

Table of Contents

List of Diagrams and Figures	13
List of Tables	15
List of Abbreviations	19
I. Introduction – Social Security Provision in India and China	21
1.1 The Puzzle	23
1.2 Research Questions and general Assumption of the Study	25
1.3 Methodolgical Approach	27
1.4 Aim of the Study	29
1.5 Academic Relevance	29
1.6 Review on the Public Policy Literature	36
1.7 Design of the Study	42
II. Method	44
2.1 A Most Different Case Design	44
2.1.1 Oranges and Apples: Can Democracies be compared to non-Democracies?	45
2.1.2 Exploring the Puzzle: Social Security Provisions and Regime Type	48
2.1.3 Social Security and ‘Good’ Governance	50
2.1.4 Can Asia be compared to Europe?	52
2.1.5 China and India: Same Path, different Goals?	54
2.2 Towards a comparable Definition of Social Security	56
2.2.1 In Pursuit of a Working Definition	59
2.2.2 India and Chinese Concept of Social Security: Same Word, different Meaning	61
2.2.3 Working Definition for Social Security	62

Table of Contents

2.3 Welfare Literature and the two Cases	63
2.3.1 Three classical approaches in theoretical reasoning and their implications	64
2.3.2 Towards an actor-orientated approach	67
2.3.3 Path-dependency and Social Security Provision	69
2.3.4 Critical Evaluation on the existing Typologies	70
2.3.5 Expanding the View – Welfare Regimes Types in autocratic Systems	72
Typology of Social Political Regimes in non-Democracies	73
2.4 Method of Process Tracing and the Analytic Narrative	76
2.4.1 Narrative, Path-Dependency and Critical Junctures	79
2.4.2 Narratives of Social Security Policy Development	81
2.5 The theoretical Framework and the Working Model	82
2.5.1 New Institutionalism in Comparative Political Literature	83
2.5.2 Relevance of Culture and Social Preferences in Literature	84
2.5.2.1 New Institutional Logic of Inquiry	87
2.5.2.2 A Sequence Model of Social Security Provision	92
2.5.2.3 Definition of Institutions: Why they matter?	93
2.5.3 A New Institutional Model: Politics, Policy and Polity	96
2.5.4 Comments on the applied theoretical Model	100
III. Descriptive View on India and China	101
3.1 Descriptive Inquiry and the analytic Narrative	101
3.1.1 Regional Differences	103
3.1.2 Social Security Provision: The Gap between Objectives and Outcomes	105
3.1.3 Female Participation in the Work-force	112
3.1.4 Vulnerability	114
3.1.5 Comments on Social Security Provision in China and India	116

3.2 Historical Development of Social Security Politics	117
3.2.1 General reflection on the Path-Dependency of Social Security Provision	117
3.2.2 Social Security Policy Trajectories	118
3.3 Same Goal, different Paths: Evolution of the Chinese case	120
3.3.1 Following Socialistic Vision, 1949 to 1977	121
3.3.1.1 The Iron Rice Bowl: Left-totalitarian Welfare Regime and its Features	122
3.3.2 The First Period: Coming crises, hard figures vs. Socialistic Vision, 1978 to 1992	125
3.3.3 The Second Period: A Conflict of Visions, 1993-2004	129
3.3.3.1 Reform Period and Blueprint for today	130
3.3.3.2 Evolution of a pluralistic System in China	133
3.3.3.3 Introducing market-orientated Social Security Schemes in a pluralistic Setting	134
3.3.4 The Second Period: Social Security Politics, 1993-2004	140
3.3.5 The Third Period: Balanced economic and social Development, 2004 to 2009	160
3.3.6 Welfare Regime with Chinese Characteristics	162
3.3.7 Comments on Social Security Provision in China	166
3.4 Same Goal, different Paths: Evolution of the Indian case	167
3.4.1 Following a socialist Vision, 1949-1977	169
3.4.1.1 Continuity and Departure of Social Security Provision in the 1960s	171
3.4.2 The First Period: Blueprint for the modern Welfare Regime, 1978 to 1992	180
3.4.3 The Second Period: Performance has Priority, 1993 to 2004	185
3.4.3.1 Social Security Provision in the late 1990s and early 2000s	191
3.4.3.2 India's Social Security and typical Deficits, 1991-2004	192
3.4.3.3 Expanding the Safety Net for elderly people	193
3.4.3.4 Three Categories: the Range, Ccope and Deficits of typical pension schemes	194

Table of Contents

3.4.3.5 Social Security and Health insurance in the unorganised sector	200
3.4.3.6 Social Security Schemes for the unorganised Sector	205
3.4.4 The Third Period: Balanced economic and social Development, 2004 to 2009	207
3.4.4.1 The NREGA and Social Assistance in India	208
3.4.4.2 Initiatives to improve the Social Security of unorganised Workers	211
3.4.5 Welfare Regime with Indian Characteristics	214
3.5 Comments on the historical descriptive Perspective	218
 IV. Economical-descriptive Approach	220
4.1 Elaboration of Wagner's Law in times of austerity	222
4.2 Economic Growth and institutional Causality	223
4.3 Explanatory Power of the demographic Growth	225
4.3.1 Economic Constraints on Social Security Policy Performance	226
4.3.2 Budget Restrictions: Debts and Revenues	228
4.3.3 Budget Restrictions: Programm Concurrency	229
4.4 Social Security Provision in Times of Global Economies	230
4.4.1 Changing Employment Situation, Trade Openness and Social Security	234
4.5 Economical, Social and Demographic Factors	235
4.5.1 Demographic Change and Public Policy	237
4.6 Comments on socio-economical Determinants	241
 V. Social Security Provision, State Capacity and Regime Type	242
5.1 In Pursuit of Regime Type: General reflection	242
5.1.1 Defining Regime Types	243
5.2 Assumed institutional Causalities and Social Security	246
5.3 Social Expenditure: Assumed Effects and the Reality	250
5.4 Remark on the Regime Type and Social Security	252

VI. State format and Social Security Provision	254
6.1 Institutional Constrains on Policy Making	254
6.1.2 Autocracies, Democracies in Developing Countries, and institutional Veto Points	256
6.1.3 MDCD and the Issue of Comparison	257
6.2 Descriptive Perspective: Constitutional and institutional Constrains	261
6.2.1 Institutional veto points in China and India	262
6.3 State Format: National Level and Decision Making	264
6.3.1 India's resilient Democracy	264
6.3.1.1 Constitutional and institutional Features of India's Political Regime	266
6.3.1.2 Lok Sabha and Raj Sabha: Social Policy Making	267
6.3.1.3 Social Policy Making: Involvement of Legislative and Executive	271
6.3.1.4 The Indian Social Security Administration	272
6.3.2 Political Chain of Command and Control in China	277
6.3.2.1 CCP the Locus of Political Life	277
6.3.2.2 The Politburo: A key actor	282
6.3.2.3 The Chinese State, Social Security and Administration	283
6.4 The State Format: Federalism and Decentralisation	289
6.4.1 State Format and Social Security in India and China	290
6.4.1.1 Chinese-Style Federalism	291
6.4.1.2 India's unusual Federalism: a Balance of self and shared Rule	294
6.4.1.3 Pluralism: Performance differences on Local Levels	298
6.4.2 Comments on the State Format	303

Table of Contents

6.5 Bureaucracy and Longitude of Policy Making	305
6.5.1 Chinese Bureaucracy and Long-term Planning	306
6.5.1.1 Qualitative Constraints on Chinese Bureaucracy	306
6.5.2 India's Bureaucracy and Long-term Planning	308
6.5.2.1 Qualitative Constraints on India's Bureaucracy	309
6.5.3 Comments on bureaucratic Efficiency	310
VII. Political Parties and Social Seucirty Provison	312
7.1 Political Parties, Party Effect and Policy Outcomes	313
7.2 Political Entrepreneurs in India and China	316
7.2.1 Relevance of Party Politics and Ideology	318
7.2.2 Leading Political Parties in India and China	319
7.2.2.1 The Asian Case and why parties matter	319
7.2.2.2 The INC in the Indian political system	320
7.2.2.3 The 1990s: The End of Personal Rule and Ideology?	332
7.3 Expanding the Veto Player Theorem	335
7.3.1 Beyond the Veto Player Theorem – The Asian cases	336
7.3.2 Political Parties as Engines for Clientelism	337
7.3.3 The Case of Patronage-client Networks	338
7.3.3.1 Indian Democracy, Vote Banks and Patronage	339
7.3.3.2 Veto Players and Co-regents in China	340
7.4 Comments on Party Politics, Ideology and Social Security	343
VIII. The Constitution, Rule of Law and State Capacity	345
8.1 Rule of Law, Constitution and Social Security	345
8.1.1 Democracies and Rule of Law	346
8.1.2 The Rule of Law and Constitutions in Autocracies	347
8.1.3 Law, the Constitution and Social Security Provision	347
8.1.4 Comparing China and India	348
8.2 The Chinese Case: From ‘人治’ to ‘法治’	349
8.2.1 The Constitution and Social Security in China	351

Table of Contents

8.2.2 The Constitution of 1982 and Social Security	352
8.2.3 The Constitution: Constraints on Civil Rights	354
8.2.4 Laws and Constraints on Social Security in China	356
8.3 The Constitution and Social Security Politics in India	357
8.3.1 The Supreme Court and Social Security	358
8.3.2 Social Security Laws in India	361
8.4 Comments on the Constitutions and Social Security Laws	364
 IX. Cooptation, Labour Organisations and Social Security	 365
9.1 Critical Elaboration of the typical Logic of Inquiry	366
9.2 General Reflections on Unionism and Social Security	373
9.3 Production Regimes and organisational Power	375
9.3.1 Measuring the Level of Organised Interest	375
9.3.2 China's autocratic Cooperatism	378
9.3.3 India's State Capitalism and Organised Labour	379
9.3.4 Remarks on Typology and the Hybrid Types	380
9.4 The party-centred Approach for India and China	381
9.4.1 The Trinity of Party-State-Union	381
9.4.2 Social Policy Making and the Party-State-Union Relationship	383
9.4.3 Patronage in the Political Decision Making Process	384
9.4.4 Constraints on the internal Decision Making Process	386
9.4.5 Organised Labour and the Logic of Influence	388
9.5 Political Patronage and the Party-Union Relationship	389
9.6 Comments on Organised Labour and its Political Power	396
 X. Conclusion	 398
Bibliography	407