

An Analysis of *Grievance* in NCR

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6 July 2018



Theoretical Motivation

Theoretical Question: In the context of weak state capacity (especially in urban areas), how do citizens address grievances with state services?

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- Weak State Capacity
- The role of “intermediaries” – fixers, naya netas, dalals, brokers – who mediate access to the state
- The inequality of access. Who is an intermediary beholden to?

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Two Models of Intermediaries:

- **Party Worker Model:** Party machines fill the void, and party brokers exchange partisan loyalty for grievance redressal. The archetypal case is Buenos Aires (e.g., Stokes, 1995).

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Two Models of Intermediaries:

- **Party Worker Model:** Party machines fill the void, and party brokers exchange partisan loyalty for grievance redressal. The archetypal case is Buenos Aires (e.g., Stokes, 1995).
- **Social Worker Model:** Entrepreneurial individuals, who are connected to parties but not beholden to them, compete to address grievances to citizens to gain status and wealth. The archetypal case is rural India (e.g., Krishna, 2002).

Elected Representative vs. Intermediary

- Proximity of closest elected leader: Rural vs. Urban
- What is the impact of elections?
- Who is the leader beholden to?

Elected Representative vs. Intermediary

- Rural elected (sarpanch) leaders (Schneider and Sircar, 2017)
- Rural Unelected (Chauchard and Sircar, 2017)
- Urban (slum) “elected” party leaders (Auerbach and Thachil, 2017)
- This study: Closest point of contact – unelected intermediaries
- **Hypotheses:**
 - Poor disproportionately interested in civic services
 - Elite capture – wealthy will do better in redressal

Tell Us About Your Local *Neta*

- Asked respondents to provide information about the most important local *netas* in area
 - 75% of respondents provided data

Tell Us About Your Local *Neta*

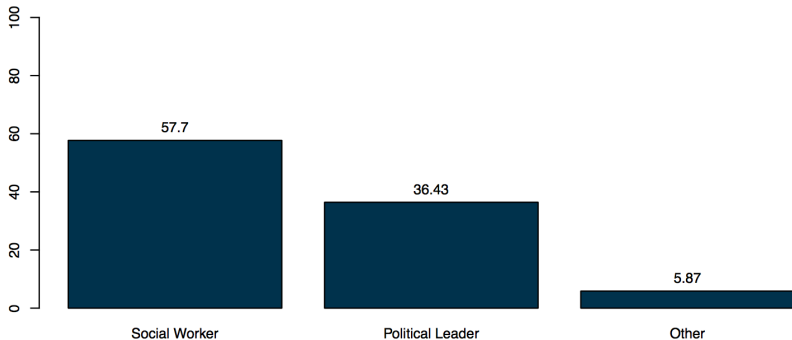
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- Collect information on neta's characteristics
- Collect data on identity:
 - Caste: Disproportionately General Caste
 - Religion: Disproportionately Hindu
 - State of origin: 10% from outside Delhi
 - Partisan Affiliation (maybe later)

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- Collect data on grievance redressal:
 - Was the neta approached? 22% of the time
 - For what issue?
 - Did the neta solve it? 46% of the time

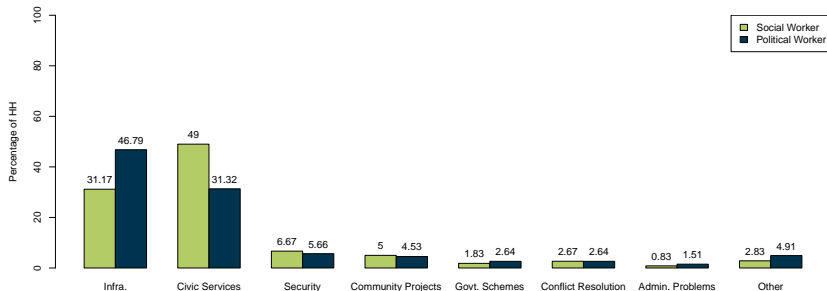
Occupation and Grievance Redressal

Distribution of Neta's Position – Across States



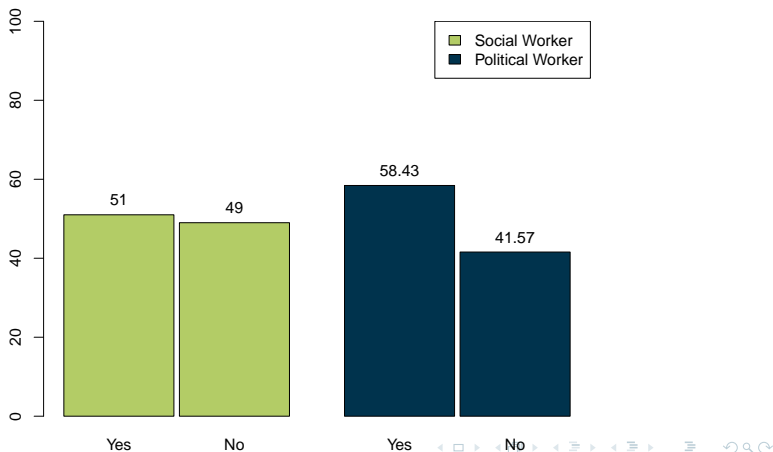
Occupation and Grievance Redressal

Issues that Netas are Approached for

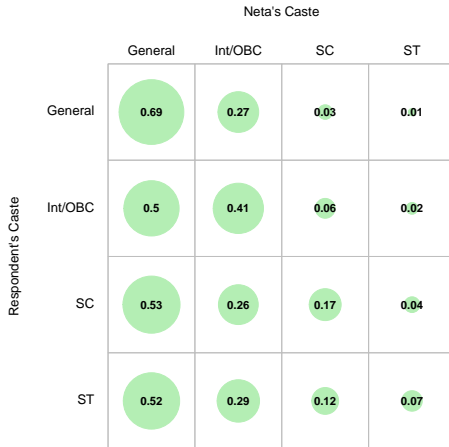


Occupation and Grievance Redressal

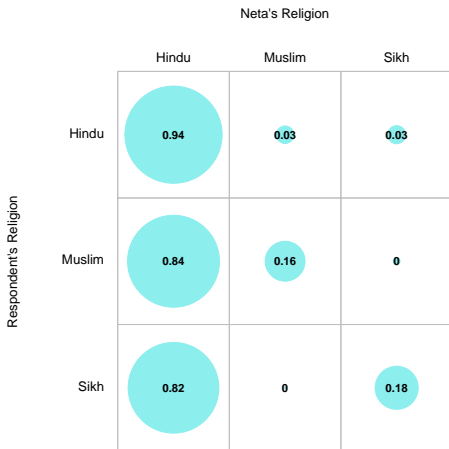
Did the Neta solve your issue?



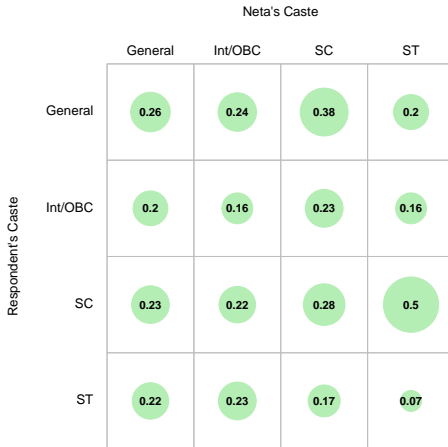
Identity and Citizen Behavior – Naming



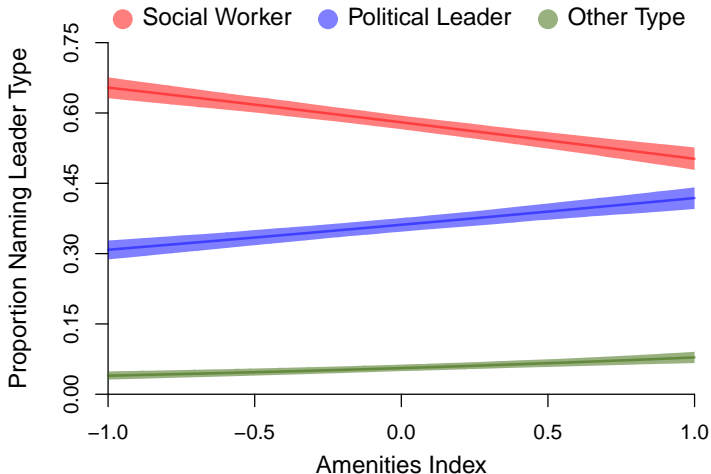
Identity and Citizen Behavior – Naming



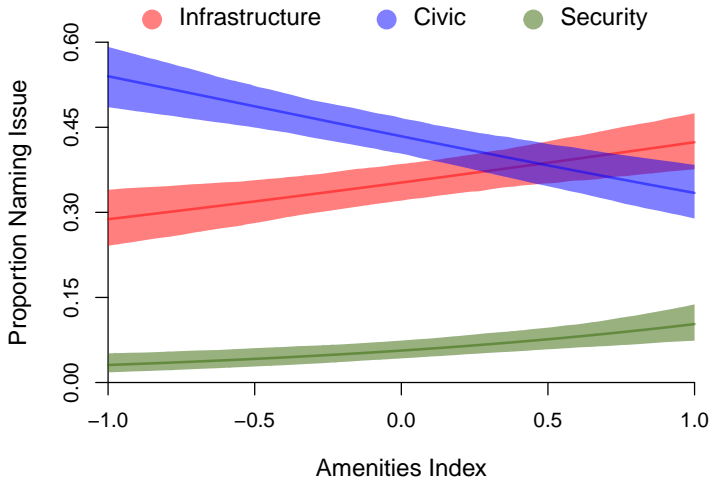
Identity and Citizen Behavior – Approaching



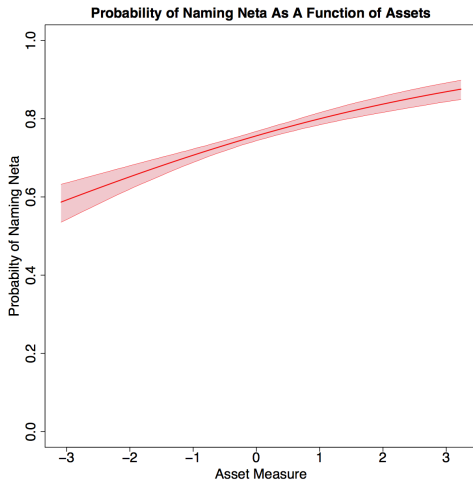
Amenities and Citizen Behavior



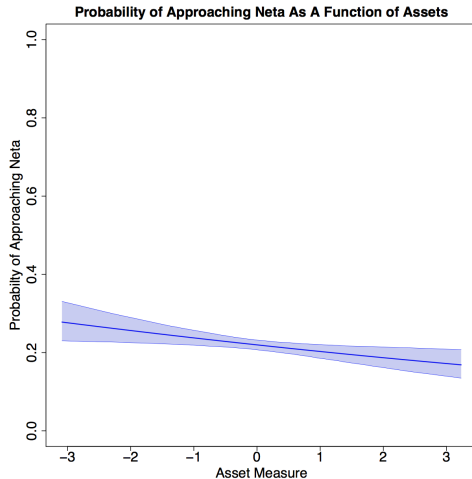
Amenities and Citizen Behavior



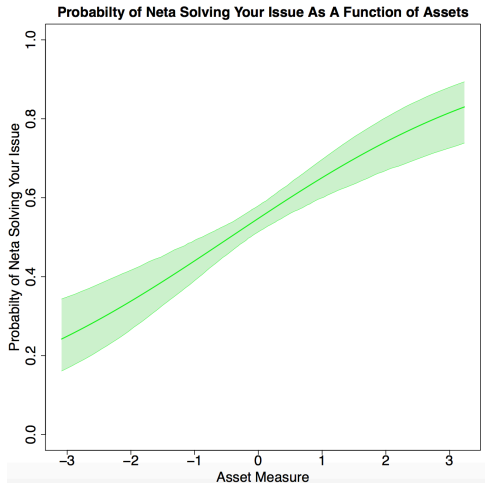
Characterizing Economic Inequality



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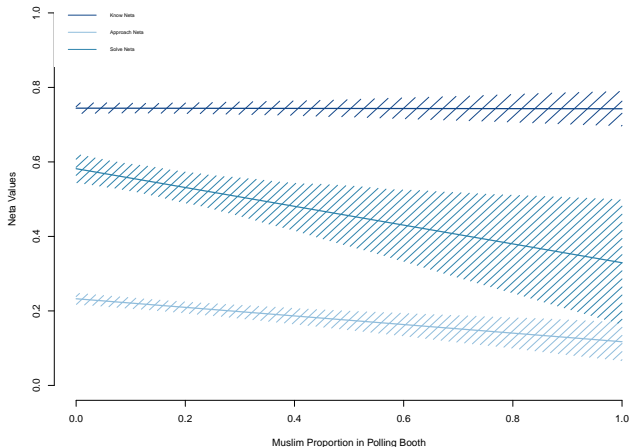


Characterizing Economic Inequality



Identity-Based Inequality

Neta Variables & Muslim Prop: Polling Booth



Conclusions

- Another example of differentiation in “citizenship”
- Signs of elite capture
- Impact of RWAs and mohalla sabhas?
- What would true decentralization do?