
OPTIONAL PAPERS

OPTIONAL PAPER 1: ETHICS AND POLITICS

Course Objective: The purpose of this course is expressed in the title itself. Ethics is inseparable from all domains of life from the issues of hunger and poverty to matters of violence and war to the problems of family decency to political virtues to the ethics of professional behaviour. As many contemporary political practices demand ethical reasoning we need a more focused and comprehensive engagement between ethics and politics that the paper provides.

- 1) The Nature of Ethical Reasoning**
 - a. The Domain of Ethics
 - b. Rationality and objectivity in Ethics
 - c. Ethical Reasoning in politics
- 2) Sexual, Racial and Caste Discrimination**
 - a. What is wrong with discrimination?
 - b. Affirmative action: Right or Wrong?
- 3) Poverty and Hunger**

- a. Hunger, Homelessness and Freedom
 - b. Hunger and Capabilities
 - c. International obligation to remove poverty
- 4) **Environment.**
 - a. The moral limits on the use of nature
 - b. Environment and Equality
 - c. Environment, Displacement and Culture
- 5) **Militarization**
 - a. Just and unjust wars
 - b. Militarization, Women and Children
 - c. What is wrong with Nuclearisation?
 - d. Terrorism
- 6) **Corruption**
 - a. Public ethics and Private Morality
 - b. Corruption as the Intrusion of Inappropriate Principles
 - c. Corruption in Public Life
 - d. Corruption in Private Life
- 7) **The Problem of Dirty Hands**
 - a. Must politicians always dirty their hands?
 - b. Morally defensible ways of dealing with dirty hands
 - c. Dirty hands and Democracy
- 8) **Free Speech**
 - a. Values of Free Speech
 - b. Free Speech and Democracy
 - c. The moral limits of Free Speech
 - d. Hate Speech: Gender and Religious community
- 9) **Secularism, Tolerance and Minority Rights**
 - a. Traditions of Tolerance in India
 - b. Values of Secularism
 - c. Secularism and Minority rights
 - d. Secularism and Legal pluralism
 - e. Fundamentalism
- 10) **The Morality of Representation**
 - a. When is representation justified?
 - b. Who should represent me/us?
 - c. Representation and the value of privacy
 - d. Non-Political representation
- 11) **Ethics and the Politics of the Family**
 - a. Politics and the private-public distinction
 - b. Justice within the family
 - c. Family and the Ethics of Care
- 12) **Ethics and the Professions**
 - a. Medical, Legal and Business ethics
 - b. The Ethics of Research

READINGS:

Beitz, Charles, R. Marshall Cohen, Thomas Scanlon and A. John Simmons, *International Ethics*, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1985.

Cohen, Marshall, Thomas Nagel and Thomas Scanlon (eds.), *Equality and Preferential Treatment*, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1977..

Emanuel, Ezekiel J., *The Ends of Human Life: Medical Ethics in a Liberal Polity*, Harvard Mass, Harvard University Press, 1994.

Gutmann, Amy, *Democratic Education*, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1987.

Honneth, Axel. *The Struggle for Recognition*, Cambridge Mass, MIT Press, 1996.

LaFollette, Hugh, *Ethics in Practice*, Massachusetts, 1997.

Luban, David, *Lawyers and Justice an Ethical Study*, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1988.

Nussbaum, Martha, *Cultivating Humanity*, Harvard Mass, Harvard University Press, 1997.

Sagoff Mark, *The Economy of the Earth*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1988.

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

Shue, Henry, *Basic Rights*, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1980.

Singer, Peter, *Practical Ethics*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1979.

Taylor, Charles, *Philosophical Arguments*, Harvard Mass, Harvard University Press, 1997.

Thompson, Dennis F., *Political Ethics and Public Office*, Harvard Mass, Harvard University Press, 1987.

Walzer, Michael, *On Toleration*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1997.

Walzer, Michael, *Spheres of Justice: A Defence of Pluralism & Equality*, Great Britain, Pitman Press, 1983.

Young, Iris Marion, *Justice and the Politics of Difference*, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1990.

OPTIONAL PAPER 2: CRITICAL TRADITIONS IN POLITICAL THEORY

Course Objective: While the compulsory papers provide the necessary and mainstream bedrock of political theory, ancient and modern, this course highlights the primary challenges to mainstream liberal theory. It does so from various perspectives which would not otherwise receive the fuller treatment they deserve.

- 1) **Introduction**
 - a. Interrogating tradition
 - b. What is a critique?
 - c. The importance of a critical tradition
- 2) **Marxism**
 - a. Debates on Historical Materialism
 - b. Critique of Capitalism: Alienation, Exploitation
 - c. Theories of Revolution and non-western Marxism
 - d. Philosophical encounters- Feminism, Psychoanalysis, Environmentalism, Postmodernism
- 3) **Feminism**
 - a. Theories of knowledge, critiques of science and rationality
 - b. Theories of the Public/Private, Equality/Difference
 - c. Development of the sex/gender distinction, gender and caste/class/race
 - d. Gender and Sexuality
- 4) **Dalit Bahujan Critique**
 - a. Critique of the theory and practice of caste
 - b. Theorising the encounter with modernity
- 5) **Critical race theory**
 - a. The problematization of "race"
 - b. Critiques of the theory and practice of race
- 6) **Ecological Critique**
 - a. Ecological democracy and Ecological citizenship
 - b. Ecofeminism, Ecosocialism, Social Ecology

READINGS:

Dobson, Andrew, *Green Political Thought*, 2nd. Ed., London, Routledge, 1995.

Dobson, Andrew, *Justice and the Environment*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1998.

Barrett, Michelle, *Women's Oppression Today: Problems in Marxist Feminist Analysis*, London, Verso, 1980.

Evelyn, Fox Keller and Helen Longino (eds.), *Feminism and Science*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1996.

Geetha, V and S Rajadularai, *Towards a non-Brahmin Millenium*, Calcutta, samya, 1998.

Gilroy, Robert, *Green Political Theory*, Cambridge, Polity, 1992.

Jaggar, Alison, *Feminist Politics and Human Nature*, Harvester Press, 1983.

Kolakowski, Leszek, *Main Currents in Marxism*, (Volumes 1-3), Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1978.

La, CapraDominick (ed.), *The Bounds of Race: Perspectives on Hegemony and resistance*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1991.

Laclau, Ernesto and Chantal Mouffe. *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy*. London, verso 1985.

Laclau, Ernesto, *New Reflections on the Revolution of our Time*, London, Verso, 1990.

Maria, Mies and Vandana Shive, *Ecofeminism*, Delhi, Kali for Women, 1993.

Merchant, Carolyn edited, *Ecology: Key concepts in Critical Theory Series*, Jaipur, Rawat.

Meszaros, Istvan, *Marx's theory of Alienation*, London, Merlin Press, 1970.

Nicolson, Lynda J., edited, *Feminism/Postmodernism*, London, Routledge 1990.

Rodinson, Maxine, *Marxism and The Muslim World*, Hyderabad Orient Longman, 1980.

Munck, Ronaldo, *A Difficult Dialogue: Marxism and Nationalism*, London, Zed.

Ryle, Martin, *Ecology and Socialism*, London, Radius, 1988.

Scott, Joan and Judith Butler edited. *Feminists Theorize the Political*. London, Routledge, 1992.

Hayward, Tim. *Ecological Thought: An Introduction*, Cambridge, Polity Press, 1994.

Williams. Patricia, *The Alchemy of Race and Rights*, Harvard Mass, Harvard University Press, 1991.

OPTIONAL PAPER 4: SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND REVOLUTIONS

Course Objective: This course is a comparative study of social movements and revolutions in their historical and contemporary contexts. The course details the ideology, practice, and social bases of different movements, emphasizing the conceptual, historical and empirical distinction between revolutions and social movements, the diverse kinds of social movements, and the manner in which they have unfolded in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

1) Revolution

- a. Why revolutions? Different theories
- b. Comparative study and recent interpretations of Ideology, Strategy and Social base of major Revolutions
 - i. French Revolution
 - ii. Bolshevik Revolution
 - iii. Chinese Revolution

2) Ideology and Politics of liberation struggles in Asia and Africa

3) Social Movements

- a. What are social movements?
- b. Theories of social movements

4) Ideology and Politics of Social Movements

- a. Peasant
- b. Women
- c. Workers
- d. Environment
- e. Ethnic
- f. Civil rights

READINGS:

Charles Tilly, *From Mobilisation to Revolution*, Menlo Park, CA, Addison Wesley, 1978.

David Potter, David Goldblatt, Margaret Kiloh and Paul Lewis (eds.), *Democratization, Polity* in Association with The Open University, 1997.

Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution, Europe 1789-1848*, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, 1975, Reissued, 1995.

Ghanshyam Shah (ed.), *Social Movements and the State*, Sage, New Delhi, 2002.

Gail Omvedt, *Reinventing Revolution, New Social Movements and the Socialist Tradition in India*, Sharpe, 1993.

Hoarce B. Davis, *Toward a Marxist Theory of Nationalism*, Monthly Review Press, New York and London, 1978.

James Petras, 'The Centrality of Peasant Movements in Latin America: Achievements and Limitations', *Synthesis/Regeneration*, No.38, Fall 2005.

Manoranjan Mohanty, Partha Nath Mukherji with Olle Tornquist (eds.) *People's Rights: Social Movements and the State in the Third World*, Sage, 1998.

Maurice Cranston (ed.), *The New Left*, National Academy, Delhi, 1973.

Paul W. Zagorski, *Comparative Politics: Continuity and Breakdown in the Contemporary World*, Routledge, New York, 2009.

Rajendra Vora and Suhas Palshikar (ed.), *Indian Democracy, Meanings and Practices*, Sage, 2004.

Ralph Miliband and John Saville eds. *The Socialist Register, 1972*, The Merlin Press, London, 1972.

Roland Axtmann, (ed.), *Understanding Democratic Politics*, Sage.

Shahnaz Rouse, *Shifting Body Politics, Gender, Nation, State in Pakistan*, Women Unlimited, 2004.

Stan Taylor, *Social Science and Revolutions*, Macmillan, London and Basingstoke, 1984.

Theda Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions, A Comparative analysis of France, Russia and China*, Cambridge University Press, 1979.

Tom Mertes (ed.), *A Movement of Movements, Is Another Really World Possible?*, Verso, London, 2004.

OPTIONAL PAPER 7: DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN INDIA

Course Objective: All rights, indeed most rights, are not human rights and general rights discourse reflects this reality. Insofar as human rights are a crucial sub-set of this discourse, they require a specific yet comprehensive treatment as given here by this course to interested students.

- 1) The Concept of Human Rights**
 - a. Western
 - b. In the Third World Context
- 2) Human Rights: National and International Dimensions**
- 3) Human Rights and Constitutional - Legal Framework in India**
 - a. Fundamental Rights
 - b. Directive Principles of State Policy
 - c. Protection of Human Rights Act, 1993
- 4) Human Rights: Issues and Challenges**
 - a. Refugees and Displaced Persons
 - b. Caste
 - c. Minorities
 - d. Women
 - e. Children
 - f. Tribals, Landless, Bonded Labour, Unorganised Labour and Peasants
 - g. Undertrials, Prisoners and P.O.W's
 - h. People with Disability
- 5) Impact on Deprived Groups**
 - a. Gender Based Violence (Domestic and Public)
 - b. Caste Based Violence and Discrimination
 - c. Fundamentalism
 - d. Organised Crime
 - e. Custodial Torture and Death
- 6) State Response to Human Rights**
 - a. Role of Police, Administration, Army and Paramilitary Forces
 - b. Administration of Justice, Judicial Intervention and Activism, Judicial Commissions on Human Rights
 - c. Affirmative Action for Weaker Sections

d. Development Strategies

7) Civil Society and Human Rights

- a. Media, Public Opinion and Human Rights
- b. New Social Movements and NGO's

8) NHRC and Other Commission Reports

9) Democracy, Development and Human Rights in India

READINGS:

Alston Philip, *The United Nations and Human Rights-A Critical Appraisal*, Oxford, Clarendon, 1995.

Baxi, Upendra (ed.), *The Right to be Human*, Delhi, Lancer, 1987

Beetham, David edited, *Politics and Human Rights*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1995

Desai, A R. (ed), *Violations of Democratic Rights in India*, Bombay, Popular Prakashan, 1986.

Evans, Tony, *The Politics of Human Rights: A Global Perspective*, London, Pluto Press, 2001.

Haragopal, G, *Good Governance: Human Rights, Perspective*, Indian Journal of Public Administration, Vol. 44 (3), July-September, 1998.

Hargopal. G. *Political Economy of Human Rights*, Hyderabad, Himalaya, 1999.

Human Rights in India- *The Updated Amnesty International Reports*, Delhi, Vistaar

Iyer, V.R. Krishna, *The Dialectics and Dynamics of Human Rights in India*, Delhi, Eastern Law House, 1999.

Kothari, Smitu and Sethi, Harsh (eds.), *Rethinking Human Rights*, Delhi, Lokayan, 1991.

Saksena, K.P. edited, *Human Rights: Fifty Years of India's Independence*, Delhi, Gyan, 1999.

Subramanian, S., *Human Rights: International Challenges*, Delhi, Manas, 1997.

OPTIONAL PAPER 23: SOCIAL EXCLUSION: THEORY AND PRACTICE

Course Objective: Social exclusion is a process that deprives individuals as well as groups from their due share in an unequal social order. Social categories of exclusion have become heterogeneous over the years. No longer are class and caste the only social cleavages. Issues like religion, gender, alternative sexuality have occupied an important space in the debates on exclusion. In these circumstances it becomes imperative to study, understand and explain social exclusion in its various dimensions. No linear understanding will do justice to the process of explaining exclusion. What is required is an understanding of the intersection of various social categories and their interdependence on each other. The purpose of introducing this paper to students is to familiarize them with the concept of social exclusion having dimensions ranging from the social to the political, economic and cultural. This paper would also look critically at the exclusion located of time and space.

- 1) Social Exclusion: Theoretical Premises**
 - a. Origin, Concept, Dimensions
 - b. Theories, Debates
 - c. Issues and Challenges
- 2) Dimensions of Social Exclusion in India**
 - a. Socio- Cultural
 - b. Political
 - c. Economic
 - d. Sexual
 - e. Religious
- 3) Social Categories and Social Exclusion**
 - a. Caste, Class
 - b. Gender
 - c. Religion
- 4) Social Exclusion: Emerging Trends**
 - a. Alternative Sexuality
 - b. Migrants
 - c. Disability

- d. Time and Space
- e. Body and Language

READINGS:

Silver, Hilary, “*Social Exclusion: Comparative Analysis of Europe and Middle East Youth*,” Middle East Youth Initiative Working Paper (September 2007)

Sen, Amartya, “*Social Exclusion-concept application scrutiny*”, *Critical Quest*, New Delhi.

De Haan, Arjan, “*Social Exclusion-towards a holistic understanding of deprivation*”, Arjan de Haan and Naila Kabeer, 2008, Critical Quest.

Jordan, Bill “*A Theory of Poverty and Social Exclusion*” Polity Press, Oxford (August, 1996)

Barry, B. (2002). “Social Exclusion, Social Isolation, and the Distribution of Income”, in Hills, Le Grand and Piachaud (eds.).

Burchardt, T., J. Le Grand and Piachaud D.. (2002). “Degrees of Exclusion: Developing a Dynamic, Multidimensional Measure”. Pp. 30-43 in Hills, Le Grand and Piachaud (Eds.).

Bhattacharyya Harihar, Partha Sarkar, Angshuman Kar ‘*The Politics of Social Exclusion in India-Democracy at the Crossroads*’ Routledge Publication, 2009

H.S. Verma , ‘*The OBCs and the Dynamics of Social Exclusion in India*’ Serials Publication, 2005,

Sen, Amartya, ‘*Development as Freedom*’ Oxford University Press, 1999

Burman, J.J. Roy , ‘*Beyond Social Exclusion*’ Mainstream, Vol. XLVII, No 41, September 26, 2009

Gurumurthy, S., ‘*Is Caste the Economic Development Vehicle*’ –The Hindu 19 January 2009

Thorat, Sukhadeo and S Newman, Katherine ‘*Caste and Economic Discrimination: causes, consequences and remedies*’ –; Economic and Political Weekly, 13 October 2007

S Jodhka, Surinder S Newman, Katherine ‘*In the name of Globalisation Meritocracy, Productivity and the Hidden language of Caste*’–; Economic and Political Weekly, 13 October 2007

Deshpande, Ashwini and Katherine S Newman, ‘*Where the path leads, the role of Caste in post university employment expectations*’- ; Economic and Political Weekly, 13 October 2007

Silver,Hilary “*Social Exclusion: Comparative Analysis of Europe and Middle East Youth*,” Middle East Youth Initiative Working Paper (September 2007), p. 15

Thorat, Sukhadeo ‘*Caste, Social Exclusion and Poverty linkages, concept measures and empirical evidences*, 2005,

Thorat, Sukhadeo and Attewell, Paul , ‘*The legacy of Social Exclusion, A corresponding study of job discrimination in India*’ -; Economic and Political Weekly, 13 October 2007

- Shah Ghanshyam, Mander Harsh, Thorat Sukhadeo, Deshpande Satish, Baviskar Amita U., '*Untouchability in Rural India*', Sage publication, 2006.
- Madheswaran S, Attewell, Paul, "Caste discrimination in the Indian urban labour market: evidence from national sample survey" –, *Economic and Political Weekly*, 13 October 2007
- A.S Woodburne, "Can India's Caste system survive in modern life?" *The Journal of the Religion*, vol.2 no.5 (September 1922), pp 525-537
- Guru, Gopal, 'Power of touch - The concept of untouchability travels from rural locations to the cities.' *Frontline*, vol23, issue 25, Dec16-29, 2006
- Thorat, Sukhadeo *Caste, Social Exclusion And Poverty Linkages, Concept Measures And Empirical Evidences*, 2005, working paper.
- Omvedt, Gail, *Dalit Vision-Tract Of The Times*, Orient Longman Private Limited, 1995
- Manoranjan Pal, Premananda Bharati, Bholanath Ghosh and T.S. Vasulu, Gender '*Discrimination: Health, Nutritional Status, and Role of Women in India*', Oxford University Press, 2009
- Raju, Saraswati, '*Locating women in social development in India*': Social Development Report, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006
- Ranade Shilpa, "The way she moves: mapping the everyday production of Gender Space," *Economic and Political Weekly*, April 28 May 4, 2007.
- Hasan, Zoya, and Ritu Menon, '*The Diversity of Muslim women's lives in India*' New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2005
- Hasan, Zoya, and Ritu Menon, '*Unequal Citizens: A Study of Muslim Women in India*', New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 200
- Bhargava, Rajeev, '*Inclusion and exclusion in India, Pakistan and Bangladesh: Role of Religion, Indian Journal of human Development*', vol.1:1, 2007
- Thorat, Sukhadeo, '*Empowering Marginalised Groups: Policies and change in India, Social Development Report*', New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006
- Azad Mulan, A.K, '*India Wins Freedom*' Delhi, Orient Longman, 1998
- Chandoke, Neera, '*Beyond Secularism: The Rights of religious minorities*', Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999
- Engineer, Asghar Ali, ed., '*Role of Minorities in Freedom Struggle*', Delhi: 1986
- Kabir, Humayun, '*Minorities in a Democracy*' Calcutta: Firma KL, Mukhopadhyay, 1968
- Guru, Gopal. 2000. 'Dalits: Reflections on the Search for Inclusion' in Peter Ronald de Souza (ed.), *Contemporary India: Transitions*. New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Guru, Gopal. 2002. 'How Egalitarian are the Social Sciences in India', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 37 (60), 14-20 December.

- Guru, Gopal. 2007. '*Politics of Representation*', Seminar, 558, 01 January
- Anand, S. 2007. '*On Claiming Dalit Subjectivity*', Seminar, 558, 01 January.
- Nigam, Aditya. 2000. '*Secularism, Modernity, Nation: Epistemology of the Dalit Critique*', Economic and Political Weekly, 35 (48), 25 November.
- Sarukkai, Sundar. 2007. '*Dalit Experience and Theory*', Economic and Political Weekly, 42 (40), 6-12 October.
- Sukumar, N. 2008. '*Living a Concept: Semiotics Of everyday Exclusion*', Economic and Political Weekly, 43 (46), 15-21 November.
- Chakravarthy Uma, *Gendering Caste*, Samya Publications, Calcutta, 2005.
- Ambedkar B.R., *States and Minorities, Writings and Speeches Vol – I*, ed by Vasant Moon, Government of Maharashtra Publications, 1991.
- Ambedkar B.R., *Writings and Speeches Vol – I*, ed by Vasant Moon, Government of Maharashtra Publications, 1991.
- Mohanty Manoranjan, *Caste, Class and Gender*, Sage Publications, Delhi, 2008.
- G. Aloysius (ed.), *No Freedom with Caste*, Media Publications, Delhi, 2004
- Ilaiah Kancha, *Why I am not a Hindu*, Samya Publications, Calcutta, 1996
- Ilaiah Kancha, *Post-Hindu India*, Sage Publications, Delhi 2009
- BrijRanjan Mani, *De-Bramhinising History*, Manohar Publications, Delhi 2006
- Thomas Pantham, "Against Untouchability: The Discourses of Gandhi and Ambedkar", in *Humiliation: Claims and Context*, edited by Gopal Guru, New Delhi, OUP, 2009 pg 179-208
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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. 34

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*, available at www.globalgrey.co.uk/songs-of-kabir/, accessed: 5 June 2015, 1915.
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- 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, 1982.
- V. Gita and S. V. Rajdurai, *Towards Non-Brahmin Millennium: Iyothee Thass to Periyar*. Calcutta: Samya, 1998.

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.

Aseema Sinha, *The Regional Roots of Developmental Politics in India: A Divided Leviathan*, Indiana University Press, 2004.

Ashutosh Kumar ed. *Rethinking State Politics in India: Regions within Regions*. Delhi: Routledge, 2012.

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

Francine R Frankel and M. S. A. Rao eds., *Dominance and State Power in Modern India: Decline of a Social Order*, 2 vols., New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1991.

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

Francine R Frankel, *India's Political Economy 1947-2004: The Gradual Revolution*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2005.

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

John R Wood ed., *State Politics in India: Crisis or Continuity?* Boulder Co: Westview Press, 1984.

Lloyd Rudolph, and Susanne Rudolph (1987). *In Pursuit of Lakshmi: The Political Economy of the Indian State*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

M. P Singh, Himanshu Roy and A P S Chauhan eds., *State Politics in India*, Delhi: Primus, 2015.

Myron Weiner ed., *State Politics in India*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968.

Rahul Mukherjee and Bibek Debroy eds. *India: The Political Economy of Reforms*, New Delhi: Rajiv Gandhi Foundation and Bookwell, 2004.

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.

Optional Paper No. 40

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.

Gyanendra Pandey, *The Construction of Communalism in Colonial North India*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.

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.

Leela Fernandes & Patrick Heller, Hegemonic Aspirations: New Middle Class Politics and India's Democracy in Comparative Perspective, *Critical Asian Studies* 38 (4) 2006, pp. 495-522.

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.

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.

Myron Weiner, *Sons of the Soil: Migration and Ethnic Conflict in India*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1978.

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.

Shiv Vishvanathan, The Race for Caste: Prolegomena to the Durban Conference,' *Economic and Political Weekly* 36 (27), pp. 2512-2516, 2001.

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.

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

Readings:

Adrian Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Nationalism and Religion*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Amalendu Misra, Religion, Politics and Violence in India, in Ali Riaz ed., *Religion and Politics in South Asia*, London and New York: Routledge, pp. 71-97, 2010.

Amir Ali, Political Buddhism, Islamic Orthodoxy and Open Economy: The Toxic Triad in Sinhalese-Muslim Relations in Sri Lanka, *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 49 (3), pp. 298-314, 2014.

Ananda Wickremaratne, Historiography in Conflict and Violence in Mahinda Deegalle ed, *Buddhism, Conflict and Violence in Modern Sri Lanka*,. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 114-133, 2006.

Ananda Abeysekara, The Saffron Army, Violence, Terror(ism): Buddhism, Identity, and Difference in Sri Lanka. *Numen* 48(1), pp. 1-46, 2001.

Andreas Hasenclever and Volker Rittberger, Does Religion Make a Difference? Theoretical Approaches to the Impact of Faith on Political Conflict, *Millennium – Journal of International Studies* 29 (3), pp. 641-674, 2000.

Anthony D. Smith, The ‘Sacred’ Dimension of Nationalism, *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 29 (3), pp. 791-814, 2000.

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.

Bob S. Hadiwinata, From Reformasi to an Islamic State? Democratization and Islamic Terrorism in Post-New Order Indonesia in Aurel Croissant, Beate Martin, and Sascha Kneip eds.

The Politics of Death: Political Violence in Southeast Asia,. Berlin: Lit Verlag, pp. 107-145. 2006.

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

Chad Bauman, Hindu-Christian Conflict in India: Globalization, Conversion, and the Coterminal Castes and Tribes. *Journal of Asian Studies* 72(3), pp.633-653, 2013

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

Dibyesh Anand, Anxious Sexualities: Masculinity, Nationalism and Violence. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 9(2), pp. 257-269, 2007

Edward Aspinall, From Islamism to Nationalism in Aceh, Indonesia, *Nations and Nationalism*, 13(2), pp. 245-263, 2007.

Edward Simpson, The State of Gujarat and the Men without Souls. *Critique of Anthropology* 26 (3), pp.331-348, 2006

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

Ipsita Chatterjee, Social Conflict and the Neoliberal City: A Case of Hindu-Muslim Violence in India. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 34, pp. 143-160, 2009.

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

Jacques Bertrand, Legacies of the Authoritarian Past: Religious Violence in Indonesia's Moluccan Islands, *Pacific Affairs* 75(1), pp. 57-85. 2002

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

John Armstrong, Religious Nationalism and Collective Violence, *Nations and Nationalism* 3 (4), pp. 596-606, 1997.

John Carlson, Religion and Violence: Coming to Terms with Terms in Andrew Murphy ed., *The Blackwell Companion to Religion and Violence*, New York: Blackwell, pp. 7-22, 2011.

John Sidel, 'Anxiety of Incompleteness': a Post-Structuralist Approach to Religious Violence in Indonesia, *South East Asia Research* 15(2), pp. 133-212, 2007.

John Zavos, Conversion and the Assertive Margins: An Analysis of Hindu Nationalist Discourse and the Recent Attacks on Indian Christians, *South Asia* 24 (2), pp. 73-89. 2001.

Jonathan Fox, Toward a Dynamic Theory of Ethno-Religious Conflict, *Nations and Nationalism* 5 (4), pp. 431-463, 1999

Jonathan Goodhand, Bart Klem, and Bendikt Korf, Religion, Conflict and Boundary Politics in Sri Lanka, *European Journal of Development Research* 21(5), pp. 679-698. 2009

Laliberte ed. *Secular States and Religious Diversity*, Vancouver and Toronto: UBC Press .pp. 29-44. 2013

Lorraine Aragon, Communal Violence in Poso, Central Sulawesi: Where People Eat Fish and Fish Eat People, *Indonesia*, 72, pp. 45-79, Oct. 2001.

Mahinda Deegalle, Foremost Among Religions': Theravada Buddhism's Affairs with the Modern Sri Lankan State in Pattana Kitiarsa and John Whalen-Bridge ed., *Buddhism, Modernity and the State in Asia: Forms of Engagement*, New York: Palgrave, pp. 41-61, 2013

Mark Juergensmeyer, Religious Violence in Peter B. Clarke ed., *The Oxford Handbook of the Sociology of Religion*, New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 890-908, 2009.

Mark Juergensmeyer, The Global Rise of Religious Nationalism. *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 64 (3), pp. 262-273. 2010.

Neil DeVotta and Jason Stone, Jathika Hela Urumaya and Ethno-Religious Politics in Sri Lanka, *Pacific Affairs* 8(1), pp. 31-51. 2008

Neil DeVotta, *Sinhalese Buddhist Nationalist Ideology: Implications for Politics and Conflict Resolution in Sri Lanka*, East West Center Washington, Policy Studies 40, 2007.

Paul Brass, The Persistence of Hindu-Muslim Violence: The Dynamics of Riot Production in *The Production of Hindu-Muslim Violence in Contemporary India*. Seattle and Washington: University of Washington Press, pp. 355-384. 2003

Peggy Froerer, Emphasizing 'Others': The Emergence of Hindu Nationalism in a Central Indian Tribal Community, *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 12(1), pp. 39-59. 2006

Peter Beyer, Religious Pluralism as a Self-Evident Problem in the Context of Globalization, in Bruce Berman, Rajeev Bhargava, and Andre Laliberte. Vancouver and Toronto: UBC Press, pp. 29-44, 2013.

Peter Schalk, Operationalizing Buddhism for Political Ends in a Martial Context in Ilam/Lanka: The Case of Simhalatva in Richard King and John Hinnels ed., *Religion and Violence in South Asian: Theory and Practice*, London: Routledge, pp. 139-153, 2007.

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.

Shubh Mathur, *The Everyday Life of Hindu Nationalism: An Ethnographic Account* (Chapter 1 – 5), Gurgaon: Three Essays Collective, 2008.

Stanley Tambiah, Urban Riots and Cricket in South Asia: A Postscript to 'Leveling Crowds', *Modern Asian Studies* 39(4), pp. 897-927, 2005.

Stephen C. Berkwitz, Resisting the Global in Buddhist Nationalism: Venerable Soma's Discourse of Decline and Reform, *Journal of Asian Studies* 67(1), pp. 73-106, 2008.

Sumit Sarkar, Hindutva and the Question of Conversions in K. N. Panikkar ed., *The Concerned Indian's Guide to Communalism*, New Delhi: Penguin Books, pp. 73-106, 1999.

Susan Hayward, The Spoiler and the Reconciler - Buddhism and the Peace Process in Sri Lanka in Timothy Sisk ed., *Between Terror and Tolerance: Religious Leaders, Conflict and Peacemaking*, Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, pp. 183-199, 2011.

Thomas Blom Hansen, Recuperating Masculinity: Hindu Nationalism, Violence, and the Exorcism of the Muslim 'Other', *Critique of Anthropology* 16(2), pp. 137-172, 1996.

Torkel Brekke, Beyond Theological Essentialism and Ethnic Reductionism: A Review Essay about Religion and the Peace Process in Sri Lanka, *International Journal of Buddhist Thought and Culture* 12, pp.125-155, 2009.

Usha Zacharias, Intelligible Violence: Media Scripts, Hindu/Muslim Women, and the Battle for Citizenship in Kerala. *Cultural Dynamics* 16 (2-3), pp. 169-192, 2004.

Willfried Spohn, Multiple Modernity, Nationalism and Religion: A Global Perspective, *Current Sociology* 51(3-4), pp. 265-286, 2003.

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. 49

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.
- John Keane, *Violence and Democracy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2004.
- N Poulantzas, *State, Power, Socialism*, London: *New Left Books*, 1978.
- Paul Collier, *War, Guns & Votes: Democracy in Dangerous Places*, New York: Harper, 2009
- 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. 55
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**

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