CHAPTER -1
METHODOLOGICAL CONCERNS AND THE FIELD AREA

The three states chosen for the research provide an interesting backdrop to the study of participation of the marginalized groups in the governance processes. As has been discussed in the previous chapter, Karnataka, Kerala, and Bihar have divergent experience with decentralization and great regional diversity. As the first stage, the effective unit of reference (or universe) was the state marked by varying degree of decentralization.

Most of the states have observed compliance with the mandatory provisions of the Constitution relating to the creation of the PRIs at different levels. However, the discretion allowed to the state governments to transfer the functions listed in the Eleventh Schedule to the PRIs has resulted in considerable variation in the powers and responsibilities assigned to the panchayats in different states. Even among the functions clearly devolved on the Panchayats, not many are included in their exclusive domain, especially the ones related to the developmental functions.

Karnataka and Kerala had been experimenting with decentralization, before the 73rd/74th Constitutional Amendments. However the approach of implementation had been different. The Gram Panchayats in Kerala are large in numbers while they are relatively small in Karnataka. The devolution of functions and resources to the Gram Panchayats is far more in Kerala than in other states including Karnataka. In Bihar the Panchayat elections of 2001 were conducted nearly two decades later. The last panchayat election was held in Bihar in 1978 and before that in 1971. In terms of the devolution of powers and functions to the grama panchayats, these three states differ considerably. The selection of these three states across the spectrum was done to understand the objectives mentioned below.
Objective of the Study:

The objective of the study is to understand the participation of marginalized groups in governance processes and the role of local development actors (state and non-state). One aims to find out:

- The inclusion and representation of marginalized groups from governance point of view and not the socio-political viewpoint.
- The entire gamut of network, between state, non-state actors and the local elites that influences the governance process at the local level.
- The role of voluntary organizations and N.G.Os in the governance procedures and realization of rights of the marginalized groups.

Methodology:

The study is based on a primary survey of 36 villages in 3 states (Karnataka, Kerala and Bihar) of India based on three schemes: National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme, Mid-Day Meal Scheme, Integrated Child Development Scheme (Anganwaadis). These schemes are the ones in which the panchayat members, local bureaucrats, local NGOs are simultaneously involved. These schemes are also aimed at improving the condition of the marginalized groups selected for the study. The aim is primarily to understand the participation of marginalized groups in governance processes and the role of various actors such as local political leaders, local elite and local bureaucracy in the implementation of these schemes.

The officers in charge of implementing these schemes are mostly from the village and block level, involved in the selection, sanctioning, execution and inspection of schemes such as BDO, CDPO, PO (NREGS) etc. One tries to take an analytical approach towards these policies in which the three local actors of development have played a role in the development of the marginalized sections of the society.

The interviews were conducted over a period of about 9 months in 2008-2009. Though the survey data constitutes the core of the study, it was collected the sample villages as well as from other sources such as bureaucrats involved in the implementation of the schemes at the block and village level, local elites of the village etc.
Sample Design:

Selection of districts:

The second-stage reference unit was the intra-state region. The districts in each region were divided into three strata according to high, medium and low share of GER, SC/ST population and SC/ST literacy in the population. This division was done considering the proportion of Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe population across the districts in each region. Three indicators chosen to identify the districts are as follows:

i. **Gross Enrolment Rate (GER):** GER is defined as the number of students (of any age) who are enrolled in primary education as a percentage of the total children of official school age population. It shows the general level of participation given level of education. It indicates the capacity of the education system to enroll students of a particular age-group at a specific level of education. (GER can be over 100% due to the inclusion of over-aged and under-aged pupils/students because of early or late entrants, and grade repetition.). GER is a basic measure of the access to education, including those enrolled, irrespective of their age, gender, caste etc. The three districts that have been selected have high, medium and low GER.

ii. **High Scheduled Caste /Scheduled Tribe population** since they are the target group of the study. However, none of the districts in any state have high population of SC and ST both so one district with high SC and high ST population each was selected. The third district has low population of both the target groups.

iii. **Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe literacy:** Education directly plays a part in making human lives more worthwhile through broadening one’s horizon of thought and experience. The literacy rate for the country was 65.38 per cent in 2001 with literacy rate for males at 75.85 per cent and that for females at 54.16 per cent. Kerala has the highest literacy rate of 90.92 per cent, (male and female literacy, at 94.20 and 87.86 per cent respectively). Bihar has the lowest literacy rate of 47.53 per cent, along with the lowest literacy rate for males at 60.32 per cent and for females, at 33.57 per cent.
Selection of blocks:

The third-stage reference unit was the selected district in each state. The taluks or blocks (sub-district administrative units) in each selected district. Here since the data for GER and SC/ST literacy was unavailable at the block the selection was made on SC/ST population. So two blocks in each district was selected, divided into high Scheduled Caste and high Scheduled Tribe category.

In the fourth stage, the reference unit was the village in each taluk or block selected in stage three. In exactly the same manner the villages were stratified into high, medium and low strata Scheduled Caste/ Scheduled Tribe population to total population. Two villages in each block divided into high Scheduled Caste and high Scheduled Tribe category, were selected. The selection of the actual villages was made randomly from the strata lists. So this made it 4 villages in each district.

District Profile:

According to the three indicators selected, following districts were chosen for the study.

a. Bihar:

Gaya: District with highest Scheduled Caste population in Bihar. Total population of Gaya is 3473,428 (Males 1,792,163, Females 1,681,265). Total numbers of literates are 1405453 (Males 913020 Females 492433). District literacy rate is 50.5 (male: 63.2, female: 36.7). It comes under high GER bracket (GER: 102). It has highest Scheduled Caste population (1029675), in Bihar which is 29.64% of the total population. Majority Scheduled Castes (Largest three) are: Bhuiya (458319), Dusadh (192554), Chamar (171904). SC literacy rate is 25.9 (male: 36.8, female: 15). The Scheduled Tribe population is 2945 which is 0.1% of the total population. ST literacy rate is 48.7 (male: 60.5, female: 36.8). Majority Scheduled tribes (Largest three) are: Lohara etc. (747), Kharwar (365), Oraon (346)

Katihar: District with highest Scheduled Tribe population in Bihar. Total population of Katihar is 2,392,638 (males: 1,246,872, females 1,145,766). Total number of

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1 Census of India, 2001
literates is 655,119 (Males: 443,862, Females 211,257). District literacy rate is 3 5.09 (Males 4 5.31, Females 2 3.80). It comes under low GER bracket (GER: 84). The Scheduled Caste population is 2 08,384 which is 8.71% of the total population. Majority Scheduled Castes (Largest three) are: Musahar 64,698, Dusadh. 43329, Hari 41792. SC literacy rate is 25.8 (male 36.5, female: 15.2). It has highest Scheduled Tribe population 140,418 which is 5.875 of the total population. ST literacy rate is 23.9 (male 35.3, female 12.5) Majority Scheduled Tribes (Largest three) are: Santhal 7 2,138, Oraon 24,678, Kharwar 1 8,765.

**Patna:** District with low SC, ST population in Bihar. Total population of Patna is 4718592 (Males: 2519942, Females: 2198650). Total number of literates are 8 17,711 (Males 5 56,936 Females 2 60,775). District literacy rate is 3 8.46 (Males 4 9.36 Females 2 6.13). It comes under low GER bracket(GER: 80.6). The Scheduled Caste population is 3 15,646 which is 11.77% of the total population. SC literacy rate is 21.4 (male31.8, female: 11.1). Majority Scheduled Castes (Largest three) are: Dusadh (117,091), Chamar (107,112), Musahar (42,279). The Scheduled Tribe population is 1, 786 which is 0.07% of total population. ST literacy rate is 30.4 (male: 42.8, female: 18.1). Majority Scheduled Tribes (Largest three) are: Bedia (998), Lohara (271), Gond (164)

**b. Karnataka:**

**Kolar:** District with highest SC population in Karnataka. Total population of Kolar is 2536069 (Males 1286193 Females 1249876). Total number of Literates are 1382267 (Males 815459 Females 566808). District literacy rate is 62.84 (Males: 7 3.17, Females 52.23). It comes under medium GER bracket (GER: 67.9).The Scheduled Caste population is 671692 which is 2 6.49% of total population. SC literacy rate is 52.9 (male: 63.7, female: 42.1). Majority Scheduled Castes (Largest three) are: Adi Karnataka (269119), Adi Dravida (29160), Bhovi (121658), Scheduled Tribe population 205711 which is 8.1% of the total population. ST literacy rate is 47.6 (male: 59.1, female: 36.2). Majority Scheduled tribes (Largest three) are: Naikda (200457), Meda (1582), Hakkipikki (1089)

**Raichur:** District with highest ST population in Karnataka. Total population of Raichur is 1669762 (Males 841840 Females 827922). Total number of Literates is 676799 (Males 429277, Females 247522). District literacy rate is 48.81 (Males 61.52
Females 35.93). It comes under high GER bracket. GER: 87.8. The Scheduled Caste population is 317276 which is 19.00% of total population. SC literacy rate is 38.7 (male: 51.4, female: 26.1). Majority Scheduled Castes (Largest three) are: Madiga (134329), Banjara (43167), Chalavadi (38265). Scheduled Tribe population is 303042 which is 18.15% of the total population. ST literacy rate is 29 (male: 41.1, female: 16.9). Majority Scheduled tribes (Largest three) are: Naikda (300,690), Meda (885), Generic Tribes (302).

**Uttar Kannada:** District with low SC, ST population in Karnataka. Total population of Uttar Kannada is 1353644 (Males 686876 Females 666768). Total number of Literates are 904024 (Males 505270 Females 398754). District literacy rate is 50.87 (Males 59.03 Females 42.48). It comes under low GER bracket (GER: 77.4). The Scheduled Caste population is 101896 which is 7.53% of total population. SC literacy rate is 65.3 (male: 75.2, female: 55.5). Majority Scheduled Castes (Largest three) are: Moger (16489), Bhovi (14482), Chalavadi (11767). Scheduled Tribe population 23781 which is 1.76% of the total population. ST literacy rate is 62.7 (male: 71.8, female: 53.6). Majority Scheduled tribes (Largest three) are: Naikda (9424), Gond (8437), Kokna (3006)

**3. Kerala:**

**Idduki:** District with highest SC population in Kerala. Total population of Idduki is 1129221 (Males 566682 Females 562539). Total number of Literates are 82458 (Males 460310 Females 422148). District literacy rate is 88.69 (Males 92.33 Females 85.02). It comes under medium GER bracket (GER: 56.4). The Scheduled Caste population is 159362 which is 14.11% of total population. SC literacy rate is 77.7 (male: 85.2, female: 70.3). Majority Scheduled Castes (Largest three) are: Paraiyan (53094), Pallan (43566), Pulayan (32278). Scheduled Tribe population 50973 which is 4.51% of the total population. ST literacy rate is 70.5 (male: 76.5, female: 64.5). Majority Scheduled tribes (Largest three) are: Malai Arayan (16764), Muthuvan (11026), Mannan (6859).

**Waynad:** District with highest ST population in Kerala. Total population of Waynad is 780619 (Males 391273 Females 389346). Total number of Literates is 576735 (Males 303579, Females 273156). District literacy rate is 85.25 (Males 89.77, Females 80.72). It comes under high GER bracket (GER: 77.8). The Scheduled Caste
population 33364 which is 4.27% of total population. SC literacy rate is 80.3 (male: 86.4, female: 74.2). Majority Scheduled Castes (Largest three) are: Pulayan (6235), Cheruman (6024), Kanakkan (2322). Scheduled Tribe population is 136062 which is 17.43% of the total population. ST literacy rate is 58.3 (male: 66.0, female: 50.6). Majority Scheduled tribes (Largest three) are: Paniyan (60801), Kurumans (25083), Kurichchan (22939).

**Alappuzha:** District with low SC, ST population in Kerala. Total population of Alappuzha is 2109160 (Males 1014529 Females 1094631). Total number of Literates are 1758978 (Males 865286, Females 893692). District literacy rate is 93.43 (Males 96.27 Females 90.82). It comes under low GER bracket (GER: 34.4). The Scheduled Caste population is 199231 which is 9.45% of total population. SC literacy rate is 80.3 (male: 86.4, female: 74.2). Majority Scheduled Castes (Largest three) are: Pulayan (116342), Than dan (33727), Vel an (15416). Scheduled Tribe population 3131 which is 0.15% of the total population. ST literacy rate is 58.3 (male: 66.0, female: 50.6). Majority Scheduled tribes (Largest three) are: Ulladan (2656), Malai Arayan (124), Malai Pandaram (66).

**Selection of villages:**

The village was the primary unit of analysis for this study. Twelve villages in each of the 3 states were chosen for the study, which aggregated to 36 villages in the total sample. For the selection of specific villages, a multi-stage stratified sampling design was used. The stages were defined according to administrative units ranging from the village through the taluka/block to district and finally to the state. The strata were defined by degree of decentralization within states at the first stage, and for next stage i.e., the district and blocks by high, medium or low GER, SC/ST population and SC/ST literacy and since GER and SC/ST literacy is not available at the village level only SC/ST population was taken into account. The 2001 Census figures were used as the base for all calculations.

**Panchayat/ Village profile:**

Since the study is based on a primary survey of 36 villages, the village has been taken as the basic unit of analysis. The information on the inclusion and representation of marginalized groups in the governance processes in this study was therefore prepared.
in terms of the village. Following information was gathered during the interviews with the respondents in the village.

Bihar:

a. **District Katihar**

I. **Simaria Village (Uttari Simaria Grama Panchayat, Korha block)**

This Panchayat has 13 wards. It is divided into various tolas where habitation is mostly on caste lines. Various Tolas (division) of Simaria Village as follows: Teen Gharia, Daroga Tola, Haji-Ackimuddin Tola, Sheetalpur, Mehrola tola, Chamabara, Teeaasi Tola, Bathami tola, Wahari tola, Bhagwaan shah tola, Chandu Tola, Parti Tola, Lohara Tola, Baghor tola, Brindavan tola, Mushahari tola, Mishari, Dhoria Bari, Bind tola, Sonapur, Chasok tola, Durgasthal Mushahari tola, Ramparvesh tola, Naya Santhali tola, Vijay Singh Kamat tola, Purana Santhali tola, Matwa tola, Charka tola.

The road that connects the village (Simaria) to the town (Katihar) is less than 2 kilometer in distance. Post office is more than two kilometer away in Baijnathpur. Nearest bank (Union Bank of India) is about three kilometer away in Kolasi. There is a Primary Health Centre (PHC) and primary School in the village. Higher Secondary School is more than 5 km away in Gerabari (Korha) and in Mirchai Bari (Katihar).

The majority caste in the village is of Shershahwaadi Muslims. Scheduled Tribe population (especially of Santahls) is more in this panchayat.

II. **Musapur Village (Musapur grama panchayat, Korha Block)**

This village has 8 tolas which are again divided on caste habitations such as Ansari tola, Bhangi tola, Mushari, Paswan tola etc. The population in this village is of Muslims, OBC (Ansari, Shah, Mahato, Paresh, Yadav), SC (Bhangi, Ravidas, Paswan, musahar, Dom) and ST (Santhal and Oraon). There is no pucca road inside the road but the metalized road connectivity the village to the town is approximately 2 km away. Post office are Bank (Union Bank of India and Kosi Grameen Kshetra Bank) are 3-4 km from the village. Primary Health Centre is less than 2 km away and there is a primary school, middle school and Madarsa in the in the village. The majority Caste is of Sheikh (Muslim) and Paswan (SC).
III. Kumaripur village (Kumaripur grama panchayat, Mainhari block)

This village has 18 tolas they are: Chaura Dangi, Badi Baigachhi, Chhoti Baigachhi, Baurni, Garreghutti, Kalisthan, Baurwa Tola, Mirch Tola, Nishad Tola, Paschim Tola, Goshain, Ranidih, Balu tola, Golaghat, Rasulpur, Rasulpur Chhint, Kabir tola. The ST habitation is far from the location of Bank (Allahabad Bank), Post office and even the village market. Santhal and Oraon tribes reside in this village and stay in separate tolas. For eg: Santhal and kharwar stay in Bairgachhi (badi and chhoti), Oraon in Ranidih and Kalishthan, Santhal in Rasulpur, Oraon in Golaghat. Kharwar tribe is more educated than Santhal and Oraon. Most of the men have migrated to Punjab or Rajasthan as labourers.

IV. Dilarpur village (Dilarpur grama panchayat, Manihari block)

This village has 15 tolas. They are Simartalla, Kalisthan, Purana Seej, Bhuthawaadi, Pechitola, Dilarpur, Sharmatola, Idgah Seej, Muslim tola, Yadav tola, Charkhia tola, Gorhi tola, Paswaan tola, Hari tola, Mushahari tola.

The village is very close to river Ganga so for about four months it remains. Water logged (from July to October). People from nearby villages are straying here as refugees because their villages got submerged when the river changed its course. The area occupied by these people is known as the “Seize” area. There are four seize areas in this village. They are seize numbers 5, 6, 8, 9. These areas do not have proper houses, any drinking water supply, electricity or roads.

b. District Gaya:

I. Chakhand village (Chakhand grama panchayat, Gaya Sadar Block)

There are four revenue villages and fifteen wards in Chakhand panchayat. The villages are again divided into tolas and localities inhabited mostly on caste basis. Village Utraudh has 3 wards (ward no. – 1, 6, 7) and is divided into Utraudh, Chamar-toil, Tahi Bigha, Maulvi Chak and Pir Bigha. The other village is Hasanpur (ward no. 2) which is divided into Hasanpur and Uttari and Dakshini Bhuin toil. Third village is Ranapur (ward no 15). Chakhand village where the survey was conducted
has ten wards (ward no – 3,4, 5,8,9,10,11,13,14,15) and is divided into Chakhand Bazaar, Chakhand Garh, Peeru Bigha, Sohana and Satisthan. Chakhand Bazaar is closer to the town and has mixed population. Chakhand Garh mostly has Brahmin, Bhumihar, Pandit castes (general) along with Yadav, Kumhar and Mali (backward castes). Satisthan has only Scheduled Castes population of Majhi, Paswaan and Ravidas. Chakhand chamar– toil, has Muslim and SC (Ravidas) residents.

II. Bitho village (Kandi grama panchayat, Gaya Sadar Block)

There are four revenue villages in Kandi grama panchayat. They are: Kandi, Bitho Sharif, Agairili Kalan, Agairili- Khurd. There are several tolas in Bitho villnamed on castes residing there. Such as Muslim tola, Koiri tola, Manjhi tola, Yadav Tola, Rajak tola, Kushwaha tola etc.

Bitho village is named after famous “mazaar” of Bitho Sharif. It is an industrial area. There are about 40 brick kilns in this village. Agriculture is mostly limited to vegetables. Most of the population work sin those brick kilns. Agarbatti - making is another important source of income only women and children are employed for the work. The contractors provide the material and they are paid Rs 10/kg for the work.

III. Atiya village (Atiya grama panchyat, Bodh Gaya Block).

This panchyat has four revenue villages. They are Atiya, Khajbatti, Koshila and Gangahar. The villages are again divided into different tolas. Gangahar has Saphi, Akaldih; Koshila has Kawarbigha, Bhoji bigha, Jairaj Bigha, Behradih, Kushaha, Haridaspur, Pradeep Nagar, Sarvodaya puri, Khajbatti has only one village by the same name.

Atiya village has 5 tolas – Ganeshchak, Gaura, Pachchan, Anandgarh, and Kashipur. There are 7 wards in this village (ward no – 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9). The population mostly consists of OBC and SC. Ganeshchak tola has Paswan, Manjhi (SC) and Yadav castes. Gaura has Paswan (SC), Nonia (Beldar), Yadav (OBC) castes, Anandgarh and Kashipur have Manjhi (SC- Mahadalit) castes and Pachchan – Chaudhary (SC), Yadav, Beldar, Teli (OBC) population.

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IV. Hathyar Village (Basahari panchayat, Bodh gaya Block)

Basahari panchayat has eight villages and four tolas. The villages are Hathyar, Nima, Gothu, Chhorat, Sewa Bigha, Gaur Bigha Narkatia, Theki. Tolas are Rampur tola, Phulganj, Basahari, and Sawalpur tola. (There is a Balmiki Nagar, next to Hathyar village, though in a different village Nima. It was allotted to the Mahadalits in 2000-01 but till 2008, there is no electricity, no drinking water supply, health centre or school that caters to Balmiki Nagar residents).

Hathyar village has no specific tolas but it is clearly demarcated into three parts: one is inhabited by dalits (maajhi, paswan chaudhary), one by Muslims and one by OBC (Koiri caste). The population is mostly of backward and scheduled castes (Koiri, Yadav, Kyastha, Pathan, Ansari, Dusadh, Bhuiya, Chaudhary, Das, Ravidas) and Muslims.

c. District Patna:

I. KanhaulI village (Sadisopur panchayat, Bihta Block)

Sadisopur Panchayat has 13 villages and 13 wards. This time the panchayat was reserved for Scheduled Castes women. Mukhia is from Sadisopur village, Pasi by caste. Kanahauli has no population of general caste (Brahmin, Rajput, Bhumuhar). There used to be some Bania houses but now all of them have settled in patna. All the castes (Yadav, Kumhar, Koiri, Barhi, Muslim, Kanu, Savji, Thakur, Lohar, Halwai) are spread throughout the village. Among the Scheduled Castes there are Chaudhary, Paswaan, Rajak, Ravidas, Dom, Nat. No caste is dominant.

There are two tolas Kodai tola and Bhomha tola that is quite far away from the village. The residents of these tolas are from Scheduled Castes (Chaudhari, Paswaan, Ravidas).

II. Gokhulpur-Korhar village (Shri Rampur panchayat, Bihta Block)

Shri Rampur Panchayat is quite big consisting of 6-7 villages in the radius of approximately 7 Km. It was reserved for extremely backward castes (EBC) women this time. Mukhia belongs to Malakar community. The villages in this panchayat are: Gokhulpur-Korhar, Shri Rampur, Bishambharpur, Padsa. Different villages are
dominated by different castes for e.g. Korhar by Rajputs, Gokhulpur and Bishambharpur (native village of mukhia-sarpanch) by Yadavs.

Gokhulpur Kurhar is very small village with about 40-50 houses of Yadavs and around 30 houses of Dusadh and Musahar community. There is a national highway passing from the middle of the village with yadavs staying on one side and Dusadh and Musahars (both SC) on the other. One can make out that the yadavs are quite well to do as most of the houses on their side are pucca. On the other side it’s mostly huts and mud houses. Only few pucca houses can be seen on this side...that too constructed with the IAY money

III. Mangarpal village (Mangarpal panchayat, Maner Block)

Mangarpal Panchayat has one village that is again divided in tolas according to the castes that are residing there. However, the tolas are not named on the castes living there. The tolas are: Ram Prasad Rai ka tola, Ganaur Rai ka tola, Shyamlal Ka tola (named on the influential, landed people of the village), Hathi tola ka batha (which has four separate tolas), Ganga tola, Ratan tola.

The panchayat consists of displaced people due their lands submerged in river Ganga. Such population (and area) is called diara. This diara area consists mainly of Yadav population, some other OBC castes such as Kumhar, Kanu and Hajam (Thakur-Barber). There is only on SC family of Rajak (dhobi) community which has 2-3 houses in village. No general population (upper castes) or Muslims reside in this village. Ganga river is less than 2 km from the main village and this area is first to be affected by flood waters.

IV. Sherpur village (Sherpur Purvi panchayat, Maner Block)

Sherpur has been a revenue village from the time of British. Till recently it was only one panchayat, now it has been divided into 3, based on population: Sherpur Purvi, Sherpur Pachimi and Khaspur Chitnawa. Sherpur Purvi panchayat has 16 wards and 6 villages: Sherpur, Rampur, Ranghara, Sovarna, Baghi and Balwaan tola. This seat was reserved for OBC woman for the first time. Mukhia belongs to mali (Malakar) community. Earlier there had been one mukhia for 22 yrs. He is from upper caste (Bhumihar Brahmin) and much respected due the works that he has done for the
village. The Dominant castes in the village are Bhumihars and yadavs. The castes residing in the village are Bhumihar, Kushwaha, Yadav, Paswaan, Mochi (cobblers), Pasi, Dhbi, Kanu and Mallah.

Karnataka:

a. Raichur

I. Wadwati Village (Baiododdi Panchayat, Raichur Block)

Biododdi G.P. has 5 villagers: Baiododdi, Ghasnagar, Wadwati, Khadgamdoddi and Khurudboddi. The Panchayat consists of 5 wards out of which 2 are in Wadwati Village.

II. Singanodi Village (Singanodi Panchayat, Raichur Block)

This panchayat is near Andhra Pradesh- Karnataka boundary. Bapur village of this panchayat is only four kilometer from the Singanodi village. There are 15 wards in the Panchayat and 5 wards in the village. Out of the five ward members two belong to SC, two belong to ST and one is from Lingayat community. Castes that reside in the village are: Maddigas, Malas, Waddar (Bhovi) among SCs, Naiyakas among STs, and Muslims, Kumbhars, Dobis and Lingayats among others. Majority is of SCs in this village. There is a separate colony for SCs of Lambani caste known Singanodi Thanda. They have very different style of living in aspects of dress, houses and food. As told by the Taluk President of Akhil Bharat Banjara Sangha (who is also a ward member and anganwaadi teacher), Lambani caste comes under SCs in Karnataka but are grouped as ST in Andhra Pradesh.

III. Toran Dinni Village (Toran Dinni Panchayat, Manvi Block)

There are 7 villages in Toran Dinni panchayat. They are: Galidurgamma Camp, Chikdinni, Hiredinni, Malkapur, Basapur, Googebal and Toran Dinni. There are two camps in Hiredinni, they are Mehboobnagar Camp and Hiredinni Camp. There are two wards in Toran Dinni Village and the President belongs to Basapur Village. Major castes residing in the Village are Lingayats (General); Naiyakas (ST) and Maadigan Cheluvaddi, Shilli - Katr, Maladasa (SC).
IV. Ballatagi Village (Ballatagi Panchayat, Manvi Block)

This panchayat has 3 villages and 3 camps. Villages are Ballatgi, Hire Badrdinni and Devatgal. Camps are Basvana camp (it has people from Reddy and Naik communities). Saigokul Camp (all Reddys) and Anjiniai Camp (all Reddys). There are six wards in this panchayat and four wards (ward No. 75, 76, 77, 78) are in this village. Major castes that reside in this village are Lingayats, Kuruwas (general category); Madigas and Korwars (SC); Naiyaka (ST) and Muslim.

b. Kolar

I. Devray Samudra Village (Devray Samudra Panchayat, Mulbagal Block)

This panchayat has 17 villages. They are: Mallapanalli, Dudiganalli, Bellamhalli, Kamadaddi, Kamanur, Putter, Yallagondalli, Ramanathpur, Hosker, Honnasetallli, Kilaholali, Tanattagunte, Jamanahalli, Guttur, Varaganallli, Varaganallli-Gangpura, Devraysamudra. There are a total of 18 wards in this panchayat. Devraysamudra village has 5 wards and 5 wards member (2 SC, 1 General, 1 BC, 1 ST). The village is divided into one revenue village (Devraysamudra) and two hamlets (Mallapandlli and Tattanagunte). Majority population is of SCs (over 65% of the total population). Among the SCs there are Bhovi and Adi-Karnataka and among the general castes, Brahmin, Vokkaliga and Kuruwa reside in the village. There is only one ST family and no Muslim or christian population in the village. The President is from Kilaholali village.

II. Balla Village (Balla Panchayat, Mulbagal Block):

This panchayat has 14 villages. They are: Ganjkunte, Vijilapura, Kunudenahenahalli, Asali Atikunthe, Shettybanakanahalli, Turudi, Mallakachhanhalli, Kunudenahenahalli-Chadumanhalli, Shetty Cheduman-ahalli, Kondenhalli, Kashipura and Balla. The panchayat has 4 wards and 16 wards members.

Balla village has one ward and 4 wards members. Among SCs Dhobi, Bajantri, Bhovi, Adi-Karnataka, Adidravida, Dommar and Thigala; among general castes Gollas, Kurubas, Vokkaligas, Brahmin, Shety, Vaishyas and Aachari, reside in the
village. There is no Muslim and Christian population in the village. Majority castes are Gollas and SCs.

III. Hunsanahalli, Village (Hullibeli panchyat, Bangarapet Block)

This panchayat has 12 villages. They are: Hebegirihosahali, Anandgiri, Chikkahosahalli, Thoroganadoddi, Hullibelli, Ramapura, Kanvekal, Attigirkoppa, Shivajinagar, Nagalpura, Selamgudisallu and Hunsanahalli.

Hunsanahalli village has 2 wards and 5 ward members. There was no reservation for these seats. All the ward members belong to Gowda community. Among the SC, Adi-Karnataka and Bhovi; among general castes, Gowda, Reddy, Gollas, Aachari; among ST Naiyakas; Christians and Muslims reside in the village. Majority population is of SCs. The President belongs to Hunsanahalli village.

IV. Yelesandra Village (Yelesandra Panchayat, Bangarapet block):

This panchayat has 22 villages. They are: Bhunhalli, Madira, Garudakemanhalli, Ramsandra, Kadavenhalli, Naganahalli, Khadripura, Nolagutahalli, Vasamanigallu, Kotaramagullu, Pujaranahalli, Chhikalanalayelelesandra, Upaspura, Guttor, Gulahalli, Dodderi, Dinakottor, Titubanhalli, Dinnor, Kodagurki, Ambedkar Colony, Yelesandra. The Panchayat has 3 wards and 14 ward members. President belongs to Kadavenhalli village and vice-President belongs to Naganhalli Village. Both are supported by Congress.

The village is in a remote area. The connectivity to the town is very thin. There are only 2 buses that ply from the village to the town. The village has one ward and 2 ward members, one SC and one Gowda. Both are supported by the BJP. Major castes in the village are: Gowda, Aachari, Lingayats (General), Adi-Karnataka, Bhovi (SC), Dobi, Nayaka, Togathaga (ST) and Muslims.

c. Uttar Kannada

I. Hankon Village (Hankon Panchayat, Karwar Block)

The panchayat has 4 villages. They are Gopsitta, Hankon-Juge, Hotegalli and Hankon. There are 5 wards and 9 ward members in this panchayat. The President
belongs to Konkan Maratha Caste (General) and Vice President is from Bhandari community (OBC).

The village Hankon has one ward and 3 ward members. Majority castes are Komarpant and Konkan Maratha (General) and Mahar (SC).

II.  Makheri Village (Sirwada Panchayat, Karwar Block).

Sirwada Panchayat has 2 villages: Makheri and Sirwada. There are 2 wards and 12 ward members. The village Makheri has one ward and 6 ward members. The major castes that reside in the village are: Konkan Maratha, Padti (Fishermen), Shet, Hindu Bandi (among general castes); Vaddar and Chamagar (SC), Siddhi (ST) and Christians.

III. Badangod Village (Badangod Panchayat, Sirsi Block):

This panchayat has 9 villages. They are: Dasankoppa, Kalangi, Badangod, Rangpura, Vaddal, Santolli, Daganhalli (Majre Hagganakatta), Kuppagadda (Majre Haskoppa) and Bellokheri (Majre Madakeshwara). There are 6 wards in this panchayat and 22 ward members.

Badangod village and Rangpura village form one ward. There are three ward members from this ward. The major castes the reside in the village are Naik, Kamati, Lingayat, Hegde, Kshtriyas, Jadar, Madivar, Bavasar, Shetty, Shet (General); Valmiki, Bedar, Shill-Kyather, Killi-Kyather (ST); Cheluvadi; Chennaiya, Vaddar, Bhovi-Vaddar, Lambani, Korchar, Korgar (SC); Muslims; Christians.

IV. Banvasi Billage (Banvasi Panchayat, Sirsi Block).

This panchayat has 2 villages: Banvasi and Kadagod. There are 4 wards and 16 ward members in this panchayat. It is a flood prone area. River Varda that flows along side affects the crops during the rainy season (from July to September). Major castes in the village are Lingayat (general); Chennaiya, Bhovi, Cheluva, Bhovi - Vaddar, Korgar, Madar (SC) Talwar (ST); Muslims and Christians.

Kerala:
a. **District Idukki:**

I. **Peerumade Village (Peerumade panchayat, Peermade Taluk/ Azutha Block):**

Peerumade panchayat has three villages (Peerumade, Manjumala and Ellapara) and 14 wards. It is the hill mountain region of Kerala. It covers an area of approximately 114 kilometer. It is primarily a plantation area with several tea, coffee and spice estates. The settlement in the village is mixed with no caste difference. The population consists of Hindu Sambhava, Cheermar, Pulaya, Pallar and Chakhalia communities among the Scheduled Castes. Among the general caste hindus, there are Nair, Brahmin and Nadar communities. Small population of Christians is also there in the village. All workers in the plantation/ estates belong to Scheduled Castes.

II. **Kumily Village (Kumily panchayat, Peermade Taluk/ Azutha Block):**

Kumily panchayat is the largest in Kerala in area. It covers an area of approximately 795 sq km. It has 16 wards. The village is very close to Tiger Sanctuary in Thekkady. So people are mostly in business of selling spices, aryuveda items etc. Some do the coolies work during the tourist season. Since the village is very large one couls only visit two tribal settlements (Paliyakudi and Mannakudi settlements) and one Scheduled Caste Colony (Gandhi Nagar Colony). The tribal settlements mentioned above are inhabited by Paliyan and Mannan Tribes. These colonies were established by the government just after independence. Before that these tribes stayed in jungles. Even now these settlements are inside the forest area. They are literate but not very highly educated. Their main occupation is growing coffee and pepper which is bought by the Economic Development Society. Gandhi Nagar Colony has been built by the panchayat where houses have been given to the Scheduled Castes.

III. **Kanjikuzhi Village (Idukki-Kanjikuzhi panchayat, Thodupuzha Taluk, Idukki Block):**

Kanjikuzhi panchayat covers an area of about 225 kilometer approximately. It has 15 wards. The population is mixed and there is no segregation on caste lines. All the communities Hindu Nairs, Christians, Muslims, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes reside here. But the tribal settlements especially two tribes – Mannan and
Hindu Ullada – are are separate. These settlements have been built separately with the help of state government and panchayat. There are seventeen wards and 17 ward members in this panchayat. 13 belong to Congress, 2 to Kerala Congress (M) and 2 to Mani group. The president is a congress candidate.

Visited two tribal settlements in this village: Mazhu vazhi Oomenchandy Tribal Colony and IHDP colony in ward 14 of Kanjikuzhy panchayat.

IV. Velliyamattom village (Velliyamattom panchayat, Thodupuzha Taluk, Elamdesam Block)

Velliyamattom panchayat has 11 wards. It covers an area of approximately 30 kilometer. The panchayat president belongs to LDF. There is a mixed population of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and OBC. There are some families of converted Christians mostly of Mala-arya tribe.

b. District Waynad

I. Chundale Village (Vythri Panchayat, Vythri Block)

This village comes under Vythri panchayat. It has two villages, Chundale and Kunnithidavaka. This panchayat has been reserved for Scheduled Castes women

Though Waynad has high Scheduled Tribes population, this village has high population of Scheduled Castes who are mostly migrants from Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. Among the migrant Scheduled Castes the population is mainly of Adi Karnataka and Bakoda. Paraya caste is the original inhabitant of Kerala.

II. Kaniambetta Village (Kaniambetta panchayat, Vythri Block):

Kaniambetta panchayat consists of 2 villages: Kaniambetta and Nadavayal (which means plantation of rice!). There are 17 wards in this panchayat. Ward numbers 3, 14, 8, 2 have mostly Scheduled Tribes population. Out of these, ward numbers 3, 8, 14 are reserved for Scheduled Tribes. The members of these wards belong to Panniya, Kuruchi and Kuruchi Christian tribes respectively. The current president has been
panchayat member for 25 years and has already served 4 terms as president. There are 4 LP Schools, 32 anganwaadis and 250 SHGs in this panchayat and 20 to 25 members in each group. This was the first panchayat to implement NREGS in Kerala. The pilot project started in January 2007.

Major castes that reside in the village are: Nair, Brahmin, Ezhava, Thiyya, Jain and Gowda (general and OBC communities), Peruvanna, Vannan and Malaarya (among Scheduled Castes), Kuruchiya, Kuruma, Panniya, Kattunayaka and Adiya (among Scheduled Tribes), Mapala and Shiya (among Muslims) and Christians. Among the tribes, Panniya, Kattunayaka and Adiya are quite primitive and do not participate much in the panchayat activities. Kuruchiya are quite progressive socially, educationally and politically. There are party based tribes. BJP, CPI, CPI (M), NCP, Dalit Congress- all have party based cadres in the tribes.

Visited Kuruma colony in ward no. 13, Palapatta colony, Pachallakadu (Cheruma-Scheduled Castes) colony and Othaouth (Panniya-Scheduled Tribes) colony in ward no.17, and, Chithramoola (Kuruchiya-Scheduled Tribes) colony in ward no.4.

III. Nenmeni Village (Nenmeni panchayat, Sulthanbatheri Block):

Nenmeni panchayat has two villages: Nenmeni and Cheeral. There are 22 wards in the panchayat. The president is from ward no. 19 and belongs to CPI (M). The panchayat has CPI(M) majority and no coalition. There are 48 anganwaadis, and 656 SHGs (536 Female and 120 Male) in this panchayat.

Noolpuzha Village has more of Scheduled tribe population. There are 12 Scheduled Castes colonies in this panchayat. Major castes that reside in the village are: Nair, Thiyya, Ezhava and Waynad Chetty (among general castes and OBC), Pulaya, Cheruma and Mannan (among Scheduled Castes), Kuruma, Panniya, Oorali and Kattunayaka (among Scheduled Tribes), Muslims and Christians.

Visited Konnampatta (Scheduled Caste- Pulaya) colony in ward no. 5, Ambalakkunu (Scheduled Tribe- Panniya) colony in ward no.14, Eddakkal Ooraali Colony in ward no.22.
IV. Noolpuzha Village (Noolpuzha panchayat, Sulthanbatheri Block):

Noolpuzha panchayat has 16 wards and has majority of CPI(M). Out of 16 ward members, 9 are from CPM, 4 from Congress, 1 from BJP and 2 independents. The president belongs to ward no. 2 but has contested from ward no.5. It has majority of Scheduled Tribes population consisting mainly of Kuruma, Oorali Kattunayaka and Panniya tribes. These tribes are original inhabitants of Waynad especially Noolpuzha. All other castes (especially Padiya, Pulaya among Scheduled Castes) have migrated from other parts of Kerala or other states. Among the other castes are Wayanad Chetty and Ezhava. The land is mostly owned by them.

Visited Pilakau Ooraali colony and Marukara Nayak (Kattunayaka Tribe) colony in ward no. 5, Muthanga Thakarapadi (Kuruma tribe) colony in ward no.9, Pontuzhi Naika (Kattunayaka tribe) colony in ward no.8.

c. District Alapuzha

I. Ambalapuzha village: (Ambalapuzha South Grama Panchayat, Ambalapuzha Block)

Ambalapuzha panchayat-village has two villages: Karumady and Ambalapuzha. The president belongs to CPIM. There is coalition of two parties CPI(M) and LDF. Scheduled Castes population is more in this panchayat. Ward no 2 and 6 have been reserved for the Scheduled Castes. As informed by the Scheduled Tribes promotion officer, Scheduled Tribes population is only in ward no. 14 and 11 of this panchayat.

Ambalapuzha village has 8 wards (wardno: 1,2,3,11,12,13,14,10). The majority population is of Scheduled Castes mostly of Sambhava, Pulayas and Parays. The other castes are Brahmins, Patta, Konkani, Nair, Ezhava, Ullada, Christians and Muslims.

II. Purakkad Village (Purakkad panchayat, Ambalapuzha Block)

There are 17 wards and one village (Purakkad) in this panchayat. The seat for the president was reserved for women. The president is a CPI(M) candidate belongs to Ezhava caste. Scheduled Castes population is more in this panchayat–village. There
are seven colonies of Scheduled Castes in ward no 3, 6, 7,8,11. Ward no. 14 is reserved for Scheduled Castes but very few Scheduled Castes reside in this ward.Visited Naluchera IHDP colony and Flood relief camp in ward no. 7 which is spread in 22 kilometers. Other than this visited ward no. 3, 7,8.

III. Thekkakera Village (Thekkakera panchayat, Mavellikara Block)
Thekkakera panchayat has 18 wards and one village (Thekkakera). This time it has been reserved for the Scheduled Castes. The president belongs to CPI (M). There is Scheduled Castes majority in this panchayat. These castes are mainly Pulaya, Thandan, Sambhava and Kuruwa. Among the Scheduled Tribes there are only Hindu Ullada here. Among the general castes there are Brahmin, Nair and Ezhava.

IV. Kanamangalam Village (Chettikulangara panchayat, Mavellikara Block)
Chettikulangara panchayat has 20 wards and only one village (Kanamangalam). The president belongs to CPI (M). There is Scheduled Castes majority in this panchayat. These castes are mainly Pulaya, Thandan, Paraya and Sambhava. Visited Vadakkethundam (Scheduled Castes: Pulaya) Colony in ward no 19, Mulekattuthara colony (Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes) Colony in ward no. 17, ward no 1 and ward no 18 which has Congress ward members.

**Method of Data Collection:**
The basic methods of data collection were direct personal observation supplemented by interviews and focus group discussions with different sections of the village community. Participatory techniques were used to introduce the study to the respondents to introduce the topic participation in the grama sabhas and note their responses. This tool mainly obtained data about settlement patterns, the economic condition of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe, their access to schools, anganwaadis, benefits from government programmes, etc. It helped in constructing an overall picture of the village in its various aspects. This tool was also beneficial for generating data on Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe’s sources of income and their general economic status in the village.
Narration of incidents and case analysis are also included in the study and this approach is primarily designed to take a more detailed look at the caste dynamics and significant incidents connected with the study. Thus, interesting instances of local elite capture, harassment, bureaucratic apathy or other event relevant to the study is reported in detail as a self-contained case study.

Household interviews were conducted along with interviews with key persons, especially bureaucrats at the village and block level, local influential persons who could provide information on the status of the schemes, panchayat dynamics or any information on the subject.

**Profile of the respondents:**

Two sets of interviews were conducted to understand the process of implementation of the schemes and participation of people. First set was at the household level. A total of 474 respondents were interviewed in the three states at the village level. They included one member of each household and panchayat members. The other set of interviews was conducted with the officials involved at the block and panchayat level in the implementation of the schemes. The profile of the household respondents is described by indicators like caste, gender, age, and income. The list of officials interviewed is divided on the basis of the schemes that they are in charge of.

**Household interviews:**

**Caste:**

Since the study is on the marginalized groups, the effort was to interview more people from Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes, however, people from other castes were also interviewed to understand their perspective on the governance processes. As table 1 shows 53% of the respondents belonged to Scheduled Castes. Among these castes, those interviewed in Bihar were Dom, Dusadh, Paswaan, Manjhi, Dhanuk, Pasi, Dhobi, Bhuyian, and Ravidas/Chamar. In Karnataka the Scheduled Castes belonged to Adi-Karnataka, Bhovi, Chamagar, Mahar, Vaddar, Bhovi-Vaddar, Chenaiyya, Madiga, Lambadi and Harijan. In Kerala the Scheduled Castes interviewed were Pulaya, Sambhava, Thandan, Cheruman, Bakoda, Paliyan. 19.8% of the respondents belonged to Scheduled Tribes. In Bihar they were Santhal, Munda, Oraon and Kharwar. In Karnataka, the Scheduled Tribes interviewed were Naika and Siddhi. In
Kerala, they belonged to Hindu Ullada, Kattunaiyaka, Oorali, Kuruma, Panniyar, Kuruchian, Mala Aryan and Mannan. Rest of the respondents belonged to the OBC (13.9%) and General castes (13.3%).

Table 2: Caste of the Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>53.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ST</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>19.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBC</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>13.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>474</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gender:

Since the study looks into the participation of women (as a rural citizen and as the office bearers of the Grama Panchayats), it was necessary to capture the response of women equally. The male/ female respondent ratio was tried to keep at par. As Table 2 shows 53% of the respondents were male and 46.4% were female.

Table 3 Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>53.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>46.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>474</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Age:

81.6% of the respondents ranged from 20 to 50 years (the age break-up is shown in Table 3). However, there were respondents who were well above 60, still active and well informed about the Grama Panchayats. One of the respondents (of Mazhuvazhi Oomenchandy Tribal Colony, Kanjikuzhy village, Idukki- Kanjikuzhy panchayat, Idukki, Kerala) was of 90 years but still active and willing to talk about the development of his tribe.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age groups</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age 20-30</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>21.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 31-40</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>32.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 41-50</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>27.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 51 and above</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>18.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>474</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4 Respondents by age groups

Income:

It was one of the most difficult exercise of the field work. Since most of the respondents were daily wage labourers, calculating their annual family income was tricky. However, the whole exercise was done by asking the daily wage they earn, then approximately how much they earn in a month and finally how many earning members are there in the family? So finally on the compilation of data four brackets of annual family income were made which are given below.
Officials Interviewed:

Regarding the interviews of local bureaucrats, they were selected from the schemes selected for study. The officers in charge of implementing the schemes are located at the District and Block level. The focus of interview was on the actors involved in the selection, sanctioning, execution and inspection of schemes such as block development officers, CDPO, BEO, panchayat officials etc. Other than the officers, anganwaadi teachers and helpers were also interviewed but they have been included in the household interviews because being part of the village, they were also the participants in the functioning of Grama Panchayats as rural citizens. Information on Mid Day Meal Scheme was also provided by the headmasters and teachers of the schools visited.

The details of the officers interviewed in the states are:

**Kerala:**

The first officer to be interviewed was Deputy Collector Idukki who introduced me to the other officers. Similarly Additional District Magistrate Waynad, Additional District Magistrate Alapuzha helped in fixing meetings with officers in the respective districts.

For the NREG Scheme the officers interviewed were: Block Development Officers (BDO) (Sulthanbathery, Kalpetta, Thodupuzha, Ambalapuzha Block, Mavellikara
Blocks), Joint Block Development Officer Thodupuzha Block, Grama Panchayat Secretaries (Purakkad, Noolpuzha, Kaniambetta, Perumade, Idukki-Kanjikuzhy, Ambalapuzha Grama Panchayats), NREGS Overseer (Peerumade).

For the ICDS Scheme the officers interviewed were:: Supervisors ICDS (Ambalapuzha, Idukki-Kanjikuzhi Grama Panchayats).

For the Mid Day Meal Scheme the officers interviewed were:: Scheduled Castes Development Officers (Ambalapuzha, Sulthanbathery, Kaniambetta, Mavellikara Blocks), Tribal Extension Officer Chettikulangara Grama Panchayat, Village Extension Officers (Noolpuzha, Nenmeni, Kaniambetta Grama Panchayats). Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes promoters also provided information on the schemes but they have been included in the respondents as rural citizens

**Karnataka:**

Block Development Officer is the Executive Officer (EO), taluk Panchayat in Karnataka. He is also the Drawing officer of the schemes (NREGS, ICDS, MDM) being implemented at the block level. In all the six blocks covered, EO was also the Program Officer, NREGS.

The information was collected from the concerned officials for various schemes. The officials interviewed are enlisted below:

For the NREG Scheme the officers interviewed were: EO, Taluk panchayats (Raichur, Manvi, Sirsi, Karwar, Mulbagal and Bangarapet). Secretary (Ballatgi, Singanodi, Hankon, Sirwada, Balla, Devrayasamudra Grama Panchayats), Panchayat Extension Officer (Raichur, Mulbagal Taluk panchayats).

For the ICDS Scheme the officers interviewed were:: EO, Raichur Taluk Panchayat (He was the Deputy Director incharge of the ICDS), CDPOs (Karwar, Sirsi, Mulbagal), Assistant CDPO (Bangarapet), Supervisors (Manvi; Chandrabanda and Yaple Dinni Circles Raichur; Dasankoppa Circle Sirsi; Bangarapet circle, Chikkakaladahalli, Hunsanahalli circles, Bangarapet; Mudikote circle, Bangarapet).

For the Mid Day Meal Scheme the officers interviewed were: the officers interviewed were: Assistant Director (Raichur, Sirsi, Bangarapet Karwar, Mulbagal Taluk
Panchayats), Block Education Officer (Raichur, Sirsi, Karwar, Bangarapet Taluk Panchayats).

**Bihar:**

Due to lack of staff the BDOs are incharge of a number of posts. For example BDO of Manihari block is the Circle Officer, CDPO, PO (NREGS), and Nagar Panchayat Executive. The duties of the program office, NREGS were also being carried out by most of the BDOs.

For the NREG Scheme the officers interviewed were: BDOs (Manihari, Korha, Gaya Sadar, Bodh Gaya and Maner Blocks), PO (Maner), Rozgar sevak (Atiya, Chakhand and Simaria Grama Panchayats).

For the ICDS Scheme the officers interviewed were: CDPO (Gaya rural, Bodh Gaya, Korha, Maner), Supervisors (Gaya Sadar, Bodh Gaya,)

For the Mid Day Meal Scheme the officers interviewed were: BEO (Korha, Manihari and Maner)

**Limitations and Problems (related to the field work):**

Language was first limitation which might have affected the exact detailing of the answers given by the respondents. In spite of having efficient interpreters, it was a handicap to indulge in in-depth discussion with the respondents.

Over or under explanation by the respondents. When interacting with the officers, implementation process was mostly picture perfect, which contradicted my secondary reading somehow! When interacting with the people, some of the features of the three schemes were blown out of proportion. I could understand it because others snubbed the person for exaggeration.

This led to third limitation of one person trying to dominate and influence the interaction. The only solution was to pay adequate attention to him and then interact with other respondents separately.

Last but not the least, paucity of time led to interaction with less number of people.
Conclusion:

The selected states, districts and villages provided an extensive range for analyzing the participation of the people in the governance process. People had varying levels of understanding of the role of panchayats, their participation and the schemes that they were questioned about. But nowhere there was lack of enthusiasm and cooperation from their side. In fact there were discussions over many social and political issues which were beyond the requirement of the study but formed an integral pre requisite to the probe!

The next chapter tries to contextualize marginalization within the liberal framework of equality, liberty and justice. There is also an effort to elaborate on the concepts of participation and marginalization and situate Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes within that framework.