Democracy and Tourism in Madhya Pradesh

A case study on participatory democracy and the effects of Eco-tourism in Satpura Tiger Reserve.

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Abstract
The purpose of this study is to examine the possible influence that local communities has over the development of eco-tourism in Madhya Pradesh. Interviews with people in villages around the Satpura Tiger Reserve have shown several failings of the Panchayati raj system as well as testimonies of violation of human and democratic rights in connection to displacements that occurred.

Keywords
Satpura tiger reserve, Participatory democracy, Panchayati raj, Displacements, Madhya Pradesh, Madhai, Pachmarhi, eco-tourism, social and economic impact tourism.

Thanks
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1 Introduction

Travel and tourism interested persons have most likely not missed the phrase “Incredible India” from magazines and advertising worldwide. The tourism industry of India is heavily promoted and in 2016 it stood for 9.6% of India’s total GDP and are projected to rise in even more in the coming years (WTTC, 2017). While India is a big and diverse country with many different form of tourism, which has had both negative results for the local communities in some areas and very positive and sustainable results in other areas. Tourism can be a very positive way of developing local communities in a sustainable way, but can also be done on the expense of nature and people. In this paper the focus will be on what is promoted as eco-tourism in the Satpura Tiger Reserve (STR) in Madhya Pradesh, located in central India.

Madhya Pradesh, often called the heart of India, is the second largest state in India with extended forest areas, rich fauna and flora and not least a large population of tigers. The beauty of the nature attracts and make Madhya Pradesh an interesting destination for tourists; the state also has World Heritage sites and a rich cultural heritage. While the tourism in Madhya Pradesh is not as developed as Goa and Kerala, the state Government works toward making Madhya Pradesh a competitive destination for both national and international tourists. Because of the rich sensitive forest areas, one of the main form of tourism that is developing is eco-tourism. Madhya Pradesh Ecotourism Development Board (MPEDB) promotes ecotourism since it “provide the tourist with the opportunity to appreciate nature and wildlife in an undisturbed environment; at the same time it also creates opportunities to enhance livelihood options for the local communities” (MPEDB, 2017).

1.1 The case of India and its different policy’s.

So why chosen India for this thesis? India is often described as a land of contrasts, as the biggest democracy in the world. As contrasts go the first thing that strikes you is the enormous gap between the rich and poor, the educated and uneducated and the cultural justification of this (Ifad.org, 2017). When it comes to democracy many fine words are spoken but the fact is civil rights are not high on the agenda, press freedom is below Nigeria’s level and human rights violations are common (RSF, 2017). So, Firstly, the agonistic relation with the economic politics the last three decades, which has strongly
been and is Neo-liberal (Patnaik, 2007), and the special case of the Panchayati Raj system which is strongly adherent to theories of self-governance and participation.

What are the problems that arise from this, what are the will of local communities and what are in fact happening on the ground? Secondly, India has a long history of displacing people when it comes to national economic interests. Mining, power plants, dams and of course tourism are all faced with the fact that people are living in these areas that are of economic interest. To find a small space in India without people are a hopeless endeavour. So how is this addressed when for example STR empty the forest of the people living there in the name of wildlife conservation and tourism?

1.2 Aim and questions

The research conducted in this paper will be in the village of Madhai and surrounding areas which is located close to both buffer and core area of Satpura Tiger Reserve (STR). In this area, there is also a developing tourist destination with hopes it will lead to much needed economic growth. The aim is to investigate the democratic influence that the local communities has over the development of tourism and if the democratic participatory model in place is functioning. Another aim, is to aggregate to previous research in regard to displacements and possible transgression of democratic rights.

To reach the aim of the study, following in questions will be

- To what extent is the participatory democratic system in place fulfilling its aim and goals?
- In what way are tourism in the area affecting the local communities political, social, economic development of the village of Madhai and surrounding areas?
- To what extent are ecotourism’s normative goals fulfilled?
- How are displacements in connection with the STR done and what are the arguments made in favour or against this?

Since Madhai is under development as tourist destination, I will also compare Madhai to Pachmarhi that has a developed tourism in the area of SPT. Primary sources used is semi-structured interviews of individuals and focus groups. I have interviewed non office-bearing villagers and members of the local self-governance institution in the
Panchayati raj system, this will be combined with analysis in the theoretical framework of participatory democracy. Focus is on the locals view and not the elite view.

2 Previous Research

2.1.1 What is ecotourism?

In order to understand the underlying problems associated with ecotourism, we first need to have a clear picture of what it really means, what is perceived to be and what the fact are aside from the tourism brochures all positive view. When ecotourism started, it was more of an idea than a discipline and its popularity made it a buzzword in the industry, consequently it led to hard promotion without an understanding of the basic principles of ecotourism (United Nations Environment Programme, 2002). Since there is no need to rediscover the wheel, I base this part of the study on the work previously done by EQUATIONS and UNEPs definitions.

2.1.2 UNEPs definition of ecotourism

UNEP stress that eco-tourism is a part of sustainable tourism, all forms of tourism should be sustainable, eco-tourism is the part that focus on nature and cultural tourism. Several different definitions have been made since the 70’s but the consensus of what ecotourism is composed of is:

- Contributes to conservation of biodiversity.
- Sustains the wellbeing of local people.
- Includes a learning experience.
- Involves responsible action on the part of tourists and tourism industry.
- Is delivered primarily to small groups by small-scale businesses.
- Requires lowest possible consumption of non-renewable resources.
- Stresses local participation, ownership and business opportunities, particularly for rural people.

2.1.3 The myths of ecotourism

There is a widespread idea that ecotourism has a positive impact on conservation and development of local communities. The issues and challenges regarding this has previously been studied by EQUATIONS (Seshadri, 2011) and here a short summary of
these arguments/beliefs and counterarguments regarding the issue of ecotourism’s positive influence within the framework of Indian legislations.

The myths and explanation that has previous been observed a by EQUATIONS:

First argument is that tourism generates funds for conservation related activities. However, there is several arguments against this. The money is hard to trace, depending on visitors number in contradiction with principles of eco-tourism, and that cost/revenue analysis shows that income from eco-tourism is around a 10\textsuperscript{th} of costs involved which shows that ecotourism alone cannot sustain communities’ livelihoods.

Second argument is that wildlife tourism creates awareness among the tourists who are visiting therefore building public support for conservation measures that the centre announces. However, studies from EQUATIONS shows that this is not the case, most focus are on the big mammals and the rules regarding wildlife is not followed. Tigers for example are chased so the tourist can take pictures.

Third argument is that tourists entering the forests act as watchdogs both for the forest staff and for poachers. The staff patrolling the forest areas do a diligent job since they realize that the tourists are watching them. Poachers are not affected by presence of tourists since it is a small area designated for tourists and poaching is done at night.

Fourth is that ecotourism comes with Conservation Education and Education for Sustainability, this is some cases true but there are some aspects that needs consideration. Recognition of the important role of local communities needs to be addressed. This will instil respect and change the view tourists have on these communities. A change in mind-set of tourists will also positively influence their behaviour towards local communities that today is oppressive, patronizing and condescending. (Seshadri, 2011)

Furthermore, EQUATIONS has showed that the private companies involved is not contributing to the conservation, restoration of forest are not a priority. Community conservation practices has on the contrary been showed to be done in a sustainable way. The way ecotourism is approached is the dividing factor, from the monetary view where extraction of value is valued which is in place today or as a potential of realizing the true principles of ecotourism.
2.1.4 Tiger reserves and displacements in India

Even if the main study is about ecotourism, the tigers are the main interest for tourist in Satpura Tiger Reserve, therefore I will explain the background of the tiger tourism. Since the start of Project Tiger in 1973, aimed at establishing tiger reserves, the number of tigers dwindled from 1,827 to 1,411 in 2008 and increased to an estimated figure of 1,706 in 2011 (MoEFCC, 2011). The number of tiger reserves has increased from 9 in the start to 47 today (Project tiger, 2017). Critical tiger habitats (CTH) differ from other zones under various wildlife acts in that it is larger and no population are allowed to dwell there (Press Information Bureau / MOEF, 2011). A tiger reserve consists of two different areas core and peripheral area (also called buffer zone). The core is an area that has to be kept unviolated for the purpose of tiger conservation. Buffer area allows co-habitat. The National Tiger Conservation Authority (NTCA) of The Ministry of Environment and forests (MOEF); was formed under the 2006 wildlife amendment to the wildlife protection act 1972 (the tiger amendment) in the same time (2006) as the Forest Rights Act (FRA) in a political and juridical turmoil. The FRA was politically forced in place in clash with the elite conservationist view of a debate in the frame of “tiger versus tribal”. But let us first take a step back historically and have a background to what a wildlife reserve have been and being built upon. The following act of 1927 declared these areas protected forest areas and defined rules for commerce, permissions, penalties and land acquisition among other, and all activities in these areas are prohibited unless permitted.

Coming back to the issue today, the way of keeping forest dwellers unsecure and unaware of their rights have, in true colonial style been the way for assaults on rights and land of forest dwellers. This has been met with resistance from forest dwellers and villages sometime in violent clashes between different actors. The MOEF in its affidavit to the Supreme Court 2004 confessed that:

“The rural people, especially tribals who have been living in the forests since time immemorial, were deprived of their traditional rights and livelihood and consequently, these tribals have become encroachers in the eyes of law... that the historical injustice done to the tribal forest dwellers through non-recognition of their traditional rights must be finally rectified...the State/UT Governments have failed to give any response... [and] have shown no progress in this regard...” (Bijoy, 2011)
The fact is that none of the 39 notified CTH (up to 2011) have gotten the consent from the Gram Sabhas and forest dwellers and are in fact illegal. At the same time encroachment by the state and private companies has occurred, both in the form of land grabbing and activities done (Bijoy, 2011).

2.2 Theory
This chapter will theorise and explain the theoretical framework that are going to be used to analyse the material. Since the aim of this paper is to investigate both the actual democratic influence and the normative view of the residents of Madhai village in the area of democratic influence.

2.2.1 Deliberative, radical and classic

Deliberative Theory sees communicative reasoning as the tool to reach a better form of democracy. In the classical sense it is a top-down approach that collides with the participatory ideals of participatory theory. The strength of the better argument is the way to reach a consensus.

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<tr>
<th>Sites of politics</th>
<th>Classical</th>
<th>Radical</th>
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<tr>
<td>Political acts</td>
<td>Conventional</td>
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<td>Forms of communication</td>
<td>Dispassionate and rationality-oriented</td>
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<td>Ends of democracy</td>
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<td>Public outcomes</td>
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<td>Democratic legitimacy</td>
<td>Top-down deliberation</td>
<td>Bottom-up participation</td>
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This is opposed to participatory theory which say that conflict is inevitable and consensus cannot be reached as well not something to strive against either (Cini, 2011).

Both Rawls and Habermas assert on deliberative democracy that “political choice, to be legitimate, must be the outcome of deliberation about ends among free, equal, and rational agents” (Elster 1998, 5). This implies that deliberative democracy “rests on argumentation, not only in the sense that it proceeds by argument, but also in the sense that it must be justified by argument” (ibid, 9). Dryzeks theory of discursive democracy can be seen as the middle ground of both, realizing the problems of cooptation among stronger actors and that it is not possible to reach an ideal state of deliberation rather the goal should be to get as close to it as possible. Solution to this is managing the details of
the deliberation, like rules for minimizing the differences among participants involved, however the goal is still to reach a consensus (Citroni 2010). In short, participatory theory addresses the quantitative dimension of democracy, deliberative theory the qualitative (Citroni 2010, 34-45).

2.2.2 Participatory deliberative theory

While the classical deliberative is polar to participatory ideals, the radical version are in many ways in line with participatory ideals. Contemporary deliberative democrats have to large extent moved from the classical polarity towards a convergence, where deliberative and participatory are seen as complementing each other instead (Cohen and Fung 2004). Participatory deliberative theory adds to the radical deliberation theory questions regarding the spheres of society. “More specifically, the lesser or greater capacity of arranging these collective spheres in terms of deliberation, political inclusion, and citizen empowerment affects the extent of deliberative participation present in democracy.” (Cini, 2011). It focuses on both the numbers of arenas for deliberation and the quality of deliberation based in the three qualities. This will be used in a normative view of respondents, what are the vision of the affected? And in a descriptive question of if these are fulfilled in any level. Participatory democracy theory a will be used for theory testing in evaluating if and what the problems are in the Panchayati system.

2.3 True participation?

In Participation and Democratic Theory from 1970s, Pateman is in favour to revive the participatory democracy. Pateman refers to The Social Contract where Rousseau lays the ground for a participatory democratic ideal. However, Pateman evolves the model to fit into our modern times (Pateman 1970:22).

In modern liberal society, Pateman questions if people are equal and free as freedom is based on what people have possibility to achieve or have influence on. One of the questions is if the structural inequality between genders and other groups within the society are limiting the freedom. To Pateman the power between groups/individuals is asymmetric. Therefore, the society needs to be changed before the participatory model can be implemented at larger scale (Pateman 1970:170-72). Because of the asymmetric
power relation there is a need for redistribution of resources so that the underprivileged can improve their position.

Pateman believes that participatory democracy should not be confused to participation at all levels. Further, she is in favour of a model where representative democracy by recurring election at local where political representative and political parties still exists, this is not to be confused with direct democracy where people are deciding over all matters or questions (Pateman 1970:109). As shown in the chapter “current system in place” the participatory model is in place in Madhya Pradesh where people elect representatives to participate at higher level.

Participatory democracy should partly be seen as training to elect representatives, since participation has an educational influence. By participatory democracy people will be more susceptible vote in elections. People will be more enlighten in political questions and thereby be more capable to make decisions (Pateman 1970). The best place to start should be the working place, this since it is on a ‘low’ level and in an environment familiar.

Pateman in her book Participation and democratic theory 1970, chapter IV, differenced between what participation should be and what it often is, pseudo participation where decisions already made by management, was sought to get approval by pseudo participatory meetings amongst workers. This in order to create the feeling of participation even though it is already limited by the goals and wishes of the group leader, that used participation to get acceptance by the group. Participation of this kind is rather a technique for persuasion than decision-making. Pateman further divides participation into partial and real participations where the former is characterized by unequal positions to influence the decision made and the real power of decision lays in one party’s hand.

Full participation on the other hand is a process “where each individual member of a decision-making body has equal power to determine the outcome of decisions”.

Benjamin Barber adds other dimension to Pateman and in “Strong Democracy” Barber argues that participatory democracy is a strong democracy and that today’s liberal democracy should be regarded as thin democracy. To Barber, participatory democracy is when the relation between people and the leaders are dependent on each other. This
can be understood as a dialectic relationship where people’s contentment is in the centre for the democratic procedure. People are interlinked by their common interest and common disadvantages this can be resolved by participatory democracy (Barber 1984:215).

Barber has a model that he refers to as Neighbourhood Assemblies, where neighbourhoods whit a maximum of 25 thousand meet and sets a common agenda. After setting the agenda with the political questions that is important to the assembly there is a need to clear the question of responsibility and accountability, this is normally the duty of the political opposition or the media that Barber states can be the role of the assembly. This include questioning the local government and the politicians publicly. The neighbourhood assembly can function as representative for the local communities and discuss local conflicts. This form of participation will be educational for the people and also to bring political representative closer to the people. When this assemblies have been working and are strong, they can work as electorates in national elections. This also means that the assemblies can be legislative where people can vote about matters at local level (Barber 1984:271-72). When the neighbourhood assemblies are permanent and they have their own building to meet in, the people can meet and solve political issues. By democratic participation it will foster individuals that are political enlightened and therefore both comfortable and secure in participation (Ibid). This is also a part of the current political system in Madhya Pradesh and India.

To summarize Barber: Barber argues that firstly, people’s self-fulfilment is in the centre of the democratic process. Second, people in a participatory democracy are interlinked by joint interests. Third, the democratic evolution is dependent on a national act/law that facilitates participation at local level and forth, that if people are allowed to participate in political decisions it will lead to developed abilities to participate and a will to do so. Key components in participatory democracy that can be identified are also

**Decentralisation**, when decision making is decentralised from centre to periphery it leads to greater political influence and participation at local level. Therefore, the participatory democracy leads to decisions making from bottom to top. This new decentralised participatory democracy creates a channel to challenge the traditional representative democracy. By participation it will create grassroots movements and the
possibilities to a more democratic society. There will still be a need for experts but the ultimate power is in the hand of the people (Fung and Wright 2001:18).

**Autonomy** People should be able to make decision at local level without the persuasion from top level. Democracy is created by people and for people. This is form of mass decisions is the opposite of the elite view of democracy. The collective’s participation is the key stone of participatory democracy and decentralisation also leads to collective autonomy. However, there is no guarantee that everyone opinion or desire will be fulfilled, nonetheless all people are encourage to participate. The participation is believed to be regarded by the people as meaningful and that it will generate qualitative decisions (Amnå in Gilljam and Hermansson, 2004:109-110). The autonomy can also be regarded as part of self-fulfilment as previously explained by both Pateman and Barber.

**The hinders for participation.** Gilljam has list eleven problems/counterarguments to participatory democracy and how strong they are. Here I will only deal with the ones Gilljam deems somewhat strong and very strong. The three first deemed somewhat strong are that:

- Citizens do not want to participate, this statement is based in surveys which shows that people do not want to participate in politics.
- Citizens goes into participatory forms of decision making out of self-interest. However, Gilljam argues that possible negative effects have to be shown to be countered with positive effects of participation.
- Participatory democracy is in conflict with ‘the whole picture’ and chain of decisions. This is about the fact that even if decisions are ‘good’ by themselves, in the larger picture it might be opposite

The final strongest argument is that

- Participatory democracy is in conflict with the democratic value of political equality. This argument deals with the fact that participatory democracy is in conflict with political equality since decisions made may not be in line with what the majority as a whole voted for in the electoral system (Gilljam and Hermansson, 2004:185-211).
2.4 Theory application and summary

In the course of interviewing and writing it became clear that some of the more theoretical questions where hard to get answers to, be it lacking education, my wordings or evasive tactics to unpopular questions. However, interviews are sufficient to deal with Gilljam’s arguments against participatory democracy within this paper’s limitations.

3 Method and Material

While considered different methods for this research, qualitative methods suit this study more than quantitative since I am interested in the local communities and others that works with tourism views on tourism. There are also qualitative data available from EQUATIONS in similar cases before. By gathering data in this case, it will be a cumulative case study, the data collected will be used to strengthen or weakening previous research it will also be a theory testing study in regards to hinders for participatory system in Madhya Pradesh. Limitations are geographical to the Satpura area and based on the results of interviews taken place in June 2017.

3.1 Case study

Case studies focus in most cases on one case that are temporarily limited. The advantage of case studies is that it permits a closer study of the real-life situation and gives an opportunity to test a theory based on empirical findings (Eckstein and Gurr, 1975). The focus is on the theory and therefore a theory testing case study is distinguished from other forms of case studies (Løkke and Dissing Sørensen, 2014). The logical finding in relation to the theories can be a tool to not only confirm a theory but also to lay ground for further theory building (Ibid).

Before collecting data an operationalisation shall be done, part is to build a theoretical framework where the theory that is supposed to be tested is presented and by the findings in the empirical data is compared to the theory. It may not be sufficient to draw grand generalisation with only one case, however when several cases are examined and if the results are the same, this weakness or strengthen the theory “The more often and the more conclusively the theory is confirmed, the more faith in that the theory reflects reality” (Cavaye, 1996). To further explain the meaning of the term testing this study
uses the broad definition ‘to test explanatory theory by evaluating it in different contexts’ (Crabtree and Miller, 1999: 7). By using two different locations in the same area but with different level of development it gives the study a possibility to draw a wider conclusion.

Typically, a case study combines different types of data collection such as in this study where interviews is a method to collect data to test Patemans theory of participatory democracy and test if the critique against participatory democracy is true or if Patemans theory of the benefits of participatory democracy is empirically true (Eisenhardt, 1989). Based on these I have chosen to perform interviews as empirical testing of the theory participatory democracy.

There are some considerations to do when it comes to the terms test and testing. The term testing is in many cases used in a narrow definition, to falsify or verify specifically and almost conclusive. This study rely on a more inclusive definition by Crabtree and Miller where the goal is of theory testing “to test explanatory theory by evaluating it in different contexts” (1999: 7). Also as Yin (2014) puts it “theory testing is a matter of external validity and can be seen as the replication of case studies with the purpose of identifying whether previous results extend to new cases”. Therefore, even if this case study cannot generate any new grand theory or test a theory and come to a definitive conclusion it generates a study that can be part of further testing of participatory democracy especially in the Indian context. Yin argues that a case can be seen as an experiment and that case studies can lead to generalisation. The analytical generalisation can be based on validating, modifying, rejecting and advancing theoretical concepts (Yin 2014: 40).

Theory testing using case studies are often perceived as a less conventional manner than others (Cavaye 1996). However, already in the 1970s Eckstein proposed that case studies even though valuable in all stages it is most valuable in the area of what it is given least value, the stage at which a candidate theories are tested (Eckstein 1975:80) Also that case studies are useful “particularly to examine a single exception that shows the hypothesis to be false” (Stake 1978: 7). But also that the more a theory is confirmed, the closer it is to reflect reality (Cavaye 1996). The fact that a participatory form of democracy is established thru the Panchayati raj makes it an even more interesting case
to look at. It is also important to see that the case in a theory testing case study is of a supportive role to test the theory that is formulated beforehand, and facilitate our understanding of something else (Stake in Lincoln and Denzin, 2000:437).

But the best argument for using case study is that it can close in on real life situations and test views directly in relation to phenomena as they unfold in practice (Flyvbjerg and Seale, 2007).

3.2 Interviews

The thesis is a qualitative study of democratic aspects with semi-structured interviews. The qualitative study is in this case superior to quantitative study since the aim is to in a deeper level access the vision of democracy among the local communities in Madhya Pradesh. The interviews serve to know what the vision is and the wills of the local communities (Esaiasson et al 2012:253).

To structure and formulate the interviews I have chosen, among others to use Uve Flick “An introduction to qualitative research” as guidance. To understand how the local communities envisions democracy there will be an open question. Thereby the respondent is allowed to freely and openly talk about their view. This also serves to understand the point of views from others such as politicians and others involved in tourism (Flick 2006:155). I have chosen broadly to refer to local communities since the interest is generalization of the visions.

There is a limit to how many interviews can be done in a limited period and how much material the researcher needs; our limitation is based upon both. Given the special selection process and the special attention given to representation from different groups 15-20 interviews should be more than enough to be representative (Esaiasson et al 2012:261). The questions I want to raise in order to find out the views of different actors will be similar in design but focus will be on different parts. By organising the questions in to different areas or themes in way that they can be used for both relocated tribal people, villagers, Panchayati raj officials and managers of eco-tourism sites. Semi structured interviews have the advantage of shining a light on phenomenon’s that easily can be missed in a question form (Esaiasson et al., 2012 p252). Questions to be answered will be divided in different fields of direct personal effect, community effect
socially and economic. For example, the normative view of displaced community members on how democratic legitimacy can be achieved.

3.3 Possible problems and self-reflection

The method chosen necessities a clear understanding on the part of the interviewer about cultural rules and customs as well as an understanding of how preconception can steer the research in a certain direction, complete objectivity is always unattainable but should be strived for. Indian researchers in the field that speaks the language and are very well informed on customs and the do and do-nots still facing problems. In my case, I am a white westerner that relies on my interpreter. The social class, cast system that favours light skin and the still prevailing colonial view makes it hard to meet people on an even level. Main ways of tackling these issues is to at least try to not be perceived as a tourist by not staying in tourist areas and be very clear on my motives and what we I am doing here, but at the same time, I am quite aware that it is can be an issue to deal with. My local interpreter was the same under the twelve day the field research was ongoing, this was a benefit in handling cultural obstacles and social cues.

4 The political systems in place, a background

In this chapter, I will shortly describe the political system, acts and projects in effect. In order to tackle the problem of many overlapping systems, acts and regulations a description of the most crucial ones is necessary, especially for readers without prior knowledge of the Indian system(s).

4.1 The Panchayati Raj system

The Panchayati raj system (meaning rule of assembly by five) is a three level system of self-governance tracing back to 250 AD historically (Udgaonkar, 1986). Gandhi envisioned a system of village self-governance (Sisodia, 1971) however India adapted a centralized model thereafter, which in later times have been de-centralized after the 73d amendment to the constitution but with several differences in the Panchayati Raj system (Singh, 2003). Madhya Pradesh (MP) first implemented the modern version in 1993. In 2001, the Gram Swaraj Adhiniyam amendment brought more power to the Gram
Sabhas. (NRCDDP, 2005) The system is meant to work in a bottom-up principle with the Gram Sabhas at the village level, although in many rural areas with smaller villages up to four villages are combined and electing the gram panchayat. Second level is the Janpad panchayat and on the district level the Zilla panchayat. Elected representatives are sent up the levels. The new changes after the amendment gave the Gram Panchayati at first power to plan and implement programs and later also executive power as self-governing bodies.

There are by the latest available statistics from 2004, 48 at the district level, 313 at the intermediate level and 23051 at the village level in MP. State budget includes allotment for the Panchayati system and besides this, revenue sources for the Gram Sabhas include Taxes on property, lightning, private latrines and fees on cattle sold at markets controlled by the Gram Sabhas. Besides these royalties received on minerals, fishing and forest leases are to be passed on to the Gram Sabhas.

The Gram panchayat have reserved seats for women, scheduled casts and tribes. Recommendations by the Gram Sabhas is binding on the Gram Panchayat (NRCDDP, 2006 and 2005).

4.2 PESA - Panchayat Extension to Scheduled Area

With the 73d amendment to the constitution, Panchayats was given constitutional rights as institutions of local self-governance for rural India. The aim was to ensure that India’s large tribal population was to continue their historically way of self-governing social, economic and political life and management of natural resources. The main points in this was that Gram Sabhas rights to management of natural resources in a participatory democratic system. Language recognition and a demand on state reorganization of borders on the base of ethnic, geographic and demographic considerations. The tribal community is named as being in command of economic resources. Districts and state laws should adapt laws to reflect this (Government of India, 1996).

4.3 PESA act and Panchayats

Panchayat Extension to Scheduled Area Act of 1996 and the Forest Rights Act of 2006 declared and recognize rights over forests and forestlands. PESA recognized the
traditional rights of tribal communities over community resources, as in meaning land, water, and forests. Here the state is obliged to consult with the Gram Sabhas or Gram panchayats prior to acquire land, planning, and implementing development projects. The powers bestowed on the Gram Sabha/Panchayat level was defined as well as which is completely exclusive to the same (NRCDDP, 2006 and 2005).

5 Analysis

In this chapter, I will first deal with the democracy, displacements, and economic benefits of ecotourism in Madhai and Pachmarhi. The reason I decided to add Pachmarhi in my study is that Pachmarhi has a developed tourism sector, Madhai is still under development and therefore there is the possibility to evaluate how tourism in the long term can come to benefit local communities. When it comes to the interviews some of them came to be more open interviews, the reason is that some persons had difficulty to understand the more abstract questions. Interviews was done by me with the presence of another researcher and with the help of an interpreter. Having another researcher in place helps with the reliability and possible misunderstandings. Interpreter is of course necessary due to the lack of English/Hindi/tribal languages knowledge. This can be an issue but nevertheless the interpretations were to my knowledge conducted very professional. In total 30 interviews/group discussions was made with a total of around 90 participants. This was in my meaning more than satisfying a minimum since most opinions was recurring in the clear majority of interviews.

5.1 Interviews of local communities, Madhai and displaced villages

In Madhai and surrounding villages, we mainly talked to displaced villagers and people employed in lower positions. One aspect that has to be considered, is the fact that we also talked to many social activists that have been working with this issues for a long time and therefore the objectivity can be questioned. Other issue is that we mainly where able to interview males and those males where mainly over 40 years old. Additional problem we faced was that when we had the possibility to talk to the youth or women it was seldom without the presence of a male over 40 years old that tended to interrupt and speak for them. The general observation was that this was more frequent when they tried to express positive opinions about the changes in the form of new possibilities of livelihood or the women’s desire to work outside the houses. Many are
unwilling to be recorded or state names, here I will only use non identifiable information. Transcripts are available on request.

5.2 Analysis of the fulfilment of the normative goals of ecotourism

To answer the questions of in what way are tourism in the area affecting the local communities political, social, economic development of the village of Madhai and surrounding areas? And to what extent ecotourism’s normative goals are fulfilled?

I will take my start in the displacements around Satpura Tiger Reserve (STR), many of the villages in and around Madhai has been relocated the last years, however some were displaced when the dam was built in the 1970s. The relocation has had different impacts on tribes, the main problem is that most villages have not been compensated with land and instead the compensation has been in cash. According to a male political activist that have held position in the panchayati raj at village level. He has also spent jail time for political activism before.

On the question of impact on the community he says “if you talk about tourism (policy) it is hallow and weak, the policy don’t do anything on the grassroots level. If you want to crosscheck what I am saying, you should first go to the village in Madhai, you should calculate how many people got jobs as compared to how many people there is in the village. You should take the ratio, you will automatically know about the reality. “(Interviewee A 2017).

He firmly believe that tourism is not going to solve the problems in the society. The problem is that the livelihood is snatched from people in benefit of tourism. There are government schemes for jobs which pays 150-170 (20-28 SEK) rupees a day, the jobs are not on permanent basis so in the low season there are no jobs or livelihood. This is contradicting to the normative goals of ecotourism. As a consequence of the displacements for the STR, according to him, people are starting to migrate to slums in the city, or getting involved in criminal activities. Previously livelihoods was based on fishing, farming and forest, today the fishing is only possible if you bribe the officers, NTFP is banned. Another political activist that have been displaced in favour of resort construction also confirms that there are no gains for the local community and the few jobs available are low wage jobs as boat drivers waiter and so on, no jobs for women besides construction work. Resorts are mainly own by outsiders and farming possibilities are less due to displacements. Two people in total from his village has
gotten jobs. He says they don’t want any tourism “Tourists create problems and are allowed to enter the forest while we are not. Tourism leads to cultural degradation, locals and tourists can’t be combined” (Interviewee A 2017) Other things he states is that youths are getting negatively affected morally with drinking and dancing.

An elderly woman (Interviewee B 2017) living in the village confirms what the others stated and adds that girls and women are now afraid to go out. She also confirm that constructions are done on land people have been displaced from. In a group discussion in one of the displaced villages, New Rai Kedha village, outside Madhai they say that their land has been stolen and we have no way of living here, “all left is for them to poison us” (Interviewee C 2017). They have heard rumours of jobs in tourism but nothing else, nobody thinks tourism has any gains and that they lack skills for such jobs.

In another group discussion in the village of Mogra, a small village of total five Adivasi houses of people displaced from the core area of STR the statements that tourism hasn’t brought any gains at all repeats. There have not been any skill development offers made. However they have nothing against tourism but would like to get the benefits of it as well. “We don’t want to go back to the old life, we want to move forward.” (Interviewee D 2017). Problem is that they have no livelihood at all, income is from interest from the bank on resettlement package. Other effect that displacements have had is on the situation for women “In jungle women where independent, they could sell things to the market and earn money by themselves. Now the men controls the money, when getting money from the bank a lot goes to alcohol directly before they come home”. (Interviewee E 2017).

Group discussion in Jaman Ghonga, showed that in this village 25 people got education for driver jobs (unclear how many actually got jobs).

Interviews with people working in the park was a bit tricky since despite getting permissions from authorities, local higher officers at the park was not cooperative and after a day of interviews all of the sudden, guides and others were running away when we come, my belief is that they were told not to speak to me. One guide who was clearly scared to talk to me, states that tourism is good and if it increases its good for the village, tourism helps conservation by raising awareness.

Interviews with two boys employed by one of the private resorts, one of them that is from another village says that around 50 people have been employed by the government
or private sector, most people in Sahara village work with tourism in some way. But in the other villages this is not the case. They feel they need more training to be in a better position towards their employer. The boy from Madhai says “SFD comes and talk about jobs, education and training but nothing happens, many young people migrate”. He also adds that “before tourism it was very hard here, now it’s better and it would be good with more tourists, but better if local communities were owners so the money stays here.” (Interviewee F 2017).

Next interview is with a group of tribal women under 20. To begin with there are several problems for women to be involved in tourism industry due to taboos that makes it hard for women to be in contact with men. As their father says they will be married off after 10th or 12th grade. If there comes more tourists they will not be allowed to be outside at all. Representatives from the local government have come and talked about jobs and took some names but never showed up again. A private trainer came and offered tailoring classes but after getting paid never showed up again. The only jobs they would be allowed to do is handicraft and tailoring, nothing else would be within the frames of what women are allowed to do (Interviewees G 2017).

Another group discussion is with ten males mostly young people. All work in tourism as guides, drivers and one is shopkeeper. Here they mention that they do safaris in the buffer zone as private entrepreneurs. They explain that they have a village committee regarding eco-tourism in total eight villages are involved and with help from the SFD. Around 150-300 people are involved in tourism thru the committee, 300 if you count indirect jobs like mechanics, however they work on daily wages. There is a still big problem with unemployment. Some of them have jointly contacted the SFD and tourism department with ideas of starting up a joint company for tourism and also presented the idea in person, but nothing has come of it. Tourism is their main income and they do not want to go back being farmers or back to the old life. (Interviewees H 2017).

**Several individuals confirm the following statements.**

All we met have been given the money compensation without being offered land compensation as the FRA states.

When it comes to the cash compensation the standard is 10 lakhs or one million rupees, 200 thousand in cash and 800 thousand deposited in a bank account. The monthly income based on the interest fluctuate between five to four thousand rupees per month
and per person. Ten lakh was given to persons over 18 years except that husband and wife has been considered as one unit in some cases.

Few of the interview have any higher education, many cannot read and/or access internet to get information about basic rights or displacement procedures. Everyone claims that no one have informed them about their rights. This statement is also backed by social activist and NGOs.

Land from where people have been displaced from has later been used to build lodges, one example is Bison Lodge in Madhai and other Denwa Backwater that is now operated by a former government official.

The effect of losing land, most notable for the tribal communities is that their possibility to livelihood has been stripped. The cash compensation will not last long and two thousand lakh is not enough to build proper houses. The facilities that should be prepared and available for the displaced is not in place as stated per law.

Regarding involvement in tourism there is a difference between Pachmarhi and Madhai. Villages displaced from Madhai has for the moment not an extensive benefit from tourism. Some have created committees and people are involved in tourism, but the ratio of employment is not enough for the communities in relation to what they have lost. However, some training has been provided and officials has visited the villages so in the future some more people may get training and employment. As per community based tourism only the villages that has formed committees has some form of community based tourism, these villages have done this in collaboration with the SFD and has also been provided with some training from the department and NGOs. For the moment, the types of job that are available are on daily wages and simple jobs. Women have little involvement in tourism besides construction work (Interviewee A and I 2017). In Pachmarhi most people are involved in tourism, however still the local communities are mainly employed in simple jobs, but the tourism has have positive impact on the economy.

The social impact in Pachmarhi is very little, the opinion is generally that tourism is not a social concern. In Madhai, that is under development there is concerns regarding the social impact. The most affected are the women as there is many taboos regarding women, the risk is that women won’t be allowed to go out. Women where more independent before they lost the land since they had their own income. The common opinion is that alcohol consumption rises with tourism. There are mixed opinions, some are in favour of tourism and others are strongly against it. In the villages that have
been displaced and lives on revenue land, the opinion of tourism is almost 100% negative. The main problem for any ownership and community based tourism is the lack of skills among the local communities.

I only met one that worked as waiter under the MPSTD, he was however not employed directly by them, and he worked for a private agency and had worse contract then the employed at MPSFD. The facts I could get, points at that MPSTD mainly use private agencies when it comes to contract people. Other says that more skill training would make the possibility to be able to stand up against the employer and have more possibility to advance in their position. (Interviewees F and J 2017). Other opinion is that the improvement of infrastructure will be a gain since new roads are built and for example cell coverage and internet connection will be improved.

One final observation is that people tend to talk about the tribes not to them. One side have the opinions that education and contact with society will corrupt the minds of the tribes, and that they have little need for the same commodities other have, such as healthcare since they have their natural medicine. Others are more in favour of what they call “civilize” the tribes. Few listens to what the tribes want. These two counter opinions without listening to the tribes will, is equally damaging. I would like to echo Spivak and the question can the subalterns speak?

5.3 Interviews in Pachmarhi

When it comes to Pachmarhi tourism was developed in the late 1800, therefore the tourism sector had long time to develop over generations. I will not go in to details about the evolution of tourism over time; I can only state the fact that today tourism is the main income for Pachmarhi and surrounding areas. The people that we talked to is here a mix of people employed or working in tourist related areas, hotel managers and owners. Some of them are affiliated with political parties however all people have political views even if political activists are more convinced. We met more people that had passed 10th grade and more people that had basic knowledge of English as a result of the education and the interaction with tourists.

Geographically the STR encircles Pachmarhi, but since it is a cantonment area under the defence ministry it has not been as effected by the STR in the same way. However, villages in the surrounding area inside STR has been displaced, the distance to Madhai is only around 15 km as the crow flies, but since there is no road except for a small village road closed to tourists the de facto travelling distance for tourists is 85 km.
There is no entrance into the park from here so the tourism is mainly Indian tourists that comes for the climate, waterfalls and views. As we were told the kind of tourists that come are of the drink and be merry kind that spend most time in the resorts. (Interviewee K 2017).

Starting with people employed in the tourist sector. I can confirm that local communities are mostly employed as guides, drivers, housekeepers and waiters. Most people have received training from the MDSFD and others from the private sector. It exists some community-based tourism, I cannot confirm at what extent or how this work in reality since we did not have the time nor opportunity to visit those villages. The fact was presented by a guide/naturalist employed by MPSFD that has been working for them since beginning of 1993. He also confirmed that training is provided in the villages by the MPSFD, mainly in hospitality and guiding, they provide other training according to interest and skills. What form other forms of training that is provided is a bit unclear but well digging was mentioned. In addition, the Forest Department helps the committees to plan the investments that are gained from the tourism. When they do trekking, they visit some of the villages, therefore there is an interaction between tourist and local communities. There are somethings he mentioned that needed to be improved, the training should be more extensive and more people should be trained. The ecotourism should be the focus and is what should be promoted more than leisure tourism, the community-based tourism should be improved and more villages should gain from the tourism. There are no villages left in the core area the only ones are in the buffer zone. “There is also educational tourism where people are into studying flora and fauna and geographical specimen, one example of nature tourism is trekking and camping MPEDB is right now promoting heavily the trekking and camping that comes under nature tourism”. Also “people affected by the forest or outside, they have been provided with jobs either by forest department or MPEDB” (Interviewee L 2017).

Another guide that we talked to had more or less the same opinions, however he called the training from MPSFD more a training on paper then actual training. He was more critical towards the recent development and said “Tribals have been displaced, but before there where a good contact between tribes and tourists, the eco-tourism worked good. They used to visit villages during the tours, but today there is no community based tourism at all here”. (Interviewee M 2017)
When it comes to the wages, both are employed on daily wage. Both agreed that tourism has improved the local economy and that the living conditions are better now than when they were dependent on forest and farming. When it comes to social impact they could not see any negative impact even do the drinking has increased slightly. The crime rate has not increased and the town is safe for women. Some women are employed but only a few in the tourism sector, mainly they are firewatchers or in some cases employed in housekeeping.

We talked to persons employed as waiters, managers and taxi drivers. One older man had been manager at a small restaurant for many years; his view on tourism is that mostly the jobs are simple jobs that do not benefit the local community. The tourism is imposed from above and the local communities has no influence over the development. Mostly the ownership is from people outside so the money flows from Pachmarhi. The hotels buy both from the local market and also import. The problem is also the privatization that is promoted. One big problem is that tour operators and taxi drivers has commission so they take the tourist to shops and restaurants where they get commission. (Interviewee N 2017) When it comes to the displacements there are many problems, one is that the government cares more about tigers than humans as some said.

The taxi drivers just had time for a short group conversation, the main point they highlighted was that they are employed by private sector with very insecure contracts. They only get a salary of 3500-4000 rupees and therefore also has to work as labours or farmers, even if they should get monthly salary. Most gets only daily wage and they are scared to complain. Other problem is that they are not provided with any insurance. They are not from Pachmarhi, most comes from Pipariya. They would like to be employed by the government because then they would have more secure employment and would have a fixed salary.

We had a group discussion with several waiters at a lodge, however it is important to point out that their boss was present. One was a young tribal boy from one of the displaced villages, he has recently started working at the lodge and was now provide with training at the lodge. Several from his village are employed in tourism but mainly in simple jobs. His goal was to stay in the tourism industry and he wanted to become manager in the future. The other waiter are around 30 years and is the assistant manager, he has long experience in tourism and have training in hospitality, food and beverage. He has also worked at several fancier resorts and are from a nearby village.
Regarding benefits to the villages there have been no benefits other than employment, there is just basic education available and no health services. When it comes to their jobs they are satisfied, here we have to have in mind that the boss is present. When it comes to employment in one of the lodge in Pachmarhi almost 100% are from the local communities, as others he confirms that the employment in general are simple jobs (Interviewee O 2017). However what is local community is also to be considered, the fact is that everyone in Pachmarhi have moved here from other parts of the country as one hotel manager said “They have been pushed out, but the question of about how it have benefited local people, there is no local people left” (Interviewee P 2017). Women can get jobs as cleaners but not much of the women work in the tourism sector. One problem to attract tourist is that it is expensive to visit for example waterfalls. The owner of the lodge provides camping, trekking and adventure sport. When it comes to the social impact, he does not see any negative impact besides the increased consumption from the tribal community. The crime rate in Pachmarhi is low and the town is safe.

When it comes to the gain for the communities, the collection fees go back to the communities and some has been invested in schools, infrastructure and a Dalit school. However, the healthcare is poor and that is not only a problem for the local communities, it is also a problem for the tourism. The government provides little skill training for the local community, “Government do some skill training but most resorts do their own, the education is a problem” as one resort owner put it (Interviewee K 2017). If there were a better skill training from the government, there would be more qualified jobs available. On the question of what jobs are available one hotel owner states, “Guiding, driving, housekeeping, hotel, vehicles to run to Pachmarhi, drivers, people to maintain the vehicles then slowly when industry grows hotels require cleaning, kitchen helpers, cooks and chefs all this kind of employment. Before tourism people left Pachmarhi to find work and send home money now there is an option to stay.” (Interviewee Q 2017)

The education in the schools are poor, even if a person has passed 12th grade they have no knowledge in English, even if this is not a big issue because of the low percentage of international tourists, but better education and English would benefit everybody. A problem according to one hotel owner is the mind-set of tribals “I can bring around 8-10 tribal boys in this area only and hire them to my staff. But whatever […] even if the hotel is full or not if he wants to go he will go it is not a question if you are giving
him leave or not, he will only inform you that he is leaving no question of permission [...] he will not stay for anything that is whatever it belongs to his custom or not his traditions he will go” (Interviewee Q 2017).

There is a need to improve infrastructure and healthcare, the fees from State Forest Department mostly go to conservation and the money generated by tourism goes to the government but it is not invested back in the village. “Tourists spend money but most go to the government”. When it comes to the relocations of tribes, the compensation is good, even if the lack of local communities in the forest is a loss for the tourism sector since that was a part of attraction (Interviewee Q 2017).

5.4 Democracy, influence and interviews with local communities

When it comes to the democratic issues in connection to tourism, the work previously done by equations are in line with my experience. Tourism and nature resources are given a monetary value and are commodified, the view is opposite from the principles of ecotourism. When talking to an activist regarding democracy and the panchayat system he says “The head of the Gram Panchayat most of the time don’t know what is happening or the policy’s” and he continues explaining how the forest department when people ask them about decisions made, what policies are in effect or transactions made in the SFD they will show you signatures and papers and that all is in order, but people have no idea of the policies or what they have signed. He concludes that people are ignorant of their rights and all power is in the hands of the central and state government not in the Panchayat system (Interviewee A 2017).

Even though everyone in the industry wants to focus my eyes on conservation and waste management in the parks, something in what there are progress being made, several key issues can be highlighted. Primary issue is of course the displacements in connection to STR. It is clear from my interviews that forced relocations are happening.

“SFD went around and talked to families and small groups, instead of a big meeting where everyone could be informed” SFD said regarding displacements “If not (moving) we are going to hide meat under your houses so the tiger comes, plant dead animals and put you in jail for poaching, 20 years sentences” They were never informed about the FRA and has no knowledge about it, they claim that some stayed behind in the
village but they were beaten and thrown out and afterwards their houses were demolished (Interviewee C 2017). This was also mention in other interviews.

Threats of violence and death have been reported even though the first tactic they use, of making the lives harder and harder by refusing them entrance to the forest, harassing them and spreading the view that displacements are to be made in the same way as the promoting ideal village of Bori. This was an interesting story I heard in one interview and later collaborated in others is about the concept of the “ideal village”. In the first displacement of the village Bori everything was followed to the letter, land was given and the complete relocation package was delivered on. However, what happened was that officials went to this village, recorded video of people explaining how great it was, this video was then showed to influential villagers in the process of displacement, who of course got a positive view of the relocation. This was then not realised in the following displacements. (Interviewee R 2017) The view that they had been scammed and fooled by the government was the overall consensus in displaced villages close to Pipariya in between Madhai and Pachmarhi. (Interviewee C and S 2017)

Bori was the first displacement village made and was made in full accordance to policies, this is used as propaganda for villagers to be displaced showing how good it is going to be. The reality is far from it, as one of the displaced put it “Before we were free but now we are slaves” (Interviewee D 2017). The first option of only money and no resettlement is pushed on people without informing of their rights to other options, also that other rules such as informed rights and procedures in the FRA are not followed (Interviewee C and S 2017).

“Forest ranger asked if we wanted land or money, there were two forms, one with 5 ha land and 2, 5 lakhs and another with 10 lakhs (and no land) we were only given the last form. They said to us either you accept or we will force you” (Interviewee S 2017).

Several people came back to the same issues. The Panchayat system is completely ignored, bribed away or the representatives to uninformed to make a decision. As one of the leaders that was in the panchayat in the old village puts it “We work under pressure from the CO (chief officer) and are not allowed to work freely we have to bribe to get things done. People know very little about their rights and how to demand them. If they go to officials nothing happens” (Interviewee T 2017).
The policies are not followed and corruption among officials and other culprits, are doing their best to get their hand on the cash compensation. This by extra ordinal price hikes in land, scams and with middlemen to deal with the bank and papers for a high fee. As one NGO leader we spoke to said in regard to depositions for land purchase made “So, when they came back to the collector there were no one there, so the lower ranked officers said come back tomorrow over and over. Eventually the token amount got lapsed, the money deposited, how to collect it? The money is still there but they can’t collect it “ (Interviewee I 2017). The blatant lies and unwillingness too corporate by officials contacted, and the fact that “52 claims under the FRA have been made but all have been denied” (Interviewee U 2017) only goes to show that they want to hide this. In the displaced villages to general feeling was that they had been cheated and forgotten about, even through in some ways there was still a feeling of going forward with their lives. In some places fighting for their rights was dismissed by the simple reason of that the main task was getting the next meal for the day. A mix of resignation and small hope was clearly visible.

5.5 The implementation and problems of the Panchayats system.

While on paper this seems to be a great work of de-centralization, participatory and direct democracy, underlying structures and implementation lacks much to be desired. Speaking to people about how the system works most often the reply is that issues get stuck in the political game. Several issues have been identified by previous research in different areas of the panchayats system. These issues are in line with the findings in this paper. While for example women’s 50% reserved seats on the assemblies is something of a wow-factor at first glance when considering India’s big problem with gender inequality, reality is often that patriarchal figures most often manipulate women in the role of decision making to such an extent that it completely disrupt the women reservation. Party politics especially the ruling parties’ politics have a large influence on the Panchayats, which undermine the founding ideas of democratic decentralization and participatory ideals. (Singhal, 2017). Caste also play a major role in India in general, from national politics and all the way down to the village level. The issue is complex and has many different aspects that influence the function of the Panchayats, as Dr. Vipin Kumar Singhal puts it:
“Thus, it is clear that a number of factors have been influencing grass roots politics in the PRIs. These factors are: democratic consciousness, participation in elections, welfare of the masses, satisfaction on the functioning of panchayats, education, rural banks, and voters. And related to these are other factors such as: majority caste domination, property, land, wealth, linkages with police and bureaucracy, religion, language, regionalism, factionalism, favouritism, groupism, affiliations of political leaders and different parties, politicisation, and socialization of rural masses. This is a fact that these factors have been playing a pivotal role in determining the level of grass roots politics in functioning and responsibilities of the panchayat leaders and panchayat system in rural society.” (Singhal, 2017).

When it comes to the ecotourism in MP the PESA act is not implemented, sometimes even the awareness of its existence is missing. Considering the PESA act of 2006 which overruled all previous acts like the Wildlife Protection Act, 1972, Forest Conservation Act, 1980 and the Environmental Protection Act, 1986. Many claims under the PESA act are not being settled, however the claim that it has been settled is sometimes used as an excuse for evicting people from their lands when it had in fact been impossible to do so had it been done (Seshadri, 2011).

5.6 Theory testing of the participatory system in India

The democratic influence of the local communities is lacking due to the fact that their interests and the interests of the tourism industry are agonistic. The different to ways hinder local governance are as previously described plenty and done in order to further private interests. Self-governance can only be realised and not be a fake participatory when people are on the same level with the same strength in economic, social and education capital (Pateman, 1970).

So back to Gilljams arguments against participatory democracy theory. It is in my meaning clear that the first argument, people do not want to participate is limited to a western setting. Interviews made shows a clear wish to be able to participate, surveys as the ones made in Sweden would probably show a completely different outcome in Madhya Pradesh. Second argument that citizens goes into participatory forms of decision making out of self-interest may be true but his should be put against the fact that self-interest probably motivates people in the government as well, for example when you look at the ownership of the tourism industry in Madhai. In the case of self-
interest in the panchayati system it is clear that it is a problem as shown by previous research, it also shows that what Pateman called pseudo participation is the rule not true participation. Third argument participatory democracy is in conflict with ‘the whole picture’ and chain of decisions. As well may be true, but in the context of MP the ‘whole picture’ are not in benefit for the people affected it is rather in favor of squeezing every rupee possible out of the commodified nature experience without any benefit for affected people.

Final argument that participatory democracy is in conflict with the democratic value of political equality is clearly true if we consider the system in MP as politically equal if only just in the one man one vote sense. This is not the opinion of the people affected however, decisions affecting people who have not had a say in the voting at all, by intimidations or unawareness. The problems faced for participatory democracy in the panchayati system is overwhelming, corruption, cultural and social norms, inequality, and education is just some of the hinders blocking any form of true participation.

The above also shown the conflict between ecotourism values and large economic interests, it is, as often elsewhere, a buzz word without any bigger meaning behind it. The displacements alone are proof of that.

6 Conclusion and discussion

As the analysis shows there can be a great opportunity for economic development and employment for local communities in the area of tourism. However, as per today that is not the case in the surroundings of Madhai. Pachmarhi is different since it is well established, then again still the main jobs attainable are simple jobs or as daily wagers. As the analysis show the Panchayati system is not working since the hinders that Pateman herself saw is in effect in the Indian system on several levels. The displacements shows that the participatory system has been handled in a way to go against the participants interest and wishes in different ways.

I see three possible scenarios on how the issue of displacements can be handled. First the complete reversal of the displacement policy. The result would be a sustainable form of ecotourism that could have long-term benefits. This is also the most farfetched when looking at the reality of Indian politics today.
Second, is the opposite, continuing the policy of displacing people without the possibility of livelihoods and continued land grabbing by the government for the benefit of private investors. This is the most likely outcome without a change in politics. This will obviously continue the human rights violations and disparity among everyone in the bottom of India society not only the displaced people themselves, but also the increase of crime, unemployment and eroding of workers’ rights, social problems and alcoholism, when the possibility of exploiting new sectors of India’s demographic arise. This form of tourism will without a doubt follow the same form as in many other countries with similar political policies, what is often referred to as charter land in Europe, separation of tourists from locals, only lower jobs as benefit to the society while larger international chains take over and profits made are flowing out. Along with this, more pressure on the environment that comes along with more tourism. We already today see how rules and regulation are easily dismissed by the power of money. Corruption in different form makes it easy to do so and when Madhai gets the attention of the big players with even bigger pockets than current actors, the problem will only escalate.

Third option would be the middle ground were while accepting that displacements is a necessity, make sure that all displaced are supplied with livelihoods and basic tools of living. The strengthening of local self-governance in a real way not as a paper product is necessary for the tourism not to go in the hands of private investors but instead to be controlled by the people affected themselves. Any positive change being made have to be done by pressure from grassroots movement, and while education is an important factor to enable people to be active the overall goal must be political not philanthropic. Empower the people affected and let them do the decisions.

7 Further research

Amongst lower ranked officials the lack of knowledge about policy’s they are set to enforce is something noticeably. Policy studies to address both implementation, analysis and writing seems to be needed. This paper has noted that the displacements are a huge problem and the same for the functioning of the Panchayati system. What are the ways to strengthen or change the participatory system? Larger studies covering nationwide as well.
8 References

Interviews

Transcriptions available from author upon request.

Interviewee A 2017
Interviewee B 2017
Interviewee C 2017
Interviewee D 2017
Interviewee E 2017
Interviewee F 2017
Interviewees G 2017
Interviewee H 2017
Interviewee I 2017
Interviewee J 2017
Interviewee K 2017
Interviewee L 2017
Interviewee M 2017
Interviewee N 2017
Interviewee O 2017
Interviewee P 2017
Interviewee Q 2017
Interviewee R 2017
Interviewee S 2017
Interviewee T 2017
Interviewee U 2017
Interviewee V 2017
Interviewee W 2017
Interviewee X 2017
Interviewee Y 2017
Interviewee Z1 2017
Interviewee Z2 2017
Interviewee Z3 2017
Interviewee Z4 2017
Interviewee Z5 2017
Interviewee Z6 2017

Electronic sources and literature


Seshadri, S. (2011). FORESTS, COMMUNITIES AND ECOTOURISM. [online] EQUATIONS. Available at:


9 Appendix

9.1 Interview questions

These questions have been used as a guide and have been modified for each interview, and adapted to settings and individuals.

**General, Attitude/perception of ecotourism and tourism.**

1. *First of all, tell us a bit about yourself and the history of Village and surrounding areas.*
2. *We have come to understand that displacement of people has occurred, can you describe how this process started and how it was done?*
3. *What compensation was made, was it the same for everyone?*
4. *to what extent are you familiar with the rights you have under the FRA, and PESA (if applicable)*
5. *was everyone at the gram Sabha level involved? an was decisions made in the whole community or was individual deals made?*
6. *was decisions made respected from the forest department officials?*

**Views regarding Ecotourism and the tiger reserve, influence on village. Economic**

1. *Now would like to discuss the economic impacts of tourism. Since ecotourism and tourism is promoted as an opportunity for employment and economic gain for local communities.*
To what extent is the tiger tourism and overall eco-tourism bringing employment and economic benefits to you and the village? If yes, how? If not, tell us a bit about the negative effects.

1. Employment Patterns in Tourism industry/related inter-linked local industries/backward linkages
2. Land-owning patterns
3. Dependence of community on tourism
4. Loss/Ignoring other employment avenues due to tourism
5. Urbanisation/infrastructure development
6. Inward/Outward Migration
7. Ownership of Tourist establishments
8. Enclavisation
9. Inflation of prices for locals

1.5. When it comes to the private lodges and resorts, what kind, if any, of employment and trade opportunities have been realised? Are they purchasing locally grown food or handcrafts?
2. To what extent do you feel that there is a dependency of the community on the tiger reserve/ecotourism and have other means of financial gain got lost due to the tourism in the tiger reserve?
3. What kind of jobs are available to people from the village in the tourism industry?
4. Do you feel there is rise in prices on common goods such as cooking oil, milk, and other food due to the tourism?
5. To what extent have land and property owning by locals reinforced economic inequality, is it increasing due to the tourism?
4.5 have there been any jobs for women, if so which kind?
6. Do you believe there can be a consensus regarding economic interests in large and the rights of the local people when it comes to eco-tourism or tourism in general?

Views regarding Panchayati raj system how and if it is working. /democratic influence

1. Now we would like to discuss democratic influence and how the system here is working.
First, what function does the gram panchayat have in matters regarding tourism and how? Are there for example specific committee regarding tourism?
1. Function of the Gram Panchayat/LSGs in Tourism – Role played/ levels of participation

2. Role played by Forest Department

3. What local committees are present, different roles played?


5. Awareness on the rights of the Panchayat

Are you aware of the new tourism policy from 2016? If yes, how was you informed?

Do you feel that you are aware of the rights the gram Sabha and gram panchayat has under the forest rights act and the Panchayati raj system?

Do you feel you have a good relationship to the state forest department? If not in what way?

do you feel that you have the final say in their decisions of establishing tourism destinations and the way it is done?

We would also like to ask some questions regarding democratic influence in a more general aspect.

A., Is it more important that everybody agrees on a decision from a democratic viewpoint or are existing differences of opinion just a sign of an open democratic climate?

B. To what extent do you believe that your voice is heard and that you have a say in what political decisions affects you and your family, and why? (If SC, ST, woman) Do you feel like your opinions weighs less than others in the village?

C. What do you feel is more important; That many people have a say in political matters or that the quality of decisions are high, such for example that experts on a specific matter and higher politicians have more to say than people in general?

Views regarding Ecotourism and the tiger reserve, influence on village. Social

Are there any community based tourism practices? if so how does they work?
1. Displacement/Rehabilitation/Land rights
2. Access to natural resources and degradation, common property resources
3. Tourism related income difference across different communities
4. Protests/Campaigns in the past.
5. Role of women in tourism/discrimination
6. Negative/positive impacts of tourism on the
7. Exploitation in any manner by the tourists/establishments/government officials
8. Crimes related to tourism
9. What Community based tourism practices exist
10. Intrusion into privacy/private space
11. CSR by Industry

2. How do you feel the relationship between the village and tour operators, hotels and the park works?
2.5 Is there a difference between national and international tourist’s behavior, would you prefer more control over which kind of tourists that come?
3. Has there been any form of bad conduct in any manner by the Tourist establishments or government officials towards you or the village?
3.5 Have you been informed of any proposed displacements? If so, have there been meeting where the consent of everyone was given? Or have there been any recent news regarding these matters?
4. Have there been displacements and relocations of people and if so, have you been compensated in a way that are according to your rights in the Panchayati raj system and FRA?
5. Have there been a rise of crimes due to tourism? If so what kind?
6. And the last question, is there anything else you wish to talk about that you feel is important in these matters we discussed?