Author Index

Ambedkar, B. R., 9
Ananthpur, Kripa, xi
Andrews, Matt, 5–6
Appadurai, Arjun, 191–192
Aziz, Abdul, 10–11
Baiocchi, Gianpaolo, 3, 25–26
Ban, Radu, 12–13, 14, 64
Bardhan, Pranab, 2, 12–13
Barron, Patrick, 3
Basu, Kaushik, 135
Bayly, Christopher A., 7, 17–18, 178–179
Beaman, Lori, 12–13
Benhabib, Seyla, 119–120, 177–178
Besley, Timothy, 6, 12–13, 20, 21–22, 40–41, 64
Bhatia, Udit, 121
Bhattacharjee, Swati, 186–187
Bohman, James, 3
Brissow, Dan, 3
Brock, Karen, 5
Butler, Judith, 191–192
Chambers, Simone, 177–178, 180
Chatterjee, Partha, 2, 4, 5, 176
Chattopadhyay, Raghabendra, 12–13, 186–187
Chauchard, Simon, 12–13
Chaudhuri, Shubham, 12
Corbridge, Stuart, 187
Cornwall, Andrea, 5
Crook, Richard C., 10–11
Curato, Nicole, 177–178, 184
Dey, S.K., 10
Diprose, Rachel, 3
Dirks, Nicholas, 17–18
Dryzek, John S., 3, 27, 177–178
Duflo, Esther, 12–13
Durkheim, Emile, 44
Eley, Geoff, 119–120
Elasoph, Nina, 23–24
Elster, Jon, 2, 119–120, 177–178
Ercan, Selen A., 177, 184
Espeland, Wendy N., 35
Finley, M.I., 178
Foster, James, 135
Fourier, Marcel, 44
Fox, Jonathan, 5–6, 191
Franke, Richard W., 11
Fraser, Nancy, 119–120, 177–178
Fricker, Miranda, 27
Fung, Archon, 3
Gandhi, Mohandas, 8–9, 10, 59, 60, 154
Gaventa, John, 5
Gibson, Christopher, 12
Goodin, Robert E., 3, 175–176
Govt. of India, 17
Gupta, Akhil, 120, 121, 179–180, 190
Gutman, Amy, 3, 177–178
Habermas, Jurgen, 2–3
Hacker, Jacob S., 2
Harilal, K.N., 12
Hauser, Gerard A., 178
He, Baogang, 119–120, 177–178
Hebbar, 110
Heller, Patrick, 3, 6, 11–12
Hendriks, Carolyn M., 184
Hirschman, Albert O., 5–6
Hossain, Naomi, 88, 186
Immerwahr, Daniel, 9–10
Issac, T M Thomas, 11–12

203
Jacob, Megha, 188
Jha, Saumitra, 14, 64
John, Jacob, 188
Joshi, Shareen, 186–187
Katznelson, Ira, 2
Kaviraj, Sudipta, 2
Keane, John, 2
Khilnani, Sunil, 2
Kruks-Wisner, Gabrielle, 187
Kumar, Dharma, 17–18
Kumar, P. Selva, 160
Kumari, Shanti, 85
Kuyper, Jonathan, 184
Lahiri, Nayanjot, 7
Lamont, Michele, 44
Landes, Joan, 119–120
Lee, John, 119–120, 177–178
Leight, Jessica, 64
Lichterman, Paul, 23–24
Maine, Henry, 8–9
Majumdar, Shruti, 5–6
Malik, Kabir, 188
Manin, Bernard, 177–178
Manor, James, 10–11
Mansbridge, Jane, 3, 25–26, 27, 35, 119–120, 175, 177–178, 182, 184
Mansuri, Ghazala, 2–3, 5–6, 191
Mantena, Karuna, 8–9
Mehta, Balwantray, 9–10
Mill, John S., 8
Mookherjee, Dilip, 2, 12–13
Morgan, Marcylaena H., 64
Mouffe, Chantal, 33, 119–120
Niemeyer, Simon, 177–178, 184
Olivelle, Patrick, 178–179
Palaniswamy, Nethra, 14–15, 26, 174, 188
Pande, Rohini, 6, 21–22
Parkinson, John, 3
Parthasarathy, Ramya, 14–15, 26, 172–173, 188
Pierson, Paul, 2
Polletta, Francesca, 3, 119–120, 177–178
Prabhakar, Umang, 172–173
Pritchett, Lant, 5–6
Rahman, Lupin, 12–13, 20
Rao, Vijayendra, 2–3, 5–6, 12–13, 14, 21–22, 26, 64, 179–180, 186–187, 188, 191
Rawls, John, 2–3
Rehg, William, 3
Retzlaff, Ralph H., 9
Ripon, Lord, 8
Rudolph, Lloyd L., 8–9
Rudolph, Susanne H., 8–9
Ryan, Mary P., 119–120
Sadanandan, Anoop, 67
St. Denny, Emily, 3
Sanders, Lynn M., 119–120, 177–178
Scott, James C., 44
Sen, Amartya, 6, 179–180
Shulman, David, 64
Silva, Marcelo K., 3
Singh, Nand Kishore, 187
Spörndli, Markus, iii
Srivastava, Manoj, 187
Steenbergen, Marco, 178
Steiner, Jürg, 3, 119–120, 177–178
Stephens, Mitchell L., 35
Stern, Nicholas, 187
Sunstein, Cass R., 119–120, 177–178
Thompson, Dennis Frank, 3, 177–178
Tinker, Hugh, 8
Topalova, Petia, 12–13
Varshney, Ashutosh, 44, 186–187
Veeraraghavan, Rajesh, 26, 189
Veron, Rene, 187
Walton, Michael, 179–180
Warren, Mark E., 119–120, 177–178
Williams, Emyr, 3
Williams, Glynn, 187
Woolcock, Michael J.V., 3
Young, Iris Marion, 119–120, 177–178
Subject Index

above-poverty-line (APL), 29–30, 37–41, 116
accountability, 45–48, 87, 118, 133–135
demands from villagers for, 90, 94–95, 128, 153–157, 163
direct public, 48
governance and, 181
high literacy settings and, 171–172
of panchayats, 148
from public officials, 25, 85, 110–111
rude accountability, 88, 185–186
seeking, 139–142
social, 6
administrative power, 176
administrative violence, 180
adversarial language, 35, 36
about personal goods, 181, 182–183
about public goods, 182
agriculture, 23, 101, 113, 166, 167
drinking water and, 167
land for, 40
Akbar, Emperor, 7
ancient Greece, 178–179
Andhra Pradesh (AP), 17
Chandrababu Naidu, 188–189
Chittoor, 30–31, 125
empty governance rituals in, 73
feudalism, low levels in, 71
low and medium literacy villages in, 74
classified as low capacity, 65–66
creation of, 17, 19–20, 64
Medak, 84, 93–94
local governance in, 85
panchayat system and, 186
recent data from, 26
Telangana, 189, 190
APL. See above-poverty-line
Arthashastra (2nd century BCE treatise on governance), 178–179
Ashoka, Emperor, 7
basic amenities, 30
BDO. See Block Development Officer
Below Poverty Line (BPL), 5, 6, 29–30, 114–115, 124–125
construction of BPL list, 38
criteria for, 34–35
household benefits for, 34
personal claims by status of, 37–41
public challenges to, 37–38
beneficiary selection, 98–99, 105, 117
awareness of procedures related to, 149
fair, 98, 153
participation in, 124–125
policy for, 99–101
benefit invigilators, 114, 117
benefits, 5, 30, 34–35
allocations of, 34
applications for, 70, 102, 113, 116, 186
denied enrollment to, 179–180, 183
deservingness for, 124–125
eligibility for, 114–115
limited subset of, 37
personal material, 40–41
private household, 175
welfare, 98–99, 100–101, 117
bicycles, 79–80, 168
Bidar, 93–94, 122, 136
low literacy gram sabhas in, 86–93, 129–133

205
Bihar, 187
Block Development Officer (BDO), 74, 75, 76–78, 81, 148–149
bore wells, 152
BPL. See Below Poverty Line
bribes, 28
Britain, 8
British colonial administration, 8
British East India Company, 15–16
British India, 15–16, 71
Buddhism, 178–179
Buddhist traditions, 7
budgets, 46, 118, 129, 136–137, 165
budgetary allocations, 83, 84, 118, 136, 138
demand for information on budgetary allocations, 84
of panchayats, 53–54, 93–94, 188
villagers and, 159
bureaucracy, 120–121, 180
bureaucratic violence, 180
government, 5–6, 20–21, 28
capability, 62, 119, 120
“capabilities approach,” 179
competency and, 178
higher level of, 135
caste, 20–21, 136. See also scheduled caste
caste-based inequalities, 29
competition among, 41, 136
competition between, 41–42
discrimination based on, 58, 182
Extremely Backward Caste, 34
gender inequality and, 84
general castes, 35–36, 62
lower-caste groups, 12
Most Backward Caste, 34
Other Backward Caste, 34, 35–36, 155–156
personal claims by caste identity, 35–37
physical segregation by, 44
social structure based on, 2
upper caste dominance, 84
upper castes, 33–34
water allocation and discrimination by, 41–42
cell phone cards, 40
cemented road, 30–31
census, 121
check dams, 89–90
child labor, 74, 83
Chittoor, 30–31, 125
empty governance rituals in, 73
feudalism, low levels in, 71
low and medium literacy villages in, 74
citizens, 1, 141–142
as benefit invigilators, 70
civic capabilities of, 70
civic competence of, 177
deliberation by, 119
schooling in, 52–54
as passive petitioners, 69
political literacy and, 127, 186
power inversion between state and, 185
public-spirited talk by, 184
rude citizens, 89
state-citizen engagement, 62, 183–184
taxes and, 148
wellbeing of, 183
citizenship, 52, 105–106
“benefit invigilators,” 114, 117
“civic deliberators,” 69–70, 78, 142
effective, 82
villagers as, 83
“elite stewards,” 70, 89, 94, 130, 134
“passive petitioners,” 186
performances, 24–25, 69, 94
“pragmatic deliberators,” 70, 106, 117
“rude citizens,” 70, 88–89, 129–130
civic competence, 177
civic consciousness, 61–62, 75, 85
civic deliberators, 69–70, 78, 142
effective, 82
villagers as, 83
civic responsibility, 59–62
civil society, 4, 44
features and benefits associated with,
5
political society and, 176
clientelism, 2
Coimbatore, 35–36, 56, 69–70
high literacy villages in, 94–98, 105–106, 163
medium and high literacy gram sabhas in, 172
political literacy, 157
collaborative coalition, 191
collective action, 29, 54–59
collective effervescence, 44
colonial administration, 8
commensuration, 5
redistribution and, 34, 40–41
rules of, 39–40
common good, 2–3, 105–106
common property resources, 34
communicative equality, 29
community driven development, 116, 184
competency, 14–15, 178
complaint collector states, 69, 71–73
complaint-like language, 35
Constituent Assembly Debates, 9
constitutional power, 116
context-change, 191–192
context-legibility, 191–192
conversational mode, 28
coordination failure, 191
corporate interests, 50–51
corruption, 6, 71–72, 124–125, 133–135, 163, 169
crop failure, 85
Dakshin Kanada, 87, 106–113, 117, 123
dalits, 9, 22, 33–34
decentralization, 116, 117–118
participatory decentralization, 11
participatory local governance, 1
village government, 8, 11, 14–15, 26, 175
decision-making power, 5–6
defence to authority, 84
deliberation, 2–3, 12, 118
by citizens, 119
civic deliberators, 186
control of deliberative space, 83
culture of, 44
deliberative exercises, 133
deliberative institutions, 5–6, 7–8
disruption of, 141–142

DQI, 178
equality and, 4
feminist critique, 119–120
literacy and, 120–121, 126
measures of deliberative influence, 173
minimalist definition of, 27
modalities of, 3
nature of, 125
Panchayati Raj and, 10–12
power differences, 185
public, 88–89, 93–94
quality of, 182, 185–186
reflective, 182
schooling citizens in, 52–54
social stratification and, 172–173
space for, 28
standards of, 181–182, 184
streamlining, 70
strident deliberators, 186
weighing of preferences, 27, 175
Deliberation Quality Index (DQI), 178
deliberative capacity, 67, 85, 120, 122, 172–173, 186
deliberative democracy, 3
idealized notions of, 44
normative theories of, 119
philosophically defined standards of, 177
realizing, 181
theories of, 183–184
deliberative rhetoric, 180
democracy, 62. See also deliberative democracy; direct democracy
deliberation challenges, 5–6
conceptual stretches of conventional democratic theory, 177–178
deepening, 192
“efficient,” 14
electoral, 2, 7
faith in, 175
grassroots, 65–66
greater goals of, 117
local, 177
oral, 177–181, 184, 185, 190, 191
participatory, 8, 9, 129
reach of, 181
talk-based deliberative institutions and, 185
democracy (cont.)
  training/schooling, 62
  unequal distribution of literacy and, 172–173
  village, 9
  voice in, 62–63
  democratic deliberation, 64, 177–178, 184, 188
  democratic discourse, 26
  democratic institution-building capacity, 65
  deprivation, 39–40
  developing world, 3
  development as freedom, 6
  interventions, 5–6
  Dharmapuri, 41–42, 49–50, 57–58, 68, 69–70, 157
  gram sabhas in, 142–143
  low and medium literacy villages in, 74
  political literacy in, 142
  as social reformer state, 82–83
  state government facilitation of gram sabhas, 80
  women in, 173–174
  dignity, 13, 30, 62, 169, 172
  through discourse, 41–44
  performance of, 181
  direct democracy, 1
  direct democratic engagement, 175–176
  talk-based form of, 2
  discourse analysis, 3–4
  discrimination, 182
  discursive communication, 64–65
  discursive conflict, 33
  district-pairs, 64, 68
  doctors, 110–111
  domestic hardships, 37
  DQL. See Deliberation Quality Index
  drainage, 78, 81, 85, 137–138, 165
  drinking water, 23, 165, 166, 169
  agriculture and, 167
  Rajiv Gandhi Drinking Water Project, 56–57
  supply, 56, 58
  uninterrupted supply of, 81–82
  drought, 95
earthworm fertilizer, 80
EBC. See Extremely Backward Caste
Economist Intelligence Unit, 175
education, 23, 78–79
opportunities for, 30
public, 160
public versus private, 172
school mid-day meal program, 90–91
“efficient” democracy, 14
8th five-year plan, 100
elections, 175–176
electoral democracy, 2, 7
electricity, 23
electricity bills, 112
electricity lines, 31–32
electricity supply, 111
elites capture, 2
stewards, 70, 89, 94, 130, 134
employment, 23, 172
environmental improvement, 69–70
epistemic injustice, 27
equality, 2–3, 4, 29–30
equality of agency, 179
ethnography, 25–26
exclusion, 183
Extremely Backward Caste (EBC), 34
facilitation regimes, 24–25
farmers, 51, 103, 167, 170
feudalism, 71, 93
financial devolution, 65
fiscal responsibility, 59–62, 80
Food Inspector, 39–40
forced sales, 162–163
free noon meal program, 148
Gandhian, 8–9, 10, 59
garbage collection, 74
gender, 2, 84
global trade, 181–182
globalization, 50, 105
governance, 176
accountability and, 181
Chittoor, empty governance rituals in, 73
decentralized local governance, 53–54, 176
Subject Index

- demand for, 45
- district-pairs and decentralized participatory governance, 68
- “e-governance,” 189
- local governance in Medak, 85
- oral dimension of, 178
- Panchayati Raj, decentralized governance through, 117–118
- participation, 59
- quality of, 187
- strategies, 70
- supply of, 52
- government bureaucracies, 5–6, 20–21, 28
- funding, 56
- programs, 46
- surveillance, 190
- Government of India, 17
- governmentality, 54
- GPs. See Gram Panchayats
- Gram Jyoti initiative, 189
- Gram Panchayats (GPs), 11, 12, 19–20, 101
- budget, 25–26, 80, 137
- corruption in, 71–72
- critiques of, 25
- electricity and water bills from, 112
- history of, 53–54, 65–66
- presentation by, 22–23
- reservations, 42
- Gram Rajya, 60
- gram sabhas, 1, 3–4, 5, 172
- agendas of, 79
- broad topics of concern broached at, 50–51
- as complaint collector, 69
- control over, 118
- in Dakshin Kanada, 112–113
- deliberative capacities of, 67
- in Dharmapuri, 80, 142–143
- differences in structure of, 117–118
- discursive space of, 6, 40–41, 48, 62
- early history of, 7–10
- express purposes of, 183–184
- fights in, 133–135
- gender biases in, 14–15
- graduations in, 63
- high literacy, 169
- in high literacy villages, 94–98
- history of, 7–10
- illiteracy and, 121
- inputs, 175–176
- in Kasargod, Kerala, 117
- Kerala and, 11–12, 116, 175
- length of, 21–22
- in low and medium literacy villages, 74–82
- low literacy, 127–128, 147
- in Bidar, 86–93, 129–133
- mandal panchayats and, 10–11
- mature, 49
- oral competence and, 190
- outcomes, 62–63, 188
- participation in, 115, 116–117, 121
- participatory character of, 65
- political construction of, 173
- public attitude toward, 59
- public goods problems addressed in, 50
- public participation in, 103–104
- recordings of, 20–21
- regularity of, 174
- rural citizens and, 51
- in rural India, 28–29
- samples of, 20
- scholarly work on, 12–15
- scrutinizing function performed in, 106
- social relations challenged by, 44
- state level factors and, 173, 176
- structure and functioning of, 71, 125
- summary information from transcript data, 22
- Tamil Nadu, 82
- topics of, 22–23
- by village literacy level, 123
- villagers and, 35
- working committees, 98
- grassroots action, 51, 68–69
- health, 23
- Health Department, 111–112
- high-modernism, 189
- Hindu traditions, 7
- Horticulture Seed Act 2004, 51
- household toilets, 75, 76
household wastewater, 160
household-based material interests, 40–41
housing, 23, 101, 103
house construction, 104, 114
housing subsidies, 35–36, 100–101, 155
human capability, 179
Hyderabad State, 16, 17, 19, 93–94
hygiene, 76–77, 83
illiteracy, 2, 14, 21–22, 120, 185–186
democratic discourse and, 26
gram sabhas, and, 121
illiterate villagers, 82
participation of, 88–89
individual level, 135
India, 120. See also rural India
British India, 15–16, 71
civil society in, 4
constituent assembly, 9
independence, 16–17
medieval, 7
North, 1, 186–187
politics in, 120–121
South, 1, 16, 40–41, 52, 186–187, 188–190
Indian constitution
Article 40, 9, 11
73rd amendment to, 1, 11
Indonesia, 3
inequality, 64, 120
informant states, 106, 117
information
asymmetry, 184
dissemination, 73, 118, 126–127
infrastructure, 84, 97–98, 101, 124–125
awareness of, 147–148
budgets for, 165
development of, 182
improvement of, 149
infrastructure schemes, 92
public resources and, 94
interests, 64–65
assessing, 175
corporate, 50–51
household-based material, 40–41
weighing of, 175

interfaith dialog, 7
Islam, 178–179
Jain traditions, 7
jajmani system, 93
jamabandhi, 86
Karnataka, 17
Karnataka Act, 11
Karnataka electricity board (KEB), 109, 112
Kasaragod, Kerala, 113–117, 123
gram sabhas in, 117
KEB. See Karnataka electricity board
Kerala (KE), 11, 64, 66, 98, 105
gram sabhas and, 11–12, 116, 175
Kasaragod, 113–117, 123
gram sabhas in, 117
Palakkad, 38, 98–106, 113, 123
People’s Planning Campaign, 12, 66

land, 40, 46
land ownership documents, 97–98
land-use patterns, 64
legitimation, 2
linguistic distance, 19
linguistically defined states, 18, 64
listening, 44, 185
literacy, 49, 133–135. See also illiteracy in Dakshin Kanada, 106–113
deliberation and, 120–121, 126
formal, 125–126, 129, 173, 181, 186
gram sabhas by village literacy level, 123
gram sabhas in low and medium literacy villages, 74–82
### Subject Index

| high literacy gram sabhas, 169 | matching grants, 96 |
| accountability and, 171–172 | material benefits, 40–41 |
| in Coimbatore, 172 | material equity, 41–42 |
| high literacy villages, 94–98, 105–106, 117, 122, 125, 163 | material inequality, 44 |
| high rates of, 50 | MBC. See Most Backward Caste |
| increased levels of, 188 | Medak, 84, 93–94 |
| of individual speakers, 123–124 | local governance in, 85 |
| inequality and, 120 | Member of Legislative Assembly (MLA), 32, 51, 54, 71, 72, 81 |
| in Kasargod, Kerala, 113–117 | methodology |
| levels of, 67 | data collection, 20–23, 71 |
| low literacy gram sabhas, 127–128, 147 | discourse analysis, 3–4 |
| in Bidar, 86–93, 129–133 | inductive reasoning, 24–25 |
| low literacy villages, 86–93, 120, 122, 125 | literacy cutoffs, 121 |
| in Coimbatore, 172 | NVivo, 23–24 |
| medium literacy villages, 126–127, 153 | sampling, 15, 19–20 |
| in Palakkad, Kerala, 98–105 | midday meals, 90–91 |
| political, 124, 125–126, 127, 147, 181, 186 | militant deliberators, 69–70, 94, 105–106, 157 |
| in Coimbatore, 172 | MLA. See Member of Legislative Assembly |
| in Dharmapuri, 142 | mobile phones, 40 |
| high level of, 146, 152, 163 | modernity, 75 |
| rates of, 122 | monological rhetoric, 180 |
| rural citizens and, 121 | Most Backward Caste (MBC), 34 |
| state capacity and, 68 | Mughal Empire, 15–16 |
| unequal distribution of, 172–173 | Mysore, 16, 17 |
| village-level literacy threshold, 40–41 | Mysore Wars, 16 |
| villagers in low literacy settings, 146–147 | National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (NREGS), 188 |
| living standards, 179 | natural experiment, 15 |
| local government, 5 | nepotism, 41, 114, 124–125 |
| local knowledge, 38 | Nizam of Hyderabad, 16 |
| lower-caste groups, 12 | Nodal officer, 86, 87, 88, 110 |
| Madras Presidency, 19 | non-communicative bureaucratic mode, 28 |
| mandal panchayats (several villages), 10–11 | non-violence, 8–9 |
| Mangalore, 111 | non-working public facilities, 45 |
| mass participation, 28 | NREGS. See National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme |
| mass talk-based political participation, 180–181 | Nyaya philosophy, 178–179 |

---

© in this web service Cambridge University Press  
www.cambridge.org
oration, 178
intrinsic oratory skills, 185–186
oral competence, 178–179, 180, 190
oral performance, 181
Other Backward Caste (OBC), 34,
35–36, 155–156
Palakkad, Kerala, 98–106, 113, 123
Panchayat Raj Act, 116–117
Panchayati Raj (local self-government),
9–10, 65–66, 189
decentralized governance through,
117–118
deliberation and, 10–12
panchayats, 7–8, 49, 71–72, 114, 125
accountability of, 148
broad topics of concern broached at,
50–51
budgets of, 53–54, 93–94, 188
coaching, 86
demands on, 87
democratic institution-building
capacity of, 65
development priorities of, 78
elections, 65
emphasis on accuracy and fairness in
beneficiary selection, 98
federally mandated, 126–127
finance allocation of, 139
immature panchayat systems, 45
jurisdiction of, 181–182
management of, 171
mature panchayat systems, 45
negotiating with, 157
oversight of expenditure of, 82–83
public critique directed, 172
public finances of, 118
regimes of, 135–136
scope of action of, 147–148
staff, 52
state support for, 174
in TN, 186
Union Panchayat, 80
villagers admonishing, 139–141
women on seats in, 42
participation, 103–104, 115, 116–117,
121
in beneficiary selection, 124–125
governance, 59
of illiterate villagers, 88–89
mass, 28
mass talk-based political, 180–181
patterns of, 88–89
political, 187, 188
by women, 142–143, 149–151, 157,
188
participatory budgeting, 3, 25–26
participatory decentralization, 11
participatory democracy, 8, 9
participatory planning, 66
passive petitioners, 186
patta (land with ownership document),
37, 96, 97, 168
patterns of participation, 88–89
Peloponnesian war, 178
People’s Campaign, 11–12, 66
impact of, 12
planning process put in place by, 105
performance, 24–25, 69, 94
personal claims
by BPL/APL status, 37–41
by caste identity, 35–37
personal goods
agonistic talk about, 181, 182–183
for alleviating domestic hardships, 37
competition over, 34–35
planner states, 117
plebiscitary rhetoric, 180
point allocation system, 98–99, 102,
113–114
policy implementation, 5
policy Implications, 190–192
policy outcomes, 27
political consciousness, 185
political culture, 29, 147
political factionalism, 94
political participation, 187, 188
political society, 4, 5, 176
populism, 177
poverty, 2, 120–121. See also above-
poverty-line; Below Poverty Line
eradication, 102
extreme, 26
measurement of, 183
official definitions of, 62
power, 183–185
pragmatic deliberators, 70, 106, 117
Subject Index

production of arbitrariness, 180
public attendance, 115
public audits, 86, 87
public awareness, 51
public cooperation, 55, 105–106
public criticism, 108–109
public goods, 6
agonistic talk about, 182
allocations, 62
competition over, 30–34
discussions about, 151
problems, 49–50
in TN, 54
public interest, 75
public lands, 46
public officials, 87
accountability from, 25, 85, 110–111
public policy, 178
public reasoning, 157, 172
public resources
allocation of, 166, 179
awareness of, 147–148
budgets for, 165
demands for, 144
infrastructure and, 94
needs for, 172–173
upkeep of, 148
villagers ownership of, 92
public sanitation, 54
public services, 48
maintaining, 157
rural public service delivery, 68–69
public sphere, 119
non-western experiences of, 121
public political sphere, 180
public toilets, 56, 81
public works, 45, 83, 124–125, 158, 176
monitoring progress of, 82–83
subsidized, 61–62
public works department (PWD), 109
public-spirited talk, 45, 181, 182
by citizens, 184
forms of, 181–182
political effect of, 51
PWD. See public works department
quality of life, 62–63
rabid dogs, 106–108
rainwater harvesting, 74, 83
Rajasthan, 108, 186–187
Rajiv Gandhi Drinking Water Project, 56–57
ration cards, 71–72
rational choice models, 14
rationality, 2–3
recognition
performance of, 181
politics of, 29–30, 44
redistribution
commensuration and, 34, 40–41
federal rules of, 41
general caste left behind by policies of, 35–36
politics of, 29–30, 44
reflective
decision-making, 175
democracy, 175–176
respect, 7, 41–42, 183–184
rhetoric, 178–179
deliberative rhetoric, 180
monological rhetoric, 180
plebiscitary rhetoric, 180
rice, 59–60, 79, 92
ritualized interactions, 44
roads, 50, 78–80, 85, 132
concrete, 104, 159
construction projects, 56
demand for, 137–138
maintaining, 101
public contribution requirement for, 131
village roads, 23
water stagnation and, 96
role of the state, 24, 180–181, 183–185
rude accountability, 88, 185–186
rural citizens, 98, 188–189
gram sabhas and, 51
literacy and, 121
political lives of, 65
problems facing, 109–110
quality of life of, 62–63
rural civic sphere, 187
rural development, 187
rural India, 1, 2
changes to, 25–26
epistemic injustices in, 27
gram sabhas in, 28–29
ryotwari system, 71
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject Index</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>sabhas</strong> (assembly), 7–8, 10–11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>sacred spheres</strong>, 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>samaj</strong>, 7–8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>sanitation</strong>, 75, 83, 188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>women and, 76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>sarcasm</strong>, 48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>sarpanch</strong>, 71–72, 83–84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC. See scheduled caste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>scaling-up</strong>, 5–6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>scheduled caste</strong> (SC), 33–34, 114, 133–134, 136–137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>housing subsidies and</strong>, 35–36, 100–101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>scheduled tribes</strong> (ST), 100–101, 114–116, 136–137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>schools</strong>, 97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>mid-day meal program</strong>, 90–91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>scrutinizer states</strong>, 86, 106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>seed policy</strong>, 50–51, 85–86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>self-governance</strong>, 59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>self-help groups</strong> (SHGs), 14–15, 54, 142–143, 149–150, 157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>intervention by</strong>, 174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in <strong>Karnataka</strong>, 174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SHG effect</strong>, 173–174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>self-interest</strong>, 114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>service sector</strong>, 101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>73rd amendment to Indian constitution</strong>, 1, 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>sewage pond</strong>, 80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SHGs. See self-help groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>silence</strong>, 123–124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>social class, stratification</strong>, 120, 172–173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>social creativity</strong>, 190–191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>social forest officer</strong>, 46, 48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>social protection</strong>, 190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>social reformer states</strong>, 75, 78, 80, 82–83, 105–106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>social relations</strong>, 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>socio-economic mobility</strong>, 50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>South India</strong>, 1, 16, 40–41, 52, 186–187, 188–190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>speech</strong> communities, 64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>forms of, 177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>starvation, 170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>state enactments</strong>, 68–69, 117–118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“complaint collector,” 69, 71–73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“informant,” 106, 117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“planner,” 117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>“scrutinizer,”</strong> 86, 106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>“social reformer,”</strong> 75, 78, 80, 82–83, 105–106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>state indoctrination</strong>, 78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>state neglect</strong>, 31–32, 98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>state performance</strong>, 106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>state-citizen deliberation</strong>, 184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>state-citizen engagement</strong>, 62, 183–184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>state-citizen power</strong>, 185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>power inversion</strong>, 185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>States Reorganization Commission, 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>state-speak, 52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>streetlights</strong>, 22, 45–46, 60, 61, 73, 102, 104, 129, 158, 163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>structural violence</strong>, 120–121, 180, 190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>subsidies</strong>, 34, 103, 118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for food, 135–136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>housing, 35–36, 100–101, 155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>public works, 61–62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>symbolic inequality</strong>, 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>systemic discrimination</strong>, 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>talk-based analysis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“agonistic talk,” 30, 33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>about personal goods, 181, 182–183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>about public goods, 182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“personal talk,” 30, 37, 183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“public-spirited talk,” 45, 181, 182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by citizens, 184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>forms of, 181–182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>political effect of, 51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“state-speak,” 52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>talk-based deliberative institutions, 185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>taluk</strong>, 47–48, 106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamil, 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamil: A Biography (Shulman), 64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamil Nadu (TN), 17, 19–20, 31–32, 64, 65–66, 125, 188. See also Dharmapuri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coimbatore, 35–36, 56, 69–70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>high literacy villages in, 94–98, 105–106, 163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>medium and high literacy <strong>gram sabhas</strong> in, 172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>political literacy</strong>, 157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>gram sabhas</strong> in, 82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>levels of participation found in, 174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>panchayats</strong> in, 186</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Subject Index

- public goods in, 54
- taxes, 59, 80, 96
- citizens and, 148
- house tax, 60, 61
- irregular collection of, 163
- Telangana Rashtra Samithi, 189
- telephone connections, 40
- Telugu Desam, 189
- Tipu Sultan, 16
- TN. See Tamil Nadu
- total Village distribution project, 40
- translation, 26
- transparency, 86–87, 166
- tribal groups, 33–34
- Union Panchayat, 80
- upper castes, 33–34, 84
- Uttarakhand, 9
- vaccines, 110–111
- Veerappan, 31–32
- verbal fights, 53–54, 94, 130, 141
- verbal negotiation, 44
- verbal reaffirmations, 78
- veterinary inspectors, 106–108
- village democracy, 9
- village roads, 23
- Village Swaraj (Gandhi), 8–9
- village-level committees, 52
- villagers, 52, 61–62, 68–69, 124–125
- accountability demands from, 90, 94–95, 128, 153–157, 163
- arguments by, 97–98
- belligerent discursive style of, 94
- budgets and, 159
- as civic deliberators, 83
- as elite stewards, 70, 89, 130
- framing problems, 142–143
- gram sabhas and, 35
- interests of, 65
- in low literacy settings, 146–147
- minimally-stated petitions by, 127–128
- needs of, 155–156
- panchayats admonished by, 139–141
- participation of illiterate villagers, 88–89
- participatory role of, 67
- public audits and, 87
- public resources ownership by, 92
- refusal to pay taxes, 59
- villages, 8, 74–82
- assemblies in, 2
- direct democracy in, 1
- high literacy, 94–98, 105–106, 117, 122, 125, 163
- low literacy villages, 86–93, 120, 122, 125
- medium literacy villages, 126–127, 153
- systemic discrimination in, 44
- village-level literacy threshold, 40–41
- voice, 15, 27, 33–34, 62–63, 84
- water allocation, 41–42, 61
- water bills, 112
- water board, 82
- water pipe connections, 61, 80–82
- water problems, 49–50, 53, 58, 85, 95, 96
- non-availability of water, 108
- water tanks and, 81
- welfare benefits, 99–100, 114
- West Bengal, 186–187
- Western liberal philosophers, 8
- Wodeyar family, 16
- women, 11, 12, 14–15, 22, 54, 61, 103, 143, 173
- complaints voiced by, 144
- in Dharmapuri, 173–174
- housing for, 103
- increased participation by, 188
- modernity and, 75
- on panchayat seats, 42
- participation of, 149–151, 157
- sanitation and, 76
- vocal participation by, 142–143
- working committees, 98
- working groups, 98, 99
- written communication, 120–121
- zilla panchayat members, 106, 109, 114–115