

Index

Abers, Rebecca, 296, 337 Acemoglu, Daron, 16 active citizenship, 64, 169, 340 social apathy and, 340 adaptive governance, 313 in China, 302 administrative burdens, 32, 62-63, 166-167, 214-215 bureaucratic norms and, 18, 71-72, 334-335, 339-340 how marginalized groups experience, 63-64 in HP, 214-215 in UP, 148, 152-158, 166-167, 169 in Uttarakhand, 247-248, 257-258 village collective action and, 82 administrative tasks, 37-38. See also task complexity of, 40-42 for primary education, 40 AEC. See Alternative Education Center agrarian economy caste politics in UP and, 127-128, 130-131 child labor and, 83 state-building in HP and, 176-177, 183-184 in Uttarakhand, 219 Ahuja, Amit, 72, 132 Aiyar, Yamini, 293, 294 333, 347 Almora, 222, 234, 237 teachers in, 238-245 school accountability in, 245-248

village primary education in, 248-259 Ambedkar, B. R., 92 Ambedkar School in UP, 162 Ambedkar Village Program (AVP), 143 inspection process created by, 146 policy implementation impacted by, 145 clientelistic politics and, 143-148 in Saharanpur, 146 in Sitapur, 147 Andhra Pradesh, 95-96, 102 Andrews, Matt, 40, 74, 344-345 Ang, Yuen Yuen, 314-316 Anganwadi centers, 230 Anganwadi workers, 212-213, 231 Annual Status of Education Report (ASER), 42 measures for policy implementation, 42-46 Ansell, Ben, 9, 75-76, 101 Appadurai, Arjun, 65, 84, 340 ASER. See Annual Status of Education Report auditing, 58 of schools, 57-58, 262 practices in French bureaucracy, 323 Auerbach, Adam, 79, 339, 341 authoritarian deliberation in China, 312-313 autonomy, 69-70 in legalistic bureaucracy, 275-276 of MSUP, 275-277 of SSA, 136-137 of Weberian bureaucracy, 73-74



406 Index

AVP. See Ambedkar Village Program Ayres, Ian, 58 Azad, Maulana, 89-91 Azim Premji Foundation, 114, 287-288 Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP), 80, 130, 269-270 Ambedkar Village Program and, 143, 145, 146 dignity politics and, 161 political leadership in UP, 134 political mobilization of Dalits and, 131, 290-295 relationship to bureaucracy, 80, 132-133 village governance and, 161 Bai, Gowri Parvathi, 304 Baiocchi, Gianpaolo, 64-65 balwadi program, 235-236, 246-247, 254-255 Banerjee, Abhijeet, 10, 16, 79-80, 343, 345-346 Banerji, Rukmini, 284-287 Bardach, Eugene, 58 Bardhan, Pranab, 316-317 Basic Shiksha Adhikari, 137, 139-140. See also District Education Officers Bates, Robert, 15 begar (forced labor), 174-175 BEP. See Bihar Education Project Berreman, Gerald, 222-224 beth (compulsory labor), 174-175 Bharat Gyan Vigyan Samiti (BGVS), 189 Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) primary education reforms under, 109-110 in HP, 178-179, 181-183 in Uttarakhand, 227-228 Bihar, 24-25, 42-43, 171-173, 261-263, 347 bureaucratic norms in, 279-280, 297 caste system in, 262, 281 clientelism in, 297 corruption in, 283-284 Cycle Scheme for girls' education, 286-287, 297 education quality reforms in, 290-295 electoral politics in, 281-282, 285-286 as Jungle Raj, 283-284 learning outcomes in, 45-46

Mission Gunvatta in, 290-292, 295 primary education in, 27, 278-295 primary school expansion in, 286-290 reforms in, 262, 279, 280-286, 290-291, 295 zamindari in, 280-281 Bihar Education Project (BEP), 103-104 Bihar Lokayukta Act, 284-285 Bihar Special Courts Act (2009), 284-285 BIMARU states, 280-281 BJP. See Bharatiya Janata Party Block Development Officers, 125, 197-198, 201-202 Block Resource Coordinators (BRCs), 140, 192 Bohman, James, 55 Bolsa Família, 346 Bordia, Anil, 96-97, 105, 114-115 Bourdieu, Pierre on primary education, 9-10 on social capital, 10 Braithwaite, Valerie, 58 Brass, Paul, 93-94 Brazil, 48-49, 60, 64-65, 296, 337, 346 BRCs. See Block Resource Coordinators Brehm, John, 38 Brinks, Daniel, 48, 352-353 Brodkin, Evelyn, 30, 50-51, 63 Brown v. Board of Education, 11 BSA. See Basic Shiksha Adhikhari BSP. See Bahujan Samaj Party bureaucracy. See also specific topics defining, 3-4, 7, 328-329 emergence of, 67 frontline public services and, 351-365 importance of, 328-331 principal-agent approach to, 49 regional differences in, 329 relational approaches to, 50 understandings and behaviors, 56-60 varieties of, 69-73 bureaucratic activism, 296 bureaucratic discretion, 20-21 bureaucratic ethos, 46-47 bureaucratic norms, 31, 46-50, 69, 327-328, 352-353 causal mechanisms of, 50-51 changes in, 30, 295-297 defining, 17, 48 in developmental state research, 48-49 divergence of, 35-36

legalistic bureaucracy in, 278-295, 297



education and, 7

endurance of, 30 evolution of, 7-8

officials bound by, 21

policy implementation and, 77

policy implications of, 343-349

political origins of, 67-69

state formation and, 69

at subnational level, 68

Index

theoretical scope conditions and, 73-76

typology for, 17, 52, 66-67, 84 unique characteristics of, 47-48 bureaucratic overload, 294-295 bureaucratic understandings, 56-60 Bussell, Jennifer, 79, 341

CABE, 103. See also Central Advisory Board of Education cabinet secretaries, list of, 126 Cammett, Melani, 325-326, 335-336 capability-centered approach, of Sen, 19-20 Carpenter, Daniel, 50, 330-331 case selection, 24-30 demographic indicators of, 26 socioeconomic indicators in, 26

caste reservations, 128-130, 132-133, 158-160, 227 caste system, 16, 25-27, 81-82, 245, 295.

See also specific topics in Bihar, 262, 281

community mobilization of lower castes, 262 in HP, 184-186

in Kerala, 305 lower-caste representation, 132-133 mobilization of lower castes, 127-135 political culture and, 82-83

in UP, 122, 127-135, 269-270 upper divisions of, 130-131

Yadav, L. P., on, 282-283 CCP. See Chinese Communist Party

in Uttarakhand, 227

Ceará, Brazil, 48-49 Central Advisory Board of Education

(CABE), 94-95 centralization, 94, 115-116 Chandra, Kanchan, 28-29, 78 on patronage democracy, 132, 134

Chauhan, R. K., 3-4 Chhibber, Pradeep, 81, 315-316

407

Chibber, Vivek, 71, 79-81, 333-334 child labor, 82-83, 145

China, 33, 74-75, 334 adaptive governance in, 302

agricultural reforms in, 314-315 authoritarian deliberation

in, 312-313

decentralization in, 313-314

deliberative bureaucracy in, 310-317 directed improvisation in, 314

household responsibility system in,

314-315

India compared with, 311 policy implementation in, 50 primary education in, 311-312

Chinese Communist Party (CCP), 312-313

Chipko movement, 224-225

Christian missionaries, 304, 307-308 schools, 89

citizenship

active forms of, 64, 169, 340, 341. See also active citizenship

defined as a bundle of rights, 9-10 legalistic bureaucracy in India and,

124-125

policy feedback and, 60-61 societal feedback during

implementation and, 64-65

civic associations, 81

civic-judicial activism, 112-115

classrooms, 143

clientelism, 76-79, 132, 281, 328-329

in Bihar, 297

coping with, 143-147

defining, 76

in India, 35, 79

in legalistic bureaucracy, 143-147,

262-263

policy implementation and, 78

in UP, 78

Cluster Resource Centre Coordinators

(CRCCs), 288-289 inspection by, 289-290

TaRL methods of, 291-292

codifiable tasks, 40, 42-43. See also administrative tasks; task

complexity

indicators for, 43-44

Cohen, Joshua, 54-55

Coleman, James, 10

on social capital, 80-81



408 Index

collective action, 51-52, 336-337 bureaucratic norms, 335-336 legalism and, 157-162 public agencies as institutional sites of, 50 in Uttarakhand, 222-225 in study villages, 81-82 colonialism education and, 82-83, 89, 175 in HP, 174-175 in UP, 121-124 in Uttarakhand, 222-224 public administration in India and, 67-68 Communist Party of India (Marxist), West Bengal, 306 Communist Party of India (Marxist), Kerala, 305-306, 308 community mobilization. See also collective action of lower castes, 262 in Uttarakhand, 225 complaints, 64 complex tasks, 40-42, 45. See also administrative tasks; task complexity indicators for, 43-44 compulsory labor. See beth Congress Party, 86-87, 89-91 in Bihar, 281-282 centralization of authority, 94-95 electoral strategy, 89-91 in HP, 175-177, 181-182 national leadership, 262 primary education policy and, 39, 213-217 in UP, 124-127 in Uttarakhand, 281-282 coproduction, 19-20, 51-52, 71, 331 power relations and, 39 conflictual patterns of, 336-337 inclusive, 207-217 institutionalized forms of, 39 in primary education, 39, 213-217 regimes of, 335-337 Corbridge, Stuart, 51-52, 64, 339 Corrales, Javier, 40 corruption, 28-29, 329-330 Weberian bureaucracy and, 54 in Bihar, 283-284 in UP, 132 in Uttarakhand, 233–234 Covid-19 pandemic, 343, 347-349 education reform and, 347-349 CPM. See Communist Party of India (Marxist)

CRCCs. See Cluster Resource Centre Coordinators Dakar Framework for Action, 107-109 Dalits, 72-73, 79-80, 128-130, 143, 146, 152, 265, 271, 305. See also Scheduled Castes harassment of, 272-273 in HP, 182-186 mistreatment of, 133 mobilization of, 130-132 patriarchy challenged by, 269 political assertiveness of, 269-270 in UP, 138-139 women, 154-155 Dasgupta, Aditya, 128, 294-295 Davies, Emmerich, 169, 336, 339 decentralization, 23. See also panchayats in China, 313-314 in Finland, 321 in France, 324-325 in India, 23, 149-150, 199, 232, 309-310 Dehradun, 222, 227-228 teachers in, 238-245 deliberation and democracy, 344-345 authoritarian, 312-313 defining, 52 developmental state and, 331-338 frontline workers and, 266-267 goals of, 7-8 in legalistic bureaucracy, 275–278 policy implementation and, 58-59 primary education and, 186 among teachers, 190-192 in UP, 263-278 in women's associations, 267-268, 205, 206 women's empowerment and, 268-269 deliberative bureaucracy, 7-8, 17, 21, 32, 33, 35, 54-56, 71-72, 78-79 in the absence of democracy, 310-317 in China, 310-317 communication in, 59-60 downsides of, 59-60 gender inequality combated by, 264-270 in HP, 186-200, 217-218, 337-338 in Kerala, 302-310 legalistic bureaucracy compared with, 35, 66-67, 275-278 marginalized groups in, 65, 66 in MSUP, 264-270, 295-296 policy implementation and, 18, 58-59



Index 409

primary education and, 187-200 Dixit, Avinash, 49 in social movements, 303-310 DPEP. See District Primary Education societal feedback in, 64-65, 74-75 Program state formation and, 176-186 Du Gay, Paul, 53-54 women's empowerment and, 264-270 Duflo, Esther, 343 democracy, deliberative conceptions of, Dwarahat, 242, 257, 258 54-55 economic growth, in India, 12-13, 15 Dewey on, 55-56 human well-being and, 5-6, 11 economic liberalization, 86-87 patronage, 28-29, 78, 132 policy expansion under, 101 procedural, 54-55 EdTech, 348-349 Sen on, 5-6 education. See also specific topics societal feedback in, 74-75 bureaucratic norms and, 7 as constitutional and fundamental stability of, 11 Third Wave of, 5-6 right, 4-5, 112-113 in UP, 316-317 gender gap in, 4-5 Denmark, 73-74 of marginalized groups, 89 Deobandi community, 273-274 private, 5, 346-347 Department of Women and Child public spending on, 6, 87, 95, 97-100, Development, 230 107, 304 developing countries schooling goals and, 40 distributive politics in, 76 sociology of, 10 policy implementation in, 35 in South Asia, 4-5 in sub-Saharan Africa, 4-5 primary education in, 75 principal-agent approach in, 50 in the United States, 11 public policy in, 34-35 as valence issue, 75-76, 86-87 societal participation in, 61, 64-65 Education for All program. See Sarva state-building in, 67 Shiksha Abhiyan developmental state, 20, 69-70 elite capture, 156 bureaucratic norms in, 48-49 elite decisions, 24 defining, 331-332 in policy implementation, 37 deliberation and, 331-338 Elster, Jon, 46-47 inclusive development, 331, 334-335 embeddedness, 39, 72-73, 334-335 industrial growth and, 331 esprit de corps, 53-54, 332 informal features of, 70 in Indian Administrative Service, Japan's MITI as an example of, 69-70 125-127 societal feedback in, 334-335 ethnic particularism thesis, 78-79 Dewey, John, 55-56. See also pragmatism ethnographic fieldwork, 31. See also influence on Maoist thought, 313 research design; research methods DIETs. See District Institutes of Education Evans, Peter, 20, 69-71 exclusionary norms, 39, 81. See also caste; and Training DISE. See District Information System for untouchability Education access to education and, 86-87, 131 District Annual Work Plans, 139-140 the state and, 20 District Education Officers, 112, 230. exit, from public education, 5 See also Basic Shiksha Adhikaris coproduction and, 335-336 District Information System for Education in Uttarakhand, 221 (DISE), 109-110 in UP, 164-168 District Institutes of Education and Falleti, Tulia, 23, 25-27, 169, 339, Training (DIETs), 109-110, 355 District Primary Education Program 342-343 (DPEP), 103-106, 109-111 federalism, 89-93 World Bank on, 106 in India, 23



410

federalism (cont.)

social policy and, 23

Index

field methods, 30. See also research design; research methods Finland, 33 bureaucratic norms in, 317-321 decentralization in, 321 education reform in, 302, 320-321 primary education in, 302, 319 flailing state, 70, 332-333 focus group discussions, 357-362 forced labor. See begar Forest Act (1927), 224 Fox, Jonathan, 63, 335-336, 345-346 France, 33 bureaucratic norms in, 317-319, 321-325 decentralization in, 324-325 legalism and Napoleonic administration in, 323 legalistic bureaucracy in, 323-325 primary education in, 302, 321-323 teachers in, 324-325 Third Republic of, 9 frontline institutions, 82 frontline monitoring, 58-59, 74 in legalistic bureaucracy, 57-58 frontline public services, bureaucracy and, 351-365 Gandhi, Indira, 93-95, 224-225, 282-283 Gandhi, M. K., 92-93 Gandhi, Rajiv, 95-97, 103 Gangetic plains, 42-43, 261-262, 336-337 Garhwal Rifles, 222 Gates, Scott, 38 Gaya district, 288, 291-292, 364 gender inequality, 25-27. See also patriarchy; women's associations; women's empowerment domestic violence and, 267 double marriage and, 274-275 deliberative bureaucracy combating, 264-270 education and, 4-5, 103-104 in HP, 184-186, 207 in UP, 152-157, 264-270 Gerring, John, 24, 27-29 Gibson, Christopher, 65 globalization, education and, 101-104 Goetz, Anne-Marie, 63

good governance economic growth and, 20 policy agenda, 36 Gouldner, Alvin, 47 governance coproduction and, 39 deliberation and, 54-55 legalism and, 52-53 participatory forms of, 61 vertical dimension of, 23 Granovetter, Mark, 47 Grindle, Merilee, 6-7, 20-21, 25-27, 37-38, 48-49, 70, 329, 343 Gujjar community, 3-4, 152 education in, 4 mobile schooling for, 194-196 Gupta, Akhil, 62-63, 169, 329-330 Habermas, Jürgen, 54-55 Haggard, Stephan, 20, 70 Hanushek, Eric, 10-11, 318 Harding, Robin, 78, 294 HDI. See Human Development Index He, Baogang, 312-313 Heilmann, Sebastian, 313-314 Heller, Patrick, 72-73, 309-310 Herbst, Jeffrey, 15 Herd, Pamela, 62-63, 340 Herring, Ronald, 127-128, 332-333 HGVS. See Himachal Pradesh Gyan Vigyan Samiti Hicken, Allen, 76 hierarchy. See also caste system; women's empowerment in India, 264-265 in Kerala, 305 in Weberian bureaucracy, 46-47 higher education, 10–11, 75–76, 89–91, 102 Himachal Pradesh (HP), 3-4, 14, 16, 24-25, 229-230, 315-316, 364 caste system in, 184-186 centrally sponsored schemes in, 177-178 colonialism in, 174-176 creation of, 175-176 Dalits in, 182-186 deliberative bureaucracy in, 173-200, 217-218, 337-338 demographics of, 171-173, 183-184 Department of Education in, 212 Devta Committees in, 184-185, 207-208

disadvantaged children in, 190-196



Index 411

electoral dynamics in, 182 Finance Commission in, 177-178 gender norms in, 184-186, 200-207 history of, 171-176 language politics in, 175-176 learning outcomes in, 45-46 local needs in, 187-190 MDM Program in, 202-203 party competition in, 181-182 party system in, 181-182 patronage-based systems in, 199-200 Planning Commission in, 177-179 political culture in, 83-84 primary education in, 13-14, 171, 187-200 school access in, 42-43 socioeconomic features of, 183-184 Special Category Status, 177-178 state formation, 176-186 state government leadership in, 181 State Planning Department, 178, 200-201 student participation in, 44-45 study map of, 173 Uttarakhand compared with, 29 women's associations in, 184-185, 201 Himachal Pradesh Gyan Vigyan Samiti (HGVS), 189-190, 212 Hindi belt states, 13, 340 Hindi language, education debate and, 92-93 Hirschman, Albert, 221 Honig, Dan, 58, 345 Hossain, Naomi, 64, 169 HP. See Himachal Pradesh Huber, Evelyne, 20 human capital, 9 Human Development Index (HDI), on India, 11 Hunter Commission, 89 hygiene, enforcement in MDM Program in UP, 150, 152-157, 169

IAS. See Indian Administrative Service ICS. See Indian Civil Service IMF. See International Monetary Fund Implementation. See policy implementation incentive schemes, 345 inclusive development, 331 state capacity for, 19–21 India. See also specific topics bargaining power in, 23

China compared with, 311 clientelism in, 35, 79 colonialism in, 67-68 economic growth in, 12-13, 15 federalism in, 23 HDI, 11 heterogeneity of states in, 362 hierarchy in, 264-265 inequality in, 12-13, 335-336 local study sites in, 362-365 policy implementation in, 23 primary education in, 11-14, 311 public services in, 6-7, 12-13 public spending in, 95 social movements in, 337-338 as soft state, 332-333 subnational comparison in, 23 voter-politician relationships in, 35 World Bank and, 103-104 Indian Administrative Service (IAS), 124, 306, 180 esprit de corps in, 125-127 lottery for, 28 officers in, 27-28 Indian Civil Service (ICS), 122-123 Indian Institutes of Technology, 106-107 Indian National Congress (INC). See Congress Party Indian state, conceptualizations of, 333-334 flailing state, 70, 332-333 Indonesia, 91-92 industrial bureaucracy, 47 inequality, 39. See also caste system; gender inequality; hierarchy; patriarchy; zamindari in India, 12-13, 335-336 informal institutions, 341 informal networks, 81 infrastructural power defining, 6 Mann on, 37-38 input provision for schooling, 40-44 instrumental rationality, 46-47 Integrated Child Development Services, 285, 346-347 intensive tasks, 40-41, 74. See also task complexity indicators for, 43-44 International Monetary Fund (IMF), 103 interviews, 353-355, 357-362. See also research design; research methods

Iyer, Lakshmi, 16



412

Jammu and Kashmir, 177, 229–230
Janata Dal United (JDU), 128–130, 284–286
Jeevika Program, 287
JDU. See Janata Dal United
Jeffrey, Craig, 28–29, 306–307
Jehanabad, 290–291, 293
Jenkins, R., 63
Jomtien Conference, 105–106
Joshi, Murali Manohar, 109–110
Joshi, Puran Chand, 227
J-PAL. See MIT Jameel Poverty

Action Lab

Kagan, Robert, 58 Kanshi Ram, 130 Kapur, Devesh, 131, 294-295, 333-334 Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya (KGBV), 270-275 launch of, 270-271 programming in, 271-273 teaching models of, 271-272 vocational training at, 278 Kaufman, Herbert, 48 Kerala, 13-14, 33, 72-73, 83, 119-120, 171-173, 325-326 bureaucratic norms in, 307-308 Campaign for Democratic Decentralization, 309 caste system in, 305 Communist government in, 305-306 decentralization in, 309-310 deliberative bureaucracy in, 302-310 demographics of, 304 geography of, 304 hierarchy in, 305 literacy programming in, 189 Panchayati Raj Institutions in, 309 political mobilization in, 306 primary education in, 303-304, 306 private schooling in, 306-307 public spending in, 307-308, 310 social movements in, 302 subnationalism in, 305-306 Kerala Education Act, 308 Kerala model of social development, 303-310 Kerala Sastra Sahitya Parishad (KSSP), 189 creation of, 309

Index

Khan, Mushtaq, 78 Khanduri, Bhuwan Chandra, 220 Kingdon, Geeta Gandhi, 202, 346-347 Kinnaur, 180 Kohli, Atul, 20, 67-68, 75 Kosack, Steve, 79-80, 83 Kothari, Daulat Singh, 93 Kothari Commission, 93-97 KPPC. See Kerala Provincial Congress Committee Krause, George, 50 Krishna, Anirudh, 15, 81, 82 Kruks-Wisner, Gabrielle, 51, 64, 169, 339, 340 KSSP. See Kerala Sastra Sahitya Parishad Kumaon Regiment, 222 Kumar, Nitish, 80, 284-285, 287-288, 294 labor child, 82-83, 145 by women, 158-160, 184-185, 237 Lahaul-Spiti, 180 land reform, 75-76. See also ryotwari; zamindari) language politics, 93-94 education and, 91-92 law and order bureaucracy, 28-29, 67-68. See also legalistic bureaucracy in Bihar, 262, 284-285, 286-287 in UP, 122-124, 127-135 learning outcomes, 45. See also Annual Status of Education Report (ASER) in Indian states, 45-46 in OECD countries, 317-318. See also **PISA** legalism, 57-58, 156-157 in Bihar, 297 collective action and, 157-162 defining, 7-8, 52 in France, 323 in liberal legal tradition, 52-53 reinforcement of, 229-234 rules-based accountability and, 54 in UP, 134-148 in Uttarakhand, 229–234 Weber on, 53 legalistic bureaucracy, 17-18, 52-54, 56,

64, 71

autonomy in, 275-276

bureaucratic understandings from, 56

in Bihar, 292-295

institutionalization of, 309–310 KGBV. See Kasturba Gandhi Balika

Vidyalaya



Index 413

civil society experience of, 234-237 autonomy of, 275-277 clientelism in, 143-147, 262-263 deliberative bureaucracy in, 264-270, deliberation in, 275-278 295-296 deliberative bureaucracy compared frontline workers, 266, 278, 295, 296 with, 35, 66-67, 275-278 gender-sensitive teaching models of, distance in, 231-232 271-272 in France, 323-325 organizational identity of, 296-297 frontline monitoring in, 57-58 program, 263-278 policy implementation from, 18, 58 policy interpretation of, 266 public services and, 63-64 sanghas created by, 265-267, reforms under, 297 273, 277-278 See also women's in Saharanpur, 168 associations school infrastructure provision and, 134-148 Mandal, B. P., 23, 128-130, 282 in Sitapur, 168 Mandal Commission, 128-130. See also societal monitoring and, 62-63 caste reservations SSA and, 135-138 Mann, Horace, 6 in UP, 28-29, 121-135, 168 on infrastructural power, 37-38 on primary education, 9-10 in Uttarakhand, 32, 82, 229-237, 259-260 Mao Zedong, 313 Weberian bureaucracy distinguished from, 64 March, James, 7, 48 legalized bureaucracy, societal feedback marginalized groups, 63 and, 74-75 in deliberative bureaucracy, Levi, Margaret, 21, 48, 332 65, 66 liberal legal tradition, legalism in, 52-53 education of, 89 Lindvall, Johannes, 9, 75-76 Marshall, T. H., 9-10 Lipsky, Michael, 20, 47-48, 71, 341-342 Mathew, Santhosh, 283 Mathur, Nayanika, 233-234 literacy rates, 89 census enumeration and, 303, 359 Mathura, 274-275 Mayawati, 80, 130, 132–133, 146, 161, 271 in China, 311 in Indian states, 189, 220 McDonnell, Erin, 275-276, 332 local bureaucracy, in China, 314 MDGs. See UN Millennium local participation, in MDM Program, 151 Development Goals MDM. See Midday Meal Programme lower-level bureaucrats, 27-28, 147, Members of the Legislative Assembly 173-174 Lucknow, 169, 227 (MLAs), 188 community ownership in, 151 metis, 58-59 MDM Program in, 148-152 Mexico, 56, 63, 346 Lynch, Julia, 25-27 MG Program. See Mission Gunvatta Program Macaulay, Lord 89 MHRD. See Ministry of Human MacLean, Lauren, 221, 325-326, Resource Development microfinance, 56 335-336, 339, 341 Mahabharata, 246 Midday Meal [MDM] Programme, Mahadalits, 284 12-13, 42, 87, 148-158, 204, 216, 241, 252, 259, 288-290, 339-342 mahila mandals. See women's associations expansion of, 105 Mahila Samakhya program, 30, 32-33, grievance procedures, 151-152 104, 261-263, 295-296, 336-337, in HP, 202-203 hygiene requirements in, 150, 152-157, 339-340, 342-343 in UP, 263-278 Mahila Samakhya Uttar Pradesh community participation in, 151 (MSUP), 275 MDM Authority, 149-151



414

Index

Midday Meal [MDM] (cont.) NAFRE. See National Alliance for the meal preparation, 154 Fundamental Right to Quality monitoring, 293-294 Education and Equity public scrutiny of, 148-149 Naik, J. P., 93-94, 96-97 service delivery in, 150-152 Namboodiripad, E. M. S., 305-306 National Alliance for the Fundamental supervision of, 149 in UP, 148-158 Right to Quality Education and Equity (NAFRE), 113-114 VEC management of, 112, 150 military National Commission for the Protection state-building and, 67 of Child Rights (NCPCR), 114 education, 16, 29, 186 National Commission on Education, 93 National Council of Educational Ministry of Human Resource Development (MHRD), 95-96, 103, Research and Training (NCERT), 107-112, 235 94-96 Macaulay's Minute on Indian Education National Development Council (NDC), (1860), 89, 175. See also colonialism; education National Policy on Education Mission Gunvatta (MG) program, (1986), 234 290-292, 295 National Policy on Education (2020), teachers under, 290-291 346-347 missionary schools, 89 National Elementary Education Mission MIT Jameel Poverty Action Lab (J-PAL), 290 (NEEM), 103-104, 107-109 MLAs. See Members of the Legislative national identity, 91-92 Assembly National Literacy Mission, 189, 309 mobile schooling, 4 National Policy on Education (NPE) for Gujjar community, 194-196 1968, 93-94, 97-100 mobilization. See community National Policy on Education (NPE) mobilization; political mobilization 1986, 95-100, 264-265 modernization, 15 National Policy on Education (NPE) bureaucracy in Europe and, 53 2020, 346-347 National Rural Employment Guarantee primary school expansion and, 87-88 Moe, Terry, 10 Scheme, 233-234 Navodaya Vidyalaya program, 96-97 Moffitt, Susan, 58-59, 65 Mohini Jain v. State of Karnataka, 113 NCERT. See National Council of Educational Research and Training Moore, M., 283 Mother Teacher Associations (MTAs), NCPCR. See National Commission for 200-203, 207, 341-342 the Protection of Child Rights creation of, 202-203 NDC. See National Development deliberation in, 205, 206 Council NEEM. See National Elementary primary school monitoring by, 204-207 Moynihan, Donald, 62-63, 340 **Education Mission** MSUP. See Mahila Samakhya Uttar Pradesh Nehru, Jawaharlal, 89-93, 124 MTAs. See Mother Teacher Associations New Delhi, 112, 127-128, 177 multilevel comparative analysis, 22-24. New Institutional Economics, 37 New Public Management, 323 See also research design multilevel governance, 22-24 nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), methodological advantages of, 24 74, 81, 236, 237, 287-288 Nooruddin, Irfan, 79-80 multilevel field research, 351-357. See also research methods norms Muslims, education programming for, defined, 46-47 92-93, 265-266, 273-274 theoretical characteristics of, 47 Myrdal, Gunnar, 332-333 NPE. See National Policy on Education



Index 415

OBCs, See Other Backward Classes O'Donnell, Guillermo, 15 Olsen, Johan, 7, 48, 328-329 Operation Blackboard, 97-100 oral histories, 341, 356-357. See also research methods Ostrom, Elinor, 19-20, 39, 46-47 Other Backward Classes (OBCs), 23, 127-130, 132-133, 227, 282 political mobilization of, 282-283 political representation of, 281-282 Pahari communities, 29, 83-84 Pahari dissatisfaction, in Uttarakhand, 225-229 Pahari linguistic identity in HP, 175-176 panchayats, 210-211, 356 deliberation and, 207, 161 elite capture and, 150, 156 involvement in primary education, 203, 161, 246-247, 255-256 in HP, 203, 209-211 in Kerala, 309 in UP, 160-161 in Uttarakhand, 222-224 women's participation in, 207 Panchayati Raj Institutions, 23 Pande, Lalit, 234 Parmar, Yashwant Singh, 176-182 participant observation, 355 participation, chain of, 65, 340 Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA), 356, 361 party systems in Indian states, 181-182, 220, 227-228 public spending and, 79-80, 327-328 Paswan, Ram Vilas, 284 Patel, Sardar, 124 Patna district, 364, 288 patriarchy, 265, 268-269. See also gender inequality patronage. See also clientelism in Indian democracy, 29, 76-78, 132, 134 peasant resistance, in Uttarakhand, 222-225 Perry, Elizabeth, 313 Perry, James, 313, 345 Peters, B. Guy, 323 PISA. See Programme for International Student Assessment police agencies, 123-124, 134, 193, 333

policy feedback, 21 in societal feedback, 60-61 policy implementation, 31, 32, 85 bureaucratic norms and, 17-19, 50-52, causal mechanisms for, 50-52, 56-67 in China, 50 clientelism and, 78 conceptualization of, 36-39 context in study of, 25-27 defining, 35-36, 38 deliberation and, 58-59 from deliberative bureaucracy, 18, 58-59 in developing countries, 35 elite decisions in, 37 in India, 23 from legalistic bureaucracy, 58 operationalization of, 40-42 politics of, 38-39, 339 rule interpretation in, 37 in rural UP, 138-143 scholarship on, 37-38 school infrastructure and, 196-200 social welfare and, 37-38 societal feedback and, 339-341 society in, 39 the state and, 36 street-level bureaucracy and, 342-343 political competition. See also party systems in Indian states, 178-179, 181-182, 306 public goods provision and, 78, 311-312 political culture, 82-84 caste system and, 82-83 subnational comparison of, 83-84 Weiner on, 82-83 political mobilization, 79-80. See also community mobilization in Bihar, 282-283 in Kerala, 306 public spending on education and, 79-80 societal feedback and, 80 in UP, 80, 130 Posner, Dan, 38-39 PRA. See Participatory Rural Appraisal pragmatism, 55 in Dewey's political philosophy, 55-56 in Maoist thought, 313 Praja Mandal movement, 175



416

Pratham, 42, 285-288, 290-291, 294 predatory bureaucracies, 6, 78 preschool services, 231 primary education, 36, 64, 71, 82, 86-88 administrative tasks for, 40 in Bihar, 27, 278-295 as career path, 105-106 case selection, 24-30 in China, 311-312 comparative indicators for, 42-46 completion rates, 109 coproduction in, 39, 213-217 deliberation and, 186 deliberative bureaucracy and, 187-200 in developing countries, 75 economics of, 10 expansion of, 115 explanations for outcomes in, 14-16 in Finland, 302, 319 fiscal responsibility for, 106-107 in France, 302, 321-323 goals of, 9 in HP, 13-14, 171, 187-200 implementation of, 8-11, 346-348 in India, 11-14, 86-116, 311 inequality and, 9-10 in Kerala, 303-304, 306 politics of, 10-11, 75-76 schools, 197 social capital and, 81-82 social welfare and, 9-10 timeline of Indian government policies on, 98-100 in UP, 27, 105, 120 in Uttarakhand, 220-221 Weiner on, 105-106 primary school monitoring, by MTAs, 204-207 principal-agent framework, 49 applied to bureaucracy, 49 applied to developing countries, 50 multidimensional complexity and, 49 Pritchett, Lant, 10-11, 40, 58, 70, 74, 332-333, 344-345 private schooling, 5, 346-347 in Kerala, 306-307 RTE Act and, 114-115 in UP, 161-162 in Uttarakhand, 257–258 PROBE report, 12-13, 202-203 procedural democracy, 54-55

Index

Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), 317-319, 321-322 Progresa, 346 public agencies, as collective action sites, public apathy, 157-158, 167-168, 340 public goods provision community social capital and, 183-184 and credit claiming, 78 clientelism and, 76-79, 132 geography and, 15, 171 and state embeddedness, 72 spending on, 79-80 public infrastructure in UP, 226 in Uttarakhand, 226 public policy. See also policy implementation implementation of, 6 and institutional performance, 38 in developing countries, 34-35 public reason, 55 public services implementation of, 6, 7, 17, 51-52 in India, 6-7, 11-14 NGO involvement in, 113 the state as actor in, 22 subnational differences in, 13 public spending, 5-6 on education, 6, 87, 95, 97-100, 107, 304 in India, 95 Pulse Polio campaign, 231 Punjab Hills, 173-176 Putnam, Robert, 80-81 racial discrimination, 11 Ramachandran, Vimala, 111-112, 264 Ramamurti Committee, 102 Rao, P. V. Narasimha, 95-96, 101, 102, Rao, Vijayendra, 20, 21, 64-65, 81 Rashtriya Janata Dal (RJD), 283-284 rationalization, of teachers in Uttarakhand, 238-248 Rawls, John, 55 redistribution, 75-76

relational approach, to bureaucracy, 50

case selection and, 24-30

generalizability of, 28-29

research design, 22



Index 417

multilevel comparative analysis, 22-24 program rule-bending, 199 research methods, 22, 30-31 reporting of, 140 ethnographic fieldwork, 31 VECs and, 203 focus group discussions, 357-362 Save the Children, 113-114 interviews, 353-355, 361-362 Scheduled Castes (SCs), 130-131, 133, 227 multilevel field research, 351-357 Scheduled Tribes, 227 oral histories, 356-357 school access, 42 positionality and, 360, 361 in HP, 42-43 qualitative data and, 357-362 school infrastructure responsive regulation, 58 legalistic bureaucracy and provision of, Revenue villages, in AVP, 144 134-148 policy implementation and, 196-200 Rich, Jessica, 337 Right to Education [RTE] Act, 12-13, schooling, education goals compared 42-43, 78, 87 with, 40 civic and judicial action for, 113 Scott, James, 58-59, 65, 344 rights-based agenda and, 112-113 SCs. See Scheduled Castes criticism of, 114-115 SC-ST Prevention of Atrocities Act, 247 infrastructure standards stipulated SDGs. See UN Sustainable Development by, 42 passage of, 112-115 SEED. See Society for Environmental and RJD. See Rashtriya Janata Dal Rural Development Robinson, James, 16 Self Help Groups (SHGs), 152, 265-266, Roorkee, 161-162, 222 287. See also women's associations RTE Act. See Right to Education Act Sen, Amartya rule interpretation capability-centered approach of, 19-20 of MSUP, 266 on democracy, 5-6 in policy implementation, 37 Seva Mandir, 105 rule of law, 52-54, 63, 315-316 Shani, Ornit, 124-125 Sharpe, K., 323-324 rules-based accountability, 259 legalism and, 54 Sherman, Richard, 21, 48, 332 rules-based protocols, 61-62 SHGs. See Self Help Groups Ruparelia, Sanjay, 112-113 Shimla, 6-7, 175, 180, 204, 205, 210, 212 ryotwari, 16 Shiksha Karmi Program, 105 Shklar, Judith, 52-53 Sabel, Charles, 59, 319-320 SIDA. See Swedish International Saharanpur, 138-139, 141-142, 144, 146, Development Agency 151, 156-157, 161-166, 186, 362-364 Singh, Charan, 127-128 AVP in, 146 Singh, Manmohan, 101, 113-114, 148-149 legalistic bureaucracy in, 168 Singh, Prerna, 157–158, 279, 301–302, 305-306 MSUP in, 273-274 Samajwadi Party (SP), 128-130, 132-133 Singh, V. P., 128-130 Samyukt Socialist Party, 23, 282 Sinha, A., 23, 69 Sant Ravidas, 158 Sitapur, 138-139, 167-168, 186, 273, Sanyal, Paromita, 64-65, 81 362-364 Saraswati Shishu Mandir, 252-253 AVP in, 147 Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA), 12-13, legalistic bureaucracy in, 168 87, 109-112, 167, 198-199, sanghas in, 277 245-246, 286-287 SSA in, 140 advantages of, 135-136 Skocpol, Theda, 20 autonomy of, 136-137 Slater, Daniel, 69 history of, 135 Smith, Adam, 38 legalistic bureaucracy and, 135-138 social capital, 80-82



418

Index

social capital (cont.) definition of, 80-81 primary education and, 81-82 in study villages, 81-82 in Uttarakhand, 259-260 social development, Kerala model of, 303-310 social movements. See also collective action; community mobilization; political mobilization deliberative bureaucracy in, 303-310 in India, 337-338 in Kerala, 302 social programs, 23 Social Uplift Through Rural Action (SUTRA), 201 social welfare, 8-11 policy implementation and, 37-38 primary education and, 9-10 Social Work and Research Center (SWRC), 105 societal feedback, 60-67, 71 defining, 21, 51-52 deliberative bureaucracy and, 64-65, 74-75 in democracy, 74-75 in developmental state, 334-335 legalistic bureaucracy and, 74-75 as a form of policy feedback, 60-61 policy implementation and, 339-341 political mobilization and, 80 society in policy implementation, 39 the state and, 39 Society for Environmental and Rural Development (SEED), 252, 254-255 Somanathan, Rohini, 79-80 Soss, Joe, 9, 51, 60-61, 339-340 South Korea, 75 SP. See Samajwadi Party SSA. See Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan Stasavage, David, 78, 294 the state. See also bureaucracy; developmental state; Indian state as actor in public service provision, 22 bureaucratic norms and formation of, 69 policy implementation and, 36 relational treatment of, 24 society and, 39 state capacity, 22, 36-38, 63 bureaucratic norms and, 70 for inclusive development, 19-21

state-building, 69, 344-345 and the origins of bureaucratic norms, 67-69 in UP, 121-135 in HP, 173-186 States Reorganisation Act, 92 States Reorganisation Commission of 1953, 92 Stern, Nicholas, 279 street-level bureaucracy, 7, 17-18, 70, 71 collective welfare institutions and, 341-343 policy implementation and, 342-343 student participation, 44 in HP, 44-45 in Uttarakhand, 44-45 Student Welfare Group (SWG), 320 subnational comparison, 22, 31 of bureaucratic norms, 68 in India, 23 pitfalls in, 25-27 of political culture, 83-84 sub-Saharan Africa, education in, 4-5 SUTRA. See Social Uplift Through Rural Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA), 104 Swidler, Anne, 84 Tamil Nadu, 83, 93-94, 105, 119-120 TaRL. See Teaching at the Right Level task complexity, 37-38. See also codifiable tasks; intensive tasks; complex tasks indicators for, 43-44 teachers, 4 absence of, 44-45 under Bihar's MG program, 290-291 deliberation among, 190-192 in France, 324-325 local politicians and, 244 main duties of, 292 politicization of, 275-276 training, 190-192, 243

rationalization policy in Uttarakhand,

teachers' unions, 4, 39, 75, 111, 321,

negotiation of in Uttarakhand,

Teaching at the Right Level (TaRL),

238-248

324-325

241-244

290-292, 347



Index

419

adoption of, 291-292 teaching input indicators, 44 Teets, Jessica, 313 Teitelbaum, Emmanuel, 79-80, 327-328 Tendler, Judith, 48-49, 346 Thachil, Tariq, 79-80, 327-328 Tharakan, P. K. M., 306-307 Thelen, Kathleen, 37, 88, 342-343 thin accountability, 58 Tilly, Charles, 323 trust-building, 361 Tsai, Lily, 50, 316-317 on embeddedness, 72-73 on state accountability, 72 Uganda, 294 UKD. See Uttarakhand Kranti Dal UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), 4-5, 107-109 UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), 343 UNDP. See United Nations Development Program UNESCO, 103, 106 UNICEF, 103, 113-114 United Nations Development Program (UNDP), 11 United States administrative burden in, 63 education in, 11 Forest Service, 48 policy feedback in, 60-61 state capacity in, 330-331 Unni Krishnan v. The State of Andhra Pradesh, 113 untouchability, 174-175, 130-131, 281, 305. See also caste system Midday Meal Programme in UP and, 149, 152-157 UP. See Uttar Pradesh USN. See Uttarakhand Seva Nidhi Uttar Pradesh (UP), 14, 24-25, 32, 119-120, 262-263, 315-316, 362-364 caste system in, 122, 127-135, 269-270 clientelism in, 78 colonial state, 122-124 common rules in, 137 Dalits in, 138-139 deliberation in, 263-278 democracy in, 316-317

elections in, 137 electoral dynamics in, 182 formation of, 122 geography of, 28-29 government leadership of, 128-129 Jat belt, 186 law and order bureaucracy in, 122-124, 127-135 learning outcomes in, 45-46 legalistic bureaucracy in, 28-29, 121-131, 135, 168-169 literacy rate, 120 lower-caste political mobilization in, 127-135 Mahila Samakhya in, 263-278 MDM Program in, 149 policy implementation in rural, 138-143 primary education in, 27, 105, 120 public order in, 123-124 public services in, 13 socioeconomic indicators in, 139 Uttarakhand separation from, 29, 220 Village Education Committees in, 345-346 zamindari in, 122 Uttar Pradesh Hill Development Department, 225 Uttarakhand, 13-16, 24-25, 42-43, 92-93, 186, 220, 232-233, 364 caste system in, 227 collective action in, 222-225 community mobilization in, 222-225 creation of, 222-229 decentralization in, 232 electoral politics in, 227-228 exit in, 221 geography of, 222 HP compared with, 29 learning outcomes in, 45-46 legalism in, 229-234 legalistic bureaucracy in, 32, 82, 229-234, 259-260 literacy rate, 220 Pahari identification in, 225–229 peasant resistance in, 222-225 primary education in, 220-221 public infrastructure in, 226 social capital in, 259-260 student participation in, 44-45 study map of, 222 teachers in, 238-248 UP separation from, 29, 220

demographics of, 28-29



420

Uttarakhand (cont.) voice in, 221 Uttarakhand Kranti Dal (UKD), 227 Uttarakhand Seva Nidhi (USN), 234, 235, 237 Uttaranchal, 227. See also Uttarakhand

Vajpayee, Atal Bihari, 109–110 Varieties of Capitalism, 10-11, 318-319 Varshney, Ashutosh, 128 VECs. See Village Education Committees Village Education Committees (VECs), 61-62, 150-151, 163, 255-256, 287, 336-337 accountability and, 345-346 on MDM Programme, 112, 150 monitoring, 237 SSA and, 203 in UP, 345-346 women's associations in, 256 village governance, in Dharmaur, 209-213 vocational training, 10-11 voice, in Uttarakhand, 221 voter-politician relationships, 76-78

Warren, Mark, 312-313 Weber, Max on bureaucracy and ethos, 332 on legalism, 53 Weberian bureaucracy, 6, 20-21, 48-49, 70, 332 autonomy of, 73-74 formal structures of, 54 hierarchical design of, 46-47 insulated from society, 64, 64 legalistic bureaucracy distinguished from, 64

on policy implementation, 34-35

in India, 35

Weiner, Myron, 34

Index

on political culture, 82-83 on primary education, 105-106 welfare, 8-11. See also social welfare Wiborg, Susanne, 10, 320-321 wicked problems, 41-42 Wilson, James Q., 38, 47-48 Woessmann, Ludger, 10-11, 318 women's associations, 156, 237. See also Self Help Groups in Bihar, 287 in HP, 184-185, 201, 211-215 in Uttarakhand, 246-247, 251, 254-257, 304 in UP, 265-267, 273, 277 deliberation in, 267-268 See also Mahila Samakhya UP women's empowerment, 264-265. See also women's associations; Mahila Samakhya UP; Uttarakhand Seva Nidhi deliberation and, 268-269 deliberative bureaucracy for, 264-270 Woolcock, Michael, 40, 65, 70, 74, 80, 344-345 World Bank, 12-13, 36, 88, 103 on DPEP, 106 India and, 103-104 Swajal Project, 237 World Education Forum in Dakar, 107-109 Yadav, Lalu Prasad, 284-286 on caste system, 282-283 Yadav, Mulayam Singh, 132-133, 143, 227 Yanow, Dvora, 50-51

Zacka, Bernardo, 50-51 zamindari, 122, 127, 130–131, 183–184, 280-281 collective action and, 16