

**Centre for the Study of Social Exclusion and Inclusive Policy**  
**Jamia Millia Islamia**

**M.A Social Exclusion and Inclusive Policy**

**List of Papers offered faculty wise**

**Semester-I**

- SEC-I Social Exclusion- Concept, Approaches and Forms(RR)  
SEC-II Minorities Across the World - Contemporary Issues(MR)  
SEC-III Research Methodology (HB)  
SEC-IV Social Movements and the Marginalized(KA)  
SE CB-I Inclusion, Social Justice and Legislation(AK) (CBCS-Elective)

**Semester-II**

- SEC-V Dalit Mobilization in Colonial and Post-colonial India(AK)  
SEC-VI Human Rights and Inclusive Processes(KA)  
SEC-VII Including the Socially Excluded: Issues and Challenges in Public Policy (RR)  
SEC-VIII Education and Social Exclusion(HB)  
SE CB-II Discourses of Secularism and Communalism in Modern India(MR) (CBCS-Elective)

**Semester-III**

- SEC-IX Globalization and the Marginalized(MR)  
SEC-X Conflict, Violence and Exclusion(AK)  
SEC-XI Gender and Politics of Exclusion(HB)  
SEC-XII Idea of Citizenship: Debates and Discontent(KA)  
SE CB-III Learning to Write(RR) (CBCS-Skill Development)

**Semester-IV**

- SEC-XIII Indian Constitution and the Marginalized(AK)  
SEC-XIV Minorities in India(MR)  
SEC-XV Politics Development and Ideology(RR)  
SEC-XVI Power and the Marginalized(KA)  
SE CB- IV Doing Ethnography(HB) (CBCS-Ability Enhancement)  
SEC-XVII Dissertation\*

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\* All faculty members will allocate students for Dissertation

# **Centre for the Study of Social Exclusion and Inclusive Policy**

## **Jamia Millia Islamia**

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#### **Semester-I**

SEC-I Social Exclusion- Concept, Approaches and Forms

SEC-II Minorities Across the World - Contemporary Issues

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SE CB-I Inclusion, Social Justice and Legislation (**CBCS-Elective**)

#### **Semester-II**

SEC-V Dalit Mobilization in Colonial and Post-colonial India

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SEC-IX Globalization and the Marginalized

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SEC-XIII Indian Constitution and the Marginalized

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SEC-XVII Dissertation

## **M.A. Programme in Social Exclusion and Inclusive Policy**

### **Semester-wise Number of Papers**

#### **Unit-I**

##### **Introducing the Concept**

Modern Usage – Lenoir and the Les Exclus; Post-industrial capitalist relations; Limitations of income-based approach of poverty; Spatial exclusion

Historical Expositions – Political traditions (Republican, Anglo-Saxon and Liberal); The culture of poverty; Capability approach; Citizenship; Equality; Social closure; Social relationships

#### **Unit-II**

##### **Defining Social Exclusion**

Multidimensional (Social, Political, Economic and Cultural); Constitutive; Dynamic and Relational dimensions of social exclusion

Definitions; Epistemological and teleological debates (underlying moral meta-narrative, adverse incorporation, social integration and voluntary exclusion); Limitations (reductionism and the realm of ideas); the North/South debate (meta versus meso, macro versus micro)

##### **Aspects of Social Exclusion**

Groups at the risk of being excluded – Religious; Racial; Caste; Gender; Ethnic; Class; Regional; Cultural; Language; Disabled; Migrant and Refugee

What are people excluded from – Three paradigms of social exclusion (solidarity, specialization and monopoly); Normative versus Structured – Equality; Justice; Citizenship; Respect; Employment; and Education

The problems associated with the impact of social exclusion – Lack of capital (human, financial, and physical) and civic amenities, lack of effective participation in social processes

#### **Unit-III**

##### **Processes Driving Social Exclusion**

Attitudes and social practices (conscious or unconscious, intended and unintended, explicit and informal); Mobilization of institutional bias; Social closure and Unruly practices; Hierarchy, marginalization and disadvantage; Obstruction and repulsion; Power relations (deliberate discrimination, protecting privilege, exploitation)

##### **Agents and Actors**

Role of agents, impersonal forces and processes causing social exclusion (globalization, international organizations, nation states, elites, excluded groups and individuals); Processes of labeling, othering and bordering

#### Select Readings

- Abrams, Dominic, eds., *Social Psychology of Inclusion and Exclusion*, New York: Psychology Press, 2004.
- Atkinson, A. B., 'Social Exclusion, Poverty and Unemployment' in J. Hills, eds., *Exclusion, Employment and Opportunity*, London: Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion (CASE), London School of Economics, 1998.
- Barry, B., *Social Exclusion, Social Isolation and Distribution of Income*, London: Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion, London School of Economics, 1998.
- Bebbington, A. J. et al., 'Inequalities and Development: Dysfunctions, Traps and Transitions' in A. Bebbington, et al., eds., *Institutional Pathways to Equity: Addressing Inequality Traps*, Washington DC: The World Bank, 2007.
- Bhalla, A. and F. Lapeyre, 'Social Exclusion: Towards an Analytical and Operational Framework', *Development and Change*, 28, 1997, 413-433.
- Breman, Jan, *The Jan Breman Omnibus*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Bryne, David, *Social Exclusion*, London: Open University Press, 2006.
- Chris, Phillipson, Graham Allan and David H. J. Morgan, eds., *Social Networks and Social Exclusion - Sociological and Policy Perspectives*, England: Ashgate Publishing, 2003.
- Cornwall, A., 'New Democratic Spaces? The Politics and Dynamics of Institutionalised Participation', *IDS Bulletin*, 35(2), 2004, 1-10.
- Dani, A. A. and Arjan de Haan, 'Social Policy in a Development Context: Structural Inequalities and Inclusive Institutions' in A.A. Dani and Arjan de Haan, eds., *Inclusive States: Social Policy and Structural Inequalities*, Washington DC: The World Bank, 2008, 1-37.
- De Haan, Arjan, *Social Exclusion: Towards a Holistic Understanding of Deprivation*, London: Department for International Development, 1999.
- Eyben, R., 'Inequality as Process and Experience' in R. Eyben, and J. Lovett, eds., *Political and Social Inequality: A Review*, IDS Development Bibliography 20, Brighton: Institute of Development Studies, 2004.
- Farmer, P., 'An Anthropology of Structural Violence', *Current Anthropology*, 45(3), 2004, 305-325.
- Ferguson, C., *Promoting Social Integration: Background Paper for Discussion*, Report commissioned by the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs for the Expert Group Meeting on Promoting Social Integration, Helsinki, Finland, 8-10 July, 2008.
- Fischer, A. M., *Resolving the Theoretical Ambiguities of Social Exclusion with Reference to Polarisation and Conflict*, DESTIN, London School of Economics, 2008.
- Gaventa, J., 'Finding the Spaces for Change: A Power Analysis', *IDS Bulletin*, 37(6), 2006.
- Ghanshyam Shah, et al., eds., *Rural Untouchability in India*, New Delhi: Sage, 2006.
- Gough, Jamie and Aram Eisenschitz, *Spaces of Social Exclusion*, New York: Routledge, 2006.
- Hasan, Zoya and Martha C. Nussbaum, *Equalizing Access: Affirmative Action in Higher Education in India, United States and South Africa*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2012



- Hickey, S. and du Toit, A., *Adverse Incorporation, Social Exclusion and Poverty*, Chronic Poverty Research Centre, Manchester: University of Manchester, 2007.
- Hills, John and Kitty Stewart, eds., *A More Equal Society? New Labour, Poverty, Inequality and Exclusion*, United Kingdom: Policy Press, 2005.
- Hills, John, *Inequality and the State*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Hills, John, J. Le Grand and D. Piachaud, eds., *Understanding Social Exclusion*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Caste Discrimination: A Global Concern*, A Report by Human Rights Watch for the United Nations World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance, New York: Human Rights Watch, September 2001.
- Jackson, C., 'Social Exclusion and Gender: Does One Size Fit All?', *The European Journal of Development Research*, 11(1), 1999.
- Jordan, Bill, *A Theory of Poverty and Social Exclusion*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1996.
- Justino, P., and J. Litchfield, *Economic Exclusion and Discrimination: The Experience of Minorities and Indigenous Peoples*, London: Minority Rights Group International, 2003.
- Also available online at:  
[http://www.minorityrights.org/admin/Download/pdf/IP\\_EconomicExclusion\\_JustinoLitchfield.pdf](http://www.minorityrights.org/admin/Download/pdf/IP_EconomicExclusion_JustinoLitchfield.pdf),  
 February 2004.
- Kabeer, Naila, 'Social Exclusion, Poverty and Discrimination: Towards an Analytical Framework', *IDS Bulletin*, Brighton: Institute of Development Studies, 31(4), 2000.
- Kabeer, Naila, 'Social Exclusion and the MDGs: The Challenge of 'Durable Inequalities' in the Asian Context', *Paper presented at ASIA2015 Conference*, London: Overseas Development Institute, March 2006
- Kahn, Joel S., *Modernity and Exclusion*, London: Sage, 2001.
- Kirsch, Max, eds., *Inclusion and Exclusion in the Global Arena*, New York: Routledge, 2006.
- Lal, A.K., eds., *Social Exclusion: Essays in Honour of Dr. Bindeshwar Pathak*, New Delhi: Concept, 2003.
- Lund, Brian, *Understanding State Welfare - Social Injustice or Social Exclusion?* London: Sage, 2002.
- Moncrieffe, J., 'Beneath the Categories: Power Relations and Inequalities in Uganda' in A. Bebbington et al., *Institutional Pathways to Equity: Addressing Inequality Traps*, Washington DC: The World Bank, 2008.
- Moncrieffe, J., 'Labelling, Power and Accountability: How and Why our Categories Matter' in J. Moncrieffe and R. Eyben, *The Power of Labelling*, Earthscan, 2007.
- Munck, Ronaldo, *Globalization and Social Exclusion - A Transformationalist Perspective*, Sterling VA: Kumarian Press, 2004.
- Narayan, D. and P. Petesch, P., 'Agency, Opportunity Structure and Poverty Escapes' in D. Narayan, and P. Petesch, *Moving Out of Poverty*, Washington DC: The World Bank, 2007.
- Percy-Smith, Janie, eds., *Policy Responses to Social Exclusion - Towards Inclusion?* Philadelphia: Open University Press, 2002.

Prakash, Aseem, *Dalit Capital: State, Markets and Civil Society in Urban India*, New Delhi: Routledge India, 2015.

Rodgers, Gerry, Charles Gore and José B. Figueiredo, eds., *Social Exclusion - Rhetoric, Reality, Responses*, International Institute for Labour Studies and United Nations Development Programme, Geneva: International Labour Organization, 1995.

Also available online at: [http://www.ilo.org/public/libdoc/ilo/1995/95B09\\_55\\_englp1.pdf](http://www.ilo.org/public/libdoc/ilo/1995/95B09_55_englp1.pdf)

Saith, R., 'Social Exclusion: The Concept and Application to Developing Countries', *Queen Elizabeth House Working Paper Series 72*, Oxford: Queen Elizabeth House, 2001.

Sen, Amartya, *Social Exclusion: Concept, Application and Scrutiny*, New Delhi: Critical Quest, 2007.

Sheth, D. L., 'Caste, Ethnicity and Exclusion in South Asia: The Role of Affirmative Action Policies in Building Inclusive Societies', *Occasional Paper*, New York: UNDP, Human Development Report Office, 2004.

Silver, Hillary, 'Social Exclusion and Social Solidarity: Three Paradigms', *International Labour Review*, 133 (5-6), 1994.

Stewart, F., *Social Exclusion and Conflict: Analysis and Policy Implications*, Report prepared for the Department for International Development, London: DFID, 2004.

Stoer, Stephen R., *Theories of Social Exclusion, European Social Inclusion Series*, Volume VI, Frankfurt: Lang Publishing, 2003.

Thorat, Sukhadeo and Umakant, eds., *Caste, Race and Discrimination – Discourses in International Context*, Jaipur and New Delhi: Rawat Publications, 2004.

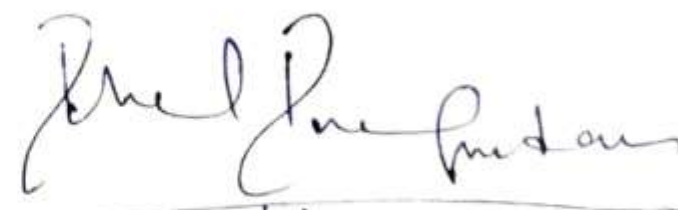
Thorat, Sukhadeo, Aryama and Prashant Negi, *Reservation and Private Sector: Quest for Equal Opportunity and Growth*, Jaipur and New Delhi: Rawat Publications, 2005.

Thorat, Sukhadeo and Nidhi Sadana Sabarwal, *Bridging the Social Gap: Perspectives on Dalit Empowerment*, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2015.

Tilly, C., *How to Hoard Opportunities in Durable Inequality*, California: University of California Press, 1998.

Tilly, C., *Modes of Exploitation in Durable Inequality*, California: University of California Press, 1998.

Varma, H.S., eds., *The OBCs and the Dynamics of Social Exclusion in India*, New Delhi: Serials, 2005.



18/11/21

## **SEC-II**

### **MINORITIES ACROSS THE WORLD: CONTEMPORARY ISSUES**

#### **Unit I: Concepts of Minority and their Forms.**

Concept of Minority

Numerical Aspect of the Definition

Political Relationship with Majority

Types and compositions of Minorities: Religious, Ethnic and Linguistic. Minorities

Majority Rule and Democracy

**Note:** This part focuses on the conceptual and theoretical aspect of the notion of minority. It gives detailed empirical examples of how minorities are formed and perceived, and how in democracy they are often discussed and debated in the context of their rights, and conditions of democracy.

#### **Unit II: Issues of Majority and Minority Relations**

Religious Minorities – Muslims in India; Mohajirs in Pakistan; Jews in America; Hindus in Bangladesh;

Racial Minorities: Blacks in America

Linguistic and Ethnic Minorities– Tamils in Sri Lanka

Bangladeshi Refugees in India and Indian Diaspora in America

**Note:** This part is far more specific and empirical. It offers insights to particular cases in particular countries, and how various historical and political conditions have shaped the minority discourses in these countries.

#### **Unit III: Issues and Challenges in Modern World for Minorities**

Political Participation and Issues of Representation and Under- Representation of Minorities in Modern Democracies, say India, Pakistan, USA etc

Challenges to National Integration; Minorities and Human Rights Issues – Role of the United Nations

Role of the Institutions such as Minority Commission

Politics of Minority Rights and Majoritarianism

Forms of Politics of Assertion, Accommodation and Resistance by Minorities in Various Parts of the World

**Note:** This part focuses on the consequences of the politics of minorities, raises issues of participation and representation. It discusses these in the larger context of the politics of particular countries and how the rights of various minorities are discussed. It also sheds light on prejudices and biases in societies and how they shape politics of majoritarianism.

### **BASIC READINGS:**

**Notes:** These are key texts which will be extensively used in the lectures and discussions and be treated as compulsory readings for the students. In addition, further readings will be added from class to class from the additional reading list.

Austin, G., *Working A Democratic Constitution: The Indian Experience*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Gurr, Ted Robert, *Minorities At Risk: A Global View Of Ethno-political Conflicts*, Washington, D.C.: USIP, 1993.

Ludden, David, ed., *Making India Hindu: Religion, Community and Politics in Indian Democracy*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Hasan, Zoya. *Politics of Inclusion: Castes, Minorities, and Affirmative Action*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Pandey, Gyan, ed., *The Hindu and Others: The Question of Identity in India Today*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Das, Veena, ed., *Mirrors of Violence: Communities, Riots and Survivors In South Asia*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Dixit, S . *Mohajirs in Pakistan*. Kalinga Publications. 2012.

Jayaram, N . *Indian Diaspora*. Sage Publications. 2004.

Spencer, Jonathan, ed., *Sri Lanka: History and Roots of Conflict*, London: Routledge, 1990.

West, Cornel and Michael Learner. *Jews and Blacks: A Dialogue in Race, Religion and Culture in America*, Plume, 1996.

### **ADDITIONAL READINGS:**

Basu, Amrita and Atul Kohli, eds. *Community Conflicts and the State in India*, Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1998.

Bourton, John W., *Global Conflict: The Domestic Sources Of International Crisis*, Brighton: Wheatheaf Books, 1984.

Brass, Paul R., *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Theory and Comparison*. New Delhi: Sage, 1991.

Brass, Paul, *The Politics Of India Since Independence*, Delhi: Cambridge University Press, 1990.



- Chandra, Bipan, *The Communalism in the Modern India*, New Delhi: Vikas, 1984.
- De Silva, K. M, *Reaping the Whirlwind: Ethnic Conflict, Ethnic Politics in Sri Lanka*, New Delhi: Penguin, 1998.
- Gopal, Sarvepalli, ed., *Anatomy of A Confrontation: The Babri-Masjid Ram Janambhoomi Issue*, New Delhi: Penguin, 1993.
- Grimshaw, Allen D., ed., *Racial Violence In The United States*, Chicago: Aldine, 1969.
- Harman, J, *Trauma and Recovery: The Aftermath of Violence – From Domestic Abuse to Political Terror*, New York: Basic Books, 1997.
- Harris, Peter and Ben Reilly, ed., *Democracy and Deep-Rooted Conflict: Options for Negotiations*, Stockholm: International IDEA, 1998.
- Heidenrich, J, *How to Prevent Genocide: A Guide for Policy makers, scholars, and the concerned citizen*, Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 2001.
- Horowitz, Donald. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*, Berkeley: California University Press, 1985.
- Illaih, Kancha, *Why I am Not Hindu*, Calcutta: Samya, 1996.
- Jayawardena, Kumari, *Ethnic and Class Conflicts in Sri Lanka*, Colombo: Navagama, 1986.
- Kakar, Sudhir, *The Colors of Violence*, Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1996.
- Robersten, G, *Crimes Against Humanity: The Struggle for Global Justice*, New York: The New Press, 1995.
- Rotberg, Robert I., ed., *Creating Peace in Sri-Lanka: Civil War and Re-conciliation*, Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1999.
- Tambiah, Stanley, *Sri Lanka: Ethnic Fratricide and the Dismantling of Democracy*, Chicago: University Chicago Press, 1986.

## **SEC-III**

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY IN SOCIAL SCIENCES**

The course introduces students to the process of conducting research in social sciences and implementation of research techniques in the field. This course explores the relationship between epistemology, theory, methodology and methods.

The course provides students the techniques and the methods for conducting research in social sciences. In this course, we would be looking at the Research perspective from the Margins focusing on research on the social groups which face exclusion from the mainstream and the studies done by them.

**Internal assessment** at the end of Semester would be based on a research project formulated by individual student where theoretical aspects of research would be tested on the ground through fieldwork based research. Students would be marked on the basis of research based on literature review and field work on the selected topic.

#### **Unit I Social Science Research and its Scope**

Introduction to Social Science Research

Major Approaches: Traditional (Positivist, Philosophical, Historical, Legal and Institutional), Modern (Behavioural Systems, Interpretative and Structural )

#### **Suggested Readings**

Crotty, Michael. 1998. Foundations of Social Research: Meaning and Perspective in the Research Process. Thousand Oaks: Sage [Chapter I]

Babbie, Earl. 2007. The Practice of Social Research (11th Edition). Belmont, CA: Thomson-Wadsworth [Chapter I, II and III].

Guthrie, G (2010) Basic Research methods: An Entry into Social Science Research.

Bryman, A. (2012) Social Research Methods, Oxford University Press, Fifth Edition.

Ahuja, R. (2008) Research Methods, Rawat Publications.

#### **Additional Readings**

Hammersley, M. 2000. Varieties of Social Research: a typology. International Journal of Social Research Methodology. 3(2):157- 166

#### **Unit- II Method and Techniques**

Hypothesis and Problem Formulation, Identification of Variables and Concepts (Operationalization)

Research Design (Types : Descriptive, Exploratory, Explanatory and Experimental)

Methods of Data Collection

Quantitative Methods: introduction, types of research design, identification and sources of data collection, methods of data collection, selection of sample and sampling methods, data processing and analysis.

Qualitative Methods: introduction, methods of data collection namely semi structured interviews, ethnography and participant observation, use of documents and archival materials.

Objectivity and Ethics in Social Science Research

Report Writing

### **Select Readings**

Brenner, M.J., J. Brown and D. Canter, (eds)., The Research Interview – Uses and Approaches, London: Academic Press, 1985.

Bulmer, M. (eds)., Sociological Research Methods – An Introduction, London: Macmillan, 1984.

Burgess, R., In the Field – An Introduction to Field Research, London: Allen and Unwin, 1984.

Burton, T.L. and G.L. Cherry, Social Research Techniques, London: Unwin and Hyman, 1989.

Cohen, N.R. and Ernest Nigel, Introduction to Logic, New York, NY: Macmillan, 1972.

Dogan, M. and S. Rokkan, eds., Quantitative Ecological Analysis in the Social Sciences, Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1969.

Eazarsteld, P.F. and M. Rosenberg, The Language of Social Research, New York, NY: FP, 1995.

Gestinger, L. and D. Katz, (eds)., Research Methods in the Behavioural Sciences, New Delhi: Amerind, 1976.

Goode, W.J. and P.K. Hatt, Methods of Social Research, New York, NY: McGraw Hill, 1952.

May, Tom, Social Research : Issue, methods and Process, Jaipur: Rawat Publication, 2009.

Kothari, C.R., Reaserch Methodology : Methods and Techniques ,New Delhi : New Age International (P) Ltd., 2009.Russel, Langley, Practical Statistics, London: Pan Books, 1970.

Young, Pauline V., *Scientific Social Surveys and Research*, New Delhi, Pretence Hall, 1968.

Babbie, Earl. 2007. *The Practice of Social Research* (11th Edition). Belmont, CA: Thomson-Wadsworth [Chapter I, II and III].

Creswell, J.W. 2009. *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*. Thousand Oaks: Sage. [Chapter I and II]

Maxwell, J. A. 2005. *Qualitative Research Design: An Interactive Approach*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications [Chapter I and II]

Atkinson, P. (2015) *For Ethnography*. Sage Publications .

Bryman, A. (2012) *Social Research Methods*, Oxford University Press, Fifth Edition.

Bernard, H Russell (2011) *Research Methods in Anthropology Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*, AltaMira Press. Especially Chapter 13 Participant Observation (342-386).

### **Additional Readings**

Kuhn, Thomas, *The Structure of Scientific Revolution*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970.

Silverman, D. (2007) *Research ethics in interpreting Qualitative Data: Methods for analyzing Talk, Text and Interaction*. Sage Publications.

## **Unit III : Research Perspectives from the Margins**

Researching the Marginalized: Overview of research on Dalits, Women , Minorities, Tribals.

### **Select Readings**

Annuaire Roumain d'Anthropologie, 2009 Issue on Social Exclusion in India: Critical Ethnographic Discourse from the Margins.

Haraway, Donna. 1988. Situated knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the privilege of partial perspective, *Feminist Studies*, 14(3): 575-599.

Hekman, Susan. 1997. Truth and Method: Feminist Standpoint theory revisited. *Sign: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 22(2): 341-365

Menon, Nivedita. 2012. *Seeing Like a Feminist*. Delhi: Penguin and Zuban (Introduction)

Mukherji, Partha. Ed. *Methodology in Social Research: Dilemmas and Perspectives*. Delhi: Sage (Introduction)

Sarukkai, Sundar & Guru, Gopal. 2012. *The Cracked Mirror: An Indian Debate on Experience and Theory*. Delhi: OUP

Sarukkai, Sundar & Guru, Gopal. 2019. *Experience, Caste, and the Everyday Social*. Delhi: OUP



Harding, S. 1987. Introduction: Is there a Feminist Method? In Sara Harding (Ed.) *Feminism and Methodology*. Indiana University Press, pp. 1-14

Dharamveer 2005. Premchand: Samant ka Munshi

Ansari , Ali Anvar.2005. Masavat ki Jang Bihar ke Pasmada Musalman. Indian Social Institute.

Sharmila Rege. 2003. Sociology of gender: the challenge of feminist sociological knowledge. Sage Publications.

### **Additional Readings**

Reinharz, S. (1992) Feminist methods in Social Research. Oxford university Press.

Cambers, R. (1998). "Foreword" in Holland, Jeremy and James Blackburn, eds. Whose Voice? Participatory Research and PolicyChange. London: Intermediate Technology Publications.

Bharti Anita and Pawar Urmila (2016) Dalit Feminism and the Problematization of Patriarchy and Gender: A Reading of Selected Short Stories. Lambert Academic Publications.

Dharamveer Premchand ki Neeli Ankhen

Narendra (2018) Bastar Dispatches: A Passage Through the Wilds. Harper Collins.

## **SEC-IV**

### **SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND THE MARGINALISED**

This course attempts to provide an understanding of social movements, theory and morphology, historical background along with the case studies. It also studies the marginalized from the perspective of social movements.

The issues of inequality, poverty, development, social identity, exclusion and discrimination have often led to processes of social transformation and social change. The play of social identity in leading up to social movements will be explored in detail through the case studies in the Indian context in Unit III. We would also be looking at the issues of exclusion through these case studies and the effects of the social movements on the marginalized in the society.

#### **Unit I Theoretical Framework and Background of Social movements**

Theories of Social Movements (Liberal/ Marxist)

Contextualizing Social Movements: Old Social Movements, New Social Movements

#### **Unit II: Structure and the Present**

Ideology, Participation and Mobilization

Contemporary Social Movements: Overview

#### **Unit III Case Studies from the Margins**

Social Identity Movement (Dalit Panthers' Movement)

Political Movement (Socialist Movement: Lohia)

Peasant Movement (Bhoodan/ Naxalbari Movement)

Labor Movement (Trade Unions)

Displacement and Ecological Movements (Narmada Bachao Andolan-Sardar Sarovar Dam/ Chipko Andolan)

#### **Suggested Readings**

Rao, M.S.A. 2000. Social Movements in India, Manohar, (Selected Chapters).

Oommen, T.K. 2010. Social Movements I: Issues of Identity (ed.) New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

- Oommen, T.K. 2010, *Social Movements II: Concerns for Equality and Security*, (ed.) New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Barbara Hobson. 2003. *Recognition Struggles And Social Movements: Contested Identities, Agency and Power*. Cambridge University Press (Selected Chapters).
- Desai, A. 1985. Women's Movement in India: An Assessment. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 20(23), 992-995.
- Frank, A. G. and Marta Fuentes. 1987. Nine Theses on Social Movements, *EPW*, Vol.22, No. 35 (Aug. 29), pp. 1503-1510.
- Jeffrelot, C & Sanjay Kumar. 2012. *Rise of the Plebeians?: The Changing Face of the Indian Legislative Assemblies*, Rutledge.
- Lee, Su. H, 2010. *Debating New Social Movements: Culture, Identity, And Social Fragmentation*, Rawat, Publications, (Selected Chapters).
- Mukherji, Partha. 1977. Social Movement and Social Change: to a Conceptual Clarification and Theoretical Framework, *Sociological Bulletin*, 26 (1): 38-59.
- Oberschall, Anthony, 1996. *Social Movements: Ideologies, Interests, And Identities*, Transaction Publishers.
- Parekh, B. 2006. Defining India's Identity. *India International Centre Quarterly*, 33(1), 1-15.
- Sarah Joseph, Social Movements, State and Democracy, *EPW*, Vol. 28, No. 8/9 (Feb. 20-27, 1993), pp. 330-332.
- Shah, Ghanshyam. 2004. *Social Movements in India: A Review of Literature*. Sage. New Delhi
- Shah Ghanshyam,. 2002, *Social Movements and the State*, ed. Sage. New Delhi.
- Vincenzo Ruggiero, Nicola Montagna, *Social Movements: A Reader*, Routledge, 2008, (Selected Chapters).
- Webster, J. 1996. Understanding the Modern Dalit Movement. *Sociological Bulletin*, 45(2), 189-204.
- Broad, K. 2002. Social Movement Selves. *Sociological Perspectives*, 45(3), 317- 336.
- Buechler, Steven M. 1995. New Social Movement Theories, *The Sociological Quarterly*, Volume 36, Number 3, Pages 441-464.
- Offe, C. 1985. New Social Movements: Challenging The Boundaries of Institutional Politics, *Social Research*, 52, 817-868.
- David Snow, Sarah A. Soule and Hanspeter Kriesi, ed. 2008. *Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*. 'Mapping the Terrain' New York: Wiley-Blackwell. pp. 3-16.

Della Porta, Donatella and Mario Diani, 2006. *Social Movements: An Introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing. pp. 1-29.

Le Bon, Gustave. 2007. "The Minds of Crowds". In Jeff Goodwin and James, M. Jasper, eds, *Social Movements: Critical Concepts in Sociology*, Vol I. London: Routledge, pp.7-17

Crossley, Nick. 2009. *Making Sense of Social Movements*. Jaipur: Rawat Publication, pp. 17-55.

Nilsen, Gunvald Alf.2009. "The Author and the Actors of their own Drama: Notes towards a Marxist Theory of Social Movements", *Capital and Class*, 33:3, pp. 109-139.

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Lalitha, K. and Susie Tharu, 1989. *We Were Making History: Life Stories of Women in Telangana People's Struggle*. Delhi: Kali for Women, pp. 19-32.

Rammanohar Lohia, *Samajwadi Andolan ka Itihas*, in Mastaram Kapoor (edited), *Rammanohar Lohia Rachanavali*, Volume 4, Pp469

Stephen Sherlock, *Railway Workers and Their Unions: Origins of 1974 Indian Railways Strike*, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 24, No. 41 (Oct. 14, 1989), pp. 2311-2315+2317-2319+2321-2322

Gopal Guru, 1993, *Dalit Movement in Mainstream Sociology*, *Economic and Political Weekly*, 28(14), 570-573.

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## **SE CB-I**

### **INCLUSION, SOCIAL JUSTICE AND LEGISLATION**

Objectives Social Inclusion has emerged as a major concern both in academic and more importantly in policy discourses in recent decades to achieve broader objectives of social and redistributive justice. Increasing awareness and recognition of multiple forms of discrimination, inequality and deprivation which have been both the causes and effects of exclusion of different sections of the citizenry from the dominant processes and paradigms of 'growth and development' have resulted in envisaging fresh legislations, policy emphasis and institutional engagements to address the issue of inclusion for the deprived and excluded sections of the society.

#### **Unit-I**

Provide a brief critical outline of the theories of redistributive and social justice as evolved in the liberal and Marxist paradigm covering the issues of recognition and redistribution

Understanding key concepts: Recognition; Redistribution; Inclusion

Contemporary Debates on Inclusiveness: Liberal, Marxist, Others

#### **Unit-II**

How these theories link up to the policy formulations of 'inclusive growth' in recent decades in the wake of explicit recognition of the fallouts of 'immiserising growth' in different official and government circles.

Idea of Social Justice and Social Inclusion

Idea of Inclusion and Indian State: Institutional Mechanism and Non State Agency

#### **Unit-III**

Delineation and evaluation of a body of legislations and policies aimed to provide enabling structures of social inclusion in spheres of education, employment of various marginalized social groups

Social Legislations: Bare Acts

Scope and Further Critique

#### **Suggestive Readings:**

Bhargava, Rajeev & Ashok Acharya (2007) A Introduction to Political Theory, Pearson, New Delhi

Gallanter, Marc, (1984), *Competing Equalities: Law and the Backward Classes in India*, University of California Press, Berkeley

Nancy Fraser, Alex Honneth, Joel Golb and James Ingram, (2003) *Redistribution or Recognition: A Political Philosophical Exchange*, Verso, London

Oommen, T.K. (2014), *Social Inclusion in Independent India: Dimensions and Approaches*, Orient Blackswan.

Rawls, John (2005) *A Theory of Justice*, Universal Law Publishing Co. Ltd., New Delhi

Sen, Amartya (2010), *The Idea of Justice*, Penguin Books, London

### **Additional Readings:**

Guru, Gopal, (2002) “Ambedkar’s Idea of Social Justice” in Ghanshyam Shah edited *Dalit and the State*, LABSNA, Mussorie, Concept Publishing, Delhi

Manoranjan Mohanty, K.B. Saxena, Gillbert Sebastian and Prashant K. Trivedi (2011), *Weapons of the Oppressed: An Inventory of People’s Rights in India*, Council for Social Development, New Delhi

Sen, Amartya (1997), *Inequality Reexamined*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi

Sen, Amartya and K R Narayanan (2011) *In the Name of the People: Reflections on Democracy, Freedom and Development*, Viking, London Taylor, Charles, *Politics of Recognition*

Verma, Vidhu (2012) *Non-discrimination and Equality in India: Contesting boundaries of social justice*, Routledge, New York

National Pro Bono Resource Centre Occasional paper: *What is Social Justice?*

Zoe Morrison, (2010), *On Dignity: Social Inclusion and the politics of recognition*, Social Policy Working Paper No.12, The Centre for Public Policy, Melbourne

## **DALIT MOBILIZATION IN COLONIAL AND POST-COLONIAL 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. Though the usage of the very term 'dalit' is laden with myriad controversies, yet this is the only term which has evolved to encapsulate an identity of the historically disadvantaged group at pan India level. The initiatives of this group 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. The paper delves into various forms of mobilization in three important presidencies during colonial rule. In the final section, the paper moves on to the contemporary period where Dalit initiatives are discussed in the context of contemporary democratic politics.

### **Unit I**

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 mass and mass phase of the Congress-led movements

### **Unit II**

Satya Shodhak Movement in Maharashtra, Namasudra Movement in Bengal, Self-Respect movement in Madras

Ambedkar and the Dalit mobilization – Mahar Satyagraha, Temple entry, Conversion

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

### **Unit III**

Class Caste Debate and Indian Left

Republican Party of India and Dalit Panthers

Kanshiram and Bahujan Samaj Movement

### **Suggestive 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.
- 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.
- Jaffrelot, Christophe, *Dr Ambedkar and Untouchability: Analysing and Fighting Caste*, Delhi: Permanent Black, 2005.
- Keer, Dhananjay, *Dr Ambedkar: Life and Mission*, Mumbai: Popular, 1990.
- 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.

### **Additional Readings:**

- 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.
- 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.

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

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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.

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

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

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

Rajagopal, Indhu, *Tyranny of Caste: The Non-Brahman Movement and Political Development in South India*, New Delhi: Vikas, 1985.

Rudolph, Lloyd I., and Susanne H. Rudolph, 'The political role of India's caste associations', *Pacific Affairs*, 33, 1960, pp. 5-22.

Rudolph, Lloyd I., and Susanne H. Rudolph, *The Modernity of Tradition: Political Development in India*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967.

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

Shah, Ghanshyam, *Social Movements in India: A Review of Literature*, New Delhi: Sage, 2004.

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

Stall, J.F., 'Sanskrit 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 Maharashtra', in R. Kothari, ed., *Caste in Indian Politics*, New Delhi: Orient Longman, 1973.

## **HUMAN RIGHTS AND INCLUSIVE PROCESSES**



# **Including the Socially Excluded: Issues and Challenges in Public Policy**

## **Unit I**

### **Themes in Social Exclusion and Responses**

Exclusion and Inclusion in Colonial India

Locating Social Exclusion and Mandal I, II, III

Cultural Prejudices and Public Policy

Economy or Caste and Exclusion

## **Unit II**

### **Social Exclusion/Inclusion-I**

Representation of subalterns and Indian Democracy

Rural poverty and Agricultural/land reform: Bhudan movement, Naxalism,

Rural Primary Education, State and NGOs

Women, Livelihood and Panchayats

## **Unit III**

### **Social Exclusion/Inclusion-II**

Urban Streets and Politics of Master Plan

Affirmative action and exclusion of Dalit Muslim and Christian

Citizenship, Migration and Social Exclusion in North East India

### Select Readings

T K Oommen (2014), *Social Inclusion in Independent India: dimensions and approaches*, Orient BlackSwan, Hyderabad

Rahul Ramagundam (2017), *Including the Socially Excluded: India's Experience with Caste, Gender and Poverty*, Orient BlackSwan, Hyderabad

Minoru Mio and Abhijit Dasgupta (eds) (2018), *Rethinking Social Exclusion in India: Caste, Communities and the State*, Routledge, New York (Chapter 2, 8 and 9)

Anwar Ali (2005), *Masawat ki jung* (Hindi), Indian Social Institute, Delhi

Zoya Hasan (2008), *Politics of Inclusion: Castes, Minorities and Affirmative Action*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

Christophe Jaffrelot (2003), *India's Silent Revolution: the Rise of the Low Castes in North Indian Politics*, Permanent Black, New Delhi

Jan Breman (2007), *The Poverty Regime in Village India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi

Nirmal Chandra (1997), *Bhoomi Samasya aur Bhoodan*, Gandhi Peace Foundation, New Delhi

L C Jain (2005), *Decentralisation and Local Governance*, Orient BlackSwan, Hyderabad

B K Sinha and Pushpendra (eds) (2000), *Land Reforms in India: An Unfinished Agenda*, Vol 5, Sage, Delhi

Stephanie Tawa Lama-Rewal (ed) (2005), *Electoral Reservations, Political Representation and Social Change in India: A comparative Perspective*, Manohar, New Delhi

Sukhadeo Thorat (2013), *Caste, Social Exclusion & Poverty*, Critical Quest, New Delhi.

Sukhadeo Thorat and K S Newman (eds) (2010), *Blocked by Caste: Economic Discrimination in Modern India*, OUP, New Delhi

G. Ansari (1959), *Muslim Castes in Uttar Pradesh*, Ethnographic and Folk Culture Society, Lucknow.

C. Jaffrelot and Sanjay Kumar (eds) (2009), *The Rise of the Plebeians? The Changing face of Indian Legislative Assemblies*, Routledge, New Delhi

R. R. Patil and James Dabhi (2010), *Dalit Christians in India*, Manak Publication, Delhi

Tim Edensor (1998), *The Culture of Indian Street*, in Nicholas Fyfe (ed), *Images of the Street: Planning Identity and Control in Public Space*, Routledge, London

Sanjay Kumr and Sharit K Bhowmik (2010), Street Vending in Delhi in Sharit Bhowmik (ed), Street Vendors in the Global urban Economy, Routledge, New Delhi.

Darshini Mahadevia and Rutul Joshi (2009), Subversive Urban Development in India, Working Paper-1, Centre for Urban Equity, CEPT University.

Available at

[https://cept.ac.in/UserFiles/File/CUE/Working%20Papers/Revised%20New/01CUEWP1\\_Subversive%20Urban%20Development%20in%20India%20Implications%20on%20Planning%20Education.pdf](https://cept.ac.in/UserFiles/File/CUE/Working%20Papers/Revised%20New/01CUEWP1_Subversive%20Urban%20Development%20in%20India%20Implications%20on%20Planning%20Education.pdf)

Snigdha Dewal (2006), Master Plan for Delhi: 2021 A Critical Analysis, CCS Working Paper 160, Centre for Civil Society, New Delhi

Available at [https://ccs.in/internship\\_papers/2006/Delhi%20Master%20Plan%20-%20Snigdha.pdf](https://ccs.in/internship_papers/2006/Delhi%20Master%20Plan%20-%20Snigdha.pdf)

Amitabh Kundu, Impact of Neo-Liberal Policies on Urban Morphology: The Indian Case  
<http://www.aerus.net/web/sat/workshops/2003/papers/docs/32.pdf>

# **Education and Social Exclusion**

## **Unit-I**

Conceptualising Social Exclusion in relation to Education

Education/School as a possible site for social exclusion – mechanisms of class, caste, religion, language, region, abilities

Social Disadvantage and education experiences

## **Unit-II**

Curriculum and Knowledge

Schooling and the Hidden Curriculum

Analysing for bias and prejudice

Classroom Processes and School Texts: Identity & Ideologies

Schooling and its Meaning for the Marginalized

Gender Equity in Schooling

## **Unit-III**

Developing of gender roles

Gender based differential experiences of schooling

Equality of educational opportunity

State, Identity and Educational Discourse: Negotiations and Compromises

Addressing Inclusion: Policies and Programmes

Multicultural Issues in Education; Shaping curriculum for diversity

Addressing Diversity in Schools – towards a culturally responsive pedagogy

## Select Readings

- Banks, James A., *Multicultural Education. Theory and Practice*. Allyn and Bacon, Boston, 1994
- Banks, James A. and Cherry A. Banks. (ed). *Multicultural Education. Issues and Perspectives*. John Wiley Sons, 2010
- Bourdieu, P. and Passeron, J. C. (1990) *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*, [Third Edition], London: Sage Publications.
- Delpit, Lisa., *The Silenced Dialogue: Power and Pedagogy in Educating other people's children*
- Sayed, Yusuf, Subrahmanian, Ramya, Soudien, Crain, Carrim, Nazir *Education Exclusion and Inclusion: Policy and Implementation in South Africa and India* by . DFID, 2007
- Freire, Paulo, (1993) *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Penguin.
- Halsey, A.H., et al. (Eds) *Education, Culture, Economy, Society*, London: Oxford
- Henry A. Giroux. (2001) *Theory and Resistance in Education: Towards a pedagogy for the Opposition*. Bergin and Garvey.
- Hick, Peter and Thomas, Gary (Ed.) *Inclusion and Diversity in Education* , Vols. 1-4, Sage, London, 2009
- Iliah, Kancha., (1996) *Why I am not a Hindu*, Samya, Calcutta
- Kabeer, N. (2000) 'Social exclusion, poverty and discrimination: Towards an analytical framework', *IDS Bulletin* 31(4): 83 – 97
- Kathleen Bennett de Marrais and Margaret D. Le Compte, (1993) *The Way Schools Work: A Sociological Analysis of Education*. Longman, NY
- Kozol Jonathan, (1992) *Savage Inequalities*, Harper Perennial, New York
- Kumar, Krishna., (2005) *The Political Agenda of Education*, Sage, New Delhi.
- Kumar, Krishna., (2004) *What is worth Teaching*, Orient Blackswan, New Delhi
- Krishna, Krishna., *Quality in Education: Competing Concepts*. *Contemporary Education Dialogue*. Vol. 7, No.1, 2010
- Kumar, Ravi., (ed.) (2006) *The Crisis of Elementary Education in India*. Sage.
- Michael W. Apple, Stephen J. Ball and Luis Armando Gandin (ed). (2010) *The Routledge International Handbook of the Sociology of Education*.

Michael W. Apple, Cultural and Economic Reproduction in Education, (1982) Routledge and Kegan Paul, London

Nambissan, Geetha., Integrating Gender concerns, *Seminar* 536

Nambissan, Geetha., Dealing with Deprivation, *Seminar* 493

Nambissan, Geetha., Exclusion and Discrimination in Schools: Experiences of Dalit Children. Working Paper Series, Indian Institute of Dalit Studies and UNICEF, 2009

NCERT National Curriculum Framework, 2005

NIAS (2001) Discrimination and Deprivation: Basic Education Among the Poor, Local Education Report, Jaipur, Rajasthan, Bangalore: National Institute of Advanced Studies.

Probe Revisited: A Report on Elementary Education in India, OUP

Public Report on Basic Education in India. OUP, 1999.

R.Govinda (ed). Who goes to school? Exploring Exclusion in Indian Education, OUP, 2011

Rashmi Sharma and Vimla Ramachandran( ed) (2009) The Elementary Education System in India. Routledge, New Delhi

Sadgopal, Anil. Globalisation: Demystifying Its Knowledge Agenda for India's Education Policy. Durgabai Deshmukh Memorial Lecture, 2004

Sen, Amartya., (2005) The Country of First Boys in The Little Magazine, Vol. VI, Issue 1&2,

Sundar, Nandni., Educating for Inequality: The Experiences of India's "Indigenous" Citizens, Asian Anthropology, Vol. 9 (2010)

Sundar, Nandni., Teaching to Hate: RSS's Pedagogical Programme, *Economic and Political Weekly*, April 17, 2004

The Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act, 2009

Vasavi, A. R., (2003) 'Schooling for a new society? The social and political bases of education deprivation in India', IDS Bulletin, 34(1): 72-80.

# **DISCOURSES OF SECULARISM AND COMMUNALISM IN MODERN INDIA**

## **Unit I: On the Concepts of Secularism and Communalism.**

Concepts of Secularism, and Communalism and their Inter- relationships

Discussions on Communalism and Secularism in Colonial and Postcolonial Era

Discussions on Secularism in Constituent Assembly Debates and in Indian Constitution  
Debates on Secularism in Modern India and Religious Right

Positive Secularism and Negative Secularism

Politics of Appeasement, and Secularism

**Notes:** This is the theoretical and conceptual part. It explores various definitions and concepts and how they are discussed by scholars of different kinds in the context of different countries, and how they can be related to the Indian case. It also discusses how these issues are debated in the Constituent Assembly and also in Indian Constitution. It also reflects on the ideological side of the debate such as how the Hindu Right or Left look at these concepts and their analysis.

## **Unit II: Competing Perspectives on Secularism and Communalism.**

Comparative Analysis of Various Perspectives on Secularism and Communalism

(i) Marxist Perspective

(ii) Nationalist Perspective

(iii) Subaltern Perspective

**Note:** This part focuses on the various approaches to the study of secularism and communalism. Given that these are connected to the processes of nation building and also to the world views, it is crucial to have some idea of various formulations of various ideological approaches to these issues.

## **Unit III: Secularism and Communalism in Postcolonial India.**

Political Parties and their Deliberations on Secularism and Communalism

Key Issues in Indian Debate on Secularism and Communalism: Uniform Civil Code Debate, Triple Talaq Debate, Ayodhya Movement

Hindutva Politics, Politics of Majoritarianism and future of Secularism

**Note:** This is far more specific as it addresses the particular issues around which the present debate on secularism and communalism take place. It also discusses the larger political developments such as Ayodhya movement, and examines how these developments shape the political discourses etc.

## **BASIC READINGS**

**Notes:** These are key texts which will be extensively used in the lectures and discussions and be treated as compulsory readings for the students. In addition, further readings will be added from class to class from the additional reading list.

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.

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.

Crossman, Brenda and Kapur, Ratna. (2001) *Secularism's Last Sigh? Hindutva and the (Mis)Rule of Law*, Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Bhargava, Rajeev (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

Rehman, Mujibur (Ed.) *Communalism in Postcolonial India: Changing Contours*. Routledge 2018 (foreword by Romila Thapar) first published in 2016.

## **ADDITIONAL READINGS**

Hansen, Thomas B (1999) *The Saffron Wave: Democracy and Hindu Nationalism in Modern India*, Princeton (NJ): Princeton University Press.

Iyer, Raghavan (1991) *The Essential Writings of Mahatma Gandhi*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press

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.

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: Pandit Bhakle, seventh edition



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

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.

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# **GLOBALIZATION AND ITS IMPACT ON INDIA'S MARGINALIZED GROUPS**

## **UNIT I: Introduction to the Concept of Globalization and its Institutions:**

The Concept of Globalization and Its Institutions: Bretton-Wood System – the World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF).

End of the Cold- War and Washington Consensus

Political and Economic Dimensions of Globalization

Forms of Globalization

Colonialism, Neo- Colonialism and their Relationships with Globalization.

**NOTE:** This Unit mainly explores the theoretical aspect of the discussion on globalization and how it operates with the help of key institutions. It also presents a historical perspective by drawing distinction between how similar processes used to take place during colonial times and how the present day ones are different from those. It gives a broad overview of the theme.

## **UNIT II: Globalization and Indian Experience**

Nehruvian Development Strategy and the role of the State

India's Balance of Payment (BOP) Crisis of late 1980s

India's New Economic Policy since 1991/92.

Role of the World Bank and India's Economic Reforms

Role of Indian Industry, Labour Movements, Foreign Direct Investment, India's Coalition Politics and Globalization.

**NOTE:** This part mainly focuses on the India's experience with globalization, and the changing political conditions in which it has unfolded. It discusses in detail the political economy of India. It draws distinction between Nehruvian era and post- reform era.

## **UNIT III: Globalization and its Impact on Marginalized Groups.**

India's Globalization and the Marginalized Groups : Religious Minorities such as Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, etc. Tribals and Women. Socio- Economic Conditions of India's Religious Minorities and the Impact of Globalization on Them.

**Note:** This part mainly discusses on the marginalized groups and how the globalization has impacted these groups, their socio- economic conditions etc. It challenges the idea that globalization has uniform impact, and instead argues that it has uneven implications, and have the tendency to perpetuate inequalities in societies.

## **SUGGESTIVE READING**

**Notes: These are key texts which will be extensively used in the lectures and discussions and be treated as compulsory readings for the students. In addition, further readings will be added from class to class from the additional reading list.**

Bhagwati, Jagdish, *In Defense of Globalization*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Dreze, Jean and Amartya Sen, eds., *India: Development and Participation*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Dreze, Jean and Amartya Sen, eds., *India: Economic Development and Social Opportunities*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Dreze, Jean and Amartya Sen, eds., *India: Selected Regional Perspectives*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Kohli Atul, *Democracy and Discontent: India's Growing crisis Of Governability*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

Ghosh, Jayati and C.P. Chandrasekhar, *The Market That Has failed*, New Delhi: Left Word, 2002.

Nayar, Baldev Raj, *Globalization and Nationalism*, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1999.

Sengupta, Arjun, *Reforms, Equity and The IMF: An Economists World view*, New Delhi: Har-Anand Publication, 2001.

Stiglitz, Joseph, *Globalizations and Its Discontents*, New York: W. W. Norton, 2003.

## **ADDITIONAL READINGS:**

Ahluwalia, I.J., and I. M. D. Little, eds., *India's Economic Reforms and Development*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Amin, Samir, *Capitalism in the Age of Globalisation: The Management of Contemporary Society*, London: Zed Books, 1997.

Bajpai, Nirupama and Jeffrey Sachs, *India in the Era of Economic Reforms*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Bardhan, Pranab, *The Political Economy of Development in India*, Oxford: Basic Blackwell, 1984.

Bhagwati, Jagdish, *India in Transition*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993.

Bhambhri, C.P., *Globalization India: Nation, State and Democracy*, New Delhi: Shipra, 2005.

Breman, Jan, *The Making and Unmaking Of Working Class in Ahmedabad*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Cassen, Robert and Vijay Joshi, *India: The future of Economic Reform*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Chakravarty, Sukhamoy, *Development Planning: Indian Experience*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987.

Frankel, Francine, *India's Political Economy, 1947-77: The Gradual Revolution*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978.

Jaffrelot, Christopher, *The Hindu Nationalist Movement in India*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1994.

Jenkins, R. S., *Democratic Politics and Economic Reform India*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2000.

Joshi, Vijay and I. M.D. Little, *India's Economic Reform*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Nayyar, Deepak, *Governing Globalization*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Ohmae, Keiichi, *The Borderless World*, New York: Harper Collins, 1990.

Ohmae, Keiichi, *The End Of The Nation State*, New York: Free Press, 1995.

Patel, I. G., *Economic Reform and Global Change*, Delhi: McMillan, 1998.

Pattnaik, Prabhat, 'International Economy and New Economic Policy: A Critique of India's New Economic Policy', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 19 March, 1994.

Petras, James and Henry Veltmeyer, *Globalization Unmasked: Imperialism in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, London: Zed Books, 2001.

Rangriz, Hassan, *Human Resource in the Globalised World*, Delhi: Abhijeet Publications, 2004.

Rodrik, Dan, *Has Globalization Gone So Far?*, Washington, D.C.: Institute for International Economics, 1997.

Toye, John, Paul Mosely and Jane Harrigan, eds., *Aid and Power: The World Bank and Policy Based Lending*, New York: Routledge, 1991.

Wade, Robert, *Governing the Market: Economic Theory and the Role of Government in East Asia's Industrialization*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990.

## **Conflict, Violence and Exclusion**

**Objective:** Conflict and violence is a stark reality facing the modern world. People both in the developed and developing world have been and still are both victims and perpetrators of violence and for large number of people conflict and violence has become part of their daily existence. This paper will seek to introduce how violence can be both a cause as well as consequence of conflict leading to exclusion of a 'category'. The broad focus would be on exclusion leading up to the study of three core areas: situations of conflict, forms of exclusion during conflict and exclusion in post conflict situations. This paper will also attempt to explore how conflict is often used to legitimize and reinforce the notion of the 'other' or 'enemy', thus in turn legitimizing exclusion itself. Through examination of different case studies of past and present, the paper will attempt to outline a relationship between conflict (state sponsored, ideological, reactionary etc.) and exclusion (social, cultural, economic and political).

### **Unit I**

Theories of Conflict

Sites of Violence: Perpetrator and the victim

Justification and Legitimacy of Violence

### **Unit II**

Ideological debates on Violence

Manifestations of Political Violence: Terrorism, Maoism, Naxalism

State Violence: A Case of Anti-terror Laws

### **Unit III**

Violence and Exclusion

Ethnic and religious violence: Mob Lynching

Forms of violence: Riots, Genocide, Pogrom

### **Suggestive Readings**

Ashutosh Varshney (2005) Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life – Hindus and Muslims in India, Oxford University Press, New Delhi

Frantz Fanon (1967) Black Skin White Masks Grove Press, New York

Gopal Guru (2008) Humiliation: Claims and Context, Oxford University Press, New Delhi,

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

Paul R. Brass (2006) *Forms of Collective Violence: Riots, Pogroms and Genocide in Modern India*, Three essays Collective, Gurgaon

Bruce B. Lawrence and Aisha Karim (2007) *On Violence: A Reader*, Duke University Press, Durham

Frantz Fanon (1963) *The Wretched of the Earth*, Penguin, Suffolk

### **Additional Readings:**

Arjun Dangle (1994) *Poisoned Bread: Translations from Modern Marathi Dalit Literature*, New Delhi, Orient Longman

Lata Murugkar (1991) *Dalit Panther Movement in Maharashtra: A Sociological Appraisal*, Popular Prakashan, Bombay

M. J. Akbar, *Riot after Riot* (1991) Penguin Books, Delhi

Robert F. Williams (1962) *Negroes with Guns*, Wayne State University Press, Detroit

Robert L. Scott and Wayne Brockriede (ed.) (1969) *The Rhetoric of Black Power*, Harper and Row Publishers, New York

Stokely Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton, (1968) *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America*, Jonathan Cape Ltd., London

Teltunbde, Anand (2008) *Khairlanji: A Strange and Bitter Crop*, Navayana, New Delhi

Terry Cannon, (1970) *All Power to the People: The Story of the Black Panther Party*, Peoples Press, San Francisco

Dipankar Gupta (1979) *Understanding Marathwada Riots: A Repudiation of Eclectic Marxism*, *Social Scientist*, Vol.7, No.10, May

Gail Omvedt (1979) *Marathwada: A Reply to Dipanka Gupta*, *Social Scientist*, Vol.8, No.86, September

Malcolm X (1971) 'The Ballot or the Bullet' in Arthur L. Smith and Stephen Robb, *The Voice of the Black Rhetoric: Selections*, Allen and Bacon, Boston

*The Marathwada Riots: A Report*, Atyachar Virodh Samiti, *Economic and Political Weekly*, No.14, Vol.19, 1979

## **GENDER AND SOCIAL EXCLUSION**

The Course Gender and Social Exclusion will engage with interdisciplinary perspectives to develop an understanding of processes that cause and perpetuate gender inequality. Students will be introduced to the core concepts of gender, basic theories of feminism, how the intersecting categories of gender, and other markers of inequalities become institutionalized and change over time. Students will be encouraged to explore and analyze gender in the complexity of its construction over time and in multiple settings and sites, locally in the Indian contexts as well as globally. The courses curriculum builds upon scholarship in gender studies, both international and Indian, incorporating the new interdisciplinary agendas, debates and changing methodological practices.

### **Unit 1**

In this Unit students will be introduced to the core concepts of gender. Through foundational readings students will be enabled to develop an understanding of the broad theoretical currents of feminist thought. It will also enhance students' understanding of how feminist thought has emerged, developed and evolved in response to various historical, social and political challenges.

1. Core Concepts of Gender, Patriarchy, stereotyping, Public Private dichotomy Empowerment
2. Global Women's Movements and Rise of Feminism
3. Feminism(s):
  - i. Formative Feminisms: Liberalism, Marxist Feminism, Radical Feminism, Socialist Feminism
  - ii. Postcolonial Feminism and Third World
  - iii. Dalit Feminism
  - iv. Eco Feminism

### **Core Readings**

M Evans and C H Williams *Gender: the key concepts* (Routledge, 2012)

McCann, C. R and Kim, S-K. (Eds.) (2010). *Feminist Theory Reader* (2nd ed.). New York, London: Routledge.

Mohanty, Chandra.T. (2003). *Feminism Without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity*. New Delhi: Zubaan.

John. M.E (2008) Women's Studies in India: A reader. New Delhi: Penguin Books.

### **Supplementary Readings**

#### **Concepts**

Holmes, M. (2007) What is gender? Sociological approaches. New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Bhasin. K. (1993) What is Patriarchy?" Kali For Women, New Delhi. 1993

Geetha, V. (2006) Understanding Gender, Calcutta.

#### **Feminism (s)**

Hackett, E., & Haslanger, S.A. (2006). *Theorizing Feminisms: A Reader*. Oxford University Press: Routledge

South Asian Feminisms: Negotiating New Terrains: Feminist Review: Issue 91 (Feminist Review)

#### **Post Colonial Feminism and Third World**

1. Mohanty, C. T. (2003). *Feminism without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity*. New Delhi: Zubaan
  - Chapter 2: Cartographies of Struggle: Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism
  - Chapter 9: 'Under Western Eyes' Revisited

#### **Dalit Feminism (Also relevant for caste based exclusions in Unit 2)**

2. Rege, S. (2006). *Writing Caste/ Writing Gender: Dalit Women's Testimonies*. New Delhi: Zubaan.- Introduction
3. Guru, G. (2005). Understanding the Dalit Feminist Identity. In B. Ray (Eds.). *Women of India: Colonial and Post -Colonial Periods* (p 82-93). New Delhi: SAGE Publications.

### **Unit II: Gender Inequalities and Exclusion**



This unit will explore gender as a focal point linking all other exclusions as patriarchal domination creates hierarchies and exclusions within class, caste, tribe, religious minorities and other communities. It will enable students to understand manifestations of power that create exclusions and the manner in which these two or more axes can reinforce each other, criss- cross each other or cut across the other in different contexts through an understanding of certain key exclusions.

1. Gender and Caste Based Exclusion
2. Gender and Religious Minorities
3. Indian Nation and its Peripheries: Exclusions based on race, ethnicity, region and culture.

### **Core Readings**

- Sinha, M. (2014) Gendered nationalism: from women to gender and back again? In Fernandes, L. (Eds.) Routledge Handbook of Gender in South Asia (p 13-27). New Delhi: Routledge
- Mohanty Manoranjan (ed), (2004) 'Introduction' in Class, Caste and Gender, New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- John. M.E (2008) Women's Studies in India: A reader. New Delhi: Penguin Books.

### **Chapter 10**

and 11.

- Kirsch Max (2006). Inclusion and Exclusion in the Global Area. Oxford: Rutledge (Read Introduction)
- Roy A. (2005) Gendered Citizenship. New Delhi : Orient Longman. (Chapters five and six). Introduction, Chapters 4 , 7 ,9,10, 13,14,15,16.
- Rao, A. (2018) (ed.) Gender, Caste and the Imagination of Equality. New Delhi : Women Unlimited.
- Hasan, Z. (1994) (ed.) Forging Identities: Gender, Communities and the State. New Delhi : Kali for Women.
- Kabeer, N. (2005)(eds) Inclusive Citizenship. New Delhi: Zubaan. (Chapter 1).
- Dalit Women Speak, Report by AIDMAM, New Delhi : Zubaan, 2011. •
- Xaxa, V. (2004) 'Women and Gender in the Study of Tribes in India.' in Indian Journal of Gender Studies, Vol. 11 (3): 345–67.

### **Additional Readings**

- Deshpande. A (2011) *The Grammar of Caste*, New Delhi: Oxford (chapter6).
- Hasan Zoya (2009) *The Politics of Inclusion*, New Delhi: Sage (chapters 6 and 7)
- Roy A. (2005) *Gendered Citizenship*. New Delhi : Orient Longman. (Chapters five and six).
- Krishna Sumi, (2004) *Livelihood and gender: Equity in Community Resource Management*, New Delhi: Sage.
- Mehrotra, Deepti Priya (2009) *Burning Bright: Irom Sharmila and Struggle for Peace in Manipur*, New Delhi: Penguin Books.
- Butalia, U. and T Sarkar (1996)(eds.), *Women and the Hindu Right*, New Delhi, Kali for women.
- Syiem, Esther. (2013). 'Khasi Matrilineal Society: The Paradox within,' in Preeti Gill (Ed.), in *The Peripheral Centre: Voices from India's Northeast*, New Delhi: Zubaan. pp.133- 143.

### **Unit III: Gender Lens**

An important part of studying gender involves interrogating accepted beliefs and challenging shared assumptions. It questions dominant approaches and challenges power dynamics structuring exclusionary practices. In this light this unit will introduce students to the relation of contemporary issues with gender and the importance of unpacking issues from a gender perspectives.

1. Struggles for Gender Equality in India: Women's movement in India
  - Rethinking Contemporary Issues: Globalisation, Environment, Gender based Violence , Work and Labour .
2. Gender in Governance
3. Gender Mainstreaming in Public Policy

### **Core Readings**

Menon, N. (2012) *Seeing like a Feminist*. New Delhi: Penguin

John. M.E (2008) *Women's Studies in India: A reader*. New Delhi: Penguin Books. Chapter 4, 5 and 9

Sharma, B. R., and M. Gupta. (2013) Gender based violence in India: A never-ending phenomenon. *Journal of International Women Studies* 39 (6): 114-123.

Brush, Lisa D. (2007) *Gender and Governance*. New Delhi: Rawat Publications.

Kabeer, N., (2003) *Gender Mainstreaming in Poverty Eradication and the Millennium Development Goals*, the Commonwealth Secretariat. London.

Rai, S and Spray, C. (2019) *Performing Representation: Women Members in Indian Parliament*. New Delhi: OUP.

### **Additional Readings**

Kazi, S. (2018) *Gender and Governance: Studies from South Asia*. New Delhi: Zubaan Books

Sen, S. (2003) *Towards a Feminist Politics? The Indian Women's Movement in Historical Perspective*. New Delhi: Zubaan Books

Wal, S.B. (2007) *Women and Globalisation*. New Delhi: Sarup and Sons.

Walby, Sylvia (1986) *Patriarchy at Work*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Chanrda Pradan K *Rural Women, Issues and Options* (2008) New Delhi: Sonali publications.

Butalia Urvashi (2002) 'Confrontation and Negotiation: The women's Movement Responses to Violence Against Women', in Kapadia Karin (ed) *The Violence Of Development*, New Delhi: Palgrave-Macmillan.

**Activities:** Gender Stereotypes in Media – TV , Cinema, Newspapers, Advertisements, radio. Popular movements in contemporary times, Movies : Q2P, Driving with Selvi.

## **IDEA OF CITIZENSHIP: DEBATES AND DISCONTENT**

### **UNIT I: HISTORICAL ORIGINS AND TRAJECTORIES**

- Classical Greek-Roman period
- Late Medieval and Early Modern Period (French and American Revolutions)
- Development in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century with Emergence of Liberalism and Capitalism
- Citizenship and Nation-State

### **UNIT II: THEORIES OF CITIZENSHIP**

- Republican Citizenship and Civic Virtue-Aristotle, Machiavelli and Rousseau
- T. H. Marshal and Three Forms of Citizenship Rights
- End of Welfare State and Neo-liberal Citizenship

### **UNIT III: TOWARDS MORE INCLUSION: CHALLENGES TO CITIZENSHIP**

- Differentiated Citizenship
- Multiculturalism and Citizenship
- Gender and Citizenship
- Insurgent Citizenship
- Cosmopolitan Citizenship

### **Suggested Reading**

#### **Unit I**

Isin, Engin F, Peter Nyers, and Bryan S. Turner, eds. 2008. *Citizenship between past and future*. London: Routledge

Bendix, Reinhard. 1977. *Nation-building and Citizenship: Studies of our Changing Social Order*  
Enlarged ed. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press

Pocock, J. G. A. 1992. The Ideal of Citizenship since Classical Times. *Queens Quarterly* 99:35–55.

Tilly, Charles, ed. 1996. *Citizenship, Identity and Social History*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press

Weber, Max. 1961. *General Economic History*. Translated by Frank H. Knight. New York: Collier, Chapter 28.

Mann, Michael. 1987. Ruling Class Strategies and Citizenship. *Sociology* 21:339–354.

Heater, Derek. 1999. *What is Citizenship?* Cambridge: Polity Press

Kymlicka, Will. 2002. *Contemporary Political Philosophy*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, chapter 7: Citizenship Theory: 284-326.

Brubaker, Rogers. 1992. *Citizenship and nationhood in France and Germany*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press

Oommen, T. K., (ed.) 1997. *Citizenship and National Identity: From Colonialism to Globalism*. New Delhi: Sage

Carens, Joseph H. 1987. Aliens and citizens: The case for open borders. *Review of Politics* 49:251–273

Torpey, John. 2000. *The invention of the passport: Surveillance, citizenship and the state*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press.

## **Unit II**

**For comprehensive coverage of debates and theories of citizenship see Special Issue on citizenship studies in the *Citizenship Studies (Journal)*. 2007 Vol.11, No 1**

Isin, Engin F. and Bryan S. Turner 2002. *Handbook of Citizenship Studies*. London: Sage Publications

Barbalet, Jack M. 1988. *Citizenship: Rights, struggle and class inequality*. Milton Keynes, UK: Open Univ. Press

Marshall, T.H. 1950/1987. *Citizenship and Social Class*. London: Pluto Press

Turner, Bryan S, and Peter Hamilton. (eds.) 1994. *Citizenship: Critical Concepts*. 2<sup>nd</sup> Vols. London: Routledge

Shafir, Gershon, ed. 1998. *The Citizenship Debates: A Reader*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Kivisto, Peter, and Thomas Faist. 2007. *Citizenship: Discourse, Theory, and Transnational Prospects*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Barry, Brian (2001) *Culture and Equality*, Polity Press, chapter 2: The Strategy of Privatization, pp. 19-62.

## **Unit III**

- Young, Iris Marion. 2000. *Inclusion and Democracy*, Oxford University Press.
- Kukathas, Chandran. 1997. Cultural Toleration, in Will Kymlicka and Ian Shapiro (eds.) *Ethnicity and Group Rights*, *Nomos XXXIX*, Yearbook of the American Society for Political and Legal Philosophy, New York University Press, New York and London, pp. 69-104
- Bosniak, Linda. 2000. "Universal Citizenship and the Problem of Alienage". *Northwestern University Law Review*, vol. 94, no. 3, pp. 963-982.
- Thompson, Lisa and Chris Tapscott (2010) *Citizenship and Social Movements: Perspectives from the Global South*. London: Zed Books.
- Pandey, Gyanendra. (ed.), 2010. *Subaltern Citizens and their Histories: Investigations from India and the USA*. Routledge: Indian Reprint, 2011. (Part Three: The State and the People)
- Rao, Anupama. 2009. *The Caste Question: Dalits and the Politics of Modern India*. Delhi: Permanent Black
- Kymlicka, Will. 1995. *Multicultural Citizenship*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Kymlicka, Will and Wayne Norman. (eds.) 2000. *Citizenship in Diverse Societies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Holston, James (2008) *Insurgent Citizenship: Disjunctions of Democracy and Modernity in Brazil*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Joppke, Christian. 2010. *Citizenship and immigration*. Cambridge: Polity
- Habermas, Jürgen. 1992. Citizenship and national identity: Some reflections of the future of Europe. *Praxis International* 12, pp. 1–19
- Lister, Ruth. 1997. *Citizenship: Feminist Perspectives*. London: Macmillan
- Yuval-Davis, Nira. 1997. Women, Citizenship and Difference. *Feminist Review* 57:4–27
- Pateman, Carole. 1988. The Patriarchal Welfare State. In Amy Gutman (ed) *Democracy and the welfare state*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press. pp. 194-223
- Nagel, Thomas 2005. 'The Problem of Global Justice', *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, vol. 33 No.2, pp. 113-147
- Benhabib, Seyla. 2004. "On Hospitality: Re-reading Kant's Cosmopolitan Right", in: *The Rights of Others*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK: 25-48.

## **Skill Development-Learning to Write**

*This is a skill development course. It is a combination of both learning and comprehending and expressing: Why do we think? How do we objectify thinking? Herein, students will be asked to explore and develop thoughts in writing. By a series of extempore self-expression through writing as well as by involving to write an academic work students shall be enabled to develop vocabulary, method, and construction of thoughts. Although there shall be elements of a creative English writing course, the paper is basically a social science course discoursing on power of thoughts in writing. The paper seeks to reinstate the centrality of writing in the intercourse of social science ideas.*

### **Unit-I**

#### **Philosophy of Writing**

Twin Traditions: Written and Oral

What is writing- invention and history of writing; Thoughts and Expression; Speech (Language) and Script (Writing); Typologies of Writing Systems; Power and Purpose;

Imagination and knowledge: Is Imagination and Knowledge replaceable terms? Exploring Imagination in terms of integrated paradigm of Evolution, Knowledge, and Consciousness; Imagination as biological and/or cultural embodiment; Nation, nationalism & imagination; Success and failure of imagination;

Understanding written words-the case of collected works- Gandhi, Nehru, Ambedkar

Narratives- Politics of (Re)presentation;

### **Unit-II**

#### **Techniques of Writing**

Developing clarity and focus in academic writing; Reviewing the literature; Connecting ideas in writing; Task analysis; Voice in academic writing; Improving cohesion; Editing your writing; Style sheet of Journals

### **Unit-III**

#### **Genres of Writing**

Writing Process and Product; Reflective writing; Essay writing; Dissertation writing; Proposal writing ; Article writing ; Book review ; Introduction and conclusion; Body Chapters; Ethnography of subject; Ethics of research;

## **Indian Constitution and the Marginalized**

**Objective:** Indian Constitution is one of the most extensively debated and deliberated social document of not just India but entire world. This document has judiciously borrowed from a majority of the constitutions of various nation states both old and new. This paper seeks to make a humble attempt towards making the student understand the basic philosophy which shaped the making of this historic document. This paper will further attempt an interface with the deliberations on group rights in the constituent assembly debates and how the notions like minority rights were debated and finally included in the main body. The paper will also attempt to understand the possibilities of the idea of social justice vis-à-vis the contentious issue of reservations and affirmative action.

### **Unit I**

Constitutional Development and Philosophy of the Constitution

Defining the Marginalized Groups- Schedule Castes, Schedule Tribes, Minorities, Backward Classes

### **Unit II**

Provisions for the Schedule Castes, Schedule Tribes and Backward Classes

Safeguards for the Minorities

Addressing Gender Inequality: Constitutional Amendments and the Women's Empowerment in India

### **Unit III**

Constitutional Amendments and the Debate on Reservation and Affirmative Actions

Emerging Scenario of Inclusive Policy Concerns for the Minorities

### **Suggestive Readings:**

Austin. G., 1972, *The Indian Constitution: Corner stone of the Nation*, Bombay: Oxford University Press.

Bhargawa Rajeev, 2009, *Politics and Ethics of Indian Constitution*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Seth D.L. and Gurpreet Mahajan, 1999, (Eds.) *Minority Identity and the Nation-State*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

*Constituent Assembly Debate*, 1989, New Delhi: Lok Sabha Secretariat.



Galanter Marc, 1984, *Competing Inequalities*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press  
Social, Economic and Educational Status of the Muslim Community of India; A Report  
November, 2006, New Delhi, Prime Ministers High Level Committee Cabinet Secretariat,  
Government of India.

Hasan Zoya, 2009, *Politics of Inclusion*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

**Additional Readings:**

Behura N. K., 2006, (Eds) *Tribals and the Indian Constitution*, Jaipur and New Delhi: Rawat Publication.

Bhadur K.P., 2000, *Caste Tribes and Culture of India*, New Delhi: Ess Ess Pub.

Bhardwaj Anil, 2002, *Schedule Caste in India*, New Delhi: Deep and Deep Publications.

Chatterjee, S. K., 1996, *The Schedule Caste in India*, vol.1-2, New Delhi: Gyan Publishers.

Chaudhry Patnaik, 2008, *Indian Tribes and the Mainstream*, Jaipur: Rawat Publication

Connolly, William, 1991, *Identity /difference: Demographic Negotiations Political Paradox*, Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press.

Gautam V, 1977, *Minorities in India since Independence*, New Delhi: Vikas Publications.

Gopal Singh Commission Report on Minorities, 1983, New Delhi: Government of India.

Hasan Zoya, 2009, *Politics of Inclusion*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Jaffrelott, Christopher, 1998, *India's Silent and Politics*, New Delhi: Permanent Black

Kumar C. Raj and Chockalingam K. (Eds.), 2007, *Human Rights Justice and Constitutional Empowerment*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press

Mandelsohn, Oliver and Marica Vicziany, 1998, *The Untouchables: Subordination, Poverty and the state in Modern India*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Michells, J. M. 1994, *Political Thought of Baba Saheb Ambedkar*, New Delhi: Intellectual Publishing House.

Michells, J. M., 1969, *Political Analysis and Public Policy: An Introduction to Political Science*, New Delhi: Thomson Press,

Momin A. R., 2004, *The empowerment of Muslims in India- Perspectives, Context and Prerequisites*, New Delhi: Institute of Objective Studies.

Moon Vasant, 1995, *Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar Writings and Speeches*, Vol. 13, Govt. of Maharashtra Mumbai: Education Department.

Naidu. R. V. K., 2004, *Empowerment of Schedule Caste*, New Delhi: Kalpaz Publications

Narendra Kumar Dalit Policies, 2004, *Politics and Parliament*, New Delhi: Shipra.

Pathak, S. N. & S. P. 2005, *Pandey Scheduled Caste Development: A Study of Special Component Plan Serial*, New Delhi: Serial Publications.

Rao Shiva, 1967, *The Framing of India's Constitution*, Vol. 11, New Delhi: Indian Institute of Public Administration.

Rizvi S. H. M. and Roy Shibani (Eds) 1998, *Schedule Tribe-50 Years of Independence-1957-1997, Status, Growth and Development*, New Delhi: B. R. Publishing.

Sharma Arvind, 2005, *Reservation and Affirmative Action: Model of Social Integartion in India and United Nations*, New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Singh [Parmanand](#), 1982, *Equality, reservation, and discrimination in India: A constitutional Study of Scheduled castes, Scheduled tribes, and Other Backward Classes*, New Delhi: Deep & Deep Publications.

Singh Sriprakash, 2005, *Dr. Ambedkar on Minorities*, New Delhi: India First Foundation,

Thorat Sukhdeo and Narendra Kumar, 2008, *B. R. Ambedkar's Perspectives on Social Exclusion and Inclusive Policies*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Agarwal, R.C., 1998, *Constitutional Development and National Movement in India*, New Delhi: S. Chand.

Ahmad Aijazuddin, 1993, *Muslims in India*, New Delhi: Inter India Publications.

# **MINORITIES IN INDIA**

## **UNIT I: INTRODUCTION TO INDIAN MINORITIES.**

Minorities in India: Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Buddhists, Jains, Parsees, and others.

Constituent Assembly Debates

Constitutional Provisions and Minority Rights

**Note:** This is more introductory type analysis of the history and empirical facts with regard to religious minorities in India. It discusses how the debate on minority rights are argued and analysed in India's Constitution and prior to that in the Constituent Assembly Debates etc. It gives a broad overview of the discussions on religious minorities in India.

## **UNIT II MINORITIES, MAJORITARIANISM AND INDIAN NATION BUILDING**

National Integration, Secularism

Majoritarianism, Minorityism and Politics of Appeasement

Communalism, Riots, Issues of Religious Conversions, Uniform Civil Code Debate

Hindutva.

**Note:** This relates more the processes- particularly ideological processes of the politics of minorities in India. The objective is to explore the overall political milieu around which these debates unfold and gather legitimacy. It explores various dimensions of it.

## **UNIT III: INSTITUTIONS, AND CHALLENGES FOR MINORITIES.**

The United Nation (UN) Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to Minorities 1992

National Commission for Minorities

India's Fifteen (15) Point Programme and Sachar Committee Report

Mishra Commission Report

Christian Boards, Wakf Boards, Gurudwara Prabandhak Committees and Parsee Anjuman

**Note:** This part focuses on how the minority rights are practiced which is why role of institutions from the national to global are conducted. It discusses particular reports and their findings in order to lend credence to various arguments pertaining to discrimination and backwardness.

## **BASIC READINGS:**

Notes: These are key texts which will be extensively used in the lectures and discussions and be treated as compulsory readings for the students. In addition, further readings will be added from class to class from the additional reading list.

Ahmed, Hilal. *Siyasi Muslims: A Story of Political Islam In India*. Penguin, 2019

Hasan, Mushirul, *Legacy of a Divided Nation: India's Muslims since Independence*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Hasan, Zoya. (2009) *Politics of Inclusion: Castes, Minorities, and Affirmative Action*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Mujeeb, Mohammad, *The Indian Muslims*, New Delhi: Munshirm Manoharlal, 1969.

Robinson, Rowena. *Minorities Studies in India*. Oxford. 2012.

Robinson, Rowena: *Christians of India*. Sage, 2003.

Singh, Khuswant. *A History of Sikhs (2 V)*. Oxford , 2005.

### **ADDITIONAL READINGS**

Brass, Paul R, *Language, Religion and Politics in North India*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974.

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

Chandhok, 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.

Engineer, Asghar Ali, *Lifting the Veil. Communal Violence and Communal Harmony in Contemporary India*, Hyderabad: Sangam Books, 1995.

Hasan, Mushirul, *Making Sense of History: Society, Culture and Politics*, Delhi: Manohar, 2003.

Hasan, Mushirul, *Nationalism and Communal Politics in India, 1885-1930*, Delhi: Manohar, 1991.

Massey, James, *Minorities and Religious Freedom in a Democracy*, Delhi: Manohar, 2003.

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

Pandey, Gyanendra, ed. *Hindus and Others: The Question of Identity in India Today*, New Delhi: Viking, 1993.

Pandey, Gyanendra, *Memory, History and the Question of Violence: Reflections on the Reconstruction of Partition*, Calcutta: K.P.Bagchi, 1999.

Smith, Donald Eugene, *India as a Secular State*, London: Oxford University Press, 1963.

Smith, W.C., *Modern Islam in India: A Social Analysis*, New York: Hesperides Press, 1974.

## **POLITICS DEVELOPMENT AND IDEOLOGY**

## **Doing Ethnography**

This course is intended to introduce students to ethnography both as a method and product of research. The course will acquaint students to the different facets of ethnography combining a theoretical and practical approach.

Students will carry out a small ethnographic research project in or near Jamia Millia Islamia in which they will develop a research question, employing the various ethnographic and participant observation methods learnt during this course, and write an ethnographic piece about them. This practical dimension will feed back into the classroom discussions wherein they will reflect on their ethnographic research practices and reflect critically about their own role in the research. The students will be required to present their writings in class.

The tutorials will involve reading an ethnographic monograph.

### **Unit 1**

The first part of the course will contain an introduction to ethnography particularly understanding how ethnography is both a method and product of research through reading and classroom activities. Students will also be introduced to the concept of reflexivity and how that in turn impacts our research and writing.

1. Ethnography: An Introduction and What does it mean to do ethnography
2. How to Begin
3. Reading an Ethnographic Monograph
4. Reflexivity

### **Unit II**

The second unit focuses on ethnographic research methods. The emphasis will be on developing ethnographic skills and understanding how to apply these skills for example how to employ the various ethnographic and participant observation methods learnt during this course.

1. Ethnographic Research Methods
2. Participation and Observation
3. Ethics in Ethnography
4. Reflecting on researcher in the field : Applying Reflexivity

### Unit III

The third unit focuses on how to make sense of one's fieldwork, analyse findings and synthesize it into ethnographic writing. It will facilitate students to think about areas of research interest, arrive at a specific research question, employ participant observation methods learnt during this course, and execute a small research in and around the Jamia Millia Islamia. Write an ethnographic piece.

5. Making meaning and Analysis
6. Doing Ethnography:
  - Ethnographic Writing,
  - Visuals
  - Films

Short (10 minute) ethnographic film: 'Amar': <https://vimeo.com/19890458>

#### Basic Readings

Angrosino, M.V. (2007) *Doing Ethnographic and Observational Research (Book 3 of the Sage Qualitative Research Kit)*. 2nd ed. London: Sage.

Bryman, A. (2012) *Social Research Methods*, Oxford University Press, Fifth Edition.

Bernard, H Russell (2008) *Research Methods in Anthropology: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*, Rawat Publications.

Atkinson, P. (2015) *For Ethnography*. Sage Publications .

O'Reilly, K. (2012) *Ethnographic methods*. 2nd ed. London: Routledge.

Oakley, J. (2012) *Anthropological Practice: Fieldwork and the Ethnographic Method*. London: Berg Publishers

#### Topic Wise Additional Readings:

##### Social Exclusion and Ethnography in Indian Context

Annuaire Roumain d'Anthropologie, 2009 Issue on *Social Exclusion in India: Critical Ethnographic Discourse from the Margins*

Sadana, R. On the Delhi Metro: An Ethnographic View. *Economic and Political Weekly* (2010): 77-83.

Singh, R (2018) *Spotted Goddess: Dalit Woman's Agency Narratives on Caste and Violence*. New Delhi: Zubaan Books



Katherine Boo (2012) *Behind the Beautiful Forevers: Life, Death, and Hope in a Mumbai Undercity*. New York: Random House.

### **Ethnographic Research Methods**

O'Reilly, K. (2012) *Ethnographic methods*. 2nd ed. London: Routledge.

### **Interviews**

Jonathan S. (2012) A Four Part introduction to the interview in *The Interview: An ethnographic Approach*, Berg Publishers, pp 1-50

### **Life stories**

Jeffrey, C. & J. Dyson. (2008). *Telling Young Lives: Portraits of Global Youth*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. Read introduction and a selection of chapters.

### **Vignettes**

Banerjee, M. (2008). *Muslim portraits: everyday lives in India*. New Delhi, Yoda Press: Distributed by Foundation Books.

### **Participation and Observation**

DeWalt, K. and B. DeWalt. 2002. Chapter 4. "Doing Participant Observation: Becoming an Observer" in their *Participant Observation: A guide for fieldworkers*. pp. 79-97.

Bernard, H Russell (2011) *Research Methods in Anthropology Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*, AltaMira Press. Especially Chapter 13 Participant Observation (342-386).

Emerson, R.M., Fretz, R.I. and Shaw, L.L. (2001) Participant Observation and Fieldnotes. In *Handbook of Ethnography*, eds. P. Atkinson and et al., Sage Publications, pp. 352-368.

### **Making meaning and Analysis**

Bernard, H Russell (2011) *Research Methods in Anthropology Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*, Rawat Publications. Chapter 16, (451-462)

Atkinson, P. (2015) Analytic perspectives in Paul Atkinson *For Ethnography*. Sage Publications. 55-72

### **Writing**

Emerson, R.M., Fretz, R.I. and Shaw, L.L. (1995) *Writing Ethnographic Fieldnotes*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Atkinson, P. (2015) Representations in Paul Atkinson *For Ethnography*. Sage Publications . 153-71

# DISSERTATION