

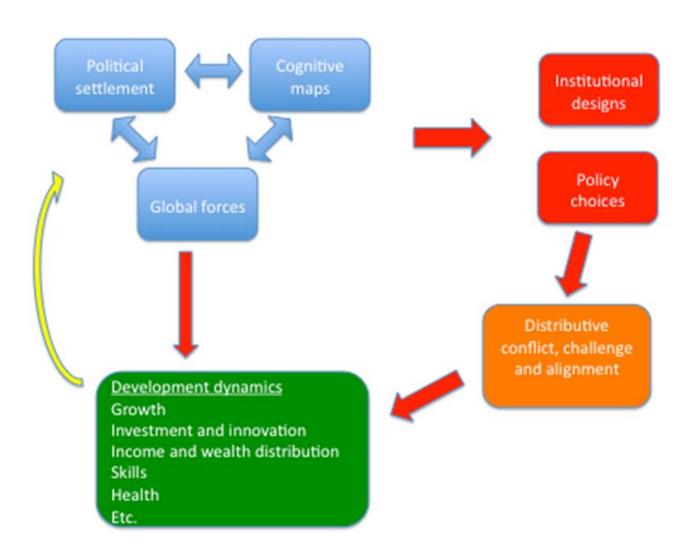
#### The Politics of the Middle Class

From Nationalism to Post-Democracy

Pratap B. Mehta

#### **The Formation of Political Order**





# **Cognitive Maps of Middle Class Politics**



- Middle Class As Social Theorists
  - Ghosh, Heller, Deshpande, Fernandes, Baviskar
- But is the vanguard of almost every movement
- Middle class and the rise of nationalism (1885 - 1947)
- The Nehruvian middle class (1947-1991)
  - "I am a middle class person": Nehru
- Post-Liberalization (1991 present)

### Middle class rent seeking



- Macro economic stability makes the Expansion of the State Self Limiting
  - Low Inflation
  - Moderate Taxes---small direct tax base
  - Sectional interests
    – teachers, lawyers, public sector unions:
- Locational Rents and Configuration of Space:
  - Urban Areas
- Pricing of Services-----What will they pay for?
  - Energy, Water, Health, Education, Transport,
  - Answer is Contingent---services have been shaped by political economy of rent seeking; middle class has ability to extract rents in rent based system, does not (YET?) have the ability to shape the rules.
- Huge lock in effects of current institutional choices

## Middle class Identity



- Tradition versus modernity/universal versus particular
- Weak professionalization
- Meritocracy
- The politics of affirmative action
- PETTY domination—from servant to contract

# Middle class and post democratic accountability



- Accountability: the race between voice and exit
- The delegtimization of the public:
- The rise of post representative institutions (courts, tribunals, media, independent regulators)
- Does the size of middle class have ability to transform state?
- The politics of anti politics

#### **Affirmative Action**



- India has the most ambitious affirmative action program
  - Government jobs and Education.
  - 22.5 percent reservations for SC/ST
  - 27.5 for Other Backward Classes (OBCs)
  - 3 percent for differently abled;
    - Some states exceed this
- Affirmative Action most significant locus of middle class politics
- Discrimination and the Private Sector the challenge of discrimination in informal labor markets.



# **Thank You**