

## CHAPTER 49

### POLITICAL SCIENCE

#### Doctoral Theses

01. AGARWAL (Amya)  
**Gender Dimension of Conflict : Exploring Women's Agency amidst the Politics of Masculinity in Kashmir.**  
Supervisor: Prof. Navnita C. Behera  
Th 23724

#### *Contents*

1. Redefining the Gender : Interjecting masculinity in the feminist lens to understand conflict 2. Politics of multiple masculinities in the public sphere in Kashmir 3. Masculinities in the private sphere 4. Femininities in conflict : Grey shades of women's agency in the public sphere 5. Exploring women's Agency in the private sphere. Conclusion and references.

02. DUTTA ( Kasturi)  
**State, Globalisation and Workers Struggle in the Unorganised sectors: A Study of Women Construction Workers in Delhi NCR Region in the New Millennium.**  
Supervisor: Prof. Satyajit Singh  
Th 23528

#### *Abstract (Not Verified)*

As Delhi was preparing to host the 19<sup>th</sup> Commonwealth Games in 2010, a plethora of migrant construction workers entered the city and the already residing set of workers were re-activated to undertake what may be called 'infrastructural exhilaration' of the city to revitalize its dormant public spaces and infuse in it a global character. This study makes an attempt to understand its effects on unorganised workers from a gender lens. It explores their everyday interactions with state institutions, trade unions and other civil society organizations in the city, as they grapple with social and economic insecurities and struggles at workplace and habitation. This dissertation establishes a thesis that it is the failure of state institutions in implementing various labour welfare policies and laws causing lack of minimum entitlement for the workers. It probes into the role of ward councillors, state labour welfare boards, trade unions and NGOs to understand the dynamics that operate between the politics of governance and social struggle. It has been found that workers have been proactively negotiating their right to citizenship as their capacity to demand their rights at workplace and right to welfare is restrictive. This study endorses a thesis that 'Struggle' for workers at workplace and habitation have a complex nature. The struggles of women workers are different from male workers on account of its nature, condition and discriminatory strategies of work. Construction industry is gender- unfriendly, despite the prevalence of legal norms that cater to women workers. One does not find a unity amongst workers to organize themselves to wage a struggle for their rights; instead they depend on unions and NGOs. If compared to other sectors, the spatial mobility, regional affiliations, gender biasness and lack of education and skills can be attributed as factors responsible for this.

#### *Contents*

1. State, globalisation and workers' struggle in the unorganized sector: A theoretical framework 2. Labour reforms, social protection and welfare in post liberalization

India 3. The politics of governance in Delhi NCR: Complexities, challenges and experiences 4. From 'right to work and welfare' to 'right to city': Documenting lens 5. Role of non-state actors in representing worker's struggle: Right to welfare and citizenship. Conclusion and analysis. Bibliography. Appendices

03. GAUTAM (Vikram)  
**Indian Multiculturalism and the Muslim Minority: Accommodating Religious Identity in Public Space.**  
 Supervisor : Dr. G. N. Trivedi  
Th 23536

*Abstract*  
*(Not Verified)*

The Indian multiculturalism is not defined by any particular, community, religion or region rather it is a matrix of different values, traditions, customs and languages of its heterogeneous cultures, religions, sects etc. The continuity and heterogeneity of Indian civilization and composite and syncretic culture make it a unique and distinct from the rest of the world. The Muslim minority in India has remained an inseparable part of the social whole like any other community. However, after independence, both recognition and equal opportunity within the public space are keenly desired notions for the Muslim community in India that tend to mobilise them politically and religiously. The spontaneous cultural intermixing of the Muslim community has not been facilitated, aroused and encouraged by the overall polity. The more articulate, dominant and visible sections of society and state in India have consciously refrained from such kind of inter-community fusion. In fact, the process of 'othering' has always at work whenever the issue of Muslim minority is raised. This traditional perception of Muslim minority emerging out of the unfortunate partition of India can be countered by the process of social spontaneity. It is possible only when the multiple entitlements of the Muslim community are articulated, recognised and fulfilled. Such ameliorative measures are possible when social pressures of both the community and wider society are exerted on the political system and the state. The interactive social practices like education, employment, dwelling and other material needs of the communities must reflect all the constitutive social components of the social whole. The idea and sense of social justice are also based on the concept of equal opportunity which would ensure strong social bond among various communities. This is the core component of the Indian multiculturalism which cherishes diversities by countering all kinds of exclusion and inequality.

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1. Introduction 2. Multiculturalism: A theoretical perspective 3. Indian Democracy and its approaches towards minorities 4. Issues of representation of Muslims in public sphere 5. The politics of Muslim identity and its challenges 6. Conclusion: The concept of social spontaneity 7. Bibliography.

04. GUPTA (Yogesh Kumar)  
**China as a Factor in the Nuclearisation of South Asia: A Case Study of India and Pakistan 1964-1998.**  
 Supervisor: Dr. Suman Sharma  
Th 23532

*Abstract*  
*(Not Verified)*

The present work explores the nuclear programme of India and Pakistan. It has been referred as 'Nuclearisation of South Asia'. The constant Chinese involvement in the South Asian region, especially its alliance with Pakistan in terms of their defence and nuclear cooperation is a well known fact. It has also been believed by many that Beijing's rivalry with India and its defence friendship with Pakistan has prompted the speedy weaponisation of South Asian subcontinent. Chinese role in the nuclearisation of South Asian region hence, underlines the imperative of undertaking this study.

China recognises India as a potential rival to its regional supremacy right since its emergence. Therefore, Chinese attempts to assist Pakistan in its defence endeavors including its nuclearisation, along with Beijing's attempted encirclement of India through its smaller neighbours are a part of Chinese containment policy of India. India also through its official pronouncements and Parliamentary debates recognizes China as, the primary security threat. India's nuclear tests of 1974 and more significantly of 1998 were the response to the perceived Indian threats. They have not been welcomed by China. Especially the reasoning given by India rationalizing its tests has hurt Beijing. Though, after India's nuclear tests both the countries are trying to reconcile to the fact that war could never be the option for settling their disputes. Pakistan's nuclear programme has remained weapons oriented right from the beginning. Maintaining balance of power with India and quest for becoming the leader of Islamic World have remained Pakistan's nuclear determinants. While China remains a threat to India's security, for Pakistan India continues to threaten its existence. Nuclear weapons for both these countries there fore, are an insurance policy in an event of a misadventure by any of the three countries.

#### *Contents*

1. External determinants of nuclear policy 2. Evolution of India and Pakistan's nuclear programme 3. India's nuclear policy-The China factor 4. China=Pakistan nuclear alliance 5. Analysis of Chinese involvement in South Asia leading to the nuclearization of India and Pakistan. Conclusions. Bibliography. Annexure.

05. JAIN (Neelam)  
**Community, State and Crimes of 'Honour': A Case Study of Haryana.**  
 Supervisor: Prof. Navnita C. Behera  
 Th 23540

#### *Abstract* *(Not Verified)*

The central question raised by the research is why and how a community along with state perpetrates violence against individuals around question of marriage in India, especially in the case of Haryana. The understanding of violence of the state in juxtaposition to the violence of community perpetrated against individuals in an attempt to control their sexualities, as examined in this research, unfolds different nuances of such violence. The study has thrown light on multiple actors, processes, forms and dimensions of such violence. The analysis of the role of the state, particularly, the explanation of routine and everyday form of violence lays down the different instrumentalities in the practices of different layers of executives embedded in the state institutions, legal, administrative and political apparatus. Such instrumentalities of the state are in contradiction of state law and macro policies which enables the individuals to challenge the community norms and assert choice and freedom in marriage. Through the examination of role of the state, the study argues that the state nullifies such enablement by micro administrative practices and emerges as an overall patriarch; '*benevolent*' or '*protective*' in some instances and '*violent*' and '*retributive*' in other cases. The research has demonstrated that prevalent '*culturalist*' and '*traditionalist*' understanding which de-contextualizes such violence is not sufficient to explain such community violence surrounding marriages. '*Tradition*', '*culture*', '*honour*' always works as strategy for mobilization or justification of violence and the community violence cannot be addressed without collectively explaining structural and contextual nature of such violence. Structural nature of the violence is examined through the explanation of underlying calculus of political economy and operations of patriarchal structure. Such structural analysis of violence throws light on complex intersections of class, caste and gender dynamics of such violence

*Contents*

1. Theoretical frameworks 2. Historical evolution of 'personal' laws: state, community identity and gender justice 3. Shifting perceptions of 'community' and state': Historical outline of socio-political role of khap panchayats and its caste and gender dimensions 4. Political economy of violence and inter-linkage of caste, class and gender: Case study of Haryana 5. Role of the state: Routine violence and inter-connections of caste, class and gender. Conclusion. Reference and bibliography. Appendices.

06. JAVID AHMAD DAR

**Theories of Justice in Contemporary Political Theory: Revisiting Amartya Sen's the Idea of Justice.**

Supervisor: Prof. Bidyut Chakrabarty

Th 23530

*Abstract*  
(Not Verified)

The visions of collective life necessitate wide discussions; and being the 'no small matter' the unconstrained participation of individuals is all the more necessary in it. The purposes of collective life ask to reason, propose and deliberate about distributive goods. The limitations of the monolith theories like utilitarianism and libertarianism and expansive universal theories like that of Rawls to bring *freedom-as-end* into focus has made Sen's work all the more timely, and relevant. The all too much emphasis on institutions of ideal justice takes the attention away from social realization of justice. The pursuit of justice in *mere* correctly conceived transcendental institutional framework disregards the real opportunities and achievement of freedoms people *value to have*. Sen's *The Idea* is also driven by objective to explore the importance of non-western ideas to the understanding of (competing) demands of justice and assess the relevance of practices of deliberation, toleration and openness to the theory and practice of democracy viewed as 'justice-promoting' system of governance. The non-western intellectual tradition is seen as important to *expand* the informational basis of any theory of justice, and so are the western endeavors of human reasoning. This relates to whether the base of theorization of justice is broad enough to engage with the plurality of the social and political doctrines. It comes out clearly in the debates of global justice that the requisite background must be 'thick' to understand the demands of justice unlike 'thin' hypothetical original position. One of the significant occupations in the dissertation has been on the centrality of looking up to the intellectual traditions of non-western world for reshaping the background of the theory of justice. It stands relevant for the ideals and practices of democracy as well

*Contents*

1. The idea of justice: An overview 2. Amartya Sen's capability approach 3. Social contract to social choice: Sen's alternative approach to justice 4. Sen on democracy justice 5. Towards global justice: Justice as *nyaya*. Conclusion. Bibliography.

07. K. NEELIMA

**Electoral Democracy and Reforms in India: A Study of Process and Perception.**

Supervisor: Prof. Ujjwal Kumar Singh

Th 23534

*Abstract*  
(Verified)

The electoral democracy in India consists of not just the process but also the perception about the process, and it has been the endeavour of this research to study the electoral process and reforms in the context of perception. In an electoral democracy, the perception communicated at

the centres of decision-making must represent the uncommunicated public opinion of the non-centre or the periphery. The present research sought to examine if this is so in the context of electoral reforms, and also whether the much-hailed free and fair elections were adequate for the 'substantive democratisation' of the electoral process. Electoral reforms were discerned to be of two kinds. First, the Process Reforms or institutional reforms to improve the electoral process, like Election Photo Identity Cards, and the Perception Reforms or institutional reforms to improve the perception about the electoral process, like right to recall and candidate affidavits. The central question was, whether or not Process Reforms were sufficient to improve the perception of the people about the centralised electoral process. The hypothesis had been that the Process Reforms were necessary but insufficient to improve the voter perception about the electoral process in India. A combination of qualitative and quantitative methods were used to access perception from different vantage points. The study about reforms revealed that the centralised electoral process facilitated the centre to control the perception of the democratic sphere, as envisaged by the Centre- Periphery Model of Perception (CPMP). It established why the hypothesis was proved correct that Process Reforms were insufficient to improve the voter perception about the electoral process. The CPMP was discovered to be functioning, especially during the period of study in the years before and after the 2014 Lok Sabha elections.

#### *Contents*

1. Centre-periphery of perception: A Theoretical perspective 2. State of Electoral reforms in India 3. Centre and periphery of perception: Delhi and Madhya Pradesh 4. Centre-periphery of perception: Right to recall and affidavits. Conclusion. Annexures. Bibliography.

08. KAPIL KUMAR

#### **Enhancing the Dignity of Visually Disabled Citizens: The Role of Govt. and Non-Governmental Organizations in India.**

Supervisor : Dr. Rupak DattaGupta

Th 23531

#### *Abstract (Not Verified)*

Disability is a condition which can befall on any one and at any point of time. It is a condition which is not always given, but, can be acquired at later age too. Irrespective of this fact, disabled persons have been compelled to undergo undignified conditions since ages. Though, it is claimed that dignity is a value that is intrinsic and is there with all the human beings because of being human. In almost all the societies of the world, including India disabled persons have been kept bereft of it. Though, in independent India, various policies have been formulated for the purpose of assisting disabled persons in attaining dignified life, but, these policies have their own loopholes. Data print of census 2011 demonstrates a grim picture of the education and employment condition of the blind. Which is perhaps due to lack of will in implementation of these policies. In fact, Government of India also set up various nodal institutes in all the field of disabilities to promote their upliftment. One such institute is National Institute for the Visually Handicapped (NIVH). Analysis of the schemes and programmes of this institute, reflect that not only infrastructural set up is required for any institute to be successful, There is a need of individual intention to perform. Which we saw in the work culture of non-governmental organisation that is All India Confederation of the Blind (AICB). One of the key factors behind the success of all the schemes and policies of AICB is the dedication and devotion of the management towards accomplishing their vision and mission of making blind persons an asset for the nation.

#### *Contents*

1. Understanding disability: A theoretical perspective 2. Dignity and disabled persons 3. Condition of the blind in rural and urban India 4. Governmental policies

and programmes for the blind in India 5. Assessing the role of national institute for the visually handicapped (N.I.V.H.) 6. Assessing the role of all India confederation of the blind (AICB). Conclusion and findings. Bibliography. Appendices.

09. MEGHA  
**Criminalizing Rape within Marriage: A Critical Intervention in Socio-Political and Legal Understandings.**  
 Supervisor: Prof. Navnita C. Behera  
Th 23542

*Abstract*  
 (Not Verified)

The thesis is an attempt to bring marital rape under the purview of legal discourse in India with substantive equality approach to problematize the existing defined structure of Indian Rape Law. This thesis takes up the challenge to create a legal language on the issue of rape within marriage which is till now absent from the legal and social scenario. The equal treatment of women before and under the law within the context of marital rape is critical to ensuring the recognition of women as full citizens, and ensuring their freedom from violence. This thesis examines the following questions: how marital rape contributes to and results from women's inequality; how the discriminatory roots of the historical- cultural rationales contributes to the exemption of marital rape from the Indian legal system; how the issue of marital rape has been debated in personal-political scenario from the feminist viewpoint; how equality jurisprudence can support the case for the legal treatment of marital rape claims. This thesis questions the socio-legal passivity about the suppression of married women; cultivate the knowledge that helps women to generate their own thinking and to apply that in creating the new subjects, to make the women able to express their disagreements about the consent and to make them aware of their active sexuality to provide them bodily integrity. The thesis is, thus, an attempt to emphasise the need to transform the prevailing masochistic heterosexual socio- legal matrix. The thesis underlines the need to bring the issue of marital rape in the political sphere by bringing this to the purview of Indian law in both formal and substantive manner.

*Contents*

1. Feminist interrogation of masculinity within marriage: A theoretical overview 2. Non-existence of rape within marriage: A socio-political manipulation 3. The age of consent controversy: Sacrificing body, saving Hindu nation 4. Rape within marriage: Violence above law 5. Marital rape law in comparative perspective: Making a case for criminalizing marital rape in India 6. Women's movement in India: Struggle for an Independent identity within marriage. Conclusion. Bibliography.

10. NAHID HASAN  
**State Intervention in the Indian Pharmaceutical Industry.**  
 Supervisor : Prof. Rajshree Chandra  
Th 23525

*Abstract*  
 (Not Verified)

The central theme of the thesis is to critically examine the role of state in ensuring the 'right of patient to access medicines' and to 'protect their dignity' which is unremined and also prone to be

compromised for example, at the time of clinical trial, conducted on poor patients without their consent for the purpose of research by industries. A case study of clinical trial at the Regional Cancer Centre (RCC), Thivananthpuram has been taken up for this purpose. This work scrutinizes the intervention of state through the prism of bioethics and human rights discourse, other of which include health right as critical to their ends. Pharmaceutical industry is primarily related with the health of people and ensuring community and public health is the prime duty of the state. Issues related to ethics play an important role in this context as because normative concerns of health and economic returns for pharmaceutical companies often are in conflict. This work also attempts to look into the role of state in regulating the price of high price patented medicines. It has studied in detail various state interventions to ensure access to patented drugs. Prominent among them are the changes made in Ar.3(d) and changes made in section 84 of 1970 Indian Patent Act. The study has taken up two case studies of Novartis AG and Nexavar, whose patent plea got rejected and the other was granted compulsory license, based on the changes made in 1970 Act through state intervention. The study also attempts to critically analyse the steps taken by state for controlling the prices of vast majority of non-patented, high priced drugs. An effort has been made to understand the evolution of the drug policy in India and the various drug regulations brought introduced by the state from time to time.

### *Contents*

1. Bioethics, health and human rights 2. Role of state and access to essential drugs: Patent amendment acts and courts rulings 3. State and Indian pharmaceutical industry: An assessment of regulatory and procurement mechanisms with special focus on dpcos (Drug price control orders) and the TNMC (Tamil Nadu medical service corporation) procurement model 4. State, pharmaceutical industry and right to life and health: Looking through the case of clinical trial of new drugs. Conclusion. Bibliography.

11. PRASAD (Rachna Kumari)  
**Forest Land Rights of the Tribals in Jharkhand.**  
 Supervisor : Dr. Suranjita Ray  
Th 23527

### *Abstract* (Not Verified)

The study on "Forest Land Rights of the Tribals in Jharkhand" is an attempt to understand the underlying causes of increasing alienation of land rights, landlessness, deprivation, exclusion and marginalization of the tribals in the context of implementation of Scheduled Tribes And Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition Of Forest Rights) Act, /FRA 2006. This micro-level study of four villages -Dhanjori and Raghunathpur of Baghmara-Katras block in Dhanbad district and Khijri and Heslatoli of Namkum block in Ranchi district of Jharkhand illustrates that landlessness, poverty and underdevelopment are the consequential effects of the processes of deprivation which are structural and systemic. The alliance of the state with the dominant class has favoured development policies that are based not just on land transfer but a continuous process of acquiring agricultural and forest land. Over the years, large developmental projects have resulted in depletion and undermining of forests. The loss of livelihood resources of tribal people and forest dwellers led to severe disruption of their culture, identity, dignity and freedom. Thus the tribal people have been reconstituted as subjects of domination and control. The state forest laws, in particular laws related to cultivation, collection and selling of minor forest produce need to be amended to benefit tribals and forest dwellers. There is a need to conserve and regenerate the forest eco-system for a sustainable livelihood. It is pertinent to engage with the debates on issues raised by many people's protests because many of the issues are questions of survival and not development for the majority of the deprived and impoverished. The re-politicization of people's protests and grassroots movements which contest policies of the state for ignoring redistribution of basic productive resources - in this case the rights to forest, are therefore important.

*Contents*

1. Political economy of forest land rights 2. Alienation of right to forest land 3. The Jharkhand movement and after 4. The developmental state: Increasing paradoxes. Conclusion. Bibliography. Annexures.

12. RAJEEV M

**Changing Circumstances of Tibetan Refugees in Nepal: 1990-2012.**

Supervisor: Dr. Biswajit Mohanty

Th 23543

*Abstract  
(Not Verified)*

This thesis examines the changing circumstances of Tibetan refugees in Nepal, particularly during the last two decades. It analyses the policies and programmes for Tibetan refugees by two ideologically and politically different governments, the Royal and the Maoist led, and its impacts on them in Nepal. The Chinese occupation of Tibet forced demographic and cultural displacement and refugee crisis have influenced the imagination of the Tibetan homeland. It also has articulated the notions of space and territory among Tibetans in refugee communities in Nepal. The main argument is that because of the policies and programmes of Nepal government in the last two decades, Tibetans are forced to lead a life of nowhere. Their social, political, economic and cultural spaces are being controlled, monitored and limited. The thesis primarily looks at the socio, political, economic and cultural status of those refugees who are living at the peripheral. It is also observed that there are various policies and programmes introduced by the government of Nepal for Tibetan refugees during the periods of 1990-2012.. The present study shows that such policies and programmes do not favour the Refugees. To be precise, the present study focuses on the changing circumstances of Tibetan refugees in Nepal from various perspectives. An attempt has been made to look at their varying circumstances during different political regimes. The study examines and explains, within a broad framework, the issues of citizenship, ethnic identity and opportunity related to the job and education of Tibetan refugees in the host country. More specifically the study analyses the political, economic, social and cultural situations Tibetan refugees in Nepal from 1990-2012.

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1. Introduction 2. Identity, exclusion, refugee and citizenship: A theoretical understanding 3. Historicizing Tibetan refugees: 1994-1990 4. Protection policies and programmes for Tibetan refugees in Nepal:1989-2012 5. Changing circumstances of Tibetan refugees in Nepal: Observations based on field work 6. Conclusion. Bibliography.

13. RINKI

**Role of Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act in Socio-Economic Well Being of Rural Women: Case Study of Two Districts in Haryana.**

Supervisor: Prof. Satyajit Singh

Th 23537

*Contents*

1.विकास, नीति व जेंडर समानता 2. अध्ययन क्षेत्र में समाजए अर्थव्यवस्था व मनरेगा का जेंडर विश्लेषण 3. रोजगार, कृषि, महिलाएं व मनरेगा 4. आर्थिक सुरक्षा, पारिवारिक जेंडर संबंध व मनरेगा 5. पंचायती राज संस्थाएं, महिलाएं व मनरेगा। निष्कर्ष। सन्दर्भ ग्रंथावली। परिशिष्ट।



14. ROHINI  
**The Muslim Minority, Indian National Congress and the Shah Bano Case: A Review of the Debate.**

Supervisor : Prof. Madhulika Banerjee and Dr. Mollica Dastider  
Th 23526

*Abstract*  
*(Not Verified)*

The central question of the thesis is to locate gender justice in Muslim Women Act. This thesis justifies MWA as a discursive site by revisiting the Shah Bano case so that it could find out the third way for getting gender justice to some extent. As it finds that revising the law constantly is a proper way to trace out the potential of the law, which defines the concept of equality and justice in a new dimension. So this thesis defines the right to maintenance in the context of the role of familial ideology in framing the right to maintenance. The redefined notion of right to maintenance in reinterpretation of the judgement of Shah Bano case and positive interpretations of MWA(1986) by High Courts in various divorce cases and the Constitutional validity of MWA (2001) have defined the notion of equality in new dimension by which it shows the potential of law to achieve gender justice. In this process, this thesis has analyzed various divorce cases after Shah Bano case in the framework of post structuralism and feminist legal studies. This thesis has revisited the case of Shah Bano so that it could perceive the related legal discourse to find out the potential of law in defining the women's rights. By accepting the feminist legal approach, this thesis only finds the potential of law in redefining the women's rights. Hence it can be said that law is not static it is dynamic so we should revisit the law constantly.

*Contents*

1. Indian national congress and Muslim minority 2. Indian national congress: Hindu code bill and Muslim personal laws 3. Secularism, gender equality and the debate on uniform civil code in India 4. Gender equality and the cultural critique of law 5. Gender justice in Muslim women act 1986: A study of some cases 6. Conclusions. Bibliography.

15. SABUR ALI M.  
**English Language and Dalit Empowerment: An Assessment of Official Language Policy Implementation in India.**

Supervisor : Dr. Nasreen Chowdhory  
Th 23524

*Abstract*  
*(Verified)*

The thesis, 'English Language and Dalit Empowerment: An Assessment of Official Language Policy Implementation in India' examines a unique approach of Dalit politics towards English language. In post-nineties India, the Dalit politics demands that state, government schools assures to all citizens equal access in English language would lead to accessing benefits of the societal institutions. This equal accessibility would lead to empowerment of the Dalits. However, the non- Dalit political ideologies (left, right and center) were reluctant to project English as a positive-factor in political sphere. Further, the research tries to understand how the unique approach engages with the state. It addresses a question, how English language has become a dominant official language in post colonial India and a subject of Dalit empowerment in post nineties India? This question leads to a hypothesis, the official implementation of English language in post nineties India is likely to empower Dalit identity and consciousness. The thesis seeks to answer certain questions:

the Dalit politics struggled to assure societal engagement for Dalits, whereby English language acquired a new character in post-nineties India. It also become an effective tool to assure benefits of societal engagement to all (including Dalits). This answer is sought through a field study in the state of Tamil Nadu where interviews of various Dalit political groups were conducted. While the Dalit politics' pro-English demands engaging with the state it gives a contextual meaning to the concept of Dalit empowerment, it also legitimizes the demand in front of norms of constitution; whereby making uniformity/equality among citizens by English language leading to Dalit empowerment. In this context the research concludes that, in post nineties India the official implementation of English language does lead to the empowerment to the Dalits.

*Contents*

1. Introduction 2. The role of English as dominant official language in post-colonial India 3. Mobilizing people in political sphere: English language and dalit politics 4. Caste mechanism and view of dalit political groups on English language 5. The strategy of dalit politics for official implementation of English language and dalit empowerment. Conclusion. Annexure. Bibliography.

16. SANJAY KUMAR  
**Rise of Dalit Identity: A Case Study of Reghar in Karol Bagh (DELHI).**  
 Supervisor : Dr. Rajesh Kumar Jha  
Th 23541

*Contents*

1. Introduction 2. Status of reghars in dalit society 3. Role of caste associations among reghars in Delhi 4. Politics of Karol Bagh and Delhi 5. Conclusion. Bibliography. Appendices.

17. SINGH (Garima)  
**Gender and Politics of Language: Voices of Jat Women in Rural North India.**  
 Supervisor : Dr. N Sukumar and Dr. Krishna Menon  
Th 23523

*Abstract*  
*(Not Verified)*

This thesis establishes the way 'language' constitutes 'gender' identities. While defining 'Gender' has been strength of feminist efforts in placing responsibility of women's unequal position on society rather than on nature. Theorisation on 'Language' often considered as a neutral and passive mode of communication also unveiled the socio-political aspects of it. Language which was long seen by linguists in abstraction to the society was analysed since 1960's to reveal the significant role it plays in not only defining the society, but in ways that it renders a worldview to its users. This thesis therefore attempts to highlight the very *constitutive* nature of language in constituting gender identities by looking at the voices of Jat women in rural North India, especially in some villages of Delhi and Haryana. It is based on the study of about 86 women's songs collected from the ethnographic field and it analyses 33 of them. Qualitative data was also collected from the field in form of interviews, informal discussions and also personal observation by the researcher. The aim of the research is to unearth the voices of women which form an essential part of their self construction Women's voices are reflections of their world as well as the world that they construct for themselves. It has often been noted that women's voices are either silenced or

represented by the male dominant society. Women's voices therefore can be noted to express their subordination and inferiority and these linguistic performances shape them within the expectations of the dominant. But, not always the voices of women sing the powerful patriarchal tunes, they can also be heard leashing their deep held anger and resistance against the dominant structure.

*Contents*

1. Understanding 'gender' 2. Gender and language: Mapping the link 3. Gender construction: The power of language 4. Carving realities: Voices of women 5. Constructing jat women: Reiterating the language of patriarchy 6. Language, gender and the voices of resistance. Conclusion. Glossary. Bibliography. Appendix.

18. SINHA (Binit Kumar)

**Ensuring Accountability: Problems and Prospects of Social Auditing.**

Supervisor: Dr. B. N. Chaudhary

Th 23535

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1. शासन एवं सामाजिक अंकेक्षण 2. नागरिक समाज : उद्भव, विकास एवं उद्देश्य 3. जनसुनवाई और नागरिक समाज 4. फीडबैक 5. सामाजिक अंकेक्षण के आयोजन पर मिले सरकारी दस्तावेजों की समीक्षा । निष्कर्ष । सन्दर्भ ग्रंथ सूची ।

19. SMRITI SUMAN

**Nationalism and Cosmopolitanism in Hindi Cinema, 1990-2011.**

Supervisor: Prof. N. C. Behera and Prof. P. K. Datta

Th 23538

*Contents*

1. Cinema and possibilities of cosmopolitanism 2. Nationalism and cosmopolitanism in post 1990 hindi cinema 3. A history of cosmopolitanism in hindi cinema: 1920-1990 4. Journey and cosmopolitanism with special reference to swades 5. Love and cosmopolitanism: Reading dil se. Conclusion. Bibliography.

20. SONKER (Govind)

**Socio-Political Analysis of Carpet Weavers in India: A Study of Bhadohi and Mirzapur Districts of Uttar-Pradesh.**

Supervisor: Dr. Raj Kumar

Th 23539

*Abstract  
(Not Verified)*

Carpet-weaving is one of the oldest professions in India as well as all over the world. In India, the main carpet-weaving centres are located in the northern India, for instance, Bhadohi and Mirzapur districts of eastern Uttar-Pradesh (these two districts produce roughly 80 per cent of the total carpet production in India). The many other centres in India such as Assam, Pondichery, Darjeeling in West-Bengal, Nagpur in Maharastra, Amritsar in Punjab, Anantnag, Baramulla Kupwara, Pulwama and Srinagar in Jammu and Kashmir Bangalore in Karnataka, Madras and Wallajapet in Tamilnadu, Dharmshala and Dalhousie in Himachal-Pradesh, Gwalior in Madhya Pradesh, Panipat in Haryana, Jaipur, Bikaner, Alwar, Tonk and Barmer in Rajsthan, Warangal and Eluru in Andhra Pradesh, Leh in Laddakh, Obra and

Madhubani in Bihar are also carpet manufacturing centres. Initially in India the hand knotted woollen carpet is very famous and its popular name was "Galicha" It is also a local name of Indian handicraft. In the recorded history of the Indian pile carpet, carpet weaving started in the sixteenth century nearly 1580 A.D. when Mughal Emperor Akbar the great brought few Persian carpet weavers from Persia to India. The production of carpet in India is totally dependent upon the labour class and factory owners. The carpet Industry is highly impacted by child labour in India. Everyone knows that in India child bonded labour is a serious problem. In order to eliminate child labour the Social Labelling Programme was started in 19 century in India. The main objective of the Social Labelling Programme is to put an end to the child boned labour and its exploitation in the carpet industry. Under the Social Labelling Programme various types of institutions such as Rugmark, Kaleen, STEP, Care & Fair and Carpet Export Promotion Council (CEPC) are functioning to combat the child labour.

*Contents*

1. Introduction, objective and research methodology 2. Socio-economic profile of the carpet weavers in Bhadohi and Mirzapur districts of Utter Pradesh 3. Child labour in the carpet industry in India: Analysis 4. An Analysis of the political institutions: Well-beings of weavers 5. Political behavior of carpet weavers: An analysis 6. Findings, conclusions and summary of suggestions. Bibliography. Annexures.

21. SUPERNA PRIYADARSHINI  
**Well Being, Poverty and Food Security: An Evaluation of the Capabilities Approach.**  
 Supervisor: Prof. Ashok Acharya  
Th 23529

*Contents*

1. Well being: A normative understanding 2. Conceptualizing poverty: A study of various approaches 3. Theorizing food security and poverty 4. Interrogating capability framework. Conclusion. Bibliography.

22. T. CHOLICHEM SANGTAM  
**Sovereignty and Politics of Boundaries in the Naga Context.**  
 Supervisor: Dr. Saroj Giri  
Th 23533

*Abstract*  
*(Not Verified)*

This thesis examines sovereignty and politics of boundaries in the context of Naga people, one of the ethnic groups from the Northeastern region of India, in relation to the issue of Naga sovereignty claim. The study looks at the problematic nature of boundaries between the inside and the outside dichotomy in the face of uncertainty, imposed fixed and stable meaning over who is outside and who is inside of the existing state, thereby to construct a specific political community, what this study phrase as politics of boundaries. In this way, taking boundaries as an approach, the study looks at how such sort of boundaries took shape on the Naga sovereignty claim over time. Such boundaries politics comes through simultaneously by equally spatializing (space) and temporalizing (time) the boundaries of the Naga people and territory, that the manner in which the Naga sovereignty claim brings in a paradoxical state of being neither inside nor outside of the Indian State. The study explores this discourse within three broad themes, by questioning how India as a state impose its boundaries over the Naga people and territory, the study looks at how it has

institutionalise the Naga people and territory within the boundaries of the Indian state as a process of domestication. By this process, it also raises the question about how Naga people resisted against such imposition and process over their rights and territory, a mean to the unresolved issues on Naga sovereignty claim. Within this spectrum, the study brings a question, such as where, in theory, Naga people locate within this aspect of boundaries politics.

### *Contents*

1. Introduction 2. Sovereignty and politics of boundaries: Analytical framework 3. The emergence of the politics of boundaries between India and Naga in the early twentieth century 4. Politics of boundaries: The Indo-Naga relation since 1947 5. The process of institutionalization: Domestication 6. The Nagas in Indo-Burma border: Location of inside/outside boundaries 215-259 7. Naga sovereignty and politics of boundaries: The contemporary advocacy in Naga people politics 8. Conclusion. Bibliography. Appendix.