CHAPTER 45

POLITICAL SCIENCE

Doctoral Theses

01. ANAND
Bir Sunarwala Land Struggle: A Socio-economic Study of Dalits in Haryana.
Supervisor: Prof. N. Sukumar
Th 29207

Abstract

The Bir Sunarwala land struggle of 1973 represents a landmark yet largely undocumented episode in the history of Dalit resistance and agrarian transformation in Haryana. This study examines the movement as a socio-economic and political assertion by landless Dalits to reclaim land and challenge entrenched caste hierarchies. Situated within a deeply unequal agrarian structure where dominant castes controlled the vast majority of land and Dalits were largely confined to landless labour, the movement emerged as a decisive intervention against systemic exclusion, economic dependency, and social subordination. The research addresses three central questions: the origins and trajectory of the Bir Sunarwala struggle, the reasons for its erasure from academic and public discourse, and the extent to which land ownership contributed to socio-economic mobility among beneficiary families. Employing a qualitative research design grounded in archival research and deep ethnographic fieldwork, the study draws on oral histories of 25 beneficiary families, legislative assembly debates, newspaper archives, personal records, and official documents. It analyses the movement across three interconnected arenas: legislative contestation (sadan), social relations (samaj), and public protest (sadak) to provide a holistic understanding of its emergence, mobilisation, and outcomes. The findings show that the struggle was triggered by the dispossession of 2,596 acres of Nazul land previously allotted to landless Dalits, leading to the eviction of 151 families. In response, Dalits organised a sustained and large-scale satyagraha involving over 25,000 participants, which ultimately compelled the state to restore land rights. The study demonstrates that land ownership had transformative effects, enabling livelihood security, educational advancement, dignity, and social status. Over successive generations, beneficiaries experienced significant intra- and inter-generational mobility, transitioning from bonded labour and agrarian dependency to diversified livelihoods, secure employment, and professional occupations. At the same time, the research highlights ongoing structural constraints, including land fragmentation, urban migration, and persistent caste-based inequalities. By recovering and documenting the history of the Bir Sunarwala land struggle, this study fills a critical gap in existing scholarship and establishes land ownership as a crucial foundation for dignity, autonomy, and long-term socio-economic transformation among Dalits.

Contents

1. Introduction 2. Dalits and Land Reforms: Power, Politics, and Struggles in Colonial and Modern Punjab-Haryana 3. Bir Sunarwala Movement: Its Genesis, Mobilisation and Outcome 4. Socio-Economic Change in the Lives of Dalits After Getting Land and Afterwards 5. Conclusions. Bibliography.

02. ASMITA (Ananya)
Environment and Civil Society Movements: With Special Reference to Odisha.
Supervisor: Prof. Sanjeev Kumar
Th 29209

Abstract

One of the major challenges confronting humanity today is the protection and preservation of the environment. Over the last half century, global awareness of environmental degradation, climate change, and global warming has grown significantly. Civil society organizations, which both thrive under and strengthen democratic systems, have emerged as important actors in environmental advocacy, policy formulation, and implementation. The thesis explores this dynamic relationship between environmental governance and civil society engagement in India. It also highlights India's role in global climate diplomacy, especially under Prime Minister Narendra Modi's leadership during key international events such as the Paris Climate Conference and its firm commitment to the principles of sustainable development. The study focuses particularly on two major industrial projects in Odisha, the Vedanta Alumina Project at Niyamgiri (Kalahandi District) and the POSCO Steel Project at Jagatsinghpur. Both projects, initiated with the aim of fostering industrial growth through substantial foreign direct investment, faced stiff resistance from local communities supported by civil society groups. These movements foregrounded issues of ecological protection, cultural rights of indigenous communities, and sustainable livelihoods. While several studies have examined these cases individually, this research provides a comparative perspective with environment as the central analytical lens. Employing historical, analytical, and empirical methods, the thesis finds that although environmental concerns were crucial in both cases, they were often intertwined with questions of traditional rights, cultural identity, and livelihood security. Consequently, in the popular perception, environmental protection was not seen in isolation but as part of a broader struggle for socio-economic justice and cultural survival. The study, therefore, carries important policy implications, suggesting that developmental planning must integrate environmental sustainability with participatory decision making and local consent. It proposes a balanced model of "Inclusive Sustainable Development," that harmonizes economic growth with ecological protection, and community rights through transparent governance, effective environmental impact assessments, and empowerment of civil society as a stakeholder in policy formulation and monitoring.

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1. Introduction 2. Environmental Discourses and Developmental Paradigms – Theoretical Reflections 3. Civil Society: A Conceptual Analysis 4. Civil Society and Environmental Movements in India and Odisha: An Overview 5. Vedanta Project at Niyamgiri & Civil Society Movement 6. Posco Project at Jagatsinghpur and Civil Society Movement 7. Conclusions. Bibliography. Annexure.

03. BHARTI (Sumit Kumar)
Colonial Policing to Democratic Policing: A Comparative Study of District Policing and Police Commissionerate System in Uttar Pradesh in the Context of Emerging Challenges and Required Reforms.
Supervisor: Dr. Prakash Kumar Patel
Th 29321

Abstract

The thesis strives to entail the comparative study of two different systems of the Uttar Pradesh police, i.e., the District Police under the dual command of District Magistrates, as provided under the Indian Police Act of 1861, and the Police Commissionerate system under the unified, autonomous, and accountable command of police officers. The title of the thesis, Colonial Policing to Democratic Policing: A Comparative Study of District Policing and Police Commissionerate System in Uttar Pradesh in the Context of Emerging Challenges and Required Reforms, is self-explanatory in describing the context and objective of the research. The present research thesis objectively strives to find whether the police Commissionerate system in the million cities of Uttar Pradesh augments or subverts the vision of democratic policing in the context of emerging challenges of the 21st century. The research findings concluded that the Police Commissionerate System in million-plus cities is a definitive step towards democratic policing due to specialised handling through an integrated mechanism. By enhancing professionalism, authority, transparency, accountability, and efficiency, the Commissionerate system brings the notion of people's police under the democratic setup.

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1. Introduction 2. Indian Police System: Evolution and Doctrine 3. Democratic Policing: A Theoretical Perspective 4. Colonial Policing to Democratic Policing: Police Reforms in India, Continuity and Change 5. Uttar Pradesh Police: Challenges of Democratic Policing in the Million Cities 6. Comparative Analysis: Structural and Functional Comparison of District Policing and Police Commissionerate in Uttar Pradesh. Conclusion and Required Reforms. Bibliography. Annexure.

04. HUOT (Sovanna)
Conceptualizing the Impact of Community Support On Cambodian Youth Engagement and Motivation to Enhance Political Efficacy in National Elections: An Explanatory Sequential Mixed-Methods Approach.
Supervisor: Dr. Priya Mirza
Th 29407

Abstract

This thesis investigates how community support shapes Cambodian youth political engagement by examining political efficacy and political motivation as sequential psychological processes in an explanatory sequential mixed-methods design (QUAN to QUAL). In the quantitative portion, the author collected cross-sectional survey data from multiple sites in Cambodia, specifically from 1,569 surveyed university students (aged 18–30), and used PLS-SEM to analyse the data with 5,000 bootstrap resamples. The structural model demonstrated meaningful explanatory and predictive performance, accounting for 34.3% of the variance in political engagement ($R^2 = 0.343$), 29.1% in political efficacy ($R^2 = 0.291$), and 21.1% in political motivation ($R^2 = 0.211$), as well as having positive predictive relevance for each of the endogenous constructs ($Q^2 > 0$). The findings showed that community support had a substantial positive direct impact on political efficacy ($\beta = 0.239$, $p < .001$), political motivation ($\beta = 0.379$, $p < .001$), and political engagement ($\beta = 0.238$, $p < .001$). Additionally, political efficacy positively predicted political motivation ($\beta = 0.333$, $p < .001$) and political engagement ($\beta = 0.330$, $p < .001$), and political motivation positively predicted political engagement ($\beta = 0.291$, $p < .001$). Mediation tests established that community support affected political engagement through political efficacy and political motivation with a significant pathway of serial mediation

(community support, political efficacy, political motivation and political engagement; $\beta = 0.023$, $p < .01$). Among the dimensions of efficacy, internal political efficacy was more strongly and consistently influential than external political efficacy, highlighting the fact that confidence in one's civic competence is more enduring than a belief in the responsiveness of the institutions. During the qualitative follow-up, semi-structured interviews with selected participants explored key paths in Structural Equation Modelling (SEM), ceiling effects, and construct proximity across community support dimensions. Most participants identified community, university, youth, and faith-based areas as sources of psychological safety, social permission, and guidance, but not for political mobilisation. This evidence explains why expressive and relational engagement can stay high even when participants perceive little feedback. The study suggests community-based, motivational approaches that build confidence and include civic education to teach youth active participation skills. Future research should use longitudinal and comparative methods to examine changes in motivation and confidence and compare online and offline engagement across contexts.

Contents

1. Introduction 2. Literature Review and Theoretical Framework 3. Research Methodology 4. Quantitative Results 5. Qualitative Findings 6. Integrated Discussion 7. Conclusion and Implications. References. Appendices.

05. JATIN

Revolutionary Violent Non-State Actors in International Relations: State Formation and the Rise of the Post-Westphalian State in the Middle East.

Supervisor: Prof. Sanjeev Kumar H.M.

Th 29212

Abstract

The present study seeks to understand the origin, nature, ideology and claims of violent non-state actors in the Middle East and how they challenge the authority of the Westphalian state in international relations. This thesis particularly focused on a unique kind of violent non-state actor: revolutionary violent non-state actors. This study demonstrates that the Westphalian state faces a fundamental challenge from revolutionary violent non-state actors in international relations. They are not merely a security threat but territorial contenders to sovereign states in the international system. In addition, they also offer their own alternative conception of political order beyond the Westphalian understanding of a state. Such actors emerged in weak or failed states that are unable to uphold their sovereignty and monopoly rights on violence. Hence, the emergence of revolutionary actors is embedded in the failed process of state de-formation. The chapters show that ISIS was a territorial contender in the Middle East against the sovereign states of Iraq and Syria, but at the same time, they offered their political and ideological vision of a state, which this study calls a "post-Westphalian" state. It signifies a non-territorial political authority structure with post-secular sovereignty. Therefore, ISIS were not merely a security threat to Middle Eastern states but posed a major challenge to the international system with their own idea of a state, which essentially contests the Westphalian understanding. It was more of a normative challenge to the modern international system.

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1. Introduction 2. Revolutionary Violent Non-State Actors (VNSAs) as Challengers to Westphalian State in International Relations 3. Crisis of Westphalian State in the Middle East 4. Ideological Transformation of Revolutionary Violent Non State Actors in Middle East 5. The Post-Westphalian State in the Middle East 6. Conclusions. Bibliography.

06. KHUVEIO (TK)

Political Communication in the Digital Age: Emerging Trends in Electoral Campaign Strategies and the Rise of Political Consultant/Election Mangers in India.

Supervisor: Prof. Chandrachur Singh

Th 29211

Abstract

In an era where digital technologies have fundamentally reshaped democratic practice and moorings, India's elections the world's largest democratic exercise have undergone a profound transformation driven by the rapid rise of professional political consultants. This thesis offers an early comprehensive academic exploration of how a new class of strategic actors has professionalised campaigning in India, shifting electoral politics from mass rallies and kinship networks to data-driven, hyper-mediated, and highly personalised operations. Tracing the evolution from traditional "old media" campaigns to hybrid media ecosystems of the internet age, the study situates India's experience within global patterns of campaign professionalisation while highlighting its distinctive trajectory. Drawing on extensive survey of 250 political consultants, it maps the emergence, organisational structure, and operational practices of this hitherto emerging industry. The analysis reveals three distinct waves of professionalisation culminating in the full-scale adoption of micro-targeting, real-time analytics, narrative scripting, and social media warfare, particularly visible in the watershed 2014 and 2019 general elections. At its core, the thesis examines the dual-edged role of political consultants as both enablers of sophisticated voter engagement and potential accelerators of democratic distortion. It interrogates whether the increasing reliance on these professionals strengthens participatory democracy by making complex elections more manageable or risks importing American-style polarisation, echo chambers, and affective manipulation into the Indian polity. By illuminating the courtship between political parties and consultancy firms, the mediation between electors and the elected, and the strategic choices between independent and in-house consultants, this work provides critical insights into the changing texture of representation, accountability, and power in contemporary Indian democracy. Finally, the study argues that the professionalisation of electioneering in India marks an irreversible shift in the grammar of democratic competition, demanding new theoretical and regulatory responses to preserve the deliberative and inclusive spirit of the world's most vibrant democracy.

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1. Introduction to Political Consultants in India‟s Digital Electoral Landscape 2. Literature Review 3. New Trends in Political Communication and Election Campaigns 4. The Rise of Political Consultants in India‟s Electoral Politics 5. Professionalisation of Election Campaign 6. Impact and scope of Political Consultants in Indian Democracy. 7 Trends and Key Insights from the Survey of Political Consultants in India. Bibliography. Appendix.

07. PREETI KUMARI

State, Privacy and Population Control: A Study of the Sterilization Policy in Independent India.

Supervisors: Prof. Ujjwal Kumar Singh and Dr. Skylab Sahu

Th 29408

Abstract

This study, titled State, Privacy, and Population Control: A Study of Sterilization Policy in Independent India, examines the relationship between state power, reproductive governance, and individual privacy in India`s population control policies after independence. It integrates both macro- and micro-level analyses. At the macro level, it investigates the Nehruvian period, the Emergency, and the Janata Party era. At the micro level, it focuses on the Bilaspur sterilisation deaths. The study is guided by the following research questions: (1) How is population control conceptualised, institutionalised, and reproduced across different political regimes? (2) How do sterilisation-related deaths reshape relationships within kinship networks and between citizens and the state? To address these questions, the study adopts an interpretive and hermeneutic approach to knowledge production. Its theoretical framework draws on Michel Foucault`s concepts of biopolitics and governmentality, as well as Paul Ricoeur`s theory of emplotment. Ontologically, the study is grounded in a constructionist-relativist perspective, which understands reality as multiple, contingent, and socially constructed rather than singular and objective. Methodologically, the study employs a "peripheral ethnographic" approach inspired by the work of Peter Adler and Patricia Adler. A significant contribution of this research lies in its integration of both macro- and micro-level analyses, an approach that remains relatively uncommon in the existing scholarship on population control in India. The study argues that population control emerged as a form of biopolitics and a regime of truth that transcended changes in political leadership and ideological orientation.

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1. Introduction and Literature Review 2. Population Control in India: Historical and Global Ideological Foundations 3. Methodological and Theoretical Framework: Hermeneutics, Positionality, and Limitations 4. Sterilisation, Camps, and Everyday State Power: Reading Bilaspur Across Political Regimes 5. After the Camp— Memory, Households, and the State in Bilaspur 6. Between Protection and Violation: Rethinking Privacy in Sterilisation Practices 7. Conclusion. Bibliography. Annexure.

08. RAHUL

Patterns of Caste Discrimination and Exclusion in Hotel Eateries: A Study of Lucknow and Saharanpur (U.P.).

Supervisor: Prof. N. Sukumar

Th 29214

Abstract

The Indian Constitution guarantees equality before the law and includes special provisions for marginalised communities. But, even after 75 years of independence, it can still be seen today that the Dalit community in India seems to be struggling for its constitutional and fundamental rights. Mainly, in various sectors of Indian

entrepreneurship, the access of Dalits is still limited due to the caste system; along with this, it can be seen that the caste system is negatively affecting their businesses. However, this study primarily addresses the contemporary caste-based challenges and constraints faced by the Scheduled Castes in accessing and operating occupations in the Hotel Dhaba and restaurant eateries. In this way, this study aims to find answers to some essential questions, such as why it is difficult to find any Dhaba or restaurant with the names like Dalit, Pasi, Chamar, Valmiki, Jatav, etc., throughout India. In contrast, nameplates and signboards related to upper-caste surnames in these occupations can be found easily in every corner of the country. Conversely, on the other side, the food and beverage of the Scheduled Caste's Dhabas and restaurants are treated as impure and polluted. Therefore, it is difficult for Dalits to operate businesses like the hotels, Dhabas and restaurants, etc. Furthermore, it can also be observed that they are afraid to show their caste identities in these industries because it may become a major constraint for their business. Consequently, this study seeks to evaluate the discrimination faced by Dalits in businesses such as hotels, Dhabas, and restaurants. Additionally, this study also tries to encourage Dalit entrepreneurs in hotels, Dhaba and restaurant industries.

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1. Introduction 2. Idea of Caste: Meaning, Concepts, and History 3. Caste, Food, and Social Stratification: Ancient to Modern India 4. Rise of Dalit Entrepreneurship and its Challenges in Contemporary India 5. Caste Discrimination and Exclusion in Hotels, Dhabas and Roadside Eateries: A Study of Lucknow and Saharanpur of Uttar Pradesh 6. Bibliography. Annexure.

09. SANIL (Akanksha)
Anatomy of Welfare Stigma: A Study of Public Distribution System in Uttar Pradesh.
Supervisor: Prof. N. Sukumar
Th 29217

Abstract

This research examines the regressive potential of public welfare interventions through the concept of 'welfare stigma'. With a focus on the world's largest food security program – India's Public Distribution System (PDS) – the research examines whether targeted welfare programme, diminish the salience of caste in PDS access and explore how gender and spatial location intersect to shape interactions between welfare claimants and the state. While PDS is designed as a rights-based food security intervention, its everyday functioning is embedded in moral judgments, bureaucratic discretion, and social hierarchies that mediate access and dignity. Through a mixed-methods design, conducted in 96 households in rural and urban sites of Gautam Buddha Nagar district of Uttar Pradesh, the research investigates how PDS entitlements (re)produce welfare stigma and how it is contested and negotiated individually and within communities. The analysis is situated within the theoretical framework of 'Administrative Burden' (Herd & Moynihan, 2019; Masood & Nisar, 2021) and 'Lived Citizenship' (Lister, 2007; Kallio et al., 2020) to demonstrate that welfare stigma is not merely an individual perception but is structurally produced through institutional processes and social relations. The research provides a micro and macro-level analysis of the nature and dimensions of welfare stigma in PDS and its impact on the lives of beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries. Findings reveal that experiences of welfare stigma are strongly shaped by both structural (stringent application process, complex bureaucratic procedures, regional

inaccessibility) and non-structural (socio-cultural barriers such as gender and caste, lack of awareness, fear of mistreatment) impediments in the access to and provision of welfare in India. Caste operates as the primary axis of welfare stigma differentiation, shaping who is stigmatized, by whom, and with what intensity. It does so not through overt discrimination alone, but through the accumulated socio-economic power structures embedded within rural and urban settings across genders. By recasting the historically significant concept of 'stigma', this research contributes to a critical political sociology of welfare in India, and argues that while PDS is necessary, food provision must be depoliticised and reframed as a social protection strategy embedded in dignity and citizenship, and not merely a charitable machinery tied to electoral preference.

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1. Introduction 2. Interpreting Welfare: What it is and What it Does 3. Theorizing Welfare Stigma in Food Assistance: A Framework to Understand India's Public Distribution System 4. Attitudes, Perceptions and Patterns of Welfare Stigma in Public Distribution System: Evidence from Uttar Pradesh 5. Conclusion and Policy Implications. Bibliography.

10. शंभू

संवैधानिक दृष्टिकोण से राजनीतिक भ्रष्टाचार पर रोक : भारत के नियंत्रक एवं महालेखा परीक्षक का एक अध्ययन।

निर्देशक : डॉ. विकास कुमार

Th 29218

सारांश

भारत के नियंत्रक एवं महालेखा परीक्षक ने आर्थिक पारदर्शिता एवं जबाबदेही को स्थापित करते हुए अपने संवैधानिक कर्तव्यो का निर्वहन कर, निष्पादन लेखापरीक्षा के माध्यम से लोकतन्त्र को स्थिरता प्रदान की। जहां विपक्ष नें सीएजी की निष्पादन लेखापरीक्षा के आधार पर सत्ता में कायम सरकार का घेराव किया वहीं उसके ठीक विपरीत सत्ता में कायम वरिष्ठ नेताओ द्वारा सीएजी की निष्पादन लेखापरीक्षा को अप्रामाणिक घोषित कर, इसकी कार्यशैली, स्वायत्तता एवं विश्वसनीयता पर प्रश्न चिन्हित कर इसे विपक्ष का एक मोहरा बताते हुए सरकार के चरित्र को दूषित करने का साधन करार दिया। संक्षिप्त रूप से आर्थिक निगरानी को सुनिश्चित करने वाली नियामक संस्था भारत के नियंत्रक एवं महालेखा परीक्षक लोकतांत्रिक व्यवस्था में भ्रष्टाचार पर अंकुश लगाने और वित्तीय जवाबदेही सुनिश्चित करने में एक महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभाते है। यह संवैधानिक संस्था कार्यपालिका से स्वतंत्र रहते हुए बिना किसी राजनीतिक दबाव के सरकारी वित्त का लेखापरीक्षा करने में सक्षम है जिससे इसकी लेखापरीक्षा रिपोर्ट निष्पक्ष और विश्वसनीय होती हैं। यह सरकारी खातों के साथ-साथ सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र के उपक्रमों और कल्याणकारी योजनाओं का लेखापरीक्षा करते हुए वित्तीय अनियमितताओं, धोखाधड़ी एवं अपव्यय को उजागर करती है जो अक्सर भ्रष्टाचार से जुड़े होते हैं। सीएजी की लेखापरीक्षा रिपोर्ट संसद और राज्य विधानसभाओं में प्रस्तुत की जाती हैं। इन रिपोर्टों का सार्वजनिक होना वित्तीय गड़बड़ियों को उजागर करता है और सरकार को अपने कार्यों का स्पष्टीकरण देने व सुधार करने के लिए बाध्य करता है। लोक लेखा समिति जैसी संसदीय समितियाँ अधिकारियों से प्रश्न पूछने और कार्यपालिका को जवाबदेह ठहराने के लिए सीएजी की लेखापरीक्षा रिपोर्ट पर अधिकांश रूप से निर्भर रहती हैं। सीएजी अपनी लेखापरीक्षा के माध्यम से शासन व्यवस्था में सुधार एवं दक्षता को स्थापित करने के लिए भी प्रेरित करता हैं, यह भ्रष्टाचार को उजागर करने के अलावा, प्रणालीगत खामियों को भी चिन्हित कर सुधार के सुझाव देता है, जिससे बेहतर वित्तीय प्रबंधन के माध्यम से भ्रष्टाचार की संभावनाएँ कम हो सके। एक प्रकार से भारत के नियंत्रक एवं महालेखा परीक्षक को आर्थिक निगरानी हेतु "सार्वजनिक धन संरक्षक" कहा जाता है जो जवाबदेही, पारदर्शिता और वित्तीय अनुशासन सुनिश्चित करते हुए, भ्रष्टाचार को रोकने और लोकतांत्रिक शासन को मजबूत करने में महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभाता है। इसलिए संविधान निर्माता डॉ भीम राव अंबेडकर नें भारतीय संविधान में इसे महत्वपूर्ण संस्था के रूप में स्थापित किया।

विषय सूची

1. प्रस्तावना 2. भारत में राजनीतिक भ्रष्टाचार का सैद्धांतिक अध्ययन 3. भारत के नियंत्रक एवं महालेखा परीक्षक का अध्ययन : एक संवैधानिक परिपेक्ष्य 4. भारत के नियंत्रक एवं महालेखा परीक्षक का अध्ययन : राजनीतिक भ्रष्टाचार के विशेष संदर्भ में 5. भारत के नियंत्रक एवं महालेखा परीक्षक की विश्वसलीयता का आलोचनात्मक अध्ययन 6. निष्कर्ष। सन्दर्भ ग्रंथ सूची।

11. SHARMA (Ramanand)
Sanatan Dharma and Indian Nationalism in Sri Aurobindo's Political Thought.
Supervisor: Prof. Manoj Sinha
Th 29221

Abstract

Sri Aurobindo (1872–1950) occupies a peculiar position in Indian intellectual history. Biographical reductions and spiritual interpretations have consistently displaced his political writings from serious theoretical engagement, leaving him marginal to mainstream political theory despite his decisive intervention in early Indian nationalism. This study recovers Aurobindo as a political thinker by treating Sanatan Dharma not as theological doctrine but as a strategic political language constructed under colonial conditions. The central argument is that Aurobindo mobilized Sanatan Dharma to articulate political obligation, collective resistance, and moral authority in a context where liberal constitutionalism and rights discourse were structurally inadequate. British colonial rule produced a crisis of political legitimacy that existing vocabularies could not resolve. Aurobindo's response was to ground resistance in ethical duty rather than legal rights, and in collective moral identity rather than state sovereignty. This made political action thinkable outside the institutional frameworks colonialism had either denied or corrupted. The study employs the Cambridge School's contextualist methodology, reading Aurobindo's political essays, speeches, and journalism as interventions in specific historical crises rather than as expressions of timeless philosophical truths. A diachronic approach tracks conceptual change across two distinct phases. The first covers his nationalist writings between 1893 and 1910. The second examines his reorientation toward human unity following the First World War, which this study reads as theoretical response to the collapse of territorial nationalism rather than withdrawal from politics. The research contributes to three conversations: the decolonization of political theory's Western canon, the study of nationalism beyond liberal and civic models, and the problem of political obligation under conditions of illegitimate rule. It establishes Aurobindo as a serious interlocutor in comparative political theory.

Contents

1. Sanatan Dharma as a Political Language 2. Colonial Rule and the Crisis of Political Language 3. Sanatan Dharma as a Language of Political Resistance (1893-1910) 4. Sanatan Dharma and Indian Nationalism 5. From Nationalism to Human Unity 6. Assessment, Limits, and Contemporary Relevance. Bibliography. Appendices.

12. SINGH (Tayenjam Priyokumar)
Security and Migration in International Relations: A Study of Illegal Migration from Myanmar and Bangladesh to India.
Supervisor: Dr. Deepika Singh
Th 29322

Abstract

Illegal cross-border migration is among the most persistent challenges facing India's North-Eastern borderlands, where porous frontiers, ethnic pluralism, and fragile governance intersect. While migration is often studied as a demographic or economic issue, large-scale violence in Assam (2012) and Manipur (2023 onward) shows that illegal immigration functions as a structural driver of insecurity with political, social, and environmental consequences. This thesis reconceptualises migration from Bangladesh and Myanmar as a non-traditional security threat, moving beyond military-centric frameworks to examine how demographic change, land pressure, and governance failures generate sustained internal instability. Anchored in the non-traditional security paradigm, the study analyses migration's effects on environmental sustainability, livelihood security, social cohesion, and political stability. Using primary field data from conflict-affected populations in Manipur and Assam, it examines host-community perceptions across four dimensions: environmental strain, economic stress, social disruption, and political insecurity. The comparative design captures how migration from different source countries produces both convergent and context-specific insecurity patterns. Methodologically, the study follows a sequential quantitative framework, moving from descriptive profiling to explanatory modelling. Descriptive and bivariate analyses reveal socially differentiated patterns: younger cohorts express stronger livelihood anxieties, while older cohorts emphasize political instability. Exploratory factor analysis confirms that the four insecurity dimensions are empirically distinct yet interrelated, indicating a structured rather than isolated experience of insecurity. Multivariate models show political insecurity emerges from the cumulative effects of environmental stress, livelihood precarity, and social disruption, with the latter amplifying alienation and loss of collective control. The thesis concludes that illegal immigration operates as a threat multiplier—intensifying resource competition, eroding livelihoods, weakening social trust, and undermining institutional confidence. By foregrounding lived perceptions in border societies, it contributes to security and migration scholarship, arguing that sustainable responses require addressing insecurity's structural roots rather than relying on enforcement-driven measures alone.

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13. SURYA (Gadde)
Comparative Digital Governance: Role of Biometrics and Facial Recognition Technology.
Supervisor: Prof. Ujjwal Kumar Singh
Th 29323

Abstract

This thesis interrogates the phenomenon of institutionalization of biometric technologies as a constitutive element of digital governance through a multi-layered theoretical lens. India emerges as the country where surveillance capitalism takes its most advanced, digitized and institutionalized form, with 1.3 billion people enrolled in its biometric database. It argues that the Aadhaar program's surveillance has acquired the character of a statist mutation of surveillance capitalism. It contends that through its very design, India's Digital Public Infrastructure seeks to create machine readable persons and consequently new forms of domination. The study compares the situation

in India with the USA and the UK. It argues that power has shifted from disciplinary to control societies via the mechanisms theorized by Foucault and Deleuze, while Zuboff's analysis of surveillance capitalism finds its complement in India in a statist mutation of the same. Chapter 2 contends that India's Digital Public Infrastructure is designed to institutionalize surveillance by default. Chapter 3 argues that crisis led expansion, functional creep and normalization are the general tendencies in adoption of biometric technologies by liberal democracies. Chapter 4 asserts that through its CCTNS, ICJS and Smart City programs, India has shifted from backward looking investigations to population-wide algorithmic pre-emption under Agamben`s permanent state of exception. Chapter 5 highlights how National Automated Facial Recognition System in India functions outside the bounds of legality and creates acceptance and apprehension barriers for millions of Indians, constraining their fundamental rights. The thesis confirms its three-dimensional hypothesis that biometric technologies generate machine-readable personhood enabling new modalities of power; that India`s systems interact with pre-existing inequalities to produce authoritarian drift; and that the surveillance capitalism framework is indispensable for understanding state-corporate convergence. The thesis concluded with arguments in favour of comprehensive facial recognition legislation in India that adhere to the proportionality test laid down by the Puttaswamy judgment. It recommends mandatory human rights impact assessments and independent oversight.

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1. Introduction 2. Conceptualizing Surveillance Capitalism: Theoretical Foundations for Analysing Digital Governance 3. Digital Public Infrastructure: Framework and Critical Analysis 4. Institutionalisation of Biometrics: Comparing Policies, Practices, Institutions of the USA and the UK 5. Through Eye of State: Governing Through Biometrics 6. Facial Recognition Technology in India: Contextualizing Surveillance, Resistance, and Democratic Transformation 7. Conclusion. Bibliography.

14. TIWARI (Shashank)
Towards an Axiological Revaluation of the Modernist Epistemology of Nationalism: Revisiting Europe and India.
Supervisor: Prof. Ashok Acharya
Th 29324

Abstract

This research treats the contemporary modern political epistemology as its subject and it uses the axiology as the handle to analyse and understand the value-component inherent in the modern political concepts emanating from the modernist epistemology. Nationalism has been chosen as the exemplar of the modern political concepts. The research work has two planes of analysis (i) it examines the understanding of the origin and evolution of the political imagination of nationalism in Europe, from the point of view of the axiological substrate intrinsic to the modernist epistemology (ii) it examines the transmutations in the Indian self-knowledge which occur due to tension caused by the clash of the muted but strongly present axiological dimensions in political imagination of modern nationalism against the organic meta-concept of Dharma which is traditional source of axiology in India. The research aims to demonstrate the value-laden nature of the modern concepts, including that of the nationalism. The research underlines that the axiological character of the modernity is deeply influenced by the 'politico-religious' matrix of early modern Europe. The research questions the 'transplantability' and 'ahistoricity' of modern concepts when they are engaged in the Indian context which has its own resilient traditional source of axiology in form of the meta-concept of Dharma.

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1. Introduction: Nature of Inquiry and its Subject Matter 2. Modernist Epistemology and Question of Nationalism in India 3. Methodological Notes on Approaching a Modern Question from 'Indian' Perspective Today 4. Analysing Europe as Seed-Bed of the Idea of Nationalism 5. Sources of Politcal Imagination in Europe 6. Nationalism in Modern Weltanschauung: The Making of European Self-View in Nineteenth Century 7. Modernity, Colonial Knowledge of India and 'Religion' as the Master Transmutation 8. Modern Nationalism, Secular Modernity and Transmutation of Indian Political Imagination in Colonial India. 9. Case for an Organic 'Self': Understanding Tagore's Take-Down of Modern Nationalism. Conclusion: Can Dharma Be a Basis of India's Political Reimagination and Self-Identity Beyond the Modernist Epistemology and Indian Transmutations? Bibliography.

15. ZAMAN (Alia)
Transcending the Community: Exploring `Muslim Politics` in India.
Supervisor: Prof. Ujjwal Kumar Singh
Th 29224

Abstract

Politics revolving around Indian Muslims has been dominantly understood in the way male Muslim leadership has defined it- as a homogenous Muslim community question. The Indian State similarly has recognized this way of describing Muslims and their issues as Muslim politics. Despite many other voices gaining ground- including that of lower caste Muslims and Muslim women, the debate nevertheless gets defined against this dominant narrative and never as the narrative. Can an analysis of heterogeneity within the Indian Muslims rather than a focus on Indian Muslims as a unit/unified whole/community open up new ways of talking about Muslims and Muslim politics in India? The thesis affirms this by locating different Indian Muslim voices in the public sphere. This helps reevaluate themes on Muslim politics in India by way of arguing that a Muslim subjectivity is a better way of talking about Indian Muslims. It also helps reveal the way Indian Muslims have taken up space in the public sphere by interrogating the inadequacies of the Indian State. The research integrates primary, semi-structured interviews from key Muslim individuals within organizations like All-India Muslim Majlis-e-Mushawarat and All-India Muslim Personal Law Board with a critical secondary analysis of other Muslim women and lower caste organization and movements. It further takes up secondary analysis of the academic literature that emerged 2014 onwards. This period is identified as a turning point. Compared to the previous decades, the Indian State has become less conducive to the negotiation of claims by Indian Muslims as Muslims. As a qualitative study, it provides a fresh perspective through a lens of Muslim subjectivity and analyzing concepts like the nature of Indian State, community and public sphere. By highlighting this Muslim subjectivity, the study lays bare a plural, public discourse which belies the claims surrounding a Muslim community in India.

Contents

1. Introduction 2. Theorizing on the Community of Muslims in India 3. Muslims Shaping Muslim Community(s) in India 4. The Old/New Voices of the Muslim Community in India 5. Making Sense of a Muslim Subjectivity in India 6. Casting Muslim Politics Anew: The contemporary Moment in India 7. Conclusion. References. Bibliography.