Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

1.1. Introduction

The indigenous people or the aboriginals all over the world somehow have always lost out to the intruders, trespassers or the encroachers. Many a tribes have been completely obliterated from the face of the earth. They became alien in their own land; they have been hunted down in the 'games'; and they have been looted of their land, rivers, forests and mines and minerals and even women. Origins of many citizens and countries origin can be found in the merciless killings of these people in the name of discovery of new land and new resources. Laws alien to them were imposed upon them in the name of culture, systems and society. Actually it was a cunning ploy to usurp the resources which originally belonged to them. India is no exception. It is a story of Matsya Nyaya, the law of stronger fish eating smaller. The tribals have always lost out to outsiders, even to those who were defeated at the hands of Muslim and other aggressors and were on the run. It is said that the Ahmedabad was a tribal kingdom, Ashavalli not long before.

Believed to be the earliest inhabitants in India and mentioned in scriptures and documents, the tribals are shown to be either compromising and assimilating with the Hindu population or retreating further into the forests (Ghurey 1963:18). The retreated population enjoyed autonomy and free life of their own except during Islamic rule in medieval period (Mitra 2004: 25).

Many feel that liberalisation and globalisation have amplified pressure over territories and resources to their detriment (Ramagundam 2001:3).

International Labour Organisation (ILO) Convention in 1957 recognised the socio-economic human rights of indigenous people as part of development efforts and emphasized 'integration
without force’ (Roy, Burman 1994:12). The Declaration of International Decade of the World’s Indigenous People (1995-2004) by the UN has brought the issue into sharp focus. Many countries have started recognizing their rights over the land and other resources. The issue of development and struggle of these people have become globalised since the middle of the 20th century (Blaser et al. 2004:1-23). Since beginning this issue is now being seriously debated in India especially in the light of violent naxalism movement.

The story of the Dangs our region of study is, however slightly, different. A population, now, made of almost 94 percent tribes, remained undefeated by any group of outsiders. They were fiercely independent and their four kings/chieftains saw to it that nobody entered their areas not even Shivaji, the fierce Maratha warrior. It took British to get greedy about its excellent teakwood. They duped them into signing the modern instrument of contract to allow them access to the forest in lieu of annuity. The Dangs, which is situated in the state of Gujarat in Western India, an area covered by dense forests, rivers, beautiful landscape, waterfalls and a hill station.

Indigenous People who are identified as tribal communities or just tribals in India constitute eight percent of the Indian population. A majority of them (63 percent) live in hilly and forest areas while 2.25 percent and 1.6 percent live in the islands and in semi-arid zone respectively. The remaining tribes live in the rural plains. 75 percent of the tribal population lives in Central and Western India. Extreme diversity is seen among these communities in terms of occupation, race, language, region and economic development. Bhils, Gonds and Santhals are amongst the largest tribes in India. The tribal communities are divided into four racial groups: Negroid, Proto-Australoid, Mongoloid and Caucasoid. Their major occupations are hunting, shifting cultivation, settled cultivation and rural craft. Settled agriculture comprising rain fed, dry terrace and wet rice cultivation, is the primary source of livelihood for the majority (Roy, Burman 1994:10). However, many tribes have moved to modern occupations especially those tribes which live in the plains and north eastern tribes who never lost control over resources and their territory.
In pre-independent India, the British administration had a couple of interlinked strategies towards the tribal problem. One was to exercise hegemonic control over their land and the other to exploit mineral, forest and other resources that could further development of its economy in Britain. For this they started laying down railway lines and roads to strategic areas of their interest. In order to isolate the tribals from the rest of the country they declared certain areas as excluded and partially excluded. However, the British Government also established a number of schools and hospitals in tribal areas with the help of Christian missionaries. Along with partly solving their health and educational problems, they did succeed in converting a large number of tribals to Christianity even in remote inaccessible forested and hilly areas.

There are more than 550 tribal communities scattered throughout India. As per 2001 census, their total population is more than 8 crores. The socio-cultural and economic conditions of these tribals vary considerably. Though the Central and State Governments have been trying their best for the development of the tribals, yet it has not achieved the desired results. The tribals have been victims of colonial feudalism, domination, ethnic prejudices, illiteracy, poverty and isolation.

Because of their socio-economic backwardness, provisions in the Constitution of India have been made to safeguard their interests and promote development and welfare activities. After independence, Gandhiji did pioneering work among the tribals. He initiated several programmes for the development of Scheduled Castes (SCs) and Scheduled Tribes (STs) who have been historically disadvantaged groups of the country. Thakkar Bapa (Amritlal Thakkar) a social worker and contemporary of Gandhiji prepared an outline of a programme for the welfare of SCs and STs and introduced several activities for educational and economic development of the tribals.

About five decades ago the policy of 'Panchsheel' for tribal transformation was enunciated by the first Prime Minister of India, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru which rests on the following principles:
People should develop along the lines of their own genius and we should avoid imposing anything on them. We should try to encourage in every way their own traditional art and culture.

Tribal rights on land and forest should be respected.

We should try to train and build up a team of their own people to do work of administration and development. Some technical personnel from outside will no doubt be needed specifically in the beginning. But we should avoid introducing too many outsiders into tribal territory.

We should not over administer the tribal areas or overwhelm them with a multiplicity of schemes. We should rather work through and not in rivalry to their social cultural institutions.

We should judge results; not the statistics or the amount of money spent, but the quality of human character that has evolved.

A number of social scientists have made interesting analysis on various issues relating to tribal development. Here mention may be made of AO (1969), Chari (1975), Sahay (1969), Tripathy (1988), Tripathy et al. (1981), Mehta (1981), Sharma (1976, 1977a, 1977b, 1978a, 1982), Singh (1983), etc. who have done some useful work in this direction.

In 1960, under the chairmanship of Shri U.N. Dhebar, the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribe Commission was set up which upheld the first principle of 'Panchsheel' i.e. not to disturb the harmony of tribal life and work for their advancement and integration as part of the Indian family. A study team appointed by the Planning Commission in 1969 headed by Shri P. Shilu AO remarked that the tribal Welfare Policy should aim at the progressive advancement of the social and economic life of the tribals with a view to their gradual integration with the rest of the community on a footing of equality within reasonable distance of time. The period may vary from tribe to tribe. It may be five or ten years in the case of certain tribes, more particularly the tribes who have already come into contact with the general population by living in the plains. However it may be two decades or even more in the case of tribals who are still in primitive food gathering stage.
Till Second-Five Year Plan (1961-65), the development programmes were confined to community level in general but during the third Five Year Plan (1966-1970) the welfare of the scheduled tribes was taken under small Sub-Plan Sector viz. Welfare and Backward Classes Sector. In 1954 few Special Multipurpose Tribal Development Projects (SMTDP) were started in 43 blocks to supplement the development programmes in the tribal areas. A committee under the chairmanship of Dr. Verrier Elwin was appointed in 1956 by the Ministry of Home Affairs to review the working of SMTDT Blocks. The “Report of the Committee on the Special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks” known as Elwin Committee report by Elvin laid relatively more emphasis on the anthropological approaches and the Five Fundamental Principals enunciated by the Late Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru. This report is more realistic in the sense that it advocates the development of the tribal people along the lines of their own genius.

The Committee in its report recommended intensive development programmes in the tribal areas and the norm for a tribal development block was applied to smaller area of 150 to 200 square miles with smaller population coverage of about 25,000 with strong suggestion that the personnel engaged in tribal development should stop imposition and begin understanding, appreciating and approaching the tribal people with their mind and their heart.

By the end of the Third Five Year Plan, there were about 500 Tribal Development (TD) Blocks covering about 40 percent of the total tribal population.

A programme for tribal areas was also taken up on a pilot basis in areas of special agrarian unrest with a establishment of 6 Tribal Development Agencies (TDAs) in Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa. Towards the end of the Forth Plan, two more TDAs were created in areas not based on any agrarian unrest. This programme envisaged a comprehensive frame covering protective measures, economic development and social services.
A study team on Tribal Development Programme under the chairmanship of Shri Shilu AO was appointed by the All India Committee on Plan Projects. The Planning Commission which submitted its Report in 1969 had observed that the scheme of T.D. Block was inadequate for dealing with the complex problems of tribal development. These blocks were too small to function as the basic unit for planning and implementation. The major problems of tribal communities are related to indebtedness, land alienation, educational backwardness and inadequacy of communication. They called for vigorous action to implement the recommendations of the Dhebar Commission for preparing comprehensive development programmes (Sivaraman Committee Report P-14). The Renuka Ray’s (1954) Report emphasized that while each aspect of development was important in its own place, integrated programmes based on agriculture, forestry, handicrafts and village industries needed greater degree of emphasis to be determined by systematic survey of the needs and possibilities in each area. The Dhebar Commission also stressed on the integrated approach by touching the broad strategy and indicating socio-economic development as a general goal. The Expert Committee (1972), under the chairmanship of S.C. Dube advised about the formation of new strategy for tribal development through time bound integrated area development and offer programmes as per the genius of the people.

A review of development of Scheduled Tribe was undertaken on the eve of Fifth Five Year Plan, where upon the Tribal Sub Plan (TSP) mechanism was designed to channelise the flow of benefits arising out of outlays from the general sectors in the plans of States and Central Ministries for the welfare of the tribals. The TSP strategy consists of two pronged approaches viz. (1) socio-economic development of tribals (2) protection of tribals against exploitation.

This strategy was the result of consultations among anthropologists, NGOs, development administrators and policy makers. As mentioned above, it was introduced in the Fifth Plan. Both Fifth and Sixth Plans concentrated on expansion of TSP. The Seventh Plan emphasised a mix-up of beneficiary oriented programmes and infrastructure development. The Eighth Plan emphasized importance of people’s participation and consideration
of felt needs of people while planning. The Ninth Plan focused on 
integrated development of disadvantageous groups through 
special national level programmes and social security schemes. 
The Tenth Plan emphasized sustainable management of natural 
resources with special groups like tribals in mind.

The details of the two broad objectives of TSP are as follows:

(A) The long term objective of the strategy is (GOI 1981:5):
1. To narrow the gap between the levels of development 
   between tribal and other areas.
2. To improve the quality of life of the tribals.

(B) The immediate objectives included:
1. Elimination of exploitation.
2. Socio-economic development.
3. Building inner strength of the people and improving 
   their organisational capabilities.

The State and the Central Governments are required to quantify 
funds proportionate to tribal population out of their plan budgets 
for programmes of welfare and development of tribal population 
out of their plan budgets for programmes of welfare and 
development of tribal population by evolving a strategy keeping in 
view specific problems of their tribal regions. At the state level, 
sectoral programmes through tribal participation were to be 
prepared on the basis of assessment of problems, potentials, 
resources and felt needs.

Such plans should provide overhauling of legal, administrative and 
institutional frame for prevention of exploitation, generation of 
employment opportunities, provision of basic infrastructure and 
special programmes for primitive tribes.

Each sub-plan area could also have many project areas. An 
integrated Tribal Area Development Programme (ITDP) for each 
project area is prepared by inter-sectoral integration and involves:

1. Identification of such tribal areas.
2. Designating each area as Integrated Tribal Area Development Project (ITDP) and preparation of projects through tribal participation.

3. Allocation of funds by the Centre and State in proportion to the tribal population. Resources come from state plan outlays, Central plan outlays, special Central allocation, and institutional finance.

4. Aggregation of project reports into Tribal Sub Plan of the State and the Centre

5. Creation of appropriate legislative and administrative infrastructure.

TSP is a combination of multiple schemes involving many agencies, departments and ministries. Such programmes and schemes can be divided into the five broad categories:

1. Infrastructure development in the form of roads and building, communication facilities, etc.
2. Provision of basic services in the field of education, health, housing, drinking water, electricity and sanitation.
4. Self Employment schemes with subsidized loans/assistance given to individuals and groups for various vocations. For example, *Swarna Jayanti Gram Swarojgar Yojana* focuses on the formation of Self Help Groups in activities based on local skills and resources.
5. Imparting and Upgradation of skills through training.

Other schemes like Drought Prone Area Programme and Gujarat Pattern are brought under TSP. Besides provision for various subsidies, incentives and assistance is made in the field of education, health, agriculture, animal husbandry etc as part of various schemes.

**1.2. Statement of the Problem**

TSP was taken up with the grand objectives of mainstreaming the tribals and putting them at par from development point of view.
Various studies have been done on the impact of the TSP on the tribal life.

In the early days of TSP, the need of involving NGOs and social workers was brought out while evaluating TSP performance in Maharashtra (Kulkarni 1977: 34-43). In Gujarat, Patel identified forward and backward linkages and the worldview of the tribals as important determinants in success or failure of TSP.

It was found out that Lack of public awareness, absence of spirit of TSP and geographical constraints are the main reasons of poor impact of TSP on Korga community (Bhatt, 1982). The element of felt needs was evident in an empirical study on the impact of welfare schemes on the Kanikars tribe in Kerala (Gopalkrishan, 1985: 237-258). It was found that overlapping of schemes and dole system were reasons for the poor policy outcomes (ibid.). Another study in ITDP Songadh in South Gujarat pointed out that multiple schemes do not necessarily mean or even seek to bring integrated tribal development (Logo 1993). Roy Burman (1997) and many others consider the TSP strategy to be a failure. However, others disagree with this view (ibid.) and point out improvement in various fields like health, education, infrastructure development etc. These different interpretations of TSP experiment are due to different criteria of evaluation. However, generally, the experiment can be labeled as a failure from the viewpoint of low level of human development, wide spread poverty and low level of decision power in the political system. This is starker if one compares status of the tribals with that of the mainstream people on these criteria. The situation remains grim even after 60 years of special development efforts and positive discrimination.

Multiple developmental agencies and departments are involved in implementation of TSP to improve the quality of life of the tribals. Development of modern means of transport, roads and railways has opened up the tribal areas to the outside world. In the process, several non-tribals have come into contact with the tribals and have largely contributed to the margilisation and negative mutation of the tribal economy. Also contact with the Hindus and Christians and their culture was expected to bring about rapid socio-cultural and economic transformation of the tribals. However
in reality, the tribals have shown few signs of positive transformation and actually been subject to exploitation. The most important reasons for their inability to respond to the continuous efforts of the government policies and changing agents may be due to socio-cultural heterogeneity, low level of literacy and awareness, inadequate infrastructure and input supply and indifferent attitude of the tribal in general. It is a general perception among the people that development programmes have not made any sizable impact on the living conditions of the tribals. Even when in a subsistent economy, traditionalism perpetuates itself and internal growth impulses will be very weak or non-existent, the problem of basic structure of the socio economic and political system which is deeply entrenched in religious and cultural belief system of India can be cited as the single most important factor for the less than glorious impact of TSP. Such a structure has ensured persistence of indifferent attitude of the implementers, top-down planning, unwillingness to delegate powers, lack of confidence in the wisdom of tribals and corruption in the implementation.

The root causes of the rise of naxalism and general disenchantment of tribals with Institutions, systems, the development process and development itself are largely found to be in the development model which India is following since independence and especially after liberalisation since the early eighties. Even when it has propelled the growth rate of Indian economy, it is largely pitied against traditionally disadvantageous groups like tribals and Dalits. This is bound to happen as such a development model does not address the basic structural issues of India's political economy-iniquitous social system, traditional control and ownership of assets and natural resources in the hands of high castes. The Indian political economic system has further marginalized these communities by its unholy and almost unbreakable alliance with subsystems of religious, social and cultural sanctions against these communities. On its part, the state has, through laws, further denied the traditional control of tribals over natural resources; a process started by the British. Capitalism and liberalism in such structural imbalance may increase growth rate and GDP but the impact on human development can be minimal and may actually result into acute cognitive dissonance. The naxalism has forced the state to at last take note of this basic
root of the problem. *Panchayati Raj* and PESA came much early. Right to forest land, right to education and right to Information followed recently. The recent struggle to bring in bills on food security, land acquisition, and mines and minerals can dent the unjust the system and benefit disadvantageous groups.

In Gujarat, there are 9 ITDP areas (including the Dangs) with 43 blocks, 17 pockets and 4 clusters. Tribal Area Sub Plans (TASPs) are prepared for ITDP areas. The TASP and plans for dispersed tribes combined is known as TSP. The once dispersed tribes too are now covered under TSP. Separate plans for five primitive tribes are also prepared. There are many studies on the impact of TSP on the tribals across the country. However, even when there are some basic similarities among the tribals and tribal areas, the issues, constraints and problems are largely area specific and may change from area to area. The Dangs also presents a unique opportunity for carrying out research. It receives maximum rainfall in the region of Gujarat and has four rivers passing through it. It boasts of dense forests with rich bio diversity, with many herbal plants, a botanical garden and a sanctuary. Nonetheless, it is home to one of the poorest districts in the country and it has been covered under Drought Prone Area Programme (DPAP). There is little fodder and drinking water for the animals during summer. This paper looks at this paradox: An island of poverty in the sea of plenty. This study is an attempt to understand this paradox of the Dangs from socioeconomic and management (Implementation) point of view keeping TSP as focal point which was envisaged with two main objectives, i.e. improving the quality of tribal life and narrowing the gap between the tribals and the non-tribals.

### 1.3. 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 the 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.

1.4. Methodology

The district of the Dangs of Gujarat state is selected for the present study. This study was conducted as an empirical research. An empirical study of this type requires procedures that will reduce bias and increase reliability. Hence, qualitative as well as quantitative data were collected. The sources of data include primary as well as secondary sources.

Multi social survey techniques to understand the socio-economic condition of the tribals, the impact of TSP and its implementation process have been used. Anthropological field work in form of (a) Socio-economic survey of the families, (b) Participatory observation (c) Interviews with various stake-holders (d) Focus group, and (e) Village survey was undertaken.

An interview schedule was prepared and effectively used for understanding socio economic status of the tribals and impact of TSP.

Also as this study involved studying role, behaviour and worldview of various actors, close interaction with them was necessary. I have used records of informal interviews, group discussion and observations which I was doing since late 2005. Also observations and experiences of extensive touring of almost all the villages and habitats as development head of the Dangs in early 1990s have come as a great help as will be explained later. Informal interviewees included local opinion leaders like Village Sarpanch, school teachers, field staff, officers and political and social leaders.

Four days were scheduled for socio-economic survey, interviews and collection of data. Second visit for 4 days was used to fill in the gaps after initial data analysis and for focus group discussions. Help of Dangi youth after necessary training to carry out socio-economic survey of families was taken.
In the beginning, the district bureaucracy tried to accommodate me as a bureaucrat though it was more of a hindrance and was consciously avoided.

The secondary sources include various books and articles on the issue, the reports of planning commission and special committees, reports and research studies on tribals, their development and administration and implementation of TSP. Also secondary data available with district and state level government agencies have been extensively used.

1.5. Tools Used For Collection of Data

The detail methodological aspects of the study such as the selection of sample, villages, and sources of data, tools of data collection, analysis and the chapter schemes are given bellow.

1.5.1. Sampling

The Dangs district consists of 311 villages. Among them, eight villages were selected for the present study. They were selected from four geographic zones of the district and are Borkhet, Chichinagavtha, Dhuda, Daguniya, Dhulda, Dungarda, Linga, and Pipaldahad. A sample size of 240 respondents was taken. From each village, 30 respondents and total 240 respondents were selected through purposive sample method. Since the total number of sample is not very big, it was possible to contact all the 240 respondents.

The details of total households and population of the District and sample eight villages are given as under in Table 1.1
Table 1.1
Total Population and Total Households of The Dangs and the Sample Villages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
<th>Total/Rural/Urban</th>
<th>No. of Households</th>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total Villages</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>311</td>
<td>36,498</td>
<td>1,86,729</td>
<td>93,974</td>
<td>92,755</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>36,498</td>
<td>1,86,729</td>
<td>93,974</td>
<td>92,755</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Borkhet</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>789</td>
<td>407</td>
<td>382</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Chichigaotha</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>926</td>
<td>469</td>
<td>457</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Dagunia</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>724</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>364</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Dhuda</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>666</td>
<td>308</td>
<td>358</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Dhuda</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>735</td>
<td>352</td>
<td>383</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Dungarda (Jhariya)</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>788</td>
<td>381</td>
<td>407</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Linga</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>2602</td>
<td>1349</td>
<td>1253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Pipaldahad</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>730</td>
<td>404</td>
<td>326</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census of India, 2011

1.5.2. Interview Schedule

Schedule is the name which is usually applied to a set of questions which are asked and filled in by an interviewer in a face to face situation with another person. (Goody and Hatt 1952:9)

Interview schedule has been prepared keeping in mind the objectives of the present study. The schedule which is part of the report as Appendix 2 includes primary demographic details about respondent’s family, its economic condition, livelihood and asset ownership, forest produce, employment, animal husbandry, migration etc. It also covers status on education and health in detail. Further it covers details on their awareness of and access to development schemes, benefits received from TSP schemes, impact of such benefits on their lives and problems of access.

Interview schedule was pretested and then finalized. The data has been collected by filling up the schedules by house to house visit of 240 respondents. The respondents were selected randomly. I visited all these villages, many times more than once during the study period. The survey was done over the year and finalized in June 2011.
1.5.3. **Observation**

Observation is a process of getting information of an object, person, situation or event through sense organs at the time when the phenomenon of interest is occurring. (Poling Young 1973:161). However each observation, including a quantitative one, suffers of the observer’s personal traits, likes and dislikes and worldview.

Observation is not only one of the most pervasive activities of daily life; it also is a primary tool of scientific inquiry. Observation becomes a scientific technique to the extent that if it (1) serves a formulated research purpose, (2) is planned systematically, (3) is recorded systematically and related to more general propositions rather than being presented as a set of interesting curiosa, and (4) is subject to checks and controls on validity and reliability.

In the present study, data had been collected through observation method on respondent's social life, lifestyle and daily activities by visiting villages and talking to the people.

1.5.4. **Group Discussion**

Group discussion, when used along with other techniques, becomes very useful in research. In it, all members participate on equal footing. In a small group, this process becomes very useful. Generally group discussion focuses on three kinds of questions or problems (1) Group work (2) Public Policy (3) Personal Behaviour.

Five focus groups’ meetings as follows were organised to get diverse views on the impact of TSP and its implementation.

- Three villages, Borkhet and Dhulda.
- *Panchayat* officers,
- Other District officers
- NGOs.

Record of focus groups of two other villages namely Nadagkhadi and Kadmal (other than 8 sampled villages) was used. Most of the important NGOs working in the districts were covered.
Final meeting with development officers and collector was also arranged in June 2011 as wrap up session.

This exercise was done for understanding the difference in world view of tribals and others. Also, it helped in understanding how various actors behave in different ways on the same issue and how they try to influence policy implementation.

1.5.5. Interviews of Important Actors

Semi-structured interviews were conducted to bring out views of various actors on the administration, changes that have occurred in the last decade, problems and their felt needs. The actors included tribals, non-tribals, bureaucrats, NGOs and leaders. Tribals and field level bureaucrats were interviewed during the survey. Visits were made to six primary schools, four high schools and residential schools, four NGOs, three health centres, and many district offices. Services of female field guides were availed to help carry out interviews with women respondents. Pseudonyms have been used in most of the cases in order to protect their identity.

1.5.6. Secondary Data

Secondary data were collected from various offices of the district and the State Government. The libraries at Gujarat Vidyapith, Ahmedabad and the Gujarat Institute of Tribal Research and Training, Ahmedabad were also made use of. The offices of Director Census, Gujarat and Department of Tribal Development were approached for various information and data. Website was used whenever required especially for authentic information from planning commission, ministries and other agencies.

1.6. Conceptual Frame Work

The conceptual frame work is being presented in two parts. Part A deals with various concepts used in the research. Part B presents research frame work based on these concepts.
A.  Concepts Used in the Research

1.6.1. Development, Human Development, Social Change and Tribal Development

Development

'Development' is a broad and elusive concept and its relevance has been increasingly debated since the late 1960s. In its broad sense, the term 'development' signifies all aspects of development that were of a collective nature, that is to say pertaining to society as whole. In a narrower sense, it has been used either with reference to the human welfare aspects of development or in connection with structural transformation in society (George and Sreekumar, 1993:79-81).

The U.N. Experts defined the concept of development as "a process of improving the capability of a country's institutions and value system to meet increasing and different demands of social, cultural, and political as well as an economic character".

According to "International Labour Organisation," development involves 'human' as distinct from material product. It is defined as process which involves improvement in the quality of life of the weaker sections and a larger participation and involvement of the masses in the process of decision making in the economic, social, political and cultural life of a society (Narayandev, 1968: 372).

Garry Jacobs (1983) observed that development is not a programme executed by government but a social movement of the entire population, initiated, guided and led by government. Development calls for information, education, training, organisation and administration at the widest possible level. Effective development is, therefore, a comprehensive, balanced or integrated development; it is a dynamic process signifying goal oriented, guided and gradual change from something considered to be less desirable to something thought to be desirable or more desirable (Sparkman, 1961).
Development involves mobilisation of natural resources, augmentation of trained manpower, capital and technical know-how and their utilisation for the attainment of constantly rousing national goals, higher living standards and the changeover from a traditional to a modern society (Sharma, 1994: 1).

In Gandhiji's view, "Development" means the development of man in his entirety, making him aware of himself as part of development process, raising the standard of his living and life, and giving him freedom not only from foreign domination but also from economic exploitation, economic indebtedness and intellectual servitude. It is the process of growth of man, gaining in self-confidence and becoming self-reliant and self-sufficient (Mukherjee, et al, 1981: 7).

Thus, development may be considered as a process aimed at an improvement in the living standards of people in economic, social and cultural spheres with active participation of the people themselves so as to be self-sustaining in nature. It involves detailed planning and implementation.

Human Development

Measurement of development differs according to ideology and vision of development. Economic growth is one. Absolute poverty refers to minimum calorie requirement. Standard of living refers to minimum income required for certain basic needs. Human development can be defined as development of human capabilities and opportunities especially in the context of the underprivileged and the marginalised.

UNDP (United Nations Development Programme) has developed two important measurements; Human Development Index (HDI) and Human Poverty Index (HPI). Human Development Index (HDI) represents standard of living, education and longevity and goes beyond income aspect of development. Human Poverty Index (HPI) reflects the percentage of people who suffer from deprivation with regard to survival, decent standard of living and knowledge.
One more method is called Human Development Measures (HDM) which emphasizes capability approach and includes Gender Development Index (GDI), Gender Equality Index (GEI). HDMs which measure opportunities and capabilities of individuals are termed as HDM-1 and HDMs measuring opportunities and capabilities available to individuals at macro level are termed as HDM-2. This study uses HDM calculated by Indira Hirway and Darshini Mahadevia in their 'Gujarat Human Development report, 2004'. An explanation on HDM is given in Appendix 8.

To conclude, 'Development' is an abstract, subjective and highly debatable concept, and its interpretation depends upon several factors. Development can be seen as 'immanent' under capitalism or as an intentional activity (Thomas 2000:23-48). Development is used in three main senses: a) as a vision of a desirable society, b) as a historical process of social change and c) as deliberate efforts by development agencies (ibid).

Both neoliberals and structuralists are largely discredited due to their failure to offer any solution to improve living conditions of the poor (ibid). A fair degree of state intervention and regulation is required in India to take care of negative impact of market mechanism and to take care of diabolic impact of depilating socio economic systems and processes which are largely well sustained by religious sanctions.

However, the growing consensus is to involve local people as their own development agents rather than imposing 'development' from above when state intervention is resorted to. The state is expected to empower the poor through laws, rights, positive discrimination and protection.

**Social Change**

MacIver and Page (1959) refer to Social Change as a process responsive to many types of changes; to changes in the man-made conditions of life; to changes in the attitudes and beliefs of men and to changes that go beyond the control of the biological and the physical nature of things. According to Majumdar, 'Social Change' may be defined as "a new fashion or mode, either
modifying or replacing the old in the life of people" (Majumdar, 1966: 473).

Social Change has been observed since ages and in all kinds of civilization. However, in modern times, social change has become the symbol of continued movement towards modernisation indicating adoption of modern way of life and values. It may usually involve change in food habits, dressing pattern, speaking styles, choices, ideas and other life styles.

Emile Durkheim (1933) argues that changes tend to transform the basis of social cohesion in society from the mechanical solidarity characteristic of so-called primitive societies to the organic solidarity found in complex industrial societies. He held that technical progress tends to weaken the relational bond among members of society. Robert Redfield (1941) basing his conceptual framework on the works of Durkheim and others has argued that social change tends to result in a gradual shift away from the 'folk' or traditional community to an urban society. To Morris Ginsberg (1958), social change is a change in the social structure, e.g., the size of a society, the composition or imbalance of its parts or the type of its organisation. It also includes changes in attitudes or beliefs, in so far as they sustain institutions and change with them.

Karl Marx conceives social change in the history of society as a process of dialectical progress and development. According to him, production is the only source of development and change. As the mode of production is the basis of infrastructure or economic structure of society, any change in the mode of production alters the whole social structure (Yesudian, 1979: 19).

M.N. Srinivas (1966) through concepts of 'Sanskritisation' and 'westernisation', made the first systematic attempt to define the process of social change in the Indian context. According to him, "Sanskritisation is the process by which a downtrodden Hindu caste or tribal or other group changes its customs, ritual ideology, and way of life in the direction of a high caste and frequently twice born". His term 'westernisation' includes changes occurring at different levels: technology, institutions, ideology and values.
D.P. Mukherji (1958) defined social change as a process of movements through conflicts and contradictions. The contradiction in the Indian case is between its tradition, culture and value systems, which are holistic or devoid of the atomistic principle and the ramifications of class interests that have successfully emerged through the changing material and modes of production.

A.R. Desai's (1966) analysis of social changes in the context of rural and urban societies revealed that the changes generated by the community development programme, the educational, political and other development measures, succeeded or failed to the extent that the pre-existing material conditions, especially the class contradictions, were mature or not.

Another systematic approach to the study of social change is that of Louise Dumont (1964). He conceives of the Indian social system not as a system of social relationships but as system of ideational and value configurations or patterns. The study of social change according to him should be focused on analyzing the "reaction of Indian minds to the revelation of western culture". This reaction would lie in the cognitive transformation from the principle of hierarchy to equality. Essentially, change consists in the adaptive or transformative processes within the traditional Indian cognitive system. Thus, cultural change is the precursor for individuality and of social change.

Sekhar (1968) who has undertaken a theoretical study of social change in the country believes that India is changing from one pattern of particularism, affectivity, quality, diffuseness and selfishness to one of universalism, affective neutrality, performance, specificity and collectivity as a theoretical model.

It follows from the above discussion that social change includes changes in value and belief systems and attitudes in social institutions, resulting in changes in life-styles. Further, social change in the Indian society is marked with the western education, emancipation of women, growth of modern technology, social mobility towards industrial and urban settings, political consciousness, westernisation and gradual modernisation both in thought and behaviour.
Tribal Development

The concept of tribal development implies the upliftment of the tribal communities.

Tribal development includes the formulation of policies and programmes and the execution of the same with a view to bringing about improvement in the quality of life of the tribal communities.

Tribal development can also be viewed as:
(a) a movement emphasizing upon building up organisational structures;
(b) a programme emphasizing on activities;
(c) a method emphasizing certain achievable ends;
(d) A process emphasizing upon what happens to people not only economically and socially but also psychologically; and
(e) Institutionalisation of newly discovered skills and procedures leading to social change without completely breaking away from the past (Adopted from Sanders, 1958: 6).

From the point of view of development, the tribal communities in India may be classified into four broad categories. The first category consists of primitive tribes inhabiting remote, inaccessible areas and pursuing pre-agricultural occupations, such as food gathering, fruit gathering, hunting and fishing. The second category comprises those tribes practicing shifting cultivation and is supposed to be little more advanced because of their contact with outside world. The third category consists of those tribals who may be regarded as in transition. They are partly acculturated, following settled cultivation and responding positively to the development initiative. The last category comprises the acculturated tribal who have adopted modern ways of life and technology and are almost indistinguishable from the non-tribal (Prasad, 1988: 82). A large chunk of the tribal population belongs to the second and third categories. Thus, the tribal setting presents a complex picture and warrants different development perspectives. The approaches to take the development impulse into tribal areas have been conceptualized in four ways - (a) policy
of isolation, (b) policy of assimilation of cultures, (c) policy of intervention and (d) policy of revitalisation. Of these, revitalisation has been considered the best approach to integrate the tribal into the mainstream and hence adopted by the Government of India, though the process is gradual and slow. It suggests that special attention should be given to each tribe to preserve good elements of its culture and to remove the not-so-good ones gradually by contact and motivation. This means development should be generated within the society so as to be self-sustainable (Lakshmaiah, 1984: 21).

The tribal communities in India are undergoing transformation as a result of both voluntary (automatic) and induced (sponsored) changes. While the voluntary changes are due to the contact of tribal communities with other communities, the induced changes are caused by the Government intervention as well as the efforts of Christian missionaries and voluntary agencies. The phenomena of transformation have been variously described as assimilation, acculturation, integration, peasantisation, detribalisation, etc (Reddy and Reddy, 1991:25). Sanskritisation is another word being used to describe such changes. The nature and extent of transformation varies from one tribal community to another depending upon several factors including factors like the degree of contact with other communities and outside world, migration, transport and communication system prevailing in the area, access to developmental programmes and extent of participation in the development process.

1.6.2. Public Policy, Implementation and Evaluation

Public Policy

Public policy has many meanings. Lasswell describes policy as 'policy orientation' which is problem focused, multi-disciplinary, uses multiple methods and is contextual' (cited in Hill and Hupe 2002:3). From means and end point of view, policy makers decide objectives and goals while implementers decide the modalities of implementation.
In third-world countries, policies assume critical importance in charting out development course in many fields like education, health, poverty alleviation, welfare, allocation and distribution of resources. However, policies should not be taken at face value. Many times policies on paper and in practice differ widely, sometimes in intention too. Also, existence of policies itself neither ensures solution of the problem nor implementation as desired.

**Implementation**

Implementation in the words of Webster and Roger means: to carry out, to accomplish, fulfill, produce, complete' (Hill and Hupe 2002:3). Implementation has two meanings: a) an act of implementing, i.e. process of implementation showing causal relationship between policy and outcome and b) state of having implemented the policy, i.e. accomplishment-a more static idea.

For success of any policy, policy design and implementation are very important. Policy makers should consider political, financial, technical and managerial resources at their disposal as well as plan mobilisation of such resources so as to reduce opposition to and to increase support to the policy (Grindle and Thomas 1990:1167). Such consideration with clearly defined objectives can be used to develop programmes and a policy delivery system. Policy formulation and implementation are interrelated and is increasingly being seen as an interactive process among multiple actors. Implementation is the most sensitive political part of the policy process. Many times it involves intensive bargaining, negotiation and compromise among various stakeholders(actors)\(^1\) with weak actors often losing out in the process despite a good policy. It can thus be seen as an arena in which these stakeholders are engaged in political relationships (Turner and Hulme 1997:77). Study of implementation from the process aspect hence can inform on policy design and better implementation.

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\(^1\) We have used the term 'actor' in place of 'stakeholder' following the actor oriented approach of Long for understanding interface and social discontinuities.
Evaluation

The definitions of evaluation vary widely depending on the purpose and ideology. Evaluation is used to assess whether the policies have succeeded or not. In fact, evaluation could be a forerunner to the decision of policy continuation or termination. Evaluation is often comparison between what is expected and what is observed (Hill and Hoop 2002:11).

However, it should also give an opportunity to look at the outcomes, which are not planned. This way, evaluation should inform us on the change a policy has brought about. Besides, evaluation should help understand views of various actors and constraints faced. Evaluation can be from the point of view of input, output or outcome. However, when evaluation is spoken of from the viewpoint of outcome, influences that are independent of the implementation process need to be identified and accounted for. Evaluation requires clarification on three aspects: goals, causality between input and outcome and causality between outcome and goal.

1.6.3. Models of Policy Implementation

Policy/decision models and theories assume automatic implementation and thus achievement of desired objectives. Various implementation models have been developed but implementation studies lack a consensual theory or a model. Paul Sabatier labeled implementation studies as 'intellectual dead end' (quoted in Lester and Goggin 1998:1). Kendal (2001:1) is of the opinion that there is limited empirical evidence supporting each of the models' principal assumptions and that no model can be regarded as superior to other (ibid: 3). However, study of implementation is very important as it gives insight into the process and reasons for success or failure of a policy. Contextual selection and even synthesis of various approaches may be required while studying implementation. Two basic models, top down and bottom up are discussed; as most other models are hybrid of these models along with it Grindle's interactive model and Long's actor oriented approach are taken up.
Top-down and Bottom-up Models

Calista (cited by Kendal 2005: 13) has outlined six major assumptions in this top-down approach:

- First, success of a policy depends on clear causal theory.
- Second, appropriate jurisdiction, reach and sufficient resources exist.
- Third, legal structures are sufficient to ensure compliance.
- Fourth, implementers will behave in self-interest.
- The fifth assumption is that cooperation of the implementers is conditional to the incentives.
- Lastly, economic and other conditions should be supportive.

In short, in this approach the policy decisions are taken at the top expecting them to be implemented through a set of clear objectives, adequate causal theory, committed officials, support of interest groups and the state and legal structures. There are two main criticisms to this model. This approach may not be useful when strong and multiple actors and agencies are involved. Also, it neglects other actors in decision making, assuming that implementers act more as impediment rather than facilitators.

The bottom-up approach starts at the bottom level actors and then prepares implementation plan on the basis of perceived problems, goals and activities. This way, the approach emphasizes the consideration of feasibility and needs before implementation. The role of implementers in policy making was brought out by Lipsky (1980:3-25) in case of street level bureaucrats. This approach is criticized on two grounds. It is largely concerned with the goals and activities of other actors. Second, it may fail to consider that the goals, perceptions and activities of actors can be affected by other factors and even by the actors at the top.

Interactive Model

This model is a combination of top down and bottom up approaches even when it considers the state and bureaucracy as the main actors. According to Grindle and Thomas (1990), policy implementation is not a linear process but an interactive, political and administrative process. This model focuses on studying the
reactions of various actors and assessing implementation aspect at the time of policy formulation itself.

Grindle focuses on the importance of the *content of a policy* and how it can impact the social, political and economic relationships. She identified six variables in policy design that can have significant impact on the implementation:

- **Interests Affected**: The policy may stimulate opposition depending upon the degree of change policymakers intends to introduce.
- **Extent of Change**: The required degree of change in the behaviour of the beneficiaries may also affect the outcomes.
- **Types of benefits**: Similarly, programmes that have long-term objectives are difficult to implement than the ones geared towards immediate benefits.
- **Decision sites**: The number of decision units also affects implementation.
- **Programme implementers**: The capacities and nature of implementing agencies also affect implementation to varying degrees.
- **Resources**: The extent of resources committed and the degree of clarity of goals also influence implementation.

Grindle considers equally critical the context of a policy or environment (political, social and economical setting) for outcome of the policy implemented. "What is implemented may thus be the result of political calculus of interests and groups competing for the scarce resources, the responses of implementing officials, and the actions of the political elites, all interacting within given institutional and socio political context" (Grindle 1980:10). Lastly, compliance of implementers and beneficiaries and responsiveness of bureaucracy are equally important.

**Actor Oriented Approach**

Long (1989: 4) considers the separation of policy, implementation and outcome a gross oversimplification and suggests study of interface between implementing agencies and local groups and actor. According to him, 'an actor oriented perspective gives priority a) to identify the problems and concepts as presented by
particular actors, with a view to isolating similarities or differences in social interpretation and cultural values or styles and b) to learning something about the types and contents of important social relationships and activity fields that involve these individuals' (Long 1989:147). This approach can explain why policy implemented may have different outcomes than planned (Long 2001).

According to Long (1989:241) the poor, even in the face of adversities, have a choice among different courses of action and may influence the implementation (cited in De Wit, 1996:32). Also, Long defines social interface as a critical intersection between different social systems and it results in interactions between actors deciding ways of bridging, accommodating or struggling against each other’s different social and cognitive worlds (Long 1989:232). This approach helps in understanding the diversity in outcomes, uneven allocation of benefits and costs of intervention.

1.6.4. Other Important Concepts

Social Exclusion

The concept of social exclusion with its origin in France refers to 'rupture of social bonds'. More broadly it has been defined by European Foundation as 'the process through which individuals or groups are wholly or partially excluded from full participation in the society within which they live' (cited in De Haan 1998:2). It is different from concept of basic needs and absolute poverty in the sense that they are individual based while social exclusion generally refers to a group.

According to De Haan, the concept of social exclusion has two facets namely multidimensional characters of deprivation and the processes and causes of such exclusion as well as mechanisms and institutions, which exclude the people (De Haan 1998:10). Access to resources, institutions and entitlements is denied to certain groups in a process in which certain groups practice active social distancing from such groups. Such distancing can be overt or covert. For example, caste discrimination in India is many times a covert practice resulting into social exclusion of the lower castes.
Social exclusion manifests as lower income and low participation in economic, social and political activities.

HDI and HPI are close to social exclusion. However they emphasize less on the process and on the excluded groups (De Haan 1998:15). HDMs are better indicators of social exclusion. According to Appasamy et al. (1996:1-2), context specific use of the concept is called for. He argues that social exclusion from the perspective of access to basic living conditions need to be studied in India and other developing countries.

De Haan (1998:3) has identified the key arenas and elements of social exclusion as follows:

1. Rights: Human, legal and democratic
2. Resources: Human and social capital, labour markets, product markets, State Provision and common property resources
3. Relationships: Family networks, wider support networks and voluntary organisations

1.7. The Research Framework

The data related to the study were fed into a computer and verified in order to eliminate errors. One way and two-way tabular analysis with appropriate statistics like percentage, average, and co-relation were used in the analysis of data. The filled in schedules were scrutinized and compiled. The data available from focus groups, Interviews, observation were recorded. This data was used largely in narratives.

A detail conceptual framework is presented in the following pages.

A two pronged strategy has been followed to achieve the objectives of the study. (a) Impact assessment of the TSP on the tribal life has been done using variables on income, literacy and health. Secondly, analysis of this impact using Grindle’s Interactive Model of Implementation
1.7.1. Impact Assessment

Considering the fact of multiplicity of schemes and agencies, it is humanely not possible to assess implementation and impact of each and every scheme. Human development concept even with its weaknesses can be used to assess the impact of TSP Schemes, its strategy and its implementation as a whole. In this study, it is proposed to analyse the impact of TSP on the tribal life from the point of view of three indicators: a) poverty, b) education and, c) health. For this, we have also looked at HDM status of the Dangs taking Gujarat Human Development Report 2004 and subsequent data as a basis. Special Attention is given to employment, migration and impact of NREGA scheme.

In addition, Social exclusion of the tribals will be discussed by using HDMs. Social exclusion within tribals will also be analysed based on sample survey analysis. It is about the right to work and income, education, health and freedom from exploitation and access to basic needs. Naturally actor oriented approach will be used to bring out the process of conflict and exclusion. This will help assessing more deeply the structural factors, which determine and sustain poverty and inequality.

For impact assessment the following variables have been considered:

**Independent Variables**

All demographic, social, and economic attributes of sample respondents are treated as independent variables,

(a) Demographic variables: (i) size of households and (ii) literacy level, (iii) tribe sub groups

(b) Socio Economic Variables: (i) type of house, (ii) pattern of land ownership and income, (iii) occupational structure, (iv) income from wages, (v) migration, (vi) right to forest land, (vii) tree ownership scheme (viii) income from other sources, (ix) consumption pattern, (x) expenditure pattern, and (xi) savings and indebtedness.
Dependent Variables

The impact of Tribal Sub-Plans Schemes on socio-economic condition is the dependent variable.

1.7.2. Implementation Process: Policy Content, Context and Actors

According to Grindle and Thomas, policy implementation is not a linear process but an interactive, political and administrative process. Following this model we focus the biggest stake holder state along with the reactions of various actors. Here we will study and assess implementation aspect from content as well context of the TSP. It can be interesting to look at the proposition that ‘what is implemented may thus be the result of political calculus of interests and groups competing for the scarce resources, the responses of implementing officials, and the actions of the political elites, all interacting within given institutional and socio political context” (Grindle 1980:10).

For this we will use Long’s Actor oriented research technique. Following Long, we consider that the separation of policy, implementation and outcome is a gross oversimplification. There is a need to study interface between implementing agencies and local groups and actors. Here we will try a) to identify the problems and concepts as presented by particular actors so as to understand the conflict in the worldview and b) types and contents of social relationships and activities that involve various actors. This approach will be used to understand why policy implemented may have different outcomes than planned. This approach, further, will be used to understand the diversity in outcomes, uneven allocation of benefits and costs of intervention.

This impact of TSP on the tribals is discussed along with the important variables so as to bring out the worldviews, role and behaviour of various actors. The actual implementation process is juxtaposed against the planned one which is prescribed as a distinct part of national planning exercise to address specific needs of the tribals. An attempt has been made to understand the mutation, either for good or bad, in the policies, implementation process and even results. Naturally the idea is to bring out
implementation as it is at the national, state and particularly at the district level in its raw form. This should help us understand, in a better manner, the TSP implementation, different world views and the behaviour of various actors to the same policy and plans. The following variables identified by Grindle have been taken to study the implementation process of TSP.

**Policy Design of TSP**

(a) Integration and Coordination among various Implementing agencies  
(b) Is the implementation bottom-up or top down?  
(c) Response system and flexibility  
(d) Multiplicity of schemes and agencies  
(e) Did the policy anticipate implementation problems?

**Policy Context**

(a) Geographical constraints  
(b) Capacity: financial and human resources  
(c) Economic factors

The actor-oriented approach is primarily a research technique. The approach will require studying worldviews and social discontinuities and assessing the positions and interests of all actors weak and strong, tribals and non-tribals with regard to TSP.

**1.8. Need and Relevance of the Present Study**

I had the privilege of working as a career bureaucrat in this district in the beginning of my career. I worked as District Development Officer (DDO) in 1990-1992 in the Dangs. I was deeply involved in implementation of the TSP. I was responsible for implementation of the Dangs specific Zero Unemployment Programme announced to reduce seasonal migration by late CM Sri Chimanbhai Patel. I also am witness to nascent naxalite movement in this district. I have traveled extensively in the district and was fascinated by their life, culture and world view. I received state award of best DDO for my work in the Dangs especially in the field of construction of roads, schools, Anganwadis, Panchayat offices, houses for the poor, irrigation schemes and literacy campaign.
One thing I was amazed by was the difficulty of implementation in view of the geographical constraints, subsistence agriculture, shortage of manpower, poor quality of manpower, lack of institutes and scarcity of water, especially in the summer. However, I was more amazed by the actions and reactions of various actors as I implemented various schemes under TSP. How a maze of controls from top in matters of planning, implementation and norms for manpower and development projects were insisted upon even when they never reflected the ground realities. It was interesting to observe how the strong state actors will make implementation of PESA a non issue, how tribals and non-tribal actors will accuse each other of not doing enough and how centralisation will enter from back door in forms of circulars, committees and meetings.

It was due to this interest that I have kept my connection live with the Dangs by visiting the district and taking this district for a small write-up during my study for MA in Public Policy in the Netherlands.

The Dangs is an area of paradox; it is an area of poverty in plenty. It is a district with the highest rainfall, four rivers, and the highest forest cover. And yet it is one of the Indian districts with highest incidence of poverty. This study is an attempt to understand this paradox, keeping TSP as a focal point.

With this background, it would be interesting to assess the impact of TSP on the tribal life from socio-economic point of view and to analyse the implementation process with interplay of various actors.

Not much research has attempted to understand the role, worldview and behaviour of various actors in this field. Here an attempt has been made to study the impact of TSP on the tribals along with the role, worldview and behaviour of various actors. The actual implementation process as juxtaposed against the planned one has been revealed as a narrative of various actors and even groups. This helps us to understand the mutation, either for good or bad, in the policies, implementation process and even results. Naturally the idea is to bring out implementation as it is at the district level in its raw form. This should help us understand
the real process TSP implementation and impact of different world views and behaviour of actors on such a process, plans and policies.

Lastly, the study would be helpful to fill the research gap in this field to some extent. Naturally, the changes occurring in the socio-economic life of tribals cannot be attributed only to the TSP, there are many other factors which can and do affect tribals. However the state intervention through TSP is the single important biggest factor affecting the lives of tribals in the post independent India.

Their way of life and thinking are influenced depending upon intensity of impact of various forces of change. Since tribal population is spread throughout India with its racial and other differences, region-wise study of tribes assumes importance. Hence, there is need for more micro level studies covering different regions of the country to throw light on the efficacy of tribal development programmes so as to bring in situational approach to planning and implementation instead of following a straight jacket formula.

1.9. Limitations

(1) TSP covers more than 350 schemes and 52 departments and agencies. It is not possible to discuss each and every schemes and even departments.

(2) Implementation process subsumes many a sub processes.

It is not always possible to attribute impact of TSP on the tribal life as many others variables are also at play. There are multiple factors, which affect implementation. Only some factors are taken up for the study.

The income estimates may be considered only a rough indication as they are based primarily on the information given by the respondents. As a balance, the status of the families as per the government survey has also been shown as there are diverse methods to calculate poverty. Governmental survey takes into consideration, in addition to income, many other factors. Lastly, tribal areas differ in geographic, cultural and economic characteristics. Conclusion reached in this study may be applied only after contextual considerations.
Most important, the framework which I have used here in which an attempt has been made to intertwine traditional impact variables from Griddle's Interactive model of Implementation. This assessment, further, has been analysed from the point view of Long's Actor Oriented Approach to policy Implementation. Such analysis requires years of research by the researcher in the field of study.

1.10. Chapterisation

Present study has been divided into seven chapters which is as below:

**Chapter 1 Introduction and Research Methodology**

Research methodology chapter presents the introduction of the subject, selection of research problem, the objectives of the study, methodology, tools to be used for collection of data, and techniques of analysis.

This chapter also presents concepts used and conceptual framework of the research. Concepts like Development, human development models of implementation, social exclusion are discussed and then these have been intertwined to form a framework.

**Chapter 2 Tribal Community: An Overview**

In the beginning of this chapter, a brief discussion is presented with reference to the meaning of “Tribe”, Characteristics of the tribes, tribal Census, their socio-economic profile etc with reference to India.

Then, an introduction of the research Area, Gujarat State and the Dangs District, is given. It covers details on geographic, demographic and economic aspects of the state and the district along with introduction of tribal communities of the Dangs.
Chapter 3  Background and Administrative Structure for Implementation of Tribal Sub Plan Approach

In this chapter, administrative structure of Tribal Sub-Plan has been discussed. Starting from the centre and state level, the administrative apparatus up to village level is presented. Coordination and planning mechanism at the cutting edge i.e. district level in form of District Tribal Development council headed by a minister and represented by officials, non-officials and experts and Executive committee headed by the collector have been covered. A detail presentation on important initiatives and schemes of Gujarat with regard to tribal development is given.

Chapter 4  Review of Literature

The reviews of earlier studies on different dimensions of tribal development in India in general and in Gujarat in particular are presented in this chapter.

Chapter 5  Survey Results

It covers Socio-economic profile of the selected tribal Households covering aspect like family size, religion, sub-tribe, marital status, land and ownership of other assets, literacy, income, occupation and livelihood options, migration, debt and other demographic and economic indicators are presented in detail in this chapter. It also covers access to schemes and facilities of health, education and livelihood.

It also deals with extent of direct benefit of TSP schemes received by the households, difficulties faced in access to such schemes, role of officials and non officials in access to such schemes and impact of such schemes on their lives etc.

Chapter 6  Impact Assessment and Policy Content, Context and Actors

This chapter draws broad conclusion on the basis of the survey, other secondary data and literature on the subject.
Simultaneously, it discusses policy implementation, as it was found at the district level so as to bring out the world views, roles and behaviour of various actors. This discussion is based on group discussions, interviews, secondary data and observations.

Chapter 7 Policy Recommendations

The last chapter deals with important policy recommendations.

Appendix

1. Bibliography
2. Interview schedule (English)
3. Interview schedule (Gujarati)
4. A note on interviews of the Actors
5. List of Actors (Pseudonyms)
6. A note on Explaining Human Development Index
7. Success Stories
8. Statements on Development Works by DRDA, the Dangs
9. Statements on Development Works by TASP, Ahwa