New Ways of Thinking About Environmentalism: Elaborating on Gender Differences in Environmentalism, *Journal of Social Issues*, 56(3), pp. 443-457, 2000.

Mahesh Rangarajan, *India's Wildlife History*, New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2001.

Michael Redclift & Graham Woodgate eds., *The International Handbook of Environmental Sociology*, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 1997.

Michael Redclift, *Political Economy of Environment: Red & Green Alternatives*, Methun, London, 1987.

Nicholas Stern, *The Economics of Climate Change*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

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Patrick McCully, *Silenced Rivers: The Ecology and Politics of Large Dams*, N.J: Zed Books, 1996.

R. J. Johnston, *Nature, State and Economy: A Political Economy of the Environment*, Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 1996.

Ramachandra Guha & Juan Martinez-Alier, *Varieties of Environmentalism: Essays North & South*, London: Earthscan, 1997.

Ramachandra Guha, *The Unquiet Woods*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Ramachandra Guha, *Environmentalism*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Richard Grove, The Origins of Western Environmentalism, *Scientific American*, 267, 1992.

Richard Peet & Michael Watts, *Liberation Ecologies: Environment, Development and Social Movements*, London: Routledge, 1996.

S Buckingham-Hatfield, *Gender and Environment*, Routledge, 1999.

Satyajit Singh, *Taming the Waters: The Political Economy of Large Dams in India*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Sumit Sarkar, *Modern Times: India 1880s to 1950s*, Ranikhet: Permanent Black, 2014.

Ted Benton (ed), *The Greening of Marxism*, London: The Guilford Press, 1996.

Thayer Scudder, The Human Ecology of Big Projects: River Basin Development and Resettlement, *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 2: 45-61, 1973.

Vandana Shiva, *Staying Alive: Women, Ecology & Survival in India*, New Delhi: Kali for Women, 1988.

World Commission on Environment & Development, *Our Common Future*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1987.

Optional Paper No. 54
The Political in local Governance

Objective: The course will equip the students to understand the nuances of development as it relates to greater decentralization and democratization. It will equip the students with a theoretical understanding of decentralization and how institutional architecture and power relations affect governance outcomes.

I.   **The Local in Development: Overview of Economic Development and the Centrality of Local in Development**

II.   **Understanding 'Rural' and 'Urban' Power & Biases**

III.   **Institutional framework for Development: Political Executive, Planning Agencies; Agencies and Processes of Implementation at Central, State & Local Levels**

IV.   **Decentralization and Local Governments**

V.   **Devolution and functioning of Panchayati Raj Institutions**

VI.   **Development, Devolution and Urban Local Bodies**

VII.   **People's Participation in Rural-Urban Development: Role of Citizens Groups &NGO's**

Readings:

Abdul Aziz, *Decentralised Planning*, Sage, New Delhi, 1993.

Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Amitava Mukherjee, *Decentralization: Panchayats in the Nineties*, New Delhi: Vikas, 1994.

Ashish Bose, *National Commission on Urbanization*, New Delhi: Ministry of Urban Development, 1988.

Ashutosh Varshney, *Democracy, Development, and the Countryside: Urban-Rural Struggles in India*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

B.B.Mishra, *District Administration and Rural Development in India*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1983.

Partha Chatterjee ed., *State and Politics in India*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Gerald M. Meier, *Emerging from Poverty*, (Chapter 7), 'Development Strategies Revised', pp. 159-187, 1985.

H. W. Singer, Poverty, Income Distribution and Levels of Living: Thirty Years of Changing Thought on Development Problems, in C.H. Hanumantha Rao & P. C. Joshi eds. *Reflections on Economic Development and Social Thought, Essays in Honour of Prof VKRV Rao*, New Delhi: Allied Publishers,1980.

Henry Maddick, *Panchayati Raj: A Study of Rural Local Government in India*, London: Longman Green, 1970.

Jagdish Bhagwati, Development Economics: What have we Learnt? in K. Ahooja Patel *et. al. World Economy in Transition*, Oxford: Pergamon Press, pp. 11-27, 1986.

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M. Ravillion & G. Datt, *Growth and Poverty in Rural India*, World Bank, Washington D.C. 1995.

Meera Mehta, Participation in Urban Governance in Om Mathur ed., *India: The Challenge of Urban Governance*, National Institute of Public Finance & Policy, New Delhi, 1999.

Nirija Gopal Jayal et. al., *Local Governance in India: Decentralization and Beyond*, Oxford University Press: New Delhi, 2005.

Om Mathur ed., *India: The Challenge of Urban Governance*, New Delhi: National Institute of Public Finance & Policy, 1999.

Paul R. Brass, *The Politics in India Since Independence*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Paul Streeten, 'Development Dichotomies' in G. M. Meier & Dudley Seers ed., *Pioneers in Development*, pp. 337-361, 1984.

Rakesh Mohan Committee Recommendations on Housing & Urban Development, New Delhi: Planning Commission, Government of India, 1983.

Satyajit Singh and Pradeep Sharma ed., *Decentralization: Institutions and Politics in Rural India*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Thomas Issac & Richard W. Franke, *Local Government and Development: People's Campaign for Decentralized Planning in Kerala*, Delhi: Leftworld, 2000.

UNDP, *Decentralisation in India: Challenges & Opportunities*, New Delhi: HDRC, UNDP, 2001.

Global Justice and the South

Objective: This course will study debates surrounding global justice from the perspective of the global south. A distinctive aspect of the course will involve using the voices of the global south as vital inputs toward a revaluation of contemporary debates in global justice. The course will probe themes of global distributive justice, human rights, migration, climate change, the politics of aid and trade, and global institutions against the backdrop of increasing global inequality and current efforts underway to democratize institutions of global governance.

  I. **Justice: Domestic and Global**
  II. **Cosmopolitanism: Moral and Institutional**
  III. **Global Inequality, Poverty and Distributive Justice**
  IV. **Human Rights & Capabilities Approaches**
  V. **Migration and the Global Order**
  VI. **Climate Change**
  VII. **The Politics of Aid and Trade; Illicit Financial Flows**
 VIII. **Democratizing Global Norms and Institutions**

Readings:

Andrew Robinson, and Simon Tormey, Resisting 'Global Justice': Disrupting the Colonial 'Emancipatory' Logic of the West, *Third World Quarterly* 30(8), pp. 1395–1409, 2009

Aziz Choudry, and Dip Kapoor, *Learning from the Ground Up: Global Perspectives on Social Movements and Knowledge Production*, New York: Palgrave MacMilllan, 2010.

Baogang He, and Hannah Murphy, Global Social Justice at the WTO? The Role of NGOs in Constructing Global Social Contracts, *International Affairs* 83, pp. 707–727, 2007.

Bell, Derek, Justice and the Politics of Climate Change, in Constance Lever-Tracy, ed., *Routledge Handbook of Climate Change and Society*, New York: Routledge, 2010.

Charles Beitz, Does Global Inequality Matter?, Metaphilosophy, 32, 2001.

Charles Jones, The Human Right to Subsistence, *Journal of Applied Philosophy* 30 (1), 2013.

David Crocker, *Ethics of Global Development: Agency, Capability, and Deliberative Democracy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

David Miller, Justice and Boundaries, *Politics, Philosophy, & Economics* 8, pp. 291-309. 2009

David Schlosberg, Reconceiving environmental justice: Global movements and political theories, *Environmental Politics* 13(3), pp. 517–540, 2004.

Gillian Brock, *Global Justice: A Cosmopolitan Account*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Heather Widdows, *Global Ethics*, New York: Acumen, 2011.

Joseph Carens, Aliens and Citizens: The Case for Open Borders, *The Review of Politics*, 49, 1987.

Kok-Chor Tan, *Justice Without Borders: Cosmopolitanism, Nationalism, and Patriotism*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Lindsay MacDonald and Paul Muldoon, Globalisation, neo-liberalism and the struggle for Indigenous citizenship. *Australian Journal of Political Science* 41(2), pp. 209–223, 2006

Luis Cabrera, *Diversity and Cosmopolitan Democracy: Avoiding Global Democratic Relativism*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Mahmood Monshipouri, Promoting Universal Human Rights: Dilemmas of Integrating Developing Countries, *Yale Human Rights & Development Law Journal* 4(1), 2001.

Matthias Risse, *On Global Justice*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012.

N K Badhwar, International Aid: When Giving Becomes a Vice', Social Philosophy and Policy 23, 2006.

Nicole Hassoun, Free Trade, Poverty, and Inequality, *Journal of Moral Philosophy* 8, pp. 5–44, 2011

Peter Singer, Famine, Affluence, & Morality, *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 1 (3), pp. 229-243 1972.

Saladin Meckled-Garcia, Do transnational economic effects violate human rights? *Ethics and Global Politics* 2(3), pp. 259–276, 2009.

Simon Caney, Cosmopolitan Justice, Responsibility, and Global Climate Change, *Leiden Journal of International Law* 18, 2005.

Simon Caney, Cosmopolitanism, Democracy and Distributive Justice, *Canadian Journal of Philosophy*, Supplementary Volume 31, 2005

Thomas Pogge, *World Poverty and Human Rights*, 2nd edition, USA: Polity Press, 2008.

Thomas-Slayter, Barbara P, *Southern Exposure: International Development and the Global South in the Twenty-First Century*, USA: Kumarian Press, 2003.

The Theory and Practice of Democracy

Objective: This course will trace the evolution of democracy with a focus on modern and contemporary influences, approaches and theories. It aims to deepen an understanding of the relationship between norms, institutions and political processes as they have evolved in some political communities, including India.

I.   **The Idea of Democracy**

    a.   The historical evolution of the idea

    b.   Ancient and modern variants

    c.   Democracy: plural traditions

II.   **Democracy and Political Community**

    a.   Boundaries of Political Community: nationalism and nation-state

    b.   Membership in political community: who belongs?

    c.   Citizenship and rights: common vs. differentiated

    d.   Democratic education and the idea of civic virtues

III.   **Democracy and Representation**

    a.   Majority Rule and Majoritarian systems

    b.   Political Equality and Proportional Representation

    c.   The idea of group representation

    d.   Democratic recognition of marginalized groups

IV.   **Democracy and Liberal Constitutionalism**

    a.   Foundations of modern democracy

    b.   Rights as trumps

    c.   Institutions of power-sharing: federalism; consociationalism

    d.   Challenges of plural societies

V.   **Contemporary Democratic Politics: Issues**

    a.   Development vs. Growth

    b.   Democratic Transition and Consolidation

Readings:

Amy Gutmann, *Democratic Education*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987

Anne Phillips, *The Politics of Presence*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995

Anthony Arblaster, *Democracy*, 2nd Edition, Milton Keynes, Open University Press, 1994

Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996

Benjamin R. Barber, *Strong Democracy: Participatory Politics for a New Age*, California: University of California Press, 1984

C. B Macpherson, The Life and Times of Liberal Democracy, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977

Carole Pateman, *Participation and Democratic Theory,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970

Charles Tilly, *Democracy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007

David Held, *Models of Democracy*, 2nd Edition, USA: Stanford University Press, 1996

Hanna Pitkin, *The Concept of Representation*, California: University of California Press, 1967

Ian Shapiro, *The State of Democratic Theory*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003

Joseph Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy*, New York: Harper and Row, 1942

Juan J Linz and Alfred Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation*,

Larry Diamond, et al., *Consolidating the Third Wave Democracies*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997

Robert A. Dahl, *On Democracy*, Yale: Yale University Press, 1998

Seyla, Benhabib, ed. *Democracy and Difference*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996

Key Ideas in contemporary Critical Theory in India

Objective: The paper will identify key concepts in Indian political and social theory which have been developed over the recent past. It will inculcate a critical look at these concepts by exposing the students to debates conducted over them.

    I.   **East and West.**

   II.   **Modernity.**

  III.   **Passive Revolution.**

  IV.   **Nationalism.**

    V.   **Community.**

  VI.   **Political Society.**

 VII.   **Primitive Accumulation.**

VIII.   **Gender.**

  IX.   **Secularism.**

    X.   **Liberalism.**

Readings:

Achin Vanaik, P.K.Datta, Suhas Palshikar eds., *ICSSR Research Surveys and Explorations, Political Science Vol. 3: Indian Political Thought*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Aakash Singh, Silika Mohapatra eds., *Indian Political Thought: A Reader*, London and New York: 2010.

Akeel Bilgrami ed., *Democratic Culture: Historical and Philosophical Essays*, New Delhi: Routledge, 2011.

Akeel Bilgrami, *Secularism, Identity and Enchantment*, Ranikhet Cantt: Permanent Black, 2014.

Andrew Sartori, *Bengal in Global Concept History: Culturalism in the Age of Capital*, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2008.

C. A. Bayly, *Recovering Liberties: Indian Thought in the age of Liberalism and Empire*, New Delhi: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Kumkum Roy, T*he Power of Gender and the Gender of Power: Explorations in Early Indian History,* New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Partha Chatterjee, *Lineages of Political Society*, Ranikhet Cantt: Permanent Black, 2011.

Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and its fragments: Colonial and Post Colonial Histories*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993

Prem Chowdhury, *Political Economy of Production and Reproduction: Caste, Custom and Community in North India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Rajeev Bhargava ed., *Politics and Ethics of the Indian Constitution*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Sudipta Kaviraj, *The Imaginary Institution of India*, Ranikhet Cantt: Permanent Black, 2010

Sudipta Kaviraj, *The Trajectories of the Indian State:* Politics and Ideas, Ranikhet Cantt: Permanent Black, 2010

Sumit Sarkar, *Beyond Nationalist Frames: Post Modernism, Hindu Fundamentalism, History*, Ranikhet: Permanent Black, 2005.

Tanika Sarkar, *Rebels, Wives, Saints: Designing Selves and Nations in Colonial times*, Ranikhet Cantt: Permanent Black, 2011.

Annexure 1.1.2

Research Methodology Syllabus For M.Phil Coursework 2013-14

1. Introduction to Research

a) Introducing the Idea of Research in Social Science

b) Plagiarism, referencing and citation

2. Doing research sub-discipline wise:

a) Political Theory

b) Indian Political Thought

c) Comparative Politics

d) Public Policy

e) Indian Politics

f) International Relations

3. Discourse Analysis and The Readings Of Cultural Texts

4. Ethnographic Research

a) Ethnography

b) Ethnographic Approach: Field work

c) Archive

5. The Epistemic Foundation

a) Positivism and Empiricism

b) Hermeneutics and Phenomenology

c) Alternative Readings of the History of Science

d) Marxism and Method

e) Debates around Methods in Social Science

f) Ethics of research

6. The Empirical Dimension

Research Methodology Syllabus For M.Phil Coursework 2014-15

1. Introduction to Research

a) Introducing the Idea of Research in Social Science

b) Plagiarism, referencing and citation

2. Doing research sub-discipline wise:

a) Political Theory

b) Indian Political Thought

c) Comparative Politics

d) Public Policy

e) Indian Politics

f) International Relations

3. Discourse Analysis and The Readings Of Cultural Texts

4. Ethnographic Research

a) Ethnography

b) Ethnographic Approach: Field work

c) Archive

5. The Epistemic Foundation

a) Positivism and Empiricism

b) Hermeneutics and Phenomenology

c) Alternative Readings of the History of Science

d) Marxism and Method

e) Debates around Methods in Social Science

f) Ethics of research

6. The Empirical Dimension

Research Methodology Syllabus For M.Phil Coursework 2015-16

1. **Introduction to Research:**
a) What is Research
b) Research Concepts
c) Research Ethics and Integrity
d) Types of Research-Observational, Correlational and Experimental
e) Debate around Methods in Social Science

2. **The Scientific Method and Political Science**
a) How Scientific is Political Science?
b) Philosophy of Social Sciences
c) Thomas Kuhn &ImreLakatos
d) Theory and Hypothesis

3. **Quantitative/EmpiricalMethods**
a) Designing Quantitative Research
b) Introduction to Statistics
c) Descriptive & Inferential Statistics
d) Scales of Measurement
e) Sampling Methods
f) Game theory
g) Social Choice

4. **Qualitative/InterpretiveMethods**
a) Designing Qualitative Research
b) Interviews
c) Participant/Direct Observation
d) Ethnography
e) Case Studies
f) Focus Groups
g) Historiography
h) Archival Research
i) Content Analysis
j) Discourse Analysis and Reading Texts
k) Hermeneutics
l) Phenomenology

5. **Mixed Methods**

Research Methodology Syllabus For M.Phil Coursework 2016-17

1. Introduction to Research

a) Introducing the Idea of Research in Social Science

   b) Plagiarism, referencing and citation

   2. Doing research sub-discipline wise:

   a) Indian Politics and Comparative Politics

   b) Public Policy and International Relations

   c) Political Theory and Indian Political Thought

   3. Idea of Research

   4. Quantitative Methods

   5. Ethnographic Research

   a) Ethnography

   b) Ethnographic Approach: Field work

   c) Archive

   6. Alternative Readings of the Philosophy of Science

   7. Hermeneutics and Phenomenology

   8. Teaching

   a) Political Theory

   b) Indian Political Thought

   c) Administrative Theory

   d) Indian Politics

   e) Ethics

Annexure 1.1.2a

M.Phil Optional Papers

2012-13

1. Minority Culture- Mollica Dastidar
2. Multi-Level Federalism in Indian Constitution- Rekha Saxena
3. Public Policy: Making and Manifestation- Bidyut Chaktabarty
4. Media and Society- Prananjay Guha Thakur
5. Understanding Human Dignity- N. Sukumar

2013-14

1. Global Justice- Ashok Acharya
2. Reading the Constitution- Ujjwal Kumar Singh
3. Parties, Representation and Electoral Process in India- Rekha Saxena
4. Public Policy Making and Manifestation- BidyutChakrabarty
5. Power and Desire- Saroj Giri
6. Ideating Dignity- N. Sukumar

2014-15

1. Development, Knowledge and Politics in Post-colonial India- Madhulika Banerjee
2. Politics and Society in Indian Political Thought- P.K. Datta
3. Critical Theory- Saroj Giri
4. Citizenship and Identities in Globalizing World- Nasreen Chowdhary
5. Non-Violence: A Historical treatise of Human Mobilization- Bidyut Chakrabarty
6. Doing IR: Exploring Alternate trajectories- Navnita Chadha Behera

2015-2016

1. Law, Crime and Politics in India- Ujjwal Kumar Singh
2. Subaltern Politics in India- Sunil Choudhary
3. Citizenship and Identities in Globalizing World- Nasreen Chowdhary
4. Doing IR: Exploring Alternate trajectories- Navnita Chadha Behera
5. Identity Politics in International Relations- Sanjeev Kumar H.M.
6. Comparative Political Philosophy- Ashok Acharya

2016-17

1. Constitutionalism, Political Freedoms and Democracy- Ujjwal Kumar Singh
2. Subaltern Politics in India- Sunil Choudhary
3. Understanding Identities and making citizens in a Globalized World- Nasreen Chowdhary
4. Knowledge, Development and Politics: Conceptual and Field Issues- Madhulika Banerjee
5. New Directions in Federalism Studies- Rekha Saxena

M.Phil 2013-14

Course Title- Reading the Constitution

Course Instructor- Ujjwal Kumar Singh

Objective: The course is based on a thorough reading of the text of the Indian Constitution, alongside the Constituent Assembly Debates, to understand the organizing principles of the Constitution, the notions of constitutional change, institutional relationships, and questions of rights and obligations.

Theories and Practice of Constitutionalism (Why have constitutions?)

UpendraBaxi, 'Outline of a Theory of Practice' of Indian Constitutionalism' in Rajeev Bhargava ed. *Politics and Ethics of the Indian Constitution*. OUP, Delhi, 2009

UpendraBaxi. 'Postcolonial Legality' in Henry Schwartz and Sangeeta Ray eds. *ACompanion to Postcolonial Studies*, Blackwell, Oxford, 2005.

Legal Rules and Principles

Granville Austin, 'The Expected and the Unintended in the Indian Constitution', in Zoya Hasan and E. Sridharan eds., *India's Living Constitution*, Permanent Black, Delhi, 2006, (first published in 2002), pp.319-343

Pratap Bhanu Mehta, What is Constitutional Morality? *Seminar*, 615, 2010(to be read with) Selections from Valerian Rodrigues, *The Essential Writings of B.R. Ambedkar*, OUP, Delhi, 2002.

Judicial Review/basic structure/Parliamentary Sovereignty and Judicial Supremacy/Independence

Pratap Bhanu Mehta, 'The Inner Conflict in Constitutionalism: Judicial Review and the 'Basic Structure' in Zoya Hasan and E. Sridharan eds. *India's living Constitution*, Permanent Black, Delhi, 2006 (first published in 2002), pp. 179-206

Madhav Khosla, *The Indian Constitution*, Oxford India Short Introductions Series, OUP, Delhi, 2012, Chapter 4: 'Changing the Constitution', pp.149-165

Sudhir Krishnaswami, 'Constitutional Durability', *Seminar*, 615, 2010.

 Conceptions of Rights

Neera Chandhoke, 'Individual and Group Rights: A View from India' in Zoya Hasan and E. Sridharan eds. *India's living Constitution*, Permanent Black, Delhi, 2006 (first published in 2002), pp.207-241.

Martha Nussbaum, 'Feminist Critique; Sex, Equality, Liberty and Privacy' in Zoya Hasan and E. Sridharan   eds. *India's living Constitution*, Permanent Black, Delhi, 2006 (first published in 2002), pp.242-283.

Freedom of Religion

Ronald Dworkin, 'Religion and Dignity', in R. Dworkin, *Is Democracy Possible Here?*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2006, chapter 3.

Gary Jeffrey Jacobsohn, *The Wheel of Law; India's Constitution in Comparative Constitutional Context*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2003, Chapter 4; 'India: The Ameliorative Aspiration', pp. 91-121.

Rajeev Bhargava, 'India's Secular Constitution', in Zoya Hasan and E. Sridharan eds. *India's living Constitution*, Permanent Black, Delhi, 2006 (first published in 2002), pp.105-133.

Emergency Powers and the Rule of Law

Mark Tushnet, 'The Political Constitution of Emergency Powers' in Victor Ramraj ed., *Emergencies and the Limits of Legality*, CUP, Cambridge, 2008.

A.G. Noorani, 'The Trial of Gandhi', in Noorani, Political Trials in India, OUP, Delhi,

Ujjwal Kumar Singh, Chapter 1 in *The State, Democracy and Anti-terror Laws in India*, Sage, Delhi, 2005.

Ronald Dworkin, 'Terrorism and Human Rights' in *Is Democracy Possible Here?*, Princeton 2006.

Anil Kalhan, 'Constitution and "Extraconstitution": Emergency Powers in Postcolonial Pakistan and India', in Victor V. Ramraj and Arun Thiruvengadam eds., *Emergency Powers in Asia*, Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Basic Readings:

Anil Kalhan, 'Constitution and 'Extraconstitution': Emergency Powers in Postcolonial Pakistan and India', Drexel University earle Mack School of Law Legal Studies Research Paper Series, 2009-A-16

Rajeev Bhargava ed. *Politics and Ethics of the Indian Constitution*. OUP, Delhi, 2009.

Upendra Baxi. 'Postcolonial Legality 'in Henry Schwartz and Sangeeta Ray eds. *ACompanion to Postcolonial Studies*, Blackwell, Oxford, 2005.

Zoya Hasan and E. Sridharan eds., *India's Living Constitution*, Permanent Black, Delhi, 2006 (first published in 2002).

Madhav Khosla, *The Indian Constitution*, Oxford India Short Introductions, OUP, Delhi, 2012.

Sunil Khilnani, Vikram Raghavan and Arun Thiruvengadam, *Comparative Constitutionalism in South Asia*, OUP, New Delhi, 2013.

Gary Jeffrey Jacobsohn, *The Wheel of Law; India's Constitution in Comparative Constitutional Context*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2003.

Ronald Dworkin, *Is Democracy Possible Here?*Princeton 2006.*Seminar*, no.615, November 2010.

Course Title- Desire/Power: Interests/Ideology

Course Instructor- Saroj Giri

John Sturrock, *Structuralism and Since*, Introduction

Brain Massumi, The autonomy of affect, from Paul Patton, ed., *Deleuze: a critical reader*

Pierre Kloswosski, Chapter 2 from *Nietzsche and Vicious Circle*

Gilles Delezue, Desiring Machines (First Chap of *Anti-Oedipus*)

Michel Foucault, Selections from *Power/Knowledge*

Gayatri. C. Spivak, Can the Subaltern Speak?

S. Zizek, Selections from *Organs without bodies: Deleuze*

Etienne Balibar, The vacillation of ideology in Marxism, from Balibar, *Masses, Classes, Ideas*

Course Title- Ideating Dignity

Course Instructor-N. Sukumar

Rationale:

This course is an attempt to create a dialogic space wherein concepts like dignity, social inclusion and social justice would be revisited and recasted vis-à-vis contemporary political scenario. This is extremely essential as our societies are experiencing upheavals in both public and private spheres and long cherished ideas are fast becoming obsolete. In such a scenario, is it possible to create a notion of a shared self and a social fellowship? How does one negotiate with social movements, institutional problems and a changing value system? Can one achieve the Aristotelian ideal of Summum Bunum of life?

The pedagogical exercise involves both interrogating texts and experiential methodology. Hence, instead of privileging 'the text', the academic space will consist of various texts-biographies, cinema, cultural expressions and practices, discourses of resistance; in short the exercise would be to question and critique the meta-narratives prevalent in society.

Modules:

Demystifying Power as represented through socio-cultural, economic and political practices. Creating alternative dialogue through consensus and contestation

Stigma and Humiliation: There exists a certain patronizing attitude towards actors and processes which lead to pain and humiliation. However, there also exist narratives that transcend pain and humiliation into resistance. Here, one can also witness innovative means through which authority is negotiated and challenged.

Ideating Dignity: A nucleus of an alternative life world emerges through movements/resistance, literature, art forms etc which strive to attain self- respect and dignity.

Assessment:

The students are required to submit two book reviews and one written assignment.

Tentative Reading List:

Bagaric, Mirko and Allan James. 2006. The Vacuous Concept of Dignity. Journal of Human Rights 5(2):257-270.

Beteille, Andre. 1983. The Idea of Natural Inequality and Other Essays. Delhi: Oxford.

Brenda Major and Collette P. Eccleston. Stigma and Social Exclusion. in *The Social Psychology of Exclusion and Inclusion* (Edt). Dominic Abrams Michael A. Hogg José M. Marques. Psychology Press, Newyork 2005. pp. 63-88.

Malpas J and N. Lickiss. (Eds) 2007, Perspectives on Human Dignity: A Conversation, Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands.

Kretzmer D and E. Klein, (eds) 2002, The Concept of Human Dignity in Human Rights Discourse, The Hague: Kluwer Law International.

Guru Gopal, 2009, Humiliation: Claims and Context, New Delhi, OUP

Apart from the above mentioned books which provide conceptual clarity, the students have to co-relate it   with the study of biographies, cinema and various art forms, personal and group experiences, negotiating the public and private spheres.

M.Phil 2014-15

Course Title- Politics and Society in Indian Political Thought.

Cousre Instructor- P.K. Datta

(Close Readings of key Texts)

Rammohon Roy, *Translation of an Abridgement of the Vedanta or Resolution of all the Vedas...”; A second conference between an advocate for and an opponent of, the practice of burning widows alive”.*

Swami Vivekananada, *Modern India, The Future of India*

V.D.Savarkar*, Hindutva: Who is a Hindu*

M Iqbal, Ch VI.*The Reconstruction of Islam*

R. N. Tagore*, Nationalism*

M.Gandhi, *Hind Swaraj*

B.R.Ambedkar, *Conversion, TheAnnhilation of Caste*

J.L. Nehru*. The Discovery of India.*

Course Title- Critical Theory

Course Instructor- Saroj Giri

1. **Introduction (appetizer!)**

Nathan Jun and Daniel Smith, eds., *Deleuze and Ethics*: Chapter 1

2. **Marx's theory of value**

Karl Marx, *Wage-Labour and Capital*

Paul M Sweezy, Chaps 1-2 from *Theory of Capitalist Development*

Jean Baudrillard, Chapter 1 from *Critique of a Political Economy of Signs.*

Slavoj Zizek, Chapter 3, *Living in the End Times*

3. **Marx without Hegel**

Louis Althusser, 'Contradiction and over-determination', in *For Marx*

Frederic Jameson, Chap 1: *The Political Unconscious*

4. **Power, governmentality, psychoanalysis**

Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*: Part 1, Chaps 1-2; Part 3, Chap 3.

Judith Butler, 'Subjection, resistance, resignification: Freud and Foucault', *The Psychic Life of Power*

MladenDolar, 'Beyond Interpellation', *Qui Parle*, Vol. 6, No. 2, Spring/Summer 1993.

Judith Butler, 'Conscience doth make subjects of all: Althusser's subjection', *The Psychic Life of Power*

SlavojZizek, 'The limits of the semiotic approach to psychoanalysis'.

5. **Bodies, languages: semiotics or its limits**

Deleuze and Guattari, *What is Philosophy?*: Excerpts

Foucault, 'Nietzsche, Genealogy, History'

Badiou, 'Bodies, Languages and Truths'

Badiou, 'Democratic Materialism and the Materialist Dialectic'

6. **Semiotics of impulses**

Spinoza, *Ethics*: Excerpts

Pierre Klossowski, *Nietzsche and the Vicious Circle*: Chaps 1-2.

Vicki Kirby, *Telling Flesh: the substance of the corporeal*: Excerpts

Course Title- Citizenship and Identities in Globalized World

Course Instructor- Nasreen Chowdhory

The course will examine some perspectives and debates on citizenship and identities in globalised world. The course intends to interrogate the everyday uses of "citizen" and "citizenship", keeping in mind the immigration debate in global north and its implications to global south. The aim of this course is to provide an introduction to historical, socio-cultural, and political discussions of citizenship, identity formation and its link with local communities, community at large, and the nation-states.

Assessment:

4 -5 Short notes of 3-4 pages on specific theme(s) and readings

Term paper (topic to be determined after discussion).

Themes:

Understanding Identity and Ethnicity

Anderson, Benedict (1991), Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism (Revised Edition), London & NY, Verso.

Apiah, A. Kwame (2006), "The Politics of Identity", Daedalus, Fall 2006, Vol. 135, No. 4, pp.15-22.

Bilgrami, Akeel (2006), "Notes Towards the Definition of 'Identity'", Daedalus, Fall 2006, Vol. 135, No. 4, pp. 5-14.

Boege, Volker et al (2008), On Hybrid Political and Emerging States: State Formation in the Context of 'Fragility', Berghof Research Centre for Constructive Conflict Management, Berlin.

Cerulo, A. Karen (1997), "Identity Construction: New Issues, New Directions", Annual Review of Sociology, 1997, Vol. 23, pp. 385-409.

 Connor, Walker (1992), "The Nation and its Myth", in Smith, D. Anthony, Ethnicity and Nationalism, Leiden, NY & Köln, E.J. Brill Publisher, pp. 48-57. 66.

Cressida, Heyes (2009), "Identity Politics", The Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy (Spring 2009 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), Available Online: http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2009/entries/identity-politics, accessed 20 March 2011.

Hobsbawm, Eric (1996), "Identity Politics and the Left", New Left Review, May-June 1996, Vol. I/217, pp. 38-47.

Hollinger, A. David (2006), "From Identity to Solidarity", Daedalus, Fall 2006, Vol. 135, No. 4, pp.23-31.

Honneth, Axel (1995), The Struggle for Recognition: The Moral Grammar of Social Conflict, Cambridge, Polity Press. Hutchinson, John & Smith, D. Anthony (1996), Ethnicity, Oxford & NY, Oxford University Press.

The Social Construction of Identity and Ethnicity

Barth, Frederik. 1969. Ethnic Groups and Boundaries. Waveland Press. introduction, pp. 1-38.
Hobsbawm, Eric. 1992. The Invention of Tradition. London: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 1-14.
Brubaker, Rogers. 2004. "Ethnicity Without Groups," in Ethnicity Without Groups. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. pp. 7-27.
Brass, Paul. 1991. Ethnicity and Nationalism New Delhi: Sage Publisher.

Situational and Multiple Identities

Hutchinson John, Ethnicity and modern nations Ethnic and Racial Studies, 23:4, 651-669,
Rao, Aparna, 1999 The Many Sources of Identity, Ethnic and Racial Studies 22:1 January pp. 56-91.
Madan, T. N 1998 Coping with South Asian Identities, Ethnic and Racial Studies, 21:4, 969-989.
Burton Jonathan, Alita Nandi & Lucinda Platt 2010 Measuring Identity Ethnic and Racial Studies, 33:8, 1332-1349.

Conceptualizing immigration and citizenship debates

Michael Walzer (1983), Chapter 2 (p. 31-63): "Membership," in Spheres of Justice. New York: Basic Books.

Asylum and the Common: Mediations between Foucault, Agamben and Esposito Serene John-Richards

The Principle of Hospitality, Jacques Derrida: Interview

Hannah Arendt on the Stateless Richard J. Bernstein Published online: 05 Aug 2006

Linda Bosniak (2006), Chapter 6 (p. 122-140): "Separated Spheres: Citizenship and Its Conundrums," in The Citizen and the Alien: Dilemmas of Contemporary Membership. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

John Torpey (2000), Chapter 1 (p. 4-20): "Coming and Going: On the State Monopolization of the Legitimate 'Means of Movement," in The Invention of the Passport: Surveillance, Citizenship and the State. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tomas Hammar (1990), Chapter 1 (p. 9-25): "Three Entrance Gates into the New Country" [optional: Chapter 2 (p. 26-40): "Membership of State and Nation"], in Democracy and the Nation State: Aliens, Denizens, and Citizens in a World of International Migration. Aldershot, UK: Avebury.

T. H. Marshall (1950), "Citizenship and Social Class" [excerpt], p. 93-110 in Gershon Shafir, ed. (1998), The Citizenship Debates: A Reader. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Why do People Move and Seek Membership Elsewhere?

Economic Considerations and Social Networks UN Human Development Report, 2009, Chapter 2, sections 2.1 and 2.2. Full report available at: http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/global/hdr2009/.

Sassen, Saskia. 1998. America's Immigration 'Problem.' Pp. 31-53 in Globalization and Its Discontents: Essays on the New Mobility of People and Money. New York: New Press.

Massey, Douglas S. 1999. "Why Does Immigration Occur? A Theoretical Synthesis." Pp. 34-52 in The Handbook of International Migration: The American Experience, edited by C. Hirschman, P. Kasinitz and J. DeWind. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Membership, Belonging and Legal Status – Refugees

Zetter, Roger. 1991. "Labelling Refugees: Forming and Transforming a Bureaucratic Identity." Journal of Refugee Studies 4(1).

Brown, Hana E. 2011. "Refugees, Rights, and Race: How Legal Status Shapes Liberian Immigrants' Relationship with the State." Social Problems 58(1): 144-163.

Contesting Citizenship I

Shachar, Ayelet. 2009. The Birthright Lottery: Citizenship and Global Inequality. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Contesting Citizenship II

Stevens, Jaqueline. 2010 States without Nations: Citizenship for Mortals. New York: Columbia University Press. Read ch. 1 2 and 8

Young, Iris Marion. 1994. "Policy and Group Difference: A Critique of the Ideal of Universal Citizenship," in Ronald Beiner ed. Theorizing Citizenship. Albany: State University of New York Press. Pp. 175-207.

Course Title- Doing IR: Exploring Alternative Trajectories

Course Teacher: Navnita Chadha Behera

Course Objective:

The course explores alternate vantage points, both theoretical and methodological for engaging with the issues and problematiques of International Relations. Students will learn new theoretical tools and how to apply them for studying issues of their choice. They will be expected to read original and complete texts of select IR scholars who have deployed such techniques and/or perspectives in their research as well as the works of those thinkers and intellectuals who may not be traditionally considered as IR. The overall objective of the course is to equip students with tools to push, expand and rethink the boundaries of what IR stands for and the spirit is to tread the un- treaded path!

Course Outline:

1. **Theoretical Frameworks**

a) Post-colonialism

b) Historical Sociology

2**. Thinkers**

a) Rabindranath Tagore

b) Edward Said/ W.E.B Du Bois

3. Reading Texts of IR Scholars

a)Ashis Nandy

b) Arlene Tickner

c) RBJ Walker

d) Michael Shapiro

e) Siba Grovogui

f) Ann Tickner

g) Arjun Appadurai

h) BS Chimni

i) David L. Blaney&Naeem Inayatullah\

j) Tingyang Zhao

j. Yiwei Wang

k. Arturo Escobar

l. Sandra Harding

3. Old Issues/ Alternate Methods

4. Identifying Alternate Problematiques for Research

Select (Suggested) Readings:

- Sanjay Seth, (ed.), *Postcolonial Theory and International Relations: A Critical Introduction*, London: Routledge, 2013.

- Stephen Hobden & John M. Hobson, (eds.), *Historical Sociology of International Relations*, Cambridge Univ. Press, 2002.

- Geeta Chowdhry and Sheila Nair, (eds.), *Power, Postcolonialism and International Relations: Reading Race, Gender and Class,* London: Routledge, 2002.

- Phillip Darby, *The Fiction of Imperialism: Reading Between International Relations and Postcolonialism,* London: Cassell, 1998.

- Books By Rabindranath may include: *Nationalism, Words of Freedom: ideas of a Nation; The Spirit of Japan; Letters from an Expatriate in Europe* and several other pieces from his Collected Works.

- Books by Edward Said may include: *Orientalism, Culture and Imperialism, The World, The Text and the Critic* and *Freud and the Non-European* among others.

- Books by W.E.B. Du Bois may include *The Souls of Black Folk, Black Reconstruction in America: 1860-1880; Asia: Crossing the World Colour Line* among others.

- Books by Ashis Nandy may include: *The Intimate Enemy: Loss of Self and recovery Under Colonialism; Bonfire of Creeds; The Illegitimacy of Nationalism, Time Warps, Map Making: Partition Story of Two Bengals, The Future of Knowledge and Culture* and *Barbaric Others: Essays on Western Racism* among others.

- Books by Arlene Tickner may include: *IR Scholarship Around the World; Thinking International Relations Differently; Claiming the International* and other books under the *Worlding Beyond the West series.*

- Books by RBJ Walker may include: *After the Globe, Before the World, Out of Line: Essays on Politics of Boundaries and the Boundaries of Modern Politics; Politics of the Event: Time, Movement, Becoming* among others.

- Books by Michael Shapiro may include: *International/Intertextual Relations*;

Challenging Boundaries: Global Flows, Territorial Identities; Violent Cartographies: Mapping Cultures of War; Cinematic Political Thought: Narrating Race, Nation and Gender; Moral Spaces: Rethinking Ethics and World Politics; *Methods and Nations: Cultural Governance and the Indigenous Subject*; *Sovereign Lives: Power in Global Politics; Cinematic Geopolitics* among others.

- Books by Siba Grovogui may include: *Sovereigns, Quasi-Sovereigns and Africans: Race and Self-Determination in International Law; Beyond Euro centrism and Anarchy: Memories of International Order and Institutions* among others.

- Books by Ann Tickner may include: *Feminism and International Relations: Conversations about the Past, Present and Future*; *Gendering World Politics: Issues and Approaches in the Post-Cold War World*; *Gender in International Relations: Feminist Perspectives on Achieving Global Security*; *Self-Reliance versus Power Politics: American and Indian Experiences in Building Nation- States* among others.

- Books by Arjun Appadurai may include: *Modernity At Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization; The Future as a Cultural Fact: Essays on the Global Condition; India's World: The Politics of Creativity in a Globalized Society*; *Fear of Small Numbers: An Essay on the Geography of Anger* among others.

- Books by BS Chimni may include: *International Law and World Order: A Critique of Contemporary Approaches; The Third World & International Legal Order: Law, Politics &Globalisation; International Refugee Law: A Reader* among others.

- Books by David Blaney and NaeemInayatullah may include: *International Relations and the Problem of Difference; Savage Economics: Wealth, Poverty and Temporal Walls of Capitalism* among other writings.

- Books by Tingyang Zhao may include: *Contemporary Chinese Political thought: Debates and Perspectives; The Tianxia System: An Introduction to the Philosophy of a World Institution*; *Investigations of the Bad World: Political Philosophy as First Philosophy* among others.

- Books by Yiwei Wang may include: *Beyond International Relations: A Chinese Cultural Understanding of IR Theories*; *The World Is Oval: Outlook of Future World Order; War & Peace: Rethinking about the 20th Century*; *International Relations in the Age of Globalization* among others.

- Books by Arturo Escobar may include: *Globalization and the Decolonial Option; World Anthropologies: Disciplinary Transformations in Contexts of Power; The World Social Forum: Challenging Empires; Encountering Development: The Making*

and Unmaking of the Third World among others.

- Books by Sandra Harding may include: *The Postcolonial Science and Technology Studies Reader; Sciences From Below: Feminisms, Postcolonialisms, and Modernities*; *Science and Social Inequality: Feminist and Postcolonial Issues*; *The Feminist Standpoint Theory Reader. Decentering the Center: Philosophies for a Multicultural, Postcolonial and Feminist World*; *Is Science Multicultural? Postcolonialisms, Feminisms, and Epistemologies*; *The 'Racial' Economy of Science: Toward a Democratic Future*; *Whose Science? Whose Knowledge: Thinking From Women's Lives* among others.

M.Phil 2015-16

Course Title- Law, Crime, and Politics in India

Course Instructor- Ujjwal Kumar Singh

Objective: In this course, the aim is to understand the relationship between law, crime, judicial interventions and political processes. The students will explore this relationship by asking questions about law's origins (viz., the colonial state, a nationalist elite, popular struggles), the plural sites in which struggles around laws takes place, and the manner in which legal categories are produced and contested. In this context, it also aims to problematize the notion of crime, by locating the historical and political contexts within which definitions of crime and its transformations take place. Specific laws, judgments which enhance the frontiers of law, and government reports form a significant content of the course. Law and judicial pronouncements have to be woven into the dynamics of Indian politics and examined in their specific historical context as well as for their enduring significance in the larger political process. The course will identify in particular, the social and political forces, political and ideological divides that frame the contours of the debates on crime and law, and the relationships between the governmental institutions.

1. **Law, crime and colonialism**

2. **The Constitution and rule of law**

3. **Criminal justice system in India**

4. **Crimes against women: sexual harassment and rape**

5. **Custodial crimes: death, rape and torture**

6. **Criminalisation of politics and electoral laws**

7. **Caste, atrocities and special laws**

8. **Terrorism and extraordinary laws**

9. **Offences against the state, waging war, conspiracy and sedition**

 Readings:

Akhilshwar Pathak, Law, Strategies, *Ideologies: Legislating Forests in Colonial India*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Andrew Altman, Arbitrary Government and the Rule of Law in *Arguing About Law: An Introduction to Legal Philosophy,* Boston: Wadsworth, pp.3-19, 1996.

Bernard S. Cohn, Law and the Colonial State in India in June Starr and Jane F.Collier, ed., *History and Power in the Study, New Directions in Legal Anthropology*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, pp.131-152, 1989.

Combatting Terrorism, Protecting by Righteousness, Eighth Report, Second Administrative Reforms Commission, June 2008.

David Sugarman, ed., *Legality, Ideology and the State*, London and New York: Academic Press, 1983.

Elizabeth Kolsky, A Note on the Study of Indian Legal History, Law and History Review, Fall 23 (3), pp.703-706, 2005.

Elizabeth Kolsky, *Colonial Justice in British India: White Violence and the Rule of Law*, Cambridge: Cambridge Studies in Indian History and Society, 2010.

Flavia Agnes, Protecting Women against Violence? Review of a Decade of Legislation, 1980-1989 in Partha Chatterjee ed., *State and Politics in India*, Oxford University Press, pp.521-565, 1997, sixth impression 2004.

Gilles Tarabout and Ranabir Samaddar eds., *Conflict, Power and the Landscape of Constitutionalism,* London and New York: Routledge, 2008.

Girish Agrawal and Colin Gonsalves, Dalits and the Law, *Human Rights Law Network*, New Delhi, 2005.

Herman Schwendinger and Julia Schwendinger, Social Class and the Definition of Crime, in Tony Platt and Paul Takaji eds., *Crime and Social Justice*, London: Macmillan, 1981.

Kalpana Kannabiran and Ranbir Singh eds., *Challenging the Rule(s) of Law: Colonialism, Criminology and Human Rights in India,* New Delhi: Sage, 2008. 3 Kalpana Kannabiran, *Tools of Justice: Non-discrimination and Indian Constitution*, New Delhi: Routledge, 2012.

Kamala Sankaran and U.K. Singh, *Towards Legal Literacy: An Introduction to Law in India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2015.

Landmark Judgements on Election Law, Election Commission of India, New Delhi, 2006.

Law Commission of India, Forty third report on Offences against the National Security, 1971.

Michael R. Anderson, Classifications and Coercions: Themes in South Asian Legal Studies in the 1980s, South Asia Research, 10 (2), pp.158-177, 1990.

Nandini Sundar, *Legal Grounds: Natural Resources, Identity and the Law in Jharkhand* (Chapters 1 and 8), Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2009.

Nivedita Menon, *Recovering Subversion: Feminist Politics Beyond the Law*, New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2004.

Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and its Fragments* (ch.2), New Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp.14-34, 1994.

Prakash Louis and R.Vashum, *Extraordinary Laws in India*, New Delhi: Indian Social Institute, 2002.

Pratiksha Baxi, *Public Secrets of Law: Rape Trials in India,* New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Radhika Singha, *A Despotism of Law: Crime and Justice in Early Colonial India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Ranjit Guha, Chandra's Death in Ranajit Guha ed., *Subaltern Studies, Volume V*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 135-165, 1987, paperback ed., 1990.

Satish Saberwal and Heiko Seiversed, *Rules, Laws, Constitutions*, New Delhi: Sage, 1998.

South Asia Human Rights Documentation Centre, *Oxford Handbook of Human Rights and Criminal Justice: The System and Procedure,* Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2011.

T.B. Macaulay *et al*, *The Indian Penal Code,* 1837, Higginbotham and Company, Madras, 1888.

Tony Platt, "Street Crime": A View from the Left, in Tony Platt and Paul Takaji eds., *Crime and Social Justice,* London: Macmillan, 1981.

Ujjwal Kumar Singh, *The State, Democracy and Anti-Terror Laws in India*, New Delhi: Sage, 2007.

UpendraBaxi, Rule of Law in India: Theory and Practice, in Randall Peerenboom ed. *Asian Discourses of Rule of Law,* London and New York: Routledge, pp.324-345, 2004.

UpendraBaxi, *The Crisis of the Legal System in India*, Delhi: Vikas, 1982.

Upendra Baxi, Towards A Sociology of Indian Law, New Delhi: Satvahan, pp.125-130, 1986.

Course Title- Subaltern Politics in India

Course Instructor- Prof. Sunil K. Choudhary

Course Objective: Politics has undergone significant transformation over the decades – from power relations to political participation, from the study of government to the art governance, justice and development. This course attempts to examine politics from the perspective of the marginal social classes, castes, groups and communities, who constitute the lower rungs of society in India and have come to be known as 'subalterns'.

The course seeks to analyse the evolution of subalterns in various historical discourses before locating it in Indian political discourse. It also examines the issues of development and governance as visualized by the subalterns and focuses on the challenges faced by them in contemporary Indian society.

1. **Interpreting the 'Subaltern': From Enlightenment to Subaltern Schools**
a) Enlightenment
b) Marxism
c) Colonization
d) Anti-colonial Development – Lohia, JP and Deendayal

2. **Subalterns and Social Movements**
a) Caste
b) Tribe
c) Labor
d) Peasant

3. **Electoral Politics of the Subalterns**
a) Democratic Upsurge
b) Party Politics
c) Coalition Governments

4. **Developmental Agenda of the Subalterns**
a) Job Reservations
b) Infrastructure
c) State Formation/Autonomous Councils

5. **Subalterns and the Contemporary Challenges**
a) Consolidating the Subalterns
b) Development – economic growth, political decentralization, justice
c) Governance

Readings and References:

Amin, Samir (2010). Global History: A View from the South. Pambazuka Press. Chatterjee, Partha (2004). *The Politics of the Governed: Reflections on Popular Politics in Most of the World*. New York: Columbia University Press.Chatterjee, Partha (2011). *Lineages of Political Society: Studies in Postcolonial Democracy.*

New York: Columbia University Press.Chatterjee, Partha and Gyanendra Pandey (eds.) (1992). *Subaltern Studies VII: Writing on South Asian History and Society*. Delhi: Oxford University Press. Gramsci, Antonio (1971). *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*. Intl Pub.

Guha, Ranjit (1997). *A Subaltern Studies Reader 1986-1995*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Guha, Ranjit and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (eds) (1988). *Selected Subaltern Studies*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Guha, Ranajit and James C. Scott (1999). *Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India*. Duke University Press (Tx).

Lal, Vinay. 'Subaltern Studies and its Critics: Debates over Indian History'.Ludden, David (2002). *Reading Subaltern Studies: Critical History, Contested Meaning, and the Globalization of South Asia*. Delhi: Permanent Black.

Prakash, Gyan (1992). 'Postcolonial Criticism of Indian Historiography', *Social Text*, No.31/32, *Third World and Postcolonial Issues*.

Roy, Himanshu (2006). *Peasant in Marxism*. Delhi: Manak.

Sarkar, Sumit (1997). *Writing Social History*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty (1988). 'Can the Subaltern Speak?' in C Nelson and L Grossberg (eds). *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*. Basingstoke: Macmillan Education.

Staughton, Lynd (2014). *Doing History from the Bottom Up: On E.P. Thompson, Howard*

Zinn, and Rebuilding the Labor Movement from Below. Haymarket Books

Yadav, Yogendra (2000). 'Understanding the Second Democratic Upsurge: Trends of Bahujan Participation in Electoral Politics in the 1990s', in Francine R Frankel et al (eds.). *Transforming India: Social and Political Dynamics of Democracy*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Course Title- Identity Politics in International Relations

Course Instructor- Sanjeev Kumar H.M.

Course Description: If politics is defined as the power of humans to decide who gets what, when and how, then identity politics may be interpreted as a critical sub-text of that process of decision-making, determined on the basis of who has the capability to assign identities to humans, delineate the lines between we/others and with this, ultimately control the very meaning of identity in society. The subject of identity politics is a discursive sphere spanning the entire gamut of humanities and social sciences, requiring an inter-disciplinary approach for its understanding. In International Relations which is relatively a new discipline, the field of identity politics has rapidly acquired centrality, with multiple strands and diverse notions pertaining to the processes of identity formation, differentiation, marginalization, problems of recognition, assertions of group identities and the State versus group identity having emerged as crucial aspects of IR studies. 'Identity Politics in International Relations', which is an optional course, tries to explore the analytical and normative value of studying International Relations from the perspective of identity. This will be done by discussing diverse streams ranging from liberal/Marxist, realist/communitarian and postcolonial/postmodern discourses of identity formation.

Course Structure

Week I*:* In this week, the meaning and definitions of the concept of identity would be discussed. An introductory overview of as to how the notion of identity originated in social sciences and the ways in which it has been used as an interdisciplinary concept for the purposes of analysis would be given here. In this week, we would alsoseek to understand as to what identity politics is all about. The main aim here is to know as to how identity politics, the politics of identity and the politics of difference are inter-twined into a triangulation, bringing the notion of identity into a pivotal position in contemporary politics.

Required Readings:

Brubaker, Rogers and Frederick Cooper (2000), 'Beyond Identity', Theory and Society. No. 29: 1-47. Gupta, Akhil and James Ferguson (1992), 'Beyond Culture: Space Identity and the Politics of Difference', *Cultural Anthropology.* 7: 6-23.

Week II: This week examines the Dominant approaches interrogating the processes of identity construction. They include,(A) the Primordialists, (B) Perennialists and (C) Modernists. Apart from this, major discourses explaining Identity Politics: (A) Liberal/Marxist, (B) Critical/Constructivist, (C) Postmodern/Postcolonial *would also be discussed.*

Required Readings:
Bernstein, Mary (2005), 'Identity Politics', Annual Review of Sociology. No. 31: 47-74.

Zefhuss, Mark (2001), 'Constructivism and Identity: A Dangerous Liaison', *European Journal of International Relations*. 7(3): 315-348.

Week III: Here, the understanding of various sources of identity formation would be initiated. In this line this week focuses on nation, religion, language and ethnicity as sources of identity formation.

Required Readings:

Abeysekara, Ananda(2004), 'Identity for and Against Itself: Religion, Criticism and Pluralization', Journal of the American Academy of Religion. 72(4): 973-1001.

Cornell, Stephen E., and Douglass Hartmann (1997), *Ethnicity and Race: Making Identities in a Changing World*. California: Pine Forge Press.

Craith, Mairead Nic (2007), (ed.) *Language Power and Identity Politics*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Gellner, Ernest. 1983. Nation and Nationalism. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Geertz, Clyfford. 1973. 'Religion as a Cultural System', in Clyfford Geertz[ed], The Interpretation of Cultures. New York: Basic Books, pp: 84-112.

Hale, Henry (2004), 'Explaining Ethnicity', *Comparative Political Studies*. 37(4): 458-485.

Kannvall, Catarina(2004), 'Globalisation and Religious Nationalism: Self, Identity, and the Search for Ontological Security', Political Psychology. 25(5): 741-761.

Shapiro, Michael J. (1997), 'Narrating the Nation: Unwelcoming the Stranger', *Alternatives*. 22(2): 1-34.

Smith, Anthony D. 1989. 'Origins of Nations', Ethnic and Racial Studies. 12[3], pp: 341-356 and 363-367.

Week IV: Continuing with the sources of identity formation, this week discusses gender, sexuality and race as sources of identity formation.

Required Readings:

Briant, Joanne and Tony Schofield. 2007. 'Feminine Sexual Subjectivities: Bodies, Agency and Life History'. Sexualities. 10[3], pp: 321-340.

Butler, Judith (1990), *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York: Routledge.

Dean, Carolyn J.(1994), Productive Hypothesis: Focault, Gender and the History of Sexuality', History and Theory. 33(3): 271-296.

Kandiyoti, Deniz (1991), 'Identity and its Discontents: Women and the Nation', *Millennium*

20 (3): 429-443.

Nicholson, Linda (2008), Identity Before Identity Politics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: Read the first three chapters.

Smedley, Audrey (1998), 'Race and the Construction of Human Identity', American Anthropologist. 100(3): 690-702.

Week V: This week seeks to understand the emergence of the problemetique of identity in the disciplinary boundaries of International Relations. By dealing with the key dimensions relating to identity such as collective identity, self and other, difference and similarity, they will be contextualized in the conceptual domain of International Relations.

Required Readings:

Agnew, James (1999), 'Mapping Political Power Beyond State Boundaries: Territory, Identity and Movement in World Politics', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 28(3): 499-522.

Horowitz, Michael (2002), 'Research Report on the Use of Identity Concepts in International Relations', *Harvard Identity Project*. Harvard University Press.

Lapid, Yosef and Friedrich Kratochwil(1996), The Return of Culture and Identity in IR Theory. Boulder: Lynne Rienner.

Viotti, Paul R. and Mark V. Kaupi (2007), *International Relations and World Politics: Security, Economy, Identity*. London: Pearson.

Week VI: Continuing from what we had begun in Week V, the origins, reproduction, and effects of identity on the sphere of international relations would be explored from different perspectives. The issue of identity which is one of the crucial components of the discourses on culture has been a major subject of study for sociologists, anthropologists and psychologists. Anyhow, in International Relations Studies it is yet to gather much ground. The aim here is to highlight this and related phenomenon, as to understand the extent of progress that International Relations has made towards bridging this lacuna. In this line, issues like colonialism, imperialism, hegemony and soft power would be discussed.

Required Readings:

Cox, Michael. 2004. 'Empire, Imperialism, and the Bush Doctrine', *Review of International Studies*. No, 30, pp: 585-608.

Cox, Robert. 1987. Production, Power and World Order. New York: Columbia University Press.

Egleton, Terry, Fredric Jameson and Edward Said. 1990. Nationalism, Colonialism and Literature. Minneapolis: Minnesota University Press.

Gill, Stephen (2004), *Gramsci, Historical Materialism and International Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Harshe, Rajen(1997), Twentieth Century Imperialism: Shifting Contours and Changing Conceptions. New Delhi: Sage.

Horavath, Ronald J.(1973), 'A Definition of Colonialism', Current Anthropology. 13(1): 45-57.

Keohane, Robert (1984), *After Hegemony*. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press.

Nye, Joseph S.(1990), 'The Changing Nature of World Power', Political Science Quarterly. 105(2): 177-192.

Xintian, Yun (2002), 'The Role of Soft Power in International Relations'. *Chinese Philosophical Studies*, Asia Series, 3(20) (www.cultural policy.org)

Week VII: Moving further, this week focuses upon the processes of the identity formation of postcolonial States. The main focus here would be to understand the Emergence of postcolonial State in South Asia and the evolution of its identity as a region.

Required Readings:

Basche, Linda (1994), *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments and Deterritorialised Nation-States*. London: Routledge.

Bhabha, Homi(1990), 'Dissemination: Time, Narrative and the Margins of the Modern Nation', in Homi Bhabha (ed.), *Nation and Narration*, (London Routledge): p 299-312.

Nandy, Ashis (1983): *The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self under Colonialism* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press).

South Asian Politics: Modernity and the Landscape of Clandestine and Incommunicable Selves', Macalester International. 4(21): 223-247.

Paolini, Albert J., Anthony Elliott and Anthony Moran (1999), *Navigating Modernity: Postcolonialism, Identity and International Relations: Critical Perspectives on World Politics*. London: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Said, Edward (1978), *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon.

Week IX: In this week, we attempt at understanding the broad framework of the turf upon which the subtle nuances of identity politics are played out in International Relations. We will try here to conceptualize the major grounds upon which contemporary International Relations have witnessed identity as key determining force in shaping the politics among Nation-States. These include issues such as the role of the Nation-State in a changing world, Nationalism, secularism, and multiculturalism.

Required Readings:

Ashley, Richard (1988), 'Untying the Sovereign State'. *Millennium*, 17 (2): 227-262.

Bennett, David (1998), (ed.) *Multicultural States: Rethinking Difference and Identity*. Cambridge: Routledge.

Brass, Paul R. (1991), *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Theory and Comparison*. New Delhi: Sage.

Bruce, Steve. 2002. *God is Dead: Secularism in the West*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Cady, Linell E. and Elizabeth Shakman (2010), (eds.) *Comparative Secularisms in a Globalising World*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Kumar, Sanjeev H.M. (2011), 'Contested Beliefs and Fractured Faiths: The Dyslexia of Nationalisms and the deepening Subcontinental Divide'. *Turkish Journal of Politics* 2 (2): 87-101.

Talbot, Ian (2000): *Inventing the Nation: India and Pakistan* (New York: Oxford University Press). Teschke, B. (2002), 'Theorising the Westphalian System of States: International Relations from Absolutism to Capitalism', *European Journal of International Relations*. 8(1): 5-48.

Vanaik, Achin and Paul R Brass (2002): "Introduction", in Paul R. Brass and Achin Vanaik (eds.) *Competing Nationalisms in South Asia* (Hyderabad: Orient Longman) 01-17.

Week X: This week examines the role of culture, identity and globalization on international Relations. Cultural factors have invariably influenced the trajectories of international relations since a long time. But off late, their influence has increased to manifold proportions. The advent of globalization has imparted a critical dimension to this entire process. In view of this, the examination of as to how the notion of identity has figured in the sphere of international relations becomes very crucial.

Required Readings:

Hardt, Michael and Antonio Negri (2000), *Empire*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Harshe, Rajen (2006), 'Culture Identity and International Relations', *Economic and Political Weekly*. September 16.

Lieber Robert J. and Ruth E. Weisberg (2002), 'Globalisation Culture and Identities in

Crisis', International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society. 16(2): 273-296.

Mazzar, Michael. 1996. Culture in International Relations, *Washington Quarterly*, Spring, http://www.globalpolicy.org.

Strandsbjerg, Jeppe (2010), *Territory, Globalisation and International Relations: Cartographic Realities of Space*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Wendt, Allen (1994), 'Collective Identity Formation and the International State', *American Political Science Review*. 88(2): 384-396.

Week XI: Picking up from the last week, this week focuses as to how the post September 11 scenario, provides a significant facet to the entire process as to how cultural issues have influenced international relations. This must be understood in the context of the culture talk surrounding the issue of the global identity of Muslims and the contested notions relating to it.

Required Readings:

Abrahamian, Ervand. 2003. 'The US Media, September 11 and Huntington', Third World Quarterly. 24(3), pp: 529-544.

Ayoob, Mohammad. 2008. The Many Faces of Political Islam. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. Carlei, Robert. 2011. 'Tariq Ramadan and the Quest for Moderate Islam', Society. 48(1), pp: 58-69.

Doran, Michael. 2002. 'Somebody Else's Civil War', Foreign Affairs. 81(1), pp: 22-42.

Fuller, Graham E. 2002. 'The Future of Political Islam', Foreign Affairs. 81(2), pp: 48-60.

Huntington, Samuel P. 1993. 'Clash of Civilizations?', Foreign Affairs. 72(3), pp: 22-49.

Leiken, Robert S. 2005. 'Europe's Angry Muslims', Foreign Affairs. 84(4) July-August, pp: 120-135. Lewis, Bernar. 1990. 'The Roots of Muslim Rage: Why So Many Muslims Resent the West and Why Their Bitterness will not Easily be Mollified', The Atlantic Monthly.http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1990/09/the-roots-of-muslim-rage/304643/

Mamdani, Mahmood. 2002. Good Muslim and Bad Muslim: A Political Perspective of Culture and Terrorism', American Anthropologist. 104(3), September, pp: 766-775.

Week XII: This week provides a comprehensive overview of identity politics and political differences in contemporary political life of South Asia. The ways in which identity figures into politics and politics figures into identity in South Asia would be discussed by engaging

with issues such as identity of Muslims in the post September 11 epoch, diaspora identity , the problem of refugee identity and the identity of the Stateless.

Required Readings:

Bates, Crispin (2001), *Communities Empire and Migration: South Asians in Diaspora*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Kumar, Sanjeev H.M. (2009), 'Post-September 11 crisis in International Relations and the State of Multicultural Societies'*, Economic and Political Weekly*. 44(3):47-55.

2013. Constructing Nation's Enemy: Hindutva, Popular Culture and the Muslim Other in Bollywood Cinema, Third World Quarterly, 35 (4)

Lau, Lisa and Ana Cristina Mendes (2011), (eds.) *Re-orientalism and South Asian Identity Politics: The Oriental Other*. New Delhi: Routledge.

Pemberton, Kelly and Michael Nijhawan (2009), *Shared Idioms, Sacred Symbols, and the Articulations of Identity in South Asia*. London: Routledge.

Rai, Rajesh and Peeter Reeves (2008), *The South Asian Diaspora: Transnational Networks and Changing Identities*. New Delhi: Routledge.

Singh, Deepak K. (2 0 1 0),*The Stateless in South Asia: The Chakmas between Bangladesh and India*. New Delhi: Sage India.

Taylor, David and Malcolm Yapp (1979), (eds.) *Political Identity inSouth Asia*. London: Cambridge University Press.

Recommended Readings:

Ahmed, Abdullahi (2007), *Islam and the Secular State: Negotiating the Future of Shariah*. Cambridge Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Ali, Tariq (2002), *The Clash of Fundamentalisms*. New Delhi: Rupa and Co.

Butler, Judith and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (2007), *Who Sings the Nation: Language Politics Belonging*. London: Seagull Books.

Cooper, Robert (2004), *The Breaking of Nations: Order and Chaos in the Twenty-First Century*. New York: Grove Publishers.

Doty, Roxanne Lynn (1996), 'Immigration and national identity', *Review of International Studies*. 22(1): 235-255.

Fanon, Frantz (1967), *Black Skin, White Masks*. New York: Grove Weidenfield.

_____ (1968), *The Wretched of the Earth*. New York: Grove Weidenfield.

Gurr, Ted Robert (1993), *Minorities at Risk: The Global View of Ethno-political Conflict*. Arlington: Institute of Peace Press.

Hutchinson, John (2004), *Nations as Zones of Conflict*. London: Sage Publications.

Juergensmeyer, Mark (1994): *Religious Nationalism Confronts the Secular State* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press).

Lynch, Michael (2001), *Lives on Hold: The Human Cost of Statelessness*. Washington D.C.: Refugee International.

Parekh, Bhikhu (2000), *Rethinking Multiculturalism: Cultural Diversity and Political Theory*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Pinker, Steven Arthur (2011), *The Better Angels of Our Nature: Why Violence has Declined*. New York: Viking.

Ross, Marc Howard (2007), *Cultural Contestations in Ethnic Conflict*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sen, Amartya (2006), *Identity and Violence*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company.

Tilly, Charles (2003), *The Politics of Collective Violence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

M.Phil 2016-17

Course Title- Constitutionalism, Political Freedoms, and Democracy

Course Instructor- Ujjwal Kumar Singh

This course aims to explore the relationship between political freedoms and constitutional democracy. It intends to examine this relationship along three sites: the text of the Constitution, and the authoritative sites of its interpretation, i.e., the judiciary; the domain of the state and its ruling practices which generate legal categories for the reproduction of state power viz., sedition, pubic order, waging war against the state; and the site of social and people's movements, which constitute spaces for the articulation of new modalities and idioms of freedom. Broadly this course is about the relationship between constitutionalism and democracy as it can be studied through the lens of fundamental freedoms. It brings within its scope of examination, categories such as emergency provisions, national security, public order, law and order, unlawful activities, preventive detention, prohibitory orders, censorship, sedition, proscription and banning, and their ramifications for constitutionalism, democracy and citizenship.

Since this is a seminar course, students are expected to read, make presentations and participate in discussions around specific themes. They will be required to write two term papers based on a survey of literature around specific themes. While some themes have been identified in the course objectives, students will be encouraged to add to them to enhance the scope of discussions.

Sources:

Official Archives

Constituent Assembly Debates (9 December 1946 to 25 November 1949)

Parliamentary Debates (for relevant dates)

National Archives of India (Home, Police, Intelligence and Jail Sections)

Reports, documents, and Blogs

National and local newspapers

Reports and documents of civil liberties and democratic rights groups Reports of Government (Law Commission, NHRC, NCRB, NCW)

Commissions of Enquiry Reports Law and Other Things

Kafila. online

Laws and Judgements

Text of lawsJudgements and Orders of courts (lower courts, High courts and the Supreme Court of India), Case Law

Course Title- Understanding identities and making of Citizens in the Globalized World

Course Instructor- Nasreen Chowdhory

The course will examine some perspectives and debates on citizenship and identities in globalised world. The course intends to interrogate the everyday uses of "citizen" and "citizenship", keeping in mind the immigration debate in global north and its implications to global south. The aim of this course is to provide an introduction to historical, socio-cultural, and political discussions of citizenship, identity formation and its link with local communities, community at large, and the nation-states.

Assessment:

4 -5 Short notes of 3-4 pages on specific theme(s) and readings Term paper (topic to be determined after discussion).

Themes:

Understanding Identity and Ethnicity

Anderson, Benedict (1991), Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism (Revised Edition), London & NY, Verso.

Apiah, A. Kwame (2006), "The Politics of Identity", Daedalus, Fall 2006, Vol. 135, No. 4, pp.15-22

Bilgrami, Akeel (2006), "Notes Towards the Definition of 'Identity'", Daedalus, Fall 2006, Vol. 135, No. 4, pp. 5-14.

Boege, Volker et al (2008), On Hybrid Political and Emerging States: State Formation in the Context of 'Fragility', Berghof Research Centre for Constructive Conflict Management, Berlin.

Cerulo, A. Karen (1997), "Identity Construction: New Issues, New Directions", Annual Review of Sociology, 1997, Vol. 23, pp. 385-409.

Connor, Walker (1992), "The Nation and its Myth", in Smith, D. Anthony, Ethnicity and Nationalism, Leiden, NY & Köln, E.J. Brill Publisher, pp. 48-57. 66

Cressida, Heyes (2009), "Identity Politics", The Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy (Spring 2009 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), Available Online: http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2009/entries/identity- politics, accessed 20 March 2011

Hobsbawm, Eric (1996), "Identity Politics and the Left", New Left Review, May-June 1996, Vol. I/217, pp. 38-47.

Hollinger, A. David (2006), "From Identity to Solidarity", Daedalus, Fall 2006, Vol. 135, No. 4, pp.23-31.

Honneth, Axel (1995), The Struggle for Recognition: The Moral Grammar of Social Conflict, Cambridge, Polity Press. Hutchinson, John & Smith, D. Anthony (1996), Ethnicity, Oxford & NY, Oxford University Press.

The Social Construction of Identity and Ethnicity

Barth, Frederik. 1969. Ethnic Groups and Boundaries. Waveland Press. introduction, pp. 138.

Hobsbawm, Eric. 1992. The Invention of Tradition. London: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 1-14.

Brubaker, Rogers. 2004. "Ethnicity Without Groups," in Ethnicity Without Groups. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. pp. 7-27.

Brass, Paul. 1991. Ethnicity and Nationalism New Delhi: Sage Publisher.

Situational and Multiple Identities

Hutchinson John, Ethnicity and modern nations Ethnic and Racial Studies, 23:4, 651-669.

Rao, Aparna, 1999 The Many Sources of Identity, Ethnic and Racial Studies 22:1 January pp. 56-91.

Madan, T. N 1998 Coping with South Asian Identities, Ethnic and Racial Studies, 21:4, 969-989.

Burton Jonathan, Alita Nandi & Lucinda Platt 2010 Measuring Identity Ethnic and Racial Studies, 33:8, 1332-1349.

Conceptualizing immigration and citizenship debates

Michael Walzer (1983), Chapter 2 (p. 31-63): "Membership," in Spheres of Justice. New York: Basic Books.

Asylum and the Common: Mediations between Foucault, Agamben and Esposito Serene John-Richards The Principle of Hospitality, Jacques Derrida: Interview

Hannah Arendt on the Stateless Richard J. Bernstein Published online: 05 Aug 2006

Linda Bosniak (2006), Chapter 6 (p. 122-140): "Separated Spheres: Citizenship and Its Conundrums," in The Citizen and the Alien: Dilemmas of Contemporary Membership. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

John Torpey (2000), Chapter 1 (p. 4-20): "Coming and Going: On the State Monopolization of the Legitimate 'Means of Movement," in The Invention of the Passport: Surveillance, Citizenship and the State. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tomas Hammar (1990), Chapter 1 (p. 9-25): "Three Entrance Gates into the New Country" [optional: Chapter 2 (p. 26-40): "Membership of State and Nation"], in Democracy and the Nation State: Aliens, Denizens, and Citizens in a World of International Migration. Aldershot, UK: Avebury.

T. H. Marshall (1950), "Citizenship and Social Class" [excerpt], p. 93- 110 in Gershon Shafir, ed. (1998), The Citizenship Debates: A Reader. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Why do People Move and Seek Membership Elsewhere?

Economic Considerations and Social Networks UN Human Development Report, 2009, Chapter 2, sections 2.1 and 2.2. Full report available at: http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/global/hdr2009/.

Sassen, Saskia. 1998. America's Immigration 'Problem.' Pp. 31-53 in Globalization and Its Discontents: Essays on the New Mobility of   People and Money. New York: New Press.

Massey, Douglas S. 1999. "Why Does Immigration Occur? A   Theoretical Synthesis." Pp. 34-52 in The Handbook of International Migration: The American Experience, edited by C. Hirschman, P. Kasinitz and J. DeWind. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Membership, Belonging and Legal Status – Refugees

Zetter, Roger. 1991. "Labelling Refugees: Forming and Transforming a Bureaucratic

Identity." Journal of Refugee Studies 4(1).

Brown, Hana E. 2011. "Refugees, Rights, and Race: How Legal Status Shapes Liberian Immigrants' Relationship with the State." Social Problems 58(1): 144-163.

Contesting Citizenship I

Shachar, Ayelet. 2009. The Birthright Lottery: Citizenship and Global Inequality. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Contesting Citizenship II

Stevens, Jaqueline. 2010 States without Nations: Citizenship for Mortals. New York: Columbia University Press. Read ch. 1 2 and 8.

Young, Iris Marion. 1994. "Policy and Group Difference: A Critique of the Ideal of Universal Citizenship," in Ronald Beiner ed. Theorizing Citizenship. Albany: State University of New York Press. Pp. 175-207.

Course Title- Knowledge, Development and Politics: Conceptual and Field Issues

Course Instructor- Madhulika Banerjee

Introduction: What is the relationship between knowledge, development and Politics? Why do we study this? What frame will we deploy for this study?

Gadgil, M. And R. Guha *The Use and Abuse Of Nature incorporating This fissured Land,*

Ecology And Equity Oxford India Paperbacks, 2000. To Read: Ch.1, 3 In *This Fissured Land*

And Introduction, 1, 2, 3, 4 And 6 Of *Ecology And equity*. Knowledge In Civil Society,

Knowledge Swaraj: An Indian Manifesto On Science and Technology, Secunderabad, 2009.

Conceptual frame for this study: historical context, parameters of epistemology, state policy, the market, civil society and the international scenario: how does this contribute to an

understanding of the above relationship which is at the heart of this study? Will study the historical, conceptual and field issues of each of these.

Epistemology: Debates in science in Europe/US and its opponents; Science and Technology Studies/ Sociology of Knowledge and Social Studies of Science; Appropriate technology, Small is Beautiful to Alternative Technology to traditional/community knowledge; changing the discourse from Science to Knowledge; The Contestations In India; Stalwart Writers Of The Global South*.

Rajan, R. Science, State and Violence: An Indian Critique Reconsidered *Science as Culture*

Vol. 14, No. 3, 1–17, September 2005.

Parfitt, T. Hylomorphism, Complexity and Development: Planner, Artisan, Ormodern Prince?

Third World Quarterly, Vol. 27, No. 3 (2006), Pp. 421-441.

De Sousa Santos, B. *Another Knowledge Is Possible* Verso Press, London, Introduction.

Maranta, A. M. Guggenheim, P. Gisler, C. Pohl The Reality Of Experts Andthe Imagined

Lay Person *Actasociologica*, Vol. 46, No. 2, The Knowledge Society (Jun., 2003), Pp. 150-

165.

Latour, B. *The Politics Of Nature* Orient Longman, Hyderabad, 2004.

Introduction And Ch. 1Visvanathan, S.The Search For Cognitive Justice*seminar* No. 597,

2000.

Vatsayayan, K. Culture And Science (Lecture Delivered At The Indian Nationalscience

Academy Platinum Jubilee Celebration In New Delhi On 10. 1.

2009)Http://Sahapedia.Org/Culture-And-Science/

Berkes, F. Johan Colding, Carl Folke Rediscovery Of Traditional Ecological

Knowledge As Adaptive Management *Ecological Applications*, Vol. 10, No. 5(Oct., 2000),

Pp. 1251-1262.

Jasanoff, Shiela Reconstructing The Past, Constructing The Present: Canscience Studies And

The History Of Science Live Happily Ever After? *Social studies Of Science,* Vol. 30, No. 4

(Aug., 2000), Pp. 621-631.

State Policy: This is made for all kinds of knowledge systems practiced indifferent societies. the emphasis in this course will be on how the state creates policy, by analysing policy documents by discourse analysis.

Hewitt, S. *Discourse Analysis and Public Policy* Research Centre For Rural economy Discussion Paper Series No. 24 October 2009, Newcastle University.

Gasper,D. and R. Apthorpe Introduction: Discourse Analysis And Policy discourse In *Arguing Development Policy - Frames And Discourses,* Eds. R. Apthorpe And D. Gasper, London: Frank Cass, 1996, And A Special Issue Of *The European Journal Of Development Research*, 1996 (June), Pp. 1-15.

The Market: Every knowledge system produces something that can be sold or exchanged in some kind of market or the other. the norms and mores of markets influence/determine to a large extent the character of the product and also how it is transformed over time. the course will look at how the norms and mores of markets are constructed and changed to understand the changing nature of products of knowledge systems.

Harriss-White, B. And J. Heyer, Eds. *Indian Capitalism in development.* Routledge, London, 2014. Introduction And Ch. 9: Commodification,Capitalism And Crisis

Harriss-White, B. *India's Market Society: Three Essays in Political Economy* Delhi, Three Essays Collective, 2005. Essay 1: Market Romanticism and India's regulative Order

Barma, N. H. And S. K. Vogel Eds. *The Political Economy Reader: Markets As institutions* Routledge, London, 2007. Part Ii, Section 3: Lal, D. The Poverty Of "Development Economics" (1983).

Arndt, J. The Political Economy of Marketing Systems: Reviving the Institutional Approach *Journal Of Macromarketing* October 1981 Vol. 1 No.2 36-47.

Scott, Bruce R the Political Economy of Capitalism Division of Research, Harvard Business School, 2006.

Harriss, J. The Great Tradition Modernises: Reflections on Studies of Two industrial Leaders Of Madras *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol 37, No. 2, 2003, Pp.327-362.

Damodaran, H. *India's New Capitalists: Caste, Business, And Industry In Modern Nation* Permanent Black/ New India Foundation, New Delhi, 2009.

Civil/Political Society: This space has come to be recognized with some degree of autonomy of both state and market and also contributes in its unique way toward the construction and change in knowledge systems.this course will focus on the debates with special reference to knowledge systems.

Chatterjee, P. *Lineages Of Political Society* Permanent Black, Ranikhet,2011. Chapters 1 And 9.

Kaviraj, S. & S. Khilnani *Civil Society: History And Possibilities*,Cambridge University Press, 2001. Ch 1.

Olesko, K. History and The History of Science Redux: A Preface *Osiris*, 2[nd]series, Vol. 17, Science and Civil Society (2002), Pp. Vii-X.

Broman, T. H. Introduction: Some Preliminary Considerations on Science Andcivil Society *Osiris*, 2nd Series, Vol. 17, Science and Civil Society (2002), Pp. 1-21.

Cook, H.J. Body and Passions: Materialism and The Early Modern State *Osiris*,2nd Series, Vol. 17, Science and Civil Society (2002), Pp. 25-48.

The International Scenario: In the Contemporary Context, All Knowledge Systems Cannot But Be Influenced By How Global Policies And Trends impress Upon That Particular Area. This Course Will Explore These influences, As Also the Extent of Autonomy Possible.

Bharucha, Rustom Politics of Culturalisms in An Age Of Globalisation: Discrimination, Discontent And Dialogue *Economic And Political Weekly*february 20, 1999, Pp. 477-489.

Milner Helen V. The Political Economy of International Trade *Annual Reviewof Political Science* 1999.2:91-114.

Some Of These Writers (With A Bias Towards Indians) Are:

Goonatilake, S. *Aborted Discovery: Science and Creativity in The Thirdworld*, Zed Press, London, 1984.

Sardar, Z. *Science, Technology And Development In The Muslim World*,Croom Helm, London; Humanities Press, New Jersey; 1977.

Nandy, A. Ed. *Science, Hegemony and Violence: A Requiem for Modernity*oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1988,

Alvares, C. A. *Decolonizing History: Technology and Culture in India, Chinaand The West, 1492 To the Present Day* Other India Press, Goa, 1993.

Uberoi, J.P.S. *Science as Culture*, Orient Longman, Hyderabad, 1977.*The Other Mind Of Europe: Goethe As A Scientist* Oxforduniversity Press, 1984.

Course Title-New Directions on Federalism Studies in India

Course Instructor- Rekha Saxena

In India, Federalism has seen notable resurgence in recent decades as an option to accommodate ethnic diversity and to encourage economic performance through decentralization. This course discusses new areas and perceptions of federalism studies in India.

1.**Legislative Federalism:Rajya Sabha as a Federal Second Chamber**

2.**Executive Federalism: Vertical and Horizontal interactions**

3.**Judicial Federalism: federal jurisprudence, issues in debate on Judicial Appointment in constitutional court reforms in lower judiciary**

4. **Fiscal federalism: Transformation of Planning Commission to NITI Aayog and Relevance of Centrally Sponsored Schemes**

5. **Interface of party politics and federalism**

6. **The Bureaucracy with special reference to All India Services**

7. **Green Federalism: natural resources, water management**

8. **Gendered Federalism: asymmetrical federalism, distribution of powers, intergovernmental relations**

9. **Supranational Federalism: Treaties and agreements of WTO and World Bank**

10. **Federalism and Policy Making: Education, Health and Security Policy**

11. **Indigenous rights, customary law and autonomy: Fifth and Sixth Schedules**

Readings

Watts, R.L. (2007), Federal second chambers compared , Institute for Intergovernmental Relations, Queen s University, Kingston, Ontario, *Special Working Paper Series on Senate Reform 2007–2008.*

Dhavan, Rajiv and Rekha Saxena, (2006). The Republic of India, in Katy Le Roy, Cheryl Saunders, eds. Legislative, Executive and Judicial Governance in Federal Countries, Global Dialogue, Vol 3. McGill Queen s University Press, Montreal.

Rekha Saxena (2014) *The Rajya Sabha: A Federal SecondSecondary Chamber?, in* B. D Dua, M P Singh and Rekha Saxena (eds.) *Indian Parliament: The Changing Landscape* , Delhi , Manohar.

Rekha Saxena (2013), Intergovernmental Relations in India in *Public Administration in South Asia: India, Bangladesh, and Pakistan,* edited by Meghna Sabharwal and Evan M. Berman, New York and London, CRC Press , Taylor and Francis Group.

M.P Singh and Rekha Saxena,(2015), Intergovernmental Relations in India in Johanne Poirier, Cheryl Saunders, and John Kincaid (eds.) *Intergovernmental Relations in Federal Systems,* Toronto, OUP.

Rekha Saxena and M.P Singh(2010). Role of Judiciary in Federalization of the Indian polity in New Directions in Federalism Studies (eds.) Jan Erk and Wilfried Swenden, London. Routledge, 2010.

Wilfried Swenden and Rekha Saxena, Rethinking Central Planning: A Federal Critique of the Planning Commission , Paper submitted to Leverhulme Trust Project, UK, forthcoming.

M. Govinda Rao and Nirvikar Singh,(2005),*Political Economy of Federalism in India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Balveer Arora,(2010) Republic of India, in Luis Moreno and César Colino, eds., *Diversity and Unity in Federal Countries* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill- Queen s University Press.

M,P Singh (2002). Towards a More Federalized Parliamentary System in India: Explaining Functional Change, Pacific Affairs, 74(4): 553-568.

M.P Singh and Rekha Saxena, (2013) ,*Federalizing India in the Age of Globalization* (Delhi: Primus Books.   Balveer Arora and Beryl Radin ,eds., (2000), *The Changing Role of the All*

India Services (New Delhi: University of Pennsylvania Institute of Advanced Study of India and Centre of Policy Research.

P.G. Dhar Chakrabarti and Nidhi Srivastava, eds.,(2015), Green Federalism: Experiences and Practices (New Delhi: The Energy and Resources Institute)

Ligia Noronha, Nidhi Srivastava, Divya Data and P V Sridharan, Resource Federalism in India: The Case of Minerals, Economic and Political Weekly. Vol. 44, Issue No. 08, 21 February 2009. Available at http://www.epw.in/journal/2009/08/specialarticles/resource-federalism-india

Rekha Saxena, (2016), Is Federalism Gendered in India? , paper submitted to the IACFS conference, New Delhi.

Rekha Saxena, (2007), Treaty Making Powes: A Case for Federalisation and Parliamentarisation ,*Economic and Political Weekly* ,Vol.XLII,No.1,January 6.

Balveer Arora, K.K Kailash, Rocha Saxena and HK Suan, (2013), Indian Federalism in *Indian Democracy* edited by K.C Suri , ICSSR Survey Research, New Delhi, OUP.

Rekha Saxena (2012), Is India acase of Asymmetrical Federalism*?", Economic and Political Weekly,* January, 14.

Forum of Federations. 2005-11. A Global Dialogue on Federalism, 7 Volumes, Vol 1: Constitutional Origins, Structure and Change in Federal Countries 2005. Vol 2: Distribution of Powers and Responsibilities in Federal Countries 2006. Vol 3: Legislative, Executive and Judicial Governance in Federal Countries 2006. Vol 4: The Practice of Fiscal Federalism: Comparative Perspectives 2007. Vol 5: Foreign Relations in Federal Countries 2009. Vol 6: Local Government and Metropolitan Regions in Federal Systems 2009. Vol 7: Diversity and Unity in Federal Countries 2010. Vol 8 Intergovernmental Relations in Federal Countries 2011 McGill Queens s University Press, Montreal/Kingston.

Suan, H. Kham Khan. 2007. Salvaging Autonomy in India s Northeast: Beyond the Sixth Schedule Way, Eastern Quarterly, 4(1):5-16.

 Louise Tillin, (2007): United in Diversity? Asymme- try in Indian Federalism ,*Publius: The Journal of Federalism,* Vol 37, No 1, Winter.

Rekha Saxena(2012) Is India acase of Asymmetrical Federalism*?", Economic and Political Weekly,* January, 14.

Verney, Douglas V. 2003. From Quasi-Federation to quasi-Confederacy? The Transformation of India s Party System, Publius: The Journal of Federalism, 33(4): 153-172 .