India's Political Economy (7YYI0011)

2018-19 (Term 2)

Module convenor: Dr Thibaud Marcesse

This module examines economic development in India in political context. Students will be introduced to critical empirical and theoretical works that help to explain the overall performance of the Indian economy including growth, employment and distributional outcomes (poverty and inequality). Throughout there will be an emphasis on understanding how relations between the state, private capital, interest groups and the global economy have affected economic outcomes over time. Students will be encouraged to develop an appreciation for the regional diversity of economic and human development across regions within India, as well as an understanding of how social relations of caste, class and gender shape, and have been reshaped by, economic change. Seminars will address issues including India's growth take-off, urbanization, employment, social policy and the politics of poverty reduction. In the process of studying these questions, students will develop a comprehensive understanding of the structure and development of India's economy in the postcolonial period, the ability to analyse the relationship between democracy and development in India, an appreciation for regional political and economic diversity in India and an advanced understanding of some of the major challenges facing India looking ahead. The module will draw on multi-disciplinary perspectives on political economy from political science, economics, anthropology and beyond where relevant.

In the process of studying these questions, students will develop:

- A comprehensive understanding of the structure and development of India's economy since independence in its political context
- The ability to analyse the relationship between democracy and development in India
- An appreciation for regional political and economic diversity in India
- An advanced understanding of some of the major challenges facing India today

Learning outcomes

By the end of the module, students should have achieved:

- An understanding of the trajectory of India's economic development since 1947 in its political context
- An appreciation for some of the major challenges facing India today in terms of economic growth and development
- An ability to situate India's political economy within a comparative international perspective
- The capacity to formulate their own questions about India's political economy

Class Topics

1) Introduction: overview of the course and its themes

2) The postcolonial state: a 'failed' developmental state?
3) Opening up: economic liberalisation
4) Growth take-off: when and why?
5) Regional Diversity and the Changing Political Economy of Federalism
6) Democracy and Development
7) Growth, Poverty and Inequality
8) Politics of Welfare: can the state redistribute?
9) Governing cities: social, political and spatial dynamics
10) State and Capital: regulating conflicts around land and natural resources

Teaching and assessment

Teaching for this module takes the form of a weekly two-hour seminar class. All students are expected to prepare for seminars by doing the required readings each week and coming prepared for discussion. Seminars will also involve student-led presentations, and on occasion students may be asked to conduct specific exercises to prepare for classes.

The module will be assessed via two essays: one short essay (1000 words) due after reading week (February 27th at 5pm), and one longer essay (3000 words) due after the Easter break. Details of the short assignment will be circulated near the beginning of term, and questions for the longer essay will be circulated mid-term: alternative titles will be permitted only with the agreement of the course convenor.

NB. The readings in bold are <u>required</u> readings each week. All required readings will be available via Myreadinglist – there should be no reason for any difficulty locating a reading.

If you are looking to invest in a text to accompany you throughout the module, an accessible new text which provides an overview of some of India's pressing policy dilemmas is Vijay Joshi *India's Long Road: The Search for Prosperity* (Allen Lane, 2016). Other recent books that will provide a broad introduction to the subject matter and debates include Jean Drèze and Amartya Sen, *An Uncertain Glory: India and its Contradictions* (London: Allen Lane, 2013), chapter 1 ('A New India', pp1-16) and Jagdish Bhagwati and Arvind Panagariya, *Why Growth Matters: how economic growth in India reduced poverty and the lessons for other developing countries* (Public Affairs, 2013).

Week 1. Introduction: overview of the course and its themes

This week's seminar will offer an introduction to the course, and the major themes we will address. Students are asked to prepare by reading excerpts from two recent books on India's political economy at its current juncture: **Jean Drèze and Amartya Sen, *An Uncertain Glory: India and its Contradictions* (London: Allen Lane, 2013), chapter 1 ('A New India', pp1-16**) and **Jagdish Bhagwati and Arvind Panagariya, *Why Growth Matters: how economic growth in India reduced poverty and the lessons for other developing countries* (Public Affairs, 2013),** excerpt from Preface - ppxviii to xxi.

Exercise: Prepare a short written response (up to 500 words) ahead of the tutorials considering - What contrasting visions of the nature of India's political economy today are presented by the authors? What are the major challenges they identify? What questions do they raise which you would like to explore further?

Week 2. The postcolonial state: a 'failed' developmental state?

This week we will look at the model of economic development opted for by Indian elites in the first few decades after Independence characterised by state-led planning, a mixed economy with a central role for the state in industrial licensing, protectionism and state support for the development of heavy industry. This model which became pejoratively known as the 'license-permit raj' was intended to lay the foundations for economic and social development. It was informed by some of the leading development economists of the day, but – especially from the mid-1960s - became associated with low growth and the persistence of poverty. We will look at the concept of a 'developmental' state, which emerged with reference to East Asian states, and ask whether it is appropriate or useful to see India as a 'failed' developmental state in the period between the 1950s and 1970s. We start with the short, now classic analysis of Pranab Bardhan.

Bardhan, Pranab *The Political Economy of Development* (Blackwell, 1984), chapters 6-9 – pp40-83

Kohli, Atul, *State-Directed Development: Political Power and Industrialisation in the Global Periphery* (Cambridge University Press, 2004), chapter 7: "India's Fragmented-Multiclass State and Protected Industrialisation", pp257-88 (I would also recommend that you read chapter 6: Origins of a Fragmented-Multiclass State and a Sluggish Economy: Colonial India")

Herring, Ronald J. "Embedded Particularism: India's Failed Developmental State", in Meredith Woo-Cumings ed, *The Developmental State* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1999), p. 306-334

Tirthankar Roy, *India in the World Economy: From Antiquity to the Present* (Cambridge University Press, 2012), chapter 9 'From Trade to Aid, 1950-1980' pp224-38

Other readings

Frankel, Francine, "The Paradox of Accommodative Politics and Radical Social Change" in *India's Political Economy 1947-2004* (Oxford University Press, 2005), p3-27

Vivek Chibber, *Locked in Place: State-Building and Late Industrialisation in India* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2006) [e-book]

Bardhan, Pranab, *The Political Economy of Development in India* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1984)

Corbridge, S. and J. Harriss (2000). *Reinventing India: Liberalization, Hindu Nationalism and Popular Democracy*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1-4

Rudolph, Lloyd I. and Susanne Hoeber Rudolph, *In Pursuit of Lakshmi: The Political Economy of the Indian State* (University of Chicago Press, 1987)

Week 3. Opening up: economic liberalisation

It was in 1991 that India established the sharpest break with the 'license-permit raj' and initiated a package of economic reforms that dismantled the industrial licensing system, liberalised the tariff regime, devalued the rupee and began to deregulate key areas of economic activity. But some limited moves towards liberalisation had been taken in the 1980s under Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. This week we will look at the obstacles to economic reforms in the 1980s, and why the reforms of the 1990s were politically sustainable including the significance of the crisis of 1991. We will move on to consider how liberalisation has changed the nature of state intervention in the economy, and the relationship between the state and private sector interests.

Jagdish Bhagwati, *India in Transition: Freeing the Economy* (Oxford University Press, 1993), chapter 3: 'What is to be Done?' [available as e-book, KCL library]

Jenkins, R. (1999). *Democratic Politics and Economic Reform in India*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, chapter 2: 'The evolution of economic reform in India', p12-41

Tirthankar Roy, *India in the World Economy: From Antiquity to the Present* (Cambridge University Press, 2012), chapter 10 'Return to Market, 1980-2010', pp238-249

Kanchan Chandra (2015), 'The New Indian State: The Relocation of Patronage in the Post-Liberalisation Economy' *Economic and Political Weekly* vol L, no. 41, p46-58

Other readings

Manor, James (1987), "Tried, then abandoned: economic liberalization in India", *IDS Bulletin* 18 (4), 39-44

Vijay Joshi and Ian Little eds, *India's Economic Reforms 1991-2001* (Oxford University Press, 1996) [e-book in library]

Rahul Mukherji eds, *India's Economic Transition: The Politics of Reforms, Critical Issues in Indian Politics* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2007)

Varshney, Ashutosh (1998), "Mass Politics or Elite Politics? India's Economic Reforms in Comparative Perspective", *Journal of Policy Reform* 2:4, p301-335

McCartney, Matthew (2010). *Political Economy, Growth and Liberalisation 1991-2008* (London: Routledge)

Kale, Sunila (2009), "Inside Out: India's Global Reorientation", *India Review* 8:1, p43-62

Evans, Peter *Embedded Autonomy: States and Industrial Transformation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995)

Week 4. Growth take-off: when and why?

India's rates of economic growth began to pick up in the 1980s, with a more marked upturn from 2003 when India's economy grew at an average rate of over 8% per annum between 2003-4 to 2010-11. But there are vigorous debates about when the critical turning point should be located, and what the causes of growth are. This week we look at the origins of the take-off in rates of economic growth, assessing the significance of the reforms of 1991. We will look at the place of manufacturing and the services sector in India's growth story, considering longer-run factors embedded in institutions, democracy, access to credit, technological and human capital development in shaping the nature of growth across sectors.

Stuart Corbridge, John Harriss and Craig Jeffrey, *India Today: Economy, Politics and Society* (Cambridge, Polity Press: 2013), chapter 2: 'When and why did India take off?', pp23-46

Gaurav Nayyar, *The Service Sector in India's Development* (Cambridge University Press: 2012), Introduction

Adnan Naseemullah, *Development after Statism: Industrial Firms and the Political Economy of South Asia* (Cambridge University Press, forthcoming). Introduction and chapter 3 (to be uploaded to KEATS directly)

Other readings

Vijay Joshi (2016), *India's Long Road: The Search for Prosperity*, chapter 4: 'Capital Accumulation and Animal Spirits',pp49-64

Nagaraj, R (2013), 'India's Dream Run, 2003-08: Understanding the Boom and its Aftermath,' *Economic and Political Weekly* vol XLVIII: 20, May 18th, p39-51

Kohli, Atul (2006a), "The Politics of Economic Growth in India, 1980-2005. Part I: The 1980s", *Economic and Political Weekly,* April 1, pp1251-1259 and Part II: The 1990s and Beyond", *Economic and Political Weekly*, April 8, pp1361-70.

Panagariya, Arvind (2004), "Growth and Reforms during 1980s and 1990s", *Economic and Political Weekly* June 19, 2004, p2581-94

Nayyar, Deepak (2006), 'Economic Growth in Independent India: Lumbering Elephant or Running Tiger?' *Economic and Political Weekly*, April 15th 2006

Rodrik, Dani and Subramanian, Arvind (2005), "From "Hindu Growth" to Productivity Surge: The Mystery of the Indian Growth Transition", *IMF Staff Papers*, vol52:2
http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/staffp/2005/02/pdf/rodrik1.pdf

Subramanian, Arvind, ‘The evolution of institutions in India and its relationship with economic growth’, *Oxford Review of Economic Policy* (2007), 23 (2): 196-220

Bardhan, Pranab, *Awakening Giants, Feets of Clay: Assessing the Economic Rise of China and India* (Princeton University Press, 2010), chapter 2

Week 5. Regional Diversity and the Changing Political Economy of Federalism

Economic liberalisation has been accompanied by economic, and political, decentralisation. It has also intensified inequality between regions. This week we will look at patterns of regional inequality, and consider the role of India’s federal institutions in its political economy. We will consider the extent to which inter-state competition has produced economic dynamism or magnified inequalities, as well as analysing the role of the central government in governing the Indian market. We will look at the nature of centre-state fiscal transfers and ask how far the central government is able to tackle inequalities between regions.

Kohli, Atul (2012), *Poverty Amid Plenty in the New India* (Cambridge University Press): “Regional Diversity: To Him who Hath” (chapter 3), p144-211

Sinha, Aseema (2004), ‘The Changing Political Economy of Federalism in India: A Historical Institutionalist Approach’, *India Review* 3:1, pp26-63

Khemani, Stuti (2007), ‘Does delegation of Fiscal Policy to an Independent Agency make a Difference? Evidence from Intergovernmental Transfers in India’ *Journal of Development Economics* 82: 2, p464-484

Further readings

Corbridge, Stuart (2010), ‘The Contested Geographies of Federalism in Post-Reform India’, in Ruparelia, Reddy and Harriss eds *Understanding India’s New Political Economy* (Routledge)

Banerjee, Abhijit and Lakshmi Iyer (2005), 'History, Institutions and Economic Performance: The Legacy of Colonial Land Tenure Systems,' *American Economic Review* vol 95, issue 4, pp1190-1213

Iversen, Vegard, Richard Palmer-Jones and Kunal Sen (2013), ‘On the Colonial Origins of Agricultural Development in India: A Re-Examination of Banerjee and Iyer, ‘History, Institutions and Economic Performance’ *Journal of Development Studies* vol 49, issue 12, pp1631-46

Besley, Timothy and Robin Burgess (2004), ‘Can Labor Regulation Hinder Economic Performance? Evidence from India’ *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* vol 119 (1), pp91-134

Sinha, A. (2005). *The Regional Roots of Developmental Politics in India: A Divided Leviathan.* Bloomington and Indianopolis, University of Indiana Press.

Ahluwalia, M. (2000), "Economic performance of States in the post reforms period" *Economic and Political Weekly* May 6th: 1637-48

Kumar, Utsav and Arvind Subramanian (2012), "Growth in India's States in the first Decade of the 21st Century: Four Facts", *Economic and Political Weekly* XLVII: 3, p48-57

Sud, Nikita, *Liberalization, Hindu Nationalism and the State: A Biography of Gujarat* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2012) [e-book in library]

Damodaran, H. (2008). *India's new capitalists: caste, business, and industry in a modern nation.* Ranikhet, Permanent Black.

Sanjaya Baru, 'Economic Policy and the Development of Capitalism in India: the role of regional capitalists and political parties' in Francine Frankel et al eds, *Transforming India: Social and Political Dynamics of Democracy* (New Delhi, Oxford University Press: 2000), pp207-30

READING WEEK

Week 6. Democracy and Development

This week we look at how the practice of democracy in India shapes developmental outcomes. To what extent does the deep participation of voters across classes and castes produce impetus for addressing the concerns of the poor and improving the accountability of government? We will look at the concept of clientelism and discuss its relevance in India today. Furthermore, we will look at the role of money and muscle power in India, by considering the question of criminalisation of politics and the financing of elections.

Tariq Thachil (2014), 'Elite Parties and Poor Voters: Theory and Evidence from India' *American Political Science Review* 108:2, pp 454-77

Anirudh Krishna (2007), 'Politics in the middle: mediating relationships between the citizens and the state in rural North India' in Kitschelt and Wilkinson eds *Patrons, Clients and Policies: Patterns of Democratic Accountability and Political Competition* (CUP), pp141-59

Kanchan Chandra, 'India as a Patronage Democracy' in *Why Ethnic Parties Succeed* (Cambridge University Press)

Milan Vaishnav (2016), 'Why do Voters Sometimes Prefer Criminals as Candidates?' *Governance* 29: 4, p459-461 [hope to assign chapter from Vaishnav's forthcoming book alongside this]

Week 7. Growth, Poverty and Inequality

This week we turn to analyse the relationship between economic growth, poverty and inequality and the emergent political formations that are being produced as a result. There has been a reduction in poverty since the 1980s but this has been accompanied by rising inequality and changing profiles of work as secure employment in the (always small) organised sector has contracted and informal sector work expanded. We will consider the phenomenon of 'jobless growth', and look at the – often precarious - nature of employment particularly in the large informal sector – as well as considering some of the social barriers to inclusion in India's growth story, especially those related to caste and gender.

Basole, Amit (2014), 'Dynamics of Income Inequality in India: Insights from World's Top Incomes Database' *Economic and Political Weekly* XLIX:40, p14-17

Gandhi, Aditi and Michael Walton (2012), 'Where do India's Billionaires Get Their Wealth?' *Economic and Political Weekly* XLVII: 40, p10-14

Gooptu, Nandini (2007), 'Economic Liberalisation, Work and Democracy: Industrial Decline and Urban Politics in Kolkata' *Economic and Political Weekly* 42: 21, p1922-1933

Urmila Chatterjee, Rinku Murgai and Martin Rama (2015), 'Job Opportunities along the Rural-Urban Gradation and Female Labor Force Participation in India', *World Bank Policy Research Paper* 7412 (http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/732961468189870923/pdf/WPS7412.pdf)

Barbara Harriss-White with Kaushal Vidyarthee, 'Stigma and regions of accumulation: mapping Dalit and Adivasi Capital in the 1990s', in Barbara Harriss-White and Judith Heyer eds, *The Comparative Political Economy of Development: Africa and South Asia* (Routledge, 2010), pp317-349

Other readings
Topalova, Petia (2008), "India: Is the Rising Tide Lifting All Boats?" *IMF Working Paper 08/54*- http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/wp/2008/wp0854.pdf

Bhaduri, Amit (2008), "Predatory Growth", *Economic and Political Weekly* April 19th 2008

Jean Dreze and Amartya Sen, *India: Economic Development and Social Opportunity* (Oxford University Press, 1995)

Jean Drèze and Amartya Sen, *An Uncertain Glory: India and its Contradictions* (London: Allen Lane, 2013)

Jagdish Bhagwati and Arvind Panagariya, *Why Growth Matters: how economic growth in India reduced poverty and the lessons for other developing countries* (Public Affairs, 2013)

Shirin Rai, *Gender and the Political Economy of Development: From Nationalism to Globalization* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2002)

Himanshu, 'Employment Trends in India: A Re-examination', *Economic and Political Weekly* vol XLVI: 37, Sept 10 2011

Harriss-White, B. (2003). *India working: essays on society and economy*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Barbara Harriss-White and Judith Heyer eds, *The Comparative Political Economy of Development: Africa and South Asia* (Routledge, 2010), chapters 11-15

Gaurav Datt and Martin Ravallion, "Is India's Economic Growth Leaving the Poor Behind?", *Journal of Economic Perspectives—Volume 16, Number 3—Summer 2002—Pages 89 –108 - http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTPGI/Resources/13504_GD1.pdf*

Thorat, Sukhadeo and Katherine Newman (2007), "Caste and Economic Discrimination: Causes, Consequences and Remedies", *Economic and Political Weekly*, October 13th, p4121-24

Jodhka, Surinder (2010), "Dalits in Business: Self-Employed Scheduled Castes in North-West India", *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol 45: 11, March 13 (longer version available at: http://dalitstudies.org.in/wp/1002.pdf)

Stuart Corbridge (2010), "The Political Economy of Development in India since Independence" in Paul Brass eds, *Routledge Handbook of South Asian Politics* [e-book in library]

Himanshu (2007), "Recent Trends in Poverty and Inequality: Some Preliminary Results", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Feb 10th 2007

Breman, Jan, *Footloose Labour: Working in India's Informal Economy* (Cambridge University Press, 2003)

Week 8. Politics of Welfare: can the state redistribute?

This week we consider the role of the state in mitigating patterns of poverty and inequality. How has the Indian state attempted to intervene to promote the welfare of its citizens, and what have been the limitations in its ability to do so? We will take note of a significant shift in the politics of welfare at the national level in the mid-2000s with the introduction of a range of new rights-based social policies. But in order to fully consider how far government policies have had an impact on poverty and/or inequality, we must look again at variation across regions in India where the shape of 'welfare politics' – policies towards education, health, nutrition and hunger, and social protection - plays out very differently on the ground. We will look at the relationship between the state and different social classes; the role of clientelism in determining the effectiveness of anti-poverty programmes; and variation in the extent to which the poor are organised politically across states – either in political parties or as part of civil society organisations.

Harriss John, 'Politics and Redistribution in India' in Atul Kohli and Prerna Singh eds *Routledge Handbook of Indian Politics* (Routledge, 2013), pp211-221 [e-book]

Keefer, Philip and Stuti Khemani (2004), “Why do the Poor Receive Poor Services?” *Economic and Political Weekly* XXIX (9), 935-43.

Singh, Prerna (2015), 'Subnationalism and Social Development: A Comparative Analysis of Indian States' *World Politics 67 (3),* pp506-562

Tillin, Deshpande and Kailash eds *Politics of Welfare: Comparisons Across Indian States* (OUP 2015). Introduction – p1-39

Case Studies (students will be asked to prepare one case study each):

Witsoe, Jeffrey, ‘Bihar’, in Atul Kohli and Prerna Singh eds *Routledge Handbook of Indian Politics* (Routledge, 2013), p 298-307 [e-book]

Heller, Patrick, ‘Kerala in comparative perspective: Movements, politics and democracy’ in Atul Kohli and Prerna Singh eds *Routledge Handbook of Indian Politics* (Routledge, 2013), pp270-81 [e-book]

Tillin, Louise, Anupama Saxena and Yatindra Singh Sisodia (2013), ‘Comparing the Politics of Food in Chhattisgarh and Madhya Pradesh’, in Tillin, Deshpande and Kailash eds *Politics of Welfare: Comparisons Across Indian States* (OUP 2015)

Other Readings

Heller, Patrick, *The Labor of Development: Workers and the Transformation of Capitalism in Kerala, India* (Cornell University Press, 1999), chapter 1 – Introduction (available as pdf on Patrick Heller’s webpage - http://www.patrickheller.com/index.html)

Corbridge, Stuart, ‘Corruption in India’, in Atul Kohli and Prerna Singh eds *Routledge Handbook of Indian Politics* (Routledge, 2013), pp222-9

Besley, Timothy, Robin Burgess and Berta Esteve-Volart (2007), “The Policy Origins of Poverty and Growth in India”, p59-79 in Timothy Besley and Louise Cord eds, *Delivering on the Promise of Pro-Poor Growth: Insights and Lessons from Country Experiences* (World Bank and Palgrave Macmillan), http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTPGI/Resources/PPG_eBook.pdf

Ravillion, Martin and Gaurav Dutt, “Why has Economic Growth been more pro-poor in some States of India than others?”, *Journal of Development Economics*, vol 68: 2, p381-400

Pranab Bardhan, *The Political Economy of Development in India* (Oxford University Press, 1984)

Kapur, Devesh, Partha Mukhopadhyay and Arvind Subramanian (2008), “The Case for Direct Cash Transfers to the Poor”, *Economic and Political Weekly*, April 12th 2008

Chatterjee, Partha (2008) “Democracy and Economic Transformation in India”, *Economic and Political Weekly* April 19th, p53-62

Kohli, A. (1987). *The State and Poverty in India: The Politics of Reform*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press., chapter 1

Kanchan Chandra, *Why do Ethnic Parties Succeed? Patronage and Ethnic Head Counts in India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004)

Jeffery, R and Lerche, J, eds. (2003) *Social and Political Change in Uttar Pradesh.* Manohar (India).

Mehta, Pratap Bhanu, "The Politics of Social Justice" in *Business Standard India 2011*

Patnaik and Patnaik, "The State, Poverty and Development in India", in Niraja Gopal Jayal and Sudha Pai eds, *Democratic Governance in India: Challenges of Poverty, Development and Identity* (New Delhi: Sage, 2001)

Narayan, Lakshman (2011), *Patrons of the Poor: Caste Politics and Policy making in India* (New Delhi: OUP)

Frankel and Rao (1990), *Dominance and State Power in India* (OUP)

Week 9. State and Capital: regulating conflicts around land and natural resources

One of the most contested terrains in the recent phase of economic growth has been the regulation of use and access to land and natural resources. The Indian state – in its different guises – is simultaneously called upon to both facilitate and to regulate land acquisition for industrial development, and to mitigate the social and environmental consequences of natural resource exploitation. Land is at a high premium with booming real estate markets in Indian cities, and ever growing demands to convert agricultural land for commercial projects or for infrastructure development. This week, we look at the nature of contestation around land acquisition, the role of the state and non-state actors in areas rich in natural resources. We will also look at the role of the state in managing access to natural resources – coal and other minerals – which are often located in forested areas inhabited by *adivasis.* We will examine the relationship between natural resources and the Maoist insurgency in parts of central and eastern India.

Tutorial questions:

- How are conflicts around land and natural resources regulated by governments (state and federal) and the courts in India?
- What do regulatory processes tell us about state-capital relations in India?

Sud, Nikita (2014), 'Governing India's Land' *World Development* vol 60, p43-56

Levien, Michael. 2011. 'Special Economic Zones and Accumulation by Dispossession in India.' *Journal of Agrarian Change* 11 (4): p454-483.

Kennedy, Jonathan. 2015. 'The Socioeconomic Determinants of Natural Resource

Conflicts: Minerals and Maoist Insurgency in India' ***Society and Natural Resources*** **2: 149-64**

K. Sivaramakrishnan, 'Environment, Law and Democracy in India', ***Journal of Asian StudiesI 70:4*** **(November 2011), p905-928**

Other readings

Jenkins, Rob, Loraine Kennedy and Partha Mukhopadhyay (2014), *Power, Policy and Protest: The Politics of India's Special Economic Zones* (Delhi, Oxford University Press)

Bedi, Heather Plumridge. 2013. Special Economic Zones: National Land Challenges, Localized Protest.*Contemporary South Asia* 21 (1):38-51.

Sud, Nikita. 2009. 'The Indian State in a Liberalizing Landscape.' *Development and Change* 40 (4): 645-65.

Heather Bedi and Louise Tillin, 'Inter-state Competition, Land Conflicts and Resistance in India' *Oxford Development Studies* 43: 2

Banerjee-Guha, Swapna. "Space Relations of Capital and Significance of New Economic Enclaves: SEZs in India." *Economic and Political Weekly* (2008): 51-59.

Jenkins, Rob (2011) "The Politics of India's Special Economic Zones," in Stuart Corbridge, John Harriss, Sanjay Reddy, and Sanjay Ruparelia (eds), *India's New Political Economy: A Great Transformation?* (New York: Routledge, 2011). [Also see http://www.indiasezpolitics.org/index.php]

Nielsen, Kenneth Bo. "Land, Law and Resistance." *Economic and Political Weekly* XLVI, no. 41 (2011): 38-40.

Week 10. India decides: the 2019 *Lok Sabha* elections and India's changing political economy

India will hold its national elections to its national parliament or *Lok Sabha* in the Spring of 2019. These elections are important in that they will define the direction of economic policies for the next five years. While we saw the states remain largely responsible for policy implementation, the center plays an important role in defining key macro economic policies across India. The election of the BJP in 2014 generated expectations of policy reforms that would make India's economy less regulated and more pro-market. Five years on, the BJP's record is lacklustre. While the country has experienced relatively high growth, unemployment remains a daunting challenge for India's population, particularly in rural areas. And while demonetization pursued in the Fall of 2016 appears to have hurt local businesses, India's farmers remain under a lot of pressure. In this final class, we want to review and discuss some of the most salient issues of the political campaign. While the BJP appears to be the frontrunner, the Congress and some of its partners have in recent months won key victories in states which the BJP needs to carry in order to win a plurality or even a majority of votes at the *Lok Sabha.*

Tutorial questions:

- How prominent will economic issues be in this election?
- What economic cleavages do the different parties actually represent?

(The relevant readings will all be uploaded to Keats)

Jha, Prashant (2017), *How the BJP wins: inside India's greatest election machine,* New Delhi: Juggernaut. Specifically the Introduction, and Chapters 2, 4 and 7.

Kohli, Vineet and R. Ramakumar (2016), "Economic rationale of 'demonetization,' Scrutiny of the Government's claims," *Economic and Political Weekly,* Vol. 51: 53.

Nag, Ashok K. (2016), "Lost due to demonetization," *Economic and Political Weekly,* Vol. 51:48.

Nilsen, Alf Gulwald (2018), "How can we understand India's agrarian struggle beyond 'Modi Sarkar Murdabad'?," *Economic and Political Weekly,* Vol. 53:50.

Roy, Satyaki (2016), "Faltering Manufacturing Growth and Employment: is 'Making' the answer?," *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 51:13.

Other readings:

Abraham, Vinoj (2017), "Stagnant Employment Growth," *Economic and Political Weekly,* Vol. 52:38.

Teltumbde, Anand (2016), "Demonetization. Modi digs a ditch for the BJP," *Economic and Political Weekly,* Vol. 51:49.