

SECTION S.1: SURVEY DESIGN

For both the rural and urban surveys, the authors used geographic sampling strategies based on mapping techniques to ensure a sampling frame reflective of the caste distribution within the studies' respective units of aggregation (villages on the one hand, slum settlements on the other). In both, the approach to sampling was informed by sustained qualitative fieldwork, allowing our procedures to be tailored to the specific contexts under study. That fieldwork guided how communities and residents were sampled and how the survey teams were trained to carry out interviews. Both authors accompanied the surveys teams in the field on a daily basis, ensuring the integrity of the sampling procedures. Differences in survey methodologies, described below, are a consequence of the two areas' differences in population densities, their built environments, the migratory fluidity of residents, and available government data on the localities—differences that demand context-driven survey research.

Rural Citizen Survey

The rural citizen survey was administered to a representative random sample of 2,210 individuals in 105 villages across the districts of Udaipur, Kota, Jodhpur, and Ajmer in Rajasthan. Districts were purposively selected with attention to their levels of economic development, caste and tribal composition, geography, and colonial history. Within districts, all blocks (*panchayat samitis*) were ranked by literacy rates. The author randomly selected two blocks in each district, one above and one below the mean. These include: (within Kota) Sangod and Itawa; (within Ajmer) Peesangan and Masuda; (within Udaipur) Gogunda and Bargaon; and (within Jodhpur) Mandor and Shergarh. Within each block, the author randomly selected five Gram Panchayats and, within those, up to three villages per panchayat. This always included the panchayat's headquarter village and, depending on the number of villages in the panchayat, up to two other randomly selected villages. Some GPs contain only one or two large villages, and in these cases all villages were selected. Villages with fewer than fifty households were dropped from the sample, due to resource constraints.

Within each village, the author drew a random sample of an average of twenty households stratified by caste category in order to ensure representative inclusion of different castes. Since there is no detailed census data on caste at the village level, the author employed rapid participatory mapping techniques to capture the distribution of castes within a village. Since caste communities tend to be spatially segregated in a village, neighborhood ("*mohalla*") boundaries were used as a proxy for caste. Working with village key informants, the author mapped the neighborhoods and listed them by population and caste composition. In each village, the maps and population data were confirmed with at least three local sources, and were checked against census data (which, while lacking detailed caste data, does calculate the percentage of SC and ST in a village). On the basis of these maps and corresponding population estimates, the author drew a sample roughly representative of the village's caste and tribal composition.

Once the caste/tribal sample sizes were determined, enumerators were assigned to different sectors or neighborhoods within the village (based on the participatory maps). Within those neighborhoods, households were randomly selected using a systematic sampling approach. Beginning at a central neighborhood landmark, the surveyors were assigned transects by rolling dice to generate a random number and then reading off the corresponding degrees on a compass to determine the direction in which to walk. Surveyors were also assigned random start numbers

by rolling dice, ensuring that houses both close to and far from the center had the same chance of being included in the sample. Surveyors were then given an interval number $K = n/N$, where n = the required number of interviews and N = the estimated number of households in the neighborhood. The surveyor interviewed every K^{th} house along the randomly assigned transect, turning right and left at every other corner, in order to ensure the inclusion of houses on and off the main roads.

Urban Slum Survey

The urban slum survey in Bhopal and Jaipur was intensive and multi-staged. First, to generate exhaustive sample frames of slums in the two cities, the author gathered official lists of slums from local government departments and NGOs.¹ These lists, importantly, include both officially recognized (“notified”) and non-recognized (“non-notified”) slums, meaning they are broadly comprehensive and not limited to older, more established settlements. The total number of listed slums in Bhopal and Jaipur were 375 and 273, respectively. The author then mapped the settlements in Google Earth and, to further ensure the completeness of the lists, scanned satellite images of Bhopal and Jaipur for additional slum settlements. The author found only a small handful of non-listed slums and included them in the sample frames.

The term “slum” is used to describe a wide array of low-income urban areas: derelict old-city neighborhoods, construction-site housing, post-eviction resettlement camps, squatter settlements, and once-peripheral villages that have been engulfed by city sprawl. Because slums vary in their legality, historical origins, and social integration in the city, researchers must define and differentiate among the types of settlements under study. We focus on *squatter settlements*—unplanned, low-income neighborhoods that are constructed by residents in an unsanctioned and haphazard manner.² Squatter settlements lack property rights at the period of their establishment and are often located on environmentally sensitive areas such as riverbeds and mountainsides.

The lists of slums in Bhopal and Jaipur do not differentiate among various types of urban poverty pockets and required truncation to isolate squatter settlements. Several settlement types had to be removed: resettlement colonies,³ villages located within city boundaries, old city (*purana sheher*) slums, and planned middle-class neighborhoods awaiting approval from the development authority (*vikas pradhikaran*). Further, and consistent with the Indian Census, we only included squatter settlements with over 300 residents. Housing clusters that stray below this size cease to constitute a settlement.

¹ In Jaipur, the author gathered lists from the Jaipur Municipal Corporation, the Jaipur Development Authority, and PDCOR, a consulting firm that conducted a survey of Jaipur’s slums for the Government of Rajasthan. In Bhopal, the author gathered lists from a UN-Habitat office and the Urban Administration and Development Department, Government of Madhya Pradesh.

² UN-Habitat (1982: 15) defines squatter settlements as “mainly uncontrolled low-income residential areas with an ambiguous legal status regarding land occupation; they are to a large extent built by the inhabitants themselves using their own means and are usually poorly equipped with public utilities and community services...The land occupied by squatter settlements is often, but not always, further from the city center than is the case with slums...The land is often occupied illegally, while in many other cases the legality of occupation is complicated or unclear...”

³ Resettlement colonies are established following evictions, with homes arranged in coherent plots and residents granted land titles and sanctioned access to public services.

The author identified squatter settlements by their physical features—unplanned, densely populated, and amorphously shaped neighborhoods with tangled and narrow networks of alleyways—using satellite images and field visits.⁴ Interviews with officials, government surveys, and prior studies of slums in Bhopal and Jaipur provided supplemental information. The final sample frame of squatter settlements totaled 115 in Jaipur and 192 in Bhopal. 80 settlements were then selected through random sampling stratified on population and geographic area.

Some randomly selected settlements had been evicted, while others were found to be non-squatter settlements upon arrival. For these reasons, selected settlements were visited before sending in the survey teams to ensure they had not been evicted and fit the category of squatter settlements. If the initially selected settlement was evicted, could not be located, or fell outside the category of squatter settlements, a new one was randomly sampled.

Sampling Households within Settlements

The next stage of the survey involved sampling households. Slums are poorly documented spaces. Accurate, up-to-date household rosters do not exist. As such, researchers cannot rely on extant survey data or voter rolls to provide reliable sampling frames for any given settlement. Sampling every n^{th} household by linearly traversing a street is also infeasible, as these areas do not have coherent roads but rather dizzying networks of unmarked alleyways. Random walks from landmarks would be fraught with problems as well (in many settlements, it is not clear what would constitute a unique landmark). Some areas of squatter settlements are considerably more difficult to access than others, potentially biasing the sample toward those living on main roads or other more easily accessible places. The author therefore employed a spatial sampling technique that used satellite images to ensure a representative sample of households. The author created satellite images for the sampled settlements and divided them into clusters of roughly 20 households. A household was arbitrarily selected in a starting cluster and subsequent households were sampled across the clusters to deliberately maintain approximate distances. This is similar to a design in which every n^{th} household is sampled along a street, except the repeated sampling is across geographic clusters. The author marked each sampled household on the satellite image and assigned it to an enumerator. Approximately one of every 20 households in each settlement, therefore, was sampled.

Survey team leaders were trained to navigate the satellite images and place enumerators at their randomly selected households. If respondents were unavailable or unwilling, enumerators approached an adjacent house. The survey was conducted in the afternoon and early evening to balance access to individuals who stay at home with those working outside the settlement. Enumerators selected individuals within each household based on availability and an eye to ensuring a balance between male and female respondents within settlements. The author accompanied the survey teams for the duration of the study.

⁴ See Figure S.1 for an example.

SECTION S.2: COMPARATIVE SURVEY QUESTIONS

Urban Slum Questions

Q1: In some slums there are people that do leadership activities (*netagiri*). I'm not talking about the area ward councilor or member of the legislative assembly (formally elected politicians). I'm talking about small community leaders that live inside the slum. These leaders go by several names, like slum leader, slum president, don, slum headman, or a party worker in the slum. They are socially prominent people in the community. Are these kinds of people in your slum?

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Q2: Have you or anyone in your family ever gone to a slum leader for help in solving a problem?

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Q3: If you went alone to a political leader or government officer do you think they would give you attention?⁵

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Q4: Do people in the slum ever gather in groups to meet political leaders (ward councilors, members of the legislative assembly, or members of parliament) or government officers to ask for development or solve problems in the slum?

Rural Survey Questions

Q.1a. "Sometimes there are people in a village who are well connected, meaning they know how to get things done both inside and outside the village. These people can help others with their problems, helping them to make contact with government agencies and to access government schemes and benefits. Are there any such people in this village?"

Instructions to enumerators: "This is a broad category of people who have influence in the village and are able to get work done, *but who do not hold any elected or official position in village government.*"

Q.1b. In your own experience, have you ever approached any of the above kinds of people for help solving a problem?

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⁵ 'Political leader' is defined earlier in the survey as formally elected representatives like ward councilors, members of the legislative assembly, and members of parliament. Survey enumerators were additionally trained to understand 'political leader' as encompassing formally elected representatives. This question is based on Krishna (2011), who similarly understands 'political leaders' and 'government officials' in India collectively as government actors (and so distinct from non-state intermediaries).

Q.2. If you yourself (alone) try to contact a government official, will you get a response or be ignored?⁶

Instructions to enumerators: “Government officials should be broadly understood as elected or unelected officials, at the local, state, and central levels. Within this, there are several categories: Gram Panchayat officials, other government officials appointed at the village, block, district, or state levels, and elected politicians at the state or central levels.”

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Questions on claim-making practice

Q.3. In your own experience, have you approached the Gram Panchayat for assistance/help concerning [Village services/Government schemes]?

Q.4. In your own experience, have you approached the Block, District, or other State officials for assistance/help concerning [Village services/ Government schemes]?

Q.5.a. Have you yourself approached a politician or party member because of a problem?

Q.5.b. For which problems have you approached a politician or party member for assistance/help [Village services/Government schemes]?

Q.6. In your own experience, have you approached a *gram vikas samiti* (village development association, or members of) for assistance/help concerning [Village services/Government schemes]?

Q.7. In your own experience, have you approached a *mohalla samiti* (neighborhood association, or members of) for assistance/help concerning [Village services/Government schemes]?

Q.8. In your own experience, have you approached a *Jati* (caste) association or caste leaders for assistance/help concerning [Village services/Government schemes]?

Q.9. In your own experience, have you approached a *Gaon Parishid* (traditional village council, or leaders of) for assistance/help concerning [Village services/Government schemes]?

Q.10. In your own experience, have you approached a NGO (or staff of) for assistance/help concerning [Village services/Government schemes]?

Q.11. In your own experience, have you approached a *Jan Andolan* (people’s movement, or members of) for assistance/help concerning [Village services/Government schemes]?

⁶ This question was preceded by three questions, each of which asked about whether a person had contacted a different kind of official at the level of the Gram Panchayat, the administrative block or district, or politicians at the state (MLA) or central (MP) level, thus priming respondents to think about government officials (*sarkari adhikari*) in broad terms.

Figure S.1: Example Squatter Settlement Image (Google Earth Image, 2017)

