

## 8. IMPACT OF IDEOLOGY ON PUBLIC POLICY AND GOVERNANCE: INDIA AT 75

Kartik Kishore and Satya Narayan Misra

### ABSTRACT

*India's public policy has been strongly conditioned by political ideology. While dirigisme was the preferred ideology when India became independent, the early 90s witnessed a sharp U-turn toward a free-market economy and the dismantling of LPQ (License, Permit, Quota) raj. This paper tries to analyze the impact of changed economic ideology on structural transformation and high GDP growth coupled with a dissonance between growth and development parameters such as MYS (mean years of schooling), malnutrition, IMR (Infant Mortality Rate), and MMR (Maternal Mortality Rate). The paper also brings out how parties in power with different political ideologies (Congress and BJP) have shown remarkable congruence in terms of economic ideology and pursuing the free market philosophy of the Washington consensus. It brings out how autonomy for bureaucracy is critical for quality governance (Fukuyama) and looks back into India's professional approach to perspective planning, policy design, and program evaluation under the erstwhile Planning commission. It also brings out the importance of RCT (Random Control Trials) before undertaking developing programs and not putting the cart before the horse. The paper makes a strong recommendation for institutional independence, capacity build-up, and proper regulation of the free market. Liberal democracy, without inclusive development and shared prosperity, and public policy without empathy for the most disadvantaged sections of the society, can lead to social disharmony and disruption.*

Keywords: public policy, state capacity, bureaucratic autonomy, policy evaluation, IMR, MMR, LPQ, GDP

## **INTRODUCTION**

Good governance is largely conditioned by sound public policy, where bureaucracy acts in tandem with the political executive to realize the expectation of the vox populi. While the political executive sets the tone for policy, 'it is left to the bureaucracy to carry out these policies and reach out to the intended beneficiaries, eschewing fear or favour. Max Weber argued that bureaucracy constitutes 'the most efficient and rational way in which human activity can be organized and that systematic process and organized hierarchies are necessary to maintain order, maximize efficiency and eliminate favoritism' (Serpa and Ferreira, 2019). Weber also observed how unfettered bureaucracy can be a threat to individual freedom, with the potential of trapping individuals in an iron cage of rule-based, rational control. Robert K. Merton, on the other hand, was anguished by the dysfunction resulting from bureaucratic structures. The negative consequences according to him are displacement of goal, trained incapacity, over conformity to rules. In the context of India, Francis Fukuyama observes that 'India is famous for high levels of corruption and clientelism, excessive rules and bureaucratic red tape'. He also believes that India clearly needs much greater state capacity across the board to govern professionally and properly. Against this backdrop, the paper attempts to analyze (a) the changing contours of ideology and its impact on growth and development (b) the importance of autonomy and capacity building, (c) the abdication of perspective planning and evaluation and (d) the way forward

## **CHANGING CONTOURS OF IDEOLOGY AND GOVERNANCE**

Bureaucracy in India has gone through three main phases, (a) passive compliance with government policy, (b) conformance to the party in power during the emergency years (1973-77), and (c) regulation rather than control after economic liberalization in the 1990s. India's first Prime Minister (PM) Jawaharlal Nehru chose the path of socialism where '*Public Sector Units*

(PSUs) were considered temples of modern India'. The ideological preference was given technological scaffolding by Prof. P.C. Mahalanobis, who brought in the *Feldman-model* of state-controlled heavy industry as the driver of fast growth. The 1956 Industrial Policy Resolution and the Second Five-year Plan (1956-61) bore distinct testimony to this by monopolizing infrastructure sectors such as the railways, roadways, shipping and telecom, and strategic sectors such as Defense Production, Atomic Energy, and Space. In the *mixed economy* model that India chose, the private sector played a secondary role. The 'License, Permit, Quota' Raj gave the bureaucracy a field day to dispense favours and largess. The nationalization of banks in 1969 and of coal mines in 1973 were the final straws on the camel's back of nationalizing financial intermediation. Prof. Jagdish Bhagwati writes in his book *India's Tryst with Destiny* that the then PM Indira Gandhi's nationalization spree was responsible for the socialist banyan tree to strike firm roots (Bhagwati & Panagariya, 2014). Controlling a vital mineral resource like coal, apart from oil and gas exploration, made the government's monopoly sweeping. Prof. Raj Krishna believes that the Hindu rate of growth of 3.5 percent from 1950-1980, was largely due to the asphyxiating control of the bureaucracy, lack of accountability, and scant concern for the efficiency of commercial entities in a market-driven free market scenario (Krishna, 1988).

### 1. The big blow of emergency

The Emergency imposed in 1975 was a major blow to India's democratic credentials. The party in power expected the bureaucracy to be committed to the political philosophy of the party, to realize the goals of socialism. Bureaucracy was also in overdrive to realize mandates such as forcible mass sterilization as part of Sanjay Gandhi's five point programme<sup>47</sup>, along with

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<sup>47</sup> [Indias Experiment With Compulsory Sterilisation](#) | Peepul Tree | July 30, 2022

severe restrictions of civil liberties including crackdown on activities of trade unions and of civil society. It was also alleged that central intelligence agencies were used to harass opposition leaders. In the dark days of the Emergency, more than 100,000 people were imprisoned without trial. Access to the courts was denied to detainees, the government arguing that all fundamental rights had been suspended during the Emergency, and even the writ of habeas corpus was not available to detenus. Pre-censorship was imposed on all newspapers and journals. Ajit Mazoomdar, one of the top bureaucrats, recalling the memories of those dark days stated that 'one's most lasting memory of those days is of the fear that gripped the entire middle class, of arrest and detention, if any dissent was voiced in public. Politicians made no protests in or out of legislatures. Ordinary people would not talk freely, except among close friends. One understood what it had been like living under dictatorships in Europe'<sup>48</sup>.

The civil servants, as the Justice Shah Commission (1977) noted, 'showed loyalty to the party in power in order to advance their career, forging of records, fabricating grounds of detention were endemic'. In other words, the bureaucracy was committed to the party in power rather than to the 'rule of law'. The government also superseded those judges who did not approve of Parliament's foray to be omnipotent and stultify their power of judicial review.

## **2. The tectonic shift towards liberalization**

India took baby steps toward economic liberalization through its Industrial Policy (1978), when the Janata party came to power (Kohli, 2006). The real tectonic shift in governance, however, kick-started with economic liberalization in the 1990s. From a control regime, India embraced a regulatory mechanism and adapted market economics propagated by the

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<sup>48</sup> [Emergency: A bureaucrat recalls the dark months \(Comment: Special to IANS\) | Business Standard News](#)

Washington Consensus in the fields of banking, taxation, foreign exchange rate, and Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) inflow. The Foreign Exchange Regulatory Act (FERA), 1973 became the Foreign Exchange Management Act (FEMA), and the Telecom Regulatory Authority of India (TRAI) regulated the telecom sector. Pension Fund Regulatory and Development Authority (PFRDA) and Insurance Regulatory and Development Authority of India (IRDA) regulated pension and insurance. Securities and Exchange Board of India (SEBI) regulated the stock market. Justice B.N. Srikrishna headed Financial Sector Reforms & Legislation (FSLRC), 2013 recommended the creation of a National Debt Management Agency (NDMA), Financial Redressal Agency, and Monetary Policy Committee (MPC). While the MPC has been put in place since 2016 to take a broad-based decision on how to fix the repo rate, the other two entities are yet to see the light of the day. The major turnaround in public policy was seen in the change in the role of the state from being a dominant player in economic activity to taking up the role of creating an enabling environment for the private sector to be a part of developmental activities<sup>49</sup>. The gleaming airports, the sleek national highways, and the highly-efficient telecom sector are testimony to the change in governance. Bureaucracy is no longer involved in controls and quota enforcement but in promoting 'liberalization, privatization, and globalization'. Public-private partnerships have become the new buzzword for bolstering the infrastructure sector. The bureaucracy was now expected to be creating an enabling environment for the private sector to realize its 'animal spirits'(Kohli, 2006).

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<sup>49</sup> [Reserve Bank of India - Speeches](#) | Reflections on Policy Choices in the Indian Financial System | 21 Oct, 2022

### 3. The structural transformation

The structural transformation of India after economic liberalization is best illustrated in the table below.

Table 1: India during Pre and Post Liberalization

Parameter	1977	2017
Agriculture as percent of GDP	38 percent	17 percent
The industry as percent of GDP	26 percent	26 percent
Services as percent of GDP	36 percent	57 percent
Export and import as percent of GDP	12 percent	41 percent
FDI and FII Inflow as percent of GDP	2 percent	6.8 percent
Public Sector Investment as percent GDP	9.8 percent	7.4 percent
Private Sector Investment	1.5 percent	11 percent

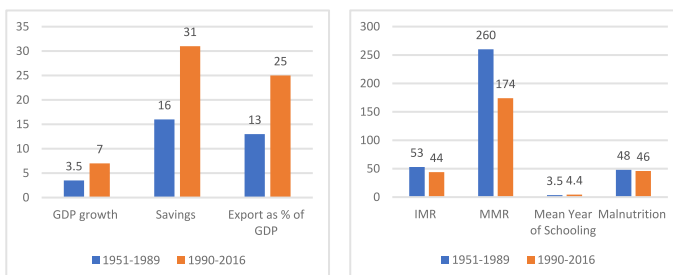
Source: *Macroeconomics: Then and Now by Nitin Desai- The Business Standard*

It is clear from the above how agriculture has waned in importance, the industry remained stagnant, and services have become the new mascot of high growth. India is now more open to globalization and the private sector has been the predominant face of India's economic growth story.

### 4. Growth development mismatch

However, these structural changes and the high economic growth mask India's human development story which indicates a poor record in terms of containing Infant Mortality Rate (IMR), Maternal Mortality Rate (MMR), and malnutrition and Mean Years of Schooling (MYS). Figure 1 shows how there is a huge disconnect between growth and development in India after economic liberalization.

Figure 1: Growth-development disconnect (pre and post liberalization)



### Growth Development

Source: *Economic Survey (2017-18), Government of India*

India's record in terms of child and maternal mortality, schooling, and malnutrition is truly dismal. The *National Family Health Survey (NFHS) V (2019-21)*<sup>50</sup> brings out how 35 percent of children have remained stunted and the percentage of those suffering from anemia has increased from 53 percent in 2015-16 to 57 percent in 2021.

In particular, the governance of the social sector and optimal budget utilization have become areas of serious concern. As the following table will reveal, there have been substantial surrenders in programs like *Anganwadi*, *Matru Vandana*, *Beti Bachao Beti Padhao*, which are the major drivers for improving socio-economic inclusion.

Table 2: Gender Budget (in INR Cr.)

Program	2018 -19	2019-20 (BE)	2019-20 (RE)	2020-21 (BE)
Beti Bachao Beti Padhao	244.7	280	200	220
National Nutrition Mission	2662	3400	3400	3700
Anganwadi	16814	19834	17704	20532
Creche Scheme	29,7	50	50	75
Adolescent Girl	205	300	150	250
Matru Vandana	1054	2500	2300	2500

*Source: India Budget 2020-21*

It must also be noted that sectors like quality primary education, basic health care, and sanitation are merit goods (Musgrave, 1959), where the government must accord priority to allocation as the long-term benefits to the society generally far outweighs the benefits to the individuals (Stiglitz, 1986). Investment in merit goods, particularly at the early stages of child development has a spill-over effect and creates positive externalities for the society in the form of empowered democracy, more informed citizens, better exercise of rights, vibrant democracy etc. (Stiglitz, 1986). Sadly, in India, the allocation to these three sectors is less than 5 percent of the GDP

<sup>50</sup> [National Family Health Survey 2019-21](#)

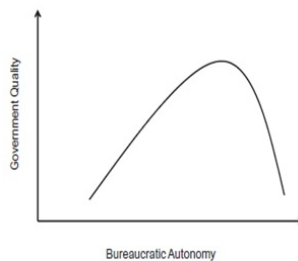
as against 10 percent spent by most developed economies and Emerging Market Economies like South Korea and China.

## BUREAUCRATIC AUTONOMY

Francis Fukuyama defined governance as the capability of the government to make policy, enforce rules and deliver services (Fukuyama, 2013). He developed a broad framework to measure the quality of governance of any country. He laid stress on bureaucratic autonomy.

Autonomy maybe defined as the manner in which political principal issues mandate to the bureaucrats who act as their agents (Fukuyama, 2013)<sup>51</sup>. It is basically the degree of freedom that is given to officials to carry out their responsibility. According to Francis Fukuyama, there is a direct relationship between the degree of bureaucratic autonomy and quality of governance, which looks like an inverted U (Figure 2). This means that for optimal governance, it is important to equip bureaucrats with a certain degree of freedom. Binding them with stringent rules leads to what Samuel Huntington calls, 'subordination' (Fukuyama, 2013). On the other hand, unrestricted autonomy too can be disastrous as it may usurp the political dispensation and take over the nation as in case of Imperial Germany and Japan during World War I and World War II respectively where the military displaced the political authorities.

Figure 2: Bureaucratic autonomy and quality of government



Source: Fukuyama, F. (2013). *What is governance? Governance*, 26(3), 347-368.

51 Political principals refer to politicians who make bureaucrats act as their agents for implementation of any policies. The degree of freedom that the bureaucrats have to tinker with the policies to make them implementable, is referred as their 'autonomy'.



India's quality of governance continues to be crippled due to the subordination of its bureaucracy. Excessive subordination creates fear in the minds of officials because of which they do not innovate or take risks and develop a tendency to stick to the status quo. This cumulatively leads to poor performance. An instance of such a case can be seen in File Management of the lower level of bureaucracy. Under the current system, lower-level officials (mostly clerical staff) in the ministry are the first to put their comments on any file. However, because of the status-quo attitude, they more or less stick to the line taken by the ministry in the past. This approach also gives them a safety net in case there is any questioning of their comments from higher authorities (Panagariya, 2020). The officials at the higher levels too maintain the stand, even if the current time demands a reform for greater efficiency. This means that any reform will be initiated only by the cabinet or top-level bureaucrats. To promote innovative thinking at the lower and middle levels, the government should shift to a system where the first comments come from an officer belonging to the deputy secretary/director. This would also create a space for discussion amongst officials and promote out-of-the-box thinking over complex policy issues. Involving young energetic professionals at the lower levels can be another great idea; encouraging them to be enthusiastic to do the groundwork and prior research for the senior bureaucrats on any policy at hand. This requires that a research cell with expertise in economics and statistics be available to provide trend analyses and cost-benefit analyses. There is also a need to associate with good think-tanks to provide their professional and impedance advice and analyses.

India is a unique case where the current bureaucratic system itself acts as the greatest resistance in increasing bureaucratic capacity. The entire setup is skewed in favour of generalists over specialists<sup>52</sup> (Panagariya, 2020). This is

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52 This aspect was highlighted by Arvind Panagariya in his book "India Unlimited: Reclaiming the lost glory" in the chapter "Governance" under the section 'Reforms in Bureaucracy'.

because people receive their promotions on the basis of service tenure rather than performance. India's challenges at the time of independence were huge but still ordinary, like maintaining law and order and revenue collection. However, today, with far more complex challenges of sustainable development, the policy challenges are much more complex and require domain experts. This would increase the bureaucratic capacity, thus allowing greater autonomy and ultimately improving the quality of governance and service delivery.

### **ABDICATING POLICY DESIGN AND EVALUATION**

A sound public policy must have a strong framework for policy evaluation. India was one of the first countries to create a Policy Evaluation Organization (PEO), which was founded in October 1952 and had the primary responsibility of analyzing community development programmes and other Intensive Area Development Schemes. The PEO's independent work proved to be quite successful in assessing government programmes and policies and advocating improvements through feedback. Using sophisticated economic modelling, Pitambar Pant, a civil official, established the Perspective Planning Division. Under the watchful eyes of Mahalanobis, Pant, and Nehru, robust public policy peaked with perspective planning, evaluation, and the Central Statistical Organization.

The PEO setup, though, began to deteriorate after 1969 as Indira Gandhi began to consolidate her control, despite becoming more robust throughout the first and third five-year plans. The Evaluation of Policy regained its lost momentum between the middle of the 1980s and the deregulation of the economy. The aspects of the examination before and after did, however, alter significantly in a very important way. The processes of designing policies and evaluating them are iterative and complementary. According to the guidelines established by the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) in Paris (1991), there are five evaluation criteria: relevance, effectiveness, efficiency, impact, and sustainability. Similar to

that, policy design is a lengthy process that includes eight major components and ongoing stakeholder consultation. Policy design identifies a potential 'need'. The policy won't be accepted and embraced if the beneficiaries have no need or requirement, and it will inevitably fail. For instance, the Punjab and Haryana regions fiercely opposed the Farm Bills which were passed through ordinance in the year 2020. This is due to the fact that the mandi system is firmly established, and no tampering is "necessary" there. Mandi, on the other hand, is sparse in Bihar, thus farmers there may be more willing to accept the need for the establishment of a market. After the prospective need has been identified, a requirements assessment is conducted, and then research is done to identify potential programmes to meet the need. An evidence-based design is chosen, the programme is created to suit the needs of the stakeholders, and then the Pilot is implemented, and the Policy is released. At every stage, the program's development must be closely watched and analysed in order to gather input for any necessary adjustments. A policy is created within such a broad framework to solve the lack of coordination and meet the needs of the group through continuous observation and periodic evaluation.

Figure 3: Steps for designing a program and its development



## **THE WAY FORWARD**

As the forgoing would reveal, the ideological shift in India from socialism to a market economy has significantly impacted the growth variables of GDP, savings and the percentage of export (as shown in figure 1). This transformation from socialism to market economy unfurled by the economic liberalization in the year 1992 has also contributed significantly in decreasing the percentage of people below the poverty line by 26 percent (300 million). While the parties in power have different political ideologies, there is a remarkable coalescence in their continued commitment to free market philosophy and economic efficiency. However, these achievements do not mask our poor progress in terms of human development parameters like low IMR, MMR, mean years of schooling, and malnutrition. Unlike emerging market economies like China, growth and development have not become complementary wheels of India's development chariot. According to Weber, public policies are put into effect by civil servants who are expected to be meritorious, rational, and rule-based (Serpa and Ferreira, 2019). After independence, bureaucracy was governed by the control mandate of giving licenses, permits, and quotas. After economic liberalization, the bureaucracy was expected to provide an enabling environment for the private sector to flourish and harness the economy's aggressive potential. For this to happen, Francis Fukuyama rightly believes how bureaucratic autonomy is sine qua non of quality governance. In India, after 1956 the planning commission provided a unique template for planning, policy design and evaluation of major programs. However, with the dismantling of the planning commission, such a professional approach of setting targets, evaluating performances, making mid-course corrections and most importantly, democratic accountability, have become a challenge. Prof. Abhijeet Banerjee and Esther Duflo, the Nobel Laureates, strongly believe that by adopting a RCT model, the government would be in a better position to launch major development programs (Banerjee et. al., 2017). In India, however, many such programs are launched without a pilot survey of

their likely outcomes. Finally, for public policy and governance to succeed, institutions must be given independence, civil servants should be more professional through capacity build-up programs and there must be fair synergy between political expediency and sound professional opinion.

Bureaucracy must uphold rule of law in a professional and objective manner. Institutional independence must be respected by the party in power. For this to happen, the selection process of the major constitutional functionaries like the Judges, Controller and Auditor General (C&AG), Chief Election Commissioner (CEC) and RBI Governor should be done by a collegium rather than by the party in power (Sharma et al., 2018). Most importantly, the bureaucracy must be ring-fenced against arbitrary political masters, by ensuring the stability of tenure. On their part, the bureaucrats must rise to the challenge of nation-building, providing effective law and order, and most importantly equip themselves professionally and update their skills periodically to be on par with the best global standards of governance. The Economist in a recent editorial has pointed out that liberal democracy is at a crossroads, as the governing elite is subserving the interests of the elite and not the common man.<sup>53</sup> As India turns 76 as an independent country, its future as a global power will hinge on how it balances equity and empathy with economic efficiency and on how its bureaucracy upholds rule of law rather than sidling up to the party in power.

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53 [Eric Li on the failure of liberal democracy and the rise of China's way | The Economist](#)

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Rejimon Kuttappan is an independent journalist and a migrant rights defender. He was Chief Reporter for the *Times of Oman* until he was deported back to India in 2017, for exposing human trafficking and modern slavery in the Arab Gulf through a front-page news story. Rejimon now writes for the Open Democracy, Rosa Luxembourg Publications, Thomson Reuters Foundation (TRF), Equal Times, Migrant Rights, Middle East Eye, *The Hindu*, *Times of India*, *The Caravan*, Wire, The Leaflet, and various other Indian news portals. He is also a researcher for the Migrant Forum in Asia and has worked as a consultant for the ILO, International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC) and Human Rights Watch. In 2019, he authored an anthology, *Rowing Between Rooftops: The Heroic Fishermen of Kerala Floods*, telling the stories of heroic fishermen who rescued thousands from the 2018 Kerala floods. And in 2021 fall, Penguin

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Rajnish Wadehra is a Senior Fellow at Institute of Social Sciences and has been teaching elective courses on energy and environment law and policy on an honorary basis as a Visiting Faculty at Jindal Global Law School. He is a career executive and entrepreneur who came to academia mid-career. He has a Master's in Public Policy (JSGP, JGU), BA Economics (Hons.) from St Stephens College, University of Delhi, and a Certificate in General Management (IIM Calcutta). His areas of research include Global climate litigation ; Comparative energy and environment laws and policies around the world; India's dependence on coal and its impact on the environment and sustainability ; and India's ongoing transition away from centrally planned public sector led growth to a semi- regulated market economy. His enquiry focuses on aspects of justice, morals and ethics in business, law- and policy-making driving this transition.

**Sasank Arremsetty:**

Sasank Arremsetty is a student at Jindal School of International Affairs (JSIA) pursuing his Bachelor of Arts (Hons) in Global Affairs. He aspires to study law with interests in Environmental law and linking the concepts of International Relations to law and environment justice. He seeks, thereby, to study the intricacies and the much needed legal basis for the majority of the international happenings, that involve Global Politics, International Security Studies and Foreign Policies of various countries along with Global Environmental Policies.

**Armin Rosencranz:**

Armin Rosencranz retired as the founding Dean of Jindal Global School of Environment and Sustainability at O.P. Jindal Global University in 2022. In 1987, he founded the international environmental NGO, [Pacific Environment](#), which he led until 1996. As a political scientist and jurist he received five Fulbright grants – two to India, and one each to Australia,

Indonesia and the Philippines. Prof Rosencranz studied for his Bachelors degree at Princeton University and has had a long-standing association with Stanford University, where he studied for his Juris Doctor, Masters and Phd, and also served as the President of the Student Body, a Faculty Resident, and a Trustee. Apart from having written hundreds of articles and opinion pieces, he is well known as a co-author of the books 'Climate Change Science and Policy (Island Press, 2010) ; Climate Change Policy (Island Press, 2002) ; and 'Environment Law and Policy in India' (Oxford University Press, India).

### **Satya Narayan Misra**

Prof. Satya Narayan Misra did his Post graduation in Applied Economics with first class from Utkal University, Bhubaneswar (1975). He joined the Indian Economic Service in the year 1976 followed by Indian Defense Accounts Service in 1979 and worked as Director (Finance) to DRDO (1995-1999). He was Financial Advisor to the Indian Air Force (2005-07), Joint Secretary (Aerospace) (2007-10) & Principal Controller of Defense Accounts (Navy) (2010-2012). Of the important milestones in his career he drafted the Defense Procurement Manual-2005 that ushered in high degree of transparency in defense acquisition.

He did his Ph.D. (Economics) in 2011 from Utkal University and has a path breaking book “Impact of Defense Offsets on Military Industry Capability and Self-Reliance - The Road Ahead” in 2012 to his credit. He has been trained at Defense Acquisition University, Washington, IRBM, California, Marshall Institute of Strategic Studies Munich; besides doing Management Development Programs at IIM Calcutta and IIM Bangalore.

Post retirement in 2012, he taught Constitutional Law, Service Law & Economics at the School of Law (2012-13), and became the Dean in School of Management of KIIT, Bhubaneswar (2016-2022).

**Kartik Kishore:**

Kartik Kishore is a final year student pursuing his Masters' in Public Policy from Jindal School of Government and Public Policy. He has a keen interest in political-economic issues and governance. He has several publications as op-eds in leading dailies on various policy issues. Some of them are - looming challenges of public policy in India, Gaps in Data Protection laws, Rent Seeking Tendencies in India's policy domain etc. His strength lies in macroeconomic analysis and programme evaluation. He has also presented research papers on 'Inflation Targeting, Monetary Policy: The Way Forward' in International Conference held in Jaipur. Based on his academic and all-round performance, he was awarded as the 'Best All-Rounder Student' on the eve of University Day by O.P. Jindal Global University.

He is currently working with Research and Information System for Developing Countries (RIS), New Delhi – a think tank associated with Ministry of External Affairs. As a policy researcher, he represented Centre for Maritime Economy and Connectivity (CMEC) at signing of Memorandum of Agreement to launch CMEC under the aegis of Ministry of Ports, Shipping and Waterways (MoPS&W), Government of India.

## REVIEW BOARD BIO

**Prof. Jessica A. Field** is a Research Associate and guest lecturer at the Institute for Risk and Disaster Reduction, University College London (UCL). Prof. Field was an Adjunct Associate Professor at the Jindal School of International Affairs. Her research explores the politics and history of humanitarianism, primarily in India. She has completed research projects examining disaster governance in Ladakh, and refugee protection in Delhi, Hyderabad and Mewat. Dr Field is also a Lecturer in Global Challenges at Brunel University London, a Research Associate with the Institute for Risk and Disaster Reduction at University College London, and a Research Fellow with the Humanitarian and Conflict Response Institute at the University of Manchester. Her Ph.D. at the University of Manchester examined the professionalisation and neo-colonial character of humanitarian fundraising in the UK and India across the mid twentieth century.

**Prof. Sumeet Mhaskar** is a Professor and Labour Sociologist at the Jindal School of Government and Public Policy, O. P. Jindal Global University. He also holds Research Partner position at the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity (MPI-MMG) in Germany. Prof. Mhaskar has previously held positions at the Center for South Asia (Stanford University), Centre for Modern Indian Studies (University of Göttingen), International Centre for Development and Decent Work (Kassel University) and MPI-MMG. He is the recipient of the prestigious postdoctoral research award conferred by the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation in Germany. He has obtained his doctorate in Sociology from the University of Oxford, and M. A. and M.Phil. degrees in Political Science from Jawaharlal Nehru University in New Delhi. Prof. Mhaskar's research explores the multifaceted vulnerabilities workers' experience at the lower end of India's 'rising economy'. His research interest in deindustrialisation, joblessness, return migration, role of caste, religion and gender in shaping occupational choices, urban spatial restructuring, and labour and social movements.

**Prof. Abhiroop Chowdhury** is Professor and Associate Dean (Office of research) at Jindal Global School of Environment and Sustainability. He is also the faculty coordinator of student society- The Final Stand (TFS). He completed his graduation in Botany (Hons.) and M.Sc. in Environmental System Management with special paper on Wildlife conservation, from University of Calcutta. He had qualified national level GATE exam in two different subject tracks- Life Sciences, Ecology and Evolution. Abhiroop earned his, PhD degree from Indian Institute of Technology (Indian School of Mines) with MHRD fellowship, on the research question 'how development and climate change is impacting mangrove ecology at Indian Sundarbans?'. His post-doctoral research was on Kachchh mangrove ecology at Gujarat. Prof. Chowdhury's research focuses on blue carbon sequestration, Mangrove restoration, Climate-change Ecology, Pollution assessment and management, Environmental Social Work.

**Dr. Raffaella Puggioni** is an Associate Professor at the Jindal School of International Affairs, O.P. Jindal Global University. She is currently Associate Member at The Centre for the Study of Global Human Movement (University of Cambridge, UK), Global Studies Research Associate at the University of Sussex (UK), and Associate Fellow at the Higher Education Academy (UK).

Dr Puggioni has some fourteen-year teaching experience in International Studies/Political Science in both British and American systems of higher education, in countries as diverse as Italy, China, Azerbaijan and India. Her research expertise cuts across the field of International Relations Theory, Migration Studies, Citizenship Studies, Resistance and Border Studies. Although her research is globally oriented, most of her research has focussed on the Italian/European migration framework, with special attention to everyday practices of resistance. She is currently a member of the Editorial Board for the International Journal of Migration and Border Studies.



**Dr. Sugandha Nagpal** is an Associate Professor at the Jindal School of International Affairs, O.P. Jindal Global University. Dr. Nagpal has a Ph.D. in International Development from the University of East Anglia, Norwich (UK). Her research work focuses on issues of migration, gender, education, urbanization and development. Her PhD dissertation explores the gendered dynamics of middle class culture in a Dalit community in Punjab. In her previous work, she has investigated questions of land acquisition and development, maternal health and mobile technology and sex-selection in Indo-Canadian communities. More recently, she has forayed into more interdisciplinary and applied research on mobility and resilience in rural communities. One of her current projects focuses on internal migrants' aspirations for education and employment in Haryana. In the other project, she is working with mental health practitioners, educators and community partners across Kenya, UK and India to develop and implement a family-based approach to mental well-being.

**Prof. Tarini Mehta** is an Assistant Dean & Assistant Professor, Environmental Law, Jindal School of Environment & Sustainability. Environmental law, human rights and refugee law have been her areas of focus over the past decade as an advocate and legal scholar. She has published several articles and chapters in books on environmental governance and human rights. Her upcoming book on Environmental Governance in the Himalayan region, is a comparative study of five Himalayan nations. She received her Doctorate in International Environmental Law from Pace University, New York, USA.

**Prof. Kumar Manish** is the Assistant Dean & Assistant Professor, Environmental Science, Jindal School of Environment & Sustainability. A dedicated environmental scientist and conservationist, since 2007 he has been associated with mangrove conservation and alternative livelihood initiatives in the Indian Sundarbans. His primary areas of research are pollution mitigation, climate change and coastal area ecology, traditional

knowledge systems of conservation, and blue carbon sequestration dynamics. He has published several articles on conservation issues. He earned his PhD from IIT Dhanbad, India.

**Divya Bhatnagar** is a Lecturer at the Jindal School of Government and Public Policy (JSGP) and focuses her research at the Centre for Complexity Economics, Applied Spirituality and Public Policy (CEASP). She has completed her Master of Public Policy at the University of Chicago and earned a certificate in International Development and another certificate in Global Conflict Studies. She has worked at UNICEF (UN headquarters, New York) in the Division of Data, Research, and Policy in the Education Section and the Child Poverty Section. She later worked in the Office of Innovation at UNICEF (UN headquarters, New York) researching education technology to reach children in low-resource and low-connectivity areas. Most recently, she worked at Giri Institute of Development Studies working on analyzing the Indian government's project of Samagra Shiksha Abhiyan and the UNDP program on community health.