# Chapter 7

**POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS**

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Chapter 7

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1. Introduction

The present study was undertaken to study the impact of Tribal Sub-Plan Schemes in the district of the Dangs with the following objectives:

1. To understand the administrative and Implementation set up of the Tribal Sub Plan.
2. To examine the socio-economic background of respondents.
3. To examine socio-economic impact of Tribal Sub Plan schemes on the tribal community with reference to Human development Index (literacy, health and income) with special reference to employment and migration.
4. To examine impact of TSP schemes on various tribal groups and social exclusion if any.
5. To understand factors affecting the Implementation.
6. To understand the role of various actors in the Implementation processes.
7. To suggest measures for better implementation of the TSP.

In Chapter 3, a detailed analysis of administrative and implementation set up of Tribal Sub Plan Approach was undertaken with special reference to Gujarat. The critical analysis of this set up with regard to the objectives of TSP Approach were undertaken in Chapter 6 by analysing the survey results, interviews, group discussions and observations. The views of the tribal respondents and various actors with regard to the present arrangement were critically analysed. It can be concluded that the present administrative set up, though grand in design, is almost does not reflect the TSP vision.
The socio-economic status of the respondents was presented in Chapter 5 and was critically analysed with the corresponding status of the state as a whole with reference to income and poverty, literacy and health. The position of the State and the Dangs with regard to Human Development Index was presented. The analysis brings out the fact that despite all developmental efforts, the Dangs is at the bottom of HDI (excluding education) in the State.

Chapter 6 presented the impact of the Tribal Sub Plan on the tribals of the district. Also the impact was analysed with reference to various tribal groups. A detailed analysis of the impact on tribal life covering income, livelihood options, education and health was done. It was brought out that though the income has increased, most of the people are living below poverty line. There is positive development with regard to education in form of significant increase in literacy and increased desire of education. With regard to health, the child and mother care facilities have reached to the villages, however, there is a severe shortage of health infrastructure and manpower. The health indicators are very poor compared to the State average. Livelihood is still a serious problem and not much reduction in migration has been experienced despite MGNREGA and other employment oriented schemes. Area under irrigation has increased, however, it is still way below the State average. The full potential of using local natural resources like forest and rivers have not been fully exploited due to lack of a co-ordinated approach among developmental agencies on one hand and Forest Department on the other. The poor implementation of the Forest Rights Act was brought out.

The Chapter 6 also analysed various factors affecting implementation by using Grindle’s Interactive Model of Implementation with variables covering content and context of the TSP Approach.

An attempt has been made to understand impact of the interface among various actors, resulting social discontinuities and impact on implementation process and outcomes.

It is clear from the conclusions drawn from the data analysed in the last two chapters that the impact of different benefit schemes regarding TSP meant for the development of the scheduled tribes inhabiting the TSP area of the Dangs has been rather moderate. Excluding education and to some
extent some aspects of health (vaccination, nutrition and child and mother care) and activities like dairying, the performance can be said to be dismal. The secondary education is worrisome and actually puts tribal students in disadvantageous position when it comes to level playing field with non-tribals. The biggest failure of the TSP approach is the lack of sustainable livelihoods despite all the potentials present in the district in form of four rivers, highest rainfall in the state, huge forest cover and flush funds. Most of the studies on this subject have arrived at the same conclusion. Roy Burman (1997) and many others consider the TSP strategy to be a failure. Niranjan Pani and Jitendra Sahoo (2008) are of the view that majority of the tribals have remained in isolation. However, others disagree with this view citing improvement in areas like education, health and livelihood. Yet with a few changes and globalisation, they have been empowered and, are getting awakened. Still their socio-economic condition is far from satisfactory. Different interpretations of TSP experiment are due to different criteria of evaluation. We would like to endorse Roy Burman’s view. The improvements being cited has neither been able to remove poverty of the tribals nor has taken them anywhere even near the mainstream. We can conclude that from the viewpoint of poor human development, poverty and low level of development compared to the mainstream, the experiment can be labeled as a failure. However, others look at improvement in these indicators over a period of time despite difficulties.

Which approach should then be followed? Should tribals be museums under isolation approach? Should they assimilate and thus lose their cultural moorings? Or, should they integrate in line with principle of Panchsheel?

The following Talisman of Mahatma Gandhi succinctly sums up the required approach by the policy makers and implementers (Tendulkar 1947-48:288-289).

“I will give you a talisman. Whenever you are in doubt, or when the self becomes too much with you, apply the following test. Recall the face of the poorest and the weakest man whom you may have seen, and ask yourself, if the step you contemplate is going to be of use to him. Will he gain anything by it? Will it restore him to a control over his own life and destiny? ....... Then you will find your doubts and yourself melting away.”
An attempt has been made in this chapter to recommend measures, based on our study, which ought to be taken to make the TSP Approach a meaningful intervention and more effective in implementation. The recommendations concerning different aspects and issues are offered as follows:

7.2. Implementation of 'Integrated Approach and Local Planning'

The content and design of policy should be such that it helps achieving the goals and vision of a policy. It should also take care of implementation from the viewpoint of likely interactions among various actors in which, otherwise, underprivileged will always be at the receiving end.

Amartya Sen, the winner of the 1998 Nobel Prize in Economic Sciences for his contributions to welfare economics and social choice theory, and for his interest in the problems of society's poorest members has noted that “I hope it is a country where freedoms expand and people don’t suffer from deprivation, and where we do not have shameful levels of under nourishment, illiteracy, and lack of healthcare. What makes it even worse is that while there are reasons for being ashamed, often people don’t seem to be so ashamed. We want to get to a situation where we have no reason to be ashamed and reason to have some pride. If we can engage, use reason and our concern about the life of other Indians, we will be able to do it very well.” (Tehelka Magazine, Vol 6, Issue 2, Dated Jan 17, 2009).

One can only agree with Amir Hussain (1987) when he says that liberation of tribals from oppression, exploitation, under-development and dependency depended fundamentally on a radical transformation of the socio-economic structure which at present permitted inequality, exploitation and oppression. He further says that the Pattern (Model) of development that we had adopted after independence sharpened not only the caste, religious, linguistic and ethnic distinctions, but had also increased the regional disparities and feelings of deprivation, negligence and insecurity among various ethnic tribal groups.
Amir Hasan (1992) further says that tribal interests have been subordinated to non-tribal vested interests by the state in setting-up of mega projects in tribal areas rich in natural resources; effectively throwing tribal interests have been thrown to the winds. There is a need to have a national policy in this regard to resolve the conflict between 'development in general and 'development' of local tribals. The interests of strong actors have been mostly garbed as 'national interest' only to sacrifice 'local interest' of people who have neither the voice nor the access to decision and policy making.

Here we may recall Forester who calls for various strategies to deal with resistance by some strong actors to development planning for the local (Forester 1989). We agree with Paul and Subramaniam (1982) that careful attention should be given to programme strategy which aims at structural changes in society and effective implementation. Otherwise, as has been found by many including Singh (1970) and Gupta (1986), many of the development benefits will go mostly to the economically stronger and more vocal sections.

(a) As various studies show, the integration approach seems to be the best bet if implemented in letter and spirit. The pace and type of integration should be left to the tribals. For this, they should be helped to prepare area specific strategy in partnership with NGOs, academics and the government.

(b) Such plans should recognise tribal rights over land and natural resources including that over forest. The implementation of the Forest Rights Act should be implemented in true spirit.

(c) We agree with B.D. Sharma (1985) that a sectional approach in the process of directed change which influences the total life style of a community may not yield the desired results. He has argued for a Nucleus Budget at the micro level which could accommodate needs and contextual accommodation and changes required in the schemes. The concept of nucleus budget places great responsibility on the local authorities and local people for proper utilisation of funds through purposive planning at every stage. Moreover, it acts as a binding force among numerous sectoral programmes. All the budget of the TSP should be put at the disposal of the district, Taluka and
Village level local bodies and committees. This will take care of the concept of non-interference in tribal life and allow spontaneous integration among various schemes. This will also ensure, what D.N. Majumdar (1950) recommends, contextual approach for understanding problems for each tribal area and tribes. The contextual planning is imperative as tribes subsist at various levels of development and with distinct socio-economic characteristics. This approach will take care of other factors such as area specific problems, constraints and opportunities during cost benefit analysis of schemes. This approach will also allow use of local knowledge and micro-plans in development planning, as suggested by James Scott (1988). National policy allowing such planning is the need of the hour.

(d) Many studies have shown that multiple schemes do not necessarily mean or even seek to bring integrated tribal development. Forward and backward linkages and worldview of tribals are important determinant in success or failure of any scheme. Local planning will help in allowing required specific interventions that go beyond a sectoral standardised framework. It can take care of the needs of the people and the context of local situation. Community participation at both planning and the implementation level will be required to be ensured. Multiple schemes, decision points/agencies should be avoided. The functions of Director DRDA, District Planning officer and Project officer TSP should be entrusted to a single officer by merging all three agencies together for better co-ordination and better planning.

7.3. Transforming Institutional Framework

This however brings us to a prerequisite. Panchayati Raj and PESA, following constitutional amendments, were aimed to devolve political power to the tribals, Dalits and other weaker sections of the society. It was expected that they will get control over decision making and control over natural resources. They will be able to do local planning and have control over funds, functionaries and functions. The objective is not fully achieved largely because of resistance of strong state and other actors.
(a) The first step in this direction will require that PESA should now be fully implemented without further loss of time in time bound manner. Transfer of Funds, Functionaries and Functions should be fully transferred to tribal PRIs as enjoined in the PESA. The concept of Taluka administration of Government of Gujarat should take care of the spirit of PESA, which has, otherwise, been put forward with the objective of taking administration further down to the people.

(b) This framework should also include, along with Panchayati Raj institutions, institutional credit agencies and non-governmental development agencies. Participation in scheme formulation, selection of beneficiaries and monitoring of implementation should be with the Gramsabha. Gramsabha, if used along with RTI and awareness campaign, can be an effective tool in planning and social audit. An organic link between participatory village committees and Village Panchayats also needs to be established.

(c) Capacity Building

If the PRIs are empowered and local leadership and local bureaucracy is trained, they can be excellent mediums of preparation of area specific plans at the project level. For village level ownership of the whole process, capacity building must take place. There is also a need to go for massive campaign to develop leadership qualities among the tribal youth.

(d) Awareness and Communication

(i) Many studies have attributed the lack of awareness of the schemes and processes among the tribals as one reason of failure of the schemes and have suggested appointment of volunteers and trained youth so they can help the tribal to have access to such schemes Apte (1976) and S.D. Kulkarni (1977).

(ii) All schemes should be given wider possible publicity by encouraging voluntary agencies and social workers working among tribals to participate in such campaign. The need of
institutional arrangement, at the district level, allowing intercommunication among planners, implementers, academicians of different disciplines and tribals, can not be overemphasised. Such an arrangement will make planning for tribals and their areas a meaningful process instead of, what Roy Burman describes as a ‘gamble in ignorance’.

7.4. Improving Developmental Administration

Many studies (Tarlok Singh (1974), L.M. Prashad (1981), R.B. Lal (1982), Padam Nabh Gautam (1987), M Bapuji Kanishka (1993), etc.) have shown the importance of the role of administration in development and have suggested the need to transform the bureaucracy to sync with the development process as the present administrative set-up is faulty and an impediment to development. Also, it is suggested that the purely bureaucratic model of development administration is a mismatch to the task of tribal development which requires a non-formal and humane model. Tribal development should be planned properly to take care of implementation and feed-back on it so that evaluation and assessment can be made concurrently. This will require training, capacity-building and institutional reforms for the result oriented developmental administration. Also bureaucracy needs to change its attitude towards development and tribals. More tribals should be recruited at all levels of developmental administration. Specific suggestions are as follows:

(a) Selection of right Beneficiaries

(i) Project officials should involve local educational institutions, Panchayats and voluntary agencies in building up awareness regarding the development schemes.

(ii) The BPL survey need to be scientifically done and operated so as to allow every family a fair and just access to the schemes.

(iii) Gramsabhas should then openly select and declare the names of the beneficiaries under various schemes. Dissent should be heard and discussed.
(b) **Control Over Corruption**

(i) Transparency in decision making, use of RTI by tribals and social activists and leveraging technology for faster and transparent delivery of services should be systematically envisaged and promoted. Use of *Gramsabhas* to declare the list of beneficiaries, review of implementation of the schemes and social audit can bring in much desired accountability to grass root government officials. This will also break the nexus between elected village representatives like *Sarpanch* with corrupt officials/functionaries.

(ii) The governmental schemes implemented for the development of people can be brought within the purview of the consumers’ courts. Lokpal is an idea whose time has come especially with regard to corruption in development related and schemes and programmes targeted towards the poor.

(c) **Ensuring Quality and Adequate Human Resources**

(i) For effective implementation, accountability of officials including elected representatives should be fixed with result framework and outcome Results. Performance appraisal should be based on such result framework and invariably include public appraisal. Citizen’s charter should be implemented by a law having legal responsibility for non performance in given time frame and manner.

(ii) Shortage of manpower especially at the cutting edge, from the point view of vacancy, quality and requirement, has been observed. The NGOs, the political leaders and senior bureaucrats are of the view that an out of the box, radical solution is required to solve this problem plaguing the district for decades.

In order to attract quality doctors, engineers, teachers and bureaucrats, a special incentive scheme with higher pays coupled with residential accommodation and quality school
facilities need to be provided. The present practice of transferring bureaucrats as part of punishment to the Dangs should be immediately stopped. Also political transfers of the bureaucrats from the district if they have not completed their tenure should be put a stop to. An option of choice posting at the end of the tenure should be introduced. This coupled with special pay will attract quality manpower to the district.

(iii) Also the quality of developmental bureaucracy has been found to be wanting in two aspects: (a) Lack of knowledge and skills of developmental administration, and (b) Preparation of plans and schemes, and implementation thereof. NGOs may bring expertise but it may not be internalised by the development officials. Also a huge mismatch between world view and capacity between NGO professionals and government officials exists. This deficiency can be removed through training in projects preparation, implementation, evaluation and communication.

(iv) There is a need to promote better mutual interaction between tribals and developmental agencies through better communication techniques. This should follow a dynamic and continuous awareness campaign. The importance of the role of Sarpanch, Talatis and other village level officers has been amply reflected in this study. However these actors have no training in communication and developmental administration. As a policy, development officials at Taluka and District levels should be recruited by prescribing qualifications in the field of developmental administration.

(v) More than 400 youths in the district are unemployed with educational qualification of higher secondary and above. These youths can be trained through special educational and training courses to fill up the village level posts.

(vi) Public private partnership in the field of education and health is needed to solve the problem of non-availability of quality and quantity of manpower.
(d) Better Project Preparation and Planning

A pool of expert agencies should be roped in to prepare projects and plans. They should be evaluated by predetermined end outcomes rather than present physical and financial targets. Also area and group based schemes require proper planning and integration of forward and backward linkages. As mentioned earlier, an institutional frame work at the district/block level to bring in such expertise is highly required.

7.5. Livelihood, Education and Health

There are some specific suggestions with regard to three major sectors i.e. livelihood, education and health. Also some suggestions have been made to improve development administration of the tribal areas.

7.5.1. Livelihood

Sole dependency on rain fed subsistence agriculture, the lack of irrigation facilities, very low per household land holding, low agricultural productivity and the lack of employment opportunities plague the district even today. Of the total cultivable land, only 11 percent is irrigated. The landholdings are small and hardly sufficient to support a household. The average landholding per household is 1.58 hectare and an average land holding per cultivator is 1.07 hectare. As the population is increasing, the average landholding has gone down considerably over the years. It is not surprising that a sizable percentage of the population migrates during the winter and summer months as agricultural and construction labour. Other livelihood options including forest are negligible and not fully explored. Dairying and to some extent Wadi project are showing some hope.

Factors for migration include lack of employment opportunities, cultivation as the only source of income, lack of sufficient land, no irrigation facilities and therefore no opportunities for cultivation during winter and summer and shortage of water leading to almost no economic activity during lean season lasting September to June. Other factors include: to have another source of income besides agriculture and also to pay off debts. Sugarcane cutting was found the primary occupation during migration. Other labour work included agricultural labour; work in horticulture and to some extent
industrial and construction work. People mostly migrate for at least 6 to 7 months and generally after monsoon. In sugarcane cutting people migrate mostly between September and November and come back in March or April just before Holi.

If we look at the overall economic position of the respondents, such impact of migration, even when positive, is minimal and not strong enough to move them above the poverty line. Nor has it helped them to find employment on sustainable basis within the district as can be seen from large migration.

The resources in the form of land and forest in its present form are not sufficient for sustained development in light of increasing population.

The income from forest from these activities is negligible and shows a complete disconnect between tribal life and forest activity. There is no path breaking initiatives by forest in aspect of growing of fodder, fruit trees and trees which can provide additional diet, water harvesting structures and soil erosion. The concept of joint forest management is more on paper heavily controlled by forest officials and aimed at preserving forest in traditional regulatory manner. The distrust is complete between forest and people especially after the passage of new law.

(a) Harness Forests for Sustainable Livelihood options

A fresh assessment of local natural resources by the State so as to allow harnessing of such resources to develop sustainable livelihood patterns is required. This is possible in light of new technologies and new development paradigm which also takes care of the environment. The Dangs forests are very rich and dense. Also the Dangs receives maximum rainfall and has four major rivers passing through the district. However, the present forest hardly provides significant livelihood to the tribals. The State needs to, immediately give attention to develop livelihood patterns based on the forest.

The Forest Department should develop long-term strategy for development of drinking water facilities and increasing production of fodder for the cattle in light of the fact that dairying has shown a great prospect.
It should also take up water-harvesting structures which will help in afforestation as well as provide water to the people and cattle. Check dams and ponds created at strategic locations will provide the opportunity to increase the area under irrigation.

It should also take up schemes like soil conservation, gully plugging, protection walls etc. which should go beyond the forest limit so as to cover the entire district. This will increase the quality of agricultural and forest land, increase soil cover and reduce soil erosion which otherwise is very high due to high water runoff during the monsoon. Such works if taken under MGNREGA will provide much needed employment to the people and may bring down the rate of migration. The National Rural Livelihood Mission, a radical initiative, can help in selection of such shelf of projects which will revive forests so as to further link it to agriculture, animal husbandry, forest-based industries etc. The above strategy will require financial inclusion of the BPL families for their access to credit and subsidies through Self Help Groups, especially those of women.

This will require implementation of the concept of joint forest management in its true spirit. Such committees should have the power to locally plan seamless schemes in the field of land and soil management, water harvesting and plantation schemes which provide forest produce to tribals. Availability of water will increase area under irrigation. Dairying and wadi projects will further get strengthened. Productive works in the field of land improvement, soil and water conservation will improve forest and agriculture lands increasing their productivity. Forest department can also plan plantation of fruit trees and trees which can provide forest produce which in turn can supplement tribals’ present diet and can add into their income by way of sale of such produce. The present attempts in this regard are hardly anything to speak about.

(b) Promote Forest and Agro based Industries

Such a strategy will create business opportunities in environment friendly agro processing and forest-based industries. An Institute of entrepreneurship development should be started so as to prepare and motivate educated tribals for such industries along with separate financial
inclusion schemes. Even eco-tourism can diversify and secure livelihood options through self and wage employment.

(c) **Exploit Water Harvesting Potentials**

Water is one of the most important inputs for agriculture sector. As mentioned earlier, majority of the villages in the district do not have irrigation facility. However, the annual rainfall being very high coupled with the favourable topography, there is a good potential for harvesting the run-off water with the help of modern water harvesting technologies. For this the state has to give due weightage to non-monetary criteria in cost benefit analysis and stop comparing such schemes with norms of schemes of plain lands. This criticism is largely applicable to all other schemes and projects also. The present relaxations are half hearted and simply not enough for almost all sectors. Drinking water security can also be achieved in the Dangs with roof rainwater harvesting systems at the household level.

(d) **Implement Forest Right Act in True Spirit**

This radical Act needs to be implemented in its true spirit. The present implementation is dismal and has actually increased cognitive dissonance among tribals, their leaders and social activists.

The *Malki* scheme implemented since mid-1990s is very positive decision of the State Government. However, the transaction cost involved is too high. Transparency and Citizen Charter fixing time limit for such approval is suggested. The income earned by tribals from such a scheme is huge and needs to be channelised by way of investment in productive assets so that the family will be assured of long term stable income. As it stands today, such income is largely being used for unproductive purposes.

(e) **Need to Attend to MGNREGA Implementation**

There are a lot of complaints in implementation of MGNREGA generally and with specific reference to Forest Department. Many households have not got job cards and some of them have complained of paying bribes for getting work as well as for payment. Irregularity in payment of wages has
been observed. All these aspects with regard to MGNREGA require further research and investigation. The awareness about this scheme is very low and very few families have applied. There is a need to start an awareness campaign. As mentioned earlier, there is a need to prepare shelf of projects which are long term in nature and in line with suggestions made above with regard to making forest a sustainable livelihood option. Such projects should be prepared at the grass-root level involving local people in meaningful manner. It can also include projects of water harvesting, land reforms, step-farming and percolation-tanks to further facilitate agriculture and related activities. If required present norm of 60 percent wages and 40 percent material need to be relaxed in deserving projects so as not to affect the quality of assets being generated. The presentation of MNREGA budgets in Gramsabha in October has no meaning as most of the migrating families have left the district by that time. It should be presented during the monsoon season itself. As it stands today MGNREGA has failed to provide employment to the tribals as can be seen from the continuing distress migration. There is a need to concentrate on institutional capacity with Technical Support Institute/ group at the district level.

(f) Promote organic and local crops

The Dangs has the lowest amount of chemical fertilizers use and it produces a considerably high amount of organic matter from forest. Declaration of the Dangs as an organic district will provide impetus to the harvesting of agriculture crops for organic market. The local, traditional crops like Nagli are highly nutritious coarse grains that can grow in rain-fed areas on slope-land. Therefore they seem best adapted for cultivation in the Dangs. In this context it is alarming to see the change of cropping pattern, towards more and more rice cultivation, while some of the other traditional and regionally well-adapted coarse grains like Bunti, Sava and Kodara are hardly cultivated anymore. The use of hybrid seeds in rice is stimulated by extension services. While it could be concluded that Nagli is a more suitable crop for the area, the availability of extension services for this crop is negligible.
(g) Fill the Gaps in Promising Dairying and Animal Husbandry Activities

Dairying as discussed earlier has shown a great potential. However, the study indicates availability of water and fodder especially during summer to be of critical importance if such activity is to spread and to become sustainable. However, the reach of veterinary services, extension services and infrastructure, excluding areas covered in dairy scheme, are poor. Healthcare facilities, including artificial insemination centres are not adequate and far flung. Lack of fodder and drinking water for animals especially during summer is a serious problem as water sources like hand pumps and in some areas check dams are highly insecure. The grazing land in the area is extremely limited. Also, the forests provide green fodder only during monsoon. Storage of milk produce needs cooling facilities which are inadequate in the area even when there is a huge success of dairying scheme in some areas.

Involving the tribals in animal husbandry by giving animals or birds is not sufficient. They should be provided extension services and training in the field of animal rearing, feeding, taking care of animals, marketing of milk, procuring fodder for animals etc. Follow-up monitoring is essential to facilitate tribals in understanding and solving difficulties. Efforts need to be made by the government to provide water (especially during summer), increased storage and transportation facilities especially when dairying has started giving additional income to some of the households. The concept of animal hostel can do wonder in this district in light of migration and lack of water during summer.

(h) Improve Transport and storage facilities for Better Marketing of Crops

There is an overall need to improve transport facilities to carry the crops to the market as, in our research, that has come out as the biggest barrier to sell surplus agricultural and forest products in the market at competitive rate. There is also a need to provide storage for new perishable commercial crops like flowers, mushrooms, vegetables etc. There are instances when farmers were forced to dispose of flowers at throw away prices.
Attend to Social Exclusion of *Bhil*, *Kathodia* and *Varli*.

There is a need to have separate development programmes for the Dangs *Bhil*, *Kathodia* and *Varli* as our research point out their social exclusion in many aspects. They may be put in the category of primitive tribes on the line of *Kotwadias*. These tribes need to be treated as a separate group on the line of primitive tribes in order to reverse the process of social exclusion and to avoid possible unrest. Such a need was emphasised in the past also (Lal, 1986).

**7.5.2. Education**

The tribals of the Dangs have realised the importance of education and have shown huge interest in higher education. The results for female literacy, especially, are significant. The Dangs has put up a spectacular performance with regard to literacy. For this, the literacy campaign of early 90s and the present campaign of enrolment should be given full credit.

However, more than 50 percent of the respondents in the survey have shown dissatisfaction with regard to quality of primary education. This brings our focus to the education policy of the country in which rich and middleclass get access to high quality English medium schools which in turn open up doors of premier institutes of higher education for them. A large part of tribals and poor do not get level playing field from the primary education itself. The preference for private schools over government schools is not accidental. It has a lot to do with the quality of the education. For the poor, private schools are neither affordable nor accessible. A negative response of most of the private schools to Right to Education Act is not surprising as it only reflects the prevalent societal values towards the poor and the downtrodden.

(a) It is a challenge for the Government (i) to improve the quality of government schools comparable to private schools; (ii) to open more English medium schools in tribal areas, (iii) to open more Science Schools and Polytechnics, (iv) to provide quality teachers, and (v) fill up the perpetual shortfall of teachers.

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(b) Local Dangi Dialect should be used in conversation by teachers in primary schools as this research shows that there is strong felt need from the tribals.

(c) The secondary and higher secondary education need to be strengthened by allowing more aided science schools, appointment of teachers and improving infrastructure facilities. The tribals need to have access to quality education especially with science and English subjects at their door step from primary school level.

(d) Good quality science and English medium schools should be established in the district to motivate bureaucrats to work in the district without worrying about education of their children and to allow tribals access to quality education. The experiment of Government of Gujarat in roping in corporate houses and big educational institutes to tribal areas is noteworthy.

(e) As far as higher education is concerned, a technical institution on the line of National Institute of Design may be established in the Dangs to train tribals in forest based crafts and industries as part of the forest policy.

7.5.3. Health

Though there is huge acceptance of modern health practices by the tribals and reach of village level health workers upto the villages, the district has not shown remarkable progress in health indicators. This is largely due to lack of adequate institutional frame work in form of health sub centres, primary health centres and specialty hospitals. The problem is compounded by non-presence of private doctors in the district. Further, the more than fifty percent of the posts of doctors are vacant. The field health workers are over burdened as they have to service villages which are spread in hilly terrains and sub-divided into many faliyas. The number of beds in the hospitals is wholly inadequate against the indoor and outdoor patients.

(a) There is a need to immediately change the norms of manpower and institutional frame work for the district. Non availability of doctors is a serious issue and need to be attended even by compulsory transfer and through incentives.
(b) The concept of mobile dispensary with private doctors of nearby towns needs to be introduced.

(c) Another issue is with regard to system of faith healing. Proper research and linking such research with employment of tribals in collection, processing and preparation of herbal medicines is needed. The global interest in alternate medicine needs to be exploited with maximum value addition at the local level.

(d) There is a need to start at least four more civil hospitals/CHCs in four areas of the district. The present bed capacity needs to be increased.

(e) The present number of health sub-centres and PHCs needs to be increased so as to take care of difficult terrain.

7.6. Conclusion

While this paper tried to look at the paradox of poverty in the plenty in the district from various perspectives, it emerged that policy and implementation are affected by interplay of an array of variables, multiple factors and Actors. However it is the lacuna at the level of policy making and lack of attention on the contents and context of policy and its implementation which play a major role in underachievement of the TSP objectives. Naturally this will require redefining national interest to predominantly include local interests of the tribals. At the national level policy initiatives are required to see that, as discussed in the beginning of the chapter, implementation of PESA is fully made by all the states in a time bound manner. Mineral and forest produce rights of tribals should be recognised as has been done in many countries. The issue of land alienation is serious and need to be addressed partly by radical land acquisition Act which should include rehabilitation and assured livelihood by way of partnership in projects and partly by protecting tribals from losing their land to the non-tribals either due to distress or due to coercion.
The recent initiatives by the Central Government either under pressure or at its own initiative are path-breaking and will be relevant till the balance of power in favour of haves not and the weaker section of the Society.

(a) Lokpal Bill intends to give more power to the Investigating new agency.

(b) National Food Security Bill. This is a social empowerment agenda after its Rural Job Guarantee Scheme. There are certain issues with regard to provisions in the Bill between Government and National Advisory Council. This will give food, security and hunger death will be the things of past. The nutrition level of tribals will go up substantially.

(c) Land Acquisition and Resettlement Bills have a provision of giving market price as compensation with partnership in the developed land. This will go a long way in giving farmers and especially tribals their dues as in India it is tribals who have lost the land and have been alienated from their own land for large scale of projects like Dams, Mining, Power Plants etc.

(d) The Mines and Minerals (Development & Regulation) Bill. It proposes a number of radical provisions and provides for sharing of 26 percent of profit with displaced population. This has been resisted by the Industrial lobbies and State leadership irrespective of the party.

It is heartening that independent India has taken a 360 degree turn and has started on a path which it should have taken sixty years before. If we can address the structural issues, coupled with TSP approach, we can solve the problem of tribal under-development and tribal unrest. It is India’s one of the most vexing problems. And has all the potentials to keep India on a tenterhook of a perpetual violent conflict with its own citizens.