Governance and Politics of Welfare in South Asia (MA Seminar)
Venue: SAI Room 316

Tuesday 1600 Hrs – 1800Hrs
Department of political science / Politische Wissenschaft- South Asia Institute
Heidelberg University
Instructor:
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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 dimensions 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

This is an MA Seminar class. 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 for participating 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.

The password for the Moodle is: Welfare17

Week 1 (25 May 2017)

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 (2 May 2017)

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.

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

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

Mcloughlin Claire. 2015.The Politics of What works in Service Delivery: An Evidence Based Review. In, *The Politics of Inclusive Development: Interrogating the Evidence.* By Hickey, Samuel et.al (Ed.). United Kingdom: Oxford University Press:119-146.

Supplementary Reading

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 (16 May 2017)

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

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 (23 May 2017)

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

Chopra Deepta.2014. Welfare, Development, Rights in South Asia. In, *Development and Welfare Policy in South Asia*, by Koehler Gabriele and Deepta Chopra (ed.). London and New York: Routledge: 198-217.

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

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 (30 May 2017)

Interest vs Ideas

What explains the shift from the programmatic or schematic approach of providing welfare to the rights based framework. In some cases, it is argued that the prevailing interests in the society favoured this change and state yielded to this demand. Is it a one-way process of societal interests (or demands) playing a consequential role in determining and guiding the state's policy preferences? How about the State and the ideas within it? Does state powers and puzzles as well. In this session we will engage with these two alternate viewpoints.

Essential Readings

Singh, Shekhar. 2011. The Genesis and Evolution of the Right to Information Regime in India. Transparent Governance in South Asia, ed. by Shekhar Singh et al. India: Indian Institute of Public Administration.

Jha, Himanshu. 2016. State Processes, Ideas and Institutional Change: Case of Right to Information Act in India. *Pacific Affairs* (Unpublished).

Gazdar, Haris.2011. Social Protection in Pakistan: In the Midst of a Paradigm Shift? *Economic and Political Weekly* XLVI (28).

Week 7 (6 June 2017)

Please note that there will be no class this week as I will be away for a conference in China. However, we will treat this week as a reading week. The students are encouraged to engage with the following recommended readings:

Essential Readings

Mohanty, Aparajita (et.al). *2014.* Rethinking Inclusive Development: A Human Rights Critique of South Asia. *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences* 157:128-136.

Read Chapter 7: *Pakistan and India: Of Military Ballads and popular Ballads*. In Afzal, Kamran Ali and Mark Considine. 2015. *Democratic Accountability and International Human Development: Regimes, Institutions and Resources*. London and New York: Routledge.

State and Society

Can state and society work together? How do poor see the state? There is a third strand which establishes the synergy between the state and society working mutually and in tandem shaping the ideas about a specific policy choice. Yet another strand examines how the state seen by the poor. This session engages with these two strands.

Essential Readings

Corbridge, Stuart (et.al). 2005. *Seeing the State: Governance and Governmentality in India.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Read Pages: 1-87 and 121-151.

Chopra, Deepta. 2011. Policy Making in India: A Dynamic Process of Statecraft. *Pacific Affairs* 84 (1) :89-107

Week 9 (20 June 2017)

Captured Welfare: Patronage and 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

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.

Rumi,Raza Ahmad. 2011. Dynasties and Clientelism in Pakistan. *Seminar 622.* Available http://www.india-seminar.com/2011/622/622_raza_ahmad_rumi.htm

Week 10 (27 June 2017)

Ideas, bureaucracy and the state

But 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. While it is important to understand state's failure to deliver, it is equally important to reason the conditions under which it succeeds. Hence, the ideas within the bureaucracy and the bureaucratic culture are important for delivery.

Essential Readings

Mukherji, Rahul and Himanshu Jha. 2016. The State, Ideas and Welfare in India: Reflections on Andhra Pradesh and West Bengal. In, and Edited Volume. New Delhi: Orient Blackswan (Forthcoming).

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.

Cases

Week 11 (4 July 2017)

Right to Work- Employment programmes for the Rural Poor

Essential Readings

Dutta Puja, Rinku Murgai, Martin Ravallion and Dominique Van De Walle . 2012. 'Does India's Employment Guarantee Scheme Guarantee Employment?', *Economic and Political Weekly* XLVII (16): 55-64.

Hasan Uzzaman Zaman. 2011. Assessing the Impact of Employment Generation Programs in Challenging Rural Poverty: A Comparative Study on Bangladesh and India. *Journal of Poverty* 15(3): 259-276

Week 12 (11 July 2017)

Gender Rights

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.

Hunt Juliet & Nalini Kasynathan. 2010. Pathways to empowerment? Reflections on microfinance and transformation in gender relations in South Asia. *Gender and Development* 9 (1): 42-52.

Nazneed, Sohela and Rezwan Masud.2017. The Politics of negotiating Gender Equity in Bangladesh. *ESID Working Number 76*. Available http://www.effective-states.org/wp-content/uploads/working_papers/final-pdfs/esid_wp_76_nazneen_masud.pdf

Week 13 (18 July 2017)

Corruption, Transparency and Accountability

Essential Readings

Oldenburg, P. 1987. Middlemen in Third-World Corruption: Implications of an Indian Case. *World Politics, 39*(4): 508-535.

Aiyar, Yamini. 2010. Accountability for Outcomes. *India Review* 9 (2): 87-106.

Report by Transparency International. 2014. *Fighting Corruption in South Asia: Building Accountability.*
Available
http://www.transparency.org/whatwedo/publication/fighting_corruption_in_south_asia_building_accountability

Wrapping up
No new topic will be taken up this week. We will reflect on some of the topics and debates emerging from our previous discussions.

Assessment

I will evaluate the students on the basis of: 1. Final Term Paper (5000-6000 words); 2. 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 including footnotes and references. Term papers are due on 30 September 2017 by 5 pm.

Book Review (30%): Students will review a book from the reading list which will be provided by the instructor. 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.

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.