Governance and Politics of Welfare in South Asia (Seminar)
Tuesday 1400 Hrs – 1600Hrs
Department of political science / Politische Wissenschaft- South Asia Institute
Heidelberg University
Instructor: Himanshu Jha Ph.D.
Room: 24, 1ˢᵗ Floor, CATS
Tel: +49 6221 541-5293
Email: jha@uni-heidelberg.de
Office Hours: Wednesday 1600 Hrs – 1800 Hrs (Please Email to seek an appointment)

Aim
This seminar introduces students to the emerging governance architecture and politics of welfare in the South Asian countries. In this context we will examine questions such as: What is the politics of welfare and governance? How inclusive is economic growth in south Asia? How do these states make their growth inclusive? What is the politics of 'including' the 'excluded'? By locating the major theoretical and empirical trends within the South Asian region, this seminar will cover contemporary research on governance and welfare, politics of welfare, the role of state and society and the rights based approach towards development. The seminar will examine contemporary situation and cross currents while being sensitive to contemporary history. In this seminar two-dimensions of welfare politics will be examined- First dimension is about how, why and what of welfare architecture provided by the state in terms of what Marshall (1950) calls 'social citizenship' and the second dimension interrogates who gets what, when and how (Lasswell 1936) from this welfare architecture?

Learning Outcomes:

On completion of this course the students will be able to

1. Understand the governance dynamics and the politics of welfare generally and in South Asia specifically
2. Gain knowledge on the historical and contemporary socio-political-economic discourse on poverty, inequality and development in South Asia.
3. Will get orientation towards comparative politics
4. Analyze the role of state, society and institutions
5. Will be able to link the theoretical concepts to the empirical material

This seminar covers South Asia. The course endeavours to cover major South Asian countries. However, not all South Asian countries find place in the readings as on selected issues some countries are better researched than others. Students are encouraged to bring in cases or examples for understanding countries that have not been discussed at length.

Prerequisite

No prior knowledge of South Asia is required for this class. However, students taking this course need commitment to the area while being rooted in the discipline of social

science. Some amount of sensitivity to the issues covered in this seminar will enrich the discussions.

Organization

For each session, the students will make a 20-25-minutes presentation based on the readings. The presentation will try to address the issues raised in the session brief (provided in the course outline) for that week. It can take shape of a debate as well as a reflection on the readings. Presenters will provide some leading questions to initiate the discussions. Presentations and class discussions can be a good starting point to start thinking about the paper which I will expect by the end of this semester.

The essential readings will be uploaded on Moodle. It is necessary for the students to engage with the readings to meaningfully participate in this class. I will be happy to recommend additional readings if one is excited about a topic and desires to read beyond the essential readings.

Students are expected to attend the seminar regularly and are encouraged to actively participate in the discussions. They will be evaluated on the basis of their preparation for this seminar. It is pertinent for the students to come prepared for the class on the basis of the essential readings provided in the course outline.

The password for the Moodle is: ese35H
Note*: Students who desire a "Schein" must register on Moodle by the second week of the semester.

Online Teaching: In these unprecedented times we will be initially conducting this seminar course online. There will be 14 sessions in this seminar. The first (introductory) session for the seminar will be held **on 28th April 2020 (Tuesday)**.Please note the following:

1.   Weekly readings are uploaded on the moodle. For those who have not yet received a student/uni id- I can directly share the course outline, and the readings for the initial weeks over email. Please do let me know via email at the earliest.
2.   Alternatively, the course outline can also be downloaded directly from https://www.uni-heidelberg.de/sai/pol/teaching/index_en.html
3.   The course will be **conducted online on hieCONF** and can be accessed at https://heiconf.uni-heidelberg.de/. As the online situation is still evolving I might upload a pre- recorded lecture on an appropriate platform- either hieCAST or moodle. We will then have a seminar style discussion on hieCONF. We will decide this after the first session.
4.   I have created a room for this course on hieCONF. The id for the room is https://heiconf.uni-heidelberg.de/him-y7n-2tm

Assessment

I will evaluate the students on the basis of: 1. Final Term Paper (5000-6000 words; 3000-4000 words for BA students); 2. A book review (1000-1200 words) and 3. Presentation and Participation

Final Term paper (50%): Students are expected to write a term paper on a topic of their choice by the end of this seminar. Term papers are to be 5000 -6000 words in length (3000-4000 words for BA students) including footnotes and references. Term papers are due on 30 September 2020.

Book Review (30%): Students will review a book from the reading list, which I will provide. Students are also free to choose a book of their own choice. Please note that the books chosen should be relevant to the subject covered in this course. Students will take my prior approval before choosing the book for reviewing. Book reviews are to be 1000-1200 words in length.

Class Presentation, Participation and Attendance (20%): Evaluation will be based on student's engagement with the topic and demonstrated understanding of the assigned readings. Since, this is a seminar style class, discussions and engagement with the topic assigned will be appreciated. Based on the readings (and perhaps beyond) it is also encouraged to think deeply about the issues assigned each week.

Week 1 (28 April 2020)

Introduction
This is an introductory session where an overview, the scope of the weekly themes and essential readings will be discussed. This session is important for students, as it will introduce the context, meaning of the key terms, broader arguments made in the readings. Prior to starting the discussions on specific topics, this session will familiarize the students with the lay of the land or state of the art. Students should also express their expectations from this module and can discuss the content and orientation of the topics covered, clarify the teaching and learning arrangements.

Recommended Readings

Koehler Gabriele.2014. Approaching developmental welfare states: A "welfare geography" of South Asia. In, *Development and Welfare Policy in South Asia*, by Koehler Gabriele and Deepta Chopra (ed.). London and New York: Routledge: 25-39.

Haque, Shamsul.M. 2003. Reinventing Governance for Performance in South Asia: Impacts on Citizenship Rights. *International Journal of Public Administration* 26 (8-9): 941-964.

Week 2 (5 May 2020)

Welfare, Governance and Citizenship
Governance and welfare provided by the state has a direct connection with citizenship. What does it mean for the relationship between the state and the citizens? In this session relatedness of state and citizenship will be discussed in the context of welfare, governance and development.

Essential Readings

T.H. Marshall.1992. Citizenship and Social Class (1950). In *Citizenship and Social Class* by T.H. Marshall and Tom Bottomore. London: Pluto Press: 8 – 17.

Read Introduction of Jayal, Niraja Gopal. 2013. *Citizenship and its Discontents: An Indian History*. Introduction. New Delhi: Permanent Black: 1-24.

Chopra, Deepta (et.al). 2011. Politics of citizenship: experiencing state–society relations from the margins. *Contemporary South Asia* 19 (3): 243-247.

Week 3 (12 May 2020)

Politics of Welfare and Governance
What is the politics of welfare and governance? What are the major shifts? In this session we will engage with some core readings to discuss the contents of the politics of welfare and governance. Students are encouraged to think of some relevant cases from South Asia while discussing the readings.

Essential Readings
Pierson, Paul. 1996. The New Politics of the Welfare State. *World Politics* 49 (2)*:* 143–179

Jha, H. 2019. Institutional Change in the Welfare Regime in India: Broadening the Dominant Narratives (Review article). *Indian Politics & Policy, Volume 2,Issue 2.*

Hickey, S., Sen, K., & Bukenya, B. (Eds.). (2015). *The politics of inclusive development: Interrogating the evidence.* Oxford University Press, USA. Read Introduction, Chapters 5, 8, 9 and 10.

Supplementary Reading

Hickey, Samuel. 2013.Thinking about the politics of inclusive development: towards a relational approach. ESID working paper no.1. Available http://www.effective-states.org/wp-content/uploads/working_papers/final-pdfs/esid_wp_01_hickey.pdf

Leftwich, A. 1994. Governance, the State and the Politics of Development. *Development and Change* 25: 363–386. doi:10.1111/j.1467-7660. 1994.tb00519.x

Week 4 (19 May 2020)

South Asian Model of Welfare and Governance
Is there a south Asian model of welfare and governance? How and why is it different? This session will discuss some of these questions.

Essential Readings

Koehler Gabriele.2014. Is there an Asian Welfare state Model? East and South Asian Trajectories and Approaches to the Welfare State. Available http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/csocd/2016/köhler-asian-welfarestates.pdf

Wood, G., & Gough, I. (2006). A comparative welfare regime approach to global social policy. *World development*, *34*(10), 1696-1712.

Mukherji, Rahul.2016. Governance Reform in a Weak State: Thirty Years of Indian Experience. *Governance* 30 (1): 53-58.

Supplementary Reading
Mukherji, Rahul. 2016. Is India a Developmental State? In, *The Asian Developmental State: Reexaminations and New Departures*, By Chu Yin-Wah (Ed.). United States: Palgrave McMillan: 217:236.

Week 5 (26 May 2020)

From Programmatic to the Rights Based Approach
Recently, there has been an institutional shift from programs and schemes providing welfare and governance to citizens having rights. What is this shift? What does it mean for the state-citizenship linkages? What explains this shift?

Essential Readings

Ruparelia, Sanjay. 2013. India's New Rights Agenda: Genesis, Promises, Risks. *Pacific Affairs* 86 (3): 569-590.

Kindornay, S., Ron, J., & Carpenter, C. (2012). Rights-based approaches to development: Implications for NGOs. *Human Rights Quarterly.*, *34*, 472.

Miller, H., & Redhead, R. (2019). Beyond 'rights-based approaches'? Employing a process and outcomes framework. *International Journal of Human Rights* 23 (5) : 699-718.

Supplementary Reading

Kabeer, Naila .2014. The politics and practicalities of universalism: towards a citizen-centred perspective on social protection. *European Journal of Development Research*, 26 (3): 338-354.

Week 6 (2 June 2020)

Clientelism
The political parties in power often use welfare and governance selectively. This has been termed by scholars as part of Patronage democracy or clientelism. This argument poses the problem of the state captured by vested interests and instrumental selective use of welfare rather than universalism. In this session we will examine the why and what of the politics of welfare.

Essential Readings

Drucza, K. (2018). The politics behind social protection in Nepal. *Asian Journal of Comparative Politics*, *3*(4), 311–335.

Auerbach, A. M., & Thachil, T. (2018). How Clients Select Brokers: Competition and Choice in India's Slums. *American Political Science Review*, *112*(4), 775-791.

Weyland, K. (1995). Social movements and the state: the politics of health reform in Brazil. *World Development*, *23*(10), 1699-1712.

Supplementary Reading

Chandra, Kanchan. 2007. *Why Ethnic Parties Succeed: Patronage and Ethnic Head Counts in India*.UK: Cambridge University press. Read Introduction:1-32 and Chapters 6-9:115-196.

Week 7 (9 June 2020)

Welfare from below
In spirit, welfare and governance is supposed to be universal, however, implementation is uneven. This results in demand from the grassroots. The bottom-up demand manifests in collective action and welfare is often driven by the demand and claims from below. What are the patterns of such collective action?

Essential Readings

Chidambaram, Soundarya. 2020. How do institutions and infrastructure affect mobilization around public toilets vs. piped water? Examining intra-slum patterns of collective action in Delhi, India. *World Development* Vol.132.

Nagrah, A., Chaudhry, A. M., & Giordano, M. (2016). Collective action in decentralized irrigation systems: Evidence from Pakistan. *World Development*, *84*, 282-298.

Kruks-Wisner, G. 2018. The Pursuit of Social Welfare: Citizen Claim-Making in Rural India- Corrigendum. *World Politics* 70 (1), 122-163.

Supplementary Reading

Akerkar, S., Joshi, P. C., & Fordham, M. (2016). Cultures of entitlement and social protection: Evidence from flood prone Bahraich, Uttar Pradesh, India. *World Development*, *86*, 46-58.

Week 8 (16 June 2020)

State-society Synergy

A popular view holds that the degree of state's embeddedness and its autonomy impacts the program implementation and governance. The state and society establish

synergies and work in a mutually empowering relationship. This view is different from the arguments, which focus on the demand from the grassroots. How do we understand state's embedded autonomy and state-society synergy?

Essential Readings

Evans, Peter 1995. *Embedded Autonomy: States and Industrial Transformation*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Read Introduction and chapter 10.

Peter Evans (eds.). State-society synergy : government and social capital in development . Research series No. 94. Read Intro, Chap 3, 5 and Conclusion.
.
Marcesse, T. (2018). Public policy reform and informal institutions: The political articulation of the demand for work in rural India. *World development*, *103*, 284-296.

Supplementary Readings

Bhavnani, Rikhil R., and Alexander Lee. 2017. "Local embeddedness and bureaucratic performance: Evidence from India." *The Journal of Politics* 80 (1):71-87.

Pepinsky, Thomas B., Jan H. Pierskalla, and Audrey Sacks. 2017. "Bureaucracy and Service Delivery." 20 (1):249-268.

Week 9 (23 June 2020)

Political competition, political will and solidarity
Alternative arguments hold that political competition and solidarity explain the presence and absence of welfare. These factors also explain the uneven governance of the welfare policies. Can we discuss these existing explanations in context of some specific cases?

Essential Readings

Chopra, D. (2019). Accounting for success and failure in policy implementation: The role of commitment in India's MGNREGA. *Development Policy Review*, *37*(6), 789-811.

Thachil, T. (2011). Embedded mobilization: nonstate service provision as electoral strategy in India. *World Politics*, *63*(3), 434-469.

Singh, P. (2011). We-ness and welfare: A longitudinal analysis of social development in Kerala, India. *World Development*, *39*(2), 282-293.

Supplementary Readings

Chhotray, V., Adhikari, A., & Bahuguna, V. (2020). The political prioritization of welfare in India: Comparing the public distribution system in Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand. *World Development*, *128*, 104853.

Manor, James, and Jane Duckett. 2017. "The significance of political leaders for social policy expansion in Brazil, China, India and South Africa." *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics* 55 (3):303-327.

Week 10 (30 June 2020)

State Driven Arguments
Can we neglect role of the state? Can the state captured by the vested interests move? How? In some cases, welfare is provided selectively, but in some others the state responds remarkably well.

Essential Readings

Akshay Mangla, "Bureaucratic Norms and State Capacity," *Asian Survey* 55:5 (2015).

David Dunham & Sisira Jayasuriya. 2000. Equity, Growth and Insurrection: Liberalization and the Welfare Debate in Contemporary Sri Lanka. *Oxford Development Studies* 28(1):97-110.

McDonnell, E. M. (2017). Patchwork leviathan: How pockets of bureaucratic governance flourish within institutionally diverse developing states. *American Sociological Review*, *82*(3): 476–510.

Week 11 (7 July 2020)

Ideas, Powering and Puzzling
In some cases state transcends clientelism. It is important to understand state's failure to deliver, it is equally important to reason the conditions under which it succeeds. How can we explain this? It is argued the ideas within the bureaucracy and the bureaucratic culture are important for delivery. In this session we will discuss and unpack the how and why of state's performance moving beyond the arguments discussed in the previous weeks.

Essential Readings

Mukherji, R., & Jha, H. (2017). Bureaucratic rationality, political will, and state capacity. *Economic and Political Weekly*, *52*(49), 53-60.

Jha, H. (2018). State Processes, Ideas, and Institutional Change: The Case of the Right to Information Act in India1. *Pacific Affairs*, *91*(2), 309-328.

Hall, Anthony. 2006. "From Fome Zero to Bolsa Família: Social Policies and Poverty Alleviation under Lula." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 38 (4):689-709.

Week 12 (14 July 2020)

Health, Pandemics and State Capacity

The recent Covid19 pandemic has renewed debates around state capacity and state readiness around health issues. Issue of state capacity is especially significant for developing countries of south Asia. How can states develop health related capacities and readiness to tackle such challenges?

Essential Readings

Faguet, J. P., & Ali, Z. (2009). Making reform work: institutions, dispositions, and the improving health of Bangladesh. *World Development*, *37*(1), 208-218.

Robyn Klingler-Vidra, Ba Linh Tran and Ida Uusikyla. *2020.* Testing Capacity: State Capacity and COVID-19 Testing. *Global Policy* (9 April 2020). Available https://www.globalpolicyjournal.com/blog/09/04/2020/testing-capacity-state-capacity-and-covid-19-testing

Joy Elamon. 2020. Covid-19: How Kerala fought the deadly virus. *Policy Circle* (13 April 2020). Available https://www.policycircle.org/life/covid-19-how-kerala-fought-the-deadly-virus/

Week 13 (21 July 2020)

Including the excluded & Wrapping up

A large chunk of population in South Asia is excluded from the mainstream development and merely subsists on the periphery. What are the patterns of this exclusion? How can excluded communities be included in the policy mainstream? Additionally,we also will reflect on some of the topics and debates emerging from our previous discussions.

Essential Readings

Kabeer, Naila .2012. Empowerment, citizenship and gender justice: a contribution to locally grounded theories of change in women's lives. *Ethics and Social Welfare* 6 (3): 216-232.

Veeraraghavan, R. (2017). Strategies for synergy in a high modernist project: Two community responses to India's NREGA rural work program. *World Development*, *99*, 203-213.

World Bank. 2011. Poverty and Social Exclusion in India. Washington, DC. © World Bank. https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/2289 License: CC BY 3.0 IGO." Read Chapters 2 &3.