

INDEX

- affirmative action. See reservation/
 affirmative action/quotas
- Adishesiah, M., 89
- agricultural household, 151–53, 168
- agricultural wages, 153–54, 164
- All India Anna Dravida Munnetra
 Kazhagam (AIADMK), 47,
 49–50, 74–75, 77, 98, 187, 190,
 207n18, 219
- All India Council for Technical
 Education (AICTE), 213
- All India Trade Union Congress
 (AITUC), 187, 202, 208n21
- All-India Rural Financial Inclusion
 Survey (NAFIS), 151, 171n5
- Aloysius, G., 37
- Ambedkar, B. R., Babasaheb, 78
- Amma Unavagam, 195, 209n35
- Anandhi, S., 47, 50n2, 63, 171n7
- anganwadi, 100, 104, 111n17
- Anitha, 52, 79, 214, 228
- Anjugam Ammaiyaar inter-caste
 marriage assistance scheme, 47
- Annadurai, C. N., 38–39, 50n2, 74,
 113, 132
- antenatal care, 86–87, 101
- Appadurai, A., 46, 52–53
- Apprentices Act, 186
- Arasu, V., 31, 60
- Arooran, N., 32, 61, 64
- Attippakkam Venkatala Nayakar, 31
- autonomy, 2, 24n2, 27, 40, 42, 114, 135,
 160, 224–27
- auxiliary nurse midwives (ANMs), 92
- backward castes/intermediate castes,
 10, 44, 49, 74, 123, 139, 149, 165,
 171n1, 171n7, 182, 216–18
- backward class(es), 51n11, 55, 65, 74–75,
 121
- Backward Classes Commission, 46, 74,
 78, 228
- backward regions, 217
- Basel Mission, 129
- Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), 187
- bloc, historic, 11, 26, 30–35, 50n5, 221
- bureaucracy, inclusive, 83
- capabilities, 1, 3, 7–8, 16, 79, 119, 123, 139,
 166, 174, 225

INDEX

- capacity to aspire, 46, 52–53, 79
- capital accumulation, 1–2, 4–6, 10–13, 23, 28, 39–40, 48, 79, 112–14, 122–23, 125, 130, 139, 144, 147, 158, 174, 193, 217, 222–23, 225
- caste solidarities, 11, 42–43, 51, 107, 114, 186, 188
- caste status, 33, 121, 183, 211, 217, 221
- Centre of Indian Trade Unions (CITU), 187, 207n18
- centre–state relations, 114
- Chatterjee, P., 1, 4, 20, 28, 43–44, 222, 229
- Chetty, Theagaraya, 62, 73, 128
- circulating elites, 140
- civil society, 1, 30, 41, 64, 131, 174, 184, 229
- claim-making, 29, 45, 105, 185, 188
- clientelism, 220
- clientelist, 46, 48, 220
- clusters, 17, 118, 133, 135, 142n15
- Coimbatore District Small Scale Industries Association (CODISSIA), 139
- collective action, 11, 105, 148, 159, 165
- collective bargaining, 188, 192
- Common sense, 23, 26–27, 29, 40–43, 45, 52–53, 76–77, 130–31, 173–74, 216, 218, 221, 229
- Communist Party of India-Marxist (CPI-M), 148–49
- Community Health Centre (CHC), 90
- Conferment of Ownership of Homestead Act, 149
- Congress (party), 37, 39, 63, 77, 114, 129, 131, 133, 142n7, 148–49, 187, 216
- connectivity, rural–urban, 165, 214
- Contract Labour (Regulation and Abolition) Act, 185
- contractualisation, 173, 177, 179, 185
- cooperatives, 39, 130, 134–35, 160, 195, 208n25
- corruption, 75, 219, 226–27
- crony populism, 219
- cultivators, 17, 125, 128, 130, 147, 153, 155
- Dalit Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry (DICCI), 17, 122
- Dalits, 49, 75, 119, 121–22, 130, 136, 139, 147, 149–50, 155–57, 162, 164–65, 171n1, 171n6–7, 180, 182–83, 216–18, 220
- Damodaran, H., 17, 112–13, 118–19, 125, 130, 137–39, 142n5, 217
- delta, 148–49, 171n2–3, 229
- demand, social, 27, 29
- demand, popular, 23, 27, 29, 114, 131, 211, 224
- Dewey, J., 81n14
- Dharmambal Ammaiyar Memorial Widow Remarriage Scheme, 47
- diversification, economic, 157
- Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK), 38, 46–47, 49, 50n2, 62–64, 74–75, 77, 99, 114, 125–26, 131–33, 142n7, 147–50, 160, 174, 187–88, 190–91, 193, 207n18, 216, 219–20, 222, 229
- Dravidar Kazhagam, 50n2, 74, 114,

INDEX

148. See also Dravida Munnetra
 Kazhagam
- Dravidar Vivasaya Thozhilalar
 Sangam (DVTS), 148
- Dravidian common sense, 26–27,
 40–43, 45, 52, 76, 173–74, 216, 218,
 229
- Dravidian-Tamil, 10, 27, 29, 33, 40,
 42–44, 106, 210, 214, 218, 222
- ecology, 228
- economic popular, 29, 45–48, 53, 65,
 79, 83, 107, 145, 149, 159, 163, 166,
 189–90, 192–95, 214–15, 221–22,
 224, 228
- education, primary, 34, 46, 53, 58–61, 63,
 66, 80n4, 212
- education, tertiary, 21, 53, 65, 71, 75, 79,
 80n5, 181–83, 212–13
- educational attainment, 57, 75, 101, 105,
 215, 217
- election manifesto, 160, 188, 229
- electoral funding, 219, 227
- elite bias, 42, 71–72, 75, 82, 96, 211–12
- elites, caste, 30–33, 36–37, 39–41, 43, 79,
 87, 113, 122, 130, 133, 137, 143n23,
 147–48, 150, 180, 183, 211, 215,
 220
- embedded autonomy, 2–3, 24n2
- embedded labour, 187, 214
- entrepreneurship, 12, 17, 23, 112, 115,
 119–24, 136–37, 139, 217, 228
- equivalence, demand, 27, 29, 32–33, 38,
 43–46, 48, 114, 218, 221–22
- Evans, P., 1–2, 24n2, 82
- federal, 3, 225
- federal relations, 221
- female labour force participation rate
 (FLFPR), 176
- Food Corporation of India (FCI), 160
- food security, 162
- Forum for IT Employees
 (FITE), 188
- Galanter, M., 41
- Geetha, V., 26, 32, 35–36, 39, 49, 73,
 129
- governance, 3, 5, 17–18, 36, 83, 123,
 218–19, 226
- governmentality, 48
- Gramsci, A., 29, 45, 50n5
- gross attendance ratio, 67–68
- gross enrolment ratio, 21–22, 57, 66
- Gurusami, L. C., 129
- Harriss, B., 103–04
- Harriss, J., 3, 9, 12, 49, 59, 112, 145, 147,
 150–51, 153, 157
- Harriss-White, B., 1, 28, 119, 125
- healthcare system, 16, 83, 97, 213
- health insurance, 7, 83, 107, 191
- hegemony, 26, 28, 33, 36, 148, 216
- Heller, P., 1–2, 13, 82
- Herfindahl–Hirschman Index
 (HHI), 118
- Heyer, J., 125, 194
- Hindu Succession Act, 47
- horizontal solidarities, 43, 51, 107
- human capital, 7, 10, 24n8, 47, 53, 68,
 72–73, 124, 136, 216

INDEX

- identity-based mobilisation, 11, 28, 144, 173, 188
- Indian National Congress (INC). See Congress (party)
- Indian National Trade Union Congress (INTUC), 187, 202, 207n18
- Industrial Disputes Act (IDA), 185
- industrial growth, 12, 124, 193
- Industrial Tribunal, 185
- inequality, 2, 11, 18, 20, 24n1, 31, 39, 41, 58, 67–68, 71, 75, 154, 166, 179, 211–12
- infant mortality, 22, 82, 85
- informal economy, 174, 206n5
- information technology, 16, 119
- inheritance rights, 219
- in-service quota, 99
- institutionalised populism, 133–35, 221
- Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS), 64, 100, 103–04, 195
- inter-caste disparity, 57, 181, 215–18
- intra-caste disparity, 215–18
- Irschick, E., 32, 72, 80n10
- Jaffrelot, C., 42, 75
- jallikattu, 228
- Jayalalithaa, J., 77, 209n35
- Jenkins, R., 8, 24n6
- Jeyaranjan, J., 145, 147–51, 153, 157, 219
- Justice Party, 26, 30, 34–36, 50n2, 53, 61–64, 66, 72–74, 95–96, 103, 128–29, 131
- Kaali, S., 31, 33, 61
- Kamaraj, K., 63, 103, 111n16, 131, 158
- karnam, 150
- Karunanidhi, M., 77, 89, 189, 191, 193, 208n26, 220
- Kennedy, L., 3, 6, 8, 12, 135
- kinship networks, 106
- Krishnan, R., 26
- Labour Court, 185
- labour laws, 191, 223
- labour market flexibility, 173, 177, 185, 195, 214
- Labour Progressive Front (LPF), 174
- labour relations, 145, 151, 156, 159, 166, 173
- Laclau, E., 26–28, 43–44, 48, 210
- land ownership, 40, 115, 119–21, 123, 146, 149–50, 221
- land reforms, 10, 12, 41, 76, 144, 147, 149, 226
- land relations, 145, 148, 150–51, 165
- landless labourers, 150
- left populism, 27, 210
- liberalisation, trade, 224
- licensing, 113, 131, 135
- Living Wage Report, 195
- logic of difference, 43–44, 46, 221–22
- logic of equivalence, 48, 221–22
- Madras Secular Society, 31
- Mahadevan, R., 112–13, 122, 130
- Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MNREGA), 145, 163–65

INDEX

- Mandal Commission, 77
 Manoharan, K. R., 39–40, 49
 Marwari, 113
 maternal mortality, 22, 82, 108
 medical colleges, 42, 52, 68, 92, 97–99,
 109n5, 110n9
 mercantile communities, 17, 39–40, 132
 MGR (M. G. Ramachandran), 74, 190
 Minimum Needs Programme, 91
 minimum wages, 163, 190, 195
 modernisation, inclusive, 23, 26, 39,
 48–49, 50n2, 112, 128, 223
 Moovalur Ramamirtham Ammaiyar
 Nainivu Marriage Assistance
 Scheme, 101
 most backward classes (MBC), 65
 Mouffe, C., 27–28, 210
 multi-level approach, 4, 24n2, 211
- National Commission for Enterprises
 in the Unorganised Sector
 (NCEUS), 177
 National Rural Health Mission
 (NRHM), 92
 nationalisation, transport, 126
 NCAER index, 124
 NEET (National Eligibility cum
 Entrance Test), 52, 76, 79, 214
 Neyveli Lignite Corporation, 132
 non-Brahmin, 26, 30, 33–35, 43–44,
 51n16, 61–64, 72–73, 80n10, 95,
 128
 non-farm sector and employment, 17,
 41, 125–26, 145, 151–58, 164–66, 168,
 171n4, 176, 220
 noon meal scheme, 63–64, 83–84, 96,
 103–04, 166, 195, 214
- Other Backward Classes (OBCs),
 51n11, 55–56, 64, 68, 74–75, 87, 98,
 121–22, 170, 180–82, 200–01, 218
 Orientalist, 30, 32–33, 50n6
 out-of-pocket expenditure, 82, 102, 212
- padial, 156–157
 panaiyal, 156
 Pandian, M. S. S., 26–27, 30–32, 34–36,
 40, 44, 47, 49, 50n6, 51n16, 73–75,
 77, 171n7, 216
 Pandian, Punitha, 49
 Panneerselvan, A. S., 114
 Pareto, 140
 patronage, 11, 46, 48, 125, 216, 220
 people, construction, 26–29, 210, 229
 Periyar. Ramasamy, E. V., 26–27, 34–37,
 39–40, 50n2, 61, 74, 77, 113, 131, 150,
 183
 PHC, 89–92, 99, 101–02, 105, 166
 Phule, Jyotibai Mahatma, 78
 Piketty, T., 211
 political Left, 186
 politics of recognition, 114, 173
 politics of redistribution, 173
 populism, 10, 27–30, 42–48, 133, 210,
 219, 221–22, 229
 populist mobilization, 210–11, 230
 postnatal services, 89, 101
 Poverty indicators, 11–14, 18–20, 24n5,
 25n12–14, 46, 53, 78, 160–62, 175,
 228

INDEX

- primary health care, 89–91, 99, 101, 105, 166
- productivist ethos, 27, 40, 113–14, 126, 128–31, 229
- public action, 94, 105, 107
- public distribution system (PDS), 145, 159–66, 169–70, 193, 214
- public health, 20, 23, 82–83, 89, 92–94, 96–102, 106, 109n6, 110n8
- Public Health Act, 96
- public health infrastructure, 16, 82–84, 107, 213
- public procurement, 102, 110n14
- public sector, 39, 46, 66, 97, 107, 113, 120, 132–33, 180, 215, 224
- public–private partnership (PPP), 15, 135
- Rajadurai, S. V., 26, 32, 35–36, 39, 49, 73, 129
- Rajamannar Committee, 114
- Rasathurai, P., 61–62, 66
- real wage, 153, 164, 179, 199
- redistribution, 7, 27, 36, 39, 47, 72, 76, 114, 173
- reforms, pro-business, 8, 24n6
- reforms, pro-market, 6, 23, 24n6
- renewable energy, 124
- rent-seeking, 219, 226–227
- reservation/affirmative action/quotas, 10, 23, 27, 40–42, 46, 51n10–11, 53, 69, 72–78, 80n10, 83–84, 95, 98–99, 106, 110n12, 124, 163, 174, 179–82, 184–85, 194, 196, 212–13, 215, 217–22, 229
- reserve wage, 165, 196, 214
- Rosanvallon, P., 44
- rural electrification, 124, 158
- rural manufacturing, 157–59
- Rural–urban, 37, 47, 125, 155, 165, 214, 216–17, 219
- ryotwari system, 128
- Sanyal, K., 1, 48, 190–91, 223
- Sattanathan A. N., 78–79, 228
- Sattanathan Commission, 78
- Scheduled Castes (SCs), 11, 22, 51n10, 54, 65, 77, 87, 172n8
- Scheduled Tribes (STs), 51n10, 54, 65, 77, 125
- school infrastructure, 53, 57–59, 64–66, 79, 104, 171n4, 227
- self-respect, 26, 35–37, 39, 47, 53, 50n2, 73
- Self-Respect Movement (SRM), 26, 30, 34–37, 47, 49, 50n2, 77, 128, 148
- semi-servitude, 156
- semi-urban, 138, 153, 171n5
- Sennett, R., 186
- services sector, 119, 137, 174, 177, 196, 198
- servitude, 156, 162
- special economic zone (SEZ), 136
- Shudra, 35, 43
- Singh, Prerna, 9, 11–12, 106, 111n18, 114
- Small Industries Development Corporation (SIDCO), 133
- Snyder, R., 1, 5–7

INDEX

- social justice, 9, 23, 26–27, 38–41, 47, 52, 61, 73, 76–78, 107, 112, 114, 131, 139, 144, 159, 179, 196, 210, 220–221, 227–228
- social Left, 186
- social networks, 106, 119, 11119, 180, 207n7
- social popular, 29, 45–48, 53, 79, 83, 105, 114, 145, 163, 189–90, 219–21
- social protection, 161–62, 165, 173, 189, 194, 196, 214, 223
- software services, 16, 119, 137, 174, 196
- solidarities, 42–43, 51, 107, 114, 186, 188
- Southern Question, 132
- Sriramachandran, R., 26–27, 43
- State Aid to Industries Act, 129
- State Industries Promotion Corporation of Tamil Nadu (SIPCOT), 133
- State Investment Potential Index, 123
- state planning commission, 83, 89, 124
- status-based inequality, 41, 211
- structural transformation, 4, 13–18, 23, 39, 46, 48, 115–19, 144, 165, 176, 195–96, 211, 214–16, 229
- Subagunaranjan, V. M. S., 49
- subnational, 1–13, 23, 24n2, 24n4–5, 26, 40, 70, 108–09, 111n18, 114, 133, 138, 144, 196, 210–12, 219, 224–26, 228–29
- Subramanian, N., 10, 15, 49, 82–83, 144, 193
- subsidies, 53, 110n9, 125, 135, 160, 169, 195
- Suntharalingam, R., 30–33
- Swaminathan, P., 112, 128–29, 142
- TAHDCO Kamarajar Adi Dravidar housing, 158
- Tamil-Dravidian. See Dravidian-Tamil
- Tamil Maanila Kattida Thozhilalar Panchayat Sangam (TMKTPS), 190
- Tamil Nadu Agricultural Lands (Record of Tenancy Rights) Act, 147, 149
- Tamil Nadu Backward Classes Commission, 78
- Tamil Nadu Civil Supplies Corporation (TNCSC), 160, 195
- Tamil Nadu Co-operative Milk Producers' Federation (TCMPF), 135
- Tamil Nadu Cultivating Tenants (Payment of Fair Rent) Act, 148
- Tamil Nadu Cultivating Tenants Protection Act, 148
- Tamil Nadu Dairy Development Corporation, 135
- Tamil Nadu Energy Development Agency (TEDA), 124
- Tamil Nadu Housing Board (TNHB), 193
- Tamil Nadu Human Development Report (TNHDR), 2–3, 58, 80n7, 109n5, 216
- Tamil Nadu Industrial Development Corporation (TIDCO), 133

INDEX

- Tamil Nadu Manual Workers
 (Regulation of Employment
 and Conditions of Work) Act,
 189–190
- Tamil Nadu Manual Workers Welfare
 Board, 189, 203
- Tamil Nadu Medical Services
 Corporation (TNMSC), 84, 102
- Tamil Nadu Public Service
 Commission (TNPSC), 99, 150
- Tamil Nadu Road Development
 Company (TNRDC), 135
- Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board
 (TNSCB), 193
- Tamil Nadu Small Industries
 Corporation Limited (TANSI),
 133
- Tamil Nadu State Development
 Finance Corporation, 126
- Tamil Nadu State Transport
 Corporation (TNSTC), 126
- Tamil Nadu Textile Corporation, 134
- Tamil Nadu Urban Development
 Fund (TNUDF), 135
- Taylor, C., 78
- technical education, 16, 23, 69, 71, 73, 76,
 80n78, 124, 128–29, 131, 142n15, 213
- tenancy, 47, 147–50
- tertiary education, 21, 53, 65, 71, 75, 79,
 80n5, 181–83, 212–13
- Thanjavur Tenants and Pannaiyals
 Protection Act, 1952, 148
- Thoss, Pundit Iyothee, 33
- ‘the people’, 26–29, 210, 229
- Theosophists, 31–33
- Thirumavelan, P., 49, 150, 171n2
- Thiruneelakandan, A., 148
- Thirunavukkarasu, K., 73
- total fertility rate (TFR), 22, 84–85
- trade union, 173, 185–90, 208n21
- transgenders, 192, 218
- transport, 18, 64, 66, 123, 126, 158, 160,
 165, 214, 219
- tripartite committee, 188
- under-nutrition, 86
- under-five mortality rate (U5MR), 22,
 84, 86–87
- universal programme/welfare, 46, 162
- urbanisation, 171n7, 175, 216, 222
- Vaishya Vacuum, 130
- Venkatachalapathy, A. R., 37, 131
- village health nurses (VHNs), 89,
 92–93, 100
- Vivek, Srinivasan, 11, 159, 162, 165
- wage differentials, gender, 58
- wage rates, 153, 158, 163, 174, 179
- wage share, 177–79, 189, 214, 223
- weak ties, 84, 105–07
- Weiner, M., 58–59, 94–96
- welfare boards, 174, 189–92, 203–05, 214
- welfare interventions, 10, 13, 47, 82, 145,
 159, 164, 166, 174, 189–95, 214, 224
- welfare state, 10, 12, 48–49
- Western Tamil Nadu, 130, 138, 142n10,
 193
- Witsoe, J., 9, 13, 42
- Wyatt, A., 3, 12, 46, 49, 112, 139, 222