

## Index

- Adivasis, see also Scheduled Tribes (STs)  
 64, 67, 71, 79, 80, 93, 107, 125–27,  
 168–69, 194, 215–18, 247, 360, 386,
- Africa, 5, 14–16, 38, 62, 81, 241, 244,  
 283, 284, 295, 300, 333, 354, 357,  
 382, 384, 406, 407, 409, 415, 416  
 Dakar 407  
 Douala 407  
 Egypt 105, 294, 406  
 Ethiopia 416  
 Nigeria 19, 195, 295, 415, 416  
 South Africa 5, 15, 19, 283, 300, 407,  
 409, 415, 416
- Agonism 11n16, 27, 32, 96, 225, 232–  
 234, 287, 289, 389–90, 411, 414, 431
- Agonistic 4, 6, 9, 11n16, 13, 30, 32, 33,  
 47, 54, 60–61, 188, 231, 234–35,  
 239, 277, 285, 287–88, 294, 338,  
 341–43, 349, 388–92, 396–401, 415,  
 417
- Agriculture 12n25, 14–15, 20–21, 70, 75,  
 78, 83–84, 86, 89, 91, 110, 114n4,  
 119–20, 129, 134–35, 143–44, 151,  
 159, 165, 172, 178, 251, 268, 271,  
 290n9, 359, 423  
 agrarian economy 61, 97, 119, 248,  
 267, 271  
 agrarian relations 61, 89, 122
- Alam, Kamruz 117, 165, 182, 432
- Alam, Shamsul 117, 220, 417, 433
- Ali, Akbar 130, 135–37, 139, 140, 205,  
 2016, 254–57, 303, 306–09, 311,  
 314–18, 320, 325–27, 329, 331,  
 419–20
- Ali, Alauddin 205, 306, 308–09, 320–21,  
 420
- Ali, Joynal 139, 203–05, 207, 254–57,  
 307, 312–14, 317–18, 422
- Ali, Mansoor 219, 270, 417, 433
- Ambedkar, BR 60, 66–69, 100, 117, 124
- Araria 48, 142, 171, 436, 438
- atyachar* 231, 234, 281, 287, 321,  
 341–42, 391
- Backwards*, also see Other Backward  
 Classes (OBCs) and Shudra 64–65,  
 97, 99, 100, 106, 127, 146–48, 154,  
 174, 181, 360, 362, 373, 384, 386,  
 389–92, 404
- Bangladesh 99
- Bari, Abdur 203–06, 419, 421, 423
- Basu, Jyoti 202, 419
- Below poverty line (BPL) 7, 187–88,  
 193, 195–96, 198–202, 204, 208–10,  
 214–20, 222–24, 232, 249, 278, 322,  
 403, 436, 438, 450, 452, 453, 456  
 BPL cards 7, 187–88, 193–95, 197,  
 201–09, 211–15, 217–29, 231–  
 33, 235, 254, 257–58, 277–78,  
 289, 316, 340, 390, 402–05, 427,  
 434–439  
 BPL census 197–98, 443, 445
- Bewa, Fatema 202–06, 417, 421
- Bhadralok 95–97, 106, 134–35, 141, 164

- Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) 67, 74, 101, 138, 151, 199, 200, 210, 246, 260, 263, 424–25, 431
- Bibi, Shefali 5–06, 253–57, 286, 310, 311, 328–29, 423
- Bihar 7, 8, 47–50, 52, 61 65, 67, 73, 77, 81–85, 88–103, 105–06, 112–13, 142, 144, 148, 177, 180–81, 195, 199, 208–09, 250, 253, 276, 279–80, 292, 346–48, 351, 358, 360–62, 366–67, 369–70, 372, 428, 434–38  
 politics 89, 91, 98–99, 112–13, 117, 180, 217, 218  
 land reforms 92, 95, 97, 98, 107, 112, 167, 257  
 state government 45, 98, 132, 146–48, 173, 199, 247, 302, 436, 453
- Bihar Hindu Religious Trust Act, 1950 358, 361
- Bihar Public Land Encroachment Act, 1956 370
- Bihar State Religious Trust Board 358, 367, 369, 370, 428
- bodolok 134, 135, 166
- bourgeoisie 25, 44, 62, 119, 351
- Brahmans 63–64, 91, 132, 161
- Burdwan 86, 454
- bureaucrats 4, 23, 63, 148, 174–75, 187, 192, 232, 239, 247, 255, 261–62, 276–77, 279–80, 298, 321, 401, 407
- capitalist 1, 16–17, 21–22, 25, 45, 61, 88, 107, 119, 120–21, 123, 125–28, 130, 134–36, 138, 140–42, 144, 152, 157, 159, 165–66, 168, 170, 172, 178, 179, 183, 244, 245, 264, 271, 283, 334, 352
- capitalist farmers 107, 120–21, 126–28, 134–36, 138, 142–44, 152, 157, 159, 166, 170, 178–79, 183, 244, 264, 283
- capitalist landlords 89, 144
- caste 5, 22, 47–49, 52, 61, 63–66, 69, 73, 79, 82, 87–88, 90–92, 95, 98–102, 106–08, 117–19, 121–28, 132–33, 146–50, 152, 157, 161–63, 174–76, 179, 181, 184–85, 207, 231, 245, 264, 275, 282–83, 348, 351, 353, 355–60, 364, 368, 371, 373, 379, 383, 385–89, 410, 413, 424  
 caste associations 69, 91, 353  
 caste constitution of class 124–28  
 caste discrimination 157, 264, 371, 383  
 caste hierarchy 127, 147–48, 161, 174  
 caste oppression 69, 379  
 anti-caste mobilization 73, 183, 244, 356, 382, 390
- Chandapuri, R. L. 360
- chasis, see also peasant 95–97, 134–35, 164–65
- Chatterjee, Partha 39, 40, 42, 62–64, 91, 95, 99, 191, 229–30, 233, 349, 353, 357, 381, 384, 385, 409
- China 5, 19, 38, 241, 350, 407, 416
- chhotolok 95, 205–06
- citizenship 2, 7, 17, 32, 37–40, 69, 188–91, 225–31, 233, 242, 278, 284, 354, 399–401, 403, 408–09, 414
- civil rights 68–70, 100, 112, 199, 278
- classes of labour 21, 126
- clientelism 7, 32, 39, 188–91, 225–27, 229, 231, 235, 399, 400, 403, 408, 414
- colonial 22, 37, 38, 62, 64, 82, 85, 88, 90–91, 101, 146, 244, 244, 282, 294, 297, 300, 347, 354–357, 384

- communal differences 134, 135, 151,  
 163, 165, 177, 386  
 communal identities 4, 21, 22, 351,  
 381, 401  
 communal quotas 356, 374–75, 383,  
 386, 404  
 communism 36, 155, 181, 299  
 Communist Party of India (Marxist)  
 CPI(M) 99, 106–07, 139–41,  
 166–70, 202–03, 205–07, 214,  
 216–17, 255–57, 266, 303, 306–10,  
 313, 317–18, 323, 326, 331, 419,  
 421–22, 428–30  
 Communist Party of India (Marxist/  
 Leninist- Liberation)  
 CPI(M/L-L) 155, 210, 317, 425–26,  
 433  
 Congress (Indian National Congress)  
 67, 72, 74, 93, 93, 97–99, 102, 130  
 139, 140–41, 154, 167, 168–69, 177,  
 180–81, 194, 200, 204–07, 214, 217–  
 18, 244, 246, 255, 256, 266–67, 270,,  
 301–03, 307–11, 313–15, 317–18,  
 320–21, 324, 325, 326, 328, 330–31,  
 419–20, 422–23, 430–33  
 Constituent Assembly of India 62, 68–69  
 Construction (industrial sector) 5, 20,  
 75, 89, 112, 129, 143, 153, 158, 171,  
 247, 300, 310, 321, 332, 363, 420–  
 21, 423–24, 426, 429–30, 451–52  
 Corbridge, Stuart 38–42, 48, 74, 75, 81,  
 197, 241, 278, 381, 384  
 cultural imperialism 20, 22–25, 124  
 dabangjatis 259, 360, 366–67, 373  
 Dalits, see also Scheduled Castes 64, 67,  
 71, 80, 91, 93, 101, 103, 109, 127,  
 148, 181, 194, 247, 351, 261, 374,  
 386, 387  
 Darbhanga 86, 153, 358  
 Daulat Bibi 320, 321, 323, 330, 421  
 Democracy 1–9, 13, 16–17, 25, 30–33,  
 36, 39, 41, 42–44, 46–47, 60–62,  
 64–66, 68, 70–74, 80–81, 89–90,  
 112–113, 117, 185, 187, 189, 191,  
 225–27, 234–35, 239, 246, 274, 288–  
 89, 292–93, 295–96, 339, 341–43,  
 346–55, 357, 376, 391, 396–99, 408,  
 410, 411, 414–15, 417  
 agonistic approaches to studying  
 democracy 4, 6, 9, 13, 30, 32–33,  
 47, 54, 397  
 liberal democracy 1, 9, 11n9, 31–32,  
 113n2, 296, 397, 414–15  
 Desiya 160–70, 214–18, 227, 266,  
 268–69, 277, 429–30, 436  
 dignity 23, 41, 53, 73, 90, 100, 112, 140,  
 251, 275–76, 301, 346, 364, 366,  
 369, 371, 388–89, 414–15  
 Ditya 49, 51, 158–161, 163–64, 166,  
 168–71, 185, 213–18, 225–27,  
 230–32, 238, 265–69, 277, 280–82,  
 287–88, 402, 411–12, 428–30, 440,  
 442  
 Durkheim, Emile 39  
 Eateries 129, 143, 158, 160, 203  
 economic rights 60, 68–70, 112, 278,  
 281, 285, 410  
*eksho deener kaaj* 238, 254, 266, 280  
 elections 2, 31, 65–67, 71–74, 98–102,  
 117, 138–139, 154–155, 167, 171,  
 180–183, 220, 269, 272, 309, 332,  
 350, 396–397, 430, 432,  
 Indian General Elections 67, 71–74  
 Bihar Legislative Assembly 92, 98,  
 102, 101  
 West Bengal Legislative Assembly  
 99, 108–109, 148, 309,

- Bihar Panchayat elections 100,  
 154–155, 180–183, 269, 272  
 West Bengal Panchayat elections 139,  
 167, 171
- emerging market 5, 9, 117, 415
- employment 5, 7–8, 13–15, 20, 74–76,  
 91, 96–97, 99, 107, 119–20, 122,  
 129–31, 135, 143, 144, 148, 158–59,  
 162, 165, 171–72, 191, 215, 218,  
 235, 238–39, 244–57, 259–61, 264–  
 70, 273–75, 277, 283–84, 286–88,  
 340–64, 376, 390, 499, 492–03, 412,  
 421, 423–24, 426–27  
 formal/informal 14–15, 20  
 agricultural 21, 23, 49, 52, 78, 80,  
 82, 120, 121–122, 129, 143, 155,  
 158, 182, 254, 259, 382  
 Mahatma Gandhi National Rural  
 Employment Guarantee Act 7,  
 238–39, 246, 246–49, 251–89,  
 280, 390, 400, 402–03, 421, 423,  
 427  
 NREGA 238, 246–49, 251–89, 390,  
 400, 402–03, 421, 423, 427
- Employment Assurance Scheme 191,  
 246
- entrenched classes 126–27, 136–39,  
 141, 142, 152–54, 156–57, 166,  
 170, 179–80, 183–85, 203, 205–07,  
 211–13, 220, 225, 232–34, 254–59,  
 263–64, 270–72, 277, 282, 292, 307,  
 314, 318, 326, 328–31, 340–42,  
 346–48, 361–62, 365, 371–72, 374,  
 378–80, 382–83, 385, 388–92,  
 402–04, 410–13
- ethnography 4, 6–7, 13, 32, 46–49,  
 52–54, 63, 128, 188, 239, 293–94,  
 337, 348, 354, 382, 391, 437,
- Europe 14, 33, 34, 36, 42, 299, 350,  
 354–55, 381
- exploitation, see also shoshan 18, 20–24,  
 39, 41, 80, 87, 90, 119, 122–124, 127,  
 232–33, 297, 364, 386, 391
- Forwards* 359–60, 373, 386, 389–92, 404
- Gandhi, Indira 72, 244  
 Gandhi, Rajiv 8, 294, 301
- General castes, see also *Forwards* and  
*Sarvarnas* 64
- Government of India 7, 8, 38, 70, 75–76,  
 105, 111, 161–62, 188, 193–94, 235,  
 244, 276, 286, 289, 337, 360  
 Agricultural Census 105, 111  
 Census Survey 51, 129, 131–33, 138,  
 143, 145–46, 156, 159–61, 163,  
 169, 172–73, 175, 181–82, 188,  
 201–03, 2018, 214, 219, 434,  
 440, 442  
 National Sample Survey  
 Organisation 61, 76  
 Targeting 168, 179, 187–88, 192–96,  
 199, 200, 216, 218, 232, 234,  
 239, 243, 411–12
- Gram panchayat, also see *Panchayati*  
*Raj* Insitutions 47–68, 70, 128,  
 138, 144, 154–58, 169, 171, 180–83,  
 187, 200, 208, 256, 260, 263, 266,  
 272–73, 280, 359, 366, 368, 371,  
 374, 431, 435, 451–53, 455
- Grihasth* 96–97, 151–52, 175, 177–78,  
 180
- Guha, Ranajit 33, 37, 242, 282
- Haram, Majhi 162, 167, 216, 428  
 Hasda, Shyamoli 169–70, 428, 431  
 Hembrom, Madan 170, 428  
 Hembrom, Marangmayee 265, 286, 417,  
 429–30

- Hembrom, Shobhan 265, 430
- Hossein, Babar 130, 139–40, 254–55, 302–04, 306, 308, 311, 313, 315, 319–21, 323–32, 338–39, 421–22
- Hossein, Murshid 309, 310, 313–15, 317–18, 324, 328, 422
- Integrated Rural Development Program (IRDP) 194
- Islam, Sarfaraz 315–18, 328, 338, 422
- Islam, Sirajul 320–21, 323, 330, 338, 423
- Islam, Syedur 324–27, 330, 340, 422, 423
- improvement 2, 8, 16–17, 32, 38–39, 70, 87, 248, 292–99, 301, 304, 307, 314, 320–22, 324–25, 328–30, 332–33, 335–42, 346, 399–401, 404, 409, 414
- Indonesia 15, 19, 284, 337, 415–16
- Janata Dal 98, 100–01, 147, 154, 181, 199, 372
- Janata Dal (United) 366, 260, 101
- Janata Party 194
- Janata government 99
- Jha, Parsvanath 291n13, 427
- juridical rights 191, 241, 382
- justice, also see nyay 30, 41, 53, 68, 70, 101, 192, 210, 232, 319–21, 324, 330, 340, 348, 370, 371, 374–75, 389, 413, 415
- injustice, see also anyay 90, 231, 234, 287, 295, 321, 323, 341–42, 366, 379, 391
- Kayasths 145, 147–51, 154, 175, 375
- Kayasth farmers 364
- Kayasth landlords 148, 154, 362
- Kevats 147, 174, 180, 270, 369, 372, 374, 378
- Kevatpeasant 219, 359, 370–72
- Khan, Hennah 422,
- Khan, Mushtaq 254, 257, 303, 422
- Khatun, Hadisa 183, 432
- Kisans, see also peasant 96, 97, 99, 150–51, 177–78
- Kumar, Nitish 101
- Kolkata (Calcutta) 81, 128, 139, 158, 229, 230, 359, 451, 453–54
- labour 5, 20–22, 24–25, 32, 36–37, 44, 46–47, 49, 61, 66, 74, 76, 78–80, 82, 85–93, 95–98, 100–91, 104, 106–07, 112, 117–38, 141–46, 148–53, 155–74, 176–85, 187, 191, 194, 203, 206–13, 215–25, 230, 232–33, 238–39, 241, 243–45, 247–52, 254–61, 263–65, 267–77, 279–81, 283–89, 292–94, 297–98, 301, 317–08, 315–16, 322, 326, 328–31, 335–36, 338–39, 341–43, 346–49, 352–53, 358–60, 362–67, 369–85, 387–92, 398–99, 402–04, 407, 410, 411–15, 419, 421–27, 429–30, 433
- labour-exploitation ratio 119
- labour-hiring households 131, 145
- labour-hiring peasants 97, 134, 136, 141–42, 150, 159, 164–66, 177, 217, 257–58, 264, 289, 402, 413
- labour-hiring structure 130–31, 144–45, 160–61, 172–73
- landless 44, 49–51, 80, 85, 87, 92–93, 97–98, 100–01, 106–07, 112, 119–20, 123, 125, 129–31, 133–40, 143–45, 149, 152–55, 158–60, 162–63, 167, 169, 171–73, 175, 181–82, 202, 208–12, 214–15, 219, 222, 246, 273, 277, 287, 315, 347, 363–67, 371–72, 382, 424, 432

- labouring classes, see also manual workers, *majdur* and *majurs* 22, 36, 66, 107, 119, 122, 125, 127, 136, 141, 152–53, 156–57, 166, 170, 179, 183–84, 187, 191, 206, 212, 224–25, 230, 232, 239, 255–59, 273–77, 279, 285, 286–89, 292–93, 297, 335–36, 341, 346–49, 359, 360, 362, 364–65, 369–73, 375–84, 388–89, 391–92, 398, 402–05, 409, 411–15
- labouring poor 22, 32, 49, 74, 112, 117, 122, 136–38, 141–42, 153, 157, 163–64, 168–71, 179, 182–85, 206–07, 213, 215, 219–20, 223–25, 230, 233, 241, 245, 255, 257–58, 260, 263–64, 267–74, 279, 282, 285, 289, 292–94, 298, 307–08, 326, 328–31, 338–39, 341–43, 346–47, 258, 364–65, 367, 370, 372–73, 375, 378–80, 382, 385, 387, 390–92, 399, 402–03, 410–14
- land liberation movements 93, 181, 425, 428
- landlords 82, 85–89, 92–93, 95–100, 112, 119–121, 126–28, 134–36, 138–42, 144, 148, 152–55, 157, 167, 170–71, 174, 177–79, 181, 183–84, 264, 281, 283, 362–64, 371, 376, 404, 410, 413, 424, 426–27
- zamindars* 85–86, 88, 90, 92, 95–97, 134, 170, 178, 371
- languages of stateness 240, 243
- Latin America 10, 14, 16, 333
- Brazil 5, 15, 19, 24, 37, 195, 226, 249, 349, 414, 416
- Argentina 15, 19, 195, 407, 416
- Mexico 15, 19, 35, 38, 190, 195, 241, 408, 416,
- Left Front Government (West Bengal) 99, 106, 108, 139–40, 166
- Liberalism, see also liberal democracy 9, 30, 31, 38, 196, 295–96, 396, 398
- Liberal democracy 1, 9, 11n9, 31–32, 113n2, 296, 397, 414–15
- Lewis, Oscar 1, 35
- Limbaugh, Rush 55n3
- Lohia, Ram Manohar 72, 97, 117, 369
- Mahant* 174–76, 273, 431
- Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA) 7, 238–39, 246, 280
- National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA) 238, 246–49, 251–89, 390, 400, 402–03, 421, 423, 427
- majdoor* (Bihar) 96, 253, 276, 363, 364, 373, 391
- majoritarian electoral systems 66, 112
- majur* (West Bengal) 96, 135, 165
- Maldah 48, 128, 139, 140, 158–59, 266, 268, 303–04, 310, 319, 322, 338, 342, 421–22, 429, 435–38
- Mandal, Akhilesh 366–67, 372, 423
- Mandal, Basdeo 367, 424
- Mandal, Gajdeo 172, 174–80, 182–83, 220–21, 271–73, 242, 427, 43–32
- Mandal, Hareram 181, 219–20, 431–33
- Mandal, Nandlal 366–67, 426
- Mandal, Sarvesh 154–56, 208–9, 213, 260, 359, 427
- Mandal, Shyamdev 359, 366–68, 372–74, 376, 386, 427
- Mandal, Sushila 182, 431
- Mandal, Vinay 359, 366, 371, 373, 374, 427–28
- manual workers, see also laboring classes

- 120, 122, 127, 131, 134–35, 145,  
 149, 160, 163, 165, 166, 173, 176,  
 210, 211, 212, 366, 410
- marginal landowners 48–49, 119,  
 129–30, 134, 143–44, 149, 156, 158,  
 162–63, 171–72, 176
- marginalized 20, 25, 33, 97, 99, 190, 294,  
 374, 406, 427
- Marx, Karl 34, 396
- middle classes 24, 66, 72, 112
- middle peasants, see also peasants 44,  
 92, 95, 97, 99, 100, 106–07, 119,  
 121, 127, 135, 140–41, 151, 152,  
 157, 165–68, 170–71, 178–79, 183,  
 211–12, 263–64
- migration 78, 129–30, 143, 158, 172,  
 267, 269–70, 275, 354
- migrant 129, 152–53, 158, 267, 385, 366
- Miya, Arif 136–37, 205–06, 253–55,  
 287, 310–11, 421
- modernity 2, 8, 16–17, 32, 39, 300, 303,  
 346, 348, 350–57, 380, 389, 392,  
 399–400, 404
- Modernization theorists 333, 348,  
 355–58, 387, 409
- Moholi, Majhuli 238, 417, 428
- moral vocabularies 8, 32, 39, 239–40,  
 242, 285–86, 288–89, 399–400, 403,  
 414
- Morselli, Enrico 33
- Mouffe, Chantal 26, 31–32, 396–98, 414
- Mukhya 154–56, 180–83, 187, 207–13,  
 219–22, 227, 230, 260–64, 27073,  
 359–61, 368, 373, 385, 425–27,  
 431–33
- Mumbai 130, 245, 342,
- Musahars 101, 148–49, 154–55, 209–12,  
 270, 370–72, 375–76, 378–79, 388
- Musahar labourers 150, 152–53, 155,  
 211–12, 383
- National Democratic Alliance (NDA) 67
- nayanetas* 190, 197
- negotiation 4–9, 13, 16, 32–33, 37, 39,  
 41–47, 53–54, 74, 90, 112, 118, 142,  
 157, 170, 184–85, 188, 200, 207,  
 212, 223, 225, 227, 229–30, 234–35,  
 239, 287–89, 292, 313, 320, 327–28,  
 331, 338–43, 346–47, 349, 357, 380,  
 382, 385, 386, 387–88, 391–96, 398,  
 399, 401–03, 405–07, 409–10, 412,  
 414, 417
- Nehru, Jawaharlal 60, 62, 303
- Olson, Mancur 35
- Omvedt, Gail 41–42, 337, 355, 358, 379
- Operation Barga 106, 109
- oppression, see also *atyachar* 17–18,  
 20, 22–25, 30, 38, 69, 74, 127, 134,  
 234–35, 287, 288, 289, 342, 360,  
 374, 379, 382, 391, 413
- Other Backward Classes, see also  
 Backwards and Shudras 64–65, 97,  
 99, 100, 107, 154, 181, 384
- Oxford Poverty and Human  
 Development Initiative (OPHI) 37,  
 81, 87, 110, 188, 201, 296, 298, 419,  
 441, 442
- pablik 362, 364, 366, 369, 371–74,  
 379–80, 382, 385–86, 391, 404, 413
- Paliya 161–62
- Pakistan 15, 19, 91–92, 195, 361, 416
- Panchayati Raj Institutions 70, 100, 386
- particularism/particularistic 2–4, 9, 13,  
 16, 38–41, 188–89, 228, 239, 240,  
 266, 293, 347, 353, 398–400, 417

- Patna 100, 142, 154,  
 PDS (public distribution system) 72,  
 154, 192–94, 196, 199, 212, 244, 246  
 Targeted public distribution system  
 (TPDS) 193
- peasant 5, 20, 34–38, 44, 63, 79, 85–89,  
 91–93, 95–101, 104–08, 110–11,  
 119–29, 134–36, 138–43, 147,  
 150–55, 157–59, 164–71, 176–85,  
 208, 211–12, 217–19, 222, 225,  
 233, 241–42, 244, 257–61, 263–64,  
 267–69, 272–73, 277, 283–84, 287,  
 289, 295, 315, 323, 330, 333, 335–  
 36, 351, 359, 363–67, 370–72, 376,  
 382–83, 402, 404–05, 407, 410–11,  
 413, 421–24, 426, 428–30  
 middle peasant 44, 92, 95, 97, 99,  
 100, 106–07, 119, 121, 127, 135,  
 140–41, 151, 152, 157, 165–68,  
 170–71, 178–79, 183, 211–12,  
 263–64  
 marginal peasant 182  
 poor peasant 92–93, 98, 101, 106,  
 108, 119–21, 123, 125–27,  
 135–36, 140, 151–52, 165–66,  
 179, 181, 211–12, 258, 284, 323,  
 365–67, 382, 410  
 rich peasant 44, 93, 97, 101, 106,  
 119–21, 125–28, 135–36, 147,  
 151–52, 155, 165, 168–70, 208,  
 211, 260–61, 264, 269, 283, 372,  
 404, 410
- People's Union for Civil Liberties  
 (PUCL) 199
- Permanent Settlement 85–90, 135, 139,  
 153, 358
- Philippines 15, 19, 416
- Planning Commission 65, 75–78, 81,  
 197–99, 434–35, 438
- political (Mouffe) 11n16, 26, 31–32,  
 57n40, 396–98
- political mediators, see also nayanetas  
 9, 100, 128, 180, 187, 196, 204, 206,  
 210, 212, 222, 224–29, 231–32, 234,  
 239, 254–55, 259–61, 274, 279, 285,  
 288–89, 294, 302, 328, 380
- political parties 18, 60, 64, 67, 72, 73,  
 93, 107, 117, 138, 156, 168–69, 181,  
 200, 260, 278, 301, 405, 422
- political rights 278, 281, 410
- politics 4–7, 9, 14, 16, 26–30, 32–37,  
 40–43, 43, 47–48, 52–54, 60, 74,  
 89, 91, 98, 99, 106, 108, 112–13,  
 117, 124, 139, 171, 180, 183, 187,  
 190–91, 214, 217–18, 222–23, 233,  
 238, 240–41, 251, 274, 282, 286,  
 292, 397, 346–48, 356–61, 376, 382,  
 385, 392, 396, 398–402, 405–10,  
 417, 432  
 usage by Mouffe 11n16, 26, 31–32,  
 57n40, 396–98
- poor peasants, see also peasants 92–93,  
 98, 101, 106, 108, 119–21, 123,  
 125–27, 135–36, 140, 151–52,  
 165–66, 179, 181, 211–12, 258, 284,  
 323, 365–67, 382, 410
- postcolonial 7, 22, 24, 36–38, 42–43,  
 60–64, 74, 88, 93, 97, 99, 112, 118,  
 192, 243, 282, 287, 342, 347, 348,  
 353–58, 386–87
- postcolonial democracy 42, 61, 64,  
 74, 112, 117, 342
- postcolonial India 74, 93
- postcolonial state 24, 38, 43, 99, 192,  
 243, 282, 356–57
- postcolonial theorists 348, 356–58,  
 387
- poverty 1–7, 13–18, 20, 22–23, 25–26,  
 28, 30,  
 poverty line 7, 16, 75, 78, 187,  
 193–95, 197–98, 200–01, 415

- measures 77–78, 93, 99, 103, 109, 188
- residual perspective 14, 16–18, 55n14,
- relational perspective 13–14, 16–18, 20, 54, 118, 120, 235n1
- power, see also social relations of power  
 4–7, 9, 13, 21, 24, 26–29, 32, 37, 38, 41–42, 44–48, 53–54, 61, 67, 70–71, 86, 89, 92–93, 97, 99–101, 108, 112–13, 117, 121, 123, 128, 132, 139, 142, 154, 157, 166, 169–70, 184–85, 187, 201, 225, 235, 241, 244, 246, 257, 264, 274–75, 277–78, 283, 286, 288–89, 292, 294–95, 297–301, 310–12, 316–18, 328–30, 333, 335, 339, 342–43, 346, 349, 451–52, 385, 387, 387–99, 409–14, 425–26, 429
- powerlessness 20, 25, 80, 148
- precarious classes 125–27, 130, 136–39, 141–42, 152–53, 156–57, 166, 170–71, 179, 183–85, 206–07, 213, 218, 234–35, 257–61, 263–64, 269–70, 272–73, 277, 287–88, 293, 307, 328, 338, 340, 346, 348, 353, 370, 372, 378, 379–80, 383, 385, 389–90, 392, 402, 410–13
- privileged castes, see also Savarnas,  
 Generals and Forwards 64, 73, 79, 91, 92, 95, 97–98, 100, 102, 108, 123–24, 147, 212, 264, 373, 378, 386, 427
- public policy 9, 15, 29, 42–43, 53, 70, 99, 106, 187, 191, 240, 244, 340, 346, 410–12, 414
- Punjab 65, 68, 77, 96, 143, 195, 250, 426, 432
- Rajputs 90–91, 144–54, 156, 175, 211–12, 232, 358, 360, 362–64, 367–68, 373, 375, 376, 380, 386, 404, 425–27, 433
- Rajput landlords 376
- Rajput trustees 360, 363, 368, 373, 386, 404, 427
- Rashtriya Janata Dal 101, 199
- real estate 89, 120, 125, 319, 360
- Rehman, Abdur 130, 135, 139, 306–08, 320, 326–27, 419–20
- Rehman, Ziaur 315–18, 328, 338, 422–23
- Rishi, Bhukhan 210–11, 263, 424
- Rishi, Domi 362–64, 367, 371, 373–74, 425
- Rishi, Jamuni 347, 364, 417, 426
- Rishi, Maturi 152–53, 210–12, 232, 259, 261, 372, 426
- Rishi, Shyamdev 209, 427
- Rishi, Sejni 259, 262, 286, 427
- Rishi, Tilya 363, 426
- retailers 123, 128, 151, 157, 193, 210, 253, 261, 263–64, 277, 383
- rich peasants, see also peasants 123, 128, 151, 157, 193, 210, 254, 261, 263, 264, 277, 383
- roads 24, 35, 247, 276, 297, 301, 425
- Rozgar Sevak 260–61, 263–64
- Santhals 359, 370, 372, 378, 388, 436
- Saotal, see also Santhals 160, 162–4, 166–9, 213, 216–8, 265–9, 277, 281, 420, 428–31
- Sarkar, Mota 169–70, 214–6, 265, 267–9
- Sarkar, Motaram 166–8, 429–30
- Sarkar, Paresh 159, 168, 429
- Sarkar, Phanindranath 159, 168, 268, 429

- Sarkar, Sasaram 168, 214-5, 267-8, 430  
 Sarkar, Shashanka 159, 166-7, 428, 430  
 Savarna communities, see also privileged castes 64-5, 146, 156, 360, 384, 404  
 Scheduled castes (SC), see also Dalit 64, 102, 108, 148  
 Scheduled tribes (ST), see also Adivasi 64, 102, 108  
 sharecroppers 44, 85-6, 88, 92-3 98, 101, 106-7, 128, 130, 136, 138-40, 144, 152, 154, 157, 166-7, 177, 180, 182, 287, 370, 410  
 Sheikh Muslims 131-6, 163, 204-5, 207, 270, 326-7, 330, 337, 342, 419-23  
 Shershabadiya 131, 133-134, 136, 281, 294, 302, 324-27, 330, 332, 337, 342, 404, 413, 423  
 Shil, Gaurob 203, 421,  
 Shil, Shekhar 292, 322-3, 330, 338, 417, 422-23,  
 shopkeepers 123, 125, 129, 151, 171  
*shoshan* 232 281, 360  
*shoshit* 359, 365  
 Shudra, see also OBCs and Backwards 64, 128, 146-8, 174, 360, 362  
 Singh, Gajen 144, 152-3, 211, 213, 262, 424-7  
 Singh, Hunny 155, 211-13, 361, 424-5,  
 Singh, Pritam 177-83, 222-3, 270, 272-3, 431-3  
 Singh, Neem 154-5, 426,  
 social classes 7, 17, 28, 117-19, 124-8, 136, 152, 283, 297, 340-1  
 social identities 29, 63, 171, 183, 356, 381  
     bureaucratization of 64, 385  
 social protection 15, 42, 196, 223  
 social relations 4, 6, 21-2, 27-9, 32, 42-7, 52-3, 61, 69, 87, 97, 107, 112, 118-9, 126, 140, 152, 245, 275, 300, 327, 340, 347, 359, 381-2, 384, 387, 382, 397, 402  
     social relations of distribution 43-4, 83, 118, 142, 157, 170, 183-4, 410  
     social relations of power 4, 7, 9, 13, 26, 28-9, 42, 45-6, 54, 61, 97, 113, 117, 128, 142, 157, 170, 184-5, 187, 201, 225, 235, 257, 274-5, 283, 288, 292, 294, 342, 346, 349, 399, 409-12, 414  
     social relations of production 43, 83, 118, 120, 137, 141, 156, 184, 410  
 Srivastav, Dharmesh 153, 210-11, 261, 263-64, 383, 242, 246  
 state 7, 8, 16, 18, 23-24, 27, 34, 37-43, 45, 47, 53, 58n50, 59n58, 62-63, 68-69, 85, 87, 90, 93, 97, 123, 148, 188, 190-92, 194, 196-197, 200, 206, 224, 227, 229-30, 233, 235, 238-46, 248, 252, 271, 274-75, 289, 290n1, 295, 297, 299, 335-37, 351, 353, 355-58, 360-61, 374, 380-81, 383, 385-86, 391, 400-03, 405, 408-11, 414  
 structural adjustment 292, 243  
 subsidies 7, 188, 193, 194, 223, 249, 315  
 Thakur, Karpuri 98  
 Thompson, E. P. 33, 36-37, 242, 387,  
 Tradition 2-3, 16, 31-32, 35, 39, 43, 52, 89, 101, 106, 121, 148, 197, 245, 347-48, 353-56, 358, 361, 378-80, 384, 387, 389, 392, 399, 400, 404, 414, 419  
 Trinamul Congress 108, 138  
 United Front coalition government (West Bengal) 99

- United Front Government (all-India) 93
- United Progressive Alliance government 200
- Universalism/universalistic 2, 3, 4, 9, 13, 16, 17, 37, 39, 41, 42, 188–89, 192, 194, 239, 240, 243, 293–94, 346, 351, 353, 399, 400, 417
- Untouchability 69, 91, 112,
  - abolition in the Indian constitution 69
- Uttar Pradesh 65, 68, 73, 77, 93, 94, 196, 250, 372
- vendors 5, 20, 129, 158
- Vietnam 15, 19, 405 415–16
- Village Education Committee 177, 370, 420
- voters 25, 74, 206, 224, 227, 272, 307, 310, 325, 331, 374
- wage/wages 7, 21, 44, 86, 136–37, 141, 150, 152–53, 157, 159, 163–64, 170, 172, 176, 216, 233, 244, 248, 251–55, 257–59, 261–65, 267–69, 274, 275–80, 285–88, 311, 340, 390, 404, 411, 413, 425
- West Asia 406
  - Turkey 15, 20, 414, 415, 416,
  - Iran 19, 353, 406, 416
- West Bengal 17, 8, 47–49, 51–52, 61, 65, 68, 77, 81, 83, 85, 89, 90–94, 96–99, 106–13, 128, 158, 162, 195, 198, 203, 250, 253, 276, 279, 280, 292, 302, 351, 434–36, 438, 448, 450, 454
  - West Bengal State Government
- workers/worker, see manual workers
  - 120, 122, 127, 131, 134–35, 145, 149, 160, 163, 165, 166, 173, 176, 210, 211, 212, 366, 410
- working classes, see laboring classes 45, 46, 112, 118–119, 126,
- World Bank 5, 13–19, 75, 192–94, 249, 298, 300, 333–34, 415, 416,
- Yadav, Amaresh 152–53, 210–11, 260–61, 383, 424, 426
- Yadav, Gunavati 425
- Yadav, Gunvati 210, 212, 425
- Yadav, Lalu Prasad 98, 103, 147, 351, 424
- Yadav, Premchand 270, 433
- Yadav, Narendra 210, 232, 425–26
- Yadavs 145, 147–48, 150, 154, 372, 374, 378
  - Yadav peasants 154–55, 211, 363–64