






Institut für Völkerkunde Freiburg
Universität Freiburg

Freiburger Ethnologische Arbeitspapiere Nr.13
Working Paper

Ida Ferdinandi

„The politics of social inclusion: NGOs and participatory development“

2009

ALBERT-LUDWIGS-UNIVERSITÄT FREIBURG

Freiburger Ethnologische Arbeitspapiere
Working Papers

Herausgegeben von:
The Working Papers are edited by:

Institut für Völkerkunde
Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg
D-79085 Freiburg, Germany
Werthmannstr. 10

Tel. +49 761 203 3593, Fax +49 761 203 3581
E-Mail: sekretariat@ethno.uni-freiburg.de

Geschäftsführende Herausgeberin / Managing Editor:
Prof. Dr. Judith Schlehe

This is an electronic edition of Ida Ferdinandi „The politics of social inclusion: NGOs and participatory development“ Arbeitspapier/working paper Nr. 13
Institut für Völkerkunde
Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg
Freiburg 2009

ISSN: 1864-5542

Electronically published 07.07.2009

ISSN: 1864-5542

Master's Thesis
Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts (M.A.)
Awarded by the Philosophical Faculty of
Albert-Ludwigs-University Freiburg i. Br. (Germany)
and the
University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban (South Africa)

Submitted by
Ida Ferdinandi
from Podgorica, Montenegro
Winter Semester 2008/09
Social Sciences

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Acknowledgements

I would like to extend my sincere thanks to the UNICEF India Country Office for giving me permission to use the data I collected during my KCCI 2008 internship for this dissertation. Thanks are also due to my internship team members Tuhina Chatterjee, Lena Michaels and Aysha Shamsuddin for their contribution to our fieldwork as well as the report that we submitted to UNICEF. I am grateful to the UNICEF Uttar Pradesh State Office and the G. B. Pant Social Science Institute for hosting us during the internship program and providing support and valuable feedback on our first draft. Special thanks are due to Reetika Khera, Harsh Mander and Govinda Chandra Rath (affiliated with G. B. Pant Social Science Institute) for kindly offering their assistance although they were not formally involved in the internship program. I am particularly thankful to all my informants in India and Montenegro for their time and willingness to take part in my research. I would also like to thank my supervisors Professor Judith Schlehe from Freiburg University and Professor Rob Pattman from the University of KwaZulu-Natal for their guidance, and Dr. Heike Drotbohm from Freiburg University for suggesting readings about youth participation in development. I am grateful to the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) for awarding me a scholarship, thus greatly facilitating my studies and the research presented here. Finally, I am indebted to my friends and family for the endless support I received in 'rainy days'.

The views expressed in this dissertation are mine, and I take full responsibility for errors in interpretation.

List of Acronyms

DFID – Department for International Development (United Kingdom)

IVP – Integrated Village Planning

NGO – Non-governmental Organization

OBCs – Other Backward Castes

PD – Participatory Development

PRA – Participatory Rural Appraisal

PT camp – A Roma camp in Montenegro (pseudonym)

SCs – Scheduled Castes

SDF – Sarathi Development Foundation

SHC – Swedish Helsinki Committee

STs – Scheduled Tribes

UNICEF – United Nations Children's Fund

UP – the Indian state of Uttar Pradesh (see Map 1, Appendix 1)

YCCY – An NGO in Montenegro (pseudonym)

Introduction

i. Background and Outline of Research Problem

ii. Case Studies and Key Propositions

iii. A Few Words on Methodology

iv. Structure of the Dissertation

i. Background and Outline of Research Problem

In the past couple of decades "participation has entered the mainstream vocabulary of development" (Chambers 1998: xvi). Although the meaning of participation has changed over time (Gardener 1997; Nelson and Wright 1995, Willis 2005), today it typically implies that beneficiaries are empowered to take development into their own hands. However, the beneficiaries are required to do so in a sustainable manner, and are encouraged to cooperate with the government to meet this requirement (Cornwall and Coelho 2007; Mosse 2005). Importantly, beneficiaries are the people who know best about the problems that affect them or the quality of the services that they are currently receiving (Coelho 2007). This knowledge enables them to make demands directly to state bodies, which contributes to improving the implementation of public programs and policies in addition to guaranteeing the access to social services (Cornwall and Coelho 2007).

Who are the people, or the participants involved in development projects? They have included: poor people, women, ethnic minorities, disabled people, and most recently young people and children. All of these groups have been identified as marginal or excluded, and their participation and inclusion seen as a priority (Chambers 1998). Participatory development has thus been seen as a particularly suitable approach for socially excluded groups, following the formula: participation equals inclusion and social exclusion is the opposite of participation (see Burchardt, Le Grand and Piachaud 2002; Stevens in Hill 2004: 78).

In this dissertation I will show that participation in development projects can take various forms and bring about unexpected outcomes. Indeed, the enthusiasm over participatory development has been under considerable scrutiny (see Cooke and Kothari 2002). One of the harshest criticisms concerns the wellbeing of the beneficiaries. Some social scientists have suggested that participation and social inclusion can bring more negative than positive outcomes for the beneficiaries (for example Fischer 2008; Henkel and Stirrat 2002). On the other hand, others are less pessimistic and more attentive to the

beneficiaries' motives for participation and the possibilities of subversion (Mosse 2005; Rodgers 2007; White 1996; Williams 2004). In this thesis I will follow the latter line of thinking and ask two main questions: why are the excluded communities participating in development projects; and what kind of social inclusion do they aim to attain?

ii. Case Studies and Key Propositions

Quite by chance, I have had the opportunity to spend some time with two groups of people who have been labeled as socially excluded: a tribe called Sahariyas in India and a Roma (i.e. Gypsy) community in Montenegro. I encountered the Sahariyas whilst participating in UNICEF's research internship program in summer 2008. Prior to this, I established contact with the Roma whilst working as the coordinator of a capacity building project in 2006-2007. Both groups were (and still are) beneficiaries in participatory development projects with a special focus on social inclusion.

There is a tendency in development policy to confound social exclusion with poverty, which has been criticized by some authors (for example see Fischer 2008; c.f. Sen 2000). I believe that I avoided this problem in my dissertation, since the two socially excluded groups I am dealing with are both poor and distinct ethnic minorities, who are geographically and socially excluded from the mainstream. I need to caution against viewing these two groups as isolated from the mainstream. Neither of them has been cut off from the dominant society, rather, the interactions with the dominant society have been constrained for a number of reasons, including the traditional practices and the discrimination exercised by the mainstream. As a result, these groups have had limited access to services and facilities such as healthcare and education, leading to poor health and economic deprivation. This is why these groups became a target of development interventions.

In both cases, I came to discover that these marginalized groups had their own understanding of social inclusion, which contradicted the intentions of the implementing and funding agencies. My thesis is an attempt to explicate this contradiction. Although I am focusing on two case studies, I do not intend to compare and contrast them. I am more interested in drawing parallels between them to better understand how participatory development works for socially excluded people. What follows is a short description of my case studies.

First is Jamalpur, a multi-caste village in India with a sizeable Sahariya tribal population. Since 2005, Jamalpur has been part of the Village Planning intervention, a joint initiative by the government of

Uttar Pradesh and UNICEF, which is implemented by Sarathi Development Foundation. The village planning initiative, which embodies a bottom up, community-based approach to development, has been widely perceived as a success. However, while conducting research for UNICEF in summer 2008, my team and I discovered that the Sahariyas participated in the project because they wished to secure access to social services (e.g. health and education) by bringing the services to their hamlet rather than by mainstreaming with the main village.

Second is PT, a Roma non-governmental organization which has since 2004 collaborated closely with YCCY, a youth non-governmental organization, on a capacity building project funded by the Swedish Helsinki Committee (SHC). Although this initiative has also been presented as a success, while coordinating this project for six months in 2006-2007, I identified an incongruity between the desired outcome of social inclusion on the part of the NGO and the tendency on the part of the Roma community leader to prioritize access to services over socially integrating with the mainstream. I reached the same conclusion during my fieldwork in Montenegro during fall 2008, which took place at the time when the project for 2007-2008 was coming to an end.

The outcome in both cases reflected the desire by the leaders of socially excluded groups to benefit from the project by enabling their communities to access social services. They were much less, if at all, interested in integrating with the mainstream. This situation stems from a number of shortcomings in the project designs and implementation, two key shortcomings being the lack of adequate government response and the fact that social relations between the mainstream and the excluded groups have been largely overlooked by development workers.

iii. A Few Words on Methodology

As I will elaborate on my methodology in a separate chapter, here I will only provide a brief outline. Both case studies are based on empirical findings. I gathered data for the first case study with three other Masters students during the 2008 UNICEF summer internship programme called 'Knowledge Community on Children in India' (KCCI). I am thus drawing upon the collected data as secondary data, and throughout the thesis refer to the report which we submitted to UNICEF India (Chatterjee et al. 2008). The second case study is based on my independent fieldwork in Montenegro for the purposes of this dissertation. Aware of the limited time I could spend in each location, I focused on the excluded communities and their understanding of participatory development and social inclusion. This reflected

on my methodology. I was influenced by the Institutional Ethnography approach (see Smith 2006) whereby I first interviewed the beneficiaries and then framed the rest of the interviews around issues that the marginalized communities brought up. I also refer to my observations and personal experience in development work, as well as reports written by the non-governmental organizations who are implementing the projects.

With respect to data analysis, I emphasize that I attempted to "critically reflect on [my]self as a researcher" (Linkoln & Guba 2003: 283) and as an imperfect "human … instrument" (ibid) for data collection, rather than taking the information I collected at face value. I followed the social constructivist approach, which suggests that interviewees construct their identities in relation to the interviewer. Therefore I made sure that I was attentive to the meanings, assumptions, constructions and the process of "self-creation" (Thomson 2007: 82) hidden in my informants' narratives (see chapter 2).

iv. Structure of the Dissertation

In chapter 1, entitled "On the Development of Participatory Development", I first provide a brief historical overview of changes in development policy and participatory development discourse. This is followed by a section where I present a number of criticisms which have been leveled against participatory development. One criticism concerns the poor understanding of so-called local communities who are participating in development projects. Not only has local politics been neglected, but also the interests behind the beneficiaries' participation in development interventions have not been given due weight. I develop this argument further in the following section. Here, I explain the broad theoretical framework for my approach, which allows me to understand the challenges of social inclusion from the perspective of excluded communities.

In chapter 2, entitled "Methodology: Participatory Research for Participatory Development", I offer more detail on my field methods. I conclude the chapter with a section where I discuss ethical concerns and the validity of my findings. I compare the two research situations, namely, my first study in India where I had UNICEF's institutional backing (funding, as well as an assigned task to complete) and my second study which I carried out alone among the Roma, solely for the purposes of my thesis.

In chapters 3 and 4, entitled "Case Study One: Sahariyas in Jamalpur India" and "Case Study Two: Roma in PT Camp, Montenegro" respectively, I present my empirical findings. These two chapters have a similar structure, that is, they are divided into two sections: in the first section I describe

the context and in the second section I discuss how the project unfolds. With respect to the context, I first refer to the geographical and the socio-economic circumstances in which the Sahariya tribe (chapter 3) and the Roma (chapter 4) are found. Second, I describe the design of the projects in which the excluded groups are participating, and point out the social inclusion aspect in the interventions. In the second section, I focus on the impact of the respective projects, which is followed by a discussion about the challenges at the community level as well as at higher levels, and finally, I examine the beneficiaries' aspirations. The last sub-section in particular spells out the contradiction between the beneficiaries' objectives and the goal of social inclusion as conceived by development workers.

Chapter 5, entitled "Participation for Social Inclusion" is the discussion chapter. This is where I summarize and well as analyze the main findings of the empirical chapters. As I mentioned above, my purpose is not to compare and contrast the case studies, but to draw some parallels and conclusions regarding the unexpected outcomes of social inclusion projects. In addition to accounting for the lack of desire on the part of the excluded communities to socially integrate with the mainstream, in the concluding section of the chapter, I discuss their aspirations to modernity. Finally, in the "Conclusion" (chapter 6) I rearticulate my points, reflecting on the implications and their broader significance for participatory development.

1. On the Development of Participatory Development

1.1 A Brief History of Participatory Development
1.2 Participatory Development: Concept and Scrutiny
1.3 Theoretical Framework: Interest in Participation

1.1 A Brief History of Participatory Development

Since its launching after the Second World War, over the decades international development policy has changed (Gardner and Lewis 1997; Nelson and Wright 1995; Willis 2005). The dominant discourse of development was born when institutions such as the World Bank and the UN agencies shifted their focus from reconstruction in devastated post-war Europe to "a bold new programme for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas" (President Truman cited in Gardner and Lewis 1997: 6) in order to prevent the spread of communism. In the following thirty years, it became clear that "conventional, technocratic, top-down forms of development" (Nelson and Wright 1995: 3) failed to combat poverty. The problem was traced to the alienation of beneficiaries; the prescribed remedy was their participation in development. Some also believed that, due to the failed agenda of the post-colonial state, beneficiary involvement ought to enable self-sufficiency and people's independence from the state. This perspective concurred with the World Bank's neo-liberalist structural adjustment policies which "moved functions from the state to the private and non-governmental sectors" (ibid). Conveniently, NGOs have been seen as particularly apt at promoting participation: "operating at the grassroots level, close to the poorest of the poor" (Lane 1995: 182).

However, towards the end of the 1980s, structural adjustment policies were attacked due to their adverse effects on vulnerable groups (Mayo 2001; Nelson and Wright 1995). In addition, "the premise for strategic aid" that existed during the Cold War collapsed along with communism, resulting in "aid-fatigue among the western countries" (Khun 1998: 19). Calls were made from the North, as well as from the South, for a reconceptualization of development which would combine people's participation in economic growth and in government decision-making, and equality in access to basic services (Nelson and Wright 1995). Several bilateral agencies experimented with new participatory approaches and soon the World Bank established the 'Learning Group on Participatory Development'. The Group produced a report in 1994, where beneficiaries were named as stakeholders and participation was seen as "a process

through which stakeholders influence and share control over development initiatives, decisions and resources which affect them" (cited in Nelson and Wright 1995: 5).

In contrast to the 1980s, during the past decade, donors have begun to return ownership over development from the private sector to governments; a trend that Mosse labels the "post-Washington consensus" (2005: 193)[1]. In this context, people's participation implies partnership with the state as a sustainable long-term development strategy. Mohanty (2006) explains this latest form of participation in terms of citizenship and democracy, arguing that the emphasis today is on making governance institutions responsive, transparent and accountable to citizens. Similarly, Cornwall and Coelho write that:

> enabling citizens to engage directly in local problem-solving activities and to make their demands directly to state bodies is believed to improve understanding, and contribute to improving the quality of definition and implementation of public programmes and policies. These policies and programmes are seen, in turn, as contributing to guaranteeing the access of the poorest to social services, thus enhancing prospects for economic and political inclusion, and for development. (2007: 5)

Who are the people who have been indentified as participants? Chambers writes that although "practice has lagged behind the rhetoric", more and more social groups have been invited to participate, including women, poor people, ethnic and religious minorities, refugees, the disabled, and the very old (1998: xvi). In the two case studies studied here, ethic minorities, poor in both cases, are the beneficiaries of PD projects. To varying degree women also play a role in the projects I studied (more in my first case study and less in the other).

Most recently, as Mayo writes, children's and young peoples' rights to participation have been championed by NGOs, pressure groups, and authorities in the North as well as in the South (2001: 280). A key factor that triggered the interest in child participation was the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child from 1989 (ibid, cf. Ennew 1996; Ivan-Smith and Johnson 1998; UNICEF 2004). Despite these global calls, children's participation has varied, not least due to the differing understanding of childhood itself, for example the perceptions of a child's competence in a given culture (see Ansell 2005; Bourdillon 2004; Skelton 2008; Such and Walker 2004). In both my case studies, children play a role in

[1] Recently, some donors have even adopted a programmatic approach to development (rather than funding micro-managed projects) preferring to support regional and national governments so as to influence state policy (Mosse 2005; Quarles van Ufford, Giri and Mosse 2003; for example see UNDP 2007a).

development, but their effective participation faces numerous challenges. I will mention some of the challenges specific to child participation in my empirical findings.

1.2 Participatory Development: Concept and Scrutiny

Having provided a brief historical overview of the participatory development (PD) discourse, I now turn to analyzing the concept of participation, followed by its promises and perils. A number of social scientists have cautioned against using and interpreting the term participation uncritically as it can mean many different things and carry different implications (Pretty and Scoones 1995). For example, beneficiaries can take part by being informed about a project and possibly by being consulted regarding its execution, however decision making remains "in the hands of the planners" (Gardner and Lewis 1997: 111). People can also become involved by taking part in the execution of an intervention through project activities but are not directly in control. Lastly, people can be empowered to take their own initiative, which some view as "the only true form of participation" (ibid). One such example is Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) which aims to "generate information at the community level directly with members of the community" (Mosse 1994: 498) through various visual techniques usable by illiterate people. In the PRA form of assessment, activities are carried out by the community for the improvement of their living conditions, and the implementing agencies (most often non-governmental organizations) act as facilitators. In the language of citizenship, citizens can be enabled to engage "directly in local problem-solving activities and to make their demands directly to state bodies" (Cornwall and Coelho 2007: 5).

In today's development discourse, it is the ultimate, that is, the empowerment form of participation which is the most fashionable one. It can hardly be denied that such form of participation offers a number of advantages. Robert Chambers, a key exponent of PRA, contends that the following reasons account for the popularity of participation:

> Recognition that many development failures originate in attempts to impose standard top-down programmes and projects on diverse local realities where they do not fit or meet needs; concern for cost-effectiveness, recognizing that the more local people do the less capital costs are likely to be; preoccupation with sustainability, and the insight that if local people themselves design and construct they are more likely to meet running costs and undertake maintenance; and ideologically for some development professionals, the belief that it is right that poor people should be empowered and have more command over their lives. (Chambers 1995: 30-32)

Empowerment is seen as particularly suitable for the socially excluded groups as a process whereby, according to the Nepal Human Development Report, "the powerless or less powerful members of society […] gain greater access and control over material and intellectual resources, and challenge the ideologies of discrimination and subordination, which justify this unequal distribution" (cited in Acharya and Ghimire 2005: 4720). In addition to the enhanced capabilities of the marginalized people, according to DFID/The World Bank, "inclusive policies 'from above' are supposed to create enabling environment at the systems level for the excluded groups to enjoy their rights" (ibid).

Such participation thus implies transformation. However, Nelson and Wright warn that the word transformation is also given different meanings by people with different ideological positions (1995: 6). These authors maintain that the World Bank's conceptualization of transformation rests on the assumption that society is "made up of free-floating actors, each with different interests which they pursue by bargaining with each other in interactional space" (ibid). In this case, transformation is regarded as behavioral; namely, it is about changing the behavior and attitudes of those who are dominating and giving voice to the less powerful people. However, if "a structuralist view is taken which sees people as positioned within systems of relations through which inequalities are reproduced" (ibid.), transformation should be structural. For this reason many claim that the "radical, challenging and transformatory edge" of participation has been lost (Cleaver 1999: 599; cf. Freire 1970).

The shortcoming mentioned above brings us to the critique of PD. A number of authors have noted the theme of the limited potential of PD to alter wider social structures. For instance, Pretty and Scoones draw attention to the difficulties for local level institutions to influence state policies, or to tackle "problems arising out of the wider political context" (1995: 162). Willis writes that "the scope of 'people-centered development' will remain limited by the broader structural factors, particularly at a global scale" (2005: 208). Here, Willis is referring to the "continued faith in the market as the key actor in development" and the theoretical context of neo-liberalism which "shapes so much of international development policy today" (ibid). As a result a charge has been leveled that PD depoliticizes or "undermines resistance" (Nelson and Wright 1995: 11). Kothari makes this point succinctly:

> Those people who have the greatest reason to challenge and confront power relations and structures are brought, or even bought, through the promise of development assistance, into the development process and in ways that disempower them to challenge the prevailing hierarchies and inequalities is society, hence inclusionary control and the inducement of conformity. (2002: 143)

One of the most ardent critics of development is Ferguson, who asserts that development follows the logic of colonial rule as it achieves "control and social regulation", and reproduces hierarchy of knowledge and society, as in "developer over the 'to be developed'" (Mosse 2005: 4, see Ferguson 1994). This critique has been extended to PD, which has been accused of "further concealing the agency of outsiders, or the manipulation of more local elites, behind the beguiling rhetoric of 'people's control'" (Mosse 2005: 4-5). However, Mosse cautions against adhering to these interpretations which are overly functionalists and points to the "complex agency of actors in development at every level" (2005: 6), a proposition which I will return to below (in section 1.3).

Critics have scrutinized certain circumstances at the level of higher structures, as well as at the level of the local community, to demonstrate the shortcomings of PD. Regarding higher structures, many social scientists have explored the "bureaucratic exigencies" (Mosse 2002: 24) or, in other terms, the "organizational demands" (Kapoor 2005: 1211) of development. These studies argue that organizational demands eclipse the needs of beneficiaries because the implementing agencies (most frequently NGOs), are accountable to donors (upward accountability) rather than to the beneficiaries (Wallace 2004). Gardner and Lewis (1997) contend that PD cannot be fully participatory as long as the bureaucratic structures remain intact. As Cleaver suggests, "there is an inherent difficulty in incorporating project concerns with participatory discourses" because "a project is, by definition, a clearly defined set of activities, concerned with quantifiable costs and benefits, with time-limited activities and budgets" (1999: 598). Similarly, Nelson and Wright contend that "participatory development is too slow to fit into the normal funding cycle of most agencies" (1995: 17). The guise of participation is preserved. As a result of PD being the latest trend[2] in development and a "politically desirable development idea", participation "can be made into a commodity and marketed"[3] (Mosse 2003: 66).

[2] Kapoor, in a rather harsh critique of PD entitled "Participatory Development: Complicity an Desire," explains the frequent change of policy within development thus: "The 'new' turns attention away from the 'old' (recurring problems, challenges), mobilises new energy and resources, and inaugurates a 'fresh' start; and so the development machine keeps turning" (2005: 1211).

[3] In his essay entitled "The making and marketing of participatory development," Mosse illustrates the commoditization of participation with a case study from India, where a commercial organization (rather than an NGO) called KBCL, involved in the production and marketing of fertilizers, hosted a PD project funded by DFID. KBCL's motivation to carry out the project could not have been the establishment a local market for fertilizers among the beneficiaries, given that the beneficiaries were impoverished tribal people in remote areas of India. In actuality, by subscribing to the PD agenda and thus being selected as

There is another set of constraints at the higher level of the development apparatus, namely the state level, which have not yet been addressed adequately in critiques of participatory development. Cornwall and Coelho (2007) assert that the committed involvement of state actors is decisive for the success of participatory projects, as they are the ones who plan and deliver services. Indeed, the participation of government officials should not be taken for granted. The authors rightly ask "what is it that motivates state officials to participate and to follow through decision arrived at in these spaces […] rather than resorting to quicker and more authoritarian decision-making processes? […] And what do *they* get out of participating in the participatory sphere?" (2007: 19). The authors suggest that the government might engage in participation "as a strategy that seeks to cultivate allies, strengthen networks and gain votes" (ibid).

At the community level, there are several challenges to effective participation. First, some social scientists have challenged the moralizing discourse of participation (Henkel and Stirrat 2002). Participation has been regarded as a responsibility and lack thereof as irresponsibility on the part of intended beneficiaries (Cleaver 1999). However, poor people may have their own reasons for non-participation and those are not restricted to work demands, or inappropriate timing and place of participatory activities (Gardner and Lewis 1997). For instance, people might lack confidence or the knowledge necessary for "participation in public processes" (Mahmud 2007: 58). Poor people may also be unwilling to spend time and effort on actions "that do not have direct and immediate relevance for their livelihoods" (ibid). In addition, Mosse (2005) gives an example of a tribal community that refused PRA because they were suspicious of outsiders'/developers' intentions (given the previous negative experience). Sibley (1998) suggests that there might be aspects of culture which may place a group apart from the dominant society and which the group is not willing to relinquish it in the event of incorporation into the larger society (also see Sibley 1995). Other reasons could be political, such as when more powerful groups in a community monopolize the participatory process leaving the less powerful groups frustrated (Eyben and Ladbury 1995).

This brings us to the second point. Many authors have criticized participatory development for its underlying assumptions regarding communities or, as Cleaver calls it, the "myths of 'community'" (1999: 603). In fact, the concept of community is "often used by state and other organizations, rather than the people themselves, and it carries connotations of consensus" (Nelson and Wright cited in

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the implementer, KBCL was "far more interested in the value of the project as a "high-profile, high-prestige internationally funded venture able to promote its image and relationship with government and other external observers" (2003: 57).

Mohan 2002: 160), homogeneity (Eyben and Ladbury 1995; Williams 2004) and solidarity (Cleaver 1999). Eyben and Ladbury warn that this idealized notion of community is "a real barrier to understanding the dynamics of participation and explaining the circumstances in which participation does, and does not occur" (1995: 194). Precisely because participatory policies tend to be naïve with respect to political issues, "dominant power structures in the local communities are reproduced" (Henkel and Stirrat 2002: 171). In other words, participation amongst the poorer and more marginalized sections of society is likely to be obstructed (Cornwall and Coelho 2007), even when they *appear* to be participating. One such example is women's participation, which may be limited due to patriarchy. Even when women are invited to participate, such "invited spaces" may fail to get "populated" because they are *given* rather than *created* by participants (Mohanty 2007: 81, also see White 1996). Finally, Mosse (1994) points out that the domination by the most powerful sections in a community is not always evident because it does not exclusively take place through competitions or confrontation, but more significantly through consensus.

The process of consensus-building points to the third limitation of PD at the ground level. Mosse is particularly concerned with the way in which consensus not only excludes the less powerful voices, but also expresses a unity of option, termed "the official view" (1994: 508). The 'official view' conceals the diverging or even conflicting views of local reality. Project staff need consensus among the beneficiaries to develop work plans. This is to say that there is tacit compliance between beneficiaries and the fieldworkers. Furthermore, local people might voluntarily opt for actions or products that implementing agencies are more likely to support or deliver, rather than make choices based on their previous experience, or 'local knowledge'[4]. For this reason Mosse holds that "through participatory learning, it is [beneficiaries] who acquire new 'planning knowledge' and learn how to manipulate it, rather than professionals who acquire local perspectives" (2002: 21). Another side effect is that some needs or personal problems are left out because they are "out of place" (Mosse 2005: 95); i.e. local people know that they are not deliverable[5].

[4] Mosse (2005) gives the following example of a PD project: in an Indian village local people were asked which tree species they would like to plant and raise in nurseries. They opted for eucalyptus because, at the time, the village nursery programme was supported by the State Forest Department, which was perceived by the villagers as strongly favoring eucalyptus. The villagers had little if any previous experience with that species. In a severe drought nine years later, people regretted their choice (as eucalyptus trees consume too much water).

[5] In same project (as in the above footnote), what the villagers really wanted was a pistol and the permit to arm themselves against raiders who stole their cattle, however, this "suggestion was laughable to project outsiders" (Mosse 2005: 95).

Finally, the beneficiaries' interests are frequently poorly understood. Beneficiaries may choose to participate in an intervention for reasons other than the official ones stated in the project. Of course power relations are not equal; villagers participate in an agency's project and not vice versa (Mosse 2002), but the point is that local people do have agency and may co-opt or subvert the intentions of a project to serve their own interests. I will elaborate on this in the following section which outlines the broad theoretical framework for my study.

1.3 Theoretical Framework: Interest in Participation

White points out that an interesting feature of participation is that behind its "warm glow" participation has the ability to "mask multiple forms and serve many interests" (1996: 7). She adds that, in fact, "it is precisely this ability to accommodate such a broad range of interests that explains why participation can command such widespread acclaim" (ibid). Mosse (2004, 2005) echoes this statement when he demonstrates how the diverse interests of donors, implementing agencies (such as NGOs), governments and research institutions converge in the policy of participatory development. Back to Mosse's disagreement with Ferguson (as I mentioned above), this way of seeing development helps us to go beyond the oversimplified characterization of Western development institutions as omnipotent as well as beyond "the image of duped perpetrators and victims" (Mosse 2005: 6). When Mosse examined the shifting development policy in the course of a DFID project (in which he was engaged as a consultant for over a decade), he considered the agency of actors in development at every level. He found that "the framing of a 'development' intervention is a delicate cultural operation" (Li cited in Mosse 2005: 46) rather than subjugation of knowledge to policy goals and donor reporting formats. Project design has the "function of bringing diverse people, interests and viewpoints together to facilitate cooperation and create constituencies of support" (Mosse, ibid.). The project takes on its own life during implementation but these converging interests allow for the project to be validated (i.e. considered as successful by all stakeholders).

This model also helps us to take into account the interests of the beneficiaries when agreeing to participate in a project. In fact, beneficiary involvement is not necessarily straightforward, as testified by Mosse's experience in a village where the village head refused PRA (2005: 75-77). His ethnographic evidence shows that "the interests from 'top-down' and 'bottom up' do not match neatly" (White 1996: 12) and that "there is always the potential for [participation] to be 'co-opted from below'" (ibid). As

Williams suggests, "to take the 'incorporation' of participatory events at face value, is to ignore people's ability for feigned compliance and tactical (and self-interested) engagement"[6] (2004: 565). For instance, many villages agreed to take part in a project where the official issue of concern was the loss of soil fertility leading to declining agricultural productivity, because the project offered off-season wage labor (Mosse 2002, 2005).

Furthermore, Williams calls our attention to the "space for unintended consequences, both positive and negative", which is always present within participatory development (2004: 565). White gives the example of a disadvantaged group in the Phillipines who boycotted elections after gaining confidence through cooperatives established with the assistance of an NGO (1996:12). She concludes that "people have never been a blank sheet for development agencies to write on what they will" (1996: 14). People sometimes resort to weapons of the weak, but of course it is arguable that these cannot easily effect real transformation (White 1995; Williams 2004; cf. Scott 1985).

Using this framework, my intention is to examine the aspirations of socially excluded groups and their reasons for participation in development projects. As regards my operational definition of social exclusion, the two groups with whom I am dealing are socially excluded on the basis of their social identity (ethnicity) which differentiates them from the mainstream, and on the basis of their extreme poverty[7]. I am guided by the social exclusion framework that UNICEF shared with us interns, in summer 2008, according to which "social exclusion is created both through community level social norms and behaviors as well as through the invisibilization or neglect of certain groups in the distribution of resources, assets and services in society" (UNICEF 2008). To enable social inclusion, the dominant group's negative perceptions and behaviors toward the marginalized group need to be challenged, and the structural barriers that the marginalized group encounters when accessing services and resources need to be removed. It is not enough if a development project merely focuses on an excluded group; it needs to transform the underlying structures that bring about social exclusion (ibid).

I am particularly interested in the implications that participation of socially excluded groups have for the achievement of social inclusion. In most literature, participation and social inclusion have been

[6] Furthermore, as Williams points out, there is even a "possibility that, while participatory development projects can seem all-consuming to practitioners and academics evaluating them, they may play a relatively small part in their intended beneficiaries' lives" (2004: 565).

[7] I am thus avoiding the problem that Fischer (2008) identifies in social exclusion literature, where social exclusion is too readily associated with poverty.

equated, while social exclusion and participation are viewed as polar opposites. For instance, Burchardt et al. define social exclusion as "the lack of participation in key aspects of society" (2002: 4). Johnson understands "participation or inclusion" as "a response to exclusion" (1998: 7). Stevens argues that "participation can be thought of as the opposite to the process of social exclusion" (cited in Hill et al. 2004: 78). Such statements are overly simplistic. I ague that although non-participation might lead to social exclusion, the participation of socially excluded groups does not *automatically* lead to social inclusion. Their participation might be ineffective or the socially excluded groups themselves may be motivated to participate for other reasons.

There is a concern that social inclusion projects might bring negative repercussions to the beneficiaries. Fischer (2008) asks whether social inclusion is desirable for the excluded, i.e. whether the excluded benefit from entering the mainstream society. Henkel and Stirrat are pessimistic when they state that participatory development is an "attempt, however benevolent, to reshape the personhood of the participants" by incorporating them "into the modern project" (2002: 182). I find that Henkel and Stirrat's attitude strips beneficiaries from agency and ignores their ability to strategize for the future. I am guided by David Mosse's approach in *Cultivating Development: An Ethnography of Aid Policy and Practice* where he points to complex "equivocal, unexpected effects" (2005: 19) of participation by using ethnographic methods. I agree with Mosse that ethnography is a good way to examine the complexity of the "social life of projects" (2005: 6; also see Wright and Nelson 1995: 59), although I do not pretend that my brief fieldwork amounts to what is considered as ethnography in anthropology. That said, I will now turn to methodology, which precedes the discussion of my empirical findings.

2. Methodology: Participatory Research for Participatory Development?

2.1 My Field Methods

2.2 Reflexivity: Questions of Validity and of Power

2.1 My Field Methods

Due to time constraints I could not conduct a full-fledged ethnographic research. My main aim was to conduct fieldwork in a way that allowed for the voices of those involved in the project to be heard. As my principal method could not have been participant observation, arguably the tool that characterizes anthropology (Bernard 2002), I gathered data using interviews. To make sense of the (sometimes conflicting) information obtained in semi-structured interviews, I complement those findings with my observations, as well as personal experience in development work (particularly in the Roma case study).

My first period of fieldwork took place in the Indian state of Uttar Pradesh (UP), where I spent two months with three other Masters students working as a UNICEF intern. UNICEF UP gave us an assignment, to write a report with the following title: *Social Actions Initiated and Facilitated by ST Village Volunteers: Jamalpur Case Study*. The idea was to assess how the Integrated Village Planning intervention, which embodies a bottom-up approach to development, is socially inclusive for the Sahariyas (a Scheduled Tribe) living in the village of Jamalpur. My team spent a total of 12 days in the district of Lalitpur where the project is being implemented, out of which 10 days were spent in Jamalpur itself (although we did not sleep in the village but in a nearby town). During those ten days we spoke with different villagers: the Sahariyas (including women and children); with tribal as well as non-tribal village volunteers (who are the backbone of the project at community level); with the village head; and with local service providers (such as doctors and teachers). We had a number of meetings with the director and the field coordinators of the implementing NGO, with whom we also conducted several phone interviews after we left Lalitpur district. Lastly, we held interviews with government officials who are most directly involved with the project. From that data pool I will mostly refer to interviews with village volunteers and NGO representatives for the purposes of my dissertation.

The second period of fieldwork took place in Montenegro. This was an independent study solely for the purposes of this thesis. I assessed the effectiveness of a capacity building project among Roma NGOs; more precisely, the project's potential to contribute to social inclusion. During the three weeks I was there, I had multiple interviews with the leader and one with active young members of the Roma

NGO. I also interviewed the project manager of the facilitating NGO and the independent project consultant on several occasions. In addition, I attended one of the consultations, which took place in the Roma camp. As the Roma NGO and the facilitating NGO are located in different cities and my key informants were busy with other projects and conferences that were held at the time, I had difficulties arranging interviews with key informants. Unfortunately, this meant that I could not spend much time in the Roma camp, although that would have been useful for my dissertation. Finally, as I coordinated the Roma project from October 2006 until the end of March 2007, I am drawing on the insights gained during my previous engagement with the project and the beneficiaries.

As I am essentially interested in understanding how social inclusion projects work for the marginalized communities, I framed my investigation around their answers; this is similar to the institutional ethnography approach (see for example Smith 2006; DeVault and McCoy 2004[8]). Consequently, I focused on the beneficiaries during the first stage of my fieldwork (admittedly, my initial contacts were with development workers, i.e. the gatekeepers, in order to familiarize myself with the projects). During the second stage, I structured the interviews with development workers around the issues that were brought up by the beneficiaries. In this way I was hoping to keep in mind the perspectives of the socially excluded when assessing the social inclusion initiatives.

2.2 Reflexivity: Questions of Validity and of Power

Given the nature of my topic, I was wondering whether I should conduct research in a manner that is as close as possible to participatory research (Wright and Nelson 1995). I knew from the start that participatory research was not really an option because of time constraints and the purpose of my fieldwork. Namely, I was commissioned by UNICEF to carry out a study on social exclusion in Jamalpur and the second case study in Montenegro was for my dissertation. Importantly, my informants did not *design* this study with me, but *accepted* to take part in it.

[8] In institutional ethnography (IE) researchers follow a sequence of three steps: first, the researcher identifies an experience; second, she or he indentifies "some of the institutional processes that are shaping that experience" (DeVault and McCoy 2004:195); third, she or he investigates "those processes in order to describe analytically how they operate as the grounds of the experience" (ibid). IE researchers may spend considerable time at their point of entry, i.e. with key informants. Eventually the researcher will usually need to shift the investigation to begin examining those institutional processes "that shape the experience but are not fully known to the informants" (ibid). The second stage, thus, often involves a shift in research site but *not* in standpoint.

I was, however, aware of the issues of power between me as a researcher and my informants, partly due to ethical considerations and partly out of caution with respect to the validity of my findings. I was aware that I had some authority as a UNICEF intern, because UNICEF is funding the Integrated Village Planning initiative and thus the implementing NGO wished to leave a good impression. Our first day of fieldwork in Jamalpur offers a good illustration of this. When we arrived in the village it was clear that the field coordinators had called some of the participants in the project to gather and greet us. All the village volunteers as well as the village head's husband welcomed us in the Village Information Centre, while the adolescent girls group held a meeting next door. The block coordinator first held a lengthy presentation about the project and then formally introduced us to the village volunteers. We were disappointed that we could only be told official stories in the presence of the implementing NGO (see Mosse 2005: 185). Next, the field coordinators introduced us to the adolescent girls group but the block coordinator answered our questions on behalf of the girls. Later when we expressed our desire to do a transect walk and visit the Sahariya hamlet, the coordinators decided to accompany us.

The entry into the Sahariya hamlet across the national highway was rather interesting. First we encountered a lady (who later turned out to be an influential elder in the community). She must have though that we were government representatives, because she immediately started complaining to us about the broken hand pump and the lack of electricity in the hamlet, until the block coordinator told her that they would speak about that later. We then sat on the porch of a small building where, after the village volunteers, Sahariya children, women and men gathered around us, the coordinator again formally presented the issues and project actions relevant for the Sahariya hamlet. Meanwhile one of our team members did manage to ask some Sahariya women about the project and hear their complaints about the conditions in the hamlet and the corruption of the village head. However, my team understood that in the presence of the coordinators we were not likely to hear many 'unofficial' stories. Consequently we asked the implementing NGO not to follow us except upon our request, which was necessary for the validity of our data. That said, we did feel guilty when the block coordinator, who was very busy during the day, offered to be interviewed at 11 p.m., or when we conducted countless phone interviews upon leaving the district. Although the coordinators knew that it was in their interest to be at our disposal, we felt uncomfortable with the position of power that we occupied as researchers sent by the donor.

With regard to villagers, we were very happy that members of the Sahariya community quickly accepted our almost constant presence in their hamlet during our fieldwork. They were quite puzzled at

our commitment given that so far 'outsiders' had not spent much time in the village, let alone in *their hamlet*[9]. We built a good rapport; the women were particularly curious about our marital statuses (all interns were young women), and I spent a significant amount of time daily playing and drawing with children. On the other hand, we felt a little uncomfortable when we counted on village volunteers to be available for our endless questions. The village volunteers were responsible for the implementation of the project on the village level and thus felt obligated to speak to us; however, they also had school and work-related duties. Once we called all village volunteers to gather for a focus group discussion, to which no one showed up at the agreed time. Later, we were told by a villager that someone's goat had run away and that our informants were chasing it and could not meet us. Time constraints meant that we had to call the block coordinator and ask him to help us to ensure attendance for the following day. This time all village volunteers were on time. We were grateful that they took pains to participate and we hoped that the report which we submitted to UNICEF would result in visible improvements of the project in the village.

As I was working alone, I was especially aware of the issues of power in my second fieldwork. I was worried that my previous collaboration with the Roma NGO would compel them to participate in the project to the detriment of other commitments. It turned out that as a freelance researcher I had much less power than in my previous fieldwork. My respondents agreed to take part in the research but only to the extent they considered as appropriate. For instance, the Roma NGO leader initially offered to arrange interviews with a lawyer and a social worker who were collaborating with the Roma as part of another project. However, when I called him a few days later he told me that the lawyer and the social worker refused to talk with me. I was taken aback and tried to explain that I am a harmless Masters student and that I would ensure their confidentiality as per standard research ethics. However, the Roma NGO leader told me not to insist. Although I was initially disappointed, this incident was a proof that I did not have the power to compel him to do anything simply for the sake of pleasing me.

My previous collaboration with the Roma NGO raised not only ethical concerns but also methodological ones. When I asked the Roma NGO leader questions about the facilitating NGO with which I used to be affiliated, he never responded in a straight forward manner unless it was a positive comment. This led me to the conclusion that, out of caution he might have kept some opinions to

[9] In 2007, another UNICEF internship team conducted a similar assessment in the district. However, they were not focusing on any social group in particular and they visited three more villages in addition to Jamalpur. As their fieldwork only lasted for ten days, they did not spend much time with the Sahariyas in Jamalpur.

himself. The project coordinator of the facilitating agency was also cautious with some of my questions, perhaps anticipating a criticism of their work.

Another difference between my research in India and in Montenegro was that we did not use informed consent for the UNICEF case study, whereas I did when I was conducting my independent research with the Roma. As regards the former, I was uncomfortable that our presence in the village was never brought into question because we had institutional backing. Although some might argue that signing a form (informed consent) might be intimidating for the informants and thus heighten the power of the researcher, I felt much more aware of my duties once I obtained signatures from the Roma. The informed consent served as an official reminder of the rights of my informants and my responsibilities towards them.

Finally, as my fieldwork in both cases involved interviewing children, I wish to write a few words on that topic. My team members and I were quite surprised that UNICEF, the main propagator of child rights internationally, did not spend much time on research ethics in the orientation workshop aside from giving out a handout with general guidelines. Nonetheless, we were cautious once in the field but held the opinion that it is more problematic to silence children in research in order to avoid ethical responsibilities. We interviewed children in groups so as to make them feel more comfortable. We interviewed three child reporters in Jamalpur (about 12 years old) who publish a magazine as part of the project. Our questions concerned the role that children can play in community development. However, we had to retreat when we feared that our interviewing might intimidate children. For instance, we wanted to ask five Sahariya children (about 8 years old) who used to be bullied at school whether they were still being mistreated. Most children went quiet after ice-breaking activities when we asked more specific questions. We decided to end the interview even though this kind of information would have been an excellent indicator of social inclusion (or lack thereof). My interviews were less problematic in Montenegro, where I interviewed two Roma youths involved with the project, one being under age (aged 16). I explained the informed consent document to him and had it signed by him as well as his caretaker. The questions also concerned the role that young people can play in development.

To conclude this section, although UNICEF is viewed as “the good guys” by the general public (Hancock in Ennew 1996: 852), I had more ethical concerns as their intern than as an independent researcher in Montenegro. Being an envoy of the donor implies a position of incontestable institutional power that does not allow for participatory research and might even jeopardize the validity of findings if the researcher is not cautious about the ‘official’, success validating stories told by the local project

implementer, or even exaggerations told by the most marginalized (as ‘a weapon of the weak’; see Scott 1985). I felt more humble, appreciative and responsible as an individual researcher in Montenegro, but organizing a study in such circumstances was far more time-consuming. Although my previous collaboration with the Roma enabled me to quickly establish rapport and gave me a deeper understanding of their problems, I realize that my informants still view me as someone affiliated with the facilitating NGO and may not trust me with certain information. I will keep these risks and limitations in mind as I’m analyzing my findings in the following chapters.

3. Case Study One: Sahariyas in Jamalpur, India

3.1 The Context
3.1.1 The geographical and socio-economic context
3.1.2 The project design
3.1.3 The project design in the context of social inclusion
3.2 The Project Unfolds
3.2.1 Impact and challenges at higher levels
3.2.2 The process at 'community' level
3.2.3 Aspirations and contradictions for social inclusion

3.1 The Context

3.1.1 The geographical and socio-economic context

According to the 2001 census, India's tribal[10] population is 83,580,634 inhabitants. This accounts for around 8 per cent of the total population (Rath 2006: 16). Although spread over wide territories and heterogeneous in nature, most tribal groups in India fall under the common administrative category of Scheduled Tribes (ST). ST is an administrative term used for tribal groups that are considered historically disadvantaged and 'backward' and whose members are entitled to specific constitutional provisions, legal protection and benefits (see Thorat 2007; Xaxa 2005). Since independence and the government's first Five Year Plan under Nehru, the tribal policy was to enable the tribal peoples to benefit from modern development, but "not at the cost of the rare and precious values of their life" (Rath 2006: 16).

Despite the rhetoric, tribal areas have witnessed large-scale expansion of industries, the development of infrastructure (power projects, irrigation dams, roads and railways), and the extraction of mineral and forest resources. As a result, tribes have been losing their land and forest rights. Whilst not benefiting from these development projects, tribes have been forced to move in search of alternative livelihoods (Xaxa 2003; also Rath 2006). In some cases, the loss of land rights had begun even before

[10] Béteille (1998) and Xaxa (2003) explain how the category 'tribe' was constructed during colonialism. Granted, tribes are distinct from the mainstream, but designating one single category for diverse tribal groups was a construction. Also, they point out that tribal people in India are not indigenous, as it is difficult to determine whether tribal peoples or non-tribal people settled first (perhaps some tribal groups settled first, but certainly not all).

independence and the implementation of modern development policies[11]. Although tribes have been seen as "not being a part of the civilization and therefore outside the structure of the larger Indian society" they were not seen as "isolates but in constant interaction with so-called civilization at least in the case of those in the fringes of the larger Indian society" (Xaxa 2005: 1364). Tribes may speak distinct languages and have a different social organization and way of life than the dominant community; nevertheless they have changed due to contact and interactions with the mainstream.

Tribes are often considered backward and primitive by the mainstream population and have suffered discrimination as well as exploitation. Although the Indian government has long recognized their precarious situation and has implemented several schemes that aim to uplift and empower these deprived groups, there continues to be a disparity between tribal and non-tribal populations. The unsuitability of programs for tribes is due to government failure in implementation, rampant corruption, concentration of benefits in the hands of the elites, diversion of resources to other sectors (Rath 2006: 34). Kabeer (2006) sees institutional and social discrimination or the exclusion from society, economy and political participation as causative factors for the persistence of poverty among STs.

Not all tribes in India are passive victims of the abovementioned processes. There has been some resistance, including "the assertion of tribal identity" (Xaxa 2005: 1368; see also Xaxa 2003) and even indigenous movements for autonomy, particularly in states where tribes constitute the majority such as in the north-east (see Rath 2006). However, tribes face much hardship in Uttar Pradesh (UP), India's poorest and most populous state (UNICEF 2004; see Map 1, Appendix 1) and particularly in Lalitpur, one of the most economically deprived districts in UP. Lalitpur is divided into six blocks: Birdha, Talbehat (where Jamalpur is situated), Jakhaura, Bar, Mehrauni and Madawra. The whole region is short on staff for government services (e.g. health and education) and lacks basic infrastructure (such as roads, electricity, sanitation facilities and public transport). In addition, it has faced recurrent droughts which resulted in water shortages and crop failures, leading to a situation of distress for the local population primarily dependent on agriculture (Chatterjee et al. 2008; Ovung et al. 2007).

Lalitpur's tribal groups: Sahariyas, Bednis and Kabutras, are particularly hard-hit by these conditions. The Sahariyas, who were granted the Scheduled Tribe (ST) status in UP in 2003 (Dhuru et

[11] According to Xaxa (2003), the loss of land rights began to occur during colonialism; whereas according to Rath, the loss of land rights began to occur prior to colonization, i.e. during state formation in the medieval period (2006: 45-46).

al. 2008)[12], constitute the majority of the tribal people in Lalitpur, with an estimated population of one hundred thousand (Ovung at al. 2007). Little has been written about Sahariyas, particularly those living in Uttar Pradesh, as they are not very numerous there compared to Madhya Pradesh, their state of origin. For background information on this tribe, my team and I had to rely on explanations given to us by SDF and Mr. Harsh Mander, a well known activist, columnist and writer in India[13], as well as on our observations. According to SDF, Sahariyas generally stay in separate hamlets in village outskirts which lack basic facilities (e.g. safe drinking water), do not intermarry with other communities and are generally ostracized by the mainstream (SDF 2008). Their representation in local self governance is negligible[14] (ibid). About 90% live below the poverty line and many are indebted and exploited as bonded labor by stone quarrying contractors (ibid). The government has allotted barren land to some households in order to compensate for the displacement resulting from dam projects (a frequent predicament among Indian tribes; see Xaxa 2003). Labor migration is common; food insecurity and malnutrition are rampant (SDF 2008).

Mr. Mander confirmed what SDF told us about Sahariya livelihoods. He added that the Sahariyas used to be forest gatherers but when their forests were depleted, they became "forest gatherers without a forest" (conversation with Mr. Mander) and had to find alternative sources of income. Mr. Mander agreed that Sahariyas have been ostracized and provided some more detail: he remarked that some Sahariyas practice untouchability with respect to the Scheduled Castes (SCs, the administrative term for formerly untouchable castes). On the other hand, SCs are economically stronger than the tribe and this situation might result in conflicts between the SCs and the Sahariyas. The fact that some Sahariyas practice untouchability despite not being part of the caste system points to the influence of the Hindu society. Mr Mander explained that, as Indian tribes have never been completely isolated, but rather, partially isolated from the mainstream, the Sahariyas have been living in proximity to the Hindus. As a

[12] Until 2003, U.P. state authorities treated the Sahariyas as a Scheduled Caste (SC; the administrative term for formerly untouchable castes). In contrast, they were always regarded as tribes by the mainstream society (according to SDF).

[13] During our stay in U.P., Mr. Harsh Mander visited our host institute (G.B. Pant Social Science Institute) as he and some researchers from the institute were engaged in The Right to Food Campaign. He was in the process of writing a book, but he kindly offered to speak to us regarding his experiences with tribes, including the Sahariyas. Mr. Mander worked as a civil servant for about twenty years and is currently affiliated with a number of NGOs and institutes (see DRISHTIPAT 2007).

[14] Local self-governance refers to Panchayati Raj Institutions, created in 1992 on the national level (Mohanty 2007). The smallest unit is the revenue village (which may comprise more than one village if the villages are very small), and the largest unit is the district. According to SDF, out of 340 heads of revenue villages only one is Sahariya (2008: 20).

consequence, the Sahariyas have adopted some Hindu practices. Some have even adopted a Hinduized religion, while the others remained animists. Mr. Mander did not speak about hierarchies within the tribal group. However, the director of SDF and the district coordinator told us that Sahariya men have higher status than women, but Sahariya women have more mobility compared to Hindu women.

Sahariyas are the only tribal group in the village of Jamalpur in Talbehat block. Out of a total of just above 500 households approximately 80 are tribal. The non-tribal households comprise SCs, other backward castes (OBCs) and the general castes (the politically correct term for 'upper' castes or 'high' castes), each living in a particular location in the village, in their respective *mohalla* or collony. Sahariyas, who were displaced from a nearby area in the 1970s due to the construction of Shahzad dam, live in the outskirts. A few years later, due to the construction of the National Highway (NH) 26 a number of Sahariya houses were demolished and rebuilt on the other side of the road which now separates about 30 households (henceforth: smaller Sahariya hamlet), from the remaining 50 Sahariya households (henceforth: larger Sahariya hamlet) and the rest of the village (see Map 2, Appendix 1). The imminent expansion of the highway threatens to further isolate the smaller Sahariya hamlet.

According to our observations (Chatterjee et al. 2008) the living conditions in the Sahariya hamlets are extremely adverse. Drinking water is located at a considerable distance, particularly for the 30 households who have to cross the highway. Some Sahariyas complained that there is electricity in the main village whereas in their hamlet there isn't, however, it turned out that a few other colonies in Jamalpur also do not have electricity. A few Sahariya families are sharing their wobbly roofs (in fact, a couple of them collapsed in the monsoon rain before our arrival) with the few goats or chickens they own[15]. Most men migrate to other cities and states and work in construction. Few children attend school for a number of reasons: because of poverty, due to the poor quality of teaching in schools as well as inadequate mid-day meals, and because of discrimination which some Sahariya children experienced at school. Sahariyas have poor access to health services, in part due to their traditional beliefs, and in part due to the dysfunctional village facilities. We also heard rumors that some Sahariyas were mistreated in hospitals.

[15] The sharp contrast between the quality of housing in the main village and in the Sahariya hamlet can be seen on Pictures 1 and 2 in Appendix 3.

3.1.2 The project design

Having provided a brief account of the geographical, social and economic context within which the intervention operates, I now describe how the project design is meant to tackle the numerous problems. First, however, a few words on the background of the project. Integrated Village Planning (IVP) has been implemented by NGOs in 17 districts across 14 states India with the support of UNICEF and state governments (UNICEF India n.d.). The implementer in Lalitpur district of UP is Sarathi Development Foundation (SDF). In 2005, the project was launched in Birdha, Talbehat and Jakhaura blocks, followed by the remaining three blocks in 2007 (SDF 2008). Three local NGOs are now in the process of taking over the implementation in the first three blocks as UNICEF preferred to expand partnership with local NGOs once SDF laid the foundations of the project. The intervention has been considered a great success. It has been assessed favorably by international organizations such as the World Bank Mission and Intra health International, as well as by the Government of UP. The Department of Planning "is incorporating this practice as a government scheme in the 11th five year plan" (SDF n.d.: 6).

There are three key features of IVP: (1) as a cross-sector intervention it addresses Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) within five key areas: education, health and nutrition, HIV/AIDS, water and sanitation and child protection; (2) it especially focuses on women and children; (3) it links the community, the government and the civil society (SDF 2008). The first two features reflect the donor agenda, the project being funded by UNICEF. The third feature shows that the project design is a child of participatory development theories and that as such it brings together three important actors. First, as regards the community, in their first report, SDF writes that:

> Participatory approaches are people centered and as such look at people as solutions to the problem rather than as passive beneficiaries. People in this case become the subject rather than mere objects in the development process." (2005: 6-7)

The above quote is reminiscent of Paulo Freire's (1970) statements regarding the role of people in development. Freire is additionally implied in SDF's usage of the term 'the culture of silence': "The culture of silence prevailing in the society needs to be broken and voices of the poor ought to be heard" (SDF 2006, cf Shaull 1970: 10, 13-14). SDF also makes a reference to Robert Chambers by drawing heavily on "Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) tools and methodologies" (SDF n.d.: 1; cf. Chambers 1995).The second actor is the government. As I explained in Chapter 1, the latest form of participatory development encourages people to demand adequate government response to their needs. Thus SDF writes that the "government is the largest agency mandated for overall development of people" (SDF

n.d.: 1) and "the major stakeholder" in the project (SDF 2008: 12). Last but not least (although sometimes portrayed as such), the civil society, i.e. the implementing NGO, acts as a "facilitation agency" (SDF 2008: 3).

How is this supposed to play out in practice? At the 'community' level, IVP is facilitated by village institutions: village volunteers as the backbone of the project, women self-help groups (WSHG), adolescent girls groups (AGG), and children's groups. Their responsibilities are to spread behavior change messages[16] in the village, as well as to mobilize the community to demand better services from the government. People's participation is embodied in the Village Action Plan, which is a result of community self-assessment (more precisely, PRA), and which is presented to the village head to be forwarded to higher authorities in the district.

As regards the convergence with the government, the following actors are involved: the village head, who is responsible for service delivery response planning and the implementation of government schemes on the village level; the service providers at the village level such as teachers and health workers; and the Block Task Force and the District Task Force (BTF and DTF respectively), which are not permanent structures but were established as part of the project in an attempt to engage higher level of governance (government officers involved in BTF and DTF are listed in Figure 1, Appendix 2). The BTF in each block compiles issues from the Village Action Plans of several villages at cluster village level in order to devise a government Response Plan to tackle the identified problems. The role of the DTF is to oversee the convergence process.

Finally, the civil society organization, or SDF in this case, involves the following staff in IVP: one district coordinator, six block coordinators (one for each block), and field coordinators (three to four per block). SDF has initiated the process in each village in Lalitpur, organized a number of capacity building training sessions and established links between the community and the government. At the time of our research the three local NGOs had not yet officially begun working in the area. Once they do, SDF will continue to provide support and resources.

[16] Behavior Change Communication (BCC) is an interactive process conducted within communities with the objective "to develop messages and approaches that promote positive behaviors, and create a supportive environment necessary for behavior change" (Chatterjee et al. 2008). Examples of desirable behavior change are exclusive breastfeeding, hand washing with soap and safe sex practices.

3.1.3 The project design in the context of social inclusion

In the previous subsection I provided a general outline of the project design, here I explain how the project takes into account socially excluded groups, more precisely, the Sahariyas. As IVP is essentially a grassroots process, SDF initially expected the whole community to work together towards a common goal: the betterment of the living conditions in the village. Over time, however, they realized that the Sahariyas are the most deprived social group and that their involvement with IVP had been low. SDF subsequently became more sensitive towards Sahariya issues, albeit without devising a targeted strategy.

Today, each village with a tribal community has one or more tribal village volunteers. In Jamalpur, out of 10 village volunteers, two individuals, a male and a female, belong to the smaller Sahariya hamlet. Despite SDF's reluctance to target any group in particular, in some villages there are WSHGs, AGGs and children's clubs with exclusively Sahariya membership. Jamalpur's Sahariyas from the smaller hamlet founded one WSHG, an AGG and an informal children's council. Some Sahariya hamlets have their own information centers and action plans. This is the case of Jamalpur's Sahariyas from the smaller hamlet, whose separate action plan was drafted with the assistance of the block coordinator and other village volunteers to acknowledge the specific needs of the tribal community in the village. Finally, SDF (2008) claims that efforts have been made to include Sahariyas in reassessments although their participation is not high due to migration.

I do not constantly refer to the smaller hamlet by accident. The 50 households located on the same side of the highway as the main village have largely been left out of the project. The larger tribal hamlet has no village volunteers or self-help groups. According to SDF, this hamlet has no educated Sahariyas to carry out the initiative and so the task was conferred to other village volunteers. Although this means that the larger tribal hamlet is not officially ignored by the project, it is treated like a 'hot potato': both main village volunteers and Sahariya volunteers from the smaller hamlet shy away from it on the pretext that those Sahariyas are migrating for up to six months annually or that they are averse towards behavior change (Chatterjee et al. 2008). Indeed, Sahariyas from the larger hamlet were quite suspicious of us interns, and some were reluctant to answer our questions. One man, although he took part in our household survey, admitted plainly that he did not believe that his answers and our reports would change anything. Unfortunately, we did not stay in the village long enough to probe this situation further. Unless I specify otherwise, I will from here onwards refer to the smaller hamlet, where most IVP activities take place.

3.2 The Project Unfolds

3.2.1 Impact and challenges at higher levels

In the previous section I discussed the design of the project which reflects the theoretical underpinnings of participatory development (PD) embraced by the donor and the implementer. Here I discuss how the project design is put into practice. Although I am focusing on the process of PD and the implications for social inclusion, a few words need to be said about the project results or impact. Admittedly, my team only visited the village of Jamalpur and stayed there only for twelve days. We could, however, notice that although the villagers have received some benefits from the project, many issues had not been tackled. For example, several problems displayed in the Sahariya action plan persist: there is no child development centre, the hand pump is broken again, and birth registration remains low (Chatterjee et al. 2008; see action plan in Figure 2, Appendix 2). In addition, everyone in the village complained that the health centre services and the quality of education were poor.

We thus wanted to find out why the demands made by villagers have not been matched by "an equally prompt" government response, as SDF acknowledges in their 2008 report (p. 21). First of all, the village head is considered to be corrupt by all Sahariyas and village volunteers. He was mentioned in relation to the unequal distribution of government benefits and schemes in the village so as to benefit his own colony. He was also responsible for the grains used in highly inadequate (sporadic, insufficient and insect-infested) mid-day meals. Second, the block and the district levels of governance were not efficient. The District Task Force has not gathered since 2007 although it is supposed to hold meetings quarterly. Talbehat's Block Task Force has so far developed only one Response Plan. In the meeting held in February 2007, Jamalpur was only mentioned twice, with respect to the need for a hand pump at school and a child development centre in the Sahariya hamlet (BTF 2007). Not only were other problems overlooked, but those acknowledged have not yet been solved.

More officially, SDF explained that this inefficiency resulted from the frequent transfers of government officers, requiring repetitive briefing of new members about the project. This was confirmed in our interviews with government officials. Quite a few of them could not answer our questions as they had just arrived in Lalitpur (also see Ovung et al. 2007). Less officially, SDF director told us that resources in Lalitpur are controlled by powerful Bundela families (one of them holds 60% of the total resources in the villages). The Bundelas have been politically, economically and socially strong for generations. As the SDF director suggested, rather than being activists SDF has been trying to win

the Bundelas over gradually[17]. The director of SDF was thus not content that UNICEF, on a rather short notice, decided to involve local NGOs who may not be familiar with SDF's strategies to engage Bundelas more actively in IVP.

SDF is aware of the risk of declining enthusiasm for the project among villagers due to poor government response. However, not everything can be blamed on the government. We were also told by village volunteers that they have not received monetary incentives for the project (understood by SDF as travel costs) in a long time. While SDF asserts that village volunteers work "without any expectations of 'returns' other than the extrinsic gratification of earning respect in the eyes of the community and certainly the personal satisfaction of having a job well done" (2008: 26), village volunteers (most of whom are poor) would prefer to be paid for their efforts. Monetary incentives, as they explained to us, would give them more freedom to devote the necessary amount of time to their duties as village volunteers.

Despite these shortcomings, SDF claims that the project is successful. David Mosse (2005) would not have found this surprising. The project results are framed in terms of the participatory development model involving the community, the government and the civil sector, which all stakeholders find politically desirable. This is best illustrated by project reports where over time field experience becomes replaced by logframes (ibid). In the 2008 report, on one occasion SDF admitted that the government has not collaborated to the desired extent (p. 21), but in a small paragraph devoted to service delivery SDF wrote that DFT and BTF meetings take place regularly, which is not the case (p. 12). There is no mention of the powerful Bundelas.

As behavior change communication (BCC) is far less controversial, in the same report SDF focused more on statistical data on BCC indicators: hand washing with soap, exclusive breastfeeding etc. Although we had limited interactions with UNICEF UP, in a brief discussion with a UNCEF worker, we understood that the donor has been taking with reservations SDF's statistical charts (which are full of inconsistencies and at times manipulative; cf. Miles and Irvine 1979). On the other hand, SDF's enthusiastic success stories about certain village actions (e.g. Mera School, which I will discuss below) were further embellished by UNICEF and posted on their website (UNICEF 2007a, 2007b). Officially, UNICEF also records the project as a success.

[17] However, there have been open confrontations. In a report from 2007, SDF wrote about the former district magistrate who threw away the reports in one DTF meeting because he saw the project as "trying to cross its limit by monitoring government departments" (p. 6). After that event, the particular district magistrate was unwilling to call DFT meetings.

Although our task was not to investigate the impact of the project, it helps the reader to contextualize it. I now turn to the focus of my study, namely the process of IVP. The following subsection concerns the practice of PD at community level and its potential to counter the social exclusion of Sahariyas.

3.2.2 The process at 'community' level

During our assessment, we found that the Sahariyas in the smaller hamlet were well aware of the project, even more than the rest of the village. A vast majority was familiar with the project activities and the people involved in the implementation. This state of affairs can be credited to the young tribal village volunteers[18]. They claim that the project has boosted their self-confidence and are proud that their efforts have resulted in at least some positive behavior changes in the community. For instance, nearly all Sahariyas in the hamlet have overcome the fear of immunization, polio drops in particular. There have been changes in migration practices; most men now migrate alone rather than with their families, thus enabling their children to attend school. Village volunteers have made great efforts to promote education among the tribal group. In fact, Jamalpur is famous for the establishment of an informal coaching school named Mera School ('my school') in the Sahariya hamlet, intended for tribal children who had dropped out of the main village school because they were bullied by children in the main village. The initiative was regarded as so successful that several informal learning centers, modeled after Mera School, were opened in other villages (see Chatterjee et al. 2008; SDF 2008; SDF 2006; UNICEF 2007a; UNICEF 2007b).

The Sahariya WSHG Deva Mata can also be considered a success. It began as a social group where women could discuss issues in the hamlet and generate awareness on positive behavior change such as exclusive breastfeeding and the use of iodized salt. Deva Mata later converted into a savings group with the intention of investing in an income generating venture in the future (Chatterjee et al. 2008). However, the Sahariya AGG members have been a lot less active and the male Sahariya village volunteer did not even know that it existed. The informal children's council in the hamlet was active on one occasion, when the children went to the village head to request the cleaning of the well (ibid).

Although the Sahariyas are involved in the project, there is an obvious shortcoming with respect to the limited interaction with the non-tribal villagers. First of all, in our interviews and conversations with ST as well as non-ST respondents, the two-lane NH 26 was invariably brought up as the barrier

[18] At the time of our fieldwork, the female volunteer was enrolled in grade 10 and the male in grade 8.

isolating the Sahariyas from the main village. Notwithstanding that the road is an inconvenience (and the imminent highway expansion even more so), this explanation was frequently used to cover up deeper causes of the restricted interaction between tribal and non-tribal inhabitants of Jamalpur. For instance, the road was brought up in reference to the low school attendance among Sahariya children. The reluctance among Sahariya adolescent girls to attend AGG meetings in the main village was also explained away by the hazard of crossing the road. However, when we asked several Sahariya children who helps them to cross the road when they go to school in the main village, they responded unanimously and with confidence that they do it on their own. Similarly, when we asked a Sahariya village volunteer if the road was the only reason why girls from his hamlet did not join an AGG in the main village, his answer was that the girls used to complain that they did not understand what was being said in those meetings.

We made several remarks regarding the interaction between Sahariyas and the non-tribal villagers (Chatterjee et al. 2008). First, it was obvious that some forms of discrimination existed between the different social groups, such as between STs and SCs. The husband of the village head[19] pointed out that during a short period of time there was a child development (so-called anganwadi) centre in the larger Sahariya hamlet but that the Sahariyas refused to eat food prepared by the cook belonging to a scheduled caste. In other words, there is a possibility that the tribal group, by living in close proximity to caste Indians, adopted some 'high' caste practices such as untouchability[20]. On the other hand, during our focus group discussion (FGD) with village volunteers, an SC volunteer remarked that Sahariyas are dirty which was why people avoid mingling with them. Interestingly, it was mainly the children from his caste (and sub-caste) who bullied Sahariya children on their way to school. In addition, when we conducted a FGD with villagers from the aforementioned sub-caste, they were not willing to speak about the bullying of Sahariya children, but were much more eager to complain about the poor quality of teaching. In fact, they expressed a desire to open a learning centre like Mera School in their part of the village. In brief, there is rivalry between the SCs and STs with respect to civic amenities. The Sahariyas

[19] "The husband of the village head" actually exists as a single word in Hindi, *pradhanpati*. It labels the common phenomenon where the husband takes over the duties of his wife elected as village head and becomes the *de facto* headman (See Narayanan 2003: 2486; also Mohanty 2007: 85-86).

[20] This phenomenon is called sanskritization, defined as "the process by which a 'low' Hindu caste, or tribal or other group, changes its customs, ritual, ideology, and way of life in the direction of a high caste" (Srinivas 1966: 6).

were envied for having Mera School; however, this tribal group constantly complained that the corrupt SC village head has favored his own community in the distribution of government schemes and benefits.

Second, village volunteers are not immune to caste divisions and related sentiments, as we could see in the FGD with village volunteers. The Sahariya village volunteers spoke very little in the FGD with village volunteers, unless we specifically asked them for their opinion. We had asked them individually about their interactions with non-ST volunteers and they admitted that they did not feel comfortable voicing their demands in the presence of village volunteers from the main village. Although we cannot be sure how the volunteers work together when we are not there, we were shocked to hear the abovementioned SC volunteer saying, in front of everyone, that Sahariyas lack intelligence (*mand-budhi*) in addition to being unclean. When we conducted an activity towards the end of the FGD, whereby we asked the volunteers to write on a piece of paper which village actions they would like to initiate, the same SC village volunteer wrote that there should be more cleanliness in the Sahariya hamlet, despite more pressing issues in the hamlet and in the village as a whole.

Even if some Sahariyas did refuse to eat the food prepared by the SC cook in the short-lived child development centre, the tribal volunteers did not refuse to enter the house of another SC volunteer where the FGD was held. The tribal volunteers thus did not practice untouchability (at least not on this occasion). However, the peer educator who joined our discussion sat at the doorstep as he is from a general caste. The host invited him in a couple of times, but when the peer educator declined, the host's sister (also a volunteer) joined the peer educator at the doorstep to complete an FGD activity with him.

Third, there is a difference between volunteers with respect to their responsibilities in the project. Several activities were undertaken by village volunteer's joint efforts but for the benefit of the tribal hamlet. No such collaboration took place for any activity that concerned the entire village. In other words, whereas main village volunteers are responsible for Jamalpur as a whole, Sahariya volunteers only work towards the betterment of their hamlet. The reason could be the delayed involvement of tribal volunteers in the project, followed by the perceived need to especially assist the most deprived community in the village. In any event, this trend can be illustrated by the abovementioned activity during the FGD. Namely, the main village volunteers wished to initiate actions which would benefit the whole village (such as opening a school for girls, procuring a water tank for the school, or providing electricity and drinking water for all villagers). On the other hand, the Sahariyas only mentioned actions which would be undertaken in their hamlet (such as opening a formal school and an anganwadi centre in their hamlet, and covering the dirt road in their hamlet with concrete).

Fourth, village level institutions do not interact. Sahariyas have their separate WSHG, AGG and children's council. Realistically, it would be too much to expect village women with different socio-economic status to save together, or for adolescent girls from different backgrounds to discuss personal hygiene and safe sex practices together. However, the causes for the impossibility of collaboration are not problematized. Caste divisions are wished away by the donor[21] and particularly the implementing NGO. For example, at the very beginning of our research, the director of SDF told us that WSHGs successfully gather women from different social groups because they share common problems (of being women, I assume). The district coordinator was initially very reluctant to admit that there had been caste related conflicts in the village. The block coordinator argued that village volunteers have "forgotten the social distance", and that the children have also forgotten it. Our evidence from Jamalpur contradicts these statements. As far as the Sahariyas in particular are concerned, all SDF representatives we spoke to suggested, more or less explicitly, that Sahariyas are shy by nature and have an inferiority complex, which might give us the false impression that they are less involved with the project. Quite the opposite, the Sahariyas were very vocal with us when they realized that we would listen. The Sahariyas also told us that they find village meetings pointless because their voices are never heard. What SDF calls shyness might just be resignation, given that Sahariyas are not equal with other villagers as participants in the project.

I will now briefly turn to the role of children in the project and their potential to counter social exclusion, given that SDF repeatedly emphasizes that children are agents of change (both in interviews and reports, see SDF 2006). SDF, like their donor UNICEF, subscribes to the new childhood theories that see children as "change agents" (SDF 2008: 12), competent in matters relating to their life (cf. Ansell 2005; Lansdown 2006; Lund 2008; Prout and James 1990). SDF argues that children's participation in development is their right because they are "the ones who would add sustainability tomorrow" (SDF 2006: 63; cf. Bourdillon 2004; Johnson et al. 1998; Mayo 2001). SDF however falls prey to the "normative assumptions about the self-evident value of children's participation" (Kjørholt 2008: 40), rather than subjecting it to critical scrutiny.

In addition to formal and informal children's groups and councils, children in Lalitpur are involved in the project through the publication of a magazine *Balvani*. *Balvani* means "the voice of children" and refers to the magazine as well as to the child reporters who are trained to depict their

[21] Admittedly, after my team delivered a presentation about our case study at the closing workshop of our internship program, a UNICEF representative acknowledged this shortcoming.

everyday realities with stories and pictures (Photo 3 and 4, Appendix 3). SDF, as an enthusiastic supporter of child participation, writes in one of their reports that "children are known for their impartial and objective depiction of reality and this is particularly the reason why their documentation is free from bias and strong in credibility" (2006: 64). Child reporters did not turn out to be so objective and impartial when we did our fieldwork. Although all villagers, SDF coordinators, and pupils complained about the quality of teaching in school, the three *balvani* of Jamalpur told us that their teacher teaches all subjects very well, including English. However, when I later asked them in English how old they were they did not understand my question. Only one girl understood when I pointed at another girl who looked alike and asked her if that was her sister.

For the purposes of this dissertation, I am more concerned about SDF's understanding of children as homogeneous. SDF did not find it problematic that the three child reporters in Jamalpur are girls belonging to general castes. Given that *balvani* are selected by teachers in primary and junior high schools on the basis of good drawing and writing skills, Sahariyas who are either not enrolled in school or do not attend classes regularly are left out. In fact, it has been remarked that more disadvantaged children are frequently excluded from participatory projects (Ansell 2005; Gallagher 2006; Sinclair 2004), and this is happening in Jamalpur.

In keeping with SDF's increased sensitivity towards socially excluded groups, Jamalpur's *balvani* wrote in the May-July 2007 issue about the need to open a child development centre in the Sahariya hamlet and depicted the initiative by the Sahariya children's council to have the well in their hamlet cleaned. However, it should not be assumed that general caste children share the perspective of Sahariya children. For instance, perhaps the Sahariya children would write about being bullied in school and consequently, establishing an informal learning centre in their hamlet. Perhaps they would explain that they do not go to school because they have to work in agriculture fields and stone quarries or take care of younger siblings at home. Or simply because some do not have more than one change of clothes, so that when those clothes are being washed and dried, the children cannot leave their homes (as the block coordinator explained to us). Instead, Jamalpur's child reporters told us that Sahariya children do not go to school because of the road.

3.2.3 Aspirations and contradictions for social inclusion

I have discussed above how Sahariya volunteers interact with non-tribal volunteers. In this subsection I devote more attention to the aspirations of the Sahariya village volunteers as the key carriers of the

project within their hamlet. I described above the FGD activity in which the tribal volunteers listed actions they would like to initiate in their hamlet rather than in the entire village. I will now provide one more illustration of the Sahariya tendency to take advantage of the project in a way that benefits their community rather than all villagers. It concerns Mera School, one initiative which has been praised far and wide. Mera School is an informal evening coaching school which was established in the Sahariya hamlet in 2006 as a response to the high rate of drop out among Sahariya children from the primary school located in the main village. The tribal pupils refused to go to school because they were bullied by children from the main village. Sahariya village volunteers used to teach regularly, now the children themselves at times replace them, reading out loud the Hindi alphabet from a colorful poster.

The idea was not to have an alternative school, but to promote the importance of education and ultimately encourage mainstreaming. Main village volunteers visited the houses of pupils who bullied Sahariya children to ask them to change their behavior. Subsequently a dozen of Sahariya children re-enrolled in the formal school. As an unexpected consequence, however, some parents welcomed the Mera School initiative, believing that the education it provides is sufficient[22]. This particularly applies to girl children, whom parents prefer to stay in the hamlet so that they can take care of younger siblings. Although Sahariya village volunteers have been trying to convince the parents that formal schools offer more opportunities and resources, instead of encouraging children to go to the main village school, they revealed that they have submitted an application for the opening of a formal school in the hamlet. This would, however, further limit interactions between tribal and non-tribal pupils.

Given the poor government response, it is not very likely that this Sahariya demands will be fulfilled in the near future. Yet, on the other hand, the highway expansion might call for some action to address the growing hazard of crossing the road, particularly with respect to tribal children. The point, however, is that the Sahariyas want *their community* to benefit from the intervention through participation in the Integrated Village Planning project. Participation in the project is only the means to achieving self-sufficiency which would perpetuate the separation of the Sahariyas from non-tribal villagers.

Sahariyas avoid interactions with the rest of village because they have an uneasy relationship with them. To us they claimed that no one bothers about their participation in main village meetings

[22] Although Mera School cannot be regarded as sufficient, UNICEF India depicted the success of Mera School using rather dramatic terms in one of their news items. One sentence reads: "What started as a nightmare for these children unfolds like a fairy tale today" (UNICEF 2007a: http://www.unicef.org/india/education_3148.htm).

hence many do not attend. Some also complained that the village head never visits their hamlet. Village volunteers were also skeptical about their voices being taken seriously in the main village. For instance, one volunteer had written a petition for bringing electricity to the hamlet and submitted it to the village head but to no avail. In addition, tribal village volunteers admitted that they did not feel comfortable voicing their demands in the presence of village volunteers from the main village. We could observe this in the FGD with village volunteers where they spoke very little, unless we specifically asked them for their opinion.

The volunteers believed, however, that they have established good relationships with the Sahariyas in their hamlet. In general, members of this tribal group held positive opinions about the project, and still hoped that benefits would eventually come.

4. Case Study Two: Roma in PT Camp, Montenegro

4.1 The Context

4.1.1 The geographical and socio-economic context

4.1.2 The project design and the social inclusion aspect

4.2 The Project Unfolds

4.2.1 Challenges at community level

4.2.2 The work with higher levels through lobbying and advocacy, and impact

4.2.3 Aspirations and contradictions for social inclusion

4.1 The Context

4.1.1 The geographical and socio-economic context

Roma[23] are Europe's largest minority (Ringold, Orenstein and Vilkens 2005: xiii). Despite falling under the unitary category of Roma, they are in fact very diverse, with "multiple subgroups based on language, history, religion and occupations" (ibid). Although Roma are nomadic in some countries, most of those living "in Central and Eastern Europe have settled over time, some under the Ottoman rule and others more recently under socialism" (ibid). Roma people are also Europe's most vulnerable minority. Ringold at al. identify a number of reasons for their poverty, such as inadequate access to education and consequently formal employment, discrimination, geographical isolation, lack of access to credit, unclear property ownership. In addition, for the Eastern European Roma, whose countries are in transition, there are growing fiscal constraints (e.g. people are now charged for services which were previously free).

For a long time the plight of the Roma has been invisible to state authorities. Nowadays more attention is paid to Roma issues due to an increased global awareness of human rights. As Crowe writes the Roma question "has become something of a measure of the state of democracy" in Europe's post-

[23] As Andre Liebich explains, Gypsies are now called Roma because the former term is "considered derogatory and also historically misconceived as it suggests etymologically that 'Egypt' is the ancestral home of the Roma" rather than India (2007: ix). Interestingly, some Gypsies nowadays claim that they are not Roma but a distinct group originating from Egypt; however, Liebich labels their story as "fantasy" (ibid). This author writes that the term 'Roma' comes from the word 'Rom' which means "a married Gypsy man" in Romani language (ibid; cf. Romski Informativni Centar 2003-2007).

communist states (2007: 235). Paying attention to Roma rights and living conditions has even become a prerequisite for the accession of Eastern European states into the European Union (EU) (Ringold et al. 2005). One such state is the Republic of Montenegro: formerly a part of Yugoslavia (see Map 3, Appendix 1). Montenegro does not have the reputation of a country where Roma were prosecuted[24] (unlike for example Romania, see Fonseca 1996). While Montenegro was still a part of Yugoslavia, in 1981, Roma were granted nationality status, rather than being forced into policies of assimilation like in other socialist countries (Ringold et al. 2005).

Delić (2008) writes that most Roma arrived in the Balkans following Ottoman conquerors in the XIV century. They predominantly worked as artisans and thanks to their adaptability were spared from repression. Initially, although they were known as 'Gypsies', they lived together with the local population and most likely got along well. However, a number of social changes ensued in the XV and XVI century, including Roma conversion to Islam, as a means to receive benefits from the Ottomans. As the Ottomans forbade mixing between local Christians and Roma Muslims, the latter began living in separate *mahalas* (colonies or neighborhoods). This was also the period of rising national consciousness, as a result of which, local people changed their attitudes toward the Roma. The conquerors also held negative attitudes toward the Roma, considering them as merely nominal Muslims.

There have been several waves of migration of Roma to Montenegro. A small number inhabited coastal harbors in medieval times but the largest number of them came in the XVIII century. There is historical evidence that during the XVIII century the Roma settled in Turkish caravan towns in the northern and central parts of Montenegro. Delić writes that the Roma were not accepted very well by the local population because they looked different from the mainstream, notably because of their skin color[25]. In addition, the Roma groups in Montenegro worked as blacksmiths, a profession which the dominant society considered to be below their dignity. In the XIX century several smaller waves of migration occurred, mainly originating from Kosovo: during the inter-war period; during the 1960s

[24] Nevertheless, even in Montenegro there have been a few cases of violence against the Roma. Crowe calls attention to a 1995 case involving a massive riot in a Montenegrin town which resulted in the destruction of a Roma neighborhood (2007: 289). After the United Nations Committee against Torture (UNCAT) filed a case against the Government of Montenegro, the latter agreed to provide monetary compensation to the Roma for their losses (ibid).

[25] Similarly, Sibley writes that "the idea of society assumes some cohesion and conformity which create, and are threatened by, difference" (1995: 69).

when the two largest cities in Montenegro (Podgorica and Nikšić) began to industrialize; and during the 1990s, due to the wars in Former Yugoslavia.

There are numerous Roma groups in Montenegro with distinct histories and customs[26], yet they have a lot in common. For instance, their families are patriarchal and marriages endogamous, meaning that marriages between members of two different groups are rare; and when they occur, the offenders are judged negatively by their respective communities. Roma predominantly live in separate settlements and camps, partly due to the negative attitudes and prejudices held by the larger society, and partly because the Roma themselves wish to safeguard their specific cultural identities. Consequently, they have developed a ghetto mentality ("*mentalitet 'svijest geta'"* according to Delić 2008: 37), which on one hand helps them to preserve their Roma identity, but on the other distances them from other ethic groups (including the dominant one) in whose proximity they live and with whom they collaborate.

The estimated population of Roma in Montenegro is 15,000 to 20,000 (Delić 2008; Ministarstvo[27] 2008; UNDP Bratislava Regional Centre 2005), significant for a country of 620,145 inhabitants (according to the 2003 census; Monstat 2009: http://www.monstat.cg.yu/srCGuBrojkama.htm). However in the 2003 census, only 2,601 identified as Roma (ibid), meaning that they are undersampled. First of all, a significant number of Roma declare themselves as Montenegrins which UNDP Bratislava Regional Centre explains as a logical pattern "given the fact that Roma identity is often associated with underclass status and/or discrimination" (2005: 7; also see Mizsei 2006). Second, there are between four and seven thousand Roma who permanently settled in Montenegro during the Kosovo crisis (Delić 2008; Ministarstvo 2008; UNDP Bratislava Regional Centre 2005). UNDP Bratislava Regional Centre

[26] The Balkans, arguably, has the highest variety of Roma groups (Delić 2008). Roma groups in Montenegro distinguish among themselves as Roma, Ashkalia and Egyptians, hence the more politically correct term is the acronym RAE which is used by the government and NGOs in Montenegro. However, like Crowe (2007), I will follow the internationally recognized term Roma (particularly when referring to my research given that my informants self-identify as Roma, or more precisely, Roma Muslims). Delić writes that Egyptians believe themselves to be different from Roma whereas the Roma disagree, and that Ashkalia believe themselves to be different from Egyptians whereas the Egyptians disagree. The differentiation between the Roma and Egyptians is contentious, not only among members of their groups but also among theorists, scientists, anthropologists and historians. Although Delić does not take a stance on this, she explains the promotion and emancipation of Egyptians as identity politics or politicization of ethnicity (also see Crowe 2007: 231). In the 2003 Montenegro census, 225 individuals identified as Egyptians (Monstat 2009: http://www.monstat.cg.yu/). There was no category of Ashkalia.

[27] I am referring to Ministarstvo za zaštitu ljudskih i manjinskih prava 2008 (Ministry for the Protection of Human and Minority Rights 2008). I will henceforth use the short form: Ministarstvo 2008.

(2005) believes that half of them do not have personal documents. These Roma face the double burden of being a discriminated minority and refugees[28].

Problems that Montenegrin Roma face today include poverty (52% under the poverty line, according to Šipka forthcoming), high illiteracy (50%, ibid) and widespread unemployment (42%, ibid; figures are higher among women). Moreover, the degree of intolerance towards the Roma among the general population is high according to a survey from 2007 (CEDEM 2007)[29]. Many Roma children beg on the streets of larger towns and men employed in public waste management are most often Roma. Other than the mentioned examples, there is little interaction with the mainstream population, as most Roma live in camps situated in the outskirts of towns.

Over the past few years the Government of Montenegro has officially attempted to improve the living conditions of the Roma through various strategies and action plans. Most notably, Montenegro is among the eleven[30] signatories of the Decade of Roma Inclusion 2005-2015 (henceforth Decade): an international initiative which brings together governments, intergovernmental organizations and NGOs (including Roma NGOs) with the objective to improve the socio-economic status of the Roma. In spite of this commitment thus far few concrete steps have been taken. UNDP Bratislava Regional Centre identifies the following hurdles: there is lack of coordination between state institutions and non-governmental organizations; most projects are small and address particular issues; social welfare services are inadequate; and levels of corruption in the state are high (UNDP Bratislava Regional Centre

[28] Most refuges came from Kosovo (especially around the time of NATO bombing in 1999), and some from other Former Yugoslav Republics (during the disintegration of Yugoslavia which took place between 1991 and 1995). At one time every fourth individual in Montenegro was a refugee or an internally displaced person (Ministarstvo 2008).

[29] The survey, done in April-May 2007 by a Montenegrin NGO called CEDEM (in English, Centre for Democracy and Human Rights), was entitled Ethnic Distance in Montenegro (*Etnička distanca u Crnoj Gori*). Questions asked included "would you accept if [member of an ethnic group] was living in your neighborhood" or "was your co-worker", or "was your supervisor", or "was distantly related to you through marriage with a relative", or "was closely related to you through your own marriage or the marriage of your son or daughter". Roma on most questions got the lowest value compared to all other ethnic groups. For example, to the question "would you accept if a Roma was living in your neighborhood", only 52.9 respondents answered yes, and to the question "would you accept if a Roma was closely related to you through your own marriage or the marriage of your son or daughter", only 17.7 respondents answered yes (see http://www.cedem.cg.yu/opolls/images/Etnicka_distanca_2007.pdf).

[30] The remaining ten countries are Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Macedonia, Romania, Serbia, and Slovakia. In addition, Spain and Slovenia have been invited to join (Decade of Roma Inclusion 2008: http://www.romadecade.org/index.php?content=1).

2007; UNDP Bratislava Regional Centre n.d.[31]). Aware that the Decade has not brought about significant benefits for the Roma, the Ministry for the Protection of Human and Minority Rights has recently adopted the Strategy for the Improvement of Welfare of RAE Population in Montenegro 2008-2012[32] (henceforth Strategy). Within the Strategy, half a million Euros have been approved for projects targeting the Roma; applicants can be NGOs as well as state institutions. It remains to be seen whether this document will prove to be more useful than the Decade.

In any event there have been some positive developments. For example, media attention to Roma issues is on the rise (Šipka forthcoming). Roma have also started organizing themselves, indeed there are a number of registered Roma NGOs and coalitions. In 2008, even Roma women have decided to get involved by holding the first conference entitled Roma Women in Montenegro 2005-2015. However, the Roma movement in Montenegro is still weak compared to other countries in the region; there are no Roma political parties or Members of Parliament (MPs), and the Roma are internally divided (Šipka forthcoming; UNDP Bratislava Regional Centre n.d.).

The Roma Camp PT, situated in the outskirts of the second largest city in Montenegro, Nikšić, is home to one Roma NGO. In 2003, the leader of the camp founded a Roma NGO gathering about 60 members (out of 395 Roma living in the camp) with the mission to promote integration of Roma in the Montenegrin society. The NGO works in the fields of education and advocacy, focusing on issues related to literacy, employment, healthcare, and documentation of refugees from Kosovo. The most ambitious project took place in 2005 after eleven dwellings burnt down in a fire. Following this calamity, a building for the families whose dwellings were destroyed was constructed with the support of the municipality.

The Roma Camp PT was rather small until four or five decades ago (*Dan* 29 April 2009) when a number of families came from Kosovo to escape poverty and lack of opportunities. The leader of the NGO arrived in late 1950s. More families arrived from Kosovo in the 1990s due to the war. The leader of the NGO explained that living in camps, separate from the mainstream, is a Roma tradition; however,

[31] As a response to these challenges, UNDP is implementing a multi-country regional project in Montenegro, Serbia and Kosovo. Its objective is to effect pro-poor policy reform to achieve MDG targets. The focus in on national actors because UNDP believes that they are "better equipped to respond to human poverty challenges faced by vulnerable groups" (UNDP Bratislava Regional Centre n.d.: 2).

[32] The Strategy in the Montenegrin language (*Strategija za poboljšanje položaja RAE populacije u Crnoj Gori 2008-2012*) can be downloaded from the Ministry's website: http://www.minmanj.vlada.cg.yu/vijesti.php?akcija=vijesti&id=152223.

he added that it is questionable if the tradition is entirely positive. He named a few Roma who left the camp, who were more successful than those who remained, in terms of educational achievement and living conditions. The good aspects of living in together in a camp are solidarity and traditional ceremonies. According to the Roma leader, discrimination against the Roma will never vanish, but it will diminish. For instance, it used to be pronounced in schools; however, children experience discrimination much less nowadays, on the part of teachers as well as fellow pupils (see Open Society Institute and EUMAP 2007).

4.1.2 The project design and the social inclusion aspect

Above I described the context within which the PD intervention is taking place; here I describe the intervention itself. The implementing agency is a popular youth organization YCCY with a wide spectrum of development interests, and the donor is the Swedish Helsinki Committee for Human Rights (SHC). The project was not approved in the established fashion, i.e. through a call for proposals on the part of the donor and subsequently the submission of proposals on the part of competing NGOs. Instead, the project resulted from rather informal discussions between SHC and YCCY about minority rights issues in Montenegro. SHC was interested in a project targeting the most vulnerable minorities, the Roma and LGBT (lesbians, gays, bisexuals and transsexuals). As YCCY had previous experience working with both groups, in 2004, they drafted a project proposal which was approved by the donor. The project was entitled "Capacity Building for Roma NGOs and Free Rainbow [an LGBT organization]" and was initially a partnership between four Roma NGOs (two from the capital, Podgorica, and two from Nikšić, see Map 4, Appendix 1) and one LGBT organization. Follow-up projects have thus far been approved every year[33]. This project can be said to be much smaller in scope than IVP (discussed in the previous chapter), which is implemented in every village in Lalitpur district. However, due to Montenegro being a small country, the project is relatively well known within the NGO sector and among the Roma communities.

There are three key features of the project: (1) the objective is to reduce discrimination and protect minority rights; (2) it is based on capacity-building of NGOs which are led by representatives of the minority; (3) it includes elements of lobbying and advocacy so as to secure long term solutions to minority rights issues. As usual, the project design was the product of an agreement between the donor,

[33] With one modification; namely, the collaboration with the LGBT organization "Free Rainbow' was rather problematic, thus that aspect of the project was abandoned in 2007.

SHC, and the implementer, YCCY, in accordance with the donor's strategy. Thus, the first feature reflects SHC's main mandate, which is the promotion of human rights. This includes minority rights; one of SHC's programmes is non-discrimination (particularly with respect to ethnic and sexual minorities). This goes hand in hand with their objective to "improve democracy and civil society" (SHC 2009: http://shc.mediaonweb.org/en/1/), the latter being regarded as an avenue for participation, i.e. engagement in decision-making. This is the rationale behind the second feature. YCCY is directly supported by SHC as the mediator: their goal is to enable minority NGOs to address their *own* problems because "the best way for improvement of their [Roma] life conditions is their own involvement and initiatives" (YCCY 2007: 7). Finally, the third feature reflects the acknowledgement that the state should provide long term solutions to social problems (as I explained in Chapter 1). This feature was first mentioned in the project proposal in 2005 and more formally incorporated in subsequent years.

How is this supposed to play out in practice? The facilitating NGO, YCCY, organizes capacity building trainings for the Roma NGOs. In the first year of the project, the focus was on NGO management, given that the chosen Roma NGO had not had much work experience prior to involvement in the project. In 2006, when advocacy became a required component of project activities, the training consisted of three modules: human rights particularly minority rights and the rights of the Roma; lobbying and advocacy; and creating visual identity (in the form of brochures and other communication material). In 2007, the modules included strategic planning with respect to the work of Roma NGOs, the role of Roma NGOs, the progress in the field of Roma rights as envisaged in government documents, and again advocacy techniques.

After the training sessions and individual consultations with project consultants from YCCY or other NGOs, each Roma NGO writes their own project proposal and applies for a micro grant from YCCY. As YCCY pointed out in their 2006 and 2007 project proposals, this is the key component in the project, as it demonstrates Roma participation in their own development: "the program that [YCCY] is implementing with Swedish Helsinki Committee is unique by the strong component of ownership of [sic] target groups through [the] implementation of their own mini-grants" (2006: 2, 2007: 2). Normally, Roma NGOs have three months to implement their projects, after which they write and submit narrative and financial reports to YCCY. Each NGO has one leader who coordinates the micro projects, although three to four of the most active members from each NGO are invited to take part in training sessions and consultations. As regards the demographic characteristics of the membership, since the facilitating agency is a youth organization, Roma NGOs tend to involve youth (aged 15 to 24). Youth participation

was not formally a requirement in the project but it was encouraged. As one of the Roma NGOs is a women's NGO, the leader is a woman (although two active members are men).

The government is not directly a part of the project as in the case of IVP in India (previous chapter). However, the lobbying aspect involves the participation of the state, particularly the local authorities such as the municipality. The rationale behind involving the state is the conviction that Roma people should not be expected to solve their problems on their own, but rather, to engage state institutions and direct their work to address Roma needs, or to negotiate. YCCY as the facilitating agency does not work directly with the government on this project. Rather it embodies two roles in relation to the Roma NGOs: the role of the trainer or consultant, and the role of the donor (giving micro-grants). YCCY however wants the NGOs to communicate with the government, which explains the training sessions on lobbying and advocacy.

Unlike IVP, the project is a targeted intervention. It does not involve the population as a whole, but only members of the minority. Social inclusion is to be achieved through the efforts made by the Roma NGOs and micro grants are meant to serve this purpose. The very participation of Roma in civil society is a form of social inclusion. Not only does being part of the NGO sector allow this marginalized minority to contribute to the betterment of their living conditions[34], it also provides formal employment for the Roma, which is an alternative to the informal economy or the little respected work in public waste management[35]. NGOs act in an organized manner by having a clear structure, goals and values, and they attain legitimacy by being registered as an NGO. These two factors allow NGOs to apply for funding from the state and international donors. Through work in NGOs, Roma individuals attain practical knowledge and skills, but they can also earn respect in their community and wider society.

4.2 The Project Unfolds

4.2.1 Challenges at community level

In the above section I described how this project embodies participation by its design. This section deals with the actual implementation of the initiative. Again, I am focusing on the functioning of the PD

[34] The YCCY project coordinator said that "when speaking of Montenegro there are almost no examples that a Roma works outside of an NGO in a position of decision-making" (interview, my translation).

[35] During Communism, the Government of Montenegro sent local Roma to Kosovo so as to bring back more Roma for work in public waste management. The mainstream Montenegrins did not want to work as street cleaners (Delić 2008).

project and the implications for social inclusion. As it is a targeted intervention, the beneficiary community is Roma, a single ethnic group. The social inclusion aspect lies in the effectiveness of Roma efforts to integrate into the mainstream society. However, I will make a partial digression and first point out to some challenges within the Roma community, which did not turn out to be a coherent unity. As a result, some members participate more than others, and in turn have more decision-making power than others. By extension, they can decide for the others what route to social inclusion they will take.

A striking feature of the four Roma NGOs who are involved with YCCY project is that they are family NGOs. In other words, the most active members in an NGO are almost by rule family members of the leader. In the case of the Roma NGO from PT camp, the most active members (who take part in YCCY training sessions) are the leader's son and grandson[36]. YCCY is aware of this; at first they found it problematic but over time accepted it as inevitable. The coordinator believes that if the NGO "family is the one that can change things in the settlement, then it is okay" (interview[37]). There were two young men who were members of the NGO but not of the leader's family. However, they had a few differences of opinion with the leader, as a result of which they quit this NGO and joined another one in the neighboring camp.

When I asked the Roma leader who could continue his work when he retires, he answered that he is on good terms with everyone in the camp, irrespective of their religion, but he said that he "would not, under any circumstances, allow anyone to represent my organization except for my own family" (interview). He added that an Egyptian[38] from his board of governors wanted to get involved with the NGO but the leader refused. He described the board member as someone greedy who kept asking for "funds" because "they all think that if I represent an NGO, there is money" (interview). The honoraria from YCCY projects are symbolic as the micro grants are very small. However, this fact is not perceived by everyone in the same manner. As a result, Roma leaders seem to prefer their family members whom they can trust. No doubt, they also want other benefits of NGO work to remain within the family (such as decision-making power and prestige). This example points to another feature of the Montenegrin

[36] The leader's son is the uncle (not the father) of the leader's grandson. In fact, the son is only two years older than the grandson (aged 18 and 16 respectively at the time of my fieldwork) because Roma women normally marry as teenagers and give birth to multiple children.

[37] As I conducted interviews for my second case study in Montenegrin, all quotes from interviews are my translations from Montenegrin to English.

[38] As I explained at the beginning of the chapter, Egyptians are considered by many to be Roma, but they themselves believe to be different (by claiming Egyptian origins).

Roma in general. They are organized in several groupings (or "clans", as the YCCY coordinator labeled them in an interview) with converging, diverging and conflicting interests depending on the available resources for Roma emancipation.

A few words need to be said about the less powerful members of the 'community'. There are no females among the active members of the Roma NGO in PT camp, although projects in 2006 and 2007 concerned women (literacy and hygiene). In 2008, when the focus was unemployment, both adolescent boys and girls attended job training. According to the consultant, girls were more active, some even registered at the Employment Agency. However, girls participate as beneficiaries rather than as co-workers in the initiatives. The reason for this, according to the YCCY coordinator, is the strong patriarchy in the Roma community, where there are limited resources and women get a "chance only after the terrain had been trodden by men" (interview). The leader said that they included women in the project as beneficiaries only recently because earlier their parents did not allow them to take part in such activities. He was proud to say that now some Roma girls even go to the coast to work in hotels. However, it turned out that it is more difficult for women to be involved in the project because of household duties. The leader told me that he will see to involving women in the project, "when they have free time", "after they make supper and finish their chores" (interview). Although the leader welcomes some changes in the camp, such as women being allowed to join the formal workforce and even leave their homes in search of employment, he does not question women's primary role as house wives. However this opinion is held widely in mainstream Montenegrin society. Interestingly, the two Roma youngsters who are actively involved with the NGO told me that they would certainly engage women in the organization because "women work better than men". They added that "some men are interested" in the NGO but "some think about other stuff, they are bored", or they limit their options to public waste management (interview). Their prerequisite, however, for involving women is literacy.

Speaking to youth who are participating in the project, it was very clear that the youths are involved not as current representatives of the youth sub-culture but as apprentices, grown-ups-to-be, who will take over the efforts of the NGO leader when he retires . Davis and Malcolm argue that by "emphasizing the role of children as future adults and workers", we are "guilty of ignoring the skills of children in the present" (2006: 5). This can be applied to these two youths, who describe their current contribution as "typing reports", "distributing firewood and other humanitarian aid", "and occasionally [sharing] an idea" (interview). The YCCY coordinator pointed out that even their future as NGO leaders is not certain as they still need to demonstrate leadership skills in order to be accepted by the

community. Such skills are not visible in this case because the youngsters are "too much under his [the Roma NGO leader] protectorate" (interview).

Finally, the most marginalized members of the community are refugees (mainly from Kosovo), who cannot fully participate in project activities because they do not have the required documentation. For example, those who took part in the job training could not register at the Employment Agency at the end of the project because they do not own identity cards, birth certificates or citizenship certificates. Consequently, the social inclusion of those individuals is particularly problematic.

4.2.2 The work with higher levels through advocacy and lobbying, and impact

In this section I will present two advocacy and lobbying projects in order to demonstrate the difficulties that Roma NGOs face in incorporating the government in their projects. First, I need to point out that Roma NGOs in Montenegro, more often than not, do not have the best working conditions. Many do not have offices but work from private homes, technical equipment is usually lacking, and members and leaders may not have had many years of formal education. The Roma leader who was my informant in this research had completed high school, which according to him, offered such good education at the time that many people think that he attended university. In contrast, the Roma leader from the NGO in the neighboring camp is illiterate. Considering these circumstances, the facilitating agency, YCCY, has been quite flexible. In 2007, when the two Roma NGOs from Nikšić decided to work on a common project, the consultants wrote the micro project proposal as dictated to them by the Roma NGO leaders.

The 2006 project was the first one to have a compulsory advocacy and lobbying component. One Roma NGO from the capital visited government officials to lobby for the opening a Roma Culture Centre. The women's NGO conducted research on the position of Roma women and held a tribune where the findings were presented. The Roma NGOs from Nikšić individually conducted health-related projects, whereby a doctor and a nurse were invited to the respective camps to hold workshops on personal and household hygiene, as well as family planning among Roma women. According to the micro proposal that the NGO from PT camp submitted to YCCY, one of the causes for inadequate hygiene in the camp is the "difficult communication with workers in the Health Centre" (PT camp 2006:

3). Further in the proposal, it is stated that health protection is the fundamental right of every person, but that Roma people find it hard to fulfill this right because of their marginalization" (ibid)[39].

I was the coordinator of the project that year, and it took me many hours to convince the leader to include an advocacy or lobbying activity. Finally, we agreed that the Roma leader would visit the Health Centre to try to "find a permanent solution" to the problem of discrimination in health centers, or to convince the medical officer in charge to provide an honorarium to the nurse who is visiting the camp and holding workshops. Meanwhile, the nurse would be paid from the micro grant (and her visits would, naturally, cease once the funding is finished). Problems appeared again when it was time for the leader to visit the Health Centre and request better cooperation. The leader told me that there was no point in talking to the officer in charge because he knew the answer; there are no funds in the Health Centre for such commitment. In the end he did visit the Health Centre, but only to fulfill the formal project requirement.

As regards the impact, the lobbying project for the Roma Centre did not result in the actual construction of the Centre. The Minister of Culture gave his promise, but this is where it ended. In contrast, the leader of the PT camp was satisfied with what he had achieved in the project time frame, but as there was more to be done, he wanted to pursue that topic in the future. YCCY was not happy with that idea, because perpetual visits by a health worker would mean patronage and YCCY's objective has been finding a solution to a systemic problem.

The 2007 project, as written in YCCY's proposal to the donor, "would aim at further improvement of work [sic] of RNGOs [Roma NGOs], as well as fighting against the [sic] discrimination against Roma people in Montenegro" (YCCY 2007: 11). It was originally conceived as a lobbying project carried out jointly by the four Roma NGOs. The idea was to divide the roles among the leaders who would visit state institutions in order to establish better cooperation. With the consultants' assistance, they were supposed to thoroughly read out the government's Strategy so as to be able to follow its implementation and point out when something is overlooked. However, in the end, only one NGO from Podgorica stuck to the original idea (the same one that had tried to win support for the opening of a Roma Culture Centre in 2006). The three remaining NGOs decided to do a project on employment, possibly because the project consultants happened to be working for the Employment

[39] According to the YCCY coordinator, Roma try to treat their illnesses until the last minute, and then they call the ambulance. In fact, she added, "they call the ambulance even for a headache, just because they know that the ambulance has no right not to come" (interview).

Agency of Montenegro[40] (interview with the consultant and YCCY coordinator). The other Roma NGO from the capital which also focused on employment is a women's NGO, and they among other activities held a discussion about the issue of unemployment among Roma women on a local radio station.

The two NGOs from Nikšić, as indicated above, worked together in 2007. Their activities included organizing job training for a number of Roma youths, visiting potential work places, and encouraging youths to register at the Employment Agency. As, according to YCCY's 2007 proposal, the micro projects "would have to have an advocacy component" (p. 10), I asked the YCCY coordinator to point out the lobbying and advocacy aspect of the employment initiatives. She initially answered that Roma were establishing useful contacts with the Employment Agency and potential employers, but then conceded that the original plan was better.

On one hand, I agree that promoting formal employment among the Roma might reduce their isolation by leading to more interactions with the mainstream population. On the other hand, there are a few evident limitations. The jobs Roma can obtain are low-skill jobs due to their inadequate education. First, such employment would not necessarily improve their economic situation as their earnings would not necessarily surpass the income from the informal economy or social welfare assistance. Second, the concentration of Roma in low skilled jobs would not challenge negative stereotypes about the Roma. Third, establishing contact with the Employment Agency means entering the well-established system. In contrast, lobbying the government to implement state-wide programs for the improvement of Roma economic situation means changing the system by showing "political teeth" (Cornwall and Coelho 2007: 25).

In any event, it did turn out that the employment project had more positive impact than the lobbying project carried out by the NGO from the capital. In the latter, the leader did not succeed in organizing the meetings with government officials as planned. For instance, the Mayor of Podgorica did not receive him, as the leader of the NGO from PT camp revealed. In contrast, the leader from PT camp was happy with his achievements, as two girls from the camp found jobs through the Employment Agency: one as a hairdresser and one as a waitress. Two may not sound as many, but they certainly offer a good example to other community members, who lack initiative because they have little faith in "being able to advance in society" (interview with the consultant).

[40] Originally the consultant was supposed to be an activist for Roma rights (although not Roma himself) from another NGO. As that did not work out, YCCY hired as consultants two women who had worked on Roma projects in recent past, and they happened to be from the Employment Agency.

In both projects the leader from the PT camp avoided working with the government, which was in a way justifiable, as evidence of limited success from other more lobbying-oriented micro projects confirmed. The YCCY coordinator, who has been in the NGO sector for about a decade, explained that the government gives very small grants to NGOs, a fraction of what an NGO would ask for in a project proposal. Thus in general, the largest funds come from international donors, be they international organizations or governments of Western European or North American countries. Specifically in the case of Roma NGOs, the situation might be changing for the better with the adoption of the Strategy. In addition, there is more pressure on the government from the international community to improve the situation of the Roma, and more possible donors. As Fonseca would suggest, the government of Montenegro might regard "the plight of Gypsies" as "a useful gambit in their bids for foreign aid" (1996: 303). Until now, however, government response was best prior to elections. As there are up to 20,000 Roma in Montenegro (whether or not they declare themselves as such in the census), they constitute a significant percentage of the electorate (up to 3 %). The government officers might open their doors to Roma before the elections but "forget their promises after the Roma votes have been cast" (interview with YCCY coordinator).

Although the civil society is more committed than state institutions and there are more and more NGOs that work on Roma emancipation, Roma as well as non-Roma, some among the latter still hold paternalistic notions. For instance, the YCCY projects in 2006 and 2007 included, in addition to micro grants for Roma NGOs, internships for Roma youth at other NGOs so that they can learn from more established and professional organizations while they are also contributing to their host's work. They were paid by YCCY. However, in both years the youth from Nikšić were "mostly learning how to type on the computer" (interview with YCCY coordinator). When I was coordinating the project in 2006, I asked one NGO director who accepted four Roma interns how helpful the interns were for the work of his NGO. He responded that they were not, but he did not expect it, he just wanted to "help them".

4.2.3 Aspirations and contradictions for social inclusion

In this section I give more space to the Roma from PT camp, particularly their leader, to voice their understanding of development. First of all, I was interested in learning about the attitudes of the leader towards the government. He claims that he has had many difficulties with the state because thus far they have not been able to get "a single project from government funds". The only exception is the Parliament, but they only give 500 Euros with which the Roma leader cannot do much. In his opinion,

the state is not cooperative because "they think in a different way, that *they* could draw funds from donors and use them" (interview, his emphasis). He added that this is what state officers have been doing until now, "they draw funds, as in the case of the Decade; and if *we* [the Roma] are not persistent, and we *have to* be persistent to draw the funds that have been given to *us*, the question of the Decade will remain unresolved".

As regards the last project in 2007, the reason why the leader decided to do a project on employment rather than lobbying the government to implement the Strategy was that he had developed effective cooperation with the director of the Employment Agency in Nikšić, whereas he knew that the government would not cooperate on the lobbying project. He added that he had warned the leader from Podgorica who attempted to carry out the lobbying project. After he explained that it was the Mayor of Podgorica who did not receive the local Roma leader, he asserted that when he wants to speak to "those high up", he will do it via the Roma Council; he will "not make appointments". The Roma Council is the official body representing Roma in the implementation of the Strategy. The leader of PT camp is a member and was even nominated as the president, which he declined on account of his frail health. With the aforementioned statement he is making a point that he will not humiliate himself (by making appointments) but will call government officials to respond to him, because he has some rights.

The leader of the Roma NGO was, in fact, very eloquent about his rights. When I asked him which form of inclusion Roma people want, he responded: "like all other citizens, considering that we have all the rights like all citizens. We don't want any other rights save for those that all citizens have" (interview). The leader is aware that the international community, in the form of foreign donors, is open to collaborating with the Roma and is more generous with funding compared to the government. Discussion with other NGOs, perhaps especially with YCCY who organized training sessions on minority rights, also contributed to a heightened awareness of human rights. Interestingly, the Roma leader, although he avoids lobbying the government within YCCY projects, is very willing to use the media as a weapon to criticize the state and even to force the state to fulfill their obligations. The state media are not very responsive, but private newspapers are. For instance, the leader revealed that he accused the government via the media for rejecting his project proposals. The YCCY coordinator showed me a newspaper article in which the Roma leader is making an appeal to the local government to provide water in the building which was constructed for the eleven Roma families whose dwellings

burned down in a fire (*Dan* 17 July 2008). The leader, in addition to the state, has also accused or wanted to accuse some NGOs and international organizations who did not respect agreements[41].

I mentioned above how the participation in civil society is already a form of social inclusion. However, in his individual projects the Roma leader is drifting away from a permanent solution to the multifaceted problem of Roma exclusion. His projects involve bringing educators, health workers, councilors to the camp and effecting small-scale albeit concrete benefits for his community. He wants the Roma in his camp to be literate, educated and gainfully employed, but does not challenge the state to provide long-term solutions to systemic discrimination, without which the social inclusion of Roma cannot be achieved. Although the project is supposed to be based on cooperation between NGOs and the government, Roma leader considers NGOs as an antidote to government inefficiency and lack of will. He explained his engagement in the NGO sector thus:

> The poverty was evident, and I saw that there was no way out, not from other institutions, not from the local government […] the municipality, the Ministry [for Ethnic Minorities] or the Government, but now, when NGOs emerged, things changed, already things function in a different way. […] So, we reached the real thing with NGOs, […] NGOs can attain good results if they want to work. (Interview)

[41] In 2004, an NGO in Podgorica failed to keep their promise with respect to funding a project by this Roma leader. The Roma leader had this story published in a newspaper. Soon after, the NGO from Podgorica invited the Roma leader and introduced him to YCCY. The outcome of thus established partnership between the Roma leader and YCCY is the SHC-funded project. Even more daringly, recently the Council of Europe did not extend funding for a project that they were supporting for 15 months in the PT camp. They did not give advance notice to the leader. The leader wanted to "go to the media" and even consulted some lawyers, but decided that "it was enough to accuse via the media" (interview). Eventually, he changed his mind because he was still waiting for the second delivery of firewood as agreed in the project.

5. Discussion: Participation for Social Inclusion?

5.1 Challenges of Participatory Development
5.2 Participation for Social Inclusion?
5.3 Aspirations for Modernity

5.1 Challenges of Participatory Development

In this chapter I will draw parallels between the projects. My purpose is not to compare and contrast them but to identify some common issues. This section lays out the challenges that are encountered in these case studies when the project design is put into practice.

First of all, I remind the reader that the two projects are examples of participatory development (PD) as they actively involve the beneficiaries in decision-making and the implementation. In Integrated Village Planning (IVP) the villagers are supposed to meet regularly to identify and discuss issues in the village. The solutions are reached either through behavior change communication (BCC) among members of the community in order to change negative behaviors (e.g. not washing hands with soap before meals and after defecation leads to health risks) or by passing demands to authorities for a more adequate provision of social services (e.g. health services and education). In the capacity building project in Montenegro, Roma NGOs are trained on NGO management as well as on lobbying and advocacy techniques so that they can identify issues in their respective communities and seek permanent solutions.

These two case studies are both examples of the new approach to participatory development where people take ownership of their development but need to collaborate with the state to make development sustainable (for example, see Cornwall and Coelho 2007). In both cases, the donor's strategy is to link beneficiaries with the government so that the former can influence policy-making of the latter. The UNICEF India-funded intervention directly involves Lalitpur's district authorities in IVP so that they can respond more promptly to villagers' demands. The minority rights project in Montenegro sponsored by Swedish Helsinki Committee (SHC) does not directly engage the government but it requires of Roma NGOs to build up lobbying and advocacy skills to be able to demand respect for their rights. Here, the implementing NGO acts as a facilitator, enabling the project participants to better connect with the government.

However, there are challenges for these projects to work, or to bring about social inclusion, which is their aim. UNICEF's (as the donor) and SDF's (as the implementer) project in Lalitpur was not initially concerned with social inclusion issues, however, it became clear that some social groups were marginalized and were not benefiting from the project to the same extent as the rest of Lalitpur's inhabitants. This is why over time the project incorporated the social inclusion aspect, and why UNICEF wanted us their interns to assess whether the Sahariyas, one of the Indian STs, were involved in the process. On the other hand, the Roma project was from the outset concerned with social inclusion, as SHC (the donor) and YCCY (the implementer) conceived the project as an intervention that combats discrimination against (in this case ethnic) minorities.

As I outlined in Chapter 1, social inclusion involves two aspects: (1) reducing discrimination by the mainstream society which prevents social integration, and (2) facilitating access to services (such as health and education) and providing opportunities for a better life (e.g. education leading to employment). Social inclusion is a complex process that requires transformation of underlying structures that give rise to social exclusion. My intention was to identify the obstacles which jeopardize the goal of social inclusion in these two PD projects.

First, there are shortcomings at the community level. As I discussed in the theory chapter, the state and NGOs often use the idealistic and homogenizing term community for people at the local level, thus obliterating differences between social groups or distinctions among individuals within the same social group according to gender, age, disability etc (see Eyben and Ladbury 1995; Mosse 1994; Williams 2004). In both the Sahariya and the Roma case study, the assumption about the existence of a 'community' was problematic, although the local communities in these projects have somewhat different structures.

The community in the case of the IVP intervention in Jamalpur, India, comprises various social groups: general castes and well as Scheduled Castes (SCs), Other Backward Castes (OBCs), and Scheduled Tribes (ST). Notwithstanding that in India various social groups live in close proximity, they have specific norms and customs and occupy different positions in the social hierarchy according to the caste system[42]. As Thorat puts it, "exclusion and discrimination in civil, cultural and particularly in economic spheres, (such as occupation and labour employment), is internal to the [caste] system, and a necessary outcome of its governing principles" (2007: 10). As regards the Sahariyas, STs have suffered from "exclusion and underdevelopment due to their being ethnically different from the mainstream

[42] Although the caste system has been outlawed, it still thrives, particularly in rural India (Shah et al. 2006).

Indian society" (ibid, p. 12). Even though Indian tribes formally remained outside the caste system some Sahariyas practice untouchability. Yet, they occupy a disadvantaged position in the social hierarchy. Because of the rivalry between SCs and STs in Jamalpur, members of one SC group discriminated against the Sahariyas, considered them to be dirty, and their children bullied tribal children. Despite such divisions and conflicts, the project treats all these social groups as one village community, in this case, as the Jamalpur village community (see Taneja 2008; cf. Williams 2004[43]).

Caste divisions can be considered as the main impediment for the villagers to work together for the betterment of their village. Although SDF claimed that those involved with the project forgot about caste differences, we saw that this was not the case. In the focus group discussion (FGD) with village volunteers, the peer educator belonging to a general caste refused to enter the house of the SC volunteer. Sahariya village volunteers did not feel comfortable voicing their opinions in meetings with other village volunteers, which we did not find surprising after one of the SC volunteers in the FGD passed derogatory comments about the Sahariyas (as being dirty and unintelligent). In addition, Jamalpur had separate village level institutions for the Sahariyas, such as women self-help groups (WSHG) and adolescent girls groups (AGG) who did not interact with their counterparts from other social groups in the main village. Finally, the child reporters in Jamalpur were all from general castes and wrote on behalf of the other social groups, rather than allowing children from those social groups to depict their specific life experiences. In conclusion, divisions which are a part of Jamalpur's everyday social climate were reproduced when the project materialized on the ground level. The continued absence of positive interactions between the various social groups leads to a situation where the Sahariyas want to have access to services, but do not want to share them with the mainstream or to socially integrate with the mainstream.

In the case of the Roma camp PT, the project community can be regarded as one social group, the Roma[44], who have been "insular and separate" with respect to the mainstream, living with their extended families for reasons of "security and protection from the outside world" (Ringold 2005: 12).

[43] Williams writes that "the 'village' is a "classic case in point" of "uncritical celebration of 'the community'", being "all too often […] seen as a spatially bounded community, the membership of which is clear and uncontested" (2004: 561). Furthermore, communities are "not merely given naturalized boundaries, they are also idealized in terms of their content" (ibid, p. 562).

[44] Of course, as I described in Chapter 4, there are many groups within the Roma ethnicity, some of whom, such as Egyptians, deny affiliation with the Roma and claim to be a separate ethic group. However, in PT camp most Roma belong to the so-called Roma Muslims group (cf. Delić 2008).

However, this community cannot be called homogeneous. All four Roma NGOs involved in YCCY's project are family NGOs. The leader of the NGO from PT camp does not intend to allow anyone who is not a member of his family to run the NGO. He has already been in conflict with a member of his Board who wanted to get more involved with the NGO (because of project funds, according to the leader), and two youths who used to be active members but quit because they did not get along with the leader. In addition, women are excluded from decision-making in the leader's micro project (the leader wants to increase their participation but only after they complete their household chores). This problem was avoided in India because UNICEF has always been particularly concerned with women's and children's wellbeing and thus wanted SDF to create WSHGs, AGGs and children's councils in each village. However, YCCY's main concern has been the involvement of the ethnic minority irrespective of its internal differentiation, and the donor, SHC, surprisingly[45] did not object to this simplification. Youth are involved in the project mainly because the implementer is a youth NGO and encouraged youth participation. However, the potential of youth has been overlooked, since they are regarded as apprentices who are preparing themselves for more active contribution as grown-ups. Divisions within the Roma 'project community' lead to a situation where some participate in and benefit more from the project, and have access to more opportunities. In addition, some individuals have the power to decide on the course of social inclusion for the rest of the 'community'.

Another issue with respect to the 'project community' in the Roma intervention is its targeted nature. This means that the mainstream society at large is not involved in the implementation of the project. Obviously, interactions with mainstream professionals are part of the project, such as collaboration with NGOs who are hosting Roma interns and the visits to government officials. However, this collaboration is far from ideal; in addition, the involvement of the general public is missing. Ringold argues that the "distance between Roma and non-Roma communities breeds mistrust and misunderstanding among non-Roma and reinforces negative stereotypes and discrimination" (ibid, p. 13). Thus it is important to aim at reducing this distance. The author explains the benefits of such an approach:

> Addressing exclusion and the wounds of segregation also involves overcoming divisions between Roma and non-Roma communities. This helps build trust and social capital within communities. Such measures need to involve both Roma and their non-Roma neighbors. In most cases, policies should target communities at large, rather than Roma in particular. However,

[45] I wrote 'surprisingly' considering that SHC is a human rights organization (its full name being: The Swedish Helsinki Committee for Human Rights).

> there may be exceptions where explicit attention to ethnicity would be appropriate, such as overcoming language barriers (2005: xxiii).

Some of the micro projects that the Roma NGO leader has implemented are cases where explicit attention to Roma ethnicity was required. This is the case of Roma women literacy programs and projects that are encouraging Roma youth to register at the Employment Agency (which they would not have done otherwise while the mainstream youth would). However, informing service providers about discrimination and organizing various cultural activities and information campaigns would help to familiarize the mainstream with the history and culture of the Roma. These activities could "raise awareness about discrimination" (2005: xxiii) and be more effective than accusations of human rights violations in the media, a method to which the Roma leader frequently resorts. Andre Liebich shares my concern:

> As for the strategy of rights promotion, it relies on an American-inspired paradigm from the civil rights era. This is an approach that judicializes issues, taking advantage of national and international anti-discrimination legislation and norms. Even if the success rate of such an approach, as measured by the number of court cases won, were higher one wonders what impact such activity has on popular mentalities and pervasive social discrimination. Indeed, one may ask to what extent such an approach is counter-productive in hardening attitudes towards both Roma and the law. (2007: xii)

Ultimately, in the Roma case study, access to services is more actively sought than integration with the mainstream society.

Second, I examine the involvement of the government, and their willingness to cooperate in these two case studies. In the case of IVP, it is the Lalitpur district authorities who are partners in the development project. We saw that the district authorities have not delivered services to match the increasing demands made by the villagers in Jamalpur. This situation can be explained by the frequent transfers of officials, meaning that the new officers take time to acquaint themselves with IVP. The other important, yet less publicly shared fact is that Bundela families control most resources in the area and are not so enthusiastic about a project which is overly democratic and would require from the Bundelas to relinquish some of their power.

In the case of the Roma, we saw that the government has not been responsive to lobbying projects. Thus far they have only given promises prior to elections, which they would forget soon afterward. There is hope that the government will become more approachable due to the increasing pressure from the international community as well as the growing availability of funds for Roma development projects. It remains to be seen whether the new document that addresses Roma issues,

namely, the Strategy for the Improvement of Welfare of RAE population in Montenegro 2008-2012 (henceforth Strategy), will bring more concrete results than its predecessor, the Decade for Roma Inclusion 2005-2015.

The lack of government response negatively affects the project communities. Village volunteers in Jamalpur are slowly losing their enthusiasm because their efforts have not been rewarded either by an improved service provision or monetary incentives. The Roma leader continues to receive funds for his micro projects even if they are not lobbying projects. The only trouble is that his initiatives are, albeit effective, short-term and do not transform the wider structures which exacerbate the social exclusion of Roma. For such transformation, government collaboration is essential. Only the state can effect state-wide and long-term changes that are necessary for a structural transformation, and which in turn allow for social inclusion. Coelho highlights in one of her studies "the significance of public officials' commitment as a co-factor in producing successful and inclusive participatory fora" (Cornwall and Coelho 2007: 18). By the same token, "citizen mobilization in the absence of engaged state actors shows critical limitations to achieving changes if those who plan and deliver services are not part of the discussion" (Cornwall and Coelho 2007: 19).

Above I discussed some problems in connection with the unequal relations within the project community and the inadequate government involvement, both of which impede social inclusion. However, a few words can be said about the implementing NGOs. In Chapter 1, I mentioned critiques related to the way in which NGOs work, i.e. how they cannot implement truly participatory projects because of 'bureaucratic exigencies' and upward accountability to donors. What I found interesting in my research was the way in which NGOs presented their success irrespective of field experience. For instance, SDF, in their project representations (in reports and during their interviews with us), ignored the imperfect field relations and divisions along caste lines. Similarly, the YCCY project coordinator initially told me that that even having Roma apply at the Employment Agency is an example of lobbying and advocacy to end discrimination. It was, however, clear that enabling Roma to find low-skilled jobs (which admittedly do address real needs) will not challenge structural inequalities in society or significantly reduce discrimination. Similarly, Mosse found in his research that "project staff work hard to maintain representations even while, to varying degrees, they are aware and uneasy about the contradictions that underlie growing coherence" (2005: 181-182). There is a risk that more effort is made to maintain those representations than to tackle the real problems in the field.

I did not get a chance to speak with SHC about their assessment of the Roma project. I did have some contact with UNICEF and they did not seem to be fully satisfied with SDF's work. However, this was revealed to me as an intern, but would be invisible to outsiders. One sentence on UNICEF website about Mera School offers a perfect illustration. It reads: "These innocent Sahariya kids have not only been saved from falling into the clutches of illiteracy, but at this tender age have also learnt how to cross the hurdles of discrimination" (UNICEF 2007b: http://www.unicef.org/india/resources_2928.htm). There is no mention of mainstreaming the pupils in that article. My question is, how can simply removing tribal children from the mainstream be a good way to "cross the hurdles of discrimination"[46]? Donors, I suppose, also need to spend their money. 'Success stories' such as these help the development project to keep rolling.

5.2 Participation for Social Inclusion?

In this section I discuss what my informants wish to get out of the respective PD projects. The intention behind the projects is social inclusion of marginalized communities; however, it is legitimate to ask whether the marginalized communities who are taking part in the project want to integrate with the mainstream society and how. In both my case studies the answer was not straightforward.

The Sahariya village volunteers were happy to take part in the project but in order to bring benefits to their own community. They desired to turn the informal coaching school into a formal school for tribal children and only contemplated actions they would initiate in their hamlet. They did not enjoy interacting with other village volunteers, but were rather satisfied with their standing within their tribal group. This is not to say that everyone in the group readily shared the tribal Village Volunteer's opinions. The task of behavior change communication, as the expression might suggest, is not easy. For instance, the volunteers have encountered some resistance in promoting girl child education as the parents did not understand its advantages. However, the volunteers have been particularly tireless when it came to praising the benefits of education. I will return to this idea in the last section of this chapter.

As regards the Roma case study, the leader of the NGO in PT camp avoided lobbying the government to provide permanent and systemic solutions to Roma exclusion. On one hand, this is justifiable because the government response has been weak. On the other hand, the micro projects that

[46] Skelton (2008) already criticized UNICEF's usage of terms "innocent" and "tender age", arguing that there is a paradox in depicting children as innocent and in need of protection, whilst entrusting them with participation.

he has conducted in the meantime (until the government becomes more willing to take actions) contradict the goal of social inclusion. In 2006 he invited a nurse to hold workshops on health and hygiene in the camp, which certainly did not resolve the issue of discrimination that the Roma have experienced in the Health Centre, but rather avoided the issue. In 2007, the leader encouraged Roma youths to register at the Employment Agency. Given that these youths are not well educated, if they join the work force it will be through low-skill jobs. Although low skill jobs might address some real, pressing needs (and pay a little more than social welfare); challenging structural and social discrimination will require some major transformations rather than entering the system as it is, and entering in a marginal way.

These marginalized groups cannot be blamed for prioritizing benefits for their own people over an idealistic goal of social integration with the dominant society. Both these groups have been discriminated against for a long time because they are different from the mainstream; they are the 'other' (Sibley 1995). In the case of Roma, Sibley calls them "the 'imperfect people' who disturb the homogenized and purified topographies of mainstream social space" (ibid, p. 116). In Montenegro, Roma have for a long time done jobs that were considered to be too polluting for the Montenegrins; they used to work as blacksmiths, and today many are employed in public waste management. Roma's desire to preserve their specific cultural and social identity (Delić 2008) has distanced them from the mainstream and has deepened ignorance about the Roma among the mainstream, leading to further stereotyping and discrimination.

The situation is somewhat more complex for the Sahariyas. First of all, India's caste system rests on laws of exclusion where, traditionally, each caste and even sub-caste has had its own ascribed role within the social hierarchy, and transgression has been punishable. Second, although the Sahariyas as tribes formally remained outside the caste system, due to their proximity to the mainstream they adopted some discriminatory and exclusionary Hindu practices such as untouchability. In response, the particular CS sub-caste accused the Sahariyas of being the unclean ones. Given that the Sahariyas are poor, in fact, poorer than the Scheduled Castes (SCs), it is difficult for them to maintain cleanliness. Even an SC village volunteer (who according to SDF should have overcome caste divisions) said that the Sahariyas were dirty. Tribal children were bullied by SC children for the same reason. This rivalry in terms of who is dirty makes a strange echo in the rivalry in terms of who gets more benefits from government schemes. In Jamalpur it is the SCs because the current village head belongs to that group. It is thus

questionable how much excluded communities can and want to work toward social cohesion with the mainstream.

In addition, both groups have their own social organization which has been functioning even in the margins (for instance, the Sahariyas and the Roma are endogamous, i.e. they marry within their own communities). I do not, however, want to reify their respective cultures, and to present them as something unchangeable. The Sahariyas in Jamalpur have, in Harsh Mander's words, lost some of the distinctiveness of their cultural identity (interview). One example of this is the loss of their traditional economy as a result of which they have entered wage labor force as stone breakers. The Roma have been adapting to mainstream practices according to places where they have lived, and have done so to a varying degree, depending on the particular Roma group they belong to[47].

Even in front of our eyes their ways of life are transforming, to which the very participation in mainstream NGO projects testifies. The Sahariyas and the Roma have largely been socially excluded (but certainly not isolated) from the dominant society, yet they want to improve their living conditions using the dominant society's means. Interestingly, these groups aspire to modernity. This is the topic of the following section.

5.3 Aspirations for Modernity

Even if the Sahariyas and the Roma do not desire to integrate with the mainstream society, they do not want to be excluded from the benefits of modernity. The Sahariya village volunteers strongly believe in the importance of education and their main mission is to promote it among their community members, such as by seeking to establish a formal school in the hamlet. Many Sahariyas also desired to have electricity brought to their hamlet. The Roma leader wanted his community to have access to health care, education and employment in the formal economy. These aspirations were not instilled in the community leaders in the course of the respective development projects. On the contrary, such

[47] The hierarchy between the various Roma groups is partly based on the degree to which each group has been able to safeguard their traditional cultural practices. One such practice is religion, namely Islam. The Roma Muslims consider the Roma Chergars as impure because the latter do not perform many of the Muslim rituals. Some Chergars have even adopted Orthodox Christian practices. Delić (2008) writes that the Roma Muslims do not consider the Chergars as real Roma but as Gypsies (using the derogatory word "Cigani", p. 61).

aspirations existed prior to their involvement in these projects and were the reason why the leaders got interested in them in the first place.

In Chapter 1, I mentioned Henkel and Stirrat's criticism about empowerment. They argue that "in the case of many if not all participatory projects it seems evident that what people are 'empowered to do' is to take part in the modern sector of 'developing' societies" (2002: 182). According to these authors, participating in the project of modernity means being "citizens of the institutions of the modern state, […] consumers in the increasingly global market, […] responsible patients in the health system, […] rational farmers increasing GNP, […] participants in the labor market, and so on". As such, participatory approaches to development are "intimately part of the process of modernization itself" (ibid), and empowerment equals subjection (ibid).

This view is overly simplistic. As Mosse points out, "people become empowered not in themselves, but through relationships with outsiders; and not through the validation of their existing knowledge and actions, but by seeking out and acknowledging the superiority of knowledge technology and lifestyles construed as 'modern'" (2005: 19). Some may be uncomfortable with this idea, but perhaps we should consider the opinions of the marginalized people themselves. Mosse conducted an impact assessment of a participatory agriculture project in tribal villages in India. He found that the tribal people were positive about the project and they valued many of the changes it brought. Some were happy that they or members of their families quit alcohol, which, as the women pointed out, reduced the associated domestic violence. The poor ones were glad to be freed from costly religious and social obligations. Self-help groups offered freedom from moneylenders. Also, by changing behavior and dress codes, the members of this tribal group felt more comfortable and confident during interaction with outsiders. In turn, they felt "increased respect from officials and greater independence from their arbitrary demands" (ibid, p. 220). Women also felt more independent financial decision-making by being members of women's groups.

The Sahariyas were also satisfied with their women self-help group (WSHG) and believed that they would benefit financially from it. The tribal village volunteers felt more confident since they got involved with IVP. For instance, one of them even wrote a petition to the village head to bring electricity to the Sahariya hamlet. The Roma leader explained that he founded an NGO because that way he could do something about the poverty in his camp. These people wanted to be 'modern' because they felt empowered by being 'modern'. My informants would thus probably not agree with Padel's statement that for tribes "remoteness tends to be the best insurance against poverty" (cited in Mosse 2005: 220).

Even if ideas of participation serve top-down interests (of development workers) and are seen by some as the new tyranny (see Cooke and Kothari 2002), participation can offer the potential for empowerment (Mosse 2005). Similar to Mosse, Williams contends that "participation may indeed be a form of 'subjection', but it can also provide its subjects with new opportunities for voice, and its consequences are far from pre-determined" (2004: 559). This was confirmed in my research. The Roma leader, for example, used the media to pressure governmental and non-governmental agencies to respect agreements. He certainly did acquire lobbying and advocacy skills, although he might not have applied them using the most diplomatic approach.

To conclude this chapter, these two PD projects brought unexpected outcomes with respect to social inclusion. The Sahariyas and the Roma wanted to be included in the process of modernization, in other words, they wanted to take advantage of the projects because of what they offered as a means to tackle poverty. On the other hand, their methods implied that the priority of respective community leaders was not social integration with the mainstream population. Given that both groups have been discriminated against, it is not surprising that they alone will not initiate interactions with the dominant society.

6. Conclusion and Implications

In this thesis I presented two case studies, one concerning a tribe called Sahariyas in India, and the other one concerning a Roma community in Montenegro. Both groups live at the fringes of the dominant society and are discriminated against by the mainstream. My intention was to assess their participation in development projects and find out whether it leads to social inclusion.

The answer is not straight-forward. On one hand, the beneficiaries desired to have access to services and to be included in "the project of modernity" (Henkel and Stirrat 2002: 182). On the other, they were much more interested in improving the wellbeing of their group than in working toward social integration with the mainstream. Combating discrimination might be a key objective in these development projects, but it was not the beneficiaries' priority. As a result of different aspirations on the part of the beneficiaries, the initiatives the leaders carried out (or plan to carry out in the future) have not (or will not) lead to long-term and systematic changes but might bring short-term albeit tangible benefits to the excluded communities.

This state of affairs calls attention to some limitations that can be found in these participatory development projects. First, the so-called "myth of community" (Cleaver 1999: 603) is applicable in both cases. I showed how social interactions in Jamalpur are strained in everyday life, which reflects on the project activities. The village community, as one of the key actors in Integrated Village Planning, is thus an imprecise concept which conceals the power dynamics, economic inequalities and social and cultural differences between the various castes and between the castes and the tribal group. Consequently, the communication between participants is difficult, and the goal of social inclusion remains a question. The Roma in the PT camp comprise a single social group, but assuming that it corresponds to a homogeneous entity means ignoring power differences within the community based on gender, age and family affiliation. As a result, some have more say in the choice and implementation of project activities.

Second, the involvement of the government is problematic in both cases, in the Roma case where the government is not formally an actor in the project, as well as in the Sahariya case where the district administration is officially incorporated in the project. Repercussions are evident. In Jamalpur, the village volunteers' enthusiasm for making demands is dwindling. In the Roma camp in Montenegro, the leader is turning away from lobbying interventions, preferring to use project funds for activities that tackle basic needs in the Roma camp.

Third, the facilitating NGOs are wishing away the above problems in order to maintain representations of the project as a success. As Giri and Quarles van Ufford put it, "many development organizations today are city-based and most of their leaders spend a lot of time in generating appropriate data in the computer rather than working and struggling with people" (2003: 271). This has grave implications. Mosse argues that the preoccupation with "the politics of the policy process – legitimization, enrolling support and securing funds – produces ignorance of project effects" (2005: 238). He further argues that ethnographic research can make a contribution to "knowledge about both the fabrications and the 'downstream effects' of policy" (ibid). My main focus in this paper was not the fabrications, but rather the effects of policy on the local level. My key finding was that the design of the projects, which promoted beneficiary participation and social inclusion, did not materialize as such on the ground level.

As long as this tendency to prioritize representations over reality persists among development workers, there is little that one can offer in the form of suggestions. The precondition for real impact is more *concern about impact* on the part of development workers. Once this prerequisite is fulfilled, one might, first of all, suggest more attention to beneficiaries' interests in participatory development projects, and the unintended outcomes of their participation. Second, one might also call for more active involvement of the government in development projects, which can be attained through citizen mobilization. Third, one might also suggest designing social inclusion projects that involve the mainstream society in the implementation, while recognizing that discrimination cannot disappear overnight.

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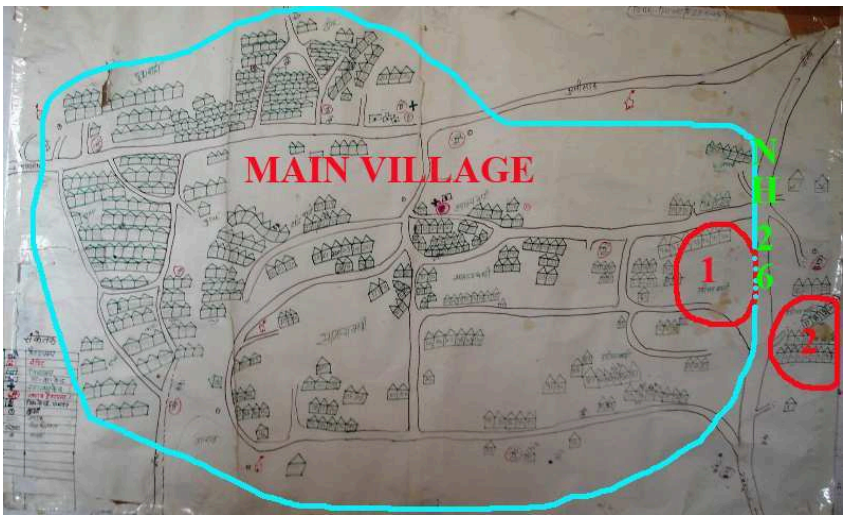
Appendices

Appendix 1: Maps

Map 1: Uttar Pradesh and Lalitpur (Source: www.indianrealtynews.com, the red circle added)

Map 3: Jamalpur village, Talbehat block (Source: Chatterjee et al. 2008)



Legend:
NH 26 – National Highway 26
1 and 2 – the two Sahariya hamlets

Map 3: South East Europe and Montenegro (Source: www.visit-montenegro.com/where.htm)

Map 4: Montenegro, showing Podgorica and Nikšić, where the four Roma NGOs are located (Source: http://www.partnershipsinhealth.ch/A%20-%20Locations/montenegro.htm).

Appendix 2: Figures

Figure 1: Members of the Block Task Force and the District Task Force under Integrated Village Planning in Lalitpur district, Uttar Pradesh (Source: Chatterjee at al. 2008)

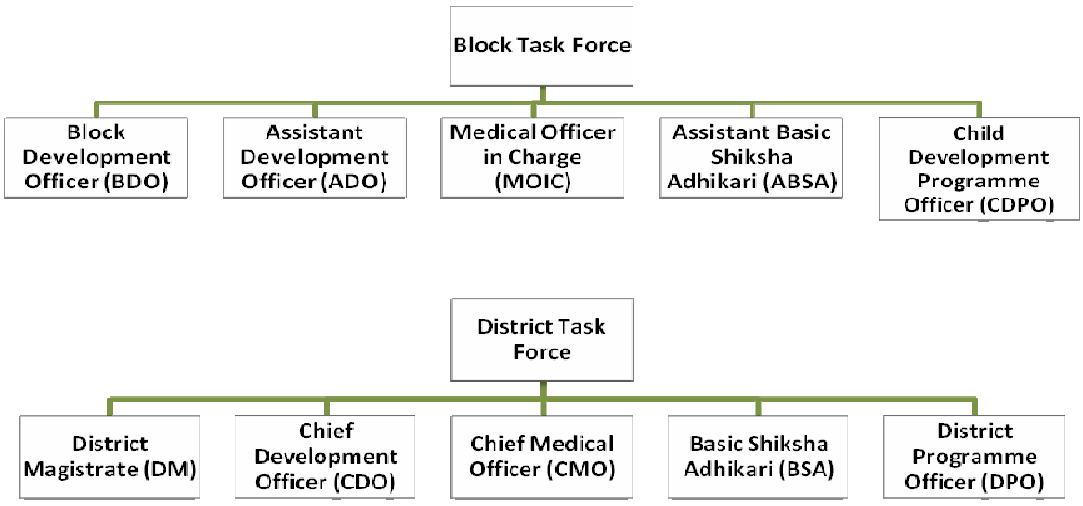
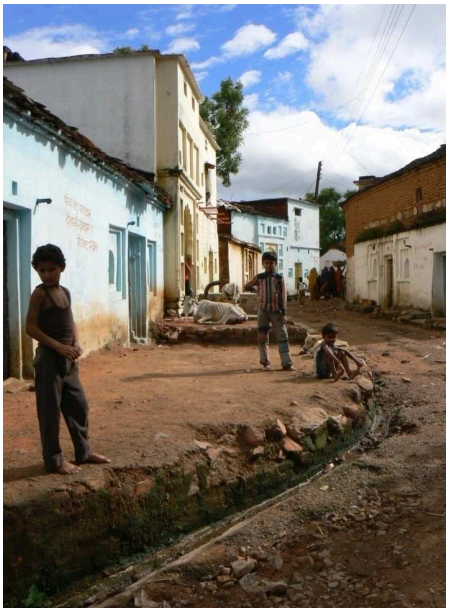


Figure 2: Sahariya Village Action Plan, posted in Mera School in 2006 (Source: Chatterjee at al. 2008)

Issue	Problem	Reason	Solution	Actions	Timeline
Education	25 children do not go to school	Other caste children beat them	School made in Sahariya hamlet	A request letter will be sent to ABSA	Within 15 days
Water	People have to walk 150 steps to fetch water	Hand pump not working	Fix the defected pump	Letter to the *pradhan* will be written	Within one week
Health & Nutrition	Children and pregnant women do not get weighed	No Anganwadi Centre	Children and pregnant women should get AWW facility	Villagers should give request to the CDPO	Within one month
Child Protection	Children do not have birth certificates	None of the children have registered	Children should get birth certificates	All families should give complete birth information to the *pradhan*	Within one month
HIV/AIDS awareness	People can get sick	Out of 34 families, 7 have awareness	All families should have complete awareness	Talk about HIV/AIDS in AGG meeting	Within one week
Other	People migrate for labor	There is no employment in the village	Find source of employment in the village	People should be given employment in the village itself	

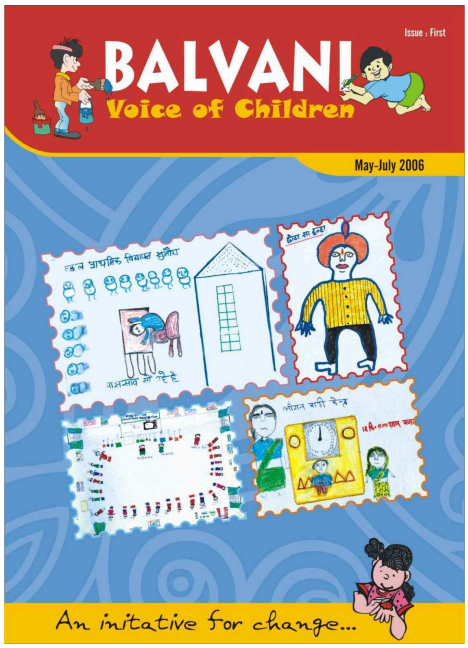
Appendix 3: Photographs

Picture 1: Jamalpur main village (Taken by the author in July 2008)



Picture 2: Sahariya hamlet across the National Highway (Taken by the author in July 2008)

Picture 3: Balvani (2006). *Balvani*, 1st edition May – July 2006, cover page. Lucknow: Sarathi Development Foundation (Source: Sarathi Development Foundation)



Picture 4: Balvani (2006). *Balvani*, 1st edition May – July 2006, p. 3. Lucknow: Sarathi Development Foundation (Source: Sarathi Development Foundation)