

GOOD GOVERNANCE AND PEOPLE LIVING IN POVERTY:

Public policy, poverty, social development and justice

Institution: **India Institute of Management (IIM), Ahmedabad**

Visiting Professor's name **Harsh Mander**

Course objectives

After completing the course, students will be able to:

- interrogate dominant neo-liberal perspectives on good governance
- understand alternative notions of poverty, social exclusion and marginalization, and the role and duty of the state to excluded people, especially in the context of India
- understand the situation of some of the most socially excluded groups in India, in particular people living with hunger, dalits, the urban homeless and street children, and minorities, to understand gender discrimination, and to analyze the impact of law and public policy on their lives

(For further elaboration, see Annexure 1)

Type, plan and session-wise content of the course

The course will attempt to use instruments of critical empathy to understand the conditions of India's most socially disadvantaged groups: dalits, women, the urban homeless and street children, religious minorities, and people living with hunger.

It will examine the impact of public policy on changing their conditions, its strengths and failures. It will do this in the light of detailed case studies of some specific socially excluded groups and the impact of public policy on their lives.

It will critically examine different ideas about the role of the state, of alternate economic and social policies, and of rights based legislations.

Finally it will try to equip students with instruments of empathetic observation, of understanding privilege and disadvantage, of democracy and engaged citizenship, of justice and public compassion.

Recommended Books

1. Mander, Harsh (2015) *Looking Away: Inequality, Prejudice and Indifference in New India*. Speaking Tiger Books. New Delhi
2. Dreze, Jean and Sen, Amartya (2013) *An Uncertain Glory: India and It's Contradictions*. Allen Lane.
3. Mander, Harsh (2013) *Ash in the Belly: India's Unfinished Battle Against Hunger*. Penguin.
4. Book: India Exclusion Report (2013-2014) (circulated online)

The detailed 15 lecture course design is given below:

Session/s	Topic	Reading
1 and 2	Overview of Governance and the Poor:	<p>Core Readings:</p> <p><i>Modi and the Battle for India's Soul</i> by Harsh Mander</p> <p>'A New India?' ; 'Integrating Growth and Development' ; 'India in Comparative Perspective' Ch: 1,2 and 3 in the book <i>An Uncertain Glory: India and Its Contradictions</i> by Jean Dreze & Amartya Sen</p> <p><i>Integrating Growth and Development</i> Ch 2 in the book <i>The Uncertain Glory: India and Its Contradictions</i> by Jean Dreze and Amartya Sen</p> <p><i>Two Imaginations of Good Government</i> by Harsh Mander</p> <p><i>The Land of Exclusion</i> by Jayati Ghosh</p> <p>Additional Readings:</p> <p><i>Retreat of the State</i> by R. Ramachandran</p> <p><i>Accumulation Strategies and Human Development in India</i> by Jayati Ghosh</p>
3	People Living With Hunger	<p>Core Readings:</p> <p><i>Gajalachmi Story</i> by Harsh Mander</p> <p><i>The Elephant in the Dark: Ways to end India's Hunger and Malnutrition</i> by Harsh Mander and Ashwin Parulkar</p>

		<p><i>Living with Hunger: Chronic Food Deprivation among the Aged people, Single women and People with disability</i> by Harsh Mander</p> <p><i>Cutting the Food Act to the Bone</i> by Biraj Patnaik</p> <p><i>Food From the Courts: The Indian Experience</i> by Harsh Mander</p> <p><i>Ash in the Belly: India's Unfinished Battle Against Hunger</i> by Harsh Mander</p> <p>Film:</p> <p><i>Harvest of Hunger</i> (documentary)</p> <p>Additional Readings:</p> <p><i>Democracy and the Right to Food</i> by Jean Dreze</p> <p><i>Rage Against India's Food Bill</i> by Harsh Mander</p>
4	Rural Poor	<p>Core Readings:</p> <p><i>In Bondage: Bilasini, Of Rancid Hopes and Embattled Territories</i></p> <p><i>Poverty and Social Support (Ch 7) in An Uncertain Glory: India and Its Contradictions</i> by Jean Dreze and Amartya Sen</p> <p><i>Debt Bondage and the Tricks of Capital</i> by Isabelle Guerin, G Venkatasubramanian and S Kumar</p> <p><i>The Largest Wave of Suicides in History</i> by P. Sainath</p> <p><i>Suicides are about the living, not the dead</i> by P. Sainath</p> <p><i>Poverty and Social Support (Ch:7) in An Uncertain Glory: India and Its Contradictions</i> by Jean Dreze & Amartya Sen</p>

		<p><i>'Farming and the Epidemic of Terminal Despair' and 'Is Farming a Dying Civilization' in the book Looking Away: Inequality, Prejudice and Indifference in New India by Harsh Mander</i></p>
5	Urban poor (Slums and Homeless)	<p>Core Readings:</p> <p><i>Out of the Ruins by Harsh Mander</i></p> <p><i>Little Men: growing up on the Streets in the book A fractured freedom. Chronicles of India's Margins, 2004-2011. by Harsh Mander, Three Essays Collective, 2012</i></p> <p><i>TRG, Urban Health Mission- Making the Urban Health Mission Work for the Urban Poor</i></p> <p><i>National Strategy for Urban Poor by NC Saxena</i></p> <p><i>Urban Housing and Exclusion, Ch:3 in India Exclusion Report 2013-14 by Gautam Bhan, Geetika Anand, Amogh Arakali, Anushree Deb, Swastik Harsh</i></p> <p><i>National Advisory Council: Explanatory note Social Security for Unorganised Workers</i></p> <p><i>Illegality and the Urban Poor by Usha Ramanathan</i></p> <p><i>'Youth, Jobs and Dreams'; 'For the Crime of Destitution'; ' "Illegal" Homes of Pickpockets'; 'The Indian Help' and 'Living and Dying on the Streets' in the book Looking Away: Inequality, Prejudice and Indifference in New India by Harsh Mander</i></p>
7-8.	Dalits and Tribals	<p>Readings on Dalits</p> <p>Core Readings:</p>

		<p><i>Learning from Babasaheb</i> by Harsh Mander</p> <p><i>Dalits in Contemporary India</i> by Harsh Mander</p> <p><i>Annihilation by Caste: Lessons from Budaun and Beyond</i> by Kalpana Kannabiran</p> <p><i>Scavenger Narayanamma</i> in the book <i>Unheard Voices: stories of forgotten Lives</i> by Harsh Mander, Penguin 2001</p> <p><i>Caste and Economic Discrimination: Causes, Consequences and Remedies</i> by Sukhadeo Thora, Katherine S Newman</p> <p>National Advisory Council Policy Note :<i>Manual Scavenging</i></p> <p>National Advisory Council Policy Note: <i>Reforming Scheduled Castes Sub-Plan (SCSP) / Tribal Sub Plan (TSP)</i></p> <p><i>Untouchability in Rural India</i> by Ghanshyam Shah, Harsh Mander, Sukhadeo Thorat, Satish Deshpande and Amita Baviskar. Sage India, 2006.</p> <p>Film: <i>India Untouched</i> (documentary) by Stalin K.</p> <p>Additional Readings:</p> <p><i>Other dreams; Open Letter to striking Medicos</i> in the book <i>A fractured freedom. Chronicles of India's Margins, 2004-2011.</i> by Harsh Mander, Three Essays Collective, 2012</p> <p>Readings on Tribals</p> <p>Core Readings:</p> <p><i>The Land of Jagtu Gond</i> in the book <i>Unheard Voices: stories of forgotten Lives</i> by Harsh Mander, Penguin 2001</p>
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9	Gender	<p>Core Readings:</p> <p><i>The Second Rape</i> in the book <i>Unheard Voices: stories of forgotten Lives</i> by Harsh Mander, Penguin 2001</p> <p><i>Understanding Gender</i> by Kamla Bhasin</p> <p><i>Intersections of Gender and Caste</i> by Sharmila Rege, J Devika, Kalpana Kannabiran, Mary E John, Padmini Swaminathan, Samita Sen</p> <p><i>Women's Emancipation, Men's Freedoms</i> by Harsh Mander</p> <p><i>Transgenders: Transcending the Binaries: Transgender Exclusions in Law and Policy</i> by Shubha Chacko and Arvind Narrain</p> <p><i>Single Women</i> by Harsh Mander</p> <p>National Advisory Council Note: <i>Improving the Sex Ratio at Birth</i></p>

10	Minorities	<p>Core Readings:</p> <p><i>The Politics of Ghar Wapsi</i> by Manjari Katj</p> <p><i>Another Manufactured Riot</i> by Harsh Mander</p> <p><i>Dadri Lynching has Raised Troubling Questions about India's Secularity</i> by Harsh Mander</p> <p><i>'The Legitimization of Prejudice' Section III in the book Looking Away: Inequality, Prejudice and Indifference in New India</i> by Harsh Mander</p> <p><i>FOREWORD : Centre for Equity Studies report – investigating government's response to Sachar Committee</i></p> <p><i>National Advisory Council Bill Prevention of Targeted and Communal Violence Bill 2011</i></p> <p><i>National Advisory Council Explanatory note Towards inclusive development to empower minorities</i></p>
11	Children	<p>Core Readings:</p> <p><i>Child Labour Law Amendment</i> by Alex George and Sameet Panda</p> <p><i>Amendments in Juvenile Justice Act Prevent Children's Reform</i> by Harsh Mander National Advisory Council note on Child Labour</p> <p><i>National Advisory Council note on Child Labour</i></p> <p><i>Why the children of the poor must not be allowed to work in family enterprises</i> by Harsh Mander</p>

		<p><i>'The Eklavyas of New India'</i> in the book <i>Looking Away: Inequality, Prejudice and Indifference in New India</i> by Harsh Mander</p> <p><i>'The Centrality of Education'</i> Ch: 5 in the book <i>An Uncertain Glory: India and It's Contradictions</i> by Jean Dreze and Amartya Sen</p>
12	Disability	<p>Core Readings:</p> <p><i>Exiles from Hope</i> by Harsh Mander and Victor John Cordeiro</p> <p><i>No Country for Visually Challenged Persons?</i> By Subhash Gatade</p> <p><i>Twice Undermined</i> by Anita Ghai</p> <p><i>Disability, Gender and Caste: Marginality, Exclusion and Opportunity in Indian Economy</i> by Nilika Mehrotra</p> <p>National Advisory Council note on Disability</p>
13	Case Study Writing	<p><i>Words from Heart</i> by Harsh Mander</p> <p><i>Centre for Equity Studies note on writing policy briefs</i></p>

14, 15 Presentations of life histories of marginalized people prepared by students and Concluding remarks (Students will be required to study one marginalized person and prepare individual life case histories. 2 sessions will be devoted to their presentations)

Pedagogy

The course will use a mix of methodologies, lectures, case studies, films, studying legal and policy documents, and field research.

Number of sessions required, hours needed per student for class sessions, major papers/projects, etc

Sessions: A total of 15 sessions would be required.

Assignment: Students would have two complete two assignments in lieu of exams:

1. **Stories of people in the margins.** (Each student would be required to prepare one biographical account of any targeted person, in the margins because of exclusion or discrimination on at least one or more of the axes outlined in the discussions on social exclusion, and attempt to analyse her/ his experience of law, public policy and the institutions of the state).
2. **Critical Book Review.** (Each student would be required to critically review one of the three prescribed books for the course. The review should be able to capture the lives of poor people outlined in the books in addition to the arguments presented by the author. Also, in light of the insights derived from the book, the students would be expected to evaluate, critique and comment on relevant policies).

(For further details please see Annexure 2 on assignments)

Evaluation criteria

Class Participation and Presentations	10%
Assignment 1	60%
Assignment 2	30%

Prerequisites and eligibility if any and their justification

None, except interest

Restriction on class size (both minimum and maximum), if any, and their justification:

No restrictions

Relationship of the course with the overall programme objective and related courses:

Discussions on public management usually derive broadly from principles of business management. The course is designed on the premise that public management requires specific understanding of poverty, marginalization and the impact of law and public policy.

Bibliography

Mander, Harsh. 2001. *Unheard Voices: Stories of Forgotten Lives*. Penguin India Pvt. Ltd. New Delhi.

Mander, Harsh. 2004. *The Ripped Chest: Public Policy and Poor People in India*. Books for Change, Bangalore

Annexure 1

Detailed course objectives

Since the 1990s, concerns with governance have been suddenly thrust into the vocal centre-stage of the mainstream international development debate. The belief in the critical role of a strong interventionist state is not new; it has been central, although often in contrasting ways, to the world-view of both Keynesian and Marxist political economists through the greater part of the twentieth century, whether to address in various ways market failures, to ensure redistributive justice, or to drive economic growth. However, the contemporary paradigm of good governance has distinct ideological sources from these major streams. It is derived from the neo-liberal project of structural adjustment. This paradigm stresses that governance is far more than just government, and includes within its ambit also the private sector and civil society. Its major point of departure is that it regards the role of the state primarily to act “not as a direct provider of growth but as a partner, catalyst, and facilitator”. (The World Bank 1997:1) It continues to acknowledge the centrality of the state to economic and social development, but stresses that this does not mean that development has to be state provided. Instead, it sees the state not as a direct provider of growth but as a partner, catalyst, and facilitator.

There is no doubt that the quality of governance has critical bearing on the lives and future of the poor. Yet there is evidence that most of the contemporary pressure for good governance is being driven not by the critical survival needs of the poor but by trans-national corporate aspirations for a more predictable playing field as they negotiate an increasingly globalised economy. This module will attempt to examine more carefully this dominant neo-liberal paradigm of ‘good governance’, and critically analyze its implications for poor people. It will also suggest some elements, or building blocks, of an alternative paradigm.

It will demonstrate that it is critically important that this agenda for good governance is reclaimed by poor and marginalized people, from their perspective, to serve their needs, to meet their aspirations, to address their ends of greater equity and justice. It may be useful, if only to distance oneself from the mainstream agenda of good governance, to speak instead of humane, just and equitable governance, of which the foundations are not rule of law but justice, not a retreating state but an activist strong state, and powerful organizations of poor and marginalized people to hold governments responsive and accountable to them.

The course will introduce students to debates around poverty, marginalization, social exclusion, development, public policy, law and the role of the state, with special reference to the experience of India. India in particular, produces diverse experiences of marginalization, impoverishment and social exclusion. This course will focus on the effects of law and public policy on the lives of intensely marginalized people. How does the postcolonial state invisibilise, illegalize, criminalize or custodialise people who are most vulnerable and powerless? How do disenfranchised peoples contend with the extremely difficult circumstances of their lives? These concerns will be explored in the context of contemporary India, focusing on dalits, women, the urban homeless and street children, and people who live with hunger etc. We will utilize case studies, film, law and policy documents, critical analyses, and first person narratives to make visible these complex dynamics of oppression and resistance. What alliances and forms of thought might result from socially engaged scholarship in intimate relation to struggles for life, dignity, and justice?

The course will also introduce researchers to qualitative research methodologies, which will enable them to directly observe, with empathy and respect, the experience of impoverishment, discrimination and acute deprivation, but also ways that people cope, with courage, humanity and dignity.

Annexure 2

Assignments

Each student will undertake 2 assignments, in lieu of an end-of-course examination.

Assignment 1: (60 marks)

Each student will identify one woman, man or child living in conditions of poverty and social exclusion. They may be homeless, disabled, single women, impoverished working women, street or other out of school children, survivors of violence, persons persecuted and discriminated because of their caste or religious identity, or others. They may or may not be residents of Ahmedabad. (Please do not include for this any staff or contract worker of IIMA).

The student will spend as much individual time as possible with this person, based on the person's consent, and try to build a relationship. They will hear their stories, but also accompany them to their homes and work locations. They will then record their life histories in the form of a narrative, which may be 3000 words or longer. They can optionally also add photographs of other visual materials.

Selected assignments will be presented to the full class.

Assignment 2 (30 marks)

Each student will undertake one of the following projects:

1. **Equity and Growth:** Please critically review the proposals made by Amartya Sen and Jean Dreze in 'An Uncertain Glory' for simultaneously ensuring economic growth and equity, and comment on Sen's critics like Jagdish Bhagwati.
2. **Stories of Marginalised Persons:** In Unheard Voices, as well as the GGPLP course reader given to the students, there are a number of real life stories of marginalised persons. In the light of a selection of at least 5 of these stories, please critically review the role – positive and negative - of public policy and the law in creating, maintaining or changing conditions of social and economic marginalisation.
3. **Right to Food:** Please review Ash in the Belly, especially in the light of a) the lived experience of hunger; and b) the case for (and against) the food security law.

Rough length of assignments would be 2000 words plus.

There is also a mandatory allocation of 10 marks for classroom participation. This will be calculated mainly on the basis of class attendance, with one mark being deleted for every unauthorised class absence.