#### CAN LABOR REGULATION HINDER ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE? EVIDENCE FROM INDIA\*

#### Timothy Besley and Robin Burgess

This paper investigates whether the industrial relations climate in Indian states has affected the pattern of manufacturing growth in the period 1958–1992. We show that states which amended the Industrial Disputes Act in a pro-worker direction experienced lowered output, employment, investment, and productivity in registered or formal manufacturing. In contrast, output in unregistered or informal manufacturing increased. Regulating in a pro-worker direction was also associated with increases in urban poverty. This suggests that attempts to redress the balance of power between capital and labor can end up hurting the poor.

#### I. Introduction

One of the key challenges of development economics is to identify policies that harm or hinder growth, along with an assessment of their effectiveness in poverty reduction. Traditional views of the growth process put development of manufacturing at center stage in the structural change accompanying economic development. A casual look at the performance of some of the more successful Asian economies after 1960 adds credence to this view. For example, between 1960 and 1995 manufacturing as a share of GDP grew from 9 percent to 24 percent of GDP in Indonesia, 8 percent to 26 percent in Malaysia, and 12.5 percent to 28 percent in Thailand.<sup>2</sup> All of these countries had strong overall growth performances and saw significant falls in absolute poverty.

In contrast, the Indian economy did not experience a significant expansion of manufacturing as a share of national income. Manufacturing output constituted 13 percent of GDP in 1960 (ahead of the countries listed above) but grew to only 18 percent

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See, for example, Kaldor [1967] for an early forceful statement of this view.
Figures on manufacturing shares come from various issues of the World Development Indicators, World Bank, Washington, DC.

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