Syllabus

Semester-II

2018-19

SEC-V Politics, Development, Ideology

By a reading of different ideologies and structure of political parties, students shall be enabled to unravel the nature of politics and debate over development in India.

Unit-I

Ideology: Global and Local Socialism: the Indian context and socialist variants; pre and post-independence ideological currents; Class to caste: Inclusion and affirmative design; Language and Reservation; State and society: Coercion and civil liberty; Wealth and culture: poverty and limits on income;

Unit-II

Individuals: Gandhi, Nehru, JP; Marxism, Maoism and Gandhism; social democrats

Unit-III

Instruments: Political Parties (Congress and the Communist): Historical background, ideology and social bases; anti-Brahmanism and Sudra upsurge;

Select Readings

Bhambhri, C. P.'Ideology and Political Parties in India,'*Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 3, No. 16 (Apr. 20, 1968), pp. 643-646

Ronaldo de Souza , Peter and E. Sridharan (ed). 2006.*India's Political Parties*, New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Kohli, Atul and Prerna Singh, (ed). 2013. *Routledge Handbook of Indian Politics,* New York: Routledge

Gopal Jayal, Niraja and Pratap Bhanu Mehta (ed).2010. *Politics in India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press

Kaviraj, Sudipta,(ed). 1997. '*Politics in India,* Delhi: Oxford University Press

Pantham, Thomas and Kenneth L Deutsch, (ed) 1986. *Political Thought in Modern India*, New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Mehta, B.R. 1996. *Foundations of Indian Political Thought,* New Delhi: Manohar Publishers & Distributors

Maitra, Kiran, 2012. *Marxism in India: From Decline to Debacle*, New Delhi: Roli Books

Brass, P., 1983. *Caste, Faction and Party in Indian Politics*, vol.1, New Delhi: Chanakya

Jaffrelot,C., 2004. *Indian's Silent Revolution: The Rise of the Lower Castes in North India*, New York: Columbia University Press

Srinivas, M.N., 1995. *Social Change in Modern India*, New Delhi: Orient Longman

Parekh, Bhikhu, 1995. *Gandhi's Political Philosophy*, Delhi: Ajanta Publications

Mehta, B.R., 1983.*Ideology, Modernization and Politics in India*, New Delhi: Manohar

SEC- VI Human Rights and Inclusive Processes

This course provides an invitation to think about the Human Rights and allied processes. Unit One understands how various academic traditions conceived the idea of Human Rights. Unit Two is about United Nations and its' Human Rights involvement. Unit Three is about the Human Rights issues in India, with a special focus on SC/ST/Women/Minorities. This unit discusses different issues pertaining to Human Rights in India. Thus, towards the end of the course students' should be able to write a term papers and class presentation on the Human Rights.

Unit-I
Human Rights: Introduction

Human Rights – Concept, Evolution and Future.
Theories of Human Rights – Liberal, Marxist, and Feminist

Unit-II
International Organizations and Human Rights

Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948

UN Convention on the Political Rights of Women, 1952; Convention on Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW); UN Convention on Rights of Child

UN Declaration on the Rights of Persons belonging to Minorities, 1992

Role of the UNICEF, ILO, UNESCO

International Refugee Crisis and Humanitarian Concern.

Unit-III
Problems and Concerns Regarding Human Rights in India

National Human Rights Commission and State Human Rights Commission,

Commission for Schedule Caste and Schedule Tribes

Caste atrocities, Female Foeticide, Honour Killings, Peasant and landless labours,

Bonded Labour and Labour in Unorganised Sector Role of Civil Society, Media

Select Readings

Ali, Adsel and Wahid Wafi, 'The Problem of Human Rights in the Islamic Teaching in the Islamic Tradition', *Human Teaching,* vol. 4, 1985

Ansari, Iqbal, A., *Human Rights - India - Some Issues,* IOS, New Delhi, 1998

Anthony, M.J., *Women's Rights,* ISI, New Delhi, 1996

Avineri, S., and A. de-Shalit, eds., *Communitarianism and individualism*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1992

Chandoke, Neera, *Beyond Secularism-The Rights of Religious Minorities,* Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1999

Chimni, B.S., *International Refugee Law*, Sage, New Delhi, 2000

Cook R., ed., *Human Rights of Women*, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1994

Dev, Arjun, et al, *Human Rights: A Sources Book,* New Delhi, 1996

Donnelly, Jack, 'Human Rights and Asian Values: A Defense of 'Western' Universalism', in Brauer, Joanne and Bell, Daniel, eds., *The East Asian Challenge for Human Rights*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1999

Falk, Richard, Elver, Hilal, &Hajjar, Lisa, eds., *Human Rights,* Five Vol., Routledge, London, 2008

Forsythe, Daid P., *Human Rights in International Relations,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2001

Gutmann, Amy, *Multiculturalism and the Politics of Recognition,* Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1992

Herowitz, Shale and Schnavel, A. eds., *Human Rights and Societies in Transition,*Bookwell, New Delhi, 2005

Hingorani, R.C., 'Human Rights in Developing Countries', *Journal of Indian Bar Review,* vol.10, 41, 1983

Humanitarian Law and Protection of War Victims, Henry Dunant Institute, Geneva, 1986

Indira, R. and Deepak Kumar Behera, eds., *Gender and Society in India,* vols. I & II, Manak Publications, New Delhi, 1999

Jain, Ashok K., *The Saga of Female Feoticide in India*, Socio-legal, Delhi, 2006

Jehangir, Jawaid and Shankar Bose, eds., *Minorities of India, Problems and Prospects,* Manak Publications, New Delhi, 2007

Kumar, C. Raj, and K. Chocklingam, *Human Rights, Justice and Constitutional Empowerment,* Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2007

Lewis, David, *NGOs and Social Welfare,* Rawat Pub., 2008

Micheline, R. Ishay, ed., *The Human Rights Reader*, Routledge, New York, 1997

Mishra, Parmod, *Human Rights in South Asia,* Kalpaz Publications, Delhi, 2000

Nirmal, C.J., ed., *Human Rights in India,* Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1999

Nussbaum, Martha, `Judging other cultures: The case of genital mutilation,' Sex and Social Justice, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1999

Oomen, T.K., *Social Transformation in Rural India,* Vikas, New Delhi, 1984

Organization for ICC, *Islamic Views on Human Rights,* Kanishka, New Delhi, 2003

Padhi, N K, *Protection of Human Rights and National Human Rights Commission Reflections,* ND Gyan Publication House, 2007

Pal, R. M., and Sameer Chakraborty eds., *Human Rights Education in India*, Indian Social Institute, New Delhi, 2000

Ramcharan, B.G., ed., *Human Rights: Thirty Years after the Universal Declaration,* MartinusNijhoff, The Hague, 1982

Saksena, K.P., ed., *Human Rights in Asia: Problems and Perspectives*, Huriter, New Delhi, 1984

Saksena, K.P., ed*., Human Rights: Fifty Years of India's Independence,* Gyan Publishing House, New Delhi, 1999.

Salaby, David, *Human Right,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1987

Seyom, Brown, *Human Rights in World Politics*, Longman, New York, 2000

Shabbir, Mohammad, *Human Rights in the 21st Century*, Ravat Pub., 2008

Singh, Ram Gopal, ed., *Restoration of Human Rights and Dignity to Dalits,* Manak Publications, New Delhi, 2004

Singh, Ram, Gopal and R. D. Gadkav, eds., *Restoration of Human Rights as Dignity of Dalits,* Manak, New Delhi, 2004

Singh, Nagendra, *Enforcement of Human Rights*, E.L. House, Calcutta, 1986

Swaris, Nalin, *Buddhism Human Rights and Social Renewal,* Critical Quest, 2007

Thakur, R. N., *Plight of the Minorities,* Gyan, New Delhi,   1999

Thapar, Romila, `The Problem of Human Rights in the Hindu and Buddhist Tradition', *Human Rights Teachings,* 1985

The UN Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to Minorities: Background, Analysis and Observations, MRG, London, 1993

Thiagraj, Henry, *Human Rights from the Dalit Perspective,*Gyan Publishing House, New Delhi, 2007

Tulic, Peter and Andrea Wolper, eds., *Women's Rights, Human Rights,* Routledge, New York, 1995

UNESCO, *Philosophical Formulations of Human Rights,* UNESCO, Paris, 1986

UNESCO, *Taking Actions for Human Rights in the Twenty-First Century*, UNESCO, Paris, 1998

Vijapur, A.P., *Implementing Human Rights in the Third World: Essays on Human Rights, Dalits and Minorities,* Manak Publications, New Delhi, 2008

Wadhwa, K.L., *Minority Safeguards in India,* Thomson Press, New Delhi, 1975

Weinor, Myron, *The Child and the State in India,* Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1991

Whitekar, Ben, ed., *Minorities- A Question of Human Rights?*,Pergamon Press, Oxford, 1984

Yadav, Sushma and Anil Dutta Mishra, *Gender Issues in India: Some Reflections,*Radha, New Delhi, 2003

SEC-VII Dalit Mobilization in Colonial and Postcolonial India

The paper `Dalit Mobilization in Colonial and Postcolonial India' attempts to understand the initiatives taken by the marginalised communities in colonial and postcolonial times to improve their lot. The initiatives came in the form of ideological challenges to dominant mode of thinking as well as movements for specific rights. The paper discusses how colonialism opened and shaped arenas for such mobilizations; it also probes the response of the Congress-led national movement to such mobilizations. In the final section, the paper moves on to the contemporary period where the initiatives of the Dalits are discussed in the context of democratic politics.

Unit-I: Concepts and contexts

Mobility in caste society: Sanskritization, Westernization, other mobilities

Colonialism and the changes in the Indian society

Colonial state, community and the politics of representation: Ramsay Macdonald Award, the Round Table Conference, the Government of India Act, 1935

Indian national movement and the question of community: Ideology and practice in the pre-mass and mass phase of the Congress-led movements

Unit-II: Dalit mobilization in colonial India

Jotiba Phule and the Satya Shodhak Samaj in Maharashtra

Namasudra movement in Bengal

E.V. Ramasamy Periyar and the Self-Respect movement in Madras

Ambedkar and the Dalit mobilization – Mahar Satyagraha, anti-untouchability initiatives, temple entry, conversion

Poona pact and the Ambedkar-Gandhi debate on caste – Contending traditions

Unit-III: Dalits and the democratic politics

Electoral politics and Dalit assertion in independent India – Instances from Tamil Nadu, Maharashtra, Uttar Pradesh and other parts of the country

Issues before Dalit mobilizations

Select Readings

Ambedkar, B.R., `Castes in India: Their mechanism, genesis and development', in V. Moon. ed., *Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Writings and Speeches, vol. I*, Bombay: Education Department, Government of Maharashtra, 1989.

Ambedkar, B.R., *Annihilation of Caste*, Delhi: Gautam Book Centre, 2008 (1936).

Bandyopadhyay, Sekhar, *Caste, politics and the Raj: Bengal 1872-1937*, Calcutta: K.P. Bagchi, 1990.

Bandyopadhyay, Sekhar, *Caste, Protest and Identity in Colonial India: The Namasudras of Bengal, 1872-1947*, Surrey: Curzon Press, 1997.

Carroll, Lucy, `"Sanskritization," "Westernization" and "Social Mobility": A reappraisal of the relevance of anthropological concepts to the social historian of modern India', *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 33:4, 1977, pp. 355-371.

Constable, Philip, `Early Dalit literature and culture in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Western India', *Modern Asian Studies*, 31:2, May 1997, pp. 317-338.

Contursi, Janet A., `Political theology: Text and practice in a Dalit Panther community', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 52:2, May 1993, pp. 320-339.

Dangle, Arjun, *Homeless in My Land: Translations from Modern Marathi Dalit Short Stories*, Bombay: Orient Longman, 1992.

Galanter, Marc, *Competing Equalities: Law and the Backward Classes in India*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984.

Gokhale, Jayashree B., `The evolution of a counter ideology: Dalit consciousness in Maharashtra', in F. Frankel and M.S.A. Rao, eds., *Dominance and State Power in Modern India: Decline of a Social Order, vol. I*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989, 212-277.

Gould, Harold A., `Sanskritization and Westernization: A dynamic view', *The Economic Weekly*, 13: 1961, pp. 945-950.

Irschick, Eugene F., *Dialogue and History: Constructing South India, 1795-1895*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1994.

Jaffrelot, Christophe, *India's Silent Revolution: The Rise of the Low Castes in North Indian Politics*, Delhi: Permanent Black, 2004.

Jaffrelot, Christophe, *Dr Ambedkar and Untouchability: Analysing and Fighting Caste*, Delhi: Permanent Black, 2005.

Keer, Dhananjay, *Dr Ambedkar: Life and Mission*, Mumbai: Popular, 1990.

Kosambi, Meera, *Intersections: Socio-Cultural Trends in Maharashtra*, New Delhi: Orient Longman, 2000.

Kothari, Rajni and Rushikesh Maru, `Caste and secularism in India: Case study of a caste federation', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 25: 1965, pp. 35-50.

Kothari, Rajani, ed., *Caste in Indian Politics*, New Delhi: Orient Longman, 1973.

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Kothari, R., `Rise of the Dalits and the renewed debate on caste', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 25 June 1994, pp. 1589-1594.

Menon, Dilip, *Caste, Nationalism and Communism in South India: Malabar 1900-1948*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Mitra, Subrata K., 'Caste, democracy and the politics of community formation in India', in Mary Searle-Chatterjee and Ursula Sharma, eds., *Contextualising Caste: Post-Dumontian Approaches*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1994.

O'Hanlon, Rosalind, *Caste, Conflict and Ideology: Mahatma Jotirao Phule and Low Caste Protest in Nineteenth Century Western India*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

Omvedt, Gail, *Cultural Revolt in a Colonial Society: The Non-Brahman Movement in Western India*, 1873-1930, Bombay: Scientific Socialist Education Trust, 1976.

Omvedt, Gail, *Dalits and the Democratic Revolution: Dr. Ambedkar and the Dalit Movement in Colonial India*, New Delhi, Thousand Oaks, London: Sage, 1994.

Pai, Sudha, *Dalit Assertion and the Unfinished Democratic Revolution: The Bahujan Samaj Party in Uttar Pradesh*, New Delhi: Sage, 2002.

Pandian, M.S.S., `'"Denationalising" the Past: "nation" in E.V. Ramasamy's political discourse', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 16 October 1993, pp. 2282-87.

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Shah, Ghanshyam, *Caste and Democratic Politics in India*, London: Anthem Press, 2004.

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Srinivas, M.N., `A Note on Sanskrtization and Westernization', in his, *Caste in Modern India and Other Essays*, London: Asia Publishing House, 1962.

Stall, J.F., `Sanskirt and Sanskritization', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 22: 1963, pp. 261-275.

Washbrook, D.A., `The development of caste organization in South India, 1880-1925', in C.J. Baker and D.A. Washbrook, *South India: Political Institutions and Political Change, 1880-1940*, Delhi: Macmillan, 1975.

Washbrook, David A., *The Emergence of Provincial Politics: The Madras Presidency, 1870-1920*, New Delhi: Vikas, 1977.

Zelliot, Eleanor, `Congress and the Untouchables, 1917-1950', in Richard Sisson and Stanley Wolpert, eds., *Congress and Indian Nationalism: The Pre-Independence Phase*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1988.

Zelliot, Eleanor, `Learning the use of political means: The Mahars of Maharasthtra', in R. Kothari, ed., *Caste in Indian Politics*, New Delhi: Orient Longman, 1973.

SEC-VIII Understanding Society and Social Change

Unit-I

Basic Concepts

Social System, Social Structure, Socialization, Norms, Values, Status, Role, Stratification, Social Groups and Social Change

Unit-II

Approaches to Understanding Society

Social Facts, Sociological Imagination, Dialectical Materialism, Verstehen, Symbolic Interactionism, Phenomenology, Ethnomethodology and Dramaturgy

Unit-III

Sociological Theories

Positivism, Historical Materialism, Structuralism, Functionalism, Modernism and Post-Modernism

Select Readings

Blumer, Herbert, *Symbolic Interactionism; Perspective and Method*, California: University of California Press, 1986.

Brissett, Dennis and Charles Edgley, eds. *Life as a Theatre: A Dramaturgical Sourcebook*, Transaction Publisher, 2005.

Berger, Peter L., *Invitation to Sociology: A Humanistic Perspective*,

Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1963.

Comte, Auguste, *A General View of Positivism*, Translated by J. H. Bridges, Kessinger Publishing, 2010.

Durkheim, Emile, *The Rules of Sociological Method*, New York: The Free Press, 1938.

Derrida, Jacques, *Of Grammatology,* Translated by Gita Chakravorty Spivak, The John Hopkins Press, 1998.

Foucault, Michel, *Order of Things: An Archeology of the Human Sciences*, Routledge, 2001.

Garfinkel, Harold, *Studies in Ethnomethodology*, Polity Press, 1992.

Goffman, Erving, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, Anchor, 1959.

Giddens, Anthony, *Sociology*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 2006.

Giddens, Anthony and Christopher Pierson, *Conversations with Anthony Giddens: Making Sense of Modernity*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999.

Haralambos, Michael and Martin Holborn, *Sociology: Themes and Perspectives*, London: Harper Collins, 2000.

Hegel, George W. F., *The Phenomenology of Spirit (The Phenomenology of Mind)*, Digireads.com, 2009.

Kuhn, Thomas, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1996.

Levi-Strauss, Claude, *Elementary Structures of Kinship*, Beacon Press, 1971.

Merton, Robert K., 'The Role Set Problems in Sociological Theory', *British Journal of Sociology,* 8 (2), 1957, 106-120.

Merton, Robert K., *Social Theory and Social Structure*, New York: The Free Press, 1968.

Mead, George Herbert, 1910, 'Social Consciousness and the Consciousness of Meaning', *Psychological Bulletin*, 7, 1910, 397-405.

Morris, Charles W., *Mind, Self and Society: From the Standpoint of Social Behaviourist (Works of George Herbert Mead)*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967.

Mills, C. Wright, *The Sociological Imagination*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1959.

Marx, Karl, *Dialectical Materialism*, USA: Firebird Publishers, 1977.

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Merleau-Ponty, Maurice, *The Phenomenology of Perception*, Routledge, 2002.

Parsons, Talcott, *The Structure of Social Action*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1937.

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Pieterse, Jan Nederveen, *Development Theory: Deconstructions/Reconstructions*, Sage Publications, 2001.

Rawls, Anne W., eds. *Ethnomethodology's Program*, Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2002.

Spencer, Herbert, *Principles of Sociology,* University Press of the Pacific, 2004.

Sen, Amartya, *Development as Freedom*, Anchor, 2000.

Turner, Jonathan H., *The Structure of Sociological Theory*, The Dorsey Press 1987.

Weber, Max, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958.

SE CB-II Discourses of Secularism and Communalism in Modern India (CBCS)

This paper seeks to discuss issues of secularism and communalism in modern India. Both these issues have been subject of political deliberation during the freedom struggle, and continue to be key political issues in the ideological struggle in modern India. It will reflect on how political leaders and political parties have articulated it in the context of India's electoral politics, debates on minority rights, and how these discussions have shaped the nature and content of Indian democracy. Special attention with be given to the rise of majoritarian politics/Hindutva, and how these issues are now debated in the context of this rise, and its implications.

Unit-I

History and Concept of Secularism and Communalism

i)Concept of Secularism and Communalism

ii)Debates on Secularism and Communalism during Colonial Era

iii)Discussions on Secularism Constituent Assembly Debates and in Indian Constitution

Unit-II

Perspectives on Secularism and Communalism

i)Marxist Perspective

ii)Nationalist Perspective

iii)Subalteran Perspective

Unit-III

Secularism and Communalism in postcolonial Period

iPolitical Parties and Discussions on Secularism and Communalism

ii)Key Issues in Indian Politics and Discussions on Secularism and Communalism: Uniform Civil Code Debate; Shah Bano Debate; Ayodhya Movement, etc

iii)Hindutva politics and future of Secularism

Select Readings

Aiyar, Mani Shankar. (2004).*Confessions of a Secular Fundamentalist* New Delhi: Penguin

Ansari, M.T and Achar, Deeptha, eds. (2010). *Discourse, Democracy and Difference: Perspectives on Community, Politics and Culture,* Delhi: SahityaAkademi

Arendt, Hannah. (1951) *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co

Bajpai, Rochana. (2011) *Debating Differences: Group Rights and Liberal Democracy in India,* Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Bauman, Chad. (2010) 'Identity, Conversion and Violence: Dalits, Adivasis and the 2007-08 Riots in Orissa' in Robinson, Rowena & Joseph M. Kujur, (eds.) *Margins of Faith: Dalit and Tribal Christianity in India*, pp. 263-290. New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Brass, Paul R. (2003) *The Production of Hindu-Muslim Violence in Contemporary India,* New Delhi, Oxford University Press.

Chandra, Bipin. (1984) *Communalism in Modern India,* New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd.

Chatterjee, Partha.(1998) 'Secularism and Toleration' in Rajeev Bhargava (ed*.) Secularism and its Critics*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Chiriyankandath, James. (2002) 'Creating a Secular State in a Religious Country': The Debate in the Indian Constituent Assembly. *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, Vol.38, No.2, July, pp. 1-24.

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Fernandes, Walter (1988) *The Role of Christians in National Integration*, New Delhi: Indian Social Institute.

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Guha, Ramachandra. (2007) *India after Gandhi: the History of the World's Largest Democracy* London, Picador.

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Mitta, M. and Phoolka, H.S. (2007) *When a Tree Shook Delhi: The 1984 Carnage and its Aftermath*, Delhi: Roli Books.

Rehman, Mujibur(ed.) *Communalism in Post- Colonial India: Changing Contours*(Routledge 2016)

Robinson, Rowena & Joseph M. Kujur eds. (2010*) Margins of Faith: Dalit and Tribal Christianity in India*, New Delhi: Sage Publications.

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Sachar Committee Report (SCR). (2006) *Social, Economic and Educational Status of the* Rajeev Bhargava (ed.), *Secularism and its Critics*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Savarkar, V.D. (1999) *Hindutva: Who is a Hindu?* Mumbai: PanditBhakle, seventh edition

Sen, Amartya. (2006) *Identity and Violence: The Illusion of Destiny*, London: Penguin

Sen, Ronojoy. (2010) *Articles of Faith: Religion, Secularism and Indian Supreme Court*, Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Sharma, Jyotirmaya. (2003) *Hindutva: Exploring the Idea of Hindu Nationalism*, Delhi: Viking

Singh, Gurharpal. (2014) *India's Troubled Democracy: Communalism, Corruption and Social Exclusion.*Forthcoming.

Singh, Pritam. (2005) 'Hindu bias in India's 'secular' constitution: probing flaws in the instruments of governance', *Third World Quarterly*, Vol.26, No.6, pp 909-926.

Singh, Pritam. (2008) *Federalism, Nationalism and Development: India and the Punjab Economy*, London/New York: Routledge.

Smith, Donald Eugene. (1998) '*India as a Secular State'*, extracted in Rajeev Bhargava (ed.), *Secularism and its Critics*, Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Tejani, Shabnam (2008) *Indian Secularism: A Social and Intellectual History, 1890-1950*; Bloomington: Indiana University Press