Counting Castes, Rewriting Myths: Mahishasura in the Age of the Census

Associate Professor Amitabh Vikram Dwivedi

Dean, Humanities & Social Sciences Shri Mata Vaishno Devi University, India

E-mail: amitabh.vikram@smvdu.ac.in

This essay analyzes the symbolic and political importance of the Mahishasura myth in current debates about India's caste census. Positioning myth under the ambit of epistemic justice and subaltern memory, the article contends that Mahishasura— the demonised male in the Brahminical Hindu accounts—has been "recuperated" by the Dalit, Bahujan and Adivasi communities as an "antisymbol of resistance." Using cultural theory, historiography, and political discourse as tools, the essay demonstrates how the re-imagining of Mahishasura disrupts the hegemonic plots/narratives around Mahishasura and how it mirrors the logic of asserting caste enumeration as an example of radical reparative justice. It claims that both myth and the census are tools to claim visibility, to disturb master historiography and to contest caste erasure. Reading through the media of rituals, texts, and the politics of reclaiming, the article situates the Mahishasura figure not simply as a mythic figure but as a mnemonic of caste consciousness, epistemic repair, and democratic assertion in post-colonial India.

Keywords Mahishasura Myth, Caste Census, Epistemic Justice, Subaltern Memory, Myth Reappropriation, Dalit-Bahujan Politics, Cultural Resistance, Hinduisation, Myth and Enumeration, Symbolic Representation.

I. Introduction

Since India gained independence in 1947, the pressure for caste-based data has increased, a development Jodhka describes as "deprivation-demanding development" (2024). This demand entails recording and preserving the histories of those hitherto excluded 'subaltern' communities whose histories vanished from the cultural memory. A concept, aligned with Indian Knowledge Systems (IKS) and epistemic justice, calls for "visualising and recognising silenced traumas and injustices" and giving voice and agency to those who have long been muted, argues Cherechés.[1]

The demand for a caste-based census illustrates the value of data in comprehending the multi-dimensional facets of caste deprivation. This

---

[1] Bianca Cherechés, "Unveiling the Oppressed Body: Female Dalit Body Politics in India through Baburao Bagul and Yashica Dutt," *Humanities* 12, no. 4 (2023): 63, https://doi.org/10.3390/h12040063

granular data is important to inform policy responses to systemic inequalities and to document the lived experiences of the marginalised 'other.'[2] To build a fairer and more inclusive society that includes those "who are extremely excluded politically, socially, and economically"[3], the government decision to record and archive the experiences of those on the periphery, which has been branded a "desperate U-turn" by the opposition, seeing their previous resistance to it.[4] The British colonial engagement with India from the late eighteenth century initiated a comprehensive restructuring of indigenous knowledge systems, notably the complex calendrical and ritual practices integral to Hindu religious life. Colonial administrators and Orientalist scholars endeavored to decode, rationalize, and often reinterpret Hindu timekeeping, aiming to align the fluid, cyclical Hindu calendar with the rigid frameworks of Western scientific chronology and administrative utility. This article critically reviews recent scholarship exploring how colonial governance redefined sacred time between 1800 and 1858, focusing particularly on the reimagination of key festivals such as Diwali and Holi. The process was not unidirectional; indigenous actors negotiated, contested, and at times resisted colonial temporal hegemony, producing a layered history of knowledge, power, and cultural survival.

In the current calls for the caste census, the image of Mahishasura, a "half man and half buffalo,"[5] challenges the Brahminical Hindu account of his defeat at the hands of the goddess Durga and "allows room for 'historical individuation' of each culture rather than homogenising" it.[6] In the specific context of caste enumeration and caste-based deprivation, the reimagination of the Mahishasura theme draws attention to the two-edged nature of myths, as mechanisms of oppression and as discursive sites of

[2] M. Singh, "Do We Need a Caste-Based Census?" *SSRN Electronic Journal* (2022), https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.4048034.

[3] Govinda Nepali, "Socio-Cultural Identity of Dalits in Karnali," Tribhuvan University Journal 32, no. 2 (2018): 215, https://doi.org/10.3126/tuj.v32i2.24719.

[4] "Will PM Acknowledge Changed Policy on Caste Census, Commit to a Timeline: Cong.," The Political and Business Daily, October 2, 2023, https://www.magzter.com/stories/newspaper/The-Political-and-Business-Daily/WILL-PM-ACKNOWLEDGE-CHANGED-POLICY-ON-CASTE-CENSUS-COMMIT-TO-A-TIMELINE-CONG.

[5] Pramod Ranjan, *Mahishasur: A People's Hero* (New Delhi: Forward Press Publications, 2016).

[6] Vandana Kumari, "The Subaltern Critique of Dominant Historiography and a Case for Retrieving a Historiography of Dalit Literary Traditions in India," *Journal of Social Inclusion Studies* 7, no. 1 (June 2021): 7, https://doi.org/10.1177/23944811211020374.

cultural contestation, in a way mirroring the caste census as a form of epistemic repair. This rewriting line demonstrates how myths influence ideas of (in)justice via cultural memory and historical consciousness.[7]

In the 'post-Mahishasur movement,' which resists the efforts of (only) Hindu nationalism and quotidian acts of 'hinduising … everyday religiosity'[8], the image of Mahishasura has increasingly come to represent a champion for minority rights—mainly as ethnic censorship has grown more violent, "compelling the production of revisionist mythico-histories that appeal to widely held desires for authority and honour."[9] Some academicians—particularly those engaged in advocating for the rights of caste minorities across various regions and languages of India—have begun to reconstruct the forgotten past of Mahishasura as a deity of the marginalized.[10]

This essay reinterprets, in the sense of "historico-political processes through a specified reading of hegemony theory" [11] ,the myth of Mahishasura as more than a theological throwback; it is a metaphorical space where caste, power, and memory entwine. The subsequent counter-narrative opposes an imperial (religious) epistemology, which at once freed the goddess and conquered indigenous cultures and can be perceived as rereading "within Gramsci's larger philosophy of praxis".[12] This reading dismisses the legend as a battlefield of resistance, where political maneuvers overwrite history and thus amend old heroes. In this perspective, the Mahishasura figure displays historical injustice, subaltern resistance,

---

[7] Paola Bacchetta, "Sacred Space in Conflict in India: The Babri Masjid Affair," *Growth and Change* 31, no. 2 (January 2000): 255, https://doi.org/10.1111/0017-4815.00128.

[8] Moumita Sen, "'Durga Did Not Kill Mahishasur': Hindus, Adivasis, and Hindutva," in Outrage: The Rise of Religious Offence in Contemporary South Asia, ed. Paul Rollier, Kathinka Frøystad, and Arild Engelsen Ruud (London: UCL Press, 2019), 150, https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctvh1dx8q.13.

[9] Tori Gross, "Constructing a Caste in the Past: Revisionist Histories and Competitive Authority in South India," *Modern Asian Studies* 56, no. 6 (2022): 1774, https://doi.org/10.1017/S0026749X21000573.

[10] Pramod Ranjan, "The Reclamation of Mahishasur as a Heroic Figure," *The Caravan*, March 2016, https://caravanmagazine.in/lede/facing-demons.

[11] Berthold Molden, "Resistant Pasts versus Mnemonic Hegemony: On the Power Relations of Collective Memory," *Memory Studies* 9, no. 2 (2016): 125, https://doi.org/10.1177/1750698015596014.

[12] Dennis K. Mumby, "The Problem of Hegemony: Rereading Gramsci for Organizational Communication Studies," *Western Journal of Communication* 61, no. 4 (1997): 343–75, https://doi.org/10.1080/10570319709374585.

and a belief in the myth itself.

II. Who [was]/[killed] Mahishasur?

This deviation from the norm of writing this heading is deliberate, engaging, and argumentative, as the use of "metafictive devices encourages the deep reading of texts" [13]; the slashes and square brackets "[blur] boundaries in texts"[14] (Sipe & McGuire 2006) of the grammaticality of the text and the textuality of the grammar. Firstly, it explores identity: "Who was Mahishasura?" invites readers to learn about his origins and cultural interpretations. The reading "Who Killed Mahishasura?" offers competing interpretations of history, which evaluate competing mythic narratives. This deviation implies that besides reading the text syntagmatically and paradigmatically, we should effectively analyze both the grammaticality of the text, and the textuality of the grammar, creating Chomskyan meaningfulness, which includes both "grammaticality" and "appropriateness"[15] in "dialectic amongst Analysis, Understanding and Ownership, with each informing and modifying the other."[16]

Answering the question of who Mahishasura was, there is a "cacophony of discourses"[17] among Sanskritists and social scientists. Some believe in a mythological story from Devi Mahatmyam of the Markandeya Purana that describes demon Rambha (son of Rishi Kashyapa and Danava), who was wedded to Mahishi, a buffalo-faced, bodied woman. Their son,

---

[13] Evelyn Arizpe, Morag Styles, Karin Cowan, Liana Mallouri, and Margaret A. Wolpert, "The Voices Behind the Pictures: Children Responding to Postmodern Picturebooks," in Postmodern Picturebooks: Play, Parody, and Self-Referentiality, ed. Lawrence R. Sipe and Sylvia Joyce Pantaleo (New York: Routledge, 2008), 207–22.

[14] Lawrence Sipe and Christine McGuire, "The Stinky Cheese Man and Other Postmodern Tales for Children," in *Shattering the Looking Glass: Challenge, Risk, and Controversy in Children's Literature*, ed. Susan Lehr (Norwood, MA: Christopher-Gordon, 2006), 273–87.

[15] Noam Chomsky, Syntactic Structures (The Hague: Mouton, 1957).

[16] Bell, A. "Re-constructing Babel: Discourse analysis, hermeneutics and the Interpretive Arc." *Discourse Studies*, 13(5), 519-568. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461445611412699 (Original work published 2011)

[17] Sen, Moumita. "'Durga Did Not Kill Mahishasur': Hindus, Adivasis and Hindutva." In *Outrage: The Rise of Religious Offence in Contemporary South Asia*, edited by Paul Rollier, Kathinka Frøystad, and Arild Engelsen Ruud, 163. London: UCL Press. https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctvh1dx8q.13.

the buffalo-people king Mahishasura, too gained prominence later.[18] Sen argues, "In the Markandeya Purana or any of the Puranas … there is no mention of Mahishasura as a very harmful rakshasa."[19] Instead, the Puranas say that the term mahish means pradhan [the head of a community], and asur means 'brave warrior' or those who are adept at the use of weaponry." [20] Also, "the famous horned male seated in yogic moolabandhana pose on several seals wears buffalo horns," writes Krishna. [21] Then, is the Mahishasura-Durga myth simply an "order to equate Brahmanism with nationalism so that the Dalit-Bahujans can be kept enslaved to the historical frauds," argues Mani.[22]

Moreover, even the widespread belief that Durga slayed Mahishasura is "wrong," and Sen writes, "Mahalakshmi kills Mahishasura, not Durga." She provides references from Chandipurana… Ma Durga kills Madhu-Kaitabha… Mahalakshmi kills Mahishasura … Durga kills Mahamahasura" [23] Contrary to Sen's account, the Brahmanical narrative, Devi Mahatmya of the Markandeya Purana, describes this myth as the story of goddess Durga's victory over the demon Mahishasura.[24]

According to this popular myth within Hinduism, especially in Shaktism, Mahishasura, living in the Vindhyas, started harassing everyone doing immense penance, frightening everyone with his strength and ferocious looks. The united energies of Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva created Durga, known as Vindhyavasini, described as "born from the bodies of all the gods unified and pervading the triple world with its lustre became a

---

[18] S. Stych, "The Role of the Mahādevī in the Hindu Patriarchy," Pacific University CommonKnowledge, 2011, http://commons.pacificu.edu/cassoc/32/.S. Sehgal, "Graphic Retellings of Durga Mythology in Contemporary Popular Culture," SSRN Electronic Journal (2016), https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2819912.

[19] Sen, "'Durga Did Not Kill Mahishasur,'" 161.

[20] Ibid., 162.

[21] Nanditha Krishna, "The Buffalo Roams Our Mythscape," The New Indian Express (Thiruvananthapuram), May 4, 2025, https://www.magzter.com/stories/newspaper/The-New-Indian-Express-Thiruvananthapuram/THE-BUFFALO-ROAMS-OUR-MYTHSCAPE.

[22] Braj Ranjan Mani, "Dalit-Bahujan Perspective on the Mahishasura Debate," Countercurrents, March 2, 2016, https://www.countercurrents.org/mani020316.htm.

[23] Sen, "'Durga Did Not Kill Mahishasur,'" 161.

[24] Devī Māhātmyam, trans. C. Mackenzie Brown (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990), chap. 2, vv. 12–13.

woman."[25] Mahishasura's soldiers faced her, but she slew them all with her many weapons in her many hands. As Durga approached the Vindhyas, Mahishasura attacked her, taking diverse forms, she killed one after another, finally slaying Mahishasura.[26]

Popular folk rituals of sacrificing male buffaloes in Rajasthani Charans offer them to the goddess Pithad. Kolis, Vaghir, Dharalar, Raharis, and Ravalias of Maharashtra also offer them to the goddess Khodyaayi. In eastern India, they are offered in sacrifice to Kali, and in southern India, to Kali and certain other Indigenous goddesses. Thousands slaughter buffalo for Gadhimai at a ritual festival in Bariyarpur, Nepal.[27] Mani claims that "modern historiography in India… [is] a fiefdom of the caste elites who variously concoct an imaginary 'Hindu-national' or 'liberal-progressive' history based on the selective and cunning reading of the ancient texts and sources.[28] The Hindu calendar, comprising lunisolar cycles, astrological calculations, and regional variants, was foundational to ritual life, influencing agricultural cycles, religious observances, and social rhythms. British administrators, tasked with governing a vast and culturally diverse population, perceived the calendar's variability and perceived opacity as obstacles to efficient rule. Orientalist scholars such as Henry Thomas Colebrooke and James Prinsep emerged as key figures in this knowledge production, interpreting Hindu calendrical science through the lens of European astronomy, philology, and numismatics.

Colebrooke's pioneering works, notably his astronomical treatises, attempted to reconcile Hindu timekeeping with the Newtonian scientific paradigm, emphasizing precise calculation and linear progression over cyclical conceptions of time. Prinsep's decipherment of ancient inscriptions further enabled British officials to historicize and thus control the temporal dimensions of Hindu culture. These scholarly interventions, coupled with missionary critiques that cast Hindu festivals as superstitious or idolatrous,

---

[25] Krishna*, "The Buffalo Roams Our Mythscape."*

[26] Ibid.
[27] Ibid.

[28] Mani, "Dalit-Bahujan Perspective on the Mahishasura Debate."

culminated in a colonial narrative portraying indigenous sacred time as irrational and in need of reform.

III. Colonial Engagements with Hindu Calendars: Context and Frameworks

The Hindu calendar, comprising lunisolar cycles, astrological calculations, and regional variants, was foundational to ritual life, influencing agricultural cycles, religious observances, and social rhythms. British administrators, tasked with governing a vast and culturally diverse population, perceived the calendar's variability and perceived opacity as obstacles to efficient rule. Orientalist scholars such as Henry Thomas Colebrooke and James Prinsep emerged as key figures in this knowledge production, interpreting Hindu calendrical science through the lens of European astronomy, philology, and numismatics.

Colebrooke's pioneering works, notably his astronomical treatises, attempted to reconcile Hindu timekeeping with the Newtonian scientific paradigm, emphasizing precise calculation and linear progression over cyclical conceptions of time. Prinsep's decipherment of ancient inscriptions further enabled British officials to historicize and thus control the temporal dimensions of Hindu culture. These scholarly interventions, coupled with missionary critiques that cast Hindu festivals as superstitious or idolatrous, culminated in a colonial narrative portraying indigenous sacred time as irrational and in need of reform.

IV. Administrative Rationalization and Ideological Implications

The colonial reconfiguration of Hindu calendars was not merely a technical exercise but an ideological project embedded within the civilizing mission. By standardizing festival dates according to the Gregorian calendar and introducing fixed holidays for administrative purposes, British authorities sought to impose a universal temporal regime symbolizing modernity and progress. This imposition reframed Hindu festivals as static events to be monitored and managed, stripping them of their dynamic cosmological meanings.

Diwali and Holi, two of the most widely celebrated festivals, became emblematic of this transformation. Diwali's association with cycles of renewal and moral allegories was condensed into discrete, calendar-bound celebrations. Similarly, Holi's spontaneous social transgressions and ritual inclusivity were subjected to colonial orderliness and regulation, often reinterpreted as

moments of social disorder needing control.

This temporal colonization extended beyond administration to affect missionary efforts, which leveraged calendar reform as part of broader attempts to convert and 'modernize' Hindu society. The construction of Hindu time as superstitious and obsolete buttressed colonial claims to epistemic authority and moral superiority.

V. Indigenous Responses: Resistance and Adaptation

Despite the colonial state's efforts to impose its calendrical system, indigenous communities actively negotiated these temporal transformations. Many continued to observe festivals on traditional lunar dates, thereby preserving cosmological and ritual authenticity. Temple authorities and local elites played crucial roles in maintaining indigenous temporal sovereignty, resisting attempts to synchronize celebrations strictly with colonial calendars.

At the same time, selective adaptation occurred, with some communities incorporating Gregorian dates for official and commercial purposes while retaining traditional observances in private or religious spheres. This dual temporal consciousness reflected a sophisticated form of cultural resilience, balancing accommodation and defiance.

The persistence of indigenous calendar use also had political implications. By adhering to traditional temporal frameworks, local actors asserted claims to cultural identity and autonomy within the colonial state's spatial and administrative reach.

VI. Broader Implications: Time, Empire, and Modernity

The politics of calendrical reform in colonial India must be understood within global histories of time and empire. The British imposition of linear, standardized time regimes mirrored similar projects in other colonial contexts, reflecting the broader imperial imperative to control space and time as fundamental dimensions of sovereignty.

The colonial Hindu calendar case illuminates how time became a contested site of cultural encounter and conflict, where indigenous cosmologies and colonial modernity intersected. It also challenges teleological narratives of modernization by foregrounding indigenous agency and the multiplicity of temporal regimes coexisting under colonial rule.

Scholars such as Gyan Prakash and Dipesh Chakrabarty have emphasized the ambivalence of colonial temporalities, highlighting how indigenous histories and futures were simultaneously disrupted and

reimagined. The examination of Hindu ritual calendars contributes to this discourse by revealing how everyday religious practices mediated the tensions between colonial modernity and traditional cosmologies.

VII. Recent Scholarship and Contributions

Recent historiography has deepened our understanding of the colonial reconfiguration of sacred time by incorporating interdisciplinary approaches, including history of science, religious studies, and anthropology. Works such as Anamika Bhattacharjee's forthcoming "British Interpretation of Hindu Festivals" offer detailed archival studies tracing how British scholars and officials constructed knowledge about Hindu time to serve colonial ends while documenting indigenous responses.

Similarly, scholarship on Henry Thomas Colebrooke's astronomical work elucidates the scientific underpinnings of colonial calendar reform, while studies of James Prinsep highlight the epistemic authority granted by deciphering ancient inscriptions and reconstructing historical chronologies.

The intersection of missionary discourse and calendrical regulation has also received attention, revealing how critiques of ritual time functioned as a tool for cultural domination and conversion strategies. Together, these works contribute to a nuanced picture of how sacred time was politicized in colonial India.

VIII. Gaps and Future Directions

While existing studies have made significant strides, there remain areas for further inquiry. Comparative analyses between different regional calendars and their colonial encounters would illuminate the diversity of temporal negotiations. More attention to indigenous voices—through vernacular texts, temple records, and oral histories—could enrich our understanding of resistance and adaptation.

Furthermore, the role of caste, gender, and class in shaping calendar use and festival observance under colonial conditions merits deeper exploration. How did marginalized groups navigate these temporal restructurings? What intersections of power and identity shaped access to temporal authority?

IX. Conclusion

The colonial rewriting of Hindu ritual time between 1800 and 1858 was a complex process of epistemic contestation, ideological assertion, and indigenous negotiation. British efforts to rationalize and control the Hindu calendar reflected broader imperial ambitions to regulate social and religious life, projecting the colonial state as an arbiter of modernity and order.

However, this project met with resilient indigenous practices that preserved traditional temporalities and asserted cultural autonomy. The politics of timekeeping and festival regulation thus stand as critical sites for understanding colonial governance, cultural resistance, and the entanglements of empire and modernity.

By foregrounding sacred time as a contested domain, recent scholarship opens new avenues for exploring the intersections of science, religion, and power in colonial contexts, contributing to global histories of temporality and imperialism.

References

Arizpe, Evelyn, Morag Styles, Karin Cowan, Liana Mallouri, and Margaret A. Wolpert. "The Voices Behind the Pictures: Children Responding to Postmodern Picturebooks." In *Postmodern Picturebooks: Play, Parody, and Self-Referentiality*, edited by Lawrence R. Sipe and Sylvia Joyce Pantaleo, 207–22. New York: Routledge, 2008.

Bacchetta, Paola. "Sacred Space in Conflict in India: The Babri Masjid Affair." *Growth and Change* 31, no. 2 (January 2000): 255–72. https://doi.org/10.1111/0017-4815.00128.

Bell, Allan. "Re-constructing Babel: Discourse Analysis, Hermeneutics, and the Interpretive Arc." *Discourse Studies* 13, no. 5 (2011): 519–68. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461445611412699.

Cherechés, Bianca. "Unveiling the Oppressed Body: Female Dalit Body Politics in India through Baburao Bagul and Yashica Dutt." *Humanities* 12, no. 4 (2023): 63. https://doi.org/10.3390/h12040063.

Chomsky, Noam. *Syntactic Structures*. The Hague: Mouton, 1957.

Devī Māhātmyam. Translated by C. Mackenzie Brown. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990.

Dwivedi, Divya. "Caste, Race, and the Hypophysics of the Political." *Critical Philosophy of Race* 11, no. 1 (January 2023): 209–45. https://doi.org/10.5325/critphilrace.11.1.0209.

Ghoshal, Devjyot. "Smriti Irani, Are India's Mahishasura-Worshipping Tribals Depraved and Anti-National?" *Quartz India*, February 25, 2016. https://qz.com/india/624056/smriti-irani-are-indias-mahishasura-worshipping-tribals-depraved-and-anti-national.

Gross, Tori. "Constructing a Caste in the Past: Revisionist Histories and Competitive Authority in South India." *Modern Asian Studies* 56, no. 6 (2022): 1774–1803. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0026749X21000573.

Jodhka, Surinder S. "Lift the Veil off the Caste-Blind Approach." *The Tribune*, July 2024. https://www.tribuneindia.com/news/archive/comment/lift-the-veil-off-caste-blind-approach-106716.

Krishna, Nanditha. "The Buffalo Roams Our Mythscape." *The New Indian Express* (Thiruvananthapuram), May 4, 2025. https://www.magzter.com/stories/newspaper/The-New-Indian-Express-Thiruvananthapuram/THE-BUFFALO-ROAMS-OUR-MYTHSCAPE.

Kumari, Vandana. "The Subaltern Critique of Dominant Historiography and a Case for Retrieving a Historiography of Dalit Literary Traditions in India." *Journal of Social Inclusion Studies* 7, no. 1 (June 2021): 7–25. https://doi.org/10.1177/23944811211020374.

Mani, Braj Ranjan. "Dalit-Bahujan Perspective on the Mahishasura Debate." *Countercurrents*, March 2, 2016. https://www.countercurrents.org/mani020316.htm.

Molden, Berthold. "Resistant Pasts versus Mnemonic Hegemony: On the Power Relations of Collective Memory." *Memory Studies* 9, no. 2 (2016): 125–42. https://doi.org/10.1177/1750698015596014.

Mumby, Dennis K. "The Problem of Hegemony: Rereading Gramsci for Organizational Communication Studies." *Western Journal of Communication* 61, no. 4 (1997): 343–75. https://doi.org/10.1080/10570319709374585.

Nepali, Govinda. "Socio-Cultural Identity of Dalits in Karnali." *Tribhuvan University Journal* 32, no. 2 (2018): 215–28. https://doi.org/10.3126/tuj.v32i2.24719.

Ranjan, Pramod. *Mahishasur: A People's Hero*. New Delhi: Forward Press Publications, 2016.

———. "The Reclamation of Mahishasur as a Heroic Figure." *The Caravan*, March 2016. https://caravanmagazine.in/lede/facing-demons.

Sehgal, S. "Graphic Retellings of Durga Mythology in Contemporary Popular Culture." *SSRN Electronic Journal* (2016). https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2819912.

Sen, Moumita. "'Durga Did Not Kill Mahishasur': Hindus, Adivasis, and Hindutva." In *Outrage: The Rise of Religious Offence in Contemporary South Asia*, edited by Paul Rollier, Kathinka Frøystad, and Arild Engelsen Ruud, 193–212. London: UCL Press, 2019. https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctvh1dx8q.13.

Singh, M. "Do We Need a Caste-Based Census?" *SSRN Electronic Journal* (2022). https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.4048034.

Sipe, Lawrence, and Christine McGuire. "The Stinky Cheese Man and Other Postmodern Tales for Children." In *Shattering the Looking Glass: Challenge, Risk, and Controversy in Children's Literature*, edited by Susan Lehr, 273–87. Norwood, MA: Christopher-Gordon, 2006.

Stych, S. "The Role of the Mahādevī in the Hindu Patriarchy." Pacific University CommonKnowledge, 2011. http://commons.pacificu.edu/cassoc/32/.

Vaghela, Palashi, Steven J. Jackson, and Phoebe Sengers. "Interrupting Merit, Subverting Legibility: Navigating Caste in 'Casteless' Worlds of Computing." In *Proceedings of the CHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems*, 1–17. New York: ACM, 2022. https://doi.org/10.1145/3491102.3502059.

"Will PM Acknowledge Changed Policy on Caste Census, Commit to a Timeline: Cong." *The Political and Business Daily*, October 2, 2023. https://www.magzter.com/stories/newspaper/The-Political-and-Business-Daily/WILL-PM-ACKNOWLEDGE-CHANGED-POLICY-ON-CASTE-CENSUS-COMMIT-TO-A-TIMELINE-CONG.