A case study of tourism policies around Satpura Tiger Reserve in Madhya Pradesh

Development trough neoliberal governmentality, inclusion and or not for local communities?

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Abstract

This is a case study of tourism policies made around the Satpura Tiger Reserve in Madhya Pradesh, India. The purpose of this study is to analyse the state tourism policies in Madhya Pradesh. The study is divided in two parts, the first part analyses the state tourism policies using Foucault’s governmentality theory. The governmentality theory is used to expose the ideas in the policies with consideration to neoliberalism and the local communities. The first part also examine the ideas of inclusion of the local communities in tourism. The second part are interviews with officials and semi-officials that are implementing the policies. The local communities are the focus in this study since tourism is marketed as a solution to economic growth and employment. Therefore, one of the aspects is if the local communities are a resource in the development of tourism, and if there is any obstacles for the local communities to participate in the tourism industry.

The material used is state tourism policies from 2005 and 2016. Interviews were conducted in Pachmarhi, Madhai, Soghagpur, Pipariya and Bhopal. The conclusion is that the state tourism policy from 2016 is clearly neo-liberal that the market and the government is clearly in concurrence. When it comes to the local communities the main problem for participation is that most of the local communities lack of skills, however the type of tourism were the local communities could be beneficiaries is not the tourism that the state government is developing.

Keywords

Satpura Tiger Reserve, tourism policies, Madhya Pradesh State Forest Department, Madhya Pradesh State Tourism Development Corporation, Schedule Tribes and other forest dwellers, FRA as amended 2006, EQUATIONS
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1 Introduction

What importance do tourism policies have? There is no doubt that tourism is a big industry and that it has spread to almost every corner of the world. Today you can find all forms of tourism, from the all-inclusive charters to rural tourism; we travel in developed countries and at the most remote parts of developing countries. Tourism has the possibility to generate jobs and stimulate economic growth, it gives the tourist the possibility to learn about different cultures and create awareness. India is one of the countries that have great hopes and are dedicated to promote tourism as a solution for economic development. The World Travel and Tourism Council reported that tourism in 2016 stood for 9.6% of India’s GDP and are expected to continue to grow during 2017. Still the domestic tourism is the main part of tourism while international tourism stands for 12% of the spending (WTTC, 2017).

Madhya Pradesh in Indian is trying to expand tourism since the state has a need for economic growth. The state has large forest areas and one of the biggest attractions, tigers. In Madhya Pradesh there are several tiger reserves, the upcoming developing area is around Satpura Tiger Reserve. Madhya Pradesh is also trying to create an ambient for ecotourism, however the line between tourism and eco-tourism is thin. The understanding of ecotourism is that it provides a sustainable development for both nature and the local communities. The World Conservation Union (IUNC) defines ecotourism as “…environmentally responsible travel and visitation to relatively undisturbed natural areas, in order to enjoy and appreciate nature (and any accompanying cultural features - both past and present) that promotes conservation, has low negative visitor impact, and provides for beneficially active socio-economic involvement of local populations” (Cater, E., Ceballos-Lascurain, H. and Ceballos-Lascurain, H. 1998).

This research is done with support of an Indian NGO, EQUATIONS (Equitable Tourism Options). EQUATIONS works with aspects such as “who really benefits from tourism. An interesting aspect is how the fairly recognized neoliberal hegemony impacts the tourism policies, ecotourism and also sustainable tourism has a collectivistic view of development, that contrast with the neoliberal ideology.

Previous research has showed that ecotourism can be a good initiative to create opportunities for the local communities and can have a positive impact on nature tourism. Other studies also shows that there is some problematics in the establishing of ecotourism in rural areas in India. In some cases there has been little agreement between
the private, public stakeholders and local communities, and even conflict over access to territories or how the communities shall be involved or to be beneficiaries (Global Forest Coalition 2017). However, for tourism to succeed and to benefit the local communities the tourism policies needs to be in line with the objectives. What are the policies influenced by? Are the local communities regarded as an asset to tourism or are they a problem? Can the Indian rural communities have ownership in tourism or are there hinders? If it exists hinders they can be political, ideological or because of other factors. The government are responsible for the policies therefore the vision and goals of the policies reflects this. My ambitions is to explain the tourism policies by using Foucault’s concept of governmentally and also by interviews with local officials from Madhya Pradesh. One question to bear in mind is, development for whom?

1.1 Background

Eco-tourism in different conservation areas has been developed in Madhya Pradesh for the last 10 to 15 years. The large forest areas and other natural resources in Madhya Pradesh have sparked an interest for conservation and by this prioritising ecotourism as the best option since it considered more sustainable for the environment and the local communities that dwells inside or nearby the conservation areas. However, sustainable tourism is not only related to ecotourism, regular tourism can have the goal to be sustainable and ecotourism has goals further than conservation.

There are several Acts that regulates the rights of local communities, especially Schedule Tribes (ST) and other forest dwellers. One of those acts is The Forest Right Act (as amended 2006) that shall regulate all policies regarding development in areas where ST and other forest dwellers lives.

Tourism is seen as an opportunity for Madhya Pradesh to create jobs and economic development for the communities in the tourist areas. The key actors involved in the policy making of tourism and ecotourism in Madhya Pradesh is MPSFD, MPSTDC and MPEDB. MPSTD has handled over the policy implementation to MPSTDC for the purpose of making tourism more profitable through private investments.

MPEDB was constituted in 2005 to help promote and develop ecotourism and with the MPSFD and they shall together work for the development. The main purpose is to provide and coordinate necessary knowledge as well as present policy advises. The Board shall also act as coordinators between the MPEDB and other stakeholders. (Madhya Pradesh Ecotourism Development Board 2017). The MPEDB is constituted of
representatives from different departments in Madhya Pradesh. The MPEDBs official webpage states that the most important is the rural communities and that the local communities must be the major beneficiaries of the development of the buffer area tourism (Madhya Pradesh Ecotourism Development Board 2017). MPEDB is responsible to coordinate the different departments and propose solutions for the development of ecotourism in areas such as infrastructure, standards and norms, development of laws and policies, ensure participation and benefits for all stakeholders with special regard to the local communities in the developing areas.

1.2 Aim and problem

The aim of this study is to research the tourism policies in Madhya Pradesh in relation to the local communities. To answer to the aim of the study the research question are:

- How can the tourism policies by explained by analysing them through the concept of governmentality?
- What idea about the participation of the local communities are articulated in the policies?
- How is the local communities portrayed as resources according to the officials?
- What are the possible hinders for local communities to have ownership in tourism?

1.3 Disposition

Starting with previous research and development of tourism in Madhya Pradesh presented in chapter 2 follows, why it is important to study tourism policies. After this it is divided in two parts, first of all governmentality concept and theory. The policies are analysed through the governmentality as conceptual tool that is used to explore the practices of the government and the complex relation in what way truth is produced. Connecting the political strategies, techniques, relation between power/knowledge formulated in the policies in relation to the local communities and their role in tourism is later on connected with interviews. This is then followed with interviews that serves to explore the way that local communities are portrayed by representatives from Madhya Pradesh departments and the possible hinders presented for the local communities to have ownership in tourism. This to connect what influence exist in relationship between the results of the policy analysis and the way interviews regarding
the local communities. As a final point, conclusions based on the findings and further research.

2 Previous research

There is no previous research of the tourism policies in Madhya Pradesh. However, EQUATIONS have made several studies about the impact of tourism in India and Madhya Pradesh that is presented in 2.1. The relevance of the research that EQUATIONS has made is that it problematize the development of tourism in rural areas and hints to that the policies in place are not followed. However there is research made of the development of tourism in Madhya Pradesh and therefore this is presented below.

2.1 The development of tourism in Madhya Pradesh

The first observation is that there is a difference between ecotourism and tourism, however since tourism is a developing industry in Madhya Pradesh the study will include both ecotourism and regular tourism. Nevertheless the State Forest Department (MPSFD) is the actor mainly involved in ecotourism. State Tourism Department (MPSTD) and State Tourism Development Corporation (MPSTDC) are developing regular tourism even do they also mention ecotourism in their policies.

Madhya Pradesh has a significant portion of lower castes and tribes on India, Madhya Pradesh also is one of the least developed states in India. The economy of Madhya Pradesh is mainly based on agriculture and a growing tourism industry, one argument is that tourism creates jobs and thereby creates development for local communities in the areas. EQUATIONS argues that this is accurate. However the private stakeholders are seldom from the region and the income generated is often transferred to the bigger cities. Other problem is that the private stakeholders and the local government buys up the land from the people living in the areas of development. The local communities that are relocated from their previous locations are mainly communities that mainly relied on farming or tribal communities that have been living on agriculture and forest resources. When either they sell their land or are dislocated by the government there is only a shorter term economic benefits, many faces unemployment and when they no longer have accesses to agriculture the poverty tends to grow. The few that gets employment
are mainly offered low paid jobs as gardeners, security guards or waiters (Seshadri and Dewan, 2011:25).

The Ministry of Tourism made a resolution in 2014 that should be adopted by all states, in this it states that the development of tourism should be sustainable and with increased involvement of the local communities. At the end of 2016 there was almost no implementation when it came to involve the local communities, the local governments had instead prioritized infrastructure, marketing, skill building and safety for the tourists. The critique is also against the laws that undermine labour rights for workers within the tourist industry and highlights that many people are self-employed or belongs to the informal sector. The tourism industry also comes with negative effects on the local communities, in the areas of development that attracts international tourist, the lack of sustainable and inclusive tourism has led to the rise of sexual exploitation both for women and children. Another problem is that international tourism reinforce the cast system since many unqualified jobs has been by tradition been done by Dalits and Adivasi. Besides the previous problems there is forced displacements of villages, in the creation of Ratapani Wildlife Sanctuary up to 25 villages were displaced. The policy by MPEDB indicates that the local communities shall be involved, nonetheless there is no detailed plan what roles different stakeholder should have (EQUATIONS, 2017).

3 The importance of studying tourism policies

The main question in this section is why is it important to study tourism policies? Public policies are not any paper, within the policies there is a dimension of power. This power is between different actors and in many cases with different power of influence. Further, a policy shall not contradict nor encourage in any way to go against the existing laws. Here I will theorize aspects of power in tourism policy making since the relation between politicians and other persons in power have more power than local communities. Policies are deliberative coercion; they serve a purpose and means. Power can simply be understood as the relation a person or a group have in shaping and directing the instruments of coercion (Lowi et al., 1970). When examining different dimensions of interest regarding policies, there are winners and losers (Hall and Jenkins, 1995). Planning and policies emerge from political processes, the nature and the ideology of the Government effects what actors have most influence and are given power over how the policies are designed (Hall and Jenkins 1995:66).
Anderson writes that; intervening factors between the individual political actor and the norms of the political system in place creates certain rules. These rules have idiosyncratic attributes and include an important part of the policy maker’s environment. The rules are linked to values, myths and believes that tie people together in a community and the patterns of power and authority relations in the society as whole (Anderson 1977:278).

On example is; a parliamentary or congressional committee may be established to enquire into issues surrounding the tourism development, but all forms of political organisations have bias in different conflicts, therefore political decisions can suppress certain groups by exclude or include certain groups (Schattschneider, 1960:71). The policies and the political visions are affected by the ideology of the National Government or Local Government. When it comes to policy issues they are primarily focused on economic interest and economic development and the agenda is more closed because of the dominance of other actors over, for example local communities that lacks of expertise in economic politics (Jenkins and Hall 1995:70). Policy making institutions from a pluralistic view has the belief that power is relative open, therefore it comes with the idea that political decisions are reached in a process of bargaining, negotiations and compromise between the various interests involved (Jenkins and Hall 1995:70).

However, there is no denying that certain groups have more power than others to influence, the groups that are organised, active, persistent and possess more knowledge over the political issue will be more successful to influence than the groups that lacks these properties. The ones that lacks these properties and power are in many cases poor, belongs to ethnic minorities and indigenous groups (Jenkins and Hall 1995: 71).

Different places and the representation of social spaces is a social process. When areas are developed for tourism often the losers are the poor or unorganized groups. This means loss of livelihoods, land and right to accesses certain areas when those are privatized. Further examples are the traditional possibilities to previous livelihoods, such as fishing rights.

The policies created by the departments are based on the system of thoughts related to the ecotourism and its policies. Policies can also be defined as “representation which are encoded in complex ways (via struggles, compromises, authoritative public interpretations and reinterpretations) and decoded in complex ways (via actors, interpretations and meanings in relation to their history, experiences, skills, resources and context.)” (Ball 1994:16). The policies are not made by themselves, there is a
strategy behind them and the policies represent the political decisions, the policies are a way to set a course to influence, guide and determine decisions. This leads to the necessity of an analytic tool to analyse the policies, in this case governmentality.

4 Governmentality, an introduction

The Foucauldian theory of governmentality is used for the reason that it gives the possibility to expose the ideas in policies. In this study the conceptual tools that is used is based mainly Foucault’s ideas of the neoliberal governmentality. This since India switch to neo-liberal politics and the opening of the market to foreign investors in 1991 that happened after being encouraged to the alteration by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (Venkatanarayanan, 2015) is to be considered all-embracing in today’s government of India.

Governmentality according to Rose, Foucault defines it as government’s way to shape the conduct of the citizens to achieve the ends of the government. This by implementing policies in line with the governments wants to accomplish. Further it is also organized practices such as mentalities, rationalities and different techniques by which the subjects are governed. Shortly explained it is the way a government aims to produce a population that suits the government’s policies (Rose 1999:20)

Foucault regarded at the beginning governmentality as a tool for analysis of the linkage between forms of government and rationalities or what can be defined as modes of thought governing. These rationalities are what legitimise, justifies and makes exercising the governing to seem rational (Lemke 2001:7). Governmentality study and deconstruct the borders of state and non-state, further governmentality regards factors such as relations between politics and non-politics, the private and public that combine ideologies with technical knowledge and practices. Foucault regards knowledge and power as an interdependent relation. Knowledge and expertise classifies and are a source of power. In relation to governmentality markets, state and social society, are made by governmentality and not creating governmentality. A specific characteristic of the neoliberal form of governmentality is that is often portrayed as non-interventionistic, however it is interventional and active even if it can be perceived as the contrary. New knowledge in fields such as social sciences,
management and economy is connected with old fields of power in new way (källa artikel författarna)

Governmentality as conceptual tool regards the relationship between the forms and rationalities connected to power and the processes of formation of subjects in the meaning of creating governable citizens, this includes the formation of individual existence (Lemke 2001:34-36). The studies likewise questions the particularity of the aspects; who can govern, what governing is and what or who is governed and how they are governed (Foucault et al 1991: 2-3).

When it comes to analysis of governmentality it is a tool for studying the practices of government and multifaceted ways in how a certain truth is produced in a social, cultural and political domain. This can be defined as “seek[ing] an open and critical relation to strategies for governing, attentive to their presuppositions, their assumptions, their exclusions, their naiveties and their knaveries, their regimes of vision and their spots of blindness” (Rose 1999:19) Governmentality studies have successfully exposed the paradox of controlled autonomy in neo-liberal governmentality. This by exposing the close connection between “self-determination”, societal expectation and institutional constraint. (Lemke, 2013:38). When it comes to tourism policies, policies are one of the way that creates the framework for how to think of tourism, how tourism is supposed to be developed, by whom and who can be excluded.

Foucault’s understanding of the term “rationality of government” is almost the same as “art of government”. Therefore the rationality of government is a specific way of thinking about the practice used, this leading to making possible a form of activity thinkable and practicable both for the governing but also for the governed (Foucault et al., 1991:2). Tourism is a special industry, it is an industry of experience, it has educational possibilities, demands certain behaviour from the persons that are delivering the experience. There are many classifications of tourism, it can be rural, ecotourism, all-inclusive and religious. Therefore, the policies sets a guideline for expectations, it forms the contents and regulates behaviour of both the ones that buys the experience and the ones selling the commodity.

Lemke writes that there is no possibility to study the technologies of power without the study of the political rationality supporting them. The term governmentality point
towards a specific form of representation where government is a discursive field where exercising power is rationalized. This can be exemplified with the definition of concept, specification of borders and providing arguments and justification for political strategies. This enables the government to address a problem, thereby making it possible to offer strategies for solving the problem by structuring specific forms of intervention. This include agencies, procedures, institutions, legal forms that are supposed to allow the governing of the objects and subjects of political rationality (Lemke, 2001).

The modern society can be understood by reconstructing “techniques of power” or “power/knowledge”, created to observe, monitor and control individuals and their behaviour. In relations to policies it is that there is a will to guide or steer people to act or not act in certain ways, this don’t mean that people don’t have the possibility to act on their own but it limits what ways a person can act or think. To steer an individual towards certain directions can also be made by giving responsibilities and thereby achieve the correct behaviour or action (Foucault et al, 1991:2-3).

“The government that arises is founded on heterogeneous network of activates, knowledge, technologies and experts relative autonomous from state and public institutions.” (Cotoi, 2011). According to this type of interpretation discipline and sovereignty will be replaced through governmental technologies that are more connected to economics. Scholars have stated that actuarial techniques of power are reducing social conflicts and meets less resistance towards social regulations. The techniques of power does also increase the productivity of labour and the health of the population. Therefore, assuming that there exists techniques to govern and the techniques are based on increasing productivity of labour and reduce social conflicts, the policies regarding tourism would be a way to balance the productivity but shaped in the way that they reduce the possibility of social conflicts between private investors and the local communities.

The real basis of the state wealth and power lies within the population and is connected to strength and productivity of the population. The policy state can be defined by the prudential by educating the pastoral. Gordon understands that the policy is a science “of endless lists and classifications; there is a police of religion, of customs, of health, of
4.1 Governmentality and neoliberalism

The neoliberal hegemony is fairly recognised since the collapse in 1971 of Bretton Wood system when is no longer possible to control capital flows or financial markets. This political and economic decisions led to a new turn in world economics. The welfare state and the goal “full employment” was replaced by creating an institutional framework that supported free domestic and international markets and promote an individual entrepreneurial conduct (Oksala 2013:53).

The term governmentality can also be related to the development of liberal governmentality that comes with new characteristics in way exercising power (Foucault et al, 1991:102-4). Defined by Rose as the invention of a range of technologies that brought together calculations and strategies regarding the constitutional, juridical, financial and organisational powers to control the economic life, including also the social sphere (Rose 1999:18). Both liberalism and neoliberalism is seen as practices as opposed to ideologies. It is special methods of action and rationalising governance. The emergence of economy means new knowledge and power that according to Foucault is best understood as a transformation of the previous disciplinary regimes.

Political economy: a new truth of regime. The place of truth in liberalism and neoliberalism is the market which is in confrontation with the government. Rationality of governance is by this given by the mechanism of the market. The market is seen as a place of veridiction, that is that a statement is true according to the worldview of a particular subject, instead of objectively true. The interests and values from the place of veridiction strengthen actions taken by the government (Cotoi, 2011). Tourism can be developed differently, when saying that tourism can be regarded as a commodity, including people, as a product being bought and sold. But at the same time through a
statement and strategy tourism can come to be redefined as an experience that is educational and positive for all actors.

In Foucauldian terms, the concurrential mechanism is the core of the neoliberal society, this is a regulatory, formal, pure and perfect structure which at the same time is so fragile it must be protected in order to exist and be exercised on the society as whole. Concurrence arises from the result of persistent activity of governmentality and is the origin of “neoliberal policies” (ibid). Therefore concurrence between the market and the state needs to be protected. Policies in this case protects the market and the market needs to protect the neoliberal governmentality and the techniques. Therefore, the tourism policies should guaranty the market certain protection and balance factors that could interfere.

Foucault argues that the neoliberal policies must regulate and mandate specific environments for the structure of concurrence “The more the governmental intervention is abhorred at the level of the market the more it is required on the technical, juridical and social levels” (Foucault et al 2008:140).

The economic government include the optimisation of the population both in the use of monetary resources and in the way the government exercise its power (Foucault, 1991:3-8). The population is deconstructed into individual members of the population, as workforce and as social beings that can be administrated (Foucault and Rabinow, 2002).

To achieve the governance this form of governance the individuals and the population there is a need for certain self-government to assure the prosperity of both the individuals and the collective (Foucault et al 1991:19). This also implicates that the population and the individuals are submissive and accept what is considered normal within the society, today this can be regarded as the acceptance of the belief in entrepreneurship and consumerism that becomes what Foucault regards as “regimes of truth” (Ibid, 1991). The government produces certain truth about the society, this effect what individuals regard as the current truth, how they think of/about society, education and including employment. On neoliberal government Foucault states on entrepreneurship “It involves, on the contrary, obtaining a society that is not oriented towards the commodity and the uniformity of the commodity, but towards the multiplicity of enterprises” (Duschinsky and Rocha, 2012:106)
Oksala writes that the political ontology of neoliberalism can be explained by the three axes of power, knowledge and subjectivity. Foucault claims that neoliberalism functions as an apparatus of knowledge and power. This since neoliberalism creates a particular kind of social and political reality (Oksala 2013:53-55). A special characteristic of neoliberalism is freedom. It is not to guarantee freedom but to create and consume freedoms.

“This governmental practice is not satisfied with respecting this or that freedom, with guaranteeing this or that freedom. It is a consumer of freedom, it can only function if a freedom actually exists; the freedom of the market, freedom to buy and sell, the free exercise of property rights, freedom of discussion, possible freedom of expression....

The new governmental reason needs freedom because the new art of government consumes freedom, It must produce it and must organize it. The new art of government appears as the management of freedom. Liberalism must produce freedom, but this very act entails the establishment of limitations, controls, forms coercion, and obligation relying on threats” (Foucault and Senellart 2008:63-64) To give examples there is a need for free trade, there cannot be monopolies, free labour market with enough competence to meet the markets needs but they should not be able to pressure the market.

Historically the restriction of the market was to ensure that the rules of the market ensured that the poorest would be able to buy things. But the market came to be a site of truth, it was natural mechanisms that appeared and thereby formed the right conditions for proper functioning (Oksala, 2013: 62).

Read states that Foucault understands the worker or human capital as an entrepreneur, salary or wages are based on the skills an individual can acquire and wages regarded as revenue. Everything in a person’s life can be regarded as economical. Work is no longer a commodity that is bought but a set of choice an individual have and chooses from (Read 2009:32).

The self-investment and the skill-enhancing is a calculated investment, the point is that there are factors that influence the possibility and is not regarded as a problem. Factors like poverty, lack of access to education, the body, race or in India cast are not seen as the hinders they are.

The political subject is in a neoliberal interpretation an individual who is by nature self-interested and has to be fostered to compete. The individual is per definition rational
and makes decision based on their knowledge of economy and can calculate costs and benefits. Thereby the individual is regarded as responsible for a number of problems that before was regarded as social or political (Oksala 2013:66-67).

Such an example would be connecting the concept of human capital to unemployment rates, the neoliberal answer to this would be lack of skills. Lack of skills is related to choices and freedoms.

People improve themselves by education, maintaining good health and economic knowledge to become better consumers and producers. The *homo economicus* in neoliberal terms is an entrepreneur of himself. Therefore the neoliberal governmentality aims to create, encourage competitiveness and self-interest. Neoliberalism changes the dynamics between economy and society, it encourages competitiveness at all levels from the individual level to world economy (Oksala 2013:68-69).

In order to expand the neoliberal model of *homo economicus* there is the theories of human capital. “*By techniques, participative management and private property ideology the aim is to transforms individuals in “self-entrepreneurs”. Individuals should be self-regulated, self-directed in a continuous process of redefining their competence and of learning in order to get the human capital ready for ever changing production conditions*” (Cotoi, 2011).

An important ontological belief of neoliberalism is the doctrine of economic neutrality, economic facts are objective, universal and politically neutral (Oksala 2013:59). This regime suggest that a good government should not interfere with economic mechanisms. Economic truths are dictated by the market mechanisms, the pursuit of private interest spontaneously leads to the common good. When something is regarded as an economic factor, such as the income gap of rich and poor, this is moved outside the political realm (Oksala 2013:60).

The only answer in the neoliberal hegemony is a continuous productivity, economic growth is the only remedy to rise higher living standards. (Oksala 2013:61 “*Liberal governmentality effected a shift to a regime of truth that emphasized the limitation of government according to truth, at the expense of a juridical framework, and paved the way for a modern biopolitical society of experts and managers of life at the expense of sovereignty.*” (Oksala, 2013:63).
The only contact between the economic and the social should in neoliberal
governmentality be a safeguard to not be excluded from the economic game. There has
to be state interference so that nobody falls below a given level of income and if
necessary the state has to pay an additional amount. Even if it means greater economic
gaps between wealthy, middle class and poor. Neoliberal governmentality is based on a
social ontology that sees the society as an economic game for self-interested
individuals. This is an inverted social contract and questioning neoliberal hegemony is
problematic since it contesting economic truths (Oksala 2013: 65-66).

4.2 Theoretical framework

To analyse the policies following concepts have been chosen to explain the tourism
policies through the concept of neoliberal governmentality and to identify the ideas of
participation of the local communities. When it comes to local communities, there are
several ways of identifying their participation. One is if they are regarded as natural part
of tourism where they are included that can be knowledge or passive beneficiaries or if
they are excluded from the policies. Since neoliberal governmentality sees individuals
not a collective and indication is that they have no specific mentioning.

**Workers and human capital**, the neoliberal understanding of workers and human
capital is that the individuals are entrepreneurs. Works is not a commodity payed in
wages, it is choices made by the individuals. Therefore special attention is given to the
idea of self-entrepreneurship. If the neoliberal governmentality influences the policies,
the local communities should be encouraged to redefine their skills and enhance their
competence to be ready to participate in the tourism sector.

**Political rationalities** in this case the powers that are presented and if there is specific
duties regarding authorities (state forest department or tourism department). This
include what principles is presented and understanding of the subjects that are governed
that is in this case the local communities. There can be limits of for the authorities based
on what lines are drawn from the duties of the departments and what is the duty of the
private sector in tourism. An example is if the state has the responsibility for the
inclusion, skill-development of the local communities or is this a responsibility by the
individuals, it can also be a responsibility for the private sector. The more the
responsibility is laid upon the individual the more the neoliberal governmentality has
influence over the policies.
**Governing techniques**, this is the specific language that is used in relation to development and modernisation. In relation to the local communities this is used to identify if there is a focus on development and if so what kind of development. In neoliberal governmentality development should be related to economic factors and modernisation a way to economic development. Further, neoliberal governmentality is related to skill-building, self-investment such as education and economic investments. Since neoliberal governmentality focus on expertise and knowledge there should be reference to specific groups of experts. This experts can for example be the local communities or it could be marketing professionals.

**Concurrence**, refers to the intimate relation between government and market, the government protects, regulates, and creates possibilities for the market. This includes to produce workers with skills demanded by the market. In neoliberal governmentality therefor the policies are the guidelines for this.

**Freedom(s)**, neoliberal governmentality encourage competition, self-governance, and the subject’s belief in freedom of choice, education and entrepreneurship. The policies thereby are to encourage this behaviours. This freedoms includes, freedom of private investments, freedom for private investors and so on.

**5 Method**

The study is a qualitative case study of the tourism policies in Madhya Pradesh. The text (policies) are regarded as part of the case study and not as a pure text analysis. Qualitative case studies has the strength of thoroughly study of a specific case, in this case the policies and how the officials in Madhya Pradesh regards the local communities. A qualitative case study concentrates on the empirical knowledge of the specific case and analyse in this case the social and political context (Stake 2000:444). Stake would call this an “intrinsic case study” since the study is based on the interest of this specific case. The purpose is not to theory building nor is generalisation, the study undertaken because of the intrinsic interest of the author (Stake 2005:446). However, intrinsic case study can be seen as a step towards a grand generalisation (Stake 2005:448).

When it comes to context of the case study the historical, social, economic, legal and political context are of interest to understand the case (Stake 2005:449).

To reduce the likelihood of misinterpretation there exist several procedures. The two most common being redundancy of data gathering and procedural challenges to
This is generally called triangulation and is defined “The combination of different methods, theories, data, and/or researchers in the study of one issue” (Flick 2009:475). Therefore, triangulation serves as a process, using multiple perceptions to clarify the connotation, verify the repeatability of an observation or interpretation and helps to identify different realities (Stake 2005:454).

The most common critic regarding qualitative studies are that the qualitative study is biased by the researcher’s assumptions, worldview and interests. However, the quantitative studies are not immune against this although it may not be equally easy visible. Research is a human activity and there is no possibility to not have ideas, assumptions or theories. Therefore, the qualitative study should have the same reliability and validity as a quantitative (Diefenbach, 2008:876).

5.1 Semi-structured interviews

The definitions of elites are those that have proximity to power and policymaking. This category includes elected representatives, executive officers of organisations and others that has power over implementing policies (Lilleker 2003).

I have chosen to perform semi-structured interviews with officials from departments involved in policymaking, implementation and semi-officials on the field. The main departments involved are MPSTD, MPSTDC, MPEDB and MPSFD. The selection of persons to interview was planned to be officials from the different departments on field level and at higher level to get a more general information of each department representative’s knowledges of the policies and their views of the local communities as resources or problem. Unfortunately, the only department interested in participating was MPSTD and one person from MPSTDC. Therefore, the study is mainly based on the knowledge of the different policies at the State Forest Department. The selection process was therefore rather who was willing to participate rather than a wide range of persons. Diefenbach writes that the selection of interviewees within organisations depends on the goodwill of powerful and influential people within the organisation. Therefore, only the willing interviewees has the opportunity to forward their view, opinions, knowledge and that will influence the outcome (Diefenbach 2008:880). Since the interviews have been conducted with officials that are representing their department, there has to be taken into account that they can be biased by the loyalty towards the department. Consequently, the interviewees can deliberative intend to mislead the interviewer or give the answer that he/she assumes are the correct answers in relation to
their role, and especially in higher ranks. To tackle this problem the interviewer needs to be well informed about the area of study, take in a critical position and with some distance. Nonetheless, if the interviewee use tactical answers this can be important since it is an indication of the dominant ideology/mainstream thinking and a part of the social and political dimension of the system (Diefenbach 2008:880).

The quantity of interviews is as well a consideration, data from different interviewees on the same issue makes it possible to crosscheck the answers and provide a broad picture. There is however no fixed formula to determine the perfect number and the ultimate decision is up to the researcher (Diefenbach 2008:883).

The semi constructed interview framework is constructed upon Uve Flick. The interview starts with an “open question” that is on basis of the interviewees knowledge or the facts at hand. This to enable the interviewee to freely talk about the tourism policies in Madhya Pradesh, the benefits and the negative aspects. Other type of question are the “hypothesis driven question” that are in relation to the system of the policies and knowledge. The “confrontational questions” based on the previous answers and give the interviewee the possibility to change the answer and cross-check that the answers has been interpreted correctly. In this case the “confrontational questions” where also of a sensitive political nature since it involves local communities’ legal rights and specific responsibilities in the policies (Flick 2009: 157-8).

Further aspect that has to be considered when it comes to interviewing elites, this include to clearly explain for the individual why their participation is necessary for the study. Further, it is important how critique is presented; one method is to present the critique in way that you also understand their point of view. As an example Lilleker presents an example “I noted that an academic/journalist argued that... how do you respond to that” (Lilleker 2003).

Additionally, there can be a problem of power balance and especially when the respondents are interviewed in their own space. MacDowell deals with the problematics that is related to gender. “In some interviews I seemed to fall into the classic male–female pattern, for example with an older charming but rather patriarchal figure I found myself to some extent ‘playing dumb’: with an older and extremely fierce senior women I was brusquely efficient, with other women I was ‘sisterly’ in the sense of same age–same position, with some of the younger men I was super-fast, well informed, and definitely not to be patronised. (McDowell 1998:2138). This gender related power
balance problem actually sometimes a problem since India still has several gender related problems.
The last consideration was that to perform the interviews in most cases an interpreter was needed from Hindi to English. This also helps to include the voices of those that are not fluent in English. Main consideration is that there is a loss of control over if the question where correctly translated and the same with the answers. Nonetheless, translator maintained control and was professional in my meaning.

6 Legal Framework

6.1 FRA (Forest Right Act as amended 2006)

This act is important to have in mind when it comes to the analysis of the policies. Mainly in the case of Satpura Tiger Reserve since the land is mainly owned by either government but ST and other forest dwellers lives upon that land or it is owned by them. When writing about local communities in this area they are mainly ST or other forest dwellers. Therefore, this act should have an influence on the policies. Most of the people residing in the area of Satpura Tiger reserve belongs to Scheduled Tribes (ST) or are other traditional forest dwellers. With this background the land that is transferred or sold to private sector should take into consideration this act.

FRA is an important legislation since it is supposed to set right the injustice that (ST) and other forest dwellers has suffered. ST and other forest dwellers has been depending, co-habiting and protected the forest for centuries. An example is that reserved forest has been most restricted and the Government has regulated where local communities, ST and other forest dwellers are being prohibited to enter or use the land without consent. The same was the case of protected forest, however locals where allowed unless prohibited. (Seetharaman, 2015).

The act recognise the legal right to people that have been farming prior to 2005 and in case of non ST is it only a legal right if the people has been using the land for 75 years (Sections 3(1)(a), 4(3) and 4(6) of the Act). The limitation is maximum 4 acres even if the land used before is 10 acres. There is no possibility to sale the land or transfer (section 4(4)). The Act is necessary since in several cases the rights of the ST and other forest dwellers has not been completed, leading to evictions and harassment. In Madhya
Pradesh around 125 villages has been destroyed and a great number of villages has been displaced due to tiger and forest conservation, others have been displaced for the benefit of private investors or dam projects. The numbers are unclear and no trustable data is available. The Act is to prevent such behaviour and ensure the right of the ST and other forest dwellers to access land, minor forest produce, and community resources.

In Section 6, clarifies transparency and three-step procedure. These steps are first that the Gram Sabha (full village assembly) makes recommendations regarding how to secure that all people have the right and possibility to participate. Further, the recommendations go through two steps of screening (Taluka and district level) where the district level makes the final decision (section 6(6)). The national platform Campaign for Survival and Dignity states that previously there has been cases of corruption by the forest guides and the Forest Department. (The National Platform Campaign for Survival and Dignity 2017). The latest intervention is a letter from the Tiger Conservation Authority to different park administrations that demands that no ST or other forest dweller shall be informed of their rights (NTCA by Mathur V 2017).

The Act defends the protection of the forest as existing laws continues to apply; this is stated in section 13. The Act is to strengthen the conservation, this by giving power to communities and in order to further protect the forest. Before the Act there was cases of both illegal and legal acts by the forest authorities, examples are that between 2001 and 2006 over five lakh hectares was legally diverted for mines, industrial projects this leading to the fact that many forest dwellers and tribes lost their land. There are worst cases, when opposing, there has been cases where people have lost their life. The act under section (section 4(2) is to ensure the detailed procedures when it’s necessary to relocate, this has not been the case before the Act (The National Platform Campaign for Survival and Dignity, 2017) (Ministry of Tribal Affairs Government of India, 2006).

7 Analysis of tourism policies and governmentality

7.1 Madhya Pradesh State Forest Policy 2005

Madhya Pradesh State Forest Department is one of the actors that creates policies regarding tourism and are mainly concentrating in the ecotourism development and implementation area. The policy from 2005 is published on MPEDBs site and can be
assumed to be the base for policies to come. The policy is not specifically on only ecotourism policy but it includes a chapter regarding ecotourism (Madhya Pradesh State Forest Department, 2017).

2.14 To develop Eco-tourism and Herbal-Health Tourism in forest areas for the benefit of forest dependent communities and conservation of natural resources

Increased benefits in the hands of the forest dwellers are of course a positive aspect. This is however in contradiction to the policy of emptying the forest of people in order to create tiger parks that is in effect. It is also hard to analyse, since the view of what eco-tourism entails here is not clear. Is it the neoliberal view of nature as a commodity, pure nature focus without the full concept of ecotourism clearly defined, or is it actual ecotourism in benefit of the locals? Other parts of the policy do however hint that it is the later.

3.16.1 Eco-tourism will be promoted in protected areas and suitable forest areas outside them to create attachment for nature in people, especially making them aware towards conservation of wildlife and protected areas.

Ecotourism, which is a limited form of tourism is the desired tourism in protected areas. There is only focus on conservation, nothing is mentioned about economic development or local communities. However, the duty of MPSTD is to conserve, to educate not to regard nature as a commodity that can be exploited for only economic growth. There is no mention of the private sector as a necessary in this protection.

3.16.3 “In accordance with the prime spirit of eco-tourism, the shape of tourism will be such as to make the forest-dependent communities partner in the benefits of tourism, alongwith conservation of natural resources, environmental protection and social adaptability”

The local communities are not regarded as individuals, they are not individual entrepreneurs, and they are regarded as a collective that shall be the beneficiaries. No specific skills are needed at this point to be part of ecotourism. Further, there is a concerns with conservation and the nature is regarded as something that is to be preserved not to exploit for economic growth. Social adaptability, it is not clear what social adaptability refers to, liking to local communities it could mean that they shall be flexible in the way tourism and conservation develops. If so, they are human capital that are supposed to be ready for changing production conditions.
3.16.4 “In order to reduce the pressure of tourism on prominent protected areas, eco-tourism shall be developed in more and more other protected areas and forests outside them as per the tourism policy of the state.”

Tourism is regarded as something that needs to be limited, even if tourism is a way for economic development. Instead ecotourism that is limited and controlled shall replace regular tourism. The state has the responsibility, not private sector. There is no mention of freedom to, or economic development as a goal.

3.16.7 “In order to make eco-tourism more attractive and effective, interpretation centers shall be set up in all the eco-tourism areas. Besides, individual interpretation shall be encouraged by imparting training in this sphere to local educated villagers, which would not only benefit tourists, but provide employment to such villagers as well.”

Educated villagers shall be encouraged to by training, to individually become interpreters. Individual members of a community are to become entrepreneurs. They are encourage to redefine their skills to be employable. Their also the mention of “educated” villagers, it implies that not all the villagers are educated enough to become interpreters of nature. Where or whom shall give the training is also open, since there is no mention of this, the duty can be assumed to be that of the MPSFD. As per governing technologies the self-investment is the education and training to become attractive enough to be either employed or entrepreneur.

However, it is worth mentioning that related to other parts of the policy, private investments and private sector are mentioned. This has not been included since the focus is on tourism not for example mining or forest production.

7.1.1 Result

In the chapter if ecotourism, there is no or little influence of neoliberal governmentality. However, there is also very little regarding local communities other than they shall be part and have gain of ecotourism. The only mentioning of education, self-investment is in 3.16.7. Otherwise, conservation is the key rather than economic growth and development. There is also no indication of concurrence between the market and government as defined by Foucault.
7.2 State Tourism Policy from 2016

The state tourism policy from 2016 aims to develop tourism for the benefit of economic development (Madhya Pradesh State Tourism Department, n.d.)

Chapter 1 states the vision of the policy is “To promote such balanced and sustainable tourism which enables socio-economic development and establishes Madhya Pradesh as a destination that provides a complete tourism experience”

Tourism is not only ecotourism, but tourism should be sustainable. The socio-economic development includes all aspect of economic development. By economic development Madhya Pradesh can become a complete tourism experience.

2.1 “Set up such institutional mechanism which will promote private investment as directed by the State Government“

Private investment and the need to set up institutional mechanism to promote this. As per Foucault, there are regulatory structures that needs to be protected. To ensure the private investments, neoliberal governmentality has to protect the market. The state has to create the mechanism for the market.

2.6 “Establish active and coordinated participation of Government departments, voluntary organizations, the local community and other stakeholders of tourism sector”.

Likewise, the market and others needs the government to organize. Neoliberal governmentality is interventionistic. The responsibility is also placed in wide range of actors.

2.7 “Appropriate development of tourism based projects through Public Private Partnership (PPP)”. These points have several interesting parts. The government needs to be the ones that has a strategy to promote and develop tourism, however the private sector has to be the base. PPP using neoliberal governmentality by seen as the ultimate version. The state and the private sector becomes one. The government contracts private investors to perform something that before was a governmental responsibility. However, to protect the fragile market the government has to protect it. To develop the tourism industry the government needs to ensure the private sector that there is a security net in place.

Chapter 3

3.5 ”Active participation of local bodies will be ensured by sensitizing them towards tourism.”
The expression “local bodies” is not defined. There can be an assumption that at the moment the local communities are not fully in support of development of tourism. The MPSTD identifies a need to educate and steer the local bodies towards the desired political vision of tourism as contribution to economic development as stated before regarding why it is necessary to develop tourism in larger scale.

3.6 “To promote and market fairs, local cuisine, costumes, products, art, handicraft and local heritage, rural tourism will be encouraged.”

Here the use of the word encouraged is noticeable, an assumption can be that this is based in the idea of entrepreneurship rather than the different connotations arrived from the word supported for example. The view that ‘the experience’ is a commodity to sell is in line with neoliberal governmentality. In context with the overall policy this seems to be the unsaid statement.

3.12 "To promote tourist friendly image of the state, all personnel directly and indirectly engaged in the tourism sector will be trained. Trainings will also ensure generation of employment opportunities for the youth.”

In this context this can be seen as the human capital investments, this would serve to create specific truths in line with the extension of homo economicus in neoliberal governmentality. A reasonable interpretation here is that it is a way of shaping citizens for the goal of selling Madhya Pradesh as a tourist destination, this in context with the overall policy. It has the aspect of concurrence between market and state while at the same time encouraging human capital investment.

3.13 “To encourage establishment of tourism projects through private investment, land bank will be strengthened continuously, identifying suitable locations.”

Here the undertone is clear, the base for tourism development is from the outside, assumed private actors, rather than taking input from the inside by people already living in these locations. We can also see the veridication and concurrence clearly, the suitable locations are what the subjects decide is true, and these subjects are market actors with the help of the government.

3.16 “To encourage establishment of heritage hotels with private investment, subsidies/concessions will be offered.”

Again, we can see the concept of an active interventionistic government in symbiosis with the market where the government is minimising risks for the market.

Chapter 4,
In chapter for there is several guidelines how to promote private investment, again the need for subsides and the MPSTD hands over most of the responsibility to the Corporation.

4.1 “While providing tourism services, the Corporation shall play a crucial role in establishment, expansion and marketing of tourism services with private investment”

The implementation and responsibility is hereby handed over to a profit-making corporation to perform what previous responsibility was in the state government. Further, by this the implementation and expansion is between two profit-making actors, the corporation and the market.

4.2 “As per the need, the corporation will be allowed to hand over its units to private sector for operation under management agreement or on a long-term lease.”

The corporation is by this allowed to decide what parts of tourism and development that can be handed over to the private sector, however there is no definition of what units are transferable to the private sector, and it includes long term leases which also are not defined. Further analysis can problematize the implication of this decision since this also include the persons employed by the state government such as state owned hotels and restaurants. The term governmentality can be exemplified through the theory in offering strategies by structuring specific forms of intervention.

4.4 “Tourism projects shall be established and appropriate support to investors to invest in new undeveloped areas with tourism potential shall be streamlined.”

The tourism development is based on state governmental support and as previous stated in the policy, by subsides. Concurrence between market and government is clear, the techniques of neoliberal governmentality is shown in the meaning itself and particularly streamlining as phrase. What does this really include? In the Satpura region the FRA is to be in effect, this gives certain limitations for land purchases and development in favour for ST and other forest dwellers. As the FRA is defined as law, the policy can be in conflict with the FRA here since the policy cannot go against the laws. This open ups for value elucidations of the phrase streamlining.

4.6 that “Institutions such as Madhya Pradesh Institute of Hospitality and Training, Food Craft Institute, State Institute of Hospitality and Catering Technology which
provide higher education and skill development trainings in hospitality, food craft and tourism management, shall be expanded and strengthened.” The problem with tourism development is the need for certain and specific knowledge, by steering through the policy the state government choose to prioritize education for the inclusion and since the liberal understanding of human capital is connected to unemployment rates based on level of skills. People can improve themselves by education and thereby become better consumers and producers.

Chapter 5 relates to facilities and subsides. Homestays is what can mostly be connected to local ownership. Other facilities such as waterparks etc. are involving large investments.

5.8 Bed and Breakfast/Home Stay Units
Bed and breakfast/homestays are to be subsidised. Mostly Bed and Breakfast or as it is called in India homestays are owned by members of the local communities. Herby tourism development includes ownership for the local communities. As a result of the governmentality techniques, the forming of the citizen is reaching all the way into something that by Indian customs are very private; your own home. Based on Foucault’s this is a strategy to make the local communities entrepreneurs that invests and produce a surplus. By investing in private homestays it fosters individuals to compete, nevertheless it is a way for the local communities to be less dependent on farming which is a limited form of income, and also to make them less dependent on employers. Related to homestays the chapter 6 of the policy presents different level of subsides for private actors, there is here no mention of homestays. There is subsidisations of 1000 lakh for private establishment with over 500 seaters with a minimum of 2000 lakh of investment from the private actor. Thereby, the state has to subside a great amount to attract investors. This is the concurrence of the market and state in Foucauldian terms.

There is nothing related to local communities until chapter 14 that deals with sustainable tourism. This chapter has only one guideline and states that

“The development and management of tourism destinations should be done in such a manner that effective conservation of environment, natural resources, local traditions, culture and products is taken care of. Department of Tourism shall undertake necessary
studies to identify such tourism activities which adversely impact sustainability and wherever necessary, will take required steps to regulate/stop them. Further steps will be taken to encourage those activities having a positive impact. To ensure community participation, effective strategy of IEC (Information, Education and Communication) shall be used at local level. State Tourism Promotion Council shall play a crucial role in ensuring joint participation of all the departments and stakeholders in this endeavour”

There is a clear inclusion and support to include the local communities. There is special State Promotion Council that has the crucial role to monitor and guide towards a specific rationality, to politically intervene to ensure the wellbeing of the local communities. In contrast to previous neo-liberal policy this makes it an exception by also limiting and even stop activities that are not sustainable. This means that even the private sector are exposed to political decision to stop tourism that is breaking the policy of sustainable tourism. There is a need of knowledge what kind of tourism is damaging and to encourage specific activities. There is a relation between power/knowledge. By studies, certain knowledge is produced and categorization is possible, in this case there is a new tourism knowledge. Since the state government gains new knowledge they have also the possibility to by power, exclude certain actors.

Chapter 15 is dedicated to employment oriented skill development, education and training for youth.

The training initiative is the same as 4.6, nonetheless chapter 15 expands what initiatives that should be included when it comes to this.

15.2 “Youth shall be trained through continuous programme of skill development under skill development schemes of Government of India.” And followed by .15.3 with “After assessing the training needs of tourism Industry of the State, suitable courses in the area of hospitality, adventure tourism, catering and food craft shall be designed and supported financially”

First of all, the youth are to be trained trough governmental schemes and after the state government identifies what skills are needed for specific activities and the state government are also financing them. This as to be understood in the relation to governmentality in the form of human capital, as steering towards inclusion of the youth to be employable in the tourism sector. This economic support and schemes is a way for youth from the rural communities with little economic possibility to pay for training
themselves to be benefited from tourism. Thereby, the state government also is trying to secure that none are excluded from the possibility to obtain economic benefits from tourism. The concurrence of the government delivering the markets needs in form of human capital is clear, however here the state government is not willing to hand over all parts of tourism to the private sectors.

The rest of the six chapters don’t mention the local communities, they are only focused on how to attract private investors by providing land and presenting different economic schemes to attract the same by subsides of different forms. There is no mention of FRA or other regulations regarding land in the policies, in Annexure 1 the policy mainly deals with guidelines regarding how to deal and transfer governmental land to private sector both by regulated prices and by long term leases. Worth to mention is that ST and other forest dwellers live on governmental land and are protected by FRA, to ensure and specify what land is available FRA should be mentioned as a guideline when identifying land.

7.2.1 Results

*How can the tourism policies by explained by analysing them through the concept of governmentality?*

The major difference in the policy from 2016 as compared to the one from 2005, is that the new policy is particularly more influenced of neoliberal governmentality. In fact it is the main focus and almost a textbook example of neoliberal governmentality. Here we find both direct forms in the details and the same in the overall picture. The aim is by interventionistic measures support the market and also give the market forces increased power and knowledge in the tourism industry. When discussing the local people, it is in the sense of human capital, this supported by the government in benefit of the private actors on the market. It is a new regime of truth and as Foucault pointed out the producing of freedom relies on limitations. In this case all not on the winning side of biopolitics.

The conclusion is also that neoliberal governmentality as conceptual tool in is not enough to analyse the policy from 2005 since there is none or little trace of a neoliberal governmentality.
In relation to FRA nothing is mentioned as per when it comes to land allotment nor private investments. Mainly, land around Satpura Tiger Reserve is tribal land. Therefore, land allotment is not as easy as it is portrayed by the policy. However, this will be clearer after the interviews. That FRA is not mentioned in any way in the policy from 2005 is natural since the Act was amended 2006.

And what idea about the participation of the local communities are articulated in the policies?

The participation of the local communities is portrayed very differently in the two policies. Where 2005 have a collectivistic view of the local communities the policy from 2016 regards the local communities as entrepreneurs. The self-investment in education in tourism renders revenue in form of employment or self-employment. Redefining previous skills to adapt to the tourist industry is necessary, the state is forming institutions in order to meet the expectations and desires for private sector to deliver the right kind of employees. This relate to the fact that work is no longer a commodity bought only by wages, it is a choice to become something desirable. The traditional livelihoods such as farmers or producers of minor forest products is no longer desired. The government is producing the local communities into citizens adaptable to tourism. Related to tourism is also specific kind of specific conduct necessary, a person in tourism needs to be service minded, polite, humble and treat the tourist in specific ways. Therefore there is specific institutes that forms persons into a commodity of tourism. By setting up specific institutes and giving specific schemes the government produce desirable individuals. There are little subsides or schemes for ownership for the local communities. The main subsides are for the larger privat investors, this excludes in some ways the ownership for the local communities.

8 The elite view of policy and local communities

The interviews were conducted with different levels of officials, from guides to higher officials employed by MPSFD. There is also problematics involved in the questions and those problem are the fact that local communities are both willingly and forcefully displaced. Here the consideration is that no policy can bypass the law. Therefore, some questions deals with how the local communities are displaced and how they are informed of their rights that are stated in the Forest Right Act (amended 2006). It is worth mentioning that the MPSFDs main duty is conservation and protection of fauna
and flora. However, they also have a part in the development of tourism, especially eco-
tourism. Since only one person from MPSTDC and no one from other departments was
willing to be interviewed there can be no grand generalization.

8.1 Interviews with MPSFD

8.1.1 What kind of tourism is promoted by Madhya Pradesh State Forest Department?

The main answer is that sustainable tourism is promoted, this kind of tourism includes
heritage, pilgrim and nature tourism. Eco-friendly activities such as bicycling, trekking
and canoeing is being more promoted, nevertheless jeep safaris are one of the most
popular way to explore the wildlife and nature. One officer from the area around
Madhai states that “So many ways of tourism, eco-tourism provides an opportunity to
learn. Eco-tourism is has a broader spectrum than others, but promotion needs time to
spread” (Interviewee 1 2017).

In Hoshangabad MPSFD confirms that mostly eco-friendly tourism is promoted and
that Churna, a new area is also under development but no more areas are planned after
that. “Churna has also gypsies, canoeing, trekking. Forsyth (trekking) route is planned
in Pachamarhi” (Interviewee 2 2017)

In Madhai there is a limit to how many jeeps are allowed at the same time and for now
the limit is 12 jeeps at the time. The difference at the core area and the buffer area is that
in the buffer area private vehicles are allowed. There is also a Supreme Court verdict
that limits the tourism in Satpura Tiger Reserve, today 5 percent of the core area and 20
percent of the buffer area is open to tourism. This verdict is under appeal since there is a
potential to expand tourism by opening up more areas to tourism. Further, at
Hoshangabad the view on eco-tourism is “Eco-tourism is responsible tourism working
towards pollution free tourism promoting wilderness tourism, to see tigers is a bonus
and eco-tourism is educational” (Interviewee 2 2017). They also confirm that tourism is
not their main work, “tourism is only 10 percent of our work protection is the most
important” (Interviewee 2 2017).

There is a difference between the tourism in Pachmarhi and Madhai, since Pachmarhi is
in the core area they have no possibility to expand tourism at the moment. Furthermore,
the kind of tourist that comes to Pachmarhi are not for tiger spotting, the tourism is still
focusing on nature but more of the scenic type, birdwatching, heritage and pilgrim
tourism. Leisure tourism is also a prominent tourism sector. In Madhai the general tourist comes to see tigers.

8.1.2 What kind of jobs are available to the local communities?

There is a consensus among the employees and officials that the jobs available for the local communities are mainly what is called simple jobs. In Hoshangabad MPSFD gave the information that “we give priority to locals in guide training, cooking, cleaning, and eight has gone to work in five star hotels, they also work in housekeeping. Six out of the eight people in five star places are women.” (Interviewee 2 2017). In Pachmarhi an employee of the MPSFD confirms that skill training is given “based on their interest and skills and if and apart whatever constructions happens inside the forest they are being included in that. A small dam or something like that or cleaning if he has no ability he will also be given job as labourer” (Interviewee 3 2017).

The main job is still guides, jeep drives, park rangers, waiters and housekeeping. The ratio of employment provide to the local communities varies slightly from different interviewees and between Pachmarhi and Madhai. In Pachmarhi the ratio is higher, this can be explained with the fact that Pachmarhi is an established tourist destination. In Madhai the ratio varies from “many” to 25 persons. The tendency is to count the employment provide by state government and not adding the employment offered by private investors.

8.1.3 What kind of training and skill development is provided by Madhya Pradesh State Forest Department?

The answer is that the training provided is to become guides, drivers and other simple jobs. The explanation for this is that generally the local communities lack education and skills to perform more advanced jobs. Since the policy states that women have been assigned a main role in the conservation and also that they shall be involved in tourism a natural question is to what extent this has been fulfilled?

The answer is that few women has benefited or got an employment directly involved in tourism. In Pachmarhi one employee at the MPSFD states that “If you talk about women, they have been employed as firewatchers, or as labour and if there is any quarrel they have been used by Panchayat (Panchayat Ray is a local form of self-government) and the SFDs forest guards to accompany them to the village and they are paid for that” (Interviewee 4 2017). This statement is confirmed regarding the employment as firewatchers and other conservation task. Most add that there is little
ratio of employment for women. There has been some initiatives by NGOs to provide training and some has gotten job as housekeepers and cleaning staff.

The direct employment in the tourism sector is very little. During our stay in the area of STR we saw no women guide, house keeper, waitress, drivers nor any women directly involved in tourism. The only women we saw working was in road construction or other governmental constructions. One explanation is the taboos that women are not supposed to work with strangers, especially men. This limits the possibilities for women to work in tourism.

8.1.4 What kind of community based tourism exist today? What is their ownership and role in tourism activities being conducted?

In Pachmarhi the answer is that previously there was some villages that had community based tourism were the tourist could visit indigenous villages. However, this villages have been displaced because of the Tiger Conservation Act that states that no villages are allowed inside the core area and many villages in the buffer area has also been displaced. In Madhai at the moment there is no community based tourism, this answer is kind of ambiguous since some answered that MPSFD in both Pachmarhi and Madhai helps the local communities with training and development of tourism, mainly in the area of jeep safaris. In Pachmarhi one employee states that “if you look at MP tourism, there is no such thing as employment of locals and youth nor training they are mostly labours, when you look at ecotourism department it will run hand in hand for development so there you will have different view on local perspective” (Interviewee 4 2017). There is a different focus in the policy from MPSTD 2012 and 2016 where the focus is more on private investors and actors in tourism while in the MPSFD there is more focus on the local communities. Therefore, this answer is in line with the current differences in policy between the departments. Further, the same employee tells that the MPSFD helps the villages to form committees that not only takes decision regarding ecotourism but also other matters such as minor forest products. The income generated is thereafter invested back in the village. “If you looking at Madhai you must have seen the boats, the money that are earned from the boats goes to the village committee” (Interviewee 4 2017). Beside Madhai the employee tells that this committees also exists in Churna, Pachmarhi and Bhor among others.

One employee from MPSFD states that before in Pachmarhi they used to visit tribal villages when trekking, but today “tribal villages has been displaced but before there where good contact between tribes and tourist, the eco-tourism worked good. Today
there is no community based tourism at all here, only a handcraft fair that work so and so”

In Hoshangabad the answer is that “the committees, MLA (Member of the Legislative Assembly), NGOs, different stakeholders meets once or twice a year on how to develop tourism and suggestions are forward upward.” There seems to be non-existent community based tourism, however there is methods of influence over decision made in some villages.

The question of ownership is a wide question and the interpretation of the question seemed a bit unclear. To give an example of ownership the follow up question is in relation to accommodation that is a specific form of ownership.

8.1.5 How is it then with homestays or other accommodation in which the local communities has any ownership?

In Bhopal that is the main capital in Madhya Pradesh and where higher official works we were told that “Here there is no backpackers, (the tourists) they want nice places and the weather is a problem, heat or AC.” Further the official says that “other is that hotels are booked online, but there are some homestays on the website of MP tourism” (Interviewee 7). The answer is also that the local communities lack the skills to promote, handle and construct accommodation. In Hoshangabad the employee confirms this “government is trying their best to handle the local community but the since the local communities are not that skilled as the private sector, but the government is doing some attempts at that direction, more has to be done”. (Interviewee 5) The main opinion that homestays is for now not a big part of the development because of the lack of skills but also the fact that a very limited type of tourists are interested in this kind of accommodation. Indian tourist are explained to mainly demand AC rooms, good food, possibilities to party and comfortable a stay.

Therefore, there is little economic gain for local communities since constructing homestays are not a guaranty as source of income. Individuals has to construct the homestays by the regulations of the homestay policy. One simple reason is that this policy demands that the rooms shall have western toilets (see police for Homestays). Many people in rural areas has no water connected to their houses and also there is in some cases lack of electricity, only a common well. This two factors therefore limits the possibility to ownership.
8.1.6 Do you know about the MPSTD policy from 2016 and if so how do you work together?
The employees at lower level has no knowledge about the policy and are not at all familiar with their own policy from 2005. In Madhai an employee answers that they have no idea of the changes in policy, other official in Pipariya says that MPSFD has a new policy that we can get in Hoshangabad, however there is no new policy. In Pachmarhi, one of the local employees know the policy by heart and is aware that there is a new tourism policy from MPSTD. However, he does not know how the departments works together.
At higher level there is a knowledge, however there is at the moment none or little collaboration between the MPSFD and MPSTD. In Bhopal the information is that MPSFD works primarily with MPEDB and not MPSTD nor MPSTDC.

8.1.7 How is the view on the fact that the State Forest Department mainly are promoting a tourism that shall mainly benefit the local communities when the tourism policy is focusing on private investments and the PPP model?

There is a consensus in the necessity of private investments since they have the knowledge on how to promote tourism, have connections outside Madhya Pradesh and also that they have economic resources that others lack. Further, the private sector is regarded as more skilled to handle the development than the government and the departments. The private sector can also provide training to the employment that is gaining to the local community.
At the top level they informed that stakeholders such as private investors, committees from local communities and department meet twice a year to discuss the development of tourism and topics like infrastructure.
Are there any problems when it comes to development of tourism?
One problem is that in Madhai there is little or none cell phone coverage and almost no access to internet, this limits the development of tourism at the moment. There is also a lack of access to hospitals or basic healthcare. This factor is a risk to both employees and tourist since if there is an accident or urgent health problem, the possibility to urgent care is non-existent.

The last part of the interview opened up the possibility to the interviewees to speak about how they want the community based tourism to develop.
The answers are mainly in line with the policy from 2005, some of the interviewees that was reluctant to participate where not interested in answering this question. In Madhai, one officer has the vision is to strengthen the community based tourism by skill development and to provide the local communities, especially the ST with better education. Moreover, in Madhai the park administration saw a possibility to divert water from the river and dam to the villages to provide them with the possibility to grow crops and farming. This could lead to the possibility of selling products to the hotels and resorts. Initiatives like this would make the local communities stay, this is important since the local communities and especially the tribes has great knowledge of the forest and also act as agents and firewatchers.

The conclusion is that far from all have knowledge about the policy from 2005 and even less about the tourism policy from 2016 even if this policy state that MPSFD, MPSTD and MPSTDC shall work together. With this background one conclusion is that there can be no correct implementation of the policies. Some of the officials also see a necessity to draw new policies and admits that the policies has loopholes, especially when it comes to the local communities. When implemented there is also a problem since the policy from 2016 in some cases contradicts the laws and acts that regulates the right of ST. There is a consensus that all ST has been informed of rights and many of the ST has been informed about the possibility to access training.

8.2 Interview with MPSTDC

The last interview was with a representative from MPSTDC (Interviewee 8). This interview was performed differently from the others, one reason is that the interviewee talked freely and gave little possibilities to ask questions however the conversation was steered towards the same questions as MPSFD. The representative wished that there should be no direct citation nor possibility of identification.

The first thing that is pointed out by the representative is that the Corporation is in contrary to the departments, profit-seeking. The MPSTD has also handled over most part of the implementation of the policy to the Corporation.

The main role of the Corporation is to supervise that regulation are followed, identify new spots for the development of tourism and identify land to sell. They also acts as an agent that helps and guides investors and persons interested in developing tourism with the legal papers and to inform them about who to turn to. Within the Corporation there is officials that are also employed by different State Departments.
The interviewee had great knowledge about the policy from 2016 and all the answers was in line with the policy, the same goes for the MPSFD policy from 2005.

Some points that are important is that the focus is mainly on promoting PPP model or completely privately owned tourism accommodation and attractions. An important factor for developing tourism is to have good institutions that facilitates for the private investors.

The government should have little to do with tourism other than supervise and work to attract the private sector. However, they want to attract environmental and social responsible actors. The government should also invest in infrastructure, when it comes to the problem with cell phone coverage and lack of internet the main problem is that the telecom companies has little interest in investing in rural areas since there is little economic gain and the government cannot force them.

When it comes to the local communities they provide some training but the budget for this is small, there is a need to develop training both qualitative and quantitative. Since the ST and other rural communities has little education the employment accessible to these groups are mainly simple jobs. When it comes to hospitality training there is a need for structure.

There is a policy for development of homestays, schemes and subsides for those who are interested, if the homestay is certified they can promote their accommodation at the website of the corporation. However, there is little demand for homestays and opening up their house to strangers is not for everyone. Another problem is that most people is that the ST and local communities have no skills to promote and run establishments. In Madhai and other areas the promotion is mainly targeting tourist that has a high budget and not budget travellers. There is also five or six departments involved in rural development and other forms of skill development.

The road side services has to be developed so there is only one to two hours between facilities and restaurants, the best scenario is that those are built by private investors but when there is no interest the government should build and then lease. Here I have a comment as writer, there is a lot of restaurants and shops a long every road. There is seldom more than ten minutes between establishments and most of the places are owned and managed by local people.
Lastly the opinion from the interviewee is that there is a need to synchronize the different policies and create awareness. One example that is pointed out is the success of the state Kerala regarding tourism.

8.3 Results of the interviews
The interviews was supposed to answer the questions:

How is the local communities portrayed as resources according to the officials? And What are the possible hinders for local communities to have ownership in tourism?

MPSFD regards the local communities as an asset to protect the forest. As most interviewee’s states, the department’s role is mainly conservation and not tourism. However, they are responsible for most of the ecotourism development around Satpura Tiger Reserve. When it comes to the local communities the fact is that they are mainly employees. The view is that the local communities lacks the skills to have ownership and they have little possibility to become skilled. The training that is provided is also mainly in areas that is on daily wages, no higher education or skill enhancement is provided. The women lack mostly any benefit of tourism, the jobs availed is mainly indirect in relation to tourism such as in road constructions or they work for the MPSFD outside the tourism industry. The community based tourism is not encourage since the tourist they are trying to attract are the high ended tourist with little desire to stay outside the better hotels. The lack of proper infrastructure and health care also limits the possibility for the local communities to invest in for example homestays or restaurants. The regulations regarding homestays demands that there shall be for example running water something that most local communities lack. One problem is also that there is two different policies, both dealing with tourism. The officials from MPSFD have almost no knowledge of the state tourism policy from 2016 that contradicts their own, even if MPSFD and MPSTDC shall work together, there is no such cooperation.

Even if ecotourism that is supposed to be in favour of community based initiatives this is not the reality. One reason beside the lack of this is that the local communities are moved outside the tourist areas. There are some places where community based tourism is working according to some of the officials, other says that they have been displaced. However, MPSFD regards the local communities mainly as an asset for both tourism and conservation. They are also positive to expand the participation and create
opportunities for participation, not only as workers in the tourism industry but to have
ownerships in forms of selling crops and produce products for the industry.
MPSTDC is mainly focused on attracting the private investors, the local communities
has little place other than as workers and are regarded as skill-less. When it comes to
construct road amenities as the interviewee said, there are already an abundance of
them. The road amenities are in form of small family restaurants, tea stalls, small shops
and street venders. Therefore, if the government builds bigger places and then lease
them to private investors they create a concurrence to the already existing one. The
larger investors will employ local people but the concurrence will strike the locally
owned places hard.

9 Conclusion and discussion

9.1 Conclusion

It is clear that there has been an increased influence of neoliberal governmentality in the
policy making when it comes to the Tourism Department, the formation of the
MPSTDC in itself is an indicator of this. At the moment the different interests of the
Tourism Department and the Forest Department is clashing when looking at the
policies. One factor is that MPSFD is mainly interested in conservation, commercial
forest development and in part ecotourism. MPSTD and MPSTDC are in the business of
attracting investments and developing. The first conclusion is that using
governmentality as a conceptual tool works, in the instrumental meaning, when the
policies is neoliberal, but non-sufficient when the policies are as the MPSFD from 2005
protectionistic. The policy from 2005 is more concerned with the protection and
conservation of the forest than with economic development. This reflects also on the
collectivist view of the local communities.

When it comes to the interviews even if the representatives of MPSFD reflects upon the
conservation and collectivist views, but they are influenced by the neoliberal
governmentality. This shows in the way they see the local communities as both a
resource and problem. They have the vision in of inclusion, and development for the
local communities but sees the problems with the self-investments. Officials are tainted
by the idea of skills, entrepreneurship, they see the concurrence of the market and the
government that contradicts their opinions to include the local communities.
Which brings us back to the first chapter development for whom? If tourism was supposed to be a source for development for the local communities following considerations in the discussion should be made. This also includes aspects that are not taken into account in the study to a small extent.

9.2 Discussion

India is a developing country and since 1991 striving to adapt neo-liberal politics and policies. Tourism has become an industry with high hopes for economic growth and in backward states like Madhya Pradesh there is a need for economic growth and general development. To write or state about economic development today is to talk about the market and the demands from tourist. Little consideration is given to the local communities that are relocated in the name of development. What can be done to guarantee that tourism is not developing in the name of economic development for a few? The local communities are relocated to facilitate the expansion of a market in demand of land and workers, the local communities has no ownership. Therefore is tourism really benefitting the local communities? As it is now in the policies it is not, if we listen to the officials there is in many cases no things such as local communities. Therefore, does even a buzzword like ecotourism exist in reality? In Madhya Pradesh they don’t even want or try to attract the kind of tourist that are interested in for example community based tourism or wants to live in homestays. They want the high ended tourist that comes to live in expensive resorts and views tourism as a commodity. There is no doubt that the policy from 2005 is more inclusive and focused on the benefit of the local communities and that the policy from 2016 exclude the local communities as a group that should be the main beneficiaries. The main reason of excluding most parts of the local communities is based on the lack of skills, something that is a governmental responsibility to provide. MPSTDC refers to the tourism policies from Kerala, however the political parties and there vision of tourism is different. The wish list so to speak, for a including form of tourism development in the hands of the people effected would be

- Inclusion of women in tourism, today that is not the case since few women are actually working in the tourism sector, even if that also depends on cultural factors and taboos. Because of this, there has to be a special section for how to work with this factor in the policy, otherwise women will be more dependent on
their husband and father and that increases the risk of oppression and reinforcing the gender roles.

- There has to be a more detailed plan for skill training and to ensure better education. Today the jobs available are mainly simple jobs and on daily wages. However, the MPSFD cannot be the only ones that has total responsibility for the training, today they work with MPEDB and therefor nonetheless; MPSTD and MPSTDC has to be part and change in policy to ensure that they are harmonised and include the local communities.

- The MPSTD policy from 2016 don’t include the local communities as owners, they are human capital that exist to meet the markets demands of human capital. There is also clearly in the policy from 2016 stated that government land shall be identified and transferred to private investors at the same time that the villages are relocated.

Four important points when it comes to ensure the benefits for local communities are

1. Since the focus is on high spending tourists, the local communities will have little possibilities to compete with the resorts. They will therefore be excluded from ownership.

2. There should be a focus on schemes and subsides for people from the local communities that wants to enter the tourism industry this should include proper training and education.

3. Ensure that the local communities have the possibility to establish themselves there should also be marketing for other types of tourist than the high spending tourist. Therefore, it is important that all involved departments, the Corporation and Board works together and create a common tourism policy regarding the local communities, today there is a conflict between the MPSFD policy and MPSTD policy and with separate interests, there cannot be a harmony in how to include the local communities when the policies states different objectives.

4. The policy about homestays shall be included clearly in the other policies and homestay accommodation shall be promoted as an alternative to other forms of accommodation. The possibility to build a homestay shall be presented for the local communities and the process how to apply and how to be certified should be clearly presented to the same. To create actual possibility, schemes should be improved and for example loans with little
interest or for interest-free period is an alternative. To build homestays, there is also a need for much better infrastructure, not only roads but access to water, electricity, cell coverage and internet access.

The final comment regarding policies and laws is that such as the FRA is to be followed, the local communities and the tribes has to be informed. Therefore, a special and independent taskforce shall be assigned to inform villagers and people about this. An alternative is to give funds to an NGO to perform this task.

9.3 Further Research

India is a vast country and is under development. Still the country has extensive problems regarding human rights, health, poverty, press freedom, corruption, gender related discrimination, and discrimination on basis of cast, lack of democracy, the list is extensive. When it comes to studies of tourism, all this aspect still needs to be further studied. The areas of study regarding tourism in India and its policies, even if narrowing it down to the Satpura area is limitless.
10 References

Interviews

Interviewee 1 2017
Interviewee 2 2017
Interviewee 3 2017
Interviewee 4 2017
Interviewee 5 2017
Interviewee 6 2017
Interviewee 7 2017
Interviewee 8 2017

Journals


Literature


**Governmental publications**


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11 Appendix

Questions or guide for the interviews

Tell me about yourself, what are you from?
What is your position and what do you work with?
What kind of tourism is promoted by Madhya Pradesh State Forest Department?
What kind of jobs are available to the local communities?
What kind of training and skill development is provided by Madhya Pradesh State Forest Department?
What kind of community based tourism exist today? What is their ownership and role in tourism activities being conducted?
How is it then with homestays or other accommodation in which the local communities has any ownership?
Do you know about the MPSTD policy from 2016 and if so how do you work together?
How is the view on the fact that the State Forest Department mainly are promoting a tourism that shall mainly benefit the local communities when the tourism policy is focusing on private investments and the PPP model?

To what extent do you believe FRA is included in the policy (to MPSTDC) to MPSFD, do you see any conflicts with FRA? To this question there were not any clear answer

Is there anything you would like to add?