

ADVANCE PRAISE

The Dravidian Model makes a compelling case for a development strategy powered by populist mobilization around regional cultural identity. Tamil Nadu, the authors argue, has created more effective institutions and delivered better outcomes on food, health, education and poverty reduction than other Indian states. This strategy has emphasised status inequalities of caste and gender rather than income inequalities with remarkable success. This book needs to be read and discussed.

Partha Chatterjee, *Columbia University*

Adopting a neo-Gramscian approach, Kalaiyaran and Vijayabaskar have developed an original take on Tamil Nadu's economy, society and politics. With detailed attention to achievements in human development, structural economic change and accumulation, they reveal the ideas, politics and institutions distinguishing social populism from economic populism. Through both kinds of Dravidian left populism, countervailing power has been built and aspirations against entrenched inequalities have been simultaneously mobilised. The state is central to their co-ordination, continuities, relative success and limitations. This book is sure to generate the conversation the authors seek about the struggle for social justice that is now so urgently needed.

Barbara Harriss-White, *Oxford University*

The Dravidian Model breaks new ground, not only in making sense of Tamil Nadu's political economy but also in advancing our understanding of the possibilities for socially and economically inclusive development in the post-colonial world. The book exhaustively documents and explains the historical and cultural roots of Tamil Nadu's opportunity-equalizing politics and carves out new theoretical frontiers in the debate on left populism. This should be required reading for all those interested in the democratic possibilities of transforming deeply unequal societies.

Patrick Heller, *Brown University*

The Dravidian Model offers the most convincing explanation of the unmatched level of development that south India has reached, compared to the rest of the

sub-continent. It shows that political mobilization resulting in social change and less inequalities, makes redistribution more natural. And this process prepares the ground for real development—in terms of education and health, for instance—because of a certain democratization of growth. By contrast, Kalaiyaran A. and M. Vijayabaskar expose those who claim that the economic trajectory of western Indian states are success stories—they are models of growth without development when the Dravidian model offers growth with development!

Christophe Jaffrelot, *CERI-Sciences Po*

The Dravidian movement has been studied extensively for its ideology and political mobilization. But its impact on social development and economic growth has rarely been subjected to such meticulous scrutiny. Of special importance here is the analysis of how the Dravidian movement brought lower castes into the entrepreneurial sphere, lifting Tamil Nadu not only socially but also economically. A compelling and much needed analysis.

Ashutosh Varshney, *Brown University*

THE DRAVIDIAN MODEL

The Dravidian Model adds to the growing literature on the dynamics of subnational development in the Global South by mapping the politics and processes contributing to the development trajectory of Tamil Nadu, south India. The book foregrounds the role of populist mobilisation against caste-based inequalities in shaping this development.

Subnational variations in economic and social outcomes across India, one of the fastest growing economies, continue to pose conceptual and policy challenges. States that do well on the growth front lag in human development, while human development in a few other states has not been accompanied by sustained growth in productive sectors. Tamil Nadu bucks this trend and has managed to combine relatively high levels of growth and sustained productive capacities with human development. Drawing upon fresh data, literature, policy documents and primary fieldwork, this book seeks to explain the social and economic development of Tamil Nadu in terms of populist mobilisation against caste-based inequalities. Dominant policy narratives on inclusive growth assume a sequential logic whereby returns to growth are used to invest in socially inclusive policies. By focusing more on redistribution of access to opportunities in the modern economy, the state has sustained a relatively more inclusive and dynamic growth process.

Democratisation of economic opportunities has made such broad-based growth possible even as interventions in social sectors reinforce the former. The book thus also speaks to the nascent literature on the relationship between the logic of modernisation and status-based inequalities in the Global South. Importantly, it contributes to the growing literature on how regional politics and political regimes shape global development trajectories.

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THE DRAVIDIAN MODEL

Interpreting the Political Economy of
Tamil Nadu

KALAIYARASAN A.

VIJAYABASKAR M.



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To the 'Manure' of Anti-Caste Struggles

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ABBREVIATIONS

AIADMK	All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam
AICTE	All India Council for Technical Education
AISHE	All India Survey on Higher Education
AITUC	All India Trade Union Congress
ANC	antenatal care
ANM	auxiliary nurse midwife
APL	above poverty line
ASER	<i>Annual Status of Education Report</i>
ASI	<i>Annual Survey of Industries</i>
BCs	Backward Classes
BEL	Bharat Electronics Limited
BHEL	Bharat Heavy Electricals Limited
BJP	Bharatiya Janata Party
BPL	below poverty line
BPSC	belated payment surcharge
CHC	Community Health Centre
CHN	Community Health Nurse
CITU	Centre of Indian Trade Unions
CODISSIA	Coimbatore District Small Scale Industries Association
CPI-M	Communist Party of India-Marxist
CSS	centrally sponsored scheme
CWSN	child with special needs
DICCI	Dalit Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry
DK	Dravidar Kazhagam

ABBREVIATIONS

DMCHO	District Maternal and Child Health Officer
DMK	Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam
DVTS	Dravidar Vivasaya Thozhilalar Sangam/Dravidian Agricultural Workers' Union
EU	European Union
EXIM POLICY	export–import policy
FCI	Food Corporation of India
FITE	Forum for IT Employees
FLFPR	female labour force participation rate
GER	gross enrolment ratio
GO	government order
GSDP	gross state domestic product
GST	goods and services tax
GVA	gross value added
HAL	Hindustan Aeronautics Limited
HCL	Hindustan Computers Limited
HHI	Herfindahl–Hirschman Index
HR	human resource
ICDS	Integrated Child Development Services
IDA	Industrial Disputes Act
IMR	infant mortality rate
INTUC	Indian National Trade Union Congress
IOT	Internet of Things
IT	information technology
ITES	information–technology enabled services
ITI	Indian Telephone Industries Limited
LFPR	labour force participation rate
LPF	Labour Progressive Front
MBCs	Most Backward Classes
MDGS	Millennium Development Goals
MHRD	Ministry of Human Resource Development
MLA	Member of the Legislative Assembly
MMR	maternal mortality ratio
MNC	multinational corporation

ABBREVIATIONS

MNREGA	Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act
MP	Member of Parliament
MRP	mixed reference period
MSME	Ministry of Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises
NABARD	National Bank for Agriculture and Rural Development
NAFIS	NABARD All-India Rural Financial Inclusion Survey
NCAER	National Council of Applied Economic Research
NCEUS	National Commission for Enterprises in the Unorganised Sector
NEET	National Eligibility Cum Entrance Test
NFHS	National Family Health Survey
NIES	newly industrialising economies
NITI AAYOG	National Institution for Transforming India
NMP	Noon Meal Programme
NRHM	National Rural Health Mission
NSDP	net state domestic product
NSS	National Sample Survey
NSSO	National Sample Survey Office
NUEPA	National University of Educational Planning and Administration
OBC	Other Backward Classes
PAC	Public Affairs Centre
PDS	Public Distribution System
PETA	People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals
PGI	Performance Grading Index
PHC	primary health centre
PPP	public–private partnership
PSE	public sector enterprise
SC	Scheduled Caste
SDP	state domestic product
SEQI	school education quality index
SEWA	Self Employed Women’s Association
SEZ	special economic zone

ABBREVIATIONS

SHN	sector health nurse
SIDCO	Tamil Nadu Small Industries Development Corporation
SIPCOT	State Industries Promotion Corporation of Tamil Nadu
SPIC	Southern Petrochemicals Industries Corporation Limited
SRM	Self-Respect Movement
TAMIN	Tamil Nadu Minerals Limited
TANSI	Tamil Nadu Small Industries Corporation Limited
TCMPF	Tamil Nadu Co-operative Milk Producers' Federation
TCS	Tata Consultancy Services
TEDA	Tamil Nadu Energy Development Agency
TFR	total fertility rate
TIDCO	Tamil Nadu Industrial Development Corporation
TMKTPS	Tamil Maanila Kattida Thozhilalar Panchayat Sangam
TNCSC	Tamil Nadu Civil Supplies Corporation
TNHB	Tamil Nadu Housing Board
<i>TNHDR</i>	<i>Tamil Nadu Human Development Report</i>
TNMSC	Tamil Nadu Medical Services Corporation
TNPSC	Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission
TNSCB	Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board
TNSTC	Tamil Nadu State Transport Corporation
TNUDF	Tamil Nadu Urban Development Fund
TPDS	Targeted Public Distribution System
U5MR	under-five mortality rate
ULB	urban local body
VHN	village health nurse

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