

Index

- Acemoglu, Daron, 243, 245, 247, 258
Adivasis, 228
 affirmative action, 140, 229
 Afghanistan
 Cold War confrontation in, 71
 Durand Line and, 75
 East India Company and, 72
 Pakistan and, 4, 143, 168
 patchwork authority in, 253
 Punjab and, 73, 74
 Russian Empire and, 12, 79
 Russian-British competition in, 71, 93–94
 state failure in, 29
 Africa, 25, 36, 37, 259, 260
 agriculture
 collectivization of, 258
 crisis in, 221
 Great Depression and, 96
 military deployment and, 95
 Permanent Settlement and, 60
 productivity differences in, 77, 205, 209–211
 sovereignty-neutral violence and, 229–230
 taxation and, 10, 11, 81
 tea cultivation and, 73
 typology of governance and, 45
 Ahmedabad district, 214
 Ahom kingdom, 72
 Ahuja, Amit, 230
 Alaungpaya Dynasty, 72
 Aligarh Muslim University, protest violence
 at, 3
 All-India Muslim League (AIML),
 108–109, 113
 Ambedkar, BR, 114
 Anglo-Maratha Wars, 11, 63–65
 Anglo-Mysore Wars, 11
 Anglo-Sikh Wars, 11
 Armed Conflict Location and Event Database
 (ACLED), 4, 146–147, 150, 152, 198
 Army of India, 89, *see also* military
 mobilization and deployment
 Arunachal Pradesh, 72, 126
 Arya Samaj movement, 88
 Asia and Africa Collection of the British
 Library, 81
 Assad, Bashar al-, 138
 Assam
 annexation of, 72
 exceptional governance and, 75
 northeast frontier and, 72–73, 75
 sovereignty-contesting violence in, 33,
 139, 168
 Assam Rifles, 89
 assembly constituencies, 184–191
 Attlee, Clement, 109
 Aurangzeb (emperor), 56, 65
 Australia, 261
 authoritarianism
 Bengali nationalist movement and, 123–124
 colonial rule and, 240
 in Bangladesh, 197
 in Kashmir, 34, 197
 in Pakistan, 119, 123, 142, 143, 191,
 197, 201
 authority of the state. *see* state capacity
 Awadh, 61, 78, 246, *see also* Uttar Pradesh
 Awami League
 Ayub Khan regime and, 121
 BNP conflict with, 162, 166
 clientelism and, 176, 179

- consolidation of power under, 22, 168, 197
- electoral competition and, 124, 196
- electoral violence and, 198–199
- mass violence against, 124
- Ayub Khan regime
 - clientelism and, 179
 - Communist movement and, 257
 - demise of, 118, 124
 - development and, 121
 - industrialization and, 16, 224
 - national defense and, 113
 - political order and, 31, 32
- Babri Masjid, 137, 168
- Bahawalpur (princely state), 74, 122
- Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP), 175
- Baloch Liberation Army (BLA), 160
- Baloch Liberation Tigers, 4, 160
- Baloch Raji Ajoī Sangar, 160
- Baloch tribal rebellions, 111
- Balochi communities, 224
- Balochistan
 - Congress membership in, 99
 - electoral competition in, 194, 201, 202
 - exceptional governance and, 75, 120–121, 154
 - insurgent violence in, 4, 138, 142, 154, 160
 - military deployment in, 24
 - Pakistani state and integration of, 269
 - police deployment in, 89
 - sectarian violence in, 142
 - state-society relations in, 40
- Balochistan Awami Party (BAP), 160
- Banderban district, 197
- Banerjee, Abhijit, 44, 45, 205, 243, 244, 245, 248
- Bangalore, 9, 214
- Bangladesh
 - as exception to patchwork framework, 7, 105, 123–125, 167, 194–196, 250
 - clientelism in, 176, 179
 - development in, 222–227, 231
 - electoral competition in, 107, 172–173, 196–197, 198–199
 - immigration and, 117
 - in comparative perspective, 24–25, 251–253
 - independence of, 26, 138, 162
 - institutional frameworks for, 34–35
 - Kashmir conflict and, 111
 - landscape of violence in, 143–144, 164–166
 - map by governance category, 49
 - postcolonial politics in, 16
 - state's meaning in, 24–25, 167
 - violence by governance category in, 162–164
- Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP), 124, 166, 176, 196
- Baroda, 10, 68
- Basic Democracy system (Ayub Khan regime), 31, 179
- Battle of Buxar (1764), 57
- Battle of Plassey (1757), 57
- Bengal and Bengal Presidency. *see also* West Bengal, East Bengal
- Bengal Army, 62, 78, 79
- Bengal Presidency, 72
 - agricultural productivity in, 82
 - as seat of colonial power, 57
 - Assam and, 72
 - Bangladesh's historical roots in, 123
 - colonial legacy and, 248
 - Congress membership and, 99
 - Curzon's partition of (1905), 88
 - East India Company and governance of, 10, 57–61, 62–63
 - military recruitment from, 91
 - Pakistani state and, 119
 - Partition of (1947), 109–110, 123
- Bengali Renaissance, 70
- Berar, 67, 267
- Bhadralok* elites, 123
- bhaicharya*. *see mahalwari* (village-based) land tenure
- Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), 3, 168, 175, 199
- Bhutto, Benazir, 121, 169, 176
- Bhutto, Zulfikar Ali, 225
- big data approaches, 29
- Bihar
 - agricultural productivity in, 82
 - caste-based mobilization in, 116
 - Congress and, 99, 115
 - electoral violence in, 199–201
 - Maoist cadres in, 4
 - opium cultivation in, 58
 - Permanent Settlement and, 60, 62
- Birla Group, 214
- BLA. *see* Baloch Liberation Army (BLA)
- Block Development System, 113
- BNP. *see* Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP)
- Bolsheviks and Bolshevik Revolution, 88, 96
- Bombay (city)
 - colonial state-building and, 9, 55, 63, 69
 - Congress membership and, 99
 - indigenous civil society in, 71
 - private investment and, 214

- Bombay Presidency
 colonial state-building and, 9, 55, 63, 69
 Dalit mobilization in, 114
 Rebellion of 1857–8 and, 78
ryotwari tenure in, 65
 Sindh annexation and, 74
- Bombay Stock Exchange (BSE or Sensex), 214
- Boone, Catherine, 37
- Brahmanbaria district, 166
- Britain. *see also* state-building (colonial)
 Carnatic Wars and, 56
 East India Company and, 13, 57
 independence of Nepal and, 61
 Indian debts to, 10
 Qing expansionism and, 73
 Russian Empire and, 71
 tea imports and, 58
 trade competition and, 9
 World War II and, 96, 97
- British Army, 89, 91
- British colonizers. *see also* state-building (colonial)
 autonomy from British government, 43
 extractivism and, 245
 governance differentiation of, 7–9
 motivations of, 7–14
 provincial reporting of, 44, 81
 security apparatuses of, 12–13
- BSP. *see* Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP)
- Burke, Edmund, 59, 262
- Burma Campaign (World War II), 97
- Burmese Kingdom, 72
- CAA (Citizenship Amendment Act), 152
- Calcutta, 9, 40, 55, 58–61, 69, 70, 214
- Cambodia, 256
- Canada, 5, 258, 261
- Carnatic Wars, 57, 63
- caste. *see also* Dalits
 contemporary development outcomes and, 205
 electoral competition and, 174, 175
 political mobilization through, 116
 riot-based violence and, 4
ryotwari land tenure and, 66
 sovereignty-neutral violence and, 137
- causal inference
 colonial legacies and, 38, 241–248, 258
 research methodology and, 26, 235, 236–237, 239–240
- census data, 126, 209, 211, 220, 268
- Central Provinces, 67, 267
- centrifugal vs. centripetal actors, 226
- Chachar communities, 161
- chamuadari* land tenure, 72
- Chandra, Kanchan, 175, 202
- Chatterjee, Partha, 40, 86
- Chattopadhyay, Bankim Chandra, 70
- Chennai district, 214
- Chhattisgarh, 4, 68, 153, 160
- Chhibber, Pradeep, 179, 182, 192, 271
- chieftaincy governance
 Congress membership and, 99
 income tax and, 86
 modernization and, 100
 police deployment and, 89, 101
 princely states and, 63, 68
 revenue extraction and, 82, 101
 typology of governance and, 45, 46–49, 80, 125, 268
- China
 collectivization of agriculture in, 258
 European indirect rule in, 255
 frontiers against, 61
 Indian border conflict with, 72, 73, 117
 Myanmar and, 253
 revolution in, 105
 tea imports from, 58
 World War II and, 97
- China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), 121, 229
- Chinese Communist Party, 255
- Chirol, Valentine, 88
- Chitral (princely state), 120, 126, 194
- Chittagong, 5, 163, 166, 197
- Chittagong Hill Tracts, 18, 143, 163, 197
- Christians and Christianity, 79, 140
- cities. *see* metropolises and urban centers
- Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA), 3–4, 152
- clientelism
 American Empire and, 264
 credibility of candidates and, 181, 182–183
 defined, 174
 electoral violence and, 198–199
 explanatory limitations of, 176–177
 in Bangladesh, 196
 in Indian democracy, 174–175, 202
 Permanent Settlement and, 61
 state capture and, 187, 192
- Clive, Robert, 10, 57, 58
- Cochin, 63, 115
- Cold War, 71, 254, 256
- Collier, David, 238
- Collier, Ruth, 238

Index

295

- colonial governance. *see also* typology of governance, patchwork state, East India Company (EIC), state-building (colonial)
 interwar pressures on, 96–97
 legal and economic institutions of, 83–86
 military organization and capacity of, 89–95
 nationalist movement and, 97–99
 police and political order of, 86–89
 practices and differentiation of, 80–81, 260–262
 Rebellion of 1857–8 and, 78–80
 revenue extraction and, 81
- colonial legacies, 26, 239
 causal inference and, 241–248
 clientelism and, 176–177, 194
 development outcomes and, 205, 231
 district-level analysis and, 23
 in comparative perspective, 252, 254, 257
 market institutions and, 208
 path-dependent characterization of, 206
 patterns of violence and, 170
 private investments and, 214
 rents and, 212
 research approaches to, 25, 129, 235, 240–241
 security state and, 111–112
 state capacity and, 18–19, 38
 state-society relations and, 19, 21
 typology of governance and, 28, 41, 105
- commodification. *see* markets and commodification
- Commonwealth War Graves Commission, 92
- communism, 96, 254, 256–257
- Communist Party of India, 97, 112, 115, 257
- Communist Party of India-Marxist (CPI-M), 21, 33, 116, 183, 199, 248
- confounding, 242, 245
- Congo, 258
- Congress Party. *see* Indian National Congress (INC)
- conservative governance
 agricultural productivity and, 211
 Congress membership and, 99
 economic growth and, 216–219, 226
 hinterlands and, 21
 human development indicators and, 220–222
 Indian elections and, 183–188, 201
 Pakistani elections and, 192–194
 patterns of violence
 in Bangladesh, 163–164
 in India, 147–150
 in Pakistan, 122, 154–160, 161
 police deployment and, 89, 101
 private investment and, 214
 rents and, 213–214, 216
 stamp tax and, 85, 101
 typology of governance and, 46–49, 105, 125, 145, 268–269
- Constituent Assembly, 113, 118, 119
- constitution. *see* Indian Constitution
- constitutional settlement and Partition, 106, 109, 113, 139
- contracts. *see* property rights and contracts
- Cornwallis, Charles, 59, 259
- corruption
 Awadh's annexation and, 61
 clientelism and, 175
 in Bengal's governance, 59
 state-society relations and, 19
- courts and judiciary institutions. *see* law and legal codes
- CPI-M. *see* Communist Party of India-Marxist (CPI-M)
- Cripps, Stafford, 109
- critical junctures, 15, 41, 79, 236, 238, 241, 248
- cultivator-based land tenure. *see* *ryotwari* (cultivator-based) land tenure
- Curzon, George, 88, 135
- Daesh. *see* Islamic State (ISIS)
- Dalits
 electoral competition and, 175
ryotwari land tenure and, 66, 114
 urban migration of, 100
 violence against, 116, 137, 140, 229–230
- Deccan plateau, 64, 65
- decolonization, 247, *see* state-building (post-colonial), colonial legacies
- de-commodification, 207
- Defence of India Act (1915), 88
- Delhi
 anti-Sikh pogrom in (1982), 140
 electoral competition in, 187, 190
 Hindu-Muslim violence in (2020), 152
 Maratha capture of, 64
 rents and investment in, 214
 terrorism in, 137, 157
- democracy
 clientelism in India's, 173–176, 178–179
 Duverger's Law and, 181
 in South Asian countries, 171–172
 through governance transformations, 117

- democracy (cont.)
 violence in India and, 139–140, 141
 violence in Pakistan and, 143, 191
- Dera Bugti district, 4, 160, 228
- development, 22
 applying governance categories to, 129
 clientelism and, 175, 181
 economic growth and, 216–219, 241
 Government of India Acts and, 97
 human indicators of, 219–227
 in comparative perspective, 16, 222–227
 income tax and, 85
 institutional mechanisms of, 33,
 206–214, 220
 liberal narratives of, 70
 nationalism and, 15
 postcolonial state-building and, 112,
 113
 research methodology on, 24, 242
 sovereignty-contesting violence and,
 228–229
 sovereignty-neutral violence and, 229–231
 subnational variation in, 24, 204
- developmental state, 32
- Dhaka, 18, 144, 162, 163, 164–166, 197
- Diem, Ngo Dinh, 256
- Dir (princely state), 120, 126, 194
- direct and indirect rule
 cross-national perspectives on, 42
 defined, 42
 disease burdens and, 243
 formal-legal distinctions in, 43–44
 guiding mandates of, 79, 260–262
 in Bengal's governance, 58–61
 in frontiers, 75–76
 in North India, 61–63
 institutional origins in, 41
 legacies of resistance and, 65, 244
 typology of governance and, 25, 28,
 41–49
- district-level analysis
 colonial legacies and, 244
 development outcomes and, 205, 216, 219
 elements of, 77–78
 patterns of violence and, 147
 police deployment and, 89
 research design and, 23–24, 126
- Doctrine of Lapse, 244, 246
- Dogra, military recruitment of, 92
- Durand Line, 75, 93, 120
- Durrani Empire, 72, 73, 75
- Duverger's Law, 172, 180–181
- East Asia, *see also specific states*
 development in, 32, 242
 governance differentiation in, 254–257
 state-building in, 25, 36, 255
- East Bengal, 119, 123, 224
- East India Company (EIC). *see also state-*
building (colonial)
 Awadh's governance and, 61
 Bengal's governance and, 10, 57–61, 62–63
 colonial state-building and, 53
 direct and indirect rule under, 43
 dissolution of, 79
 frugality mandates of, 13–14, 63, 68, 260
 greed as principle of, 9
 Mughal Empire and, 55–57, 59
 Straits Settlements and, 255
 territorial conquest and, 10, 13, 25, 50, 54,
 57, 58, 62, 65, 68, 72, 73, 245
- economic growth. *see* development, markets
 and commodification
- effective number of parties (ENP)
 calculation of, 183
 electoral competition measured by, 22
 in Bangladeshi elections, 196–197
 in Indian elections, 183–191, 196
 in Pakistani elections, 191–194, 196
 regional variation in, 180
- Eighteenth Amendment (Pakistan, 2010), 191
- electoral competition, 21–22, 26
 applying governance categories to, 129
 constitutional reform and, 106–107
 development outcomes and, 219
 Hindu-Muslim violence and, 140
 in Bangladesh, 22, 144
 in Pakistan, 122, 142, 143, 225
 pathwork framework for, 171–173
 patterns of violence and, 171
 rents and, 212
 research design for, 23
 sovereignty-contesting violence and,
 201–202
 sovereignty-neutral violence and, 20,
 140–141, 145, 198–201
- employment as development indicator,
 220–222
- Enclosure Movement (Britain), 207, 257
- England. *see* Britain
- ENP. *see* effective number of parties (ENP)
- Ershad, Hussein Muammed, 124, 176
- ethnicity
 civil conflict and, 29
 electoral competition and, 181, 184

Index

297

- patronage politics and, 175
 sovereignty-contesting violence and, 139, 152–153
 sovereignty-neutral violence and, 20, 137, 145, 168
 state-society relations in, 19
- Europe
 colonialism and, 53
 state-building in, 35–36
 violence and political order in, 135
- exceptional governance
 administrative reporting on, 81
 Balochistan and, 120–121, 269
 Bangladeshi elections and, 197
 capitalist development and, 228–229
 clientelism and, 178, 179, 182
 colonial security apparatus and, 12
 Congress membership and, 99
 economic growth and, 216–219, 226
 human development indicators and, 220–222, 224
 Indian elections and, 183–188
 of borders and frontiers, 71–76, 88
 Pakistani elections and, 192–194
 patterns of violence
 in Bangladesh, 163–164, 166
 in India, 147–150, 153
 in Pakistan, 154–160
 physical geography and, 126
 police deployment and, 89, 101
 postcolonial persistence of, 16, 105
 private investment and, 214
 rents and, 213–214
 security state and, 169
 sovereignty-contesting violence and, 20
 taxation and, 46, 86
 typology of governance and, 46–49, 105, 125, 145, 268, 269
- extraction
 American expansionism and, 263, 264
 as colonial purpose, 8, 11, 41, 53, 54, 58
 Bengal's governance and, 57, 61
 colonial legacies and, 240, 258–259
 colonial security apparatus and, 13, 14, 54–55, 62
 dependency theory on, 36
 land tenure and, 44–45
 postcolonial states and, 118, 120
 settler colonization and, 245, 246
 sovereignty-contesting violence and, 145, 160
 spatial politics and, 14
 state capacity and, 39
 taxation and, 10–11
 extractivism. *see* greed
- famines
 Bangladesh (1974), 227
 Bengal (1770), 59
 eastern India (1943), 97, 112
 FATA. *see* Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA)
- fear
 American continental expansion and, 262
 American imperialism and, 263
 colonial state-building and, 53, 55, 58–61, 63–65, 76, 261, 262
 frontiers and pervasiveness of, 71–76, 86
 frugality mandates and, 14
 governance arrangements from, 14, 25, 80
 market institutions and, 208
ryotwari (cultivator-based) land tenure and, 66
- Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA)
 clientelism in, 182
 electoral competition in, 191, 194
 police deployment and, 89
 security state and, 120
 sovereignty-contesting violence in, 154, 160
 state capacity in, 18
 Taliban in, 160
- First Anglo-Burmese War, 72
 First World War. *see* World War I
 Fourteen Points, 96
- France
 Carnatic Wars and, 56–57
 competition in North America and, 261
 trade competition and, 9, 56
 Viet Minh defeat of, 256
- Francis, Philip, 59
- frontiers and borders
 African state-building and, 36
 American expansionism and, 262
 colonial state-building and, 12, 58–61, 117
 exceptional governance of, 71–76, 80
 Indian Army expeditions in, 91
 indirect rule and, 44, 45
 military deployment in, 93–94
 of Assam, 72–73
 of Punjab, 73–75
 Pakistani state and, 24, 120
 partition of Bengal and, 123
 police deployment and, 89

- frontiers and borders (cont.)
 Russia and, 79
 state-society relations in, 117
- frugality
 American imperialism and, 263, 264
 colonial state-building and, 13–14, 41, 53, 54, 55, 69, 76
 frontier governance and, 71, 72, 75, 76, 87
 governance arrangements from, 14, 25, 80, 260, 262
 market institutions and, 208
 state employees and, 86
- Gadchiroli district, 153
 Gaekwad dynasty, 68
 Gandhi, Aditi, 213
 Gandhi, Indira, 32
 Gandhi, Mohandas, 96, 108, 119
 Germany and German Empire, 86, 88, 96
 Global War on Terror, 29, 72, 142
 Gokhale, Gopal Krishna, 107
 Government of India Act (1858), 79
 Government of India Act (1919), 97
 Government of India Act (1935), 97, 113, 119
- Great Britain. *see* Britain
 Great Depression, 96
 Great Game, 71, 88, 93
 greed. *see also* extraction
 American continental expansion and, 262
 American imperialism and, 263
 colonial state-building and, 53, 55, 57–58, 76, 261, 262
 frugality mandates and, 14
 governance arrangements from, 14, 25, 80
 taxation and, 8, 10
 through trade, 8–10
- Green Revolution, 116, 122, 209, 229–230
 Guatemala, 264
 Guha, Ranajit, 59
 Gujarat, 68, 140, 168
 Gurkha communities, 91, 92
 Gwadar port construction, 121
- Haider Ali (Nawab of Mysore), 63, 65
 Haryana, 140, 152
 Hastings, Warren, 59, 60
 Herring, Ronald, 40
 Hindu-Muslim violence
 as sovereignty-neutral violence, 133, 167
 Citizenship Amendment Act and, 152
- in northeastern Delhi (2019), 3–4
 Mumbai terror attack (1993) and, 137
 prevalence of, 140
 private investment and, 214
 strategic use of, 140, 229
- Hindus and Hinduism
 Bangladesh and, 123
 Congress membership and, 99, 108
 Partition and, 109–110
 patronage organization of, 175
 Two-Nation theory and, 109
- hinterlands
 East India Company's conquest in, 11
 infrastructure development and, 10
 legal and economic institutions in, 83
 normal politics vs., 29
 Pakistani state and, 16
 Permanent Settlement and, 60
 police deployment in, 89
 sovereignty-challenging violence in, 136
 state-society relations in, 19, 21, 40, 80
- Hirschman-Hirfandahl Index, 183
 Home Rule movement, 107–108
 honor killings, 141
 Hossain, Naomi, 227
 Hukbalahap guerrillas (Philippines), 256
 Human Development Index (HDI), 224
 Huntington, Samuel, 31–33
 Hyderabad (princely state)
 Carnatic Wars and, 56, 63
 Central Provinces and Berar and, 67
 colonial security apparatus in, 89
 development in, 214
 East India Company and, 63, 67
 insurgent violence in, 100
 military deployment in, 69, 95
 Mysore's military conflict with, 63
 state capacity in, 9
 taxation and, 10
 Telangana peasant revolt in, 111, 117
- Ibrahim, Dawood, 137
 ideologies of violent actors, 30
 Imperial Gazetteer of India, 46, 81, 82, 94, 266, 267
- imperialism
 comparative framework for, 251, 259
 greed, fear, and frugality in, 8
inam grants. *see zamindari* (landlord-based)
 land tenure
 INC. *see* Indian National Congress (INC)
 income tax, 85–86, 100

Index

299

- Independence and Partition, 26
 frontier governance and, 71
 patchwork revision following, 15–17
- India
 army bases in, 69
 as market for British goods, 9
 China border conflict with, 72, 73, 117
 Congress hegemony and politics of, 114–115
 Durand Line and, 75
 East India Company's debt to, 58
 electoral competition in, 106, 172,
 183–191, 196
 Great Depression and, 96
 in comparative perspective, 24–25, 222–227,
 251–253
 independence of, 78, 104, 106, 255
 institutional frameworks for, 34–35
 integration of princely states in, 110–111
 landscape of violence in, 138–141, 150–153
 liberation of Bangladesh and, 124
 map by governance category, 49
 Partition and, 109–112
 politics of conflict and competition in,
 115–117
 security approaches of, 117–118
 violence by governance category in, 147–150
 World War I and, 92–93, 100, 108
 World War II and, 96, 112–113
- India Office Records (IOR), 81
- Indian Administrative Service, 113
- Indian Army, 11, 12, 89–95
- Indian Constitution, 3, 117, 139
- Indian Councils Act (1909), 88
- Indian National Army (INA), 112, 255
- Indian National Congress (INC)
 as party system, 174
 clientelism and, 178–179
 Communist competition with, 112, 114, 257
 constitutional settlement and, 109
 decline of, 32, 33, 115–116, 141, 168,
 174, 179
 development and, 204
 election of 2009 and, 187
 expanding self-government and, 97–98
 fragmentation within, 98
 geographical constituency of, 98–99, 107
 Home Rule movement and, 107–108
 Huntington on, 31
 institutional frameworks for, 34
 language riots and, 138
 nationalist movement and, 88
 politics under hegemony of, 114–115, 174
 postcolonial state-building and, 15, 113
 principles of, 96, 107, 109
 World War II opposition of, 96
- Indian Stamp Act (1899), 84
- indigenous peoples. *see also* *Adivasis*
 colonial conquest and, 63–65
 colonial state-building and, 54, 67–69, 79
 market institutionalization and, 83
 settler colonization vs. imperial rule of, 42,
 236, 261
 taxation of, 58
 trade and, 9, 11–12
- indigo, 58
- Indore, 69, 95
- industrialization. *see also* *development*
 Ayub Khan regime and, 224
 Congress and, 16
 India's 1960s campaign in, 204, 205
 Pakistani state's program of, 121
 typology of governance and, 125
 violence and, 227
 wartime mobilization and, 100
- infant mortality, 220
- infrastructure
 as human development indicator, 219
 geographraphic investment in, 10
 in frontiers and borders, 73
 political competition for, 203
 postcolonial state-building and, 112
 rents and, 213
- institutions
 agricultural policy and, 229
 as mechanisms of development,
 206–214, 228
 clientelism and, 182
 contemporary development outcomes and,
 205–206, 241–242, 258–260
 critical junctures of, 238–240
 direct vs. indirect rule and, 43
 historical legacies and, 238–241
 in postcolonial state-building, 16
 legal and economic, 83–86
 path dependence and, 43–44, 101,
 236–237
 persistence of, 78, 250
 political order and, 30–35
 Rebellion of 1857–8 and, 80
 research approaches to, 33–35, 235–236,
 243–244, 245, 246–248
 settler colonialism and, 258–260
 spatial politics and, 65
 state capacity and, 37–40

- institutions (cont.)
 state-society relations and, 37–40
 terminology of, 31
 insurgencies. *see* sovereignty-contesting violence
 intermediate governance
 Congress membership and, 99
 military deployment in, 94–95
 police deployment and, 89, 101
 revenue extraction and, 82, 101
 stamp tax and, 85, 101
 typology of governance and, 46–49, 125–126, 267–268
 World War I casualties and, 92
 international aid, 227
 interpenetration. *see* state-society relations
 Iqbal, Muhammad, 109
 Iraq, 29
 Ireland, 261
 Ireland and Home Rule, 108
 Islamabad, 137
 Islamic State (ISIS), 160, 162, 166
 Iyer, Lakshmi, 44, 45, 46, 205, 243, 244, 245, 246, 248

 Jackson, Andrew, 262
 jagirdari tenure, 267
 jagirdars. *see* zamindari (landlord-based) land tenure
 Jaish-e-Muhammed insurgent group, 153
 Jamaat Ulema-e-Islam (JUI), 161
 Jamaat ul-Mujahiddin Bangladesh (JMB), 166
 Jamaat-e-Islami (JI), 162
 Jammu and Kashmir
 dispute over integration of, 110–111
 electoral competition in, 184, 187, 202
 insurgent violence in, 4
 land tenure in, 45
 military recruitment from, 91–92
 Pakistani influence in, 120
 Japan, 32, 112, 253, 254, 255, 257
 Jat communities, 62, 91, 92, 115, 140
 Jatiya Sangsad, 197
 Jawaharlal Nehru University, protest violence at, 3
 Jensenius, Francesca, 126
 Jharkhand, 4, 18, 57, 68
 Jinnah, Muhammad Ali, 107–109, 113
 Johnson, Simon, 243, 245, 258
 jotedars (village leaders), 61, 123, *see also* mahalwari (village-based) land tenure
 judiciary institutions and courts. *see* law and legal codes
 JUI (Jamaat Ulema-e-Islam), 161
 jute, 58, 124

 Kalat (princely state), 110, 120, 160, 269
 Kapur, Devesh, 209, 271
 Karachi
 clientelism in, 183
 Communist movement in, 257
 development in, 121
 electoral competition in, 202
 insurgent violence in, 142, 154, 155
 mohajir community in, 122, 157
 sectarian violence in, 142, 155, 157
 state-society relations in, 18, 169
 Karnataka, 68
 Kashmir
 Anglo-Sikh Wars and, 74
 authoritarianism in, 34, 201
 India-Pakistan conflict over, 117, 138
 indirect rule and, 44
 Jaish-e-Muhammed attack in (2019), 153
 Partition and, 110, 134
 police deployment and, 89
 sovereignty-contesting violence in, 33, 139, 168
 state-society relations in, 40, 118
 Kashmir district, 161
 Keezhvenmani Massacre (1968), 116, 230
 Kerala, 34, 115
 Khagrachhari district, 197
 Khalistan insurgency, 168
 Khan, Abdul Ghaffar, 119
 Khan, Imran, 168, 191, 226
 Khan, Liaqat Ali, 113, 119
 Khan, Mirzali, 91
 Khanate of Kalat, 75
 kbap panchayats, 141
 khilafat religious movement, 108
 Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, 120, 161, 182, 194, 224, 226
 Khyber Rifles, 89
 Kingdom of Afghanistan, 75
 Kishoreganj district, 166
 Kitchener, Horatio Herbert, 93
 Kohli, Atul, 33
 Kolkata, 157, 214
 Korean War, 256
 Kothari, Rajni, 174
 Kuomintang, 255–256

Index

301

- Ladakh, 140
 Lahore, 137, 161
 Lal Shahbaz Qalandar shrine bombing (2017), 160
 land tenure, *see also specific tenure arrangements*
 causal inference from, 243–244
 colonial administration of, 44–45
 colonial conquest and, 45, 62, 72
 contemporary development outcomes and, 205
 partition of Bengal and, 123
 patterns of violence and, 37
 Permanent Settlement and, 59–60
 postcolonial administration of, 114
 rents and, 212
 state-society relations and, 80
 taxation and, 11, 82–83, 101
 typology of governance and, 25, 28, 44–49, 267
 landlord-based land tenure. *see zamindari* (landlord-based) land tenure
 Las Bela (princely state), 120, 269
 Latin America, 25, 36, 259, 263–265
 law and legal codes
 Bengal's governance and, 58
 clientelism and, 177
 colonial governance and, 83–86
 direct rule and, 43
 fear and, 12
 indirect rule and, 43
 metropolitan governance and, 70
 Lawrence, Henry, 74, 75
 Lawrence, John, 74
 legacies. *see* colonial legacies
 legislative cartels, 182
 liberalism and liberal reform
 American tradition of, 262, 264
 Congress and, 107, 108
 metropolitan governance and, 55, 70–71
 political order and, 30
 private investment and, 214
 Punjab's governance and, 74
 Rebellion of 1857–8 and, 79–80
 rent creation and, 212
 ryotwari land tenure and, 66
 spatial distribution of growth and, 216
 zamindari land tenure and, 115
 literacy rates, 220, 224
 Lok Sabh (parliamentary constituencies), 184–191
 Lucknow Pact (1916), 107
 luminosity, nighttime, 216–219
 MacMahon Line, 75
 Madhya Pradesh, 68, 115
 Madras (city)
 colonial state-building and, 9, 55, 63, 69–71
 Congress membership and, 99
 French capture of, 56
 Poligar Wars and, 66
 private investment and, 214
 Theosophical Society founded in, 71
 Madras Presidency
 colonial state-building and, 9, 55, 63, 69–71
 Dalit mobilization in, 114
 military recruitment from, 91–92
 Rebellion of 1857–8, 78
 ryotwari land tenure and, 65, 66
 mahalwari (village-based) land tenure
 diversity within, 74
 in northwestern India, 62, 74
 modernization and, 125
 typology of governance and, 44–48, 267
 Maharashtra
 clientelism in, 182
 development outcomes in, 216
 Maoist cadres in, 4, 153
 Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (MGNREGS), 220
 Maine, Henry, 79
 Malaya, 254–255, 260
 Malayali nationalist mobilization, 114
 Malaysia, 256
 malguzari. *see mahalwari* (village-based) land tenure
 malguzari tenures, 267
 Mamdani, Mahmood, 86
 mandi system, 116
 manifest destiny, 262
 Manipur (princely state), 72
 Mann, Michael, 39
 Maoist groups
 capitalist development and, 228
 Naxalbari uprising (1971) and, 116
 Nepal and insurgency of, 253
 sovereignty-contesting violence and, 4, 139, 153, 168, 199
 Maratha
 Anglo-Maratha Wars and, 11, 63–65, 68, 72
 Central Provinces and Berar and, 67
 Mughal Empire and, 62
 naval power of, 55

- Maratha (cont.)
ryotwari land tenure and, 65
 Sikh Empire and, 74
- Marcos, Ferdinand, 257
- markets and commodification. *see also* trade
 development in patchwork states through,
 207–211
 East India Company and, 56
 legal and economic institutions and, 83, 85
 of land, 60
 taxation and, 96
 varied integration of districts to, 78
- martial communities, 62, 73, 74, 91
- Marxism, 39
- Meghalaya, 72
- Mehta, Ferozeshah, 107
- methodology
 applying postcolonial governance categories
 to contemporary outcomes, 126–129
 causal inference in, 241–248
 data and, 29, 84, 146–147
 on colonial legacies, 144, 235–237
 subnational analysis and, 251, 254
- metropolises and urban centers
 clientelism in, 172, 179
 colonial state-building and, 8, 36, 55
 distribution of resources to, 24
 greed and, 69–71
 in Bangladesh, 123
 liberal universalism in, 80
 migration to, 100, 114
 Pakistani state and violence in, 122
 state-society relations in, 40, 55
 typology of governance and, 45
- metropolitan governance
 Bangladeshi elections and, 197
 Congress membership and, 99
 economic growth and, 216–219, 226
 human development indicators and, 220–222
 income tax and, 86
 Indian elections and, 183–188, 201
 Pakistani elections and, 192–194
 patterns of violence
 in Bangladesh, 163–164
 in India, 147–150, 152
 in Pakistan, 154–160
 police in, 89
 private investment and, 214
 rents and, 213–214
 revenue extraction and, 83
 sovereignty-neutral violence and, 214
 stamp tax and, 84, 101
 terrorism and, 20
 typology of governance and, 46–49, 105,
 126, 145, 267, 268
- Migdal, Joel, 39
- military mobilization and deployment
 colonial governance and, 89–95
 colonial state-building and, 11, 13, 55, 57, 64
 electoral competition and, 176
 frontier governance and, 76, 117
 in Awadh, 61
 in India's northwest, 12
 in Pakistan, 24, 119–120, 142, 191
 in Punjab, 74
 patchwork variation in, 77
 princely states and, 43
 Rebellion of 1857–8 and, 78–79
 United States and, 263
 World War II and, 96–97
- mining and mineral extraction, 160, 213,
 228, 261
- Mir Jafar (Nawab of Bengal), 59
- Miranshah district, 161
- missionary activity, 205, 220
- Mizoram, 72
- modernization
 Cold War and, 28
 decolonization and, 108
 distribution of state resources and, 115
 in Bangladesh, 25
 in developing countries, 251–252
 in princely states, 67–68, 80
 liberalism and, 70
 native authorities vs., 42
 theory of, 31
 urban migration and, 114
 wartime mobilization and, 100
 zamindars and resistance to, 61
- modernizing governance
 agriculture and, 211, 229
 Bangladeshi elections and, 197
 colonial state-building and, 63
 Congress membership and, 99
 economic growth and, 216–219
 human development indicators and, 220–222
 in Pakistan, 122
 Indian elections and, 183–188, 201
 Pakistani elections and, 192–194
 patterns of violence
 in Bangladesh, 163–164, 166
 in India, 147–150, 153, 168
 in Pakistan, 154–160, 161
 police deployment and, 89, 101

Index

303

- private investment and, 214
 rents and, 213–214
 revenue extraction and, 82, 101
 sovereignty-neutral violence and, 230–231
 typology of governance and, 46–49, 105, 125, 145, 267, 268
- Modi, Narendra, 3, 168, 174, 175, 187–190
- mohajir* community, 122
- Morley-Minto Reforms, 88
- Mughal Empire
 clientelism in, 177
 East India Company and, 55–57
 fragmentation of, 58, 65
 hinterlands of Delhi and, 62
 Maratha confederacy and, 64
 Permanent Settlement and, 59–60, 63
 Rebellion of 1857–8 and, 78, 79
 successor states to, 63–64
 trade competition and, 9
- Multan district, 161
- Mumbai, 18, 137, 214
- Munro, Thomas, 65
- Musharraf, Pervaiz, 176
- Muslim League, 96
- Muslims and Islam. *see also* Hindu-Muslim violence
 Bangladesh and, 16–17, 123, 124–125, 162
 Buddhist violence against, 140
 Jammu and Kashmir and, 111
 military recruitment of, 74, 91–92, 95
 Morley-Minto Reforms and, 88
 Partition and, 106, 109, 123
 Two-Nation theory and, 109
- Muttahida Quami Movement (MQM), 183, 202
- Myanmar, 72, 253–254
- Mysore
 Anglo-Mysore Wars and, 11, 63–65
 British governance of, 67
 conquest of, 72
 land tenure in, 45
 military deployment in, 69, 95
 modernization in, 100
 state-building in, 69
 taxation and, 10
- Nagaland rebellion, 34, 72, 138, 141, 168
- Nagapattinam district, 230
- Naoraji, Dadabhai, 107
- Naseemullah, Adnan, 182, 192
- National Assembly (Pakistan), 191, 192–194
- nationalist movements
 Bangladesh and, 123–124, 138, 162
 colonial responses to, 88–89
 electoral institutions dividing, 107
 in Kashmir, 111
 market institutions and, 208
 postcolonial state-building and, 15
 self-government and, 97–99
- Native Americans, 262, 263
- native states. *see* princely states
- natural experiments, 235, 242–243, 244, 245–246, 248, 249
- Naxalbari uprising (West Bengal), 248
- Naxalite violence, 123, *see also* Maoist groups
- Nehru, Jawaharlal, 15, 34, 113, 114
- Nepal, 61, 91, 92, 253
- New Zealand, 261
- Nicaragua, 264
- Noakhali district, 198
- North Waziristan, 161
- North West Frontier Province
 exceptional governance and, 75
 incorporation of, 75
 land tenure in, 267
 military deployment in, 94, 119
 military recruitment from, 92
 Partition and, 111
- nuclear armaments, 142
- Olson, Mancur, 8, 83
- opium trade, 58, 82
- Orissa, 57, 62, 99, 115, 140
- Oriya states, 68
- Pakistan
 authoritarianism in, 113, 119, 123, 142, 143, 191, 197, 201
 Bangladesh liberation struggle and, 143
 clientelism in, 175–176, 179–180
 Cold War confrontation in, 71
 electoral competition in, 106, 172, 191–194, 196, 199
 in comparative perspective, 16, 24–25, 222–227, 231, 251–253
 independence of, 104, 106
 institutional frameworks for, 34–35
 integration of princely states in, 110
 landscape of violence in, 4, 141–143, 160–162
 map by governance category, 49
 military deployment and, 91, 95
 Partition and, 78, 109–112
 politics of conflict and competition in, 121

- Pakistan (cont.)
 provincial makeup of, 192
 revision of patchwork state in, 118–119
 sectarian violence in, 142
 security approaches of, 118, 119–121, 133, 169
 Taliban insurgency in, 134, 142
 violence by governance category in, 153–160
 World War II and, 112–113
- Pakistan Muslim League, 118
- Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N), 176, 192
- Pakistan People's Party (PPP), 121, 176
- Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf (PTI), 168, 191–192, 226
- Pakistani Constitution (1973), 191
- Park Chung-Hee, 256
- parliamentary constituencies, 187, 198
- Partition
 migration and, 122
 negotiation leading up to, 106
 opposition to, 123
 Pakistani development and, 224
 violence and state emergence following, 109–112, 133, 138
- Pashtun communities, 62, 73, 74, 75, 111, 224
- Pashtun Tahafuz Movement (PTM), 161
- patchwork state, 17–18, *see also* colonial governance, state-building (post-colonial), state-building (colonial), state capacity, state-society relations, institutions
 as principle of colonial rule, 240–241
 categorizing violence in, 20–21, 146
 characteristics of, 6–7
 clientelism and, 177–180
 colonial state-building and, 76, 77–78
 development and, 203–204, 214–227
 electoral competition and, 21–22, 171–173, 180–183, 201, 202
 explanatory limitations of, 167–169
 in comparative perspective, 24–25, 144, 169–170, 250–251
 institutional mechanisms and, 206–207
 Latin America and, 265
 mechanisms of, 18–20, 49
 national trajectories and, 81, 251–253
 Partition and, 110
 postcolonial persistence of, 16–17, 53, 104–105, 112–114
 typology of governance and, 49, 129
- Patel, Vallabhbhai, 113
- path dependence, 129, 144, 169, 236, 238, 239
- Patidar communities, 140
- patronage. *see* clientelism
- patterns of violence. *see also* sovereignty-neutral violence, sovereignty-contesting violence
 analytic framework for, 144–146, 167–169
 colonial legacies and, 17
 data sources on, 146–147
 in Bangladesh, 162–164
 in India, 147–150
 in Pakistan, 153–160
 patchwork framework for, 6, 7, 17, 20–21, 26, 27, 134, 136, 169–170
 research design and, 23, 129, 133–134
- pattidari. *see* mahalwari (village-based) land tenure
- Permanent Settlement (1793), 59–60, 82, 116, 268
- Philippines, 256
- Pindari campaigns, 65
- plantation agriculture, 73
- PML-N. *see* Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N)
- Polanyi, Karl, 207
- polarization, 145, 146, 173, 187, 191, 201, 202
- police
 electoral violence and, 199
 geographical deployment of, 89, 101
 Hindu-Muslim violence and, 140
 in colonial security apparatus, 12, 86–89, 154
 indirect rule and, 42
 Maoist rebellions and, 153
 postcolonial state-building and, 105, 112
 sovereignty-neutral violence and, 140, 142, 145, 150, 161, 166
 state-society relations and, 18, 39
- Poligar Wars, 64, 65, 66
- political order
 clientelism and, 172
 colonial borders and, 72
 Congress party and, 174
 dominion status and, 106
 electoral competition and, 21
 in South Asia, 32–33
 institutions in developing world and, 30–32, 49
 land tenure and, 37
 military deployment and, 93–94
 police and, 86–89
 sovereignty-neutral violence and, 20

Index

305

- state capacity and, 18
- state-building and, 27
- structural violence and, 135, 136
- violence in market building and, 207
- political violence. *see* sovereignty-neutral violence, sovereignty-contesting violence, patterns of violence
- populism, 121, 169, 187
- Portugal, 55
- PPP. *see* Pakistan People's Party (PPP)
- princely states
 - clientelism in, 178
 - colonial security apparatus in, 89
 - Doctrine of Lapse and, 244
 - Home Rule movement and, 107, 108
 - indirect rule and, 42, 43–44, 55, 61
 - integration of, 16, 26, 110–111, 120–121, 125, 208, 224
 - land tenure variation in, 45, 67–69
 - military deployment in, 95
 - modernization in, 100, 115
 - opium trade and, 58
 - Rebellion of 1857–8 and, 78
 - rents in, 212
 - state-society relations in, 80
 - taxation and, 10, 84
 - typology of governance and, 45–48, 105, 125
- property rights and contracts
 - Home Rule movement and, 107–108
 - legal institutions and, 83, 246
 - metropolitan centers and, 70
 - Permanent Settlement and, 60, 62
 - stamp tax and, 84
 - state capacity and, 9
- protection in state-building, 8, 36
- PTI. *see* Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf (PTI)
- PTI (Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf), 168, 191–192, 226
- Pulwama district, 153
- Pune, 71
- Punjab
 - annexation of, 246
 - clientelism in, 182
 - Congress membership and, 99
 - electoral competition in, 194
 - farmers' march in (2020–21), 229
 - Green Revolution and, 122
 - Khalistan insurgency in, 168
 - land tenure in, 267
 - military recruitment and deployment in, 91, 92, 94–95, 111, 120
 - northwest frontier and, 73–75
 - Pakistani development and, 224, 226
 - Partition of, 110
 - Rebellion of 1857–8 and, 78
 - sovereignty-contesting violence in, 33, 139
 - state-society relations in, 118
 - violence against Dalits in, 116
- Qing Empire, 71, 73, 75, 86, 259
- Quit India movement, 96, 109
- Rahman, Sheikh Mujibur, 121, 124, 167, 227
- Rahman, Zia ur, 124, 167, 176
- Rai, Lala Lajpat, 107
- railroads, 81
- Rajasthan, 68, 115
- Rajput communities, 62, 69, 91, 115
- Rajputana, 45, 63, 68, 80, 92, 115, 178
- Ramaswamy, EV (Periyar), 114
- Rana rulers (Nepalese Kingdom), 61
- Ranade, Mahadev Govind, 107
- Rangamati district, 166, 197
- Ranjit Singh, 73, 74
- rational choice, 29
- Rebellion of 1857–8, 11–12, 74, 78–80, 88, 91
- rebellions. *see* sovereignty-contesting violence
- rents
 - Awami League and, 167
 - defined, 212
 - development in patchwork states through, 211–214
 - electoral competition and, 22, 174, 202
 - electoral violence and, 198–199
 - private wealth and, 183
 - violence and, 228
- research design, 22–24, 29
- riots. *see* sovereignty-neutral violence
- Robinson, James, 243, 245, 247, 258
- Rohillas, 62
- Rowlatt Committee report (1917), 88
- Roy, Raja Rammohan, 70
- Royal Navy, 89
- Rudolph, Susanne, 262
- Russian Empire, 12, 71, 75, 86, 93
- ryotwari* (cultivator-based) land tenure, 65–66
 - Dalit migration and, 114
 - direct rule compared to, 246
 - in Assam, 72
 - in Berar, 67
 - military recruitment and, 92
 - state-society relations in, 80
 - typology of governance and, 44–48, 267

- Sandeman, Robert, 75
 Saraswati, Swami Dayanand, 88
 Scindia dynasty, 68
 Second Anglo-Afghan War, 91
 Second Anglo-Maratha War (1803–5), 64, 68
 Second World War. *see* World War II
 security and security state. *see* fear
 security and the security state, 76
 clientelism and, 172
 colonial apparatus of, 12–13, 88–89, 113
 colonial state-building and, 36, 41, 61, 69
 development and, 22, 26
 electoral competition and, 180, 191,
 201–202
 exceptional governance and, 16
 Indian state's approaches to, 117–118
 Kashmir conflict and, 111–112
 postcolonial state-building and, 16
 territorial conquest and, 246
 self-determination and self-governance
 nationalist movement and, 96, 97–99,
 106, 107
 Wilson's Fourteen Points and, 96
 September 11th terror attacks, 28
 settler colonialism, 42, 236, 242, 247, 258–260,
 261–265
 Seven Years' War, 56
 Shah Shuja, 75
 Shahbag protests in Dhaka (2013), 162
 Shaheen Bagh activist encampment (2019), 3
 Sharif, Nawaz, 121, 176
 Sheikh Hasina, 176
 Shi'a communities, 122, 142, 157, 167
 Shikarpur district, 161
 Shiv Sena, 183
 Shivaji (Maratha leader), 64
 Sikh communities
 Delhi pogrom against (1982), 140
 military recruitment from, 62, 74, 91–92
 Partition and, 110
 Rebellion of 1857–8 and, 78
 Sikh Empire, 11, 73–74
 Sindh
 conservative governance in, 122
 electoral competition in, 194
 Pakistani development and, 224, 226
 sectarian violence in, 142, 161
 Singapore, 256
 Siraj ud-Daula (Nawab of Bengal), 57, 59
 slavery, 261, 262
 socialism, 15, 108, 114, 124, 241
 South Asia Terrorism Portal, 147
 South Asia, *see also specific states*
 clientelism in regimes of, 173–176, 177, 182
 colonial administrative structures preserved
 in, 112–114
 electoral competition and, 22, 181
 in comparative perspective, 5–6, 18, 24–25,
 112–113, 133–134, 146
 landscapes of violence in, 5–6, 27, 133, 136,
 138, 168
 modern state system in, 105–106, 109–112
 patchwork authority in, 17, 135, 136,
 184–191, 253–254
 political institutionalization of, 32
 Southeast Asia, 112, *see also specific states*
 American Empire and, 263
 governance differentiation in, 254–257
 security focus in, 25
 state-building in, 118, 256
 sovereignty-contesting violence
 defined, 20, 136–137
 development and, 228–229
 electoral competition and, 201–202
 in Bangladesh
 examples of, 4–5, 143–144, 164–166
 patterns by governance category, 163–166
 in India
 examples of, 138–141, 150–153
 patterns by governance category, 147–150
 in Pakistan
 examples of, 141–143, 160–162
 patterns by governance category, 154–160
 in research design, 23, 144–146
 rents and, 214
 research design for, 270–271
 theoretical approaches to, 29–30
 sovereignty-neutral violence
 defined, 20, 136–137
 development and, 229–231
 electoral competition and, 198–201
 in Bangladesh
 examples of, 143–144, 164–166
 patterns by governance category, 163–166
 in India
 examples of, 138–141, 150–153
 patterns by governance category, 147–150
 in Pakistan
 examples of, 141–143, 160–162
 patterns by governance category, 154–160
 in research design, 23, 144–146
 metropolitan governance and, 214
 private investment and, 214
 research design for, 270–271

Index

307

- Soviet Union, 71, 72, 87, 112, 113, 255, 258, 263, *see also* Russian Empire
- spatial politics
- clientelism and, 172
 - colonial state-building and, 54
 - development and, 203–204, 231
 - extraction and, 14
 - mechanisms of, 19
 - patterns of violence embedded in, 6, 168–169
 - postcolonial state-building and, 16, 17, 130
 - research approaches to, 235
- Sri Lanka, 253
- stamp tax, 84–85, 101
- state capacity
- as mechanism of patchwork state, 7, 18–20, 28, 37–40, 49
 - clientelism and, 171–173, 177–180, 182, 183, 201
 - colonial state-building prefiguring, 7
 - development outcomes and, 204, 206, 219, 231
 - district-level analysis of, 23
 - electoral competition and, 21, 184, 202
 - in metropolises, 9
 - income tax and, 85–86
 - land tenure and, 11
 - legal and economic institutionalization and, 84
 - of indigenous polities, 64
 - patterns of violence and, 20–21, 29, 134, 135, 145–146, 147
 - taxation and, 81
 - typology of governance and, 41–42, 48, 129
 - wartime mobilization and, 26, 97, 100
- state capture
- clientelism and, 173, 179, 183, 184, 187, 192
 - conservative governance and, 122
 - defined, 19
 - electoral competition and, 190
 - political mobilization against, 116
- state-building (colonial). *see also* colonial governance
- apex of, 78
 - clientelism in, 177–178
 - colonial legacies and, 237
 - development and, 204
 - fear in, 8, 11–13
 - frugality in, 8, 13–14
 - greed in, 7–11
 - in princely states, 69
 - institutional diversity from, 34–35
 - market building and, 207–208
 - patchwork nature of, 7, 135, 183
 - Rebellion of 1857–8 and, 79
 - typology of governance in, 41
 - unevenness of, 35–36, 41, 53–55
- state-building (postcolonial), 16–17
- as critical juncture, 248
 - Bangladesh and, 124–125
 - colonial legacies in, 35, 112–114, 129–130, 236–237, 240, 257
 - development and, 204, 206
 - exceptional governance and, 118
 - in Southeast Asia, 256–257
 - market integration and, 208–209
 - patchwork nature of, 7, 26, 104–105, 135
 - paths not taken in, 106–109
 - rents and, 212–213
 - research approaches to, 126–129, 144
 - typology of governance in, 125–126
- state-society relations
- as mechanism of patchwork state, 7, 18–20, 28, 37–40, 49
 - causal inferences confounded by, 247, 248
 - clientelism and, 171–173, 177, 182, 183, 201
 - colonial state-building prefiguring, 7
 - contemporary transformation in, 169
 - development and, 204, 206, 219, 227, 229, 231
 - district-level analysis of, 23
 - EIC's expansion in central India and, 63
 - electoral competition and, 22, 184, 190, 192, 202
 - expansion of legislative bodies and, 88
 - in frontiers and borders, 72
 - in metropolitan centers, 80
 - land tenure and, 11, 61, 66
 - military deployment and, 12, 91, 95
 - patterns of violence and, 20–21, 123, 134, 145, 147, 153
 - private investment and, 214
 - rentier activities and, 214
 - state employees and, 86
 - taxation and, 81
 - typology of governance and, 41–42, 48, 129
 - variations in princely rule and, 67–69
- Straits Settlements, 255
- Sufi communities, 160
- Suharto, 256
- Sui gas field (Balochistan), 228
- Sukarno, 256
- Sukma district, 153
- Surat, 55–57
- swadeshi movement, 88

- Swat (princely state), 120, 126, 194
 Syria, 138
- Taiwan, 256
taluqdars. *see zamindari* (landlord-based) land tenure
- Tamil Nadu, 115, 116, 182, 199–201
 Tamil separatists (Sri Lanka), 253
 Tamils, 91, 92
 Tata Group, 214
- taxation
 colonial governance and, 81
 direct rule and, 43
 East India Company and, 57
 elite revolts against, 100
 exceptional governance and, 46
 Government of India Acts and, 97
 Great Depression and, 96
 greed and, 8, 10, 41, 53
 income tax and, 85–86
 indirect rule and, 42
 land tenure and, 44–45
 of Bengal, 57–58
 postcolonial state-building and, 105, 112
 Rebellion of 1857–8 and, 62
ryotwari land tenure and, 66
 stamp tax and, 84–85, 101
 state-building and, 36
- tea trade and cultivation, 58, 73
- Tehreek-e-Labbaik Pakistan (TLP), 154, 161, 199
- Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP), 122, 142, 157, 160
- Telangana, 34, 117
- telegraph, 81
- terrorism
 as sovereignty-contesting violence, 21–22, 137, 145
 data sources on, 147
 in Bangladesh, 5, 144, 162, 164–166
 in Pakistan, 4, 123, 142, 154
 metropolitan governance and, 20, 150
 sectarian violence and, 142
 typology of violence and, 137
- Theosophical Society, 70
- Third Anglo-Afghan War, 91
- Third Anglo-Maratha War, 64, 65
- Tibet, 61, 73, 75
- Tilak, Bal Gangadhar, 107
- Tilly, Charles, 8, 11, 54, 83, 135
- Tipu Sultan (Nawab of Mysore), 63, 67
- Tochi Scouts, 89
- trade. *see also* markets and commodification
 colonizers' fear and, 11
 East India Company and, 55–56, 57, 58
 frugality mandates and, 13
 greed through, 9–10, 41
 indigenous populations and, 83
 institutional expansion and, 83
 metropolises and, 69
 state-building and, 36, 53
 territorial conquest and, 69–70, 245
- Travancore (princely state), 63, 67, 68, 100, 115
- tribal communities
 Bangladesh and insurgency of, 143
 clientelism and, 178, 182, 192
 electoral competition and, 184, 191, 194
 exceptional governance and, 76, 125
 frontiers and, 71, 75
 indirect rule and, 44, 68
 liberal reform and, 118
 military deployment and, 94
 postcolonial state-building and, 106
 security state and, 117, 120
 sovereignty-neutral violence and, 150
 state-society relations and, 18
- Trinamool Congress, 199
- Tripura (princely state), 72
- Turner, Frederick, 262
- typology of governance, 48, 266–269
 administrative distinctions in, 44–45
 applied to contemporary outcomes, 126–129
 development outcomes and, 219–222
 elements of, 41
 greed, fear, and frugality in, 15
 in comparative perspective, 24
 institutional solutions leading to, 247
 limited convergence of, 17
 nationalist movement in India and, 25–26
 postcolonial narrowing of, 105, 125–129
 research design and, 23–24, 25, 266–267
- typology of violence, 270–271
 explaining patterns through, 144–146, 150, 162
 purposes of violent action in, 136
 research approaches through, 134, 169–170
 state sovereignty and, 136–138
- Ulster Plantation, 261
- United Nations, 111
- United Progressive Alliance (UPA), 187

Index

309

- United Provinces, 92, 94, 99, 267, *see also* Uttar Pradesh
- United States
- Afghanistan and, 71, 134, 142
 - British debt to, 9
 - Cold War competition and, 255–256
 - India base of operations for, 97
 - institutions in developing world and, 30
 - settler colonialism and, 262–265
 - untouchables. *see* Dalits
- Upsala Conflict Data Program's Georeferenced Events Database (Upsala), 146–147, 150, 163
- Uttar Pradesh
- British territorial rule and, 57
 - caste mobilization in, 116
 - Congress hegemony and, 115
 - development outcomes in, 216
 - mahalwari* tenure and, 62
 - sovereignty-neutral violence in, 152
- Varshney, Ashutosh, 139
- Victoria (queen), 79
- Vidhan Sabha (assembly constituencies), 184–191
- Viet Minh, 256
- Vijayanagar Empire, 65
- village-based land tenure. *see mahalwari* (village-based) land tenure
- violence. *see* typology of violence, sovereignty-neutral violence, sovereignty-contesting violence
- Walton, Michael, 213
- War of Austrian Succession, 56
- War on Terror, 29, 72, 142
- Weber, Max, 37, 39, 42, 110, 135
- welfare provisions, 15, 175, 203, 219, 227, 228
- West Bengal
- British territorial rule and, 57
 - clientelism and, 183
 - Congress leadership in, 115
 - CPI-M leadership in, 116, 126
 - development outcomes in, 248
 - electoral violence in, 4, 199–201
 - Partition and, 123
- West Pakistan, 119, 121
- Wilson's Fourteen Points, 96
- Wodeyar Dynasty, 67
- World Bank, 38
- World War I, 90, 92–93, 100, 108
- World War II, 91, 96–97, 112–113
- Zaire. *see* Congo
- zamindari* (landlord-based) land tenure, 244
- Bangladesh and, 123
 - colonial conquest and, 45, 60–61
 - in Bengal Presidency, 248
 - in southern princely states, 66–67
 - indirect rule compared to, 246
 - legal institutions and, 85
 - postcolonial state-building and, 115
 - state-society relations and, 80, 201
 - typology of governance and, 44–48, 267, 268
- Zia ul Haq, Mohammad, 122, 225
- zillas. *see* district-level analysis