



# Political Consequences Of Economic Growth

## INDIA 2030

October 4-5, 2013  
219 Aaron Burr Hall  
Princeton University

**Session I: October 4**  
2:00 p.m. – 4:15 p.m.

### *What are the Politics Behind India's High Growth?*

- Pranab Bardhan, UC-Berkeley
- Arvind Subramanian, Peterson Institute
- Rakesh Mohan, IMF

**Public Lecture: October 4**  
4:30 p.m. – 6 p.m.

### *Conversations on Growth*

- Jagdish Bhagwati, Columbia University

**Session II: October 5**  
9:15 a.m. – 11:15 a.m.

### *How Has Growth Changed India's Social Divisions?*

- Pradeep Chhibber, UC-Berkeley
- Ashutosh Varshney, Brown University
- Patrick Heller, Brown University
- Pratap Bhanu Mehta, Centre for Policy Research

**Session III: October 5**  
11:30 a.m. – 1:30 p.m.

### *Has Growth Improved Public Services?*

- Niraja Jayal, JNU
- Prerna Singh, Harvard University
- Angus Deaton, Princeton University

**Session IV: October 5**  
2:15 p.m. – 4:15 p.m.

### *Is the Indian State Adapting to Growth?*

- Kanta Murali, University of Toronto
- Milan Vaishnav, Carnegie Endowment
- Devesh Kapur, Pennsylvania

Organizers: Rohit Lamba, Dinsha Mistree, Vinay Sitapati

Website: <http://www.princeton.edu/bobst/events/india-2030/>

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India 2030: Political Consequences of High Growth

October 4-5, 2013

Princeton University

Conference Organizers: Rohit Lamba, Dinsha Mistree, and Vinay Sitapati

Faculty Supervisor: Atul Kohli

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**CONCEPT NOTE**

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Scholarship on modern India has generally coalesced around two fields of research: colonialism and the pursuit of democracy. The first, colonial rule, left a conflicted legacy—of boundaries, institutions, and movements—that continue to draw scholarly interest. And while the second phenomenon, democracy, should rightly be praised as a triumph in itself, universal adult franchise has brought about a range of effects on Indian society, politics, and institutions that scholars continue to seek to understand. While these two phenomena are justly the subject of much scholarship, less studied is a third, emergent trend that is currently changing the contours of Indian politics and society in ways that may eventually prove to be just as profound as colonialism and democracy. Indian politics is increasingly coming to be defined and motivated through the pursuit of economic growth. This conference aims to anticipate and shape the scholarship on this third transformative force.

Historically-speaking, the pursuit of growth in post-colonial India has been uneven. For much of modern India's early history, the state and society were suspicious of free markets, with heavy restrictions encumbering domestic businesses as well as foreign trade. The resulting 'Hindu rate of growth', with growth wildly fluctuating and averaging just under 4 percent,

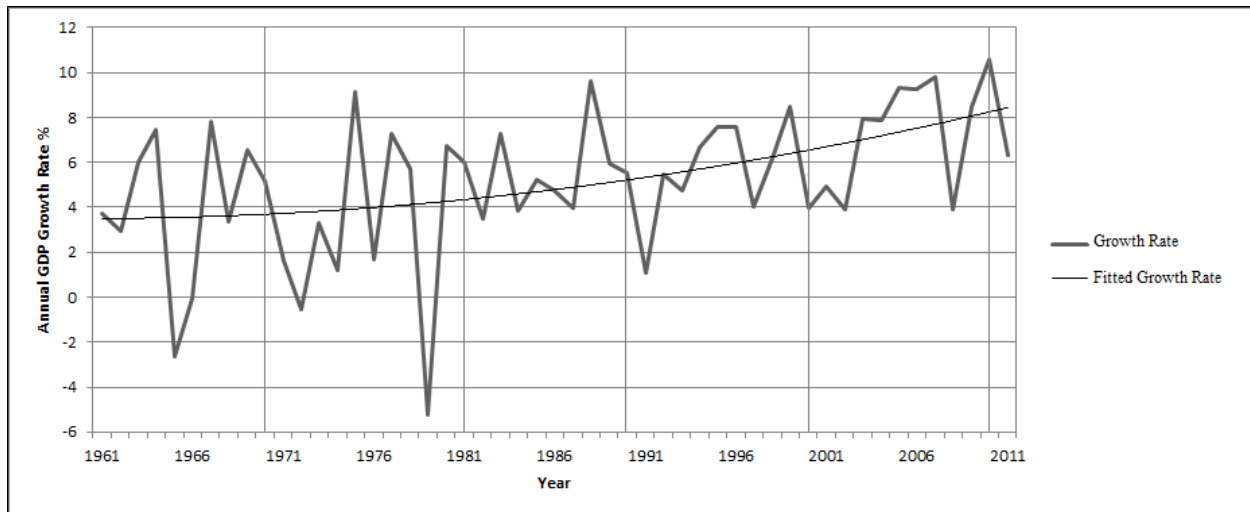


Figure 1: Indian Annual GDP Growth Rate, Percent, 1961-2011. Source: World Bank's *World Development Indicators*.

defined India's economic performance from Independence through the 1970s. This slow rate and high fluctuation of growth can be seen in Figure 1, between the years 1961 and 1979.

As Figure 1 also shows, the rate of growth has steadily increased since the late 1970s. From the end of Indira Gandhi's Emergency in 1979, India's growth has been enviable, with rates consistently averaging between 6 and 9 percent. Such fast-paced growth is not just unprecedented in Indian history, it also means that India outperformed most other developing economies over the past thirty years. Since 2011, however, India's economy has slightly slowed, with growth in 2013 expected to be 5.5 percent. Nevertheless, despite this slow-down, India continues to outperform most major economies.

It is still too early to tell if such fast-paced growth can be maintained; the recent slowdown is cause for concern, and the heated ideological debate currently taking place between two of India's leading economists, Jagdish Bhagwati and Amartya Sen, suggest that there are no

clear answers.<sup>1</sup> But there is no denying that the pursuit of growth has already spelled serious consequences for Indian politics and society.

The purpose of this conference is for scholars to engage with the changes wrought by growth in order to predict those in the offing. We have framed this conference around four sets of inter-related questions, with the goal of generating dialogue between the leading thinkers on these issues:

(1) What were the political circumstances (if any) that have led to this high growth rate post 1979? Will this pattern continue going forward? Looking to the future, what policies are necessary to sustain a high rate of growth?

(2) What will be the political consequences of such high growth in the near future? Should we expect growth (or the pursuit of high growth) to alter the age-old cleavages of caste, class, religion, and gender? Will it give rise to new cleavages?

(3) What will be the effect of growth on public services? Will we see a more equitable distribution of public goods or will resources increasingly be concentrated in areas identified as growth inducing?

(4) What will be effect of growth on state institutions? Will growth affect the nature of party systems, federalism, and governance? Will we see corruption addressed?

In the remainder of this note, we offer a brief history of economic growth in India. The historical nature of growth in India makes us question several theoretical paradigms on economic transitions that currently exist in the scholarly literature. By way of an entry point into this discussion, we begin by reviewing modernization theory, which is the belief that growth

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<sup>1</sup> Dreze, Jean and Amartya Sen. 2013. *An Uncertain Glory: India and its Contradictions*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. Bhagwati, Jagdish N. and Arvind Panagariya. 2013. *Why Growth Matters: How Economic Growth in India Reduced Poverty and the Lessons for Other Developing Countries*. New York: Public Affairs Press.

inevitably promotes a series of social and political transformations towards Westernization and consumerism. Even though many scholars have distanced themselves from the label of “modernization” in recent years, it continues to survive in various forms. We seek to point to its inadequacies—specifically the belief that certain changes will inevitably take place regardless of the socio-political environment—both in general and in the Indian context. We go on to illustrate how growth in India has been unlike the high growth trajectories of other post-World War II economic transitions. High growth has taken place without an authoritarian state, without an export-led commodities boom, and recent growth does not seem to be driven by industrialization so much as it has been by expansions in the service sector. The final part of this note delineates the panels, speakers, and themes of the October 4-5 conference at Princeton, as well as what we expect from our contributors.

### ***Modernization and its (Empirical) Discontents***

While this conference is focused on the Indian experience, the questions it poses are central to much of the scholarship on the developing world. We must, therefore, recognize some level of universality in our mission, which requires us to engage with global scholarship that informs our inquiry. This scholarship on societies in transition has been traditionally guided by modernization theory, while more contemporary scholarship supports a strong-state led export boom as the pathway to economic development. Both modernization and state-oriented development, however, are not fully able to explain the exceptional nature of Indian growth.

Modernization theorists argue that the inevitable transition from an agrarian to industrial economy (Marx) brings with it a social transition that creates a modern middle-class and refashions rural groups into urban individuals who transcend identities for economic self-interest

(Durkheim). Such an economic transformation also induces a transition from pre-modern state forms to the modern bureaucratic state (Weber) which practices democracy. In this telling, economic growth invariably creates social and political changes that resemble western societies.

Such a theory of modernization was the dominant mode of thinking in development studies from the late 1950s and well into the 1980s. This was a time when the social sciences were progressively trying to resemble the natural sciences. Social scientists were increasingly experimenting with rational choice and game theory; by the end of the 1960s, there would even be a new Nobel Prize for ‘economic science.’ A plethora of functionalist and mechanistic theories emerged during this time period, designed to resemble theories in the natural sciences.<sup>2</sup> Embracing the spirit of the times, leading modernization theorists such as Walter Rostow, Karl Deutsch, and Seymour Martin Lipset described development as an inexorable process. With economic growth, profound social transformations would take place, spurring yet further growth. Once a society experienced a slight amount of growth, this process of modernization could not be derailed. Liberal democracy would take root. Citizens would eliminate undesirable societal structures in favor of rationality and materialism. Wealth would automatically trickle-down, raising the well-being of the entire society and reducing inequality. Government institutions would become increasingly legal-rational. According to them transformation was inevitable and it was guaranteed to Westernize the society and rationalize the state.

This neat theory, fashioned in the West in the 1960s, has recently re-emerged in the popular non-fiction literature on India. For instance, Thomas Friedman’s book, *The World is Flat*, treats Indian economic growth as inevitability, simplifying the changes taking place in the

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<sup>2</sup> It bears mentioning that one of the leading hotbeds for modernization theory was MIT, where Walter Rostow and Karl Deutsch were based. MIT was also the home of Myron Weiner, who in addition to being a leading Indianist scholar in his time was also among the leading critics of modernization theory.

country.<sup>3</sup> The very title suggests that Indian citizens are now on an even playing field with citizens in other countries, both in terms of jobs as well as in terms of consumerism. Indian citizens will now reap the benefits of globalization. A survey of the titles of other mainstream books presents an equally rose-tinted viewpoint. Consider *In Spite of the Gods: The Rise of Modern India* or *India Calling: An Intimate Portrait of a Nation's Remaking*.<sup>4</sup> In such accounts, the protagonist is a cohesive, consumer-based middle class that is increasingly demanding more from its government and is forcing great changes on society. The authors assume that as India's economy grows, the country will have no choice but to resemble a modern, consumer-driven Western society.<sup>5</sup>

The assumptions embedded in these popular books are those of modernization theory, an idea that, in its classical form, many Indian-focused scholars seem to reject. For instance, experts of India question whether growth is leading to a breakdown in traditional society. Many prominent modernization theorists and popular non-fiction writers claim that capitalism and growth dismantles feudal societal structures and dampens religious fervor by causing a breakdown of traditional identities, creating rational individuals whose actions are driven by material self-interests. In India, there is certainly evidence to show that growth has unsettled occupational hierarchies, having a strong effect of caste.<sup>6</sup> But there is also evidence that suggests

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<sup>3</sup> Friedman, Thomas L. 2005. *The World Is Flat: A Brief History of the Twenty-First Century*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

<sup>4</sup> Giridharadas, Anand. 2012. *India Calling: An Intimate Portrait of a Nation's Remaking*. New York: St. Martin's Press. Luce, Edward. 2008. *In Spite of the Gods: The Rise of Modern India*. New York: Anchor Books.

<sup>5</sup> Modernization theory has been questioned by Indianists at least since 1967, when Lloyd and Susanne Rudolph first published *The Modernity of Tradition: Political Development in India* (Orient Longman). Much of Myron Weiner's writings were also critical of modernization.

<sup>6</sup> Varshney, Ashutosh, Lakshmi Iyer, and Tarun Khanna. 2013. "Caste and Entrepreneurship in India." *Economic and Political Weekly* 48(6): 52–60.

a religious revival is taking place, strengthening the existing religious structures.<sup>7</sup> The linkage between growth and a growing middle-class is also not simple. Modernization theory suggests that growth will rapidly create a middle-class that then exercises a moderation effect on politics. In India, three decades of growth has clearly led to urban growth and the formation of a large middle-class.<sup>8</sup> But the middle-class's voting choices and social interactions are far from clear. This middle-class also seems to be at times anti-political and at times agitational, but typically fractured in terms of its political desires, in ways that modernization theory does not predict.

Modernization theory also predicts that growth promotes democratic deepening; according to Przeworski and Limongi, this suggested linkage has subsequently “generated the largest body of research on any topic in comparative politics.”<sup>9</sup> While there are many good reasons that future growth in India will support a stronger democracy, many scholars argue that growth may instead induce several processes that actually threaten democratic stability.<sup>10</sup> The mechanisms behind why growth may lead to democratic instability can further be informed by the Indian case. A weak state like India can potentially be overwhelmed when a growing, yet-disjointed middle class have greater input into governance, especially when these demands pull the state in many directions.<sup>11</sup> Also, it has been suggested that growth increases the demand for

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<sup>7</sup> Jaffrelot, Christophe. 2011. *Religion, Caste, and Politics in India*. New York: Columbia University Press. Hansen, Thomas Blom. 1999. *The Saffron Wave: Democracy and Hindu Nationalism in Modern India*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

<sup>8</sup> Fernandes, Leela and Patrick Heller. 2006. “Hegemonic Aspirations: New Middle Class Politics and India’s Democracy in Comparative Perspective.” *Critical Asian Studies* 38(4): 495-522.

<sup>9</sup> Lipset, Seymour Martin. 1959. “Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy,” *American Political Science Review* 53(March). Lipset, Seymour Martin. 1981. *Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. Przeworski, Adam and Fernando Limongi. 1997. “Modernization: Theories and Facts.” *World Politics* 49(2): 155-183.

<sup>10</sup> For a more recent summary of the relationship between democracy and growth, see Gerring, John, Philip Bond, William T. Barndt, and Carola Moreno. 2005. “Democracy and Economic Growth: A Historical Perspective.” *World Politics* 57(April): 323-64.

<sup>11</sup> Kohli, Atul. 1990. *Democracy and Discontent: India’s Growing Crisis of Governability*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.



corruption by expanding the power of the business elite.<sup>12</sup> Indeed the visible increase in corruption in India—from the quotidian to large headline grabbing ‘scams’—as well as a surge in popular protest provides enough indication that we cannot simply assume that growth will automatically spell normatively positive consequences for governance.

The effect of growth on social development, and specifically education and healthcare, is just as unclear. At one level, rising state coffers have dramatically increased government expenditures especially for education, but also for healthcare. Outcomes remain varied, however. If we consider education, Myron Weiner was among the first to notice that economic growth was doing little to alleviate the pathetic condition of children in India. He argued that far more than economic growth, a caste-based mindset would need to change for true educational reform, concluding that these views would not necessarily change with rising incomes.<sup>13</sup> Two decades after his prediction, there is enough evidence that the demand for education has dramatically increased and so too has state outlays for education. What happened?

The state provision of healthcare over the past two decades has not kept pace with the transformations we have seen in education. Life expectancy has remained constant over the past twenty years, as have child mortality rates and state-level healthcare spending as a percentage of overall government spending.<sup>14</sup> Furthermore, there is evidence that rising incomes in India (due to growth) has been accompanied by a fall in nutrition levels amongst those who are below the poverty line.<sup>15</sup> And this is all to say nothing of how subnational socio-political variation interacts with economic growth to affect social development. Some regions of India may perceive social

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<sup>12</sup> See Huntington, Samuel. 1968. *Political Order in Changing Societies*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

<sup>13</sup> Weiner, Myron. 1991. *The Child and the State in India*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

<sup>14</sup> Chakrabarti, Poulomi, and Dinsha Mistree. 2013. “Disaggregating Social Development: The Variant Politics of Health and Education in India.” *Working Paper*.

<sup>15</sup> Deaton, Angus, and Jean Dreze. 2009. “Food and Nutrition in India: Facts and Interpretations.” *Economic and Political Weekly*. 44(7).

development to be a vital ingredient for continuing growth, while other regions may be under the impression that investments in social development actually divert resources away from furthering growth. Clearly, the impact of growth on social development is uneven and far from understood.

Taken together, do these puzzling deviations from modernization theory form the basis for an alternate framework?

### ***India is no East-Asian Tiger***

Modernization theory alone cannot account for the consequences of India's growth. If we instead consider what political circumstances are necessary for economic growth, we also observe that India is an exception. Of the countries which have economically developed since World War II, almost all of them required strong state intervention, mostly enabled through autocratic tendencies.<sup>16</sup> Examining the East Asian developmental states, for instance, reveals that strong military-technocratic governments suspended many civil liberties in order to build industrial sectors. Worker rights were non-existent, citizens were oftentimes forced into work to build physical infrastructure, and any protests that threatened economic stability were quickly squashed.<sup>17</sup> These governments were also strikingly uniform in their preferences and policy dispositions. To borrow from Sen, in these countries there was no "argumentative Indian" debate as to what should be the government's goals, and most of the time a clearly-defined governmental hierarchy went unchallenged when it issued its edicts.

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<sup>16</sup> Johnson, Chalmers. 1982. *MITI and the Japanese Miracle*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press. Cumings, Meredith Woo (ed.). 1999. *The Developmental State*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. Kohli, Atul. 2003. *State-Directed Development: Political Power and Industrialization in the Global Periphery*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

<sup>17</sup> Amsden, Alice. 2001. *The Rise of "The Rest": Challenges to the West from Late-Industrializing Economies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Such suspensions of liberty and uniformity of policy are understandably less frequent in democratic countries. Democracies are designed to protect citizens' rights and to encourage messy arguments; historically, they have not been well equipped to promote growth.<sup>18</sup> And yet, somehow India has been successful at achieving growth over a time period when other developing democracies have not. Much of the scholarly debate has focused on the kinds of policies that spurred growth. Can these policies be classified as pro-business or pro-market, or a mix of both? Less studied is the politics that created this growth.

The nature of Indian growth also makes it unique from other developing economies. High-growth in East Asia (such as Japan, South Korea, and China) has largely been the result of industrialization and advances in manufacturing. While India has constantly sought to achieve industrialization, conflicting government policies have stifled the expansion of the manufacturing sector as a proportion of the overall economy.<sup>19</sup> And while even in recent years industrialization has kept pace with overall growth, India has never enjoyed a true “industrial revolution.”

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<sup>18</sup> Gerring, et al., 2005.

<sup>19</sup> Chibber, Vivek. 2003. *Locked in Place: State-Building and Late Industrialization in India*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

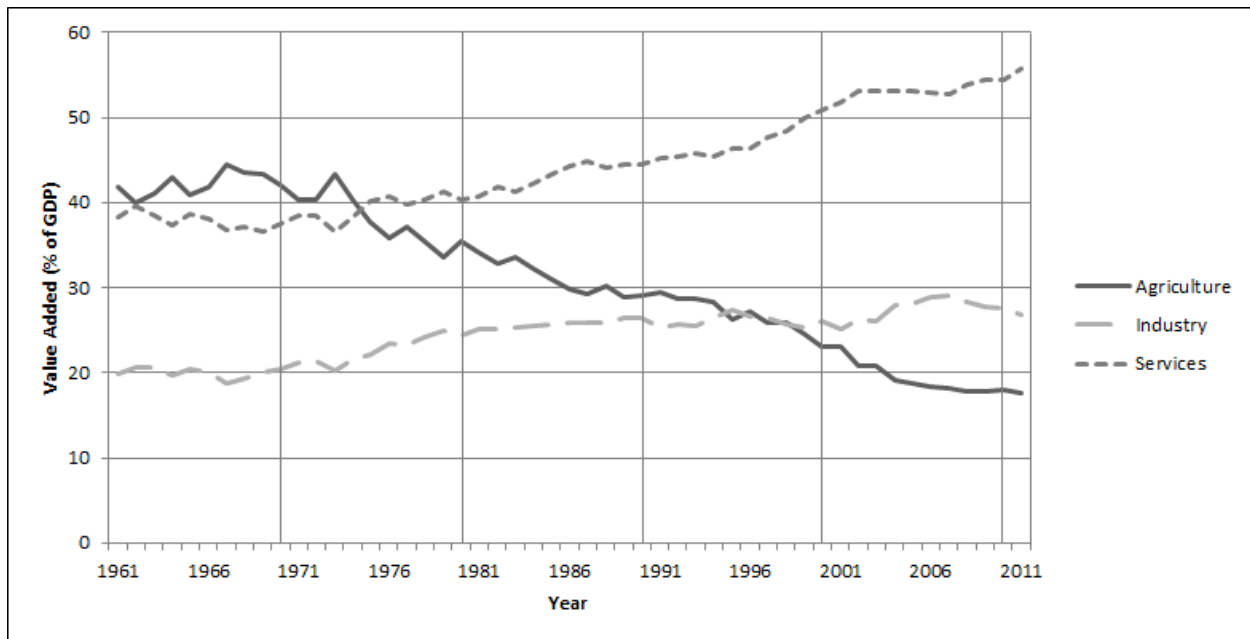


Figure 2: Indian Components of GDP, Percentage, 1961-2011. Source: World Bank's *World Development Indicators*.

Although India has struggled to implement an industrialization model for growth, it has altogether resisted the commodity-export model. Many high-growth economies such as those in the Middle East and a handful of high-growth economies in South America (such as Chile) have been driven by commodity exports. Following the end of colonialism, India was justifiably wary of pursuing a commodity-export economy. Instead of growing crops that could be sold internationally, agricultural policy for much of modern India's existence has focused on self-sustaining its own population. Also, official government policy has curtailed mining. As a result, unlike many other developing countries, the economy does not rise and fall with the booms and busts of any specific commodity.

In Figure 2, we show shares of the economy by each of the main sectors—agricultural, industrial, and services—for every year from 1961 to 2011. Together, the value added percentages from these three sectors comprise the entire economy. Industry as a percentage of the economy has remained constant for most of the country's history, between 20 and 30 percent,

with a slight uptick around 1980 and another small bump in the early 2000s. Agriculture and mining as a share of the overall economy has steadily decreased over time.

Instead of industry or agriculture, it is clear that India's growth has largely come about due to expansions in its services sector. Beginning just around 1980, we see the services sector start to ascend as a proportion of the overall economy, just as the era of the 'Hindu rate of growth' comes to a close. As of 2011, 55 percent of the value added by the Indian economy comes from the services sector. If services are so important, what role have the liberalization reforms of 1991 played in India's growth story?

The common understanding is that these liberalization reforms deserve credit for India's contemporary economic success, with the underlying suggestion being that further openness will result in even more growth.<sup>20</sup> But a second camp of scholars are now suggesting that India's liberalization must be seen in context, as growth patterns largely remained the same both before and after 1991.<sup>21</sup> While both sides of this debate deserve to be taken seriously, it is important to recognize that there is some level of underlying agreement as well. Both sides agree that the 1991 liberalization reforms were relatively limited in scope, with the first camp using this position to justify the need for further opening, while the second camp uses this position to question the overall effect of these 1991 reforms on the economy. The limited scope of these reforms has enabled follow-up debates, most recently over whether large multinational firms such as Walmart should have unfettered access to Indian consumers. As the 1991 reforms were only partial in nature, we should expect to see continuous debate on whether further liberalization such as the introduction of Walmart will be beneficial for growth or not. This

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<sup>20</sup> Friedman, 2005. Panagariya, Arvind. 2008. *India: The Emerging Giant*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

<sup>21</sup> Rodrik, Dani, and Arvind Subramanian. 2004. "From 'Hindu Growth' to Productivity Surge: The Mystery of the Indian Growth Transition." *IMF Working Paper* 04/77 (May). Kohli, Atul. 2012. *Poverty Amid Plenty in the New India*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

divergence in scholarship on the causes of growth not only shapes contemporary political debate; it also forms a key background to our conference.

In summary, we cannot simply accept the modernization theory viewpoint that growth will inexorably lead to certain socio-political outcomes. Equally, India's recent economic emergence does not neatly fall into the classic models of growth. Instead, we have to consider what factors make twenty-first century India's economy unique, and how high growth will affect this socio-political environment.

### ***Conference Panels***

The first panel enquires into the political circumstances that have led to high growth. We focus on three debates. First, what were those pro-growth policies? Did it consist of the state retreating from business, or the state giving big business a helping hand? Tied to this debate is one about timing: when exactly did the policies responsible for growth take place? Did it come about due to the liberalization of the early 1990s,<sup>22</sup> the pro-business shift of the 1980s,<sup>23</sup> or was there something even earlier?<sup>24</sup> Yet a third debate focuses on the politics behind this shift towards high growth. What made the state decide to pursue growth? Was it the recognition that the Indian state was exhausted and incapable of delivering (James Manor), or was it an economic crisis that spurred the government to unchain the economy, or was it instead some mix of social changes that created a domestic constituency for pro-business policies? There is also the comparative question of what factors may explain the variation in growth across states.<sup>25</sup> What

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<sup>22</sup> Panagariya 2008.

<sup>23</sup> Kohli 2012.

<sup>24</sup> Fisman, Raymond, and Tarun Khanna. 2004. "Facilitating Development: The Role of Business Groups." *World Development* 32(4): 609–28.

<sup>25</sup> Murali, Kanta. 2013. "Economic Liberalization, Electoral Coalitions and Private Investment in India." *Ph.D. Dissertation*. Princeton University, Department of Politics. Kohli, 2012.

does this tell us about the reasons for growth? Our first panel—made up of the economists Arvind Subramanian, Raghuram Rajan, and Rohit Lamba—explore these puzzles.

The second panel maps the social consequences of growth. India has myriad social cleavages, some politicized (caste, region, class), others less so. What have three decades of economic growth done to these cleavages? Have they become more or less salient, or has economic growth created new axes of difference? We focus on three cleavages: caste, religion, and class. Within class, we look at the twin changes of urbanization and the rise of a new middle-class. The dynamics of caste are closely tied to economic organization and occupational groupings. Theorists of capitalism, from Karl Marx to Adam Smith, have often argued that capitalism and growth dismantles feudal structures. There is also evidence in India to show that growth has unsettled occupational hierarchies, having a strong effect of caste.<sup>26</sup> Yet others argue that the new economy is reproducing older group hierarchies. Growth has also had an obvious impact on class. Of the many class-based consequences, we examine two: urbanization and the emerging middle class. Indian growth has tended to be service and manufacturing driven, with a heavy urban bias. This has led to rapid urbanization and the growth of mega-cities. Has this changed how we view citizenship and cities? A related consequence of growth is the rise of a new middle class. This new middle class is much larger than earlier and is likely to have an electoral voice. More importantly, the nature of growth has created a middle-class that is going to private schools, colleges, and getting new jobs.<sup>27</sup> It has also created an environment with much more brain circulation and political engagement from the Indian diaspora.<sup>28</sup> Has this changed the nature and demands of the electorate? Our second panel—led by Pratap Mehta, Pradeep

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<sup>26</sup> Varshney, Iyer, and Khanna. 2013.

<sup>27</sup> Sitapati, Vinay. 2011. “What Anna Hazare’s Movement and India’s New Middle Classes Say about Each Other.” *Economic and Political Weekly* 46(30).

<sup>28</sup> Kapur, Devesh. 2010. *Diaspora, Development, and Democracy: The Domestic Impact of International Migration from India*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Chhibber, Ashutosh Varshney, and Patrick Heller—debate these social changes caused by growth.

The third panel analyzes the impact of growth on public goods such as healthcare, education, and infrastructure. At one level, growth has increased state coffers and expenditure on public goods. But critics argue that this expenditure has not led to better quality services. Some argue that the problem lies in how certain groups organize within politics to convert public goods into private patronage.<sup>29</sup> But ethnic and sub-national groups, organized differently, could well improve public goods' provision.<sup>30</sup> Others focus on state capacity, pointing to the need for technological and administrative reform in improving state capacity to deliver in its new, enhanced role.<sup>31</sup> Then there is the demand story: some argue that growth has increased consumption as well as private services, which in turn increases the demand for better state services. This demand for services also shapes notions of citizenship and nationalism amongst the poor.<sup>32</sup> Our third panel begins by examining this relation between welfare and citizenship. Has enhanced public goods provisions changed how the poor view the state, and their own association to it? Second, What will be the Indian state's performance in terms of public goods' provision? Over the next twenty years, will we continue to see the same levels of regional variation which has been apparent for most of the country's history or should we expect more convergence? A third debate has to do with both the supply and demand for healthcare, in particular the paradox of malnutrition existing with increased consumption.<sup>33</sup> Our third panel—led by Angus Deaton, Niraja Gopal Jayal, and Perna Singh—debate this effect of growth on

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<sup>29</sup> Rudolph, Lloyd I. and Susanne Hoeber Rudolph. 1987. *In Pursuit of Lakshmi*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Chandra, Kanchan. 2004. *Why Ethnic Parties Succeed*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

<sup>30</sup> Singh, Perna. 2012. Subnationalism and Social Development: A Comparative Analysis of Indian States. *Ph.D. Dissertation*. Princeton University, Department of Politics.

<sup>31</sup> Bussell, Jennifer. 2012. *Corruption and Reform in India: Public Services in the Digital Age*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

<sup>32</sup> Jayal, Niraja Gopal. 2013. *Citizenship and its Discontents*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

<sup>33</sup> Deaton and Dreze, 2009.



public goods.

The final panel focuses on the effects of growth on governance. How will the Indian state accommodate the new pressures and demands which come with shifts in socioeconomic divides? This has three components: the effects on parties and the party system, the effect on state-center relations (federalism) and the relationship between growth and corruption. This panel begins by asking whether growth has led to (and will continue to lead to) increased fragmentation of the party system, or a strengthening of the cadre system and high command. With regard to India's federalist system, will we see decentralization or centralization? Which of India's institutions should we expect to centralize, and which institutions will decentralize? We end by looking at the relationship between growth and corruption. Some scholars have argued that growth increases the demand for corruption (in terms of a growing business elite) and its supply (in terms of a weakened state). But is this relationship linear? In particular, what is the relationship between the rise of marginalized castes in India and the increased corruption in the public. Our final panel—led by Devesh Kapur, Kanta Murali and Milan Vaishnav—debate these issues.

### ***Directions for Authors***

We are very pleased you will be contributing an original piece for this workshop. We hope to collect these in order to publish them as chapters in an edited volume following the conference. We genuinely hope that the authors will engage with one another, both at the conference as well as in the chapters themselves.

We ask all authors to send an abstract by **September 1st**. We would like all papers to be submitted by **September 25th**, giving other panelists a short window to read one another's papers. We will circulate a weblink so that all panelists will be able to download and read one

another's papers before the conference itself. We strongly encourage all panelists to read papers before they are presented. If you have any questions about anything, please don't hesitate to send along an email

Thank you once again,

Rohit Lamba ([rlamba@princeton.edu](mailto:rlamba@princeton.edu))

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Vinay Sitapati ([sitapati@princeton.edu](mailto:sitapati@princeton.edu))