

## CHAPTER 45

### POLITICAL SCIENCE

#### Doctoral Theses

01. AGGARWAL (Shivali)  
**Economic Nationalism in a Globalizing India: The Converging and Contrasting Perspectives of the CPI (M) and the BJP in Governance.**  
Supervisor : Prof. Pradeep Kumar Datta  
Th 22865

#### *Contents*

1. Introduction 2. Formation and articulation of the idea of “economic nationalism” in colonial India 3. Bhartiya Janata Party and its tryst with economic nationalism 4. The metamorphosis of the CPI (M)’ economic ideology in the liberalization phase 185-261 5. Conclusion. Bibliography.

02. BHARDWAJ (Ritesh)  
**Impact of Economic Liberalisation Policy on Indian Federalism: The Changing Pattern of Intergovernmental Relations.**  
Supervisor : Prof. Rekha Saxena and Prof. M. P. Singh  
Th 22866

#### *Abstract (Not Verified)*

The pattern of intergovernmental relations in India assumed importance in the wake of economic liberalisation process initiated in 1991. Since 1947-64 India has opted for the state planning, albeit in a democratic framework, with a major role of the state in development. During Indira, personalistic and populist politics weakened some of India’s democratic institutions. The pre-reforms era was characterised not by an absence of competition, but the nature of competition among states was different from what it is at present. In the post-reform era, the nature of competition has changed from vertical to horizontal. Economic liberalisation policies in the 1990s prompted a change in federal relations from inter-governmental cooperation towards inter-jurisdictional competition among the States. One other major effect of privatisation and globalisation on the structure of the federal State in India has been the transformation of a state of ministerial and bureaucratic control of the economy into a regulatory political system state by the establishment of autonomous central regulatory authorities under parliamentary statutes in various sectors of the national economy since 1991. The new model of centre-state relations is perhaps emerging beyond the horizon of a liberalised political economy. An informal amendment of the constitution is taking place over the last decade, a change that is likely to be irreversible given the trends in our emergent political economy. With the off-loading of the centre’s functions and powers in many spheres, the states feel less ‘controlled’ or ‘suffocated’ and have come to enjoy more ‘economic’ and thereby ‘political space’ to draw their own destinies in the federal common market, where the centre can merely be regulator and at best a facilitator in the development efforts of states. However, economic reforms have proved to be irreversible, though with varying pace, under shifting coalition/minority governments, left-of-center as well as right-of-center.

*Contents*

1. Introduction 2. Federalism: A historical and theoretical context 3. Planning for socialistic pattern of society (1947-1964) 4. Populist policies in India (1965-1989) 5. Impact of economic liberalisation policy on centre-state (1989-2011) 6. Conclusion. Bibliography. Appendix.

03. कमला

**पाकिस्तान में संजातीय राष्ट्रवाद : सिंध प्रांत पर एक अध्ययन।**

निर्देशिका : प्रो. वीना कुकरेजा

Th 22867

*सारांश  
(सत्यापित)*

पाकिस्तान में संजातीय राष्ट्रवाद सिंध प्रांत पर एक अध्ययन : यह शोध कार्य सिंध प्रांत में उदित हुए सिन्धी संजातीय राष्ट्रवाद तथा मोहाजिर संजातीय राष्ट्रवाद का विश्लेषणात्मक अध्ययन है जिसमें पाकिस्तान के विभिन्न प्रान्तों की संजातीय राष्ट्रवादी समस्या से शुरू कर के विशेष रूप से सिंध प्रान्त में संजातीय राष्ट्रवाद की समस्या का वर्णन ऐतिहासिक तथा निगमनात्मक पद्धति द्वारा किया गया है। आज सिंध की संजातीय समस्या बहुआयामी है, जिसमें सिंध बनाम केंद्र, सिन्धी बनाम मोहाजिर, सिन्धी बनाम मोहाजिर, गाँव बनाम शहर, सिन्धी बनाम सिन्धी, मोहाजिर बनाम मोहाजिर तथा शिया बनाम सुन्नी जैसे अनेक विवाद शामिल हैं। यह शोध इन्ही विवादों को समझने का प्रयास है।

*विषय सूची*

1. भूमिका 2. संजातीय राष्ट्रवाद की अवधारणा 3. पाकिस्तान में संजातीय राष्ट्रवाद का उद्भव तथा विकास 4. सिंध की ऐतिहासिक तथा सामाजिक पृष्ठभूमि तथा सिंधी संजातीय राष्ट्रवाद 5. मुहाजिर संजातीय राष्ट्रवाद : उद्भव और विकास 6. सार संक्षेपण एवं निष्कर्ष। सन्दर्भ ग्रंथ सूची। परिशिष्ट।

04. MOHANTY (Simple)

**Religio-Political Mobilization in Jammu and Kashmir: Civil Society and the Amarnath Land Issue.**

Supervisor : Prof. Ashok Acharya

Th 22869

*Abstract  
(Not Verified)*

An agitation in 2008 in Jammu, opposing the revocation of the land transfer to the Shri Amarnath Shrine Board is the subject of this research. The state government order of 26<sup>th</sup> May, 2008, transferring 800 canals of land to the Shrine Board triggered protests in Kashmir. The protests were over the fear that massive infrastructure on the land would hurt its fragile ecosystem and adversely affect the livelihoods of those dependent on the tourist areas of Baltal and Sonemarg; another fear was that forest land was being surreptitiously given away to the Shrine Board with an intent to change the demography of the Valley. The revocation of the order was perceived by Jammu as an affront to Hinduism. As regional and religious divides in Jammu & Kashmir merged, the Kashmir issue was made more intractable with a new dimension- the inter-regional dimension- acquiring significance post Amarnath. Long years of conflict in the Kashmir Valley are to account for the stymied growth of civil society institutions. Even though the pro-democracy movement and the Naya Kashmir manifesto augured well for civil society in Kashmir Valley, the arrest of Sheikh Abdullah and the installation of puppet regimes halted this process. Jammu, where the feudal baggage associated with the monarchic regime lingered on in reactionary movements

like the Praja Parishad, has been traditionally partial to the growth of Hindu Rightwing forces. This, paradoxically, is despite the fact that it has a heterogeneous social fabric and has a unique blend of different religions, cultures and languages. Somewhere the state will have to step in and institutionalize modes of public deliberation, which will act as a trigger for reimagining civil society. This research is optimistic that deliberation can open up new, bottom-up avenues of involving all stake-holders in finding a lasting solution to the Kashmir conflict.

### Contents

1. Introduction 2. Jammu versus Kashmir: Troubled history of religio-political mobilization. 3. Rise of Hindutva in Jammu 4. Civil society and the Amarnath land issue 5. Towards a solution: Civil society, state and inter-communal harmony in Jammu and Kashmir. Conclusion. Bibliography. Appendix.

05. प्रसाद (श्याम सुन्दर)  
मनरेगा के क्रियान्वयन में पंचायती राज संस्थाओं की भूमिका : सीवान जिले का एक अध्ययन।  
निर्देशक : डॉ. बलवान एस. गौतम  
Th 22870

### सारांश (सत्यापित)

यह शोध 'मनरेगा' की योजनाओं में कुछ समस्याओं के साथ पंचायती राज संस्थाओं के क्रियान्वयन की ढेर सारी खामियों को उजागर किया है | पंचायतों के जनप्रतिनिधि इस योजना में मजदूरों की भागीदारी और जनता को जोड़ने में पूरी तरह से सफल नहीं है | लेकिन स्थानीय राजनीतिक दल सीपीआई ने मनरेगा में हो रहे (एल-एम) अनियमितताओं के प्रति आवाज उठाया है। यह शोध के परिणाम, कम ही सही लेकिन सरकार और समाज के बीच की दूरी को कम करने में मददगार साबित हुई है जो लोकतांत्रिक प्रक्रिया में अच्छा कहा जा सकता है | मनरेगा ने मजदूरों की सौदेबाजी को बढ़ाया है और इसकी आर्थिक सुरक्षा ने उनके जीवन में थोड़ी बहुत सामाजिकआर्थिक - परिवर्तन किए है। ग्रामीणों को मनरेगा एक वैकल्पिक रोजगार का अवसर प्रदान किया है | महिलाएं अपनी आमदनी का पारिवारिक उपयोग कर आत्मनिर्भर होते पाई गई | जहां पर शिक्षित जनप्रतिनिधि और सक्रिय कर्मचारी है वहां योजनाओं का अच्छा परिणाम आए है | महिला मुखिया 'दिखावा' कि भूमिका में है लेकिन आरक्षित कोटे से जीती हुई महिलाएं सक्रिय दिखी | शोध के दौरान इस कार्यक्रम में कई अनियमितताएं जैसे मजदूरों का - असामयिक मजदूरी भुगतान, बटाईदारी व्यवस्था, जाँब कार्ड की संख्या ज्यादा और सक्रिय कार्डधारी बहुत कम, रोजगार सृजन में कमी तथा धरातलीय स्तर पर भ्रष्टाचार आदि पाया गया | अंततमनरेगा :ा के वांछित लक्ष्य को प्राप्त न होने के केन्द्र में सरकारी कर्मचारी तथा मुख्य रूप में जनप्रतिनिधि कि मिली भगत है | अन्यथा जनप्रतिनिधि जन आंदोलन को प्रोत्साहित कर सुधार ला सकते है |

### विषय सूची

1. परिचय 2. मनरेगा की अवधारणा एवं विकास 3. मनरेगा का सैद्धांतिक एवं व्यवहारिक प्रयोग 4. बिहार पंचायती राज संस्थाएं एवं मनरेगा 5. सीवान में मनरेगा का क्रियान्वयन : एक अनुभवजन्य अध्ययन 6. मनरेगा : भविष्य का खका (निष्कर्ष एवं सुझाव)। ग्रंथ सूची। प्रश्नावली। परिशिष्ट।

06. POUKHO (Stephen)  
**Customary Law and Gender Right among the Poumai Nagas in Manipur: A Study.**  
Supervisor : Dr. Saroj Giri  
Th 22876

*Abstract*  
(Not Verified)

Customary laws are the governing laws that have been passed down from one generation to the next before any formal laws were introduced. Therefore customary law is known as the organic law and functions as the blood line of the society at the grass root level. The chief of the village has the sole authority in giving necessary directives to all the villagers. Now elders and village authorities act as the judges and the lawyers. The customary laws, norms, culture and its usages were based on traditional religious sanctioned such as social taboo, genna (meaning religious functions and prohibition or taboo day) the violation of genna would not only invite the wrath of god upon the society but also regarded as act of disobedience to God. Recognized by the constitution of India, the Naga customary law continued to regulate themselves according to their customs which are consider being part and parcel of their cultures and traditions. Each tribe has its own unique set of customary laws. The most important is their patriarchal nature denying women's rights of inheritance, child custody and in decision making domain. They play a crucial role in peace initiatives but have not say in the peace dialogue. However, customary courts are easily accessible, less time taking and less financial involvement for women especially in rural areas. Therefore, the customary law have more binding on rural women who find it difficult to access formal judicial mechanism. Through women collective voices and systematic process, customary laws can be changeable. Various types of punishments are meted out such as imposing of fine, ostracized and oath taking which is the last judgement of the Poumai Nagas. The laws can be reviewed, amended and codified to qualify women's rights but also by retaining cultural identity.

*Contents*

1. Introduction 2. Law and the people 3. Social structure and value system of the Poumai Naga. 4. Women and customary law. 5. Social offence, crime and penalties. Bibliography.

07. RAVI RANJAN

**Conceptualizing Human Dignity: A Theoretical Perspective.**

Supervisor : Prof. N. Sukumar

Th 22871

*Abstract*  
(Verified)

The concern for human dignity is a living issue of primary importance for mankind in our modern societies. Globally academicians, policy-makers and social activists are conceptualizing, legislating and ensuring human dignity as one of the foremost 21st century agendas. Past century has witnessed many definitions and theorizations on human dignity, particularly after World War II and with the establishment of United Nations (UN). However, commitments to Universal Declarations of Human Rights are insufficient to address the issue of human dignity in contemporary times. We do need to reconceptualize their linkages in the backdrops of human cloning, and humiliating practices which are serious challenges to human dignity. For example in Indian society everyday humiliations can be observed due to caste, class and gender discrimination despite established and institutionalized human rights mechanisms. Therefore, this research is looking at theoretical and conceptual discourses on dignity focusing on its relation to other concepts such as rights, justice, and equality and how these conceptualizations have been institutionalized and deployed in a social set up. This study seeks to investigate the idea of human dignity, considering it both foundational as well as fundamental originative politico-philosophical value that needs to be restored to realize human worth. Because of legalistic and state centric human rights discourse, we do need to look into concrete features which may be ascertained to cluster around the phenomenon of dignity that include human self, human suffering, humiliation, respect and recognition in a particular social and political context. This study tries to locate the conceptual journey of human dignity by tracing its development as a part of ethical and social theorizing which reflects on the human being's uniqueness and distinctiveness. Concentrating on the definitional history and analysis of different perspectives on human dignity thesis also looks at convergence and divergences of these perspectives.

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1. Introduction 2. Human dignity as experiential episteme: Self, suffering and social space 3. Contextual contestations for human dignity; Understanding humiliation 4. Ideating human dignity 5. Theorizing human dignity: The normative linkages Conclusion a finis to dignity: Concluding notes. Bibliography.

08. SAHU (Anjan Kumar)  
**Securitisation of Climate Change: A case Study of India's National Action Plan on Climate Change (NAPCC).**  
 Supervisor : Prof. Devika Sharma  
Th 22873

*Abstract  
(Verified)*

This study analyses the application of securitisation theory in India, specifically through the case study of India's National Action Plan on Climate Change (NAPCC). The research seeks to answer questions to the following: How can climate change concerns be seen through the lens of securitisation theory? What is the securitisation of climate change and how does it differ from politicisation? When climate change is seen through the securitisation lens, what signifies as the security move; who are the securitising actors and what signifies the audience? what are the contributions of the Copenhagen school to the understanding of security? The thesis hypothesizes that securitisation of climate change is the inter-subjective understanding of political elites in India and that securitisation of climate change has further exacerbated the top-down, bureaucratic and centralised policy-making and implementation in the environmental policy arena in India. The findings suggest that climate change needs the cooperative actions of both the state and individuals where military and non-military institutions should have proper balance to check the 'militarisation' of climate change and the state-dominated discourse of development. The urgency of the climate change problem needs instantaneous response where the juxtaposition of securitisation and democratisation is a prerequisite, exacting and inevitable. Therefore, democratic securitisation is one such way in which the theory of securitization can be brought within the ambit of the democratic decision-making process.

*Contents*

1. Introduction 2. Copenhagen school and the theory of securitization 3. Securitisation and desecuritisation of climate change 4. Securitisation of climate change; an assessment of India's National Action Plan on Climate Change (NAPCC) 5. Democratic securitisation of climate change 6. Conclusion. References. Appendices.

09. SHARMA (Mukul)  
**Caste, Dalits and Ecological Politics in India.**  
 Supervisor : Prof. Ujjwal Kumar Singh and Prof. Pradip Kumar Datta.  
Th 22874

*Abstract  
(Verified)*

The thesis 'Caste, Dalits and Ecological Politics in India' attempts to underline how caste and nature are intimately interwoven, yet their interconnection has rarely been a subject of academic examination. Nature is considered as natural and universal, common and applicable to all. However, in a hierarchical order, Dalits environmental experiences and narrations are distinctive and different. Land animate caste anxieties around labour, blood and bondage. Dalits must often sacrifice their lives to recharge water in pond and water resources. From village to city, and temple to school, caste metaphors of pollution, impurities and dirt dominate places and spaces, through imaginaries of dangers posed by the presence of Dalits. Forests can be a heaven or a hell for Dalits. A river is someplace to dispose of your body. Here nature is entwined with fear and violence, horror and hardship, bloodbath and wars. The thesis has also attempted to explain how Dalit eco-experiences have their own vibrancy and dynamism. Living with nature, they are constantly

negotiating with and challenging caste domination, while simultaneously articulating their environmental imaginations. This thesis takes different dalit voices - songs and narrations of early bonded labourers, writings by leading Dalit writers, ideologues and intellectuals, myths, memories and metaphors of dalits around nature, their movements, labour and footsteps - which together highlight Dalit's attempts at defining themselves in a caste-ridden nature. This intertwining of caste and nature present a critical challenge to Indian environmentalism, which has hitherto marginalised such linkages. This work attempts to fill this lacunae by highlighting what environmentalists have missed largely on the one hand, and on the other, how by studying Dalit's complex relationship with nature, we can bring forth new dimensions on both environment and Dalits.

*Contents*

1. Introduction 2. Eco-casteism: Sulabh, sanitation and brahmanical environmentalism 3. Dalit on earth: Environmental visions and voices 4. Democratic agrarianism and modernist imagination; Ambedkar and environmental thought 5. Questioning castes in water: Deena-Bhadri and Ekalavya as ecological ancestors 6. Dashrath Manjhi and the production of a new commons. Conclusion. Glossary. Bibliography.

10. SHASHI KANT

**Insurgencies in South Asia: A Case Study of Kashmir and Baluchistan**

Supervisor : Prof. Veena Kukreja

Th 22875

*Contents*

1. Introduction 2. Insurgency; A Theoretical framework 3. Insurgency in Kashmir. 4. Indian state response to Kashmir insurgency 5. Insurgency in Baluchistan 6. Pakistani state response to Baluch insurgency 7. Conclusion and summary. Appendices.

11. SURINDER MOHAN

**Re-examining the Rivalry Paradigm: The India-Pakistan conflict**

Supervisor : Prof. Navnita Chadha Behera

Th 22868

*Abstract  
(Not Verified)*

This thesis is a study of the India-Pakistan rivalry from its beginning in 1947 to August 2016. There is a substantial body of research that has sought to explain how the conflict between India and Pakistan had originated and developed over time from multiple perspectives including nationalism along with the ethno-religious and cultural factors on the one hand and power politics model of the realist paradigm on the other. However, a multivariate inquiry cutting across the theoretical insights of several paradigms for understanding the India-Pakistan case has yet to be attempted in a serious and systematic fashion—a gap this study seeks to address by developing and deploying a rivalry based ‘hub-and-spokes’ model. This model, which is also termed as the ‘complex rivalry’ model, deploys an eclectic range of variables drawn from different theoretical approaches of IR while making use of tools offered by comparative politics in an attempt to evolve a better analytical framework for explaining its formation and development as well as discussing hitherto unexplored conditions and different scenarios for a possible transformation/termination of this rivalry. This study argues that the complex rivalry model holds explanatory value for understanding India-Pakistan relations partly because of its conceptual advantages since it is not restricted to the realist worldview and, is open to insights from liberalism—economic interdependency and democratic peace theory—in particular, as well as the constructivist school, as it takes into account conflicts arising out of identity and ideological issues of divergent, if not, antithetical nation building strategies of India and Pakistan, and, critical theory by injecting a sense of self reflexivity in its analysis. Empirically, it argues that fundamental incompatibility between India and Pakistan’s foreign

policies, their security perspectives, and political systems are likely to propel this rivalry to persist with little prospect of an early termination.

*Contents*

1. Introduction 2. The Existing conceptualizations of rivalry 3. Conceptualizing the Indo-Pakistani complex rivalry: A Hub-and-spokes framework 4. The Shock of independence and initiation of complex rivalry 5. The Development of complex rivalry-I: 6. The Development of complex rivalry-II: Abeyant phase, 7. The Maintenance of complex rivalry, 1990-2016 8. Prospects for rivalry termination. References.

12. WADHWA (Anuranjita)  
**Political Participation of Migrants in Delhi: A Case Study**  
 Supervisor : Prof. Styajit Singh  
Th 22877

*Contents*

1. Introduction: A Politico-demographic analysis 2. Design of the study 3. Migrants: Electoral Participation 3. Participation of migrants in the political process 4. Conclusion. Bibliography.

13. YELIZAVETA SHARONOVA  
**Development Policy and Nuclear Energy Discourse: A Comparative Analysis of India and Russia.**  
 Supervisor : Dr. Devika Sharma  
Th 22872

*Abstract  
(Verified)*

Nuclear energy has always been a controversial issue since it was discovered as a source of power for civil use. On 11 March 2011, an accident at Japan's Fukushima Daiichi nuclear power plant created ripples in the world of nuclear energy. India and Russia are among the leaders of the post-Fukushima nuclear energy renaissance. This study analyses nuclear energy discourse in the print media of India and Russia in order to understand whether there are any differences in the exposition of such a controversial subject as nuclear energy between these politically distinct countries. Nuclear energy discourse in India and Russia was compared by adapting Hajer's, and Gamson and Modigliani's methods of discourse analyses. Following Hajer, three discourse coalitions were identified (pro-nuclear energy, balanced and anti-nuclear energy). Following Gamson and Modigliani, five media discourse themes common in the nuclear energy discourse of both countries were found (Fukushima, risks, public accountability, environment, development). Development theme is one of the most pronounced in both countries. The study shows that nuclear energy has a certain high security meaning and status in both countries' development policy, because of which the pro-nuclear energy discourse coalition is 'hegemonic, in the post-Fukushima era, despite the political set up of the country. Within this overarching finding, the comparative study revealed some interesting convergences and divergences. The results suggest that the deep understanding of the discourse context is critical for exploring the nuclear energy discourse in both countries.

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1. Introduction 2. Nuclear energy discourse: Key themes 3. Development policy and the nuclear energy discourse in India 4. Nuclear energy discourse and development policies in Russia 5. The Nuclear energy discourse content in India and Russia 6. The Nuclear discourse context in India and Russia 7. Conclusion. References. Appendices.

## M.Phil Dissertations

01. ANIL KUMAR  
**Immigration and Liberal State in the Context of Globalization, Development and Politics: A Case study of Gemany.**  
Supervisor : Dr. Radhanath Tripathy
02. एकता  
बदलते भारत में अन्तर्जातीय विवाह की अवधारणा : दिल्ली के परिप्रेक्ष्य में।  
निर्देशक : प्रो. सुनील कुमार चौधरी
03. KARPATNE (Nishant)  
**Media' Impact on Electoral Politics: Election 2014.**  
Supervisor : Dr. Joya Bhattacharya
04. खान (मौ. आरिफ)  
स्वतंत्र भारत में कांग्रेस की धर्मनिरपेक्षता।  
निर्देशक : डॉ. इन्द्रमोहन झा
05. चन्दन कुमार  
समकालीन भारत में कृषि से गैर-कृषि कार्यों की ओर अग्रसर होते मध्यम वर्गीय किसान : बिहार का अध्ययन ।  
निर्देशक : प्रो. संगीत कुमार रागी
06. CHISHI (M. Veronica)  
**Development and Decentralization : The Nagaland Experience.**  
Supervisor : Dr. Rajesh Dev
07. THAKKAR (Chirag)  
**Technologies of the Necropolitical in Kashmir.**  
Supervisor : Prof. Madhulika Banerjee
08. PRAKASH (Anant)  
**Transition from Planning Commission to NITI (National Institute of Transforming India) Aayog and its Impact on Cooperative Federalism in India.**  
Supervisor : Prof. Rekha Saxena
09. PRADEEP  
**Anna Hazare Movement: As a Critique of Parliamentary Democracy.**  
Supervisor : Dr. Rajendra Dayal
10. BHUTIA (Tsheten T.)  
**Re-Examining the Gorkha Identity : Creation of Multi-Layered Tribal Identities in the Contemporary Darjeeling Hills.**  
Supervisor : Dr. Nasreen Chowdhory
11. BHATTACHARYA (Arunima)  
**Study of Alternative Knowledge of Dance: A case Study of Bharatanatyam.**  
Supervisor : Prof. Madhulika Banerjee



12. भानु कुमार  
गठबंधन काल में भारतीय संविधान के अनुच्छेद 123 का प्रयोग एवं क्रियान्वयन की समीक्षा (1989 से 2014)।  
निर्देशक : प्रो. रेखा सक्सेना
13. भावना  
सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र में महिलाओं के विरुद्ध लैंगिक हिंसा : निर्भया एक केस अध्ययन।  
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