

PERSPECTIVES ON DEVELOPMENT IN MEGHALAYA *Shreeranjana*



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Shreeranjana

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IN MEGHALAYA**

SHREERANJAN

**A PUBLICATION OF
STATE INSTITUTE OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT (SIRD),
MEGHALAYA.**

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**COMMISSIONER AND SECRETARY,
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**I would like to dedicate this work to my
parents and god-parents (uncle and aunt) and
to the people of Meghalaya.**

PRAISE BE TO THE ALMIGHTY.

- **STATE INSTITUTE OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT (SIRD), MEGHALAYA IS AN AUTONOMOUS BODY SET UP TO PROVIDE STUDY, TRAINING, AND RESEARCH ON PROBLEMS OF DEVELOPMENT AND IN PARTICULAR THE RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE STATE. THIS PUBLICATION IS AIMED AT FLAGGING THE ISSUES IN DEVELOPMENT WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE STATE OF MEGHALAYA.**

- **THE AUTHOR, MR. SHREERANJAN, IS A MEMBER OF THE ASSAM-MEGHALAYA CADRE OF THE INDIAN ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICE. BEFORE JOINING THE ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICE, THE AUTHOR WAS A LECTURER IN BOTANY IN RANCHI UNIVERSITY (BIHAR), NOW IN THE STATE OF JHARKHAND. THE AUTHOR HAS SERVED THE STATE OF MEGHALAYA WITH DISTINCTION AND DEDICATION FOR MORE THAN THIRTEEN YEARS. THE PRESENT WORK, ALMOST IN ENTIRETY, IS HIS DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF CIVIL AND STRUCTURAL ENGINEERING, UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER INSTITUTE OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY (UMIST, MANCHESTER, UK) FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SCIENCE IN MANAGEMENT AND IMPLEMENTATION OF DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS (MIDP) IN SEPTEMBER 1999. THE VIEWS EXPRESSED ARE THOSE OF THE AUTHOR AND DO NOT REFLECT THOSE OF EITHER THE SIRD OR THE GOVERNMENT OF MEGHALAYA WHERE THE AUTHOR IS PRESENTLY SERVING.**

FOREWORD

I am indeed happy to associate and write the foreword of the present work by Mr. Shreerajan, IAS, presently Commissioner and Secretary to the Government of Meghalaya. The work attempts with more theoretical grinding in flagging pertinent issues in development, in the case of North East Region in general and Meghalaya in particular. In his own words- *“India’s North Eastern Region epitomises the truism of the country’s diversity and the attendant complexities. Meghalaya, a hill state in the region has special historical and local sensitivities that must be acknowledged and reflected in developmental concerns.”*

The author has gone into a broad perspective in development, while focussing upon the issues in development and its frameworks for the state of Meghalaya. The study examines core issues in this sense relating to:

- The issues of insecurity, identity, ethnicity and marginality in the process of discussing the contextual aspects of the Meghalaya;
- The issues of developmental planning and incorporation of natural resource management perspective in planning; and
- The issue of sustainable livelihoods in Meghalaya from the perspective of resource management.

The issues of isolation, ethnicity, identity and insecurity demand larger and greater ‘thinking process’, concurrent commitment and innovations in development administration to meet local aspirations.

An emphasis has been made of variables such as (a) resource management including sustainable environmental management (b) employment and livelihood and (c) people’s participation in the development process.

The work put in by the author in writing this book is highly commendable and shows his commitment towards the people of the State. It is a well-researched document with extensive bibliography and current references while undergoing foreign training for the M.Sc. degree in ‘Management and Implementation of Development Projects’ (MIDP) from the University of Manchester Institute of Science and Technology (UMIST), Manchester, UK. It is befitting that the State Institute of Rural Development, Meghalaya deems it worthy of publication.

It is also recommended that those engaged towards development of the State of Meghalaya and the country may take pains to offer constructive suggestions and opinions to the author. I sincerely hope that such endeavour continues to be forthcoming and presented before the people and policy makers of the state.

Shillong,
February 2001

J.P.Singh, IAS.
Chief Secretary to the
Government of Meghalaya

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I am indebted to the State Institute of Rural Development, Meghalaya for publishing this piece of study. The initial thinking for this work started when Dr. Joe Mullen of the Institute of the Development Policy Management (IDPM), University of Manchester (UK), asked me to present the problems that beset the state of Meghalaya during the 'World Poverty Eradication Symposium' organised in IDPM on 16th October 1998. I owe my gratitude to him for guidance and supervision which resulted in the evolution of this perspective.

Special thanks to my beloved wife, son and daughter for their understanding shown towards my commitments and concerns, for which they might have suffered unintended hardships. I look forward for their continued support and encouragement.

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The Chief Secretary, Government of Meghalaya, Mr. J.P. Singh, IAS, has been a constant source of support and encouragement towards my academic pursuits.

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I owe particular thanks to Shri Raj Singh Dkhar for the cover design and the layout of this book. Shri Ahmed Hussain's photographs have added symbolism of real life, for which I am ever indebted. I am also grateful to all those whose help has made possible the transformation of this work into the form of a book.

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

ADC	Autonomous District Council
APHLC	All Party Hills People Convention
BDO	Block Development Officer
BMS	Basic Minimum Services
CHWS	Community Health Workers
DS	District Society
DSE	Deutsche Stiftung fur Internationale Entwicklung (German Foundation for International Development)
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations
FRAMES	Focussed Rapid Assessment of Monitoring and Evaluation System
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GIS	Geographical Information System
GNP	Gross National Product
GOI	Government Of India
GOM	Government Of Meghalaya
Ha/ha	Hectare(s)
HLC	High Level Commission
ICAR	Indian Council of Agricultural Research
ICIMOD	International Centre for Integrated Mountain Development
IDPM	Institute of Development Policy Management
IDS	Institute of Development Studies
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
IFPRI	International Food Policy Research Institute
ILO	International Labour Organisation
K.M/ k.m.	Kilo Meter
M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation
m.m	Millimetre
M.T./m.t.	Metric Tonnes/ Tonnes
MARC	Meghalaya Administrative Reforms Commission
MIS	Management Information System
MKWH	Million Kilo Watt Hours
MNCs	Multi- National Corporations
MSL	Mean Sea Level
NABARD	National Bank for Agriculture and Rural Development (India)
NEC	North Eastern Council
NEHU	North Eastern Hill University
NER	North Eastern Region
NFI	National Foundation of India
NGOs	Non Governmental Organisations
NIRD	National Institute of Rural Development (India)
NR	Natural Resources
NRB	Natural Resource Base
ODA	Official Development Assistance
PWD	Public works Department
R&D	Research and Development

Rs	Rupees (Indian national rupee- currency)
RS	Regional Society
SALT	Sloping Agricultural Land Technologies
SFR	State of Forest Report
SHG	Self Help Group
SIDBI	Small-scale Industrial Development Bank of India
Sq.	Square
UMIST	University of Manchester Institute of Science and Technology
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNI	United News of India
UNOPS	United Nations Office for Project Services
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
USD	United States Dollar(currency)
VDCs	Village Development Committees
WCED	World Council for Environmental Development

Glossary

JHUM	Jhum is the local name for shifting cultivation.
Crores	Indian numeric for 100,000,00.(= 100 Lakhs; 10 Million)
Lakhs	Indian numeric for 100,000.
Degree C	Degree Celsius.
Fiscal year	Fiscal year is 1 st April to 31 st March.
Indigenous/ Tribals/locals	These have been used in a loose sense and are interchangeable. However, the term ‘Tribal’ is used to designate indigenous communities by the government, notified in its Schedules of relevant provisions in this regard.
Seven Sisters	All the seven states of the NER are known as such.
Panchsheel	Five principles of (peaceful) coexistence.

CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

1.1. An Overview

Development is in a continuous churning process of concepts and precepts. There is intense debate about definitions and outcomes of development. Constituents and components of the process also engulf the issue of means and ends of development and are the force behind the search for a true definition of development. India is an old civilisation with diverse races, cultures, languages, and localities finding expressions in people's ways of life. Such a diversity reflects on development in varying dimensions and perspectives.

A review of development in India (GOI. 1999. SFR) has indicated following failures of development:

- Emphasis on short term gains in development;
- Over-exploitation and wastage of the natural resources as evidenced in sectors such as forestry, mining, agriculture and water resources, etc;
- Sectoral rather than integrated development approach;
- Reliance on inappropriate imported technologies;
- Cornering of development gains by "vested interests"; and
- Over-bureaucratisation and dysfunctional institutional structure with neither accountability nor responsibility in the development process.

According to the above report, some of the serious socio-economic and environmental implications of above have been:

- Low economic growth rate and increase in the population below the poverty line;
- Inequity and social injustice creating a deprived segment in the society;
- Accelerated destruction of bio-diversity and the genetic stock posing a threat to food security; and
- Environmental degradation including extensive land degradation and pollution.

Implications of such failures become more apparent in areas that are more vulnerable and fragile, socially and ecologically. The North Eastern part of India, where Meghalaya State is located, is most diverse and differentiated in terms of ethnic, geo-ecological responses. In the past people in the hills lived in isolation, entrenched in tradition and identity. Modern developmental streams of actions by missionaries and government have created 'pervasive social alienation produced in the turmoil of development' (Turner and Hulme, 1997) giving them ideas brought from outside and

displacing 'the meaning systems of cultural communities' (Goulet, 1992, quoted by Turner and Hulme, 1997).

Challenges in the North East can be encapsulated in the issues of: 1. Ethnicity, 2. Identity, 3. Immigration, 4. Environment, 5. Floods/siltation, 6. Livelihoods (NFI.1999). Underwriting these, in the specific context of Meghalaya, are three sets of issues:

- The issues of insecurity, identity, ethnicity and marginality which have been reflected in chapter II and to some extent in chapter III;
- The issues of developmental planning and incorporation of natural resources management perspective in planning discussed in chapter III, IV and V; and
- The issue of sustainable livelihoods in Meghalaya from the perspective of resource management, elaborated in chapter VI.

A major thrust in the study will be to examine these issues in the light of clarifications in various literatures and received wisdom on development in the region. The issues of ethnicity, identity and immigration are more complex and call for consensus and consultations with people. The issue of developmental planning must incorporate natural resource planning and management, as people and communities largely own these. Besides, people and natural resources must be the core of developmental approach for achieving symbiotic sustainability. The issue of environment, floods/siltation and livelihoods are linked to ensuring and enhancing the production system of primarily its natural resource base and to widen the choice by diversification as the hill 'specificities' demand differentiated and diverse approach towards livelihood issues.

IFAD (1997) outlines the problems in the region as- *"The tribal groups have always felt themselves to be on periphery of socio-economic development because of their geographical, cultural and political distance from the mainstream developmental changes in the rest of India. The central government has tried to give the people of the NER a new deal but much of the financial and developmental assistance which has flowed in has not been appropriate and has resulted in disillusionment with government-sponsored development efforts, in addition there is a need to find a more sustainable economic base for the region which rests on finding unique products capable of commanding high prices to overcome the region's innate logistical handicaps."*

In planning the developmental goal, two main concerns revolve around the question of understanding the complexity and unpredictability of planned development, and incorporating social relationships into an institutional context in which they operate in implementation. (Mosse, 1998)

Thus, planning as the transformational vehicle of development for change is a critical dimension of the process. It “*relates to management of resources and modulation and manipulation of factors of production by state interventions*” (Hanson, 1966, quoted by Kayalkam, 1998) “*to achieve a predetermined set of development objectives*’ (Todaro, 1994, quoted by Turner and Hulme, 1997). While the second plan in India advocated a strong role of the state in socio-economic growth and distribution; the eighth plan sought to re-examine the role of state and the public sector (Mathur, 1996) in the light of structural reforms under the globalisation agenda of the world economy. The ninth plan has acknowledged the re-distributive and welfare role of state for equity and social justice in view of limitations of market, existence of externalities, need for basic services and public good.

Fifty years of centralised planning, though with a federal character, have brought out the stark realities and need for true decentralisation and participation in developmental process. Real decentralisation would mean sharing powers, too. It is here that the tug of war for power manifests itself. Among such instruments to accommodate local aspirations in a democratic set up has been the provisions under sixth schedule of the constitution of India for allowing the hill tribals in the North Eastern India to ‘develop and grow in accordance with their own genius’. The concern was not to impose but to implore. The other instrumentality in 1990s emerged as Panchayati Raj Act (1993/94/96) under 73rd and 74th amendment to the Constitution of India. These provisions in the Eleventh Schedule to the Constitution of India are applicable to all states except the Sixth scheduled states, with now options left open for these states for appropriate legislation. Though the real shift in power has yet to emerge, it provides a historical opportunity for sixth schedule states for debate towards correcting any distortions and aberrations of the past. The implications are that the existing instruments of policy formulation and implementation must allow local initiatives and alternatives in civil society, where mutuality of community based on traditional organisations evolve broad consensus on their own capabilities of resource management and use.

Problems in real life for the majority are the issues of food security and basic needs, of poverty mitigation, shelter, health, true education, which enables decent living conditions and livelihoods. The relationships in society and with environment is getting self-centred and distorted. For the vast majority of tribals in a rural setting, traditional way of life is far from a commercialised approach. Thus, in their livelihood approach and survival responses there is not much wisdom seen in generating surpluses and converting that surplus into money. Hill specificity and ethnic way of life is intricately linked to the environment. This requires a new approach of

integrated planning towards natural resources management, hitherto missing in the normal planning and professionalism. In doing so, the necessary aspect of livelihood and sustenance flowing from nature will have to be reconciled and made holistic for achieving sustainable development. Such an approach will then not become a 'betrayal of life and a waste of life-saving resources' (Elwin, 1989).

1.2. Objectives of the Study:

The broad objective of the study is towards building and analysing perspectives on development in Meghalaya. In this sense the specific objectives are:

1. To discuss the socio-political realities and the context of Meghalaya in federal India;
2. To understand the debate and dimensions of development in general and analyse the policies, problems and constraints of development that exist in the region and the state;
3. To discuss the planning regime and suggest a format for making it more people centred; and
4. To appreciate challenges of natural resources management with reference to the traditional farming system and its implications for the aspects of sustainable livelihoods.

1.3. Approach and Methodology of the Study:

The study will draw upon both theoretical framework and on secondary sources. The literature for the study emanates largely as books, journals, plan documents of Government of India (GOI) and Government of Meghalaya (GOM), other government publications/ documents/ brochures available. IFAD's Formulation Report and recommendation of the President to the Executive Board on the loan proposal for the North Eastern Region Community Resources Management Project For Upland Areas (India), which includes Meghalaya, is used extensively. Information on the Internet has been an extensive source on developmental issues in general and country/ sector specific information relevant for the study. No specific fieldwork has been undertaken for the study, although, the author has carried out administrative functions in the state for a period of about 12 years and is familiar with a wealth of primary sources, both written and oral. Understanding the socio-political context of the state will be the first step towards achieving the objective of the study. Following this introductory chapter, Chapter II will detail the 'socio-political context of Meghalaya in federal India.' The study would encompass a brief overview of India. A brief historical background and the setting of pre and post-independence

phase of the North Eastern region, leading to the emergence and creation of the present State of Meghalaya will be followed by a brief profile of the State. The unique features of the region in general and the socio-political issues peculiar to the state in particular will be studied in the context of ethnicity, isolation and identity. Problems of development, institutional safeguards and other socio-political issues will be touched upon.

Having grounded the contextual dimensions of development, Chapter III discusses the 'development concepts and policies: issues in tribal development in India's Meghalaya'. The discourse will examine the theoretical dimensions of development touching upon the definition, aims, problems and concerns of development. The role of government and debates surrounding the issue will be examined. The policy process in development will be fleetingly touched upon before understanding the sensitivities that went into the formulation of broad philosophies for tribal policy in the context of the region including Meghalaya. The problems and constraints as expressed in various corners of the state in particular, and the region in general, will be deliberated upon.

This attempt will bring the mechanism of planning as a vehicle of development in the succeeding chapter IV which deals with 'central planning in India: prospects for decentralised planning in Meghalaya'. Key features and objectives of central planning process in India and in Meghalaya will be detailed and discussed by indicating the historical practices and the priorities set for the ongoing ninth plan. The problems of planning and implementation will be studied in order to understand its limitations. In view of decentralisation achieving a meaningful dimension in planning and development, a possible framework for participatory planning in Meghalaya will need particular mention.

Chapter V will examine the imperatives of hill area perspective for Meghalaya in the light of its realities of hill specificities, status of forests, the concerns for sustainable development, and the issues relating to land. Potentials for resource management planning in Meghalaya will bring home the approach towards natural resources planning which will be discussed. Based on the potentialities in Meghalaya recommendations and suggestions for integrated natural resources planning will emerge. The chapter then examines shifting cultivation a prevalent traditional farming system in Meghalaya. The study attempts to link together the dimensions of natural resource management concepts with that of sustainability and examines the myth and realities of shifting cultivation with possible solutions which throws the aspects of livelihoods considerations in rural areas as core of any alternative options.

The penultimate chapter VI attempts at harmonising the requirements of the poor with that of environmental conservation by exploring the 'sustainable rural livelihoods and international assistance for community resources management'. The paradox of poverty amidst plenty in the state, with signs of increasing marginalisation of rural populace in the stagnant economy in the state, have to be understood in respect of linkages of conservation philosophy with poverty concerns. Livelihood concerns in Meghalaya will be examined and the concept through an analytical framework will be discussed in the light of poverty and population dimensions. Rural livelihood strategies and its dimensions will be examined with a view towards evolving a holistic approach for reconciling the concerns of sustainability. This will be attempted by highlighting the potentiality in the context of Meghalaya. Thus livelihood dimensions in the state reflect the promise of harnessing the natural resource base and enhancing the productive capacities of the people. In this sense an intervention assisted by the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) has been recently launched in May 1999. Since it attempts to address community resources management from a livelihood perspective, the project profile and its premises will also be examined.

The discussion closes with a summary and conclusion and suggestions in Chapter VII. Maps, plates, diagrams and boxes as well as tables have been interspersed in the text or compiled in the annexe for cross-reference and appreciation. A bibliography is provided for cross-referencing and further studies.

CHAPTER II

SOCIO-POLITICAL CONTEXT OF MEGHALAYA IN FEDERAL INDIA

2.1. Introduction:

Development study has varied facets in which it is essential to understand the setting and the context to appreciate the dimensions of the problems of development. India is an old civilisation with peoples of diverse origins, thoughts, religions, languages, customs and also history. The North Eastern Region of India provides the Indian kaleidoscope and is a virtual melting pot where good-natured people try to understand the causes of their marginalisation, which in today's liberalised economic scenario is getting increasingly complex. The region continues to witness ethnic assertions and currents of various movements after independence, which uniquely relates to its socio-political and economic realities. The past has romanticised the failures of the present and blurs the vision for the future in the context of NER. The diversity in the region is difficult to encapsulate. Its social fabric is still on the loom of ethnic quests with democratic aspirations providing expressions to the varied design of voices and power in the process of integration. *"Notwithstanding its immense potential, the North Eastern Region (NER) represents classic paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty"*(IFAD, 1995). Meghalaya's emergence as a state in 1972 from two hill districts, namely Khasi and Jaintia hills district and Garo hills district of Assam has been the manifestation of ethnic and specific local aspirations of tribes inhabiting these hills. Its march towards progress has not been without difficulty.

The contextual flavour will be provided in this chapter by depicting India in a nutshell, with a background of North Eastern India in general and Meghalaya in particular. A brief historical background of pre and post independence, in broad-frame, will portray the assumptions of its obsession with past. The creation and emergence of Meghalaya as a separate state will be touched upon in brief. Generic and specific uniqueness of the region and of Meghalaya will be mentioned with possible omissions. The chapter will not be complete if it fails to provide a glimpse of some threads of the socio-political realities. This will position the background and challenges of development for further discussion in subsequent chapters. Maps, appendices and picture plates interspersed in the document will provide some of the diverse nuances in this respect. This will enable visualisation of the scenario for development perspectives.

2.2 INDIA and its North Eastern Region:

2.2.1 India:

With an area of 3.39 million square km and approx. 1000 million population (846 million in 1991 census), India is the seventh largest and second most populous country in the world (IFAD, 1995). Around 75% of its people live in rural areas and around 40% of its population are below 15 years of age.

Diversity abounds in its topography, agro-ecological parameters including bio-diversity, and natural resources. It reflects a unique array of cultural mosaic with an underlying unity of varying ethnic groups, religions, languages, customs, and traditions. Such diversity of socio-cultural and linguistic dimensions has deep roots in history and tradition; its liberal philosophies assimilating and enriching its march all through history. “A country in which all the world's major religions are represented.” (what_is_india.html). No wonder it can be a ready reference of most diverse examples, giving it a mystical, confounded, and sometimes, confused identity.

It has a glorious ancient past, turbulent medieval history and an exploitative colonial past of about two centuries, preceding only 52 years from the present in modern era. Its past glory remains ruptured and mauled; its birth as a modern nation fractured, giving it a sense of considerable loss. Since independence in 1947, its democratic, socialist and secular march in federal functioning is still evolving to provide its people an effective mechanism of self-reliance and governance; while opening its arms to the global family (‘Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam’) as its unbound faith.

Its frontier, share borders with China, Pakistan, Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh, Myanmar (Burma) and Sri Lanka. It has a coastline of about 7,000 kms. Surrounded by the Arabian Sea on the West, the Bay of Bengal on the East and the Indian Ocean on the South. Its growth as a modern nation has immense security concerns for its territorial integrity. A map of India and its North Eastern Region is at next page.

In its economy, the share of primary sector has reduced from 45% of GDP to about 30% of GDP; industries at present contribute to 28% of GDP, while service sector has grown to 42% of its GDP (IFAD, 1995). It achieved food security through the ‘Green revolution’; and has managed through sustained effort to remain self-sufficient, even with 3.5% of agricultural growth, by keeping the population growth around 2%.

However, its population increase is a cause of worry (almost one billion), for various demands on resources and services including its precious and profound ecological and biological diversity. It has made considerable progress improving the living conditions of its masses, reducing infant

mortality, building up its manpower resources, enhancing manufacturing capacity and technological development than most developing countries. But, it has ‘miles to go,’ for it remains among the poorest of the countries as about 40% of its populace is below an income of \$ 1 (one) per day; and a considerable section of populace lacks the basic services of life including safe drinking water and sanitation. Some of the key indicator for the country (IFAD, 1997) may be seen at a glance at **Annexe-1**.



Map-1: A general map of India (source: <http://www.indiatouristoffice.co.uk/Information/mans.htm>)



Map-2: A general positional depiction of North Eastern Region of India (Source: http://www.islandnet.com/~eco_adv/index.html)

Verrier Elwin (1989: p.327) in ‘The Tribal World of Verrier Elwin, an autobiography’ mentions India’s contemporary and contextual flavour as—*“Her angry young men and disillusioned old men are full of criticism and resentment .It is true that there is some corruption and a good deal of inefficiency; there is hypocrisy, too much of it. But how much there is on credit side! It is a thrilling experience to be part of a nation that is trying, against enormous odds, to reshape itself.”*

2.2.2. India’s North Eastern Region:

No other region reflects the intensity and truism of India’s diversity and ethnicity as the most ‘enchanted frontier’ (Rustomji, N.), the North Eastern region of India. Lying between 12 degree and 28 degree North latitudes and 89 degree East to 97 degree East longitudes covering more than 274000 sq. km the region represent 8% of the total national geographical area with 4 % population (70 % of which is in Assam). The region is land-locked with three broad divisions (IFAD, 1995):

The North-Eastern Hills and Basin (Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Manipur, Mizoram and most part of Tripura)- accounting for 65% of total land area; some show (ICAR) four units breaking this division into Eastern Himalayas and Eastern mountains)

The Brahmaputra valley mainly in Assam covering 22% of the region; and

The Meghalaya Plateau- covering 13% of the area. (IFAD,1995)

The seven states of NER are commonly known as the 'Seven Sisters' (see map).

2. 3. Brief Historical Background of the North Eastern Region:

Historically, Assam, Manipur, Arunachal has its connections with ancient Indian culture and civilisation. The history of the hill region has been maintained mostly through oral sources and merges with mythology. The region had its own story of triumphs and travails mired in small kingdoms and domains of many chieftains of diverse clans and tribes, isolated and confined in their mythology and geographical regimes. The terrain provided them with security, yet conflict, dissension and civil strife remained endemic to the region. The Burmese invasion in 1817 bloodied the Brahmaputra Valley. *"...Fearing incursions on their own territory, the British drove the Burmese from the Brahmaputra Valley... and under the conditions of the treaty of Yandaboo, between the Burmese and the British, annexed the Ahom kingdom in 1826. In 1838, all of Northeast India became part of the Bengal Presidency of British India."* (Project Cyber Assam, 1999. 'History of Assam from 4th Century BC to the Present'. Online).

It is generally perceived that the British followed a policy of segregation and isolation towards the tribal communities; but tried to befriend them by various means, mostly through the spread of education, and Christianity by activities of the missionaries activities. Some of the extracts below are reflective; though these are only a few; many described the tribal areas as land of 'savages', 'barbarians' and considered serving and holding these areas mainly for economic interests in timber, minerals, tea, and wild-life (hides, skin, ivory, rhino horn etc.)

- *"Beyond this mountainous region extends the grand field of enquiry and interests"* (Neufville, J.B on the Geography and Population of Assam, 1828 quoted by Elwin V,1959).
- J.M'Cosh, in Topography of Assam, 1837, pp.132f. (Quoted by Elwin, 1959 p.3) writes regarding North East Frontier: "This beautiful tract of country, though thinly populated by straggling hordes of barbarians and allowed to lie profitless in impenetrable jungle, enjoys all the qualities requisite for rendering it one of the finest in the world. Its climate is cold, healthy, and

congenial to European constitutions; its numerous crystal streams abound in gold dust, and masses of the solid metal; its mountains are pregnant with precious stones and silvers; its atmosphere is perfumed with tea growing wild and luxuriantly; and its soil is so well adapted to all kinds of agricultural purposes, that it might be converted into one continued garden of silk, and cotton and coffee, and sugar, and tea, over an extent of many hundred miles.”

- “In 1865 a leading article in the *Pioneer* of the day – “the only idea most men had; with reference to the hills and forests [of Assam], was that they were the habitat of savage tribes, whose bloody raids and thieving forays threatened serious danger to the cause of tea.”(Elwin V., 1959 p. xvi).
- ‘British introduced their own religion (Christianity) to the tribals to be ‘a valuable prop to the state’ and ‘ a valuable counterpoise in times of trouble to the vast non-Christian population of Bihar’ (Sir James Johnstone, (1896) writing and citing Dalton in My experiences in Manipur and the Naga Hills; quoted by Elwin, V.1959. p. xviii.)

The British are thought to have dismantled the prevailing structures of administration and bringing ministerial staff from Bengal with Bengali as the official language (Project Cyber Assam, 1999). Incentives for plantations of rubber, cinchona, and tea were given to European entrepreneurs. Regulations for land and commercial revenues were introduced excluding to a great extent the hilly tribal areas. Coal, limestone, and iron mines were extracted. Contract labourers were brought from tribal areas of what is today south Bihar, Orissa and Andhra Pradesh on low wages. “*By the turn of the century, more than one-half million of these were employed on 700 plantations... producing 145 million pounds of tea annually.*” (Project Cyber Assam, 1999)

In 1874, Assam was carved out from Bengal as a separate province with Shillong as its capital. In 1905, following the partition of Bengal, it was amalgamated with East Bengal. In 1912, Assam was made again a separate province due to revocation of the partition of Bengal. “*The development of communication and cultural renaissance that characterised the rest of the India from the second half of the 18th century did not made any significant impact on North East India until the twentieth century*” (IFAD, 1995).

With commercialisation and punitive action as intent, vast areas of land available in the region were settled to mostly Muslim farmers from the provinces of East Bengal for settlement and cultivation. Similarly, Nepalese were encouraged to undertake dairy activities. Traders, merchants and small-scale industrialists from other parts of India pioneered enterprises and business, which stimulated capital development in Assam and elsewhere in

the region. However there is the feeling that much of the returns were not invested in the region. “As a result of this enormous influx of migrants, Assam has been the fastest-growing region of the Indian sub-continent throughout the twentieth century.” (Project Cyber Assam, 1999; IFAD, 1995).

Thus, **ethnicity and migration is a prominent emotive issue** in regional politics. Soon after the independence in 1947, though there were safeguards for tribal identity and aspirations, the Assamese controlled and tried to impose the Assamese language and culture and ‘improve employment opportunities for native Assamese’ (Project Cyber Assam, 1999). This resulted in alienating tribals, some of them decided to continue with the Assam, albeit with some concessions and assurances. The tribal assertion was also, in some areas, for total independence. Understanding the political compulsions of the time, and also to accommodate tribal aspirations, the states of Nagaland, Mizoram, Meghalaya, Manipur and Arunachal Pradesh were created during the subsequent twenty-five years. “This was seen by Assamese leaders as a deliberate division of their constituency” (Project Cyber Assam, 1999).

2.4. Emergence of Meghalaya as a Separate State:

2. 4. 1. Creation of Meghalaya State:

This section relies on materials published by government of Meghalaya (1991) in ‘Meghalaya: Land and People’. An advisory committee headed by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, pertaining to the administration of the tribal areas in general was resolved to be constituted on 24th January 1947 by the Constituent Assembly. A subcommittee constituted for the North Eastern frontier (Assam) Tribal and Excluded areas headed by distinguished leader of the region Lokpriya Gopinath Bordoloi, and members as Rev, J. J. M. Nichols Roy, submitted its report. The report envisaged a framework for the creation of the Autonomous District Councils (ADCs) for the hill areas of Assam. The provisions for the same are in the Sixth Schedule of Constitution of India.

There was scepticism on either side, seeking more autonomy to total independence. In 1954, hill peoples of Assam felt “*that the provisions of Sixth schedule were not adequate to meet their aspirations and desire to manage their own affairs and to safeguard their interests*”(GOM, 1991.p.1). The move for the Official Language Bill introduction, making Assamese the state official Language during 1960, ignited the fire, ‘hurting feelings of hill people’ (GOM, 1991.). A political platform All Party Hill Leaders Conference (APHLC) demanded creation of a separate state for the hill

areas. Hill people of different ethnicity had different aspirations. Tribal ethnicity saw its manifestations by various hill areas choosing its diverse course for their interests. The movement of the APHLC ‘ remained peaceful, democratic and non-violent’ (GOM, 1991). An option of two federating units of equal status, though not favoured by Assam, was passed in the Parliament on 24th December 1969. An Autonomous State comprising the erstwhile districts of United Khasi and Jaintia Hills and the Garo Hills of Assam, within the state of Assam was inaugurated on 2nd April 1970. The difficulties in working arrangements and resolutions in the Meghalaya Assembly led to the indication of full statehood in the Parliament by the Prime Minister of India on 10th November 1970. On 30th December 1971, the Parliament passed the North Eastern Areas (Re-organisation) Act, 1971, conferring full Statehood on Meghalaya. Thus Meghalaya emerged as a full-fledged state within the Union of India on 21st January 1972 and was inaugurated by the then Prime Minister, (Late) Smt. Indira Gandhi.



Map-3: A. Showing the seven districts; B. Indicating its geo-position.
(Source: A. & B. GOM 1996)

2. 4. 2. A Brief Profile of Meghalaya

‘Meghalaya’, (not an indigenous name) meaning ‘abode of cloud’, reflects the salubrity of its climate. No wonder the wettest places in the world are also located here. The State has an area of 22489 sq. km. and is located between 20 degree 1’ and 26 degree 5’ North latitudes and 85 degree 49’ and

92 degree 52' East latitudes. The altitude varies in hills from 300 meters to 2000 meters above mean sea level (MSL). It has predominantly hilly terrain with foothills as plain and flood-prone areas. It is bounded by the Brahmaputra valley of Assam in the North and Northwest and Cachar area of Assam in East; the Surma Valley (Bangladesh) borders it in the South and partly in the Southwest. It has about 496 Kms. of international border with Bangladesh. The capital of Meghalaya, Shillong was also undivided Assam's capital from 1874 till January 1974. Shillong is located at an altitude of 1496 metres MSL.

The state has a population of 1774778, with density of 79 per sq. km. Principal languages are Khasi and Garo, with English as official language in the state. With originally two districts and three Subdivisions, the state has now 7 administrative districts (Table -1). Besides these, in order to bring administration closer to the people, it has now 8 Subdivisions and 39 Blocks (7 new blocks have recently been created, one in each district).

Table- 1. Administrative Districts in Meghalaya

<i>Name of the District</i>	<i>Head quarter</i>	<i>District headquarter since</i>	<i>Area (provisional) Sq. Km</i>	<i>Population (1991 census)</i>
<i>1. East Khasi Hills</i>	<i>Shillong</i>	<i>mid nineteenth century, covered entire Khasi and Jaintia hills</i>	<i>2748</i>	<i>5,37,906</i>
<i>2. West Khasi Hills</i>	<i>Nongstoin</i>	<i>28.10.1976</i>	<i>5247</i>	<i>2,20,157</i>
<i>3. Ri-Bhoi</i>	<i>Nongpoh</i>	<i>04.06.1992</i>	<i>2448</i>	<i>1,27,312</i>
<i>4. East Garo Hills</i>	<i>Williamnagar</i>	<i>22.10.1976</i>	<i>2603</i>	<i>1,88,830</i>

5. <i>West Garo Hills</i>	<i>Tura</i>	<i>mid nineteenth century, covered entire Garo hills</i>	<i>3714</i>	<i>4,03,027</i>
6. <i>South Garo Hills</i>	<i>Baghmara</i>	<i>18.06.1992</i>	<i>1850</i>	<i>77,073</i>
7. <i>Jaintia Hills</i>	<i>Jowai</i>	<i>22.02.1972</i>	<i>3819</i>	<i>220473</i>

(Source: Adapted from 'Ninth Five Year Plan, vol.1. Planning Department', GOM, 1997. & 'Basic Facts of Meghalaya'. Directorate of Information and Public Relations, GOM.)

The State has a unicameral legislature, consisting of 60 members (29 Khasi hills, 7 Jaintia Hills, and 24 Garo hills). In addition, there are three Autonomous District Councils in the State, namely, Khasi Hills Autonomous District Council, Jaintia Hills Autonomous District Council, and Garo Hills Autonomous District Council. These councils function in accordance with the provisions in the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India. These councils have executive, legislative and judiciary wings and are under the control of the Governor of the State.

Shillong has a High court bench. The North Eastern Council (NEC) under the Union Ministry of Home Affairs co-ordinates and accommodates infrastructure and production based schemes of intra-regional and inter-state interests. Several central government, military, para-military establishments are also located in the state.

The population of Meghalaya is predominantly tribal. The main tribes are Khasis, Jaintias and Garos, besides other plain tribes such as Koch, Rabhas, Bodos etc. The Khasis, (the Jaintias, the Bhois, the Wars sometimes are called as the Hynniewtreps as a group) predominantly inhabit the districts East of Meghalaya, belong to the Proto Austroloid Monkhmer race and have been indigenous in these hills for a long time. The western part of the state, the Garo Hills, is predominantly inhabited by the Garos. The Garos belong to the Bodo family of the Tibeto-Burman race. They are also an indigenous population, said to have migrated from Tibet in its racial dispersal. The Garos are also called 'Achiks'. Garo and Khasi society has a matrilineal system prevailing.

81% of the population of the state live in rural areas and are dependent on agriculture for livelihood. The state has a total of 5492 villages. Its population growth during the last decade (1981-1991) showed an increase of 32.86%. However, decadal variation in population of the state may be examined from the table-2 below which reveals an increase in the post-independence era which could be owing to a multiplicity of factors including influx, better health facility and reduction in mortality etc.

Table- 2. Decadal Population Growth in Meghalaya:

<i>Decade</i>	<i>Population Increase in %</i>	<i>Decade</i>	<i>Population Increase in %</i>
<i>1901-1911</i>	<i>15.71</i>	<i>1951-1961</i>	<i>27.03</i>
<i>1911-1921</i>	<i>7.21</i>	<i>1961-1971</i>	<i>31.50</i>
<i>1921-1931</i>	<i>13.83</i>	<i>1971-1981</i>	<i>32.04</i>
<i>1931-1941</i>	<i>15.59</i>	<i>1981-1991</i>	<i>31.80</i>
<i>1941-1951</i>	<i>8.97</i>	<i>-</i>	

(Source: Meghalaya Land and People, GOM, 1991.p. 6)

The state has rich natural resources including diverse, dense, endemic, and cultivated exotic flora, ranging from tropical and sub-tropical to temperate or near-temperate kind, sustained by heavy and long rains. Forest cover is about 37% of the total area; however, much of it is private forest managed and controlled by the district council. The state government controls only area under the reserved forest which is about 4% of the forest areas. There have been reports of large felling of trees in recent years leading to consequential problems of livelihood and environmental degradation with fall out on natural conservation. Currently, under the directions of Supreme Court of India, felling and movement of timber is restricted/ banned. The State also has rich mineral resources; much of it is exploited unscientifically as most of it is under private ownership.

The state receives heaviest rainfall (varies from 2300 mm to more than 14000 mm; average annual rainfall is 12000 mm) and has vast potential in exploiting water resources for irrigation, hydropower and fisheries; but its efforts in this direction have been inadequate and at best, can be regarded as moderate. Scientific exploitation of natural resources will require detailed resource inventory and heavy initial investments. Responses in this direction, from sources other than government, have been minimal or lukewarm.

Though the state after its creation has improved its socio-economic performances from the socio economic profile of the state **at Annexe-2** it is clear that it has a long way to go in respect of basic services, improving the health and the education besides, energising its economy. It is also ironical that motor vehicle per lakh population in the state is 3630 whereas primary school per thousand is only 2 and hospital beds per lakh population is 131. Besides, as we shall see later in Chapter IV, there is disparity in rural and urban area parameters.

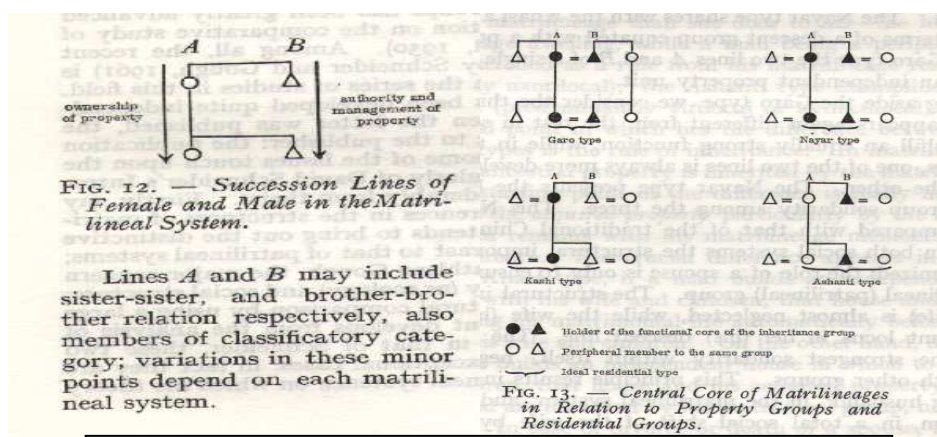
2. 5. Some Unique features of the Region and of Meghalaya:

In a region so diverse, yet interrelated in its characteristics, it will be dangerous to make generalisations. However, basic features of the region can be briefly mentioned as below to get some perspectives on issues that affect the region in general, including Meghalaya:

- **Diversity in geological, physiographic and agro-ecological** and climatic variations. Contrasting variations exist, for example in Khasi and Jaintia hills on one hand and Garo hills areas on the other in most of these respects.
- The region contains about 20-25% of the forest cover of the country; and is the richest for bio-diversity. It is an **ecological 'hot spot'**- with 51 types of forest, 35 endemic plant genera, 2500 flowering plant species, 600 varieties of orchids out of 1500 present in India; also, out of the 500 different species of mammals known in India at least 160 are from the region while around 65% of mammalian genera recorded from India, are found in the region (IFAD, 1995). In Meghalaya, 40 endemic species out of 115 plant species from 67 families are threatened with extinction; and 6 species are endangered; 30 types of orchids are currently threatened (IFAD, 1995). The state is the home of some of the paddy, banana, and citrus plants, and is a storehouse of diverse germ-plasm reserve.
- **A predominantly agricultural economy** with 80% population dependent on it. The region has six agro-climatic sub- zones (5 sub-

zones in Meghalaya); and broad pattern of rainfall (2200 mm-14500 mm), varied temperature range of 2°C to 38°C. Besides agriculture, the allied activities of fishery, livestock, piggery, poultry, and sericulture has immense potential and strength. The region has *good tradition of handicrafts* and weaving.

- The region has **98% of its borders as international boundaries** with China, Bhutan, Bangladesh, Myanmar (IFAD, 1995). Hence, its sensitivities and vulnerability to external forces for the security and integrity of the country is understandable.
- **A Mosaic of ethnic and cultural diversity** presents a social landscape of Aryans, Dravidians, Indo- Burmese, Indo- Tibetan, Proto-Austroloid and other stocks. In NER, there are 217 recognisable tribes, more than 100 with significant population (IFAD, 1995). There are more than 75 major population groups and subgroups speaking approximately 400 language and dialects (Madhav, 1998).
- **A High population growth mainly due to influx** across the southern boundaries (also natural) straining demographic and social texture, and causing 'fear of losing identity' (Madhav, 1998) and livelihood in a considerable section of the indigenous populace.
- **Traditional trade linkage** in the pre-independence era with East (Myanmar) and South (present day Bangladesh) and its severance subsequently has generated a demand and need to have access to Bangladesh and Calcutta and the opening of border trade with neighbouring countries.
- The way of life and **society is rooted in a traditional and customary approach** in the hills. A Traditional land tenure system prevails without elaborate documentation and survey. **Matrilineal society in Meghalaya's** chief tribes and matrilineal inheritance can be seen from few plates presented from Nakane's Study distinguishing the pattern of matrilineal systems in the state (see **plates-1 & 2** by Nakane, 1967).
- **A rapid spread of Christianity**, particularly among tribal communities in the hills;
- **A feeling of isolation and alienation** owing to British policies and subsequent political interests and the slow pace of developmental efforts.
- Active **Youth movement**; and
- **A Disturbed law and order situation** ;



These are only a few to mention here; there are specific locational characteristics that distinguish the people and make them different from their neighbours in the region.

2.6. The Socio-political Realities and Distinctiveness:

2.6.1. Ethnicity and Isolation:

Gopalakrishnan in 'socio-political Framework in North East India' 1996, p.27 (quoted by Madhav, 1998) writes "*...by virtue of its location in the transitional zone between East and South Asia, the region characteristically exhibits amalgamation of phenomena; with factors of race, language and religion. This enabled every sub-region in the study area to display distinct socio-cultural and politico-economic leanings and attributes*". Ethnic identity is most precious to the people in the state; even though they might have adopted a western life-style in urban areas, their core instinct continues to be rooted in their traditions. "*Mizos have told the then Home Minister S. B. Chavan in 1994 that 'the need for tribal people is survival as a tribal and development is our secondary issue'*". (Madhav, 1998). This was more apparent in the movement of Hill State during undivided Assam, which saw each ethnic group seeking its own interest of power. Even in Meghalaya, there are internal distributions of reservations for government jobs and seats for education among different tribes (Khasi and Jaintias, Garos and others in 40:40:5 out of 85% of reservation earmarked for tribals). This has been a bone of contention among developed and less developed communities. Furthermore, objections about regional disparity and discrimination, mainly between Khasi Hills and Garo Hills have been raised, leading to some even demanding separate states within Meghalaya on ethnic and geographical lines. This is symptomatic of a combination of factors but mainly, ethnic, political and administrative failures. The contentions that economic

development weakens ethnic identities are wrong assumptions (Turner and Hulme, 1997). However, Malaysia (Turner and Hulme, 1997) exemplifies possibility of rapid economic and social advancement despite ethnic diversity. A new look by decentralised devolution of power at democratic institutions at the village (area) level upward is necessary to strengthen participatory fervour with a sense of responsibility and accountability.

2.6.2. Insecurity of Identity:

This issue has plagued the region. The simplicity and good behaviour of people in the region coupled with sparse population in the hills and the region saw the influx of many settlers legal and illegal. The voices against the foreign nationals, though genuine, assumed political dimensions and have not been addressed with earnestness in policy and implementation, making it increasingly complex day by day. Consequently, the trust and confidence in the system of governance has been shaken. "*A solution of the problems of foreign nationals is apparently extremely bleak. If the inflow of infiltrators remain unabated even at the present rate it will be only a question of time when the indigenous Assamese will be alien in their own home.*" (Borpuzari: 'North East India: Problems, Policies and Prospects 1998, p.126 quoted by Madhav, 1998). It is an essential and urgent matter to address the issue with all sincerity and with the involvement of people. Participation of local people in any decision making would be the key to its success.

2.6.3. Question of Development Absorption or Dilemma of Development:

The people, particularly the tribals in the region, have more rights in natural resources than the tribals in other parts of country such as Vth Scheduled Areas, Chhotanagpur in Bihar etc. What, then, is the cause of more restlessness in the region? Pakem, 1972 and Sinha, 1972 (Quoted by Mishra, 1977) mentions that "*factors of christianisation, politicisation, British policies, new democratic institutions have released forces of alignment and interactions among the tribals*". Such forces of change might have caused stress; besides which the role of electronic media in promoting a consumerist life-style cannot be discounted (Mishra, 1977). 'Some of the noticeable changes are the beginning of settled agriculture, development of marketable surplus, monetisation of economy and the rise of new cultural and political consciousness' (Mishra, P.K.1977). "*The socio-cultural-political changes since independence have been too rapid for a hitherto isolated, disadvantaged and unexposed people to absorb and have contributed to the sense of alienation from the rest of the India. These*

factors, together with the inability to meet basic needs in a changed economic environment, have contributed to feelings of discontent which underlie the continuing insurgency movement” IFAD (1997, p.2).

2.6.4. Several Movements:

The independent views and aspirations of the people of the region, and the breakdown of social and traditional leadership under new power structures emerging in society has generated several calls from various corners in the region and also in the state. “.....*new situations emerge when the traditional leadership has passed into the educated minority. The literate few then dominate not only the political scene, but also the traditional chiefs who are under their control. They also dominate the local press and make the people more perplexed with their news items”* (Pakem, 1972 quoted by Gupta, 1977)

In the NER almost all kinds of social movements are underway in various proportions. It may be the product mix of transition and tumult that so often is faced by the traditional society in this age of faster technological and economic change, emphasised by ‘tribal identity contributing to the ‘We’(tribals) and ‘They’(non-tribals) distinctions, with interest articulation and aggregation’ Dube (1977).

2.6.5. Autonomous District Councils:

Meghalaya and most of the tribal dominated states/ hills fall under the provisions of Sixth Schedule of the Constitution. Under Sixth schedule of the Constitution Autonomous District Councils which are democratic institutions has powers to make laws mainly in respect of (GOM, 1991):

1. land other than reserve forest;
2. forests, other than reserve forests;
3. use of any land or water course for agricultural purposes;
4. Regulation of Jhum or forms of shifting cultivation;
5. Town or village administration including village or town police, public health and sanitation;
6. Appointment and succession of chiefs and their powers;
7. Inheritance of properties laws and their regulations;
8. Marriage;
9. Social customs; minerals, traditional practices and customary law.

There has been growing debate of the relevance of Autonomous District Councils, which were created as an institution to allow management of natural resources and to protect, reform and pursue customary practices, when there was no separate state for hill regions of Assam. Even with the creation of a full-fledged state, the district council continues to function as a

constitutional entity and for quite some time has been treated as a state within the state. Though it might have served the initial purpose, in respect of management of resources and codifying the customary laws, particularly in the wake of fast changes society is encountering, its track record have given rise to certain misgivings in most quarters. However, it does provide a platform of political training in the state. With the Panchayati Raj Act brought in as another constitutional safeguard, and with devolution of power to the grassroots, an opportunity awaits to evolve a mechanism for correcting the imbalances in the power structure by incorporating mechanisms for more participation in policies and programmes.

2.6.6. Gender Issues of Both Orders:

Meghalaya is one of the few places where matrilinea is practised by the dominant tribes. Hence the status of women is superior compared to other parts of India, including tribals elsewhere. However, in respect of exercise of decisional powers the story is different and requires shifts. On the other hand, voices are growing among male youth for equality in respect of inheritance and treatment in the society. Changes in economic and social sphere puts more pressure for such debates and reforms.

2.6.7. Dependence on State:

The traditional way of life was dependent on nature; similar expectation exists from the state in providing the goods and services. Economic calculations have not attained the centre-stage; nor has commercialisation invaded the vast numbers of nooks and crannies. Some hold the non-tax regime coupled with subsidy and grant system responsible for increasing the dependency on the state. Even house taxes in urban areas are hardly charged or collected; hence the dependence for services and needs on state is very high. The central government has special funding for North Eastern states and provides 90% of its planned outlay. True participation may catalyse changes in perceptions among communities.

2.7. Summary and Conclusion:

India's North Eastern Region (NER) epitomises the essential truism of the nation's diversity with underlying thread of commonality in the region. Ethnic, topographical, cultural, ecological and biological diversity is fascinating in the region, and especially in Meghalaya. The historical mosaic portrays specific dimensions for regional and local considerations. Socio-political realities indicate special dimensions of ethnicity and isolation, with fear of insecurity and losing identity, which have manifested and asserted themselves in various forms and movements. The way of life of the

predominantly tribal populace is rooted in tradition, which has been caught up in the dilemma of development and torn apart by the pace of development. The economy has been traditional and agriculture based. The state has rich natural resource, largely owned by people with complex tenural arrangements marking its limitations. There is a pervasive sense of dependence on government for all goods and services; while the internal resources are limited or not geared to meet aspirations. The democratic set-up has generated new centres of power and consequential dynamics which need to be harmonised with traditional broad based grassroots in order to understand and expand the quest of development.

Such contextual diversity throws equally variable challenges to administrators, jurists, planners, implementers and social and political leaders for addressing issues that are complex and endemic, which beg answers but elude consensus. What is required is understanding and well meaning leadership in all spheres of society and governance.

“Some hold that the problems of the North-East are really problems of development. Others see them as problems of cultural spacing and readjustment with the newly emerging consciousness of modernity and unity of India in the context of global transformations. All, however, seem to agree that a fresh understanding of India has to be arrived at for solving the problem allegedly peculiar to the North-East” (Agrawal, M. M.1996).

CHAPTER III
DEVELOPMENT CONCEPTS AND POLICIES WITH
PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO ISSUES IN TRIBAL
DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA'S MEGHALAYA.

3. 1. Introduction:

Development is continuous and evolutionary process which aims at realising the full potential of individuals in the context of a society, region or country. Owing to great diversity in the interactions and expressions of developmental factors over time and space, the geography, history, culture and level of progress of nations has been continuously changing, and so has changed the meaning, value and quality systems of life in development perspectives. The preoccupation in modern era with growth, and trickle down having eluded concerns of equality and sustainable development means that disparities, unemployment, livelihood and urban migration have come to centre stage.

The unique setting of NER and the 'distinctiveness' as mentioned in previous chapter have also thrown up issues for the developmental dimensions in Meghalaya. Such 'distinctiveness' and diversity is also its challenge. Rew and Brustinow, (1998) explains that: "*The problem with human diversity is the social groups, categories and actors which constitute the diversity usually express or develop differing interests and ascribe contrasted meanings to events. This is why diversity sets a conundrum for economic and social development*". Development may mean different things to different people. "*Mental space in which people dream and act is largely occupied by western imagery*" (Sachs, 1992). The silent majority in rural areas, firmly rooted in traditional way of life, is unable to assimilate such imageries so soon. In the process development becomes "*an amoeba like concept, shapeless but ineradicable - its contours so blurred that it denotes nothing while it spreads everywhere because it connotes best of intentions*" (Sachs, W. 1992).

Thus it becomes imperative in this chapter, to understand the meanings, concerns, aims and challenges of development, in order to have a horizon on perspective of development in the shape of the best of intentions and aspirations. In the context of developing countries, dependence on government is inevitable. This chapter also looks into the debate of role of state and the trends of shift under the market economy influences by referring fleetingly to contemporary themes in development administration and the chronological management thoughts. The process of policy formulation and the societal and institutional matrix that operate in the grinding mill of society in the field of development will also be briefly

referred in this chapter. This chapter then, looks into the core sensitivities and philosophy towards tribal policy in the region in India in order to appreciate the development perspective in the State of Meghalaya. In normal terms development narrows down to a 'problem list' mostly of 'things', as they are still required; the problems and constraint of development at macro- and micro- levels will be detailed in the chapter for an understanding and appreciation of the specificity of developmental context in the state of Meghalaya. This will also position underlying unity among the seven sisters (states) in the NER in the shape of intricate and interdependent relationships in their generic issues and commonality of the problems that beset them.

3. 2. Theoretical Dimensions in Development: an issue for debate

Development, as we know it today, has been in the present world during the last 50 years. "*Development has been a weapon in the competition between political systems*" (Sachs, 1992). The 1960s and 1970s saw consolidation and conflicts in the world order. The failures of 1980s have seen growing disparities in the world's economic development. The shift in policy leading to structural adjustment and withdrawal of subsidies and support systems in 1990s exposed the weaknesses of developmental regime and brought to the fore significance of non- economic issues in development such as environment, gender and community aspects for sustainability. Baster (1972/1984) mentions that International Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences shows no entry for 'Development'; under 'Developing countries' it is referred to as economic growth; industrialisation; modernisation; nationalisation; power transition; stagnation; and also technical assistance. The debate of 'developmentalism epitomises 'discourse of power' for 'social change' and is 'under challenge in the North by postmodernism,' whereas 'in the South, alternative development strategies test the limits of development paradigm' (Pieterse 1991).

Development is seen in terms of 'escape from undignified conditions called underdevelopment'(Esteva, 1992). The perceptions ranges from an 'elusive term' (Thirlwal, 1994) to a 'discourse made up of a web of key concepts referring to concepts such as poverty, production, the notion of state, or equality' (Sachs, 1992). Thomas and Potter (1992) mention four main sets of contending views on development: neo-liberal, structuralist, interventionist and populist. Seers (1979) conceding necessity of economic growth suggested a normative approach of some universally accepted values to unlock 'human potential' towards 'national self reliance' and 'cultural independence'. The core content of such values could be: '*Sustenance*: ability to meet basic needs'; '*Self-Esteem*: human dignity, and *Freedom*

from servitude: to be able to choose' (Todaro, 1997). Thus the dimensions of human centred need are economic concerning poverty alleviation, providing employment, removing inequality; social involving literacy and education, health, equal opportunity, gender development; political towards democratisation, true independence; environmental for achieving sustainable development (Thomas and Potter 1992).

It is seen from the socio-economic profile of Meghalaya (see **Annexe 2 & 3**) and later in Chapters IV, V, and VI that the above dimensions touches the core requirements in development concerns for Meghalaya. A broad horizon of the definition of development is quoted below in the box to bring together succinctly all varied dimensions that reflect 'the best of intentions' in the debate towards a definition. Such dimensions indicate the facets of aspirations of people in varying degree and mix.

Box.1. Defining Development today

The first 5 points of the following definition of what constitute development were the outcome of a 1986 seminar at the Marga Institute, Colombo, Sri Lanka. Last point is addition from Turner and Hulme (1997).

- An economic component dealing with creation of wealth and improved conditions of material life, equitably distributed;
- A social ingredient measured as well-being in health, education, housing and employment;
- A political dimension including such values as human rights, political freedom, enfranchisement, and some form of democracy;
- The full-life paradigm, which refer to meaning systems, symbols, and beliefs concerning the ultimate meaning of life and history; and
- A commitment to ecologically sound and sustainable development so that the present generation does not undermine the position of future generations.

Source: Turner, M. and Hulme, D. (1997) pp11. *modified from Goulet, D. (1992) 'Development: Creator and Destroyer of values,' World Development, vol.20 (3), pp467-75.*

Thus, development reflects the range and diversity of social, economic, cultural, political and spatial context, where the meaning varies from economic well being (measured by GNP per capita) to modernisation, basic human needs and goes beyond the material to include social and political

dimensions, including, in some cases the ethical and ‘spiritual’ (Tulpule, 1996) realm. “*Genuine development must be, above all, human development*” (Tulpule, 1996).

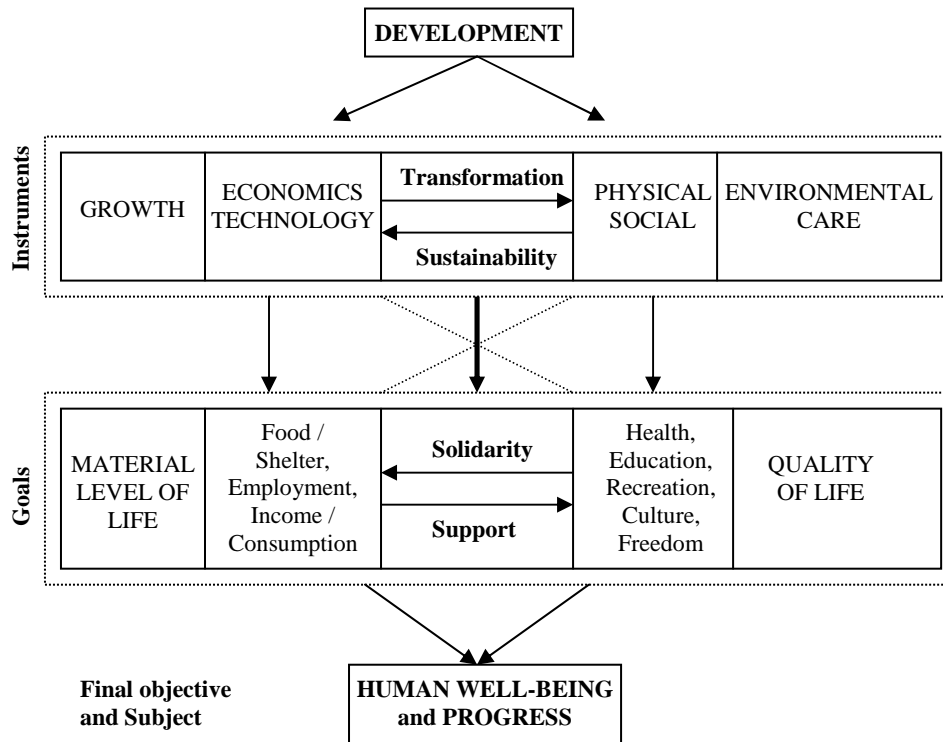


Figure-1: Development and Well-Being (Source – Conrado. E. Bauer, 1988)

The concept of human development, as mentioned earlier, focuses on the ends rather than the means of 'development' and progress. The problem has been that it is often misconstrued, with the concepts and approaches of (Doraid, 1997):

- ‘Economic growth’; ‘human capital formation and human resource development’, where human beings are treated as inputs for production;
- The human welfare approach treats humans as ‘beneficiaries’ rather than ‘participants’; and
- The basic needs approach takes into account a bundle of ‘basic’ or ‘minimum’ goods and services for food, shelter, clothing, health care and water for deprived sections; missing out on implications of human choice and potentials.

At least such an approach as, attempts to bring people rather than economics to the centre stage. However, it has yet to grapple with the differing value

systems. “Development must be based on values such as truth, peace, compassion, non-violence, freedom, equality, harmony with nature and with other living beings, self-reliance, dignity of labour. Our endeavour both in individual actions and in social efforts must be to internalise these values and continuously seek to live by them” (Tulpule, 1996). Thus development boils down to as a ‘value word, reflecting change without consensus as to its meaning’ (Pearce, et. al. 1990). To many in the rural setting of the hills of Meghalaya and leading a traditional way of life, it would mean a decent way of life impinging upon basic needs in a dignified manner.

Thus, the broad objective of development will involve well- being and progress epitomising a harmony of economics, environment and social concerns. The relationship of development and well-being meanders through various dimensions and strata which have been summed up in the model given next. This enables us to see the intricacies in development dynamics, which can not be operational at desegregated levels, as there could be synergies in the process.

3.3. The Aims, Problems and Concerns of Development:

Machination in development process appears to be displacing and eroding the space for people. According to Galtung (1996) human security equated with satisfying basic human needs has four spaces of development - Nature, Human, Society, World. This has been depicted in the table-3 below.

Table-3: ‘Global problems’.

Space	Global Problem
Nature	<i>ecological degradation, population</i>
Human	<i>poverty/ misery, repression, spiritual alienation</i>
Society	<i>economic underdevelopment, social disintegration</i>
World	<i>massive violence, war (inter-state/ intra-state)</i>
Time	non sustainability
Culture	inadequacy

(Source: Galtung, J. 1996).

Increasing disparity and violence in society has been considered by many the result of developmental pursuits of past with an attendant realisation of people centred orientation. Schumacher (1973, quoted by Willoughby, 1990) argues that if ‘people centred’ approach in development is not adopted and action is based solely on economic calculations, ‘human freedom becomes stultified by apathy and sullen disdain’ and fears ‘social violence’. Underdevelopment of the NER, disparity between regions,

growing poverty and unemployment has been harped upon continuously by the people of the region, and has resulted in growth of extremism that plagues the North Eastern states of India. The ‘Triple curse of underdevelopment is mass poverty, powerlessness and hopelessness’ (Goulet, 1983 quoted by Todaro, 1994) which has also been acknowledged by Chambers (1993) adding ‘deprivation and isolation’. These words are often mentioned in the context of the substantial populace of India. ‘Schumacher (1966, quoted by Willoughby, 1990) sees a close relation between unemployment with mass poverty and misery and mentions eradication of poverty more important than growth per se. Six major mutually interdependent problems, depicted below in the figure-2, called for the alternative development debate in the early 70s which indicate the core concerns and problems of development . As we will see later, poverty in Meghalaya is on the increase and the issue of livelihood (Chapter VI) becomes important in a developmental perspective, besides flagging the issue of intermediate or appropriate technology or the issue of indigenous wisdom.

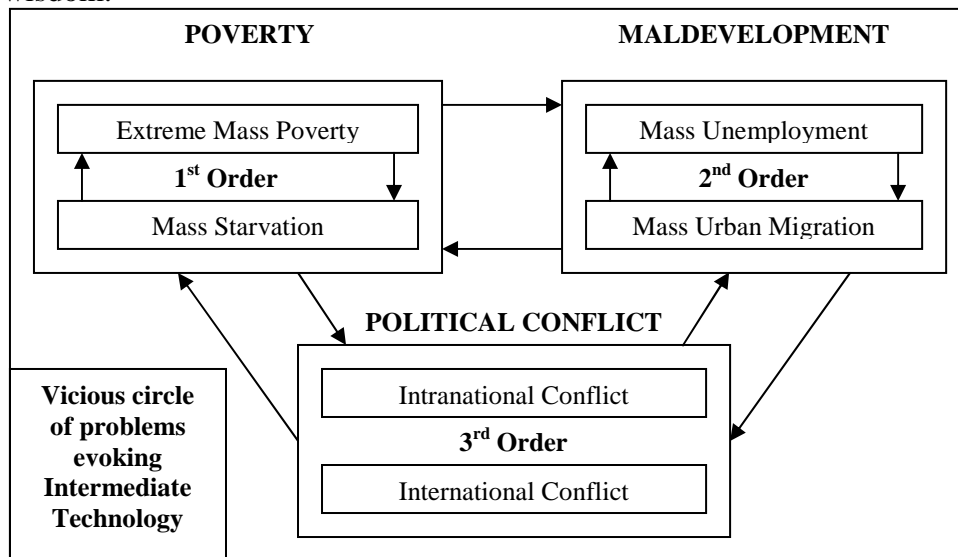


Figure-2: Development Problematique. (Source: Willoughby, 1990).

The Report of the South Commission (1990) mentioned the following as challenges of development which are pertinent in broad terms in any setting:

1. Orient development towards well-being of the people;
2. Strengthen democracy;
3. Mobilise and manage efficiently its resources in a sustainable manner;
4. Reduce poverty and inequality, promote indigenous capabilities and encourage creativity;

5. Due concern for conservation of natural environment;
 6. Organise joint ventures between nations/states/regions; and
 7. To enhance social solidarity by encouraging NGOs and Civil Society.
- Many of the aspects mentioned above find expression in the perspectives on development in this study in Meghalaya's context, as we shall see.

3.4. Government's Role in Development:

3.4.1. Role of State in Development:

The relevance of political considerations to economic aspects has been recognised by several liberal scholars like such as Lipton, Chambers, Stewart, Streeten, Griffin, (quoted by Goldsworthy, 1988). Thomas, and Potter (1992) aver that development occurs in the context of politics; involves choice and steering material, interests and valued preferences, political agents, institutions and bureaucracies and state power; with the state as the prime agent for development either as enabling or obstructing development. *"The emergent paradigm for human living on and with Earth brings decentralisation, democracy, and diversity; reductionism and linear thinking give way to an inclusive holism, open systems and diverse options and actions"* (Chambers, 1997). Tulpule, (1996) holds that development cannot be left to those who 'control and manipulate the invisible hand of free global market.'

Hobsbawm (1996) rejects the alternative arrangements of state in the form of 'free market ultra-liberalism' and also the philosophy of 'small is beautiful', on the ground that *"neither the market nor the decentralisation or break up of existing states can provide adequate solutions to their (peoples) problems. As trends in economic development increase the likelihood that wealth will be generated by a smaller proportion of total populations, the redistributive functions of the public sector is likely to become more important than ever."* Thus, the role of government remains central for policy and enabling space for its people to grow in harmony in society and with nature. However, in the democratic set up, there are informal and formal interactions of pressure groups and organisations forming an interactive matrix. Such a matrix at various levels contributes to or constraints the dynamics of development. The matrix depicted below indicates structural complexities in the Indian context. However, in case of Meghalaya corporate market, and non-market large NGOs are not so prominent; even the non-corporate non- market are weak, making the dependence on government all pervasive. This also points out the necessity of encouraging and strengthening non-corporate both market and non-market structures and institutions in Meghalaya.

		CONTEXT OF ACTIVITIES	
		Market	Non-Market
STRUCTURE	Corporate	I. MNCs, Large private companies, Large co-operatives.	II. Government, Large NGOs.
	Non-Corporate	III. Small co-operatives/ small groups; Small business/ Micro and tiny enterprises.	IV. Grassroot NGOs, Social; Institutions such as self-help groups, cultural associations, etc.

Figure-3: The Concept of Development Matrix (Source: Sharma, Subhash. 1998).

3.4.2. Changing Role of Government in Development:

The capacity of state without involvement of people and effective management of resources remains a constraint in development. David Hirschmann (1999) considers ‘breaking the box (four corners of which are formed and connected by lack of resources, incentives, public service and legitimacy) of bureaucratic decline a daunting challenge’ and recounts various steps in this direction. However, sometimes the resources are the real crunch as people generally talk of rights and not duties. This is also serious problem where people are not accustomed to paying taxes including income tax, as is the case for people in Sixth Schedule states in the NER. Such limitations of resources and inability of government to undertake all activities leads to acrimony and a scramble for a slice of the cake particularly in financing the plan and development.

This has also generated the issue of market, NGOs, and privatisation in development administration agenda. The box-2 indicates contemporary themes in development administration. The box clearly indicate the options and range of choices that need to be explored, often with a suitable mix in a given context.

In Meghalaya's context, alternative and complementary channels need resurgence by allowing the traditional institutions to play the cutting edge role, and allowing the government to create and facilitate infrastructural and growth enhancing policies, more by pro-poor and pro-natural resource considerations with sustainability in developmental thinking.

Box-2.

Some contemporary themes in development administration.

1. Governments are limited in their capacity, and these limitations should be incorporated into the design of public programmes.
2. Because governments cannot do it all, alternative and complementary channels need to be identified and fostered.
3. Programme designers recognise and capitalise on the pluralistic properties of public administration.
4. Participation is an important dimension in the administration of public services.
5. Social contexts provide both specific opportunities and special constraints for development administration.
6. There is an enhanced appreciation of the uncertainties and contingencies inherent in deliberate efforts at developmental change.
7. There are renewed pressure on governments (a) to extract greater productivity from continuing expenditures and (b) to reorient government bureaucracies to serve large disadvantaged publics more responsively.

Source: Esman, M.J. (1988. 'The maturing of Development Administration'. *Public Administration and Development*. 8(2) pp 125-34. Quoted by Turner and Hulme, 1997)

Various organisational and managerial prescriptions were propounded mainly in the west and experimented with over the last five decades, and many of them have been thrust at, assimilated by or adapted for governmental functioning, which may be seen at **Annexe-4** for a general appreciation in the matter. “ *Identification of bureaucracy as a problem rather than solution has been vigorously promoted by an ‘improbable coalition’... business oriented, low tax, anti regulation advocates of minimal state and the counterculture communitarians*”(Esman,1988. quoted by Turner and Hulme,1997).

3.4.3 The Process of Development

According to Dreze and Sen, 1989 (quoted Mehta, 1994) ‘concern with the lives of others is clearly a crucial ingredient of public action’. Policies in the ‘process’ have various dimensions in particular-‘1. the concepts of centres and peripheries including the debates of development; 2. The issue of agency and power; and 3. Meaning of democracy and socialism.’(Slater, 1992). Such public action manifests the best intentions in the shape of policy formulations. Sikligar, (1998) considers Policy formulation a

‘vertical process’ with demographic, economic, developmental and psychological factors duly weighed. The state functions through various policy regimes. A short indication of policy process is depicted at figure-4 for general understanding in the matter.

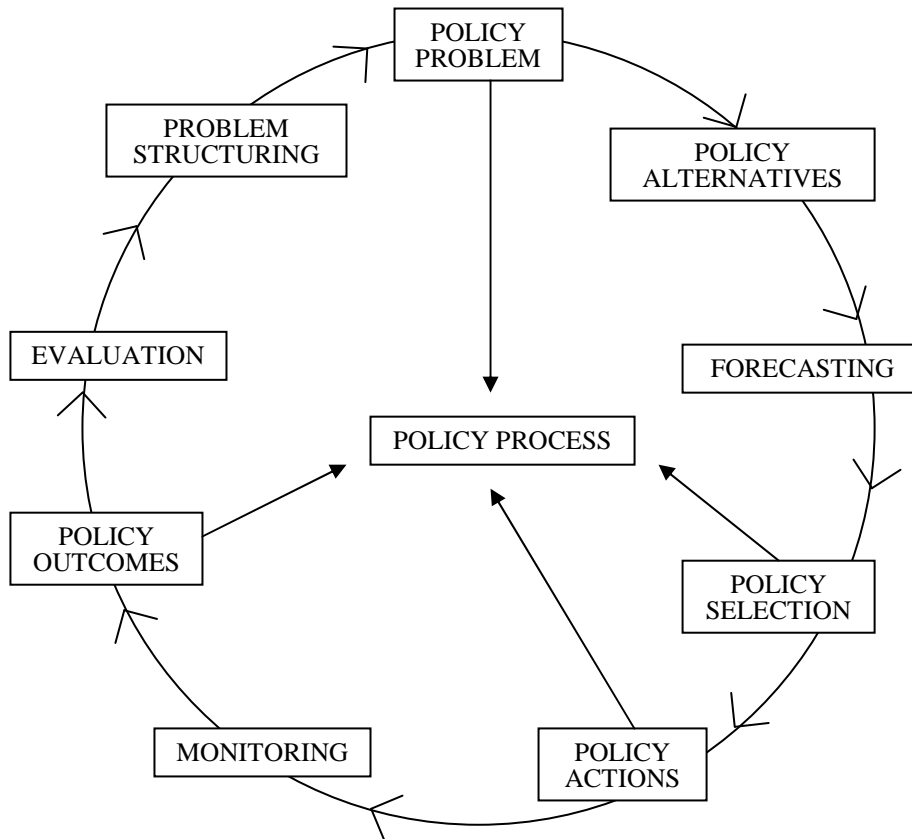


Figure-4: Cycle in the Policy Process. (Source: Mishra R.K., 1998)

The process of policy formulation provides a learning opportunity in democracy through institutional arrangements and due procedures. However, in the Indian context of a highly stratified society, various considerations come into play in government towards devising policies, having bearing such as on access to resources and services, equity, social justice etc. One such stipulation of the social matrix indicative of Indian society has been depicted at figure-5 in the context of governance.

The matrix presented indicates the dynamics of considerations, both hierarchical and interactive, that complicates the most intricate and complex considerations of region, caste, clan, culture, community, class and all that

constitute diversity and the contextual fibre, and makes policy enunciation a challenging task.

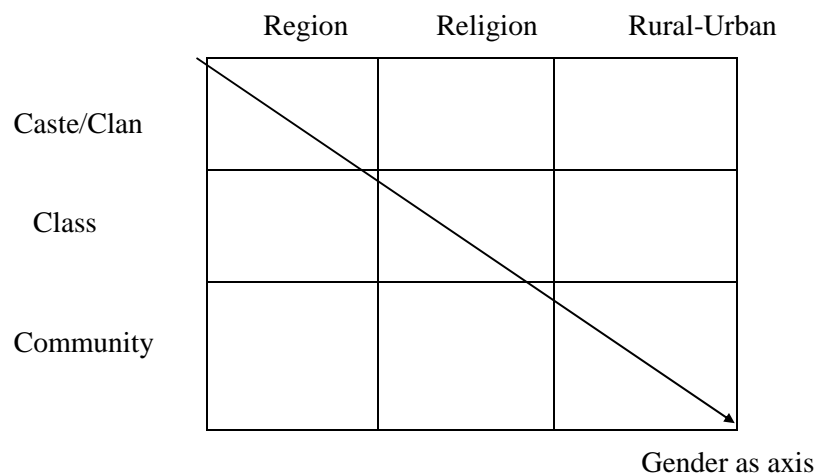


Figure-5: Indian Society as a Matrix Society (Source: Sharma, Subhash. 1998. 'Clan' inserted)

However the role of state in making the policy process is complex and critical. Myrdal, and also Huntington (1968, quoted by Turner and Hulme, 1997) have pointed out the pitfalls of 'Soft state' or the 'degree of government' respectively, as a critical factor. Similarly, the tussle between state and societal actors as mentioned by Midgal, 1988 (quoted by Turner and Hulme, 1997) in counteracting, coercing, corroding and thwarting each other may nullify best of efforts. The penetration of the state by 'strongmen' organisations is also relevant in the context of India, and the North Eastern region is no exception. Hence the issue of good governance assumes significance.

3.5. Policies of Tribal Development in India in the Context of Meghalaya:

In the tribal developmental context in the NER, the policies of the government of India have shown considerable sensitivity and understanding towards tribal areas. The overall direction has been "*to make people feel perfect freedom to live their own lives and to develop according to their wishes and genius*" (J. N Nehru. quoted by Elwin, 1989). Core considerations in this regard were 'protection, development and social justice' (Elwin. 1989).

Elwin (1989) sums up his concepts for the tribal people's development which found its place in the policy pronouncements of the Constitution and laws as:

1. Land should be guaranteed to the tribals and alienation of it to outsiders should be stopped;
2. Rights of tribals in forest should be respected with new attitude towards tribals by forest authorities;
3. Problem of indebtedness should be solved immediately, partly by legislation and partly by intensification of co-operative movement and the availability of easy credit;
4. The problem of industrialisation of tribal areas must be regarded with much more seriousness with intelligent and generous measures and packages of compensation where dispossessed of property or resettled;
5. The long isolation of tribals should come to an end; they should be welcomed and given opportunity of public service;
6. Tribals must be helped to come to terms with their past; so that their present and future is a part of natural evolution;
7. 'The danger of 'pauperisation', creation of a special class called 'tribals', who will want to be labelled as 'backward' in order to get material benefits from the government must be guarded against.' "Unintelligent benevolence can be as great a danger as intelligent exploitation;"
8. It is essential to avoid creating a sense of inferiority in the tribal people; no imposition of ideas, laws and customs upon them; sensitive to their sensibilities and avoiding to surprise or put them under stress;
9. Lay much stress on the possibility of eliciting help from tribal people in order to generate sense of confidence and participation; and
10. Ensure that a sense of hopelessness does not surround them by losing 'freedom and zest for living'

[Nehru treated the first 5 points as 'Panchsheel for tribals' (Elwin, 1989); whereas, the author listed 6-10 as more complex issues; though these were taken on board in governmental approaches.]

Evidently, the issues of isolation, ethnicity, exploitation are complex matters which to some extent can be resolved by participatory development. Under Article 342 of the Constitution of India tribal communities are listed in the schedule to it and have special protections and promotional provisions as mentioned in chapter 2 in the shape of Autonomous district council in Meghalaya with attendant issues indicated in chapter 2. Despite such sensitivities shown and safeguards put in place, the region continues to lag in development with a stagnant economy. The nature of problems and constraints that has affected the region needs to be understood in proper

perspective and context. Such lagging development has been the source and hallmark of 'culture of politics' or 'politics of culture' (Agrawal, 1996) which needs to be seen with a fresh look and perspective in the matter.

3.6. Problems and Constraints of Development in the NER and Meghalaya:

3.6.1. Problems of Regional Imbalance:

A study by National Council of Applied Economic Research (1988 quoted by IFAD 1995) based on a set of weights and indicators covering per capita income, contribution of agriculture and industries to state's economies, per capita food grains production, cropping intensity, transport facilities etc., indicated that the NER lags about 30% behind the rest of the country' in development. IFAD (1995) further mentions that 'the benefits of the growth whatsoever has been restricted to the urban incomes and stagnation in the economy is owing to inadequate efforts to harness resources for effective utilisation of its productive capacities.' This has also been acknowledged in the plan document of Meghalaya, as we shall see in chapter IV and is revealed from annexe-2 reflecting the need for improvement in basic facilities, and living conditions including income.

Having discussed in general terms the debate of development, and role of government it is endeavoured to present some of the development problems and constraints as commonly expressed in various parlance in the context of Meghalaya and also NER.

3.6.2. Macroeconomic Constraints to Growth in India:

Four principal constraints, not entirely independent of each other, for acceleration of growth in India (Planning Department. GOM, 1997) can be listed as –

- (a) availability of investible resources, or savings;
- (b) availability of resources to the government, both centre and States, to meet the developmental objectives;
- (c) availability of foreign exchange to ensure balance of payments sustainability; and
- (d) adequate availability of infrastructure for supporting a higher capacity utilisation and sustained growth.

3.6.3. Problems and Constraints in Meghalaya:

Besides the macroeconomic constraints, the draft Ninth Plan document of the Planning Department, GOM (1997) indicate the following as '*Handicaps of the State*':

- Constraints such as: terrain and topography; deficiency in infrastructural support; lagging legacy of development in historical terms; historical isolation; unbalanced economic growth; non replenishable use of natural resources; inadequate delivery of social services- such as health, education; less productive and competitive agriculture with inadequate forward and backward linkages;
- Combination of above lead to stagnation of economy and continued backwardness; rapid urbanisation in the district having the state capital; uneven distribution of backwardness between urban and rural areas, or between the different regions of the state;
- In the matters of literacy, practice of Jhum cultivation, rural electrification, distribution of road network, there exist levels of differential regional trends;
- Skewed distribution of Financial Institutions (majority of 179 bank branches are in urban centres) and poor extension and coverage of credit;
- Low level of Industrialisation, lack of entrepreneurship; and
- Increasing unemployment.

3.6.4. Perceived Problems by People in the Region:

It may be desirable to appreciate and enlist what people, mostly educated and opinion makers, articulate as the difficulty and problems in the region (This list does not include the macroeconomic climate and the handicaps earlier enlisted):

- Psychological fear of losing identity due to influx and immigration;
- Disruption of law and order; insurgency, vicious circle of economic stagnation and breeding of violence; (realisation of futility of an armed terrorist struggle and necessity of stable and secured environment is gaining ground);
- Lack of an integrated vision for progress and development;
- Severance of its natural markets across eastern and southern and to some extent northern borders; the region was uniquely disadvantaged by partition;
- lack of good leadership (social and political) ;
- Necessity to restructure the institutional arrangements and infrastructures associated with the policy-making decisions in the NER;
- Primitive agricultural economy, shifting cultivation, low productivity and lack of market linkages. " the productive sectors like agriculture is showing a negative trend"(Madhav, 1998) in the region;

- Absence of genuine and fruitful productive exercise- a condition of inaction or slow action or absence of work culture;
- Development agenda not in terms of social structure; lack of genuine participation in planning, policy and decision making;
- Lack of proper understanding of the society, culture and polity, and within that structure the problem of evolving location specific responses; and
- Absence of resources management perspective for ecological security and sustainable development.

(The above ideas are mostly taken from 'What Ails Assam and The North East', a golden jubilee seminar organised by the Assam Association, New Delhi in 1998. Online)

Faulty formulation and implementation of plans and programmes; sick public sector undertakings owing to mismanagement; absence of 'basic requirements, despite heavy assistance from the centre', including justice; and 'pervasive corruption' (Madhav, 1998) are problems frequently mentioned seeking redress. Besides, absence or dysfunction of tertiary level institutions such as district councils, panchayats, village council and reluctant of states to share resources and functions' have created disillusionment in the NER (Madhav, 1998).

3.5.5. Problems, Other Added Dimensions in Meghalaya:

- The issues in the process of accommodation and consensus of diverse interests groups: such as absence of consensus on resource management and required approach towards land, forest and water management including desired reforms in these for people centred and progress oriented policies.
- An environment of cautious approach of governance which may mean inaction, or slow-action; or weighed action, sometimes vested or interested action.
- Non-institutional consultations, mainly personality-based consultations resulting in mushrooming of floating organisations and assertions, each trying to outdo or overdo others; alienation of traditional systems from decision making and governance.
- Absence of effective programmes to channel the energies of youth, resulting from adventuresome to wasted human resource; Diversion of energy towards politics, ethnicity and terrorism than academic and economic pursuits.
- Dilemmas of development: 'assimilation versus assertion'. *"The old ways have been smashed, the new ways are not viable. People are*

caught in the deadlock of development.... they are expatriates in their own country.... forced to get by in the no man's land between tradition and modernity"(Sachs, 1992).

- 'Tokenism in development' reflected by-
 - absence of location specific solutions in view of diversity and lack of involvement of people for mutual learning;
 - mostly inappropriate techniques and technology;
 - inadequate investment both by government and private;
 - poor backward and forward linkages;
 - centralised planning; and lack of meaningful experimentation;

- Institutional failures or inadequacy of safeguards for indigenous people.
- 'Blaming attitude' and 'lack of commitment' to serve the people in indigenous middle-class and elite.
- New economic activities, marginalisation of rural populace; spread of more western- consumerist life style and aspirations, increasing competitions for resources, opportunities.
- Lack of reforms and efforts to revise traditional laws for changing with times for example in view of matrilineal system; the status of male child and inheritance rights becomes a ticklish issue of identity and rights etc in Meghalaya;
- Emergence of an exploitative and pervasive culture; middlemen in power and market centres; quick money culture and extortion.

3.7. Summary and Conclusion:

It emerges that the primary concern of development is improvement in quality of life; optimum use of renewable resources; an issue of livelihood and employment; issue of basic needs and human dignity; an issue of equity and sustainability; endogenous self-reliance through participation and control. More liberal concepts of development involve every aspect of wants and needs, and may demand natural and supernatural prowess and powers. The expanding and intricate maze of development, in recent years has shaken the concept of State as one such omnipotent entity. However, the search for an alternative arbitrator with redistributive capacity is on. Till such time, the tussle for sharing and broad-basing powers and the mechanism of it will continue to vacillate between state and people in search of harmonious equilibrium.

The problems of development in Meghalaya have special context, understanding of which is essential for the purpose of the study and

elaboration. Distinctiveness and diversity in the area throws up challenges of relationships in management and can be strengths or weaknesses, depending on how the actors in developmental processes achieves consensus and turn over a new leaf. The role of state in development is considered not only pervasive but also essential in this context in the region. The top-down approach has made the state as provider and dissociated people from indigenous development. Though the policies for tribal development has been sensitive to their realities; the traditional-life, authority and structure has felt marginalised. New power centres have emerged and are emerging. The non-developmental legacy of the pre-independence era, and the trail and travails of development in the post independent era have unleashed forces which call for innovative and pragmatic solutions in development administration in the state and the region. Some of the major issues of development in Meghalaya's context can be enlisted as 1. Resource management (including sustainable environmental management); 2. The issue of employment and livelihood; 3. A framework for more people centred development and their participation in the process.

CHAPTER IV. CENTRAL PLANNING IN INDIA: PROSPECTS FOR DECENTRALISED PLANNING IN MEGHALAYA.

4.1. Introduction:

Planning has been considered as an effective vehicle of development. Planning as a means for achieving progress, aims at establishing a broad framework for action by specifying the aims of social and economic policies. Priorities, directions, measures and strategies are refined and set in the process. Availability of means and resources for achieving the objectives, often towards competing ends, are also attempted in the planning process. The evolution of planned development has been from an emphasis on national planning and growth, to industrialisation, green revolution and sectoral and regional planning during 1960s and '70s. Part of the thrust towards social protection of the vulnerable includes: decentralised planning, basic needs, planning for sustainable development and special area planning "*the scope and vaulting ambition of planning has not ceased to grow*" (Escobar, 1992).

In this chapter the aims and aspects of planning in development will be studied. The origin, background and philosophy of planning in India; planning process in Meghalaya; and problems in planning in India and Meghalaya will be discussed in the light of experiences and received wisdom in the matter. The present trend of policies and objectives during the Ninth Plan both at national and the state level in Meghalaya will be briefly discussed. The lessons from the planning process and the effectiveness of planning in Meghalaya will be examined. A framework for a participatory Planning and development in Meghalaya is briefly indicated for future refinement.

4.2. Definition and Aims of Planning:

Planning is "*an organised, conscious and continual attempt to select the best available alternatives to achieve specific goals*" (Waterson, 1965 quoted Turner and Hulme, 1997) The logic followed is towards 'engineering and producing directed change' (Escobar, 1992). It attempts at 'efficient management of resources through modulation and manipulation of factors of production for attaining growth (Hanson, 1966, quoted by Kayalakam, 1998) through state interventions. Such manipulative change calls for 'ideological and material operations' (Escobar, 1992). The state's role in the economy gets expressed through 'public policy measures, controls, inducements and restrictions, for rational co-ordination under a vision of over-all plan' (Myrdal, 1968 quoted by Kayalakam, 1998). This is done 'to

achieve a predetermined set of developmental objectives' (Todaro, 1994). Chakravarthy, (1987:6, quoted by Kayalakam, 1998) states that “ *there is clear need for the visible hand of planning, as many of the problems involving expansion and modifications of the resource base itself require far sighted action which is beyond the decision horizon of the private action.*”

4. 3. Planning for Development:

A development plan generally contains a survey of the current economic situation; a review of the major sectors of the economy; proposals of schemes, projects and programmes for public expenditure; a review of policies, programmes, projects, measures and strategies of the government; and political consultations of various degree and levels. Killick (1976, quoted by Turner and Hulme, 1997) has identified six main characteristics for national plans:

1. Policy objectives of the government with an overtone of economic development;
2. Strategy towards achieving the objectives;
3. Principles laid for decision making and implementation;
4. Attempts to appreciate and influence the economy;
5. Use of macroeconomic model to forecast performance of the economy; and
6. A medium term (usually five years) perspective with annual plan staggered within.

Whereas the need for planning is not denied, both at macro and micro level, it has been generally criticised of being ‘top-down’ and centralised than ‘bottom-up’ and decentralised. Consequently, there have been ‘more failures than successes in the implementation and delivery of expected advantages’ (Waterson, 1965; Killick, 1976, quoted by Turner and Hulme, 1997). Some hold that ‘national development planning has retarded rates of economic growth and discouraged the evolutions of institutions and procedures for effective decision-making.’ (Caiden and Wildavsky 1990, quoted by Turner and Hulme, 1997). Out of many maladies afflicting development planning, listed by analysts such as Caiden and Wildavsky, (1990); Killick, (1976); Rondinelli, (1993); Waterson, (1965); Turner and Hulme (1997) have summarised six main points as:

1. Over-ambitious rates of growth and plans in respect of assumptions regarding resources and degree of control expressible on private sector; fuelling pressures on politicians and unfounded faith of technocrats in their scientific tools;
2. Poor or non-availability of data base making planning rough guesses and intuition;

3. Shortcomings of the analytical methods used in plans as unable to capture the 'complexity and adaptability of the economy;'
4. Incapable of dealing with unanticipated, internal (e.g. changes in prices) or external (e.g. war) shocks;
5. A number of institutional weaknesses such as remoteness of planning units with implementation units, co-ordination etc; and
6. The problem of politics, more rhetoric than pursuits signifying lack of commitment.

Such maladies are commonly seen and experienced in planning and operationalising the plans in Meghalaya. Sometimes, the meticulousness and detailed thrust on planning appears to be 'a problem rather than solution'. (Turner and Hulme, 1997) Caiden and Wildavsky, 1974 (quoted by Gran.) sums up the dangers in planning as:

- Planning can be used as a substitute for action;
- Planners drain scarce human capital;
- Planners create problems to gain experience;
- Planners generate false hopes which lead to disillusionment; and
- Planners are interest groups with their own biases.

4.4. Planning in India:

4.4.1. Origin of Planning in India:

India as a pioneer of development planning (Mozoomdar, 1996) has a continuous experience of democratic planning stretching back over fifty years (Desai, 1989 quoted by Kayalakam, 1998). On June 8, 1932 George Schuster, then Finance member of the Viceroy's Executive Council wrote, "*no government.. can afford ...old laissez faire policy. The need for some kind of national planning is being forced on all governments.... I should like to see the government of India... to design something in the nature of a five year economic plan*"(quoted by Chattopadhyay, 1987 cited by Kayalkam, 1998). In 1938 Congress set up a National Planning Committee with Jawaharlal Nehru as the chairman and industrialists, economists, scientists and representatives of the provincial governments. The Industrial Policy Statement of 1945 from Viceroy's Council also emerged meanwhile. Simultaneously some industrialists formulated a Bombay Plan in 1944. Other attempts notably, from Indian Federation of Labour under the chairmanship of M. N. Roy (called 'Peoples plan') and the 'Gandhian Plan' by Sriman Narain representing Gandhian school of thought are worth mention. The 'Gandhian approach' did not find favour purportedly owing to a lack of substantive theoretical foundation' (Chakravarthy, 1987; Desai, 1989 quoted by Kayalakam, 1998).

The study of the National Planning Committee identified lack of capital as the major constraint in the development of the country (Mozoomdar, 1989 and Chakravarthy, 1987 quoted by Kayalakam, 1998).

4.4.2. Post- Independence Planning:

The Constitution of India provides the basic framework for responsibilities between Centre and States in planning and functions (Mozoomdar, 1989 quoted by Kayalakam, 1998). "*We prefer the democratic approach because of certain values and standards we cherish.*" (Jawaharlal Nehru Quoted in S. Gopal, 1997; cited by Ghosh, 1997). The Constitution of India provided the framework for governance, consolidation of democracy and 'policy consensus that have supported the Indian planning' (Mozoomdar, 1996). The Planning Commission, though not a constitutional entity, derives the policy directions from the Directive Principles of State Policy of the Indian Constitution as its core philosophy (quoted by Ghosh, 1997):

"(a) that the citizens, men and women equally, have the right to an adequate means of livelihood;

"(b) that the ownership and control of the material resources of the community are so distributed as best to subserve the common good; and

"(c) that the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment."

The march of planning in India can be seen in brief at **Annexe-5** which depicts the various plans, thrust and underlying ideologies. The course and format of planning in India has been debatable since inception. The Annexe-5 mentioned above indicates that from sectoral growth to growth with stability, to socialistic fervour, to restructuring the economy with space to private sector and now to 'growth with social justice and equity,' the planning in India has come a long way in developmental thinking. "*The essential goals of Indian planning have been growth, removal of poverty and achievement of self-reliance.*" [GOI Planning Commission, Sixth Five Year Plan 1980-85, Preface; quoted by Ghosh, 1997).

Charles Bettelheim, a French economist stated that 'The Indian Plans are above all empirical; they are intended to provide the answer to some urgent problems and to satisfy a certain hope and need' (quoted by Ghosh, 1997). Unlike many countries, planning and budgeting are separate in the Indian system; thus planning becomes more concerned with long-term goals (Mozoomdar, A.1996). However, in smaller states having a poor resource base, the lines of budgeting and planning get diffused, as is the case in Meghalaya. The course of developmental planning in India is a fine balance of centralising cohesiveness within a democratic fervour of decentralisation.

Despite the decentralised fervour of democratic planning, it remains 'a highly centralised process' (Issac and Hiralal, 1997).

4.4.3. Planning in the Context of Meghalaya:

Meghalaya follows a pattern of centralised planning, though professing to follow decentralised planning. Different departments of government prepare sector wise plan projections, which is compiled at the state level. The state, as 'special category states,' receives grants to the tune of 90% of its plan allocations from the centre due to its weak internal resource base. The resource discussion and plan discussion at New Delhi (national capital) becomes key to central planning exercise and everything follows from these in reality. There is a Planning Board in the state, serviced by the planning department and a few staff of its own. The recommendation of the Planning Board is mainly advisory. The Cabinet approves approach and details of the Plan. Theoretically, the plan document should incorporate the district plans prepared by the district planning and development committee headed by a cabinet rank minister of the district. There are other notified people's representatives both elected and otherwise, besides the district heads of line departments. The Chief Executive Member of the District council concerned and the Deputy Commissioner (administrative head in the district) are the vice-chairmen. The District Planning Officer as secretary, services the committee. There is no planning structure at subdivision or block level in the state. The Planning set up at the district level is also weak and poorly staffed.

Experiences indicate a lacklustre and disjointed approach in planning as not linked organically as in a bottom up approach. Such exercise in planning at the district level merely becomes an instrument of highlighting constraints in approval, sanction and implementation. Till recent years, due to resource constraints, all delegated powers of even the heads of administrative departments remained ineffectual and centralised in planning and finance departments at the state headquarters, causing seasonal and other dislocations in implementation, besides causing de-motivation and non-accountability. Recommendations for reforms suggested by MARC (1993) are under considerations in the state, but are unlikely to be heeded soon.

4.4.4. The Problems of Planning in India and Meghalaya:

The maladies mentioned in para 4.3 are also reflected in the case of Meghalaya. Planning is essentially 'top-down' and remote; constrained by a poor and unreliable database, which affects meaningful monitoring and evaluation. Planning in India has attracted criticism mostly emanating from implementation and also from absence of participation in evolving

consensus. Besides, in a federal multi-faceted polity it becomes a victim too. The weakest part of the Indian planning system is its inability to undertake sustained analysis of policy at different levels (Mozoomdar, 1996). Developmental problems are not well defined and vary from context to location to spatial differentiation. According to Turner and Hulme (1997) problems of planning in general concern the following:

- Poor data of resources, yields, costs, rates, ignoring indigenous knowledge;
- Uncertainty concerning prices, rainfall, climate, political and social mosaic and tensions therein;
- Separating planning from management resulting in putting blame on each other; not learning, in-appreciation of differing perspectives and accommodation in action by flexibility, adaptability, experimentation, innovation etc.;
- Lack of beneficiary participation: conventional planning is 'top-down', centralised, pre-designed 'blueprint' and 'handout', 'delivery', 'handover' resulted in dependency, alienation inhibiting ownership and affecting effective derivation of benefits of development action; and
- Project and politics: Planning and developmental methodologies attempted to ignore the realities of project identification, selection, approval and implementation in which local political and social interests would play a vital role.

The above weaknesses and problems of planning are also seen to be reflected in the case of planning in Meghalaya (GOM, MARC, 1993). *'By avoiding political analysis, conventional methodologies facilitate concealment of partisan behaviour and reduce the opportunity for the powerless'* (Turner and Hulme, 1997).

4.5. Ninth Five -year Plan of India:

Launched in the 50th year of India's Independence, The Ninth Five-Year Plan will carry the country into the new millennium (Planning Commission of India, 1999). Whether it transforms the economy and reforms the weaknesses remains to be seen. The Ninth Plan has seen its approval after a delay of about two years; though there is continuity in plan process.

4.5.1. Thrust and Objectives of the Ninth Plan of India:

As per the Planning Commission of India, the Ninth Plan focuses on "Growth with Social Justice and Equity" by recognising the link between rapid economic growth and the quality of life and the need to combine growth with pro-poor policies aimed at correcting inequalities (Planning

Commission of India, 1999). Objectives of the Ninth Plan (Planning Commission of India, 1999) are as follows:

- “(i) Priority to agriculture and rural development with a view to generating adequate productive employment and eradication of poverty;
- (ii) Accelerating the growth rate of the economy with stable prices;
- (iii) Ensuring food and nutritional security for all, particularly the vulnerable sections of society;
- (iv) Providing the basic minimum services of safe drinking water, primary health care facilities, universal primary education, shelter, and connectivity to all in a time bound manner;
- (v) Containing the growth rate of population;
- (vi) Ensuring environmental sustainability of the development process through social mobilisation and participation of people at all levels;
- (vii) Empowerment of women and socially disadvantaged groups such as Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes and Minorities as agents of socio-economic change and development;
- (viii) Promoting and developing people's participatory institutions like Panchayati Raj institutions, co-operatives and self-help groups; and
- (ix) Strengthening efforts to build self-reliance.”

The above encapsulates the developmental objectives of the country as the macro level policies.

4.5.2. Development Strategy of the Meghalaya for the Ninth Plan (1997-2002):

This section relies heavily on the Government of Meghalaya's Plan document (p.30-31) which enlists the following as strategies and priorities in the state. We have already examined the developmental status of the state, in a nutshell (see **Annexe-2 & 3**). Besides the nature of special considerations; an assessment of infrastructure and basic minimum services gaps in the state are indicated in order to appreciate the task that lie ahead in this direction. This exercise also will reveal absence of natural resources perspective in the plan process in the state.

4.5.2.i. Strategies:

- Rational management of natural resources;
- Introduction of new technologies wherever feasible and to encourage technology upgradation in different fields;
- Mobilisation of resources for investments and to identify and tap hitherto untapped resources;
- Improvement of the capacity utilisation and consolidation of the existing infrastructure;

- Improving the efficiency of the delivery mechanisms of the development;
- Maintaining the population structure; and
- Maintaining price stability.

The above strategies indicate the clear absence of involvement of people in planning and development. Though rational natural resource management is the professed aim, as a mechanism of a strategy it has not moved ahead significantly in the last 25 years of statehood. A comprehensive natural resources inventory and plan including land and land-use are yet to be achieved. This also impedes the regional or district resources inventory and plan preparation.

4.5.2.ii. Priorities:

There appears to be ‘no set criteria for allocation of funds for programmes, schemes and projects within a sector’ (Draft Ninth Plan Document. GOM.1997). It remains by and large a political exercise. However, an attempt at maintaining regional distribution between Garo, Khasi, and Jaintia hills in the ratio of 9:8:3 is made, though not very scrupulously adhered. The sectoral allocations during the Ninth Plan in the state are at **Annexe-6** and the BMS component is at **Annexe-7**. There are considerations for earmarked and non-earmarked sector and recently for the concept of Basic Minimum Services (BMS) which is generally protected from resource crunch and consequent cuts in the plan allocations. Besides this, the tests applicable for national plan are generally adopted for prioritisation of projects/ schemes/programmes (Draft Ninth Plan Document.GOM.1997) which are:

- For the greater benefit of the poor;
- Beneficial to women, children and the weaker sections of the society;
- Of greater benefit to the backward region;
- Non- displacing, empowering and labour-intensive;
- With long-term sustainable benefits over schemes of short-term and transitional nature;
- Oriented towards creation of productive assets(personal assets or economy-wide assets) over those, which help to raise the current level of income or well being;
- Service- oriented schemes (except those in the category of basic minimum services), which require high level of subsidisation, should have low priority and effort should be made to encourage commercial operation of such services;

- Required for creating enabling environment by way of systemic reforms, changes in legislative framework, institutional development, and promotion of participatory approaches and self-governance; and
- Considered a priority by the state government from time to time, as found essential during the plan.

The draft sectoral proposal for the state during the Ninth Plan may be seen at **Annexe-6&7**. It may be worth mention that agriculture and allied sector do not fall under BMS. Besides, it does not have necessary political support in comparison to infrastructure like roads; also, it is considered subsidy oriented with thin spread. Thus in the event of resource crunch this sector gets fairly reduced.

4.5.2.iii. Special Plan Assistance:

North Eastern States get special plan assistance from the GOI (90% grant and 10% loan) of the plan outlay. However, States are also encouraged to mobilise internal resources including additional resource mobilisation efforts as decided by the states and also borrow from the market as well as externally aided projects. This arrangement creates its own dynamics of problem and constraints including the problem of debt servicing, mainly on account of inefficient functioning of public sector enterprises such as transport, power, and other corporations and pressure on government to do everything.

4.5.2.iv. A High Level Commission (HLC):

A high level Commission was appointed for the North Eastern States in 1996(GOM, 1997) to:

- critically assess the backlog in respect of Basic Minimum Services;
- to estimate gaps in important infrastructure development in the North Eastern region, specially in power, communication, railways, roads, education, agriculture, Irrigation etc;
- to suggest policies, programmes and requirement of funds to bridge the gaps and backlog in the above respects; and
- To consider any relevant issue in above aspects.

The HLC, submitted its report entitled "Transforming the North-East"(Planning Commission of India, 1999). It may be worthwhile to indicate the projections to understand, at least in financial terms, the challenge that lie ahead in so far as Meghalaya is concerned. The state of Meghalaya projected Rs.1444.40 crores for the shortfalls in B.M.S; and the commission recommended (see **Annexe-8**) only Rs.433.79 crores. In respect of the infrastructure the Commission recommended a composite amount of Rs.93619.01 Crores for the entire North Eastern States; the Meghalaya

government had projected a requirement of Rs. 2143.42 Crores. Thus, there is considerable shortfall in the investment towards infrastructure in the region and the state. Out of Rs.93, 619 crores for infrastructure, Rs.17, 995 crore was assessed for the Ninth Five Year Plan period (Planning Commission of India, 1999.) *“To the extent possible, the implementation of the recommendations was internalised in the formulation of the Ninth Five Year Plan proposals of the seven States as well as those of the Central Ministries/ Departments”* (Planning Commission Of India, 9th plan. 1999). This may become a sore point of reference in future if the internalising process does not achieve much compared to the hype and expectation it had generated.

The recommendations of the Commission were in addition to the Plan assistance as decided for annual plans. Besides, there were suggestions that for rural connectivity and housing, water supply etc. the resources from Rural Development Ministry under various schemes and NABARD can be tapped through initiatives by the states. In addition, 10% of respective central budget allocations of each department is to be set apart for the purpose of the development programmes of the NER. A Central Pool is to be created out of the likely savings from the funds earmarked for the NorthEast in the budgets of the Central Ministries/ Departments. The administrative steps required to operationalise the Central Pool are being finalised (Planning Commission of India, GOI, 9th plan. 1999.)

4.6. Lessons from the Experience in Planning in India and Meghalaya:

Some of the lessons in general in India (Planning Commission of India, 1999), and to a varying extent applicable to Meghalaya also, is briefly summarised as:

- Inadequate analysis of available information during programme formulation;
- A common practice to apply standard cost of schemes/ projects per unit cost at the stage of formulation;
- A multiplicity of programmes which spread resources too thinly;
- ‘Top-down’ and ‘target-oriented’ approach in implementation;
- Creation and mushrooming of programme specific agencies;
- The findings of monitoring and evaluation are either non-existent or hardly put to use;
- Lack of accountability of the implementing agencies either to the Government or to the people has been the single major cause for diversion of funds in development programmes;

- Some programmes have abnormally high operational cost owing redundant and ineffective administration and other inadequacies in planning and implementation;
- Many social sector programmes formulated without addressing the question of sustainability of benefits with ever-expanding budgets and pre-empting alternative uses of resources; and
- In present plan regime, the failure to ensure timely and adequate flow of funds to the implementing agencies has been ‘distressing’ and demotivating.

In addition to the above, IFAD’s North Eastern Community Resource Management Project For Upland Areas (1995) listed the following as constrains of development based on past development programmes in the North Eastern region:

- i. A subsidised ‘handout’ approach creating a dependency mentality;
- ii. Little effort towards genuine involvement of community; village institutions building and necessary services of backward and forward linkages such as credit, extension, inputs supply, marketing etc.;
- iii. Absence of consultation and involvement of farmers in experimenting, evolving, piloting, demonstrating and application on wider scale of developed alternative causing lack of confidence and faith by farmers in such alternatives;
- iv. Problems of co- ordination;
- v. Research lacked multidisciplinary and development oriented approach resulting in inappropriate or complex models of alternatives for shifting cultivation and other problems; and were not need driven; and
- vi. Low motivation of Government staff; excessive bureaucracy in line departments hampering speedy actions; and production rather than market led approach to crop-selection leading to low returns on investments.

Besides, the ‘Notorious nine problems of implementation’ from Gow, and Morss, (1988. see **Annexe-9**) epitomises the truism of dimensions in implementation in any setting. Such problems and mistakes continue, as there is no effective monitoring and evaluation system in the state of Meghalaya, impeding learning from experiences.

4.7. The Effectiveness of Planning in Meghalaya:

Drawing upon the discussions in this chapter at 4.3; 4.4.3,4; 4.5.2.i.ii, iii; and 4.6 it can be inferred that planning in Meghalaya requires considerable reorientation to meet the hill specificities, resources management and people’s dimension in planning in order to meet the aspirations of development. Success of planning is hard to measure; evaluation of

planning results is difficult to undertake; no measurable indicators have emerged in the public sector; though generally it is considered by way of physical and financial parameters and is largely dependent on economic performances. However, it can be done by seeking to gain the consensus and confidence of all sections of society. The quality of the plan is dependent on quality of policies and the existence of a relationship between economic performance and planning efficiency.

Some of the indicators for success of planning can be assessed by:

- Adequate infrastructure;
- High rates of economic growth;
- Flexible economic system;
- Existence of the right legal and institutional set up;
- Promoting better utilisation of existing resources;
- Well trained and educated/ skilled labour force;
- Existence of full employment conditions;
- Low inflation rates; resourceful and adaptable and participative private sector;
- Satisfactory savings and investment ratio; and
- High per capita income.

It is in these aspects and parameters where government, and people in the state highlighted most of the problems and the region expresses dissatisfaction as mentioned in chapter 3, and in 4.5.2.iv. above. Obviously the planning both in context and content have not taken the locational specificities and resource inventory into account. Besides, the process of planning in Meghalaya may require a fresh look in order to get people involved in the plan process.

It emerges in essence that for planning to be more effective in Meghalaya requires to a great extent recognition and treatment of:

- (a) Its hill specificities; devising differentiated plan and designs catering to diverse local situations;
- (b) Natural resources management perspective with concerns of sustainable development;
- (c) Making planning more participatory and people centred by encouraging traditional institutions and grassroots; and
- (d) Reforms and enabling provisions to encourage effective implementation and monitoring and evaluation towards effective learning from experience.

4.8. A Framework for (decentralised) Participatory Planning and Development in Meghalaya:

"Progress in a country of India's size and diversity depends on the participation and full involvement of all sections of the people. This is possible only in democracy... supported by socialism.. economic justice and secularism ..social equality. we can confidently assert that development has contributed to strengthening our nation in spite of its regional, linguistic, social and communal diversities. " (Late, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, then prime minister and Chairman of India's Planning Commission, in "Foreword" to the Sixth Five Year Plan 1980-85: GOI Planning Commission, Sixth Five Year Plan 1980-85, pp. iii-iv; quoted by Ghosh, 1997].

It may be necessary to repeat that natural resources in Meghalaya are under traditional community ownership with no inventories of resources detailed so far. The land has various community arrangements of tenures and use and has not been cadastrally surveyed till date. In such a scenario, people's involvement in development becomes all the more imperative towards building awareness, confidence in the intentions and actions of development and planning. Pakem, 1972 (quoted by Gupta, 1977) mentions that "*the British retained the traditional democracy but they curtailed the power of tribal chiefs.....After independence the power of tribal chiefs were further reduced, though the traditional democratic system was allowed to persist*". Madhav (1998) has expressed a similar view.

Therefore, for planning to succeed it must be location specific, resources based, and with full involvement of people in the process of planning and developmental efforts, learning from indigenous wisdom. Though decentralised planning has been the buzzword, it has remained centralised and 'routinised' in Meghalaya's context. Besides, the facade of the omnipotency of the state raised hopes, soon dashed by the harsh reality of financial constraints and strings. Openness and sharing with people might generate a feeling of mutual understanding and co-operation. However, there are views that centralised planning has its merits in promoting equity and regional balance (Slater, 1989; Haque, 1986, quoted by Turner and Hulme, 1997). To that extent the role of government in planning is not denied.

In the wake of fresh hope of participatory development brought to the fore by the Panchayati Raj Act, 1993/94, elsewhere in India, Meghalaya is at the doorstep of an opportunity to correct the imbalances of power structure and consolidation of institutional arrangement at the tertiary level for good governance. The Meghalaya Administrative Reforms Commission (MARC) has also touched upon this aspect in their recommendations. The 'gist of recommendations' of MARC (1993) under the caption 'Autonomous

District Council in the Light of Panchayati Raj Act, 1993' recommended suitable amendment of paragraphs 3, 4, and 5 of the Sixth Schedule to the constitution and rules framed thereunder, to represent the traditions, customs and usage in the society. It also recommended removing lacunae of dichotomies and difficulties for the optimum integration of village level and higher traditional domains by suitable amendments and enactment and to amend para 2 of the Sixth Schedule for provision of nominated members by rotation and without executive functional roles in the district council. It suggested such nominations be made by a federation of traditional leadership for which the federation be established. The recommendations also mentioned that government and the council may consider proposals and petitions only when they have come through these grassroots and village level institutions. The commission suggested that the government take up with the district councils for suitable amendments and legislation in their statutes to 'enable them and the traditional institutions to avail of the resources extended to the panchayat under Panchayati Raj Act' until such time it is replaced by a due constitutional amendment.

Though the recommendations have been submitted, not much has changed. So far the political effort and approach has been to take money for rural development to the Autonomous District Councils. Any effort not to invigorate and incorporate the traditional structures and also create village level structures where non-existent or marginalised, with the full incorporation of people may not go very far. This should be done in gradual phase-wise manner with well thought out programme of devolving powers as well as responsibilities. For this, adequate groundwork will have to be done for evolving different location specific regional/ ethnic models with innovations for harmonising at the secondary or sub-secondary level of administration and governance.

The barebones of such an arrangement can be democratic elections for the Gramsevak circle (average of a cluster of 10-20 villages) along with nominations from the traditional chiefs wherever existing on rotation and with limiting numbers in the Block level committee. There are 15-20 Gramsevak circles in each block. Thus a block level committee may consist of 20-25 members with the B.D.O/or a Block level planning officer as its executive officer. Wherever the council's jurisdiction goes beyond one district it may be termed as a regional council. District council / regional council may consist of such number of members on calculation of two members for each block by election among the block council elected members with provision of nominated members, as may be considered necessary to give fair representations to the traditional authorities. The district planning wing at the district, subdivision and block level (at present

it is non-existent at block and subdivision level) should be strengthened, by relocation of posts and staff. The district-planning unit should work for evolving consensus with the district council so constituted for the purpose under the continuing umbrella of the Deputy Commissioner's office. The power for sanction and approval of ongoing schemes be devolved to the district administration. The administration at the district level be made really integrated prefectoral system (Smith, 1985 quoted by Turner and Hulme, 1997). This concept requires research, refinement and elaboration which will be beyond the scope of the present study.

4.9. Summary and Conclusion:

Democratic and decentralised planning has been the direction of policies and means of development in India. In its mechanism, it remains largely centralised, particularly in North Eastern India. Though ideology and resources are important in planning; the test and success of planning emerges from its true and sincere implementation. Even with a long history of planning and experimentations, there are lessons in planning to be learned in India. In Meghalaya's context, planning cannot be effective without taking the main stakeholder, the people into account. Meghalaya lacks an effective third tier of administration. In the light of Panchayats as 'institutions of self government' (Bandyopadhyay, 1997) traditional wisdom and institutions have to be brought into the fold of governance for cultural and developmental conservation by a constructive mix of the Sixth and Eleventh schedules of the Constitution of India. Meghalaya requires continued support and investments, as its gap in infrastructure and basic minimum services are large. Investments in productive sectors are necessary to give a fillip to its growth strategies. Simultaneously, its plan process must incorporate the internal socio-political and ecological realities and orient its direction towards natural resources management in a decentralised format of planning and development. In doing so, the concerns of regional and individual equity need to be kept in mind.

CHAPTER V

NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT AND TRADITIONAL FARMING SYSTEM IN MEGHALAYA.

5. 1. Introduction:

Meghalaya, as one of the sub- Himalayan hilly states, has to consider its hill and other realities as discussed in Chapters II and III into its developmental planning perspective. It is apparent from the previous chapter at 4.8 that the planning process in the state, besides being centralised, has lacked an integrated hill perspective. Earlier we also observed that its resources have not been comprehensively inventoried so far, and land tenure remains distortedly traditional.

Resources besides human, such as physical, biological and geo-chemical, play a crucial roles in their interactive action as they form the core of the production system upon which the indigenous society depends intrinsically for sustenance and survival. One of the traditional ways of natural resource management has been 'Shifting Cultivation' or 'Jhuming'. For its indigenous tribal populace, in antiquity, it was an approach of responsive, regenerative and harmonious existence with nature. It was also in response to labour constraints in ethnologically sensitive area. External influences, consumerist exposure to modern development, a sectorally fragmented approach of development and increasing population in its interactions are making these areas ecologically vulnerable, with the consequent marginalisation of its inhabitants. The implications indicate the necessity of an approach towards enhancing productivity of its natural resource base through the approach of natural resources management. This has also a bearing on poverty and rural livelihoods, and ultimately on sustainable development.

In this chapter, the hill specificities in Meghalaya and the need for such dimension, status of its forests, concerns of sustainable development particularly agriculture sustainability, and issues of its land arrangements will be briefly touched upon. The concept and potentials of natural resource management, and the integrated approach towards natural resource management will also be discussed for flagging issues and raising suggestions. In this sense, the imperatives of the hill perspective in resource planning are elaborated. The extent and uniqueness of the problem of 'shifting cultivation, linked to its natural resource base' productivity and environmental vulnerability in the state and its present facets is then discussed in this chapter. Besides detailing and quoting the typologies by experts, other generic dimensions are also cited, supporting similar thoughts or views. The characteristics and aspects of shifting cultivation in the state

including the cycle, the extent of the problem and its effects in respect of Meghalaya will also be discussed. In addition, the chapter also touches upon the developmental efforts made in the past and suggested approaches for change. Thus, this chapter envisages two subsections revolving around the dimensions concerning natural resources management and the other incorporating shifting cultivation dynamics in the natural resource perspective, with a bearing on sustainable livelihoods in the state of Meghalaya.

5.2. Imperatives of Hill Area Perspective for Meghalaya.

5.2.1. Taking Hill Realities into Account:

5.2.1.i. The Need for Hill Specific Approach:

Meghalaya falls under the Eastern Himalayan region (agro-climatic zone II). In Chapters II and Chapter III we have seen that its unique features, its diversity, its socio-political realities would demand diverse and differentiated approach based on ethnic and agro-ecological dimensions. Some of the other hill specificities are: a difficult and diverse terrain; low fertility, varied soil profile; traditional cultivation and shifting cultivation, with meagre inputs, limited scope of mechanisation; severed natural markets, limited accessibility and linkages; requirements of varieties in food and horticultural crops on altitudes and climate differentiation; poor infrastructure and connectivity; a dearth of technology for crop-production, cropping pattern; a wide range of rainfall from very high to moderate (12000 mm average) and humidity resulting in problems of infestations and disease; the problem of photo-period and ripening, etc. Thus, the climate, the distances and the access from the market (Singh, 1979), poor and stretched extension services including post harvest technology, poor risk taking capacity of majority of the farmers, absence of credit facilities, absence of integrated water and land management plan, and diverse clan wise land tenure system and dietary habits are some of the limiting factors (Singh, 1979). In addition, labour is mainly unskilled and irregularly distributed coupled with poor literacy. Furthermore, low capital, less scope of crop area expansion and prevalence of various chains of middlemen in production-market links are important constraints to production and productivity of agriculture and allied sector in the natural resources system.

The varied dimensional perspective in this regard has been analysed by ICIMOD (1998) (see **Annexe-10 and 11**) which may be perused for an appreciation of mountain ecology and the natural resource base link under

traditional and changed circumstances. In Meghalaya's context there is already local control on resources and the disintegration of traditional society has been to a limited extent. There is scope for enhancing stakes in the natural resource base by suitable, productive and sustainable ways of living and livelihoods and policy measures.

5.2.1.ii. State of Forest in the North Eastern India and Meghalaya:

The State of Forest Report (SFR) of India for the year 1997 mentions a "forest loss in 1995 assessment of 783 sq. km. in the NER, while SFR1997 showed an improved situation, as the loss of forest cover in this region has come down to 316 sq. km" (GOI, 1997). Status of forest in the NER is presented in **Annexe-12**. It is revealed that Meghalaya has shown a decline of 57 sq. km. It may be mentioned that the state government manages and controls only about 4% of the forested areas as reserved forests. Hence the institutional failure, mainly of the district council, needs impassioned exploration.

The report further mentions that "1995 and 1997 assessment in the states of Manipur, Nagaland, Assam and Mizoram indicate loss of 1875 sq. km due to shifting cultivation" The report indicates loss of 75 sq. km due to shifting cultivation in Meghalaya. An area of 1,700-sq. km. of abandoned shifting cultivation came under forest cover as a result of regeneration. "This shows that shifting cultivation remains the single largest factor for the loss of forest cover."(GOI. SFR 1997.)

Similar indictment of shifting cultivation emerges from scientists too. "Shifting cultivation, faulty land ownership pattern, predominantly hilly terrain, ill-managed and indiscriminate use of natural resources, poor infrastructure and marketing facilities, lack of finance and low absorption of technologies as some of the major reasons for low agricultural productivity in the region" (Sharma, 1998). However, many naturalists would aver that: "*farmers, shifting cultivators, rural landless..are the agents not the causes.... pressure on forest is steadily increasing as a consequence of policies bent on preserving a highly skewed distribution of private property in land and other resources*" (Westoby, 1987 quoted by Colchester, 1993). This brings the realm of sustainable resource planning in development perspective.

5.2.1. iii. The Concerns of Sustainable Development:

We have seen in Chapter III, that the concerns in development have emphasised reducing inequality and restoring environmental health for human survival. Meghalaya is an ecological 'hot-spot'. Hill areas are

ecologically fragile under the onslaught of modern consumerist development. Thus, environmental protection assumed centre-stage after the 'Earth Summit' at Rio, 1992, for policy and plans. Sustainable development has been defined as “ *development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs*” (WCED, 1987 quoted by Mullen, 1998). However, Ruttan, (1991) terms it so 'broad' to be 'devoid of operational significance' and indicated that to “positivists, it represents a disguised method of keeping social justice on the political agenda of neo-conservative regimes” (Buttel, 1991 quoted by Ruttan, 1991). Many hold that redefining development as 'sustainable growth', 'health and education for all' or the 'basic minimum needs' does not address 'underlying problems rooted in the market and use of yardstick to commensurate societies' (Marglin, 1993 quoted by Lohman, 1993). Furthermore, the two dimensions of development, conservation and issues in livelihood are to be reconciled to remove mutual odds in a specific context (Mullen, 1998). In this connection some consider 'moves towards recognising the value of indigenous practices' as 'an attempt to fit these into universal system of production' and causing 'degradation or destruction' (Marglin, 1993 quoted by Lohman, 1993). Agriculture in Meghalaya is the mainstay in rural areas and for the majority of people. It clearly emerges from 5.2.1.i, ii, that Meghalaya needs to incorporate sustainable agriculture as its focus towards natural resource management.

Sustainable agriculture encompasses (Downing and Parry, 1991):

- *Human Activities*- provision of basic needs, particularly food security;
- *Material fluxes*- optimising the use of agricultural resources; efficient conversion of energy;
- *Valued Environmental Components*- conservation of soil and water resources; preservation of landscapes and natural vegetation;
- *Exposure*- concern for vulnerable population and marginal lands; and
- *Consequences*- minimising pollution and adverse ecological effects of agricultural development.

Thus, agricultural sustainability is difficult in concept and hard to implement, monitor / measure. This complexity is illustrated in the table (Norman, et. al.1997) by showing the expected interactions among the three components of sustainability and the five levels of influence.

Jodha, (1991) indicates 'negative trends in different variables relating to resource base, productivity and management or usage options in mountain agriculture either as consequences or part of the processes of private and public interventions.' This can be seen from the decline in forest cover in

the state of Meghalaya and in negative growth in agriculture (Madhav 1998, ICIMOD, 1999 see **Annexe-18**)

Table- 4: Interacting Components of Sustainability. *The ‘primary’ cells represent where the component of sustainability is mainly expressed, and the ‘secondary’ cells represent other factors that can influence sustainability*

Levels Influencing Sustainability	Components of Sustainability		
	Ecological	Economic	Social/Institutional
International	Secondary	Secondary	Secondary
National	Secondary	Secondary	Primary
Community	Secondary	Primary	Primary
Farm	Primary	Primary	Primary
Field	Primary	Secondary	Secondary

(Source: Norman, D. et al. 1997.)

According to Jodha, (1991) an operational meaning of sustainability can be as follows: *“Sustainability is conditioned by capacities of a system’s biophysical resource base to: withstand high use intensity; absorb high quantities and complex inputs; tolerate structural manipulation (disturbance) and periodic shocks/disruptions without facing permanent damage or losing regenerative capacities; ensure gains associated with scale of operation and infrastructural logistics; and benefit from linkages and exchange with other systems.”*

Jodha (1991) concludes that the ‘diversity and niche indicate the only possibilities’, which can meet the ‘preconditions associated with sustainability’ and suggests that *‘diversification can serve as a key focal point of development interventions’* (Jodha, 1991)

5.2.1.iv. Issue of Land Survey and Tenural Arrangements in Meghalaya:

As mentioned earlier, land in Meghalaya is yet to be surveyed and properly documented. Various traditional systems exist without verifiable authoritative records. *“Of crucial importance are economic and legal conditions which encourage and reward sustainable land use practices- inappropriate land tenure systems are one of the chief disincentives”* (FAO, 1995). The efforts of state government has not made headway, purportedly owing to ‘non co-operation from the people’ under the apprehension of ‘imposition of land revenue’ (GOM, 1997). However, there appears to be a

lack of political will, too. Awareness and involvement of grass root traditional organisations may help, rather than funding the district council. In this connection Omara-Ojungu, (1992) mentions that diversity of land use and resource access in turn creates its own problems, as:

- 1) High prospects for resource use conflicts due to the juxtaposition of incompatible resources;
- 2) Proliferation of resource development agencies and their subsequent competition for jurisdictional powers; and
- 3) The need for co-ordination of different interest groups (forestry, wildlife, livestock, and agriculture) so that overlap and duplication of functions are minimised.

5.2.2. The Need for Integrated Resource Management:

5.2.2.i. Accommodating Hill Specificities:

Eco-conservation; people's involvement; gendered planning; recharging traditional agro-eco-systems through traditional knowledge and appropriate technology; scientific approach to agriculture, animal husbandry and horticulture in order to raise productivity; and diversification through ecologically sustainable industries and tourism are dimensions acknowledged by the Planning Commission of India (GOI, 1999) for hill areas development. However, in its manifestations in the planning process and realities on the ground as we have seen in Chapter IV, such sensibilities leave much to be desired.

5.2.2.ii. Natural Resource Management: Livelihoods and Poverty Implications:

A summary of inferences that can be drawn from different studies in mountain areas concerning natural resource use as prepared by ICIMOD (1998) is at **Annexe-10**. The table in the Annexe-10 illustrates 'factors and processes associated with the community approaches and usage of natural resources in fragile mountain areas under the traditional and present systems' (ICIMOD, 1998). It vividly depicts the break down of traditional resource management processes and changes (except population growth) due to interaction with the outside. It also depicts the process of marginalisation that ensues in detaching people from the natural resource base; a similar potential predicament for Meghalaya exists as analysed by IFAD (1995/1997). These were also apprehended, in respect of development planning in Meghalaya much earlier as reflected in: "I see a large, difficult, almost majestic, plan which includes on one side schemes for food, health, mobility

and knowledge and, on the other, respect for and encouragement of tribal culture in the widest sense- religion, language, self-governing village institutions, social polity. To reconcile these two aims, to develop, yet not to destroy, is not easy, but I believe it can be done” (Elwin, 1989.P 303).

Due to the hill specificities of isolation, marginality, ecological and ethnological vulnerability, and heterogeneity of socio-economic factors, the potential for poverty is existent in the state. Additionally, growing commercialisation is exerting external environmental pressures. It may affect the need pattern or lead to coping strategies and have implications on poverty and the issue of livelihoods which we shall examine in the next chapter.

From the above, and from deliberations at 5.2.1.i, ii, and iii, it becomes apparent that for hill areas development, a differentiated, decentralised and integrated resource planning is an inescapable imperative. The above has also been acknowledged by the Planning Commission of India (1999, ‘9th Plan, Chapter 9.) *“The major challenge, therefore, is to devise suitable location-specific solutions, so as to reverse the process and ensure sustainable development of the growing population and ecology of the hill areas.”*

Thus the natural endowments need to be harmonised to enhance and sustain the production base. The diversification of resource base in a holistic manner is possible by adopting an integrated approach towards natural resources management which besides effecting synergy also lead to cost effectiveness (Singh, 1979).

5. 3. Resource Management Planning: Potentials in Meghalaya:

It has been seen in the discussion that a composite resource planning model reflecting area-wise, agro-climatic or natural features based on macro watersheds, for sustainable management of resource is yet to emerge. Most of the resources are not owned by the state. Land is under community and traditional private ownership, as are minerals and water resources. Thus, resource management is the potential area of public involvement, awareness, inventorisation, planning in participatory and consensual development mode in a sustainable manner in Meghalaya. The state will have to render assistance by training and technical support and the grass roots institution building would be an imperative.

Meghalaya is endowed with rich natural resources. Its land use details may be seen at **Annexe-15** which indicates potential for expansion of agro-forestry through integrated resources management The state has a rich resource endowment; surplus power and has a relatively good law and order

environment and thus merits and deserves investment. Potential areas for investment are minerals based industry, horticultural & agro- based industry, water resources, power, tourism, health care and other service sectors including transport and information technology. The State Government offers various subsidies such as, cost of infrastructure, transport, training, power etc. Besides, the central government has declared exemption from income tax for a period of five years from the date of commercial production for new units in the North Eastern Region. Investment in various public and private sector undertakings is open. A single window agency has been set up for expeditious decisions.

5.4. Approach of Resource Management:

“Resource management is a decision making process in which optimal solutions regarding the manner, timing and allocation of resource use are sought within the economic, political, social and institutional framework.” (O’ Riordan, 1971 quoted by Omara~Ojungu, 1992). Approaches in resource management have emanated from *Physical environment; human attributes* and *controls* on the interaction of these two.

Omara~Ojungu, (1992) indicates: Ecological approach; Economic approach; Technological approach; and Ethnological approach in the matter, for organisational convenience. Emphasis of approach varies over time and space; with increasing concerns of environmental degradation, an integrated approach is being emphasised. In general, resource management must be guided by a sensitive (responsive) and restorative approach (Omara~Ojungu, 1992). A simplistic component relationship (see **figure-6**) in resource management would indicate a complex web of relationships that must be incorporated in diversification, intensification and integration of productive aspects.

Resources are mostly classified as (Decosse, and Jayawickramma, 1993): by land use- forestry, fishery, agricultural etc; by Physical features- water, soils, and watersheds etc; by biological- plant, animals, and micro-organisms; by ecosystem- wetlands, grasslands etc.

According to Decosse, and Jayawickramma, (1993) Resources are also categorised on the basis of rights in any common property management system and major rights in resources are identified as: 1. right of direct use; 2. rights of indirect economic gains; 3. rights of control; 4. rights of transfer; 5. residual rights; 6. symbolic rights (1-6, based on Crocombe, 1971 quoted); and 7. rights of exclusion (which allows outsiders to be excluded from use

of the land). Thus the classification of resources can take these into account in the Meghalaya's context.

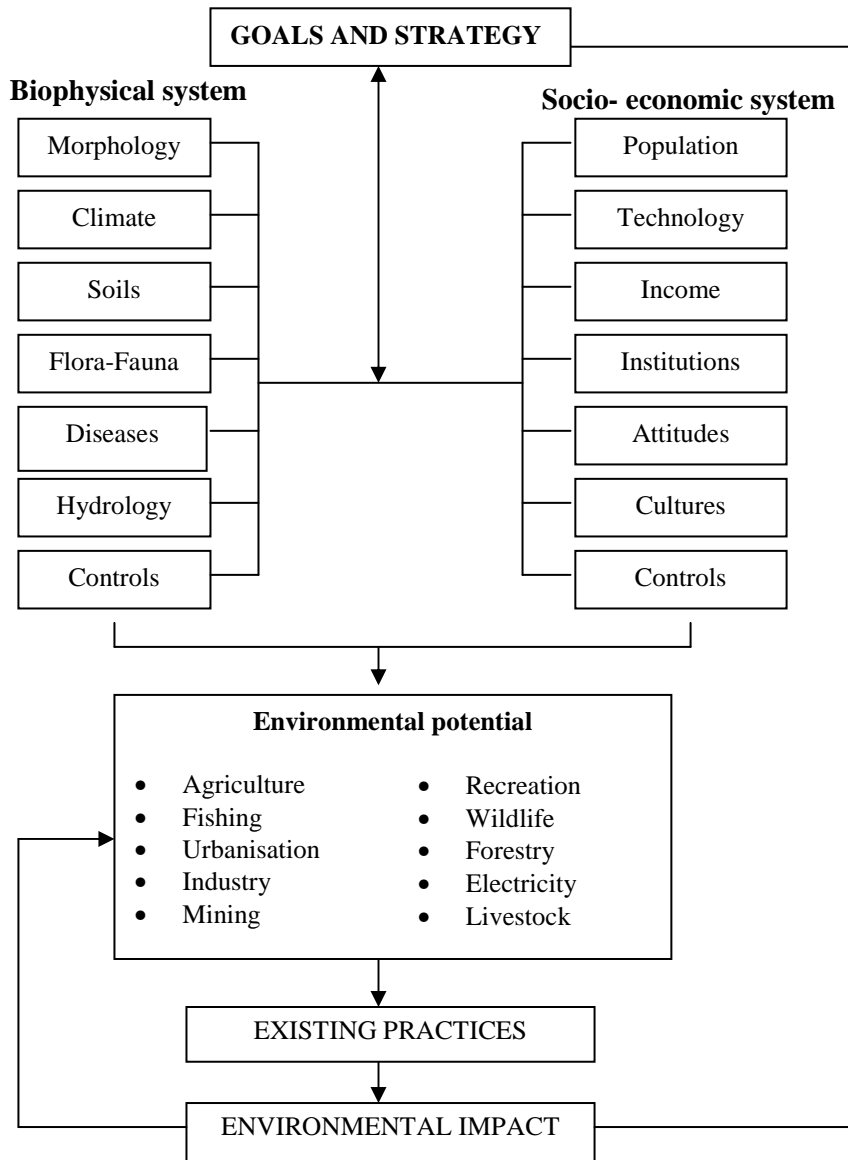


Figure-6: Component Relationships in Resource Management: a conceptual framework (Source: Omara-Ojungu, P.H. 1992)

5.5. An Integrated Approach in Resource Plan in Meghalaya:

A comprehensive resource plan of its natural resources is urgently called for the state of Meghalaya. The issues for land use plan for example may be as

per FAO's broad guidelines. Key issues for holistic approach to land use planning and effective national programmes are (FAO, 1995):

- An integrated approach to land resources management;
- National land use programmes;
- Co-operation in critical areas:
- Establishing stable land use where important ecosystems are threatened by human activity;
- Applying integrated planning and development in regions newly opened to intensive settlement and agricultural production; and
- Resolving land water use conflicts; favouring intersectoral dialogue; and
- Collaboration in evolving regional, sub-regional framework and in development of basic tools and also in frequent exchange of information.

Further, it is essential to identify appropriate technology of resources management to realise sustained and optimum production (ICAR, 1983). Jodha, (1991) mentions that 'resource-intensification-focussed agricultural strategies' which ignores hill characteristics, such as fragility, inaccessibility, marginality, diversity etc; and their interrelationships may not ensure sustainable development.

ICIMOD (1996/98) suggested core prescriptions for hill areas planning and development with following sensibilities which may also be relevant to Meghalaya scenario:

- Due to the problem of important mountain specificity, such as inaccessibility, fragility, marginality, diversity, niche and human adaptation mechanisms (Jodha, 1991), production linkages do not materialise without interventions.
- Integrated planning with linkage analysis in operational aspects (not merely a tool for estimation of demand-supply balances and output and investment). Management of the demand pressure on resources is equally important (Jodha, 1991).
- The topographical characteristics require a distinct treatment of space in area planning methodology. Agro-climatic zoning and watersheds be adopted as planning units. Thus, spatial mapping for preparation of resource inventories and assessment of development potential has to be three-dimensional. GIS is a good tool for the same.
- The institutional arrangements for planning; and planning from below on area basis approach is essential.
- Effective co-ordination among different sectoral departments and

agencies in integrated operational planning are essential.

- Equal opportunity to both the gender and protection to women by imparting skills (e.g., in processing, managing, marketing of produce, rather than mere farming and collecting of subsistence needs) to make them effective partners in development
- Historical, cultural, and ethnic specificities that have specific dimensions to naturally determined mechanisms. Indigenously evolved institutional arrangements be used and strengthened as far as possible by providing modern scientific, technical and management inputs. Local, institutional capacity building and people's participation are necessary conditions.
- Training for mountain area development planning and planning methodologies based on substantive and real world situations to lead to modifications and changes in the methodology itself would be desirable.

The aim of planning and management should be to harmonise and overcome these aspects. The community ownership in Meghalaya provides the desire and to some extent an opportunity for their effective role and participation in the process of resources management (Colchester, 1993). Such a desire needs expression by adequate decentralisation of planning and responsibilities in implementation. “ *Yet where communities have managed to recreate open, accountable and crucially, equitable forums for making decisions about resources management, Indian villagers have managed to check and even reverse resource depletion* (Chambers et.al.1989 quoted by Colchester, 1993). Cernea, (1989 Quoted by Colchester, 1993) points out’ the term common property is largely misunderstood. It is not free for all, but is structured ownership arrangements within which management rules are developed; incentives exist for co-owners to follow the accepted institutional arrangements. Resource degradation is incorrectly attributed to ‘common property systems’ (Cernea, 1989, Quoted by Colchester, 1993).

Some suggestions relating to constraints in traditional resource management (see **Annexe-11**) which are based on evidence from successful experiences such as user group forestry in Nepal, Joint Forest Management in parts of India, and several other NGO-run initiatives (ICIMOD, 1998) would indicate that the core of prescriptions pertinent to Meghalaya context based on ICIMOD model would be:

- Rationalising and defining the traditional community stake with a view to encourage individual enterprise towards sustainable benefit oriented interest in Natural resource bases;

- Institution building and strengthening; reforms of existing institutions of safeguards and land reforms; and
- Evolving local perspectives and use /refinement of traditional knowledge.

However, Agrawal (1995) argues that ‘both the concept of indigenous knowledge and its role in development are problematic, unless it goes beyond the dichotomy of indigenous versus scientific, and works towards greater autonomy for ‘indigenous’ peoples.’

Decosse, and Jayawickrama (1993) mentions that for community resources management, the following need to be catered to:

- * A clear understanding of the community- resource relationship;
- * Resource assessments and monitoring systems in project design;
- * Impact of ‘outside local beneficiaries not to be underestimated’ i.e. cornering of benefits by influential section in the society;
- * Link between alternative income generation and resource management is unclear and need refinement and understanding; i.e. understanding the issue of livelihoods;
- * Community participation is necessary but not sufficient; along-with participation, disincentives and enforcement must continue;
- * Institutional and policy framework for co-management must be in place and continuously improved by learning;
- * Legal framework must be concurrently brought in place; and
- * Collaborative effort between government. and civil society.

The above integration and intensification is necessary as shifting cultivation has in recent years degraded the environment and has reduced productive base of natural resources. The dimensions of the problem and prospects in respect of shifting cultivation need appreciation and examination. This is attempted in following section in the chapter.

5.6. Shifting Cultivation as Traditional Farming System:

5.6.1. Shifting Cultivation:

The practice of shifting cultivation is prevalent world wide mostly in Africa, Asia and Latin America. The practice is considered to have originated in the Neolithic period around 7000 BC (Sharma, 1976 quoted in ICAR1983). It is a kind of forest farming variously termed as shifting agriculture, slash and burn agriculture, rotational bush fallow agriculture, swidden, and in the NER, India locally known as ‘Jhum’ (Ramakrishnan, 1992 quoted by IFAD1995.) Shifting cultivation “refers to any temporally and spatially

cyclical agricultural system that involves clearing of land - usually with the assistance of fire - followed by phases of cultivation and fallow periods” (Thrupp *et al.*, 1997 quoted by Brown, and Schreckenberg, 1998.). However there are distinctive differentiation in various systems adopted all over.

It provides ‘livelihoods to 300-500 million people’ (Brady, 1996, quoted by Brown, and Schreckenberg, 1998). It shows a heterogeneous spectrum of agro-forestry practices in humid tropics and shows social, locational differentiation, linked to socio-cultural practices and religious beliefs (Ramakrishnan and Patnaik, 1992). It is considered the first stage of farming after hunter-gatherer stage. However, there are reports of its practice by those who earlier practised settled cultivation (IFAD, 1995).

Shifting cultivation is considered as the most destructive to the environment. However, ‘many indicate the inherent stability and viability of many systems of practices and point out the benefits in terms of high returns to labour, species enrichment and biodiversity conservation (Ramakrishnan, 1992, quoted by IFAD, 1995; Brown and Schreckenberg, 1998). Omara~Ojungu, (1992) states that the expanding population pressure, consumption patterns and externally created market forces have exposed the inherent limitations of the shifting cultivation. ‘Shifting cultivation represents a highly efficient adaptation to conditions where labour, not land, was the limiting factor in agricultural production.’ (Omara~Ojungu, 1992; Esther Boserup’s classic work *The Conditions of Agricultural Growth*, 1965 quoted by Brown and Schreckenberg, 1998; Reijntjes, et. al. 1992).

Box-3: Schematic Typology of Farming Systems on the Forest Farming Continuum (adapted from Sunderlin, 1997)

Long fallow shifting cultivation	Short fallow shifting cultivation	Forest pioneer farming
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ long fallow rotation ▪ traditional ▪ mainly subsistence crops ▪ mainly self-generated capital ▪ far from urban areas 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ short fallow rotation ▪ semi-traditional ▪ mixed subsistence & cash crops ▪ mixed capital sources ▪ intermediate distance to urban areas 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ no rotation ▪ modern ▪ mainly cash crops ▪ mainly outside capital ▪ close to urban areas

(Source: Brown, D. And Schreckenberg, K., 1998. ODI Natural Resource Perspective Number 29.)

Various shifting cultivation systems have been summarised by Sunderlin’s (1997) concept of a ‘forest farming continuum’, (see Box-3) where on broad scale ‘from long fallow rotation to permanent cultivation a number of points can be identified at which shifting cultivation manifests in one form or the another, raising interesting issues in the dynamics of the system and the

extent of active resource management within it' (Brown and Schreckenberg, 1998).

Thus the variability in shifting cultivation indicates an evolutionary response to locational, ethnographic and economic requirements. Based on data drawn from 136 cases of 'slash-and-burn' in the 'Alternatives to Slash-and-Burn' Programme (ASB) co-ordinated by ICRAF, Fujisaka and Escobar (1997 quoted by Brown, and Schreckenberg, 1998) have classified nine groups of shifting cultivation systems (see **Annexe 13**) on the basis of four key variables:

- * the initial type of vegetation cleared;
- * the user or type of person involved in the clearing;
- * the length of any fallow period; and
- * the nature of the final vegetation.

5.6.2. Chief Characteristics of the Cultivation in Meghalaya's Context:

Shifting cultivation practices throughout the world vary immensely, but there are basically two types of systems: *Partial systems*, which evolve out of predominantly economic interests of the producers, e.g. in some kind of cash crop, resettlement and squatter agriculture. *Integral systems*, which stem from a more traditional, year-round, community-wide and largely self-contained way of life (Reijntjes, et. al. 1992). Some *myths and reality* concerning shifting cultivation is presented at **Annexe-14** from Thrupp et al., (1997 quoted by Brown, and Schreckenberg, 1998) for better appreciation of dimensions in the system. The characteristics as pertaining to Meghalaya are:

1. Field- rotation; mostly on hill slopes;
2. Fire-clearance operation involving destruction of vegetation and forest cover;(some selectivity of tree cutting has been seen recently);
3. Crop-mix sequential farming;
4. Short occupancy alternating with long fallow for regeneration (ideally, but shortening fallow now a days causes environmental and economic problems);
5. Use of human labour (mostly women) and involvement of clan in the decisions and labour;
6. Use of primitive, traditional tools; non-use of draught animal;
7. Moving to new plot in the next season (sometimes use of same plot for 2 years); and
8. Occasional shift of homestead.

5.6.2.i. The Extent and Problem of Shifting Cultivation in Meghalaya:

More than three decades after the green revolution in many parts of India, farmers in Meghalaya and other parts of hilly states in NER, continue to practice shifting cultivation (the practice is called 'Jhuming' and the farmers as 'Jhumias'). District wise prevalence of shifting cultivation may be seen from table-16 at **Annexe-16**. The SFR1997 mentioned at 5.1.2.ii earlier indicates loss of 75 sq. Km of forest cover due to shifting cultivation. Data indicates that in Meghalaya the area under shifting cultivation were 416000 ha. in 1974 (ICAR, 1983). At present, about 52000 households constituting 22 percent of the rural farmers in the state still practice shifting cultivation (IFAD, 1995). About 7.3 million ha of land were considered to be affected in 1975 globally and about 2.7 million ha in the NER in late 80s (Ramakrishnan, 1992 quoted by IFAD 1995). Jhum covers around 50-70% of the total arable area in the NER and the area cultivated varies from 0.5 to 2.5 ha. Per household (IFAD, 1995). Ramakrishnan and Patnaik (1992) mention that Jhum is seen as 'an important component of sustainable agricultural tribal development'. It is linked to the 'tribal way of life'. Majumdar (1979) avers that, such linking to way of life does not mean that it can not be changed. "*Modern agricultural scientists have not yet been able to design effective and cheap strategies to sustain soil fertility in the humid tropics through better management practice*" (Ramakrishnan and Patnaik, 1992).

5.6.2.ii. The Shifting Cultivation Cycle in the State:

The shifting cultivation as a cycle has a *cropping period* of 1-3 years followed by a *fallow period* of 4-30 years (IFAD, 1995) which alternates in the cycle. In Meghalaya, cropping period is only 1-2 years and the fallow period has reduced to 4-5 years. The steps involved in the cultivation process, as for an example in Garo hills district, begins with the *site selection* which is usually done in November-December; based on family and clan decisions of the allotment or use. This is followed, by *cutting the vegetation* mainly during January to March. *Drying and burning* the vegetation takes place mainly during early March to April. *Demarcation of plots and construction of field houses* or watch tower atop tree together with *land preparation* is done in March and April to facilitate sowing with reference to crops and sequences during March- April and some in May. *Weeding* (2-3 times) is done during April to August. *Protection* of crops against pests and wild life depredation; and *harvesting* (Paddy) and storing is done with respect to crops in August- November. Some customarily sow millet (maturity, July), rice (maturity August September) and cotton (maturity, November- December) in the first year (Playfair, 1909). Playfair

(1909) has elaborated the related customs involved among Garos and writes about wisdom of good seed picking practice during harvest.

5.6.2.iii. Aspects of Shifting Cultivation in Meghalaya:

The basic aim of the farmers has been to meet their food requirements, sustenance and earn a livelihood. For this a variety of mix of crops are sown along with paddy such as, cotton, ginger, chilli, gourds, melons, and other cucurbits, vegetables, yams etc. In short cycle 8-13 species are grown (IFAD, 1995). Using 8-35 crops on 2-2.5 ha plot by simultaneous and sequential sowing, a yield pattern of an optimum economic efficiency under a 10-year cycle at lower elevations of Meghalaya has been mentioned by Ramakrishnan and Patnaik (1992).

Ramakrishnan (1992, quoted by IFAD, 1995) indicates following aspects of shifting cultivation in Meghalaya:

- All tribes practice Jhum; the field is community property, temporarily allotted for Jhum cultivation to a particular family;
- Varied seed mixture for different cycles showing better orientation of nutrient use efficiency;
- Some tribes have better practices and yields than others under similar ecosystem and fallow cycles;
- High species diversity contributes to agro-ecosystem stability;
- High rate of bio-mass accumulation under Jhum(16-22 tonnes/ha) which is closer to natural plant communities (14.8 tonnes/ha) for 20 year old forest fallow in the NER;
- Sequential harvesting of crops – an effective way of managing up to 35-40 crop species over both space and time;
- Mixed cropping also considered good for pest management due to high genetic diversity;
- Net return under 10 year cycle higher and is cut-off length from economic efficiency point of view; shorter cycle of 5 years lead to reduced yield and soil fertility;
- The Khasis obtain higher returns through the shift towards more nutrient-use efficient tuber/root crops and under 10 year cycle obtain 6 times higher yield than Garos in monetary terms; suggested better manipulation of system under 10 year cycle;
- The practice has survived as manual labour is the only energy input;
- Energy ratio for agriculture under different Jhum cycle in Meghalaya: 30 year cycle- 34.1; 10 year cycle-47.5; 5 year cycle 46.7; too long a cycle has less energy efficiency;
- All operations in Jhum contribute to overall energy efficiency;

- Small-scale disturbances under long Jhum cycle (20 Years) contribute to maintenance of biological diversity; however reduced Jhum cycle and large-scale disturbance by industrial man has severely altered the biodiversity.

5.6.3. Effects of Shifting Cultivation:

Shifting cultivation, logging and fuel-wood-harvesting are considered to be the chief reasons for environmental degradation as we have also seen from SFR1997. Some of the 'adverse effects' of shifting cultivation (Figure-7) have been portrayed by the ICAR (1983) as below indicating also the interrelationships of factors in the cultivation system.

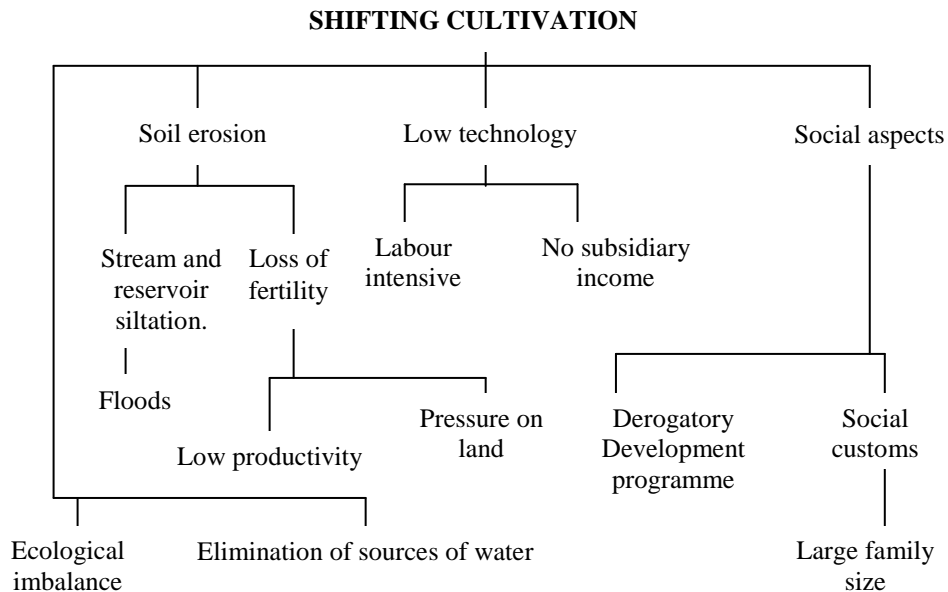


Figure-7: Effects of shifting cultivation (Source: Borthakur, 1976 and Borthakur, et. al. 1976, ICAR, 1983.)

With increasing pressure of population, expanding commercialisation of agriculture, acquisition of land by affluent and rich among tribals as future investment potential, the Jhum cycle has considerably reduced. Coupled with this has been the exploitation of timber, degrading and threatening the carrying capacity of nature. This has been expressed by many farmer who feel that labour requirements for weeding are increasing; intermittent streams are becoming ephemeral; fuel-wood scarcity is increasing; perennial streams are drying up (IFAD, 1995). The labour requirement has gone up to 260 mandays/ha as can be seen from table-17 at **Annexe- 17**. Similarly, the table-18 at **Annexe-17**, shows that the area under primary forest decreased

and the area under stream channels and grassland increased in the West Garo Hills district over 1986-1993 period. Generally such a trend is attributed to 'increased discharge and sediment load is a common indicator of worsening upland conditions' (IFAD, 1995).

Kushwaha and Hildebrandt (1995) indicate that NER has been undergoing rapid deforestation, primarily due to Jhuming, and also cited latest survey indicating that more forests are put to Jhuming than are abandoned for post-Jhuming regeneration annually. They further mention that, "of the seven states in the NER, Assam, Mizoram and Meghalaya are facing maximum deforestation"(Kushwaha and Hildebrandt, 1995). Such an assertion, though common perception, is not correct in respect of Meghalaya, as can be seen in the SFR'97 (GOI, 1997). The causes of deforestation can be many and to put the entire or even major blame at the door of poor farmers will be highly simplistic. In addition it is sighing away from truth of institutional failures in this respect. The causes of deforestation in the modern consumerist and greedy lifestyle prevalent is 'more likely to be the result of market and policy pressures arising outside the traditional farm economy (Brown and Schreckenber, 1998). Such influences include (Brown and Schreckenber, 1998):

- resource privatisation and associated tenural changes (particularly where associated with damaging practices;
- commercial cattle ranching in the humid tropics ;
- land speculation ;
- fiscal incentives ; and
- government 'development' projects.

NEC (1980, quoted by ICAR, 1983) survey in respect of Jhum cultivation showed:

1. awareness of farmers of its ill effects and dwindling productivity;
2. requirement of location specific and need based programmes and solutions;
3. allotment of wetland terraces with assured irrigation as the most effective means of attracting shifting cultivators particularly in traditional paddy growing tribes; and
4. tribals have become conscious of monetised economy and would respond to interventions that assure returns and backward and forward linkage, in particular inputs and marketing.

In a state where ethnicity is prominent and there is aversion to bring labour from outside to cultivate land, the continuance of the practice would depend on the developmental activity affecting requirements and responses of farmers. However, with increasing commercialisation of life, there is also the danger of usurpation of land by the affluent in society and consequential marginalisation of poor farmers in rural areas.

5.6.4. Developmental Efforts to overcome the Problem:

Government has tried various schemes to wean away Jhumias in the last 30 years, mainly through the introduction of plantation crops such as rubber, coffee, tea, black pepper, cashew nut taken up under soil conservation schemes. There have also been afforestation programmes, programmes of the agriculture department, centrally sponsored schemes, pilot project for controlling shifting cultivation and regional river basin schemes under NEC (ICAR, 1983). Schemes for land development and terracing were intended to assist farmers for alternative settled cultivation. Many adopted the system where there was assured irrigation in West Garo Hills (NIRD, 1996 quoted by UNOPS, 1998). More recently, schemes under National Watershed Development Programmes for Rainfed Areas (NWDPA) and for Jhum control under central assistance and non-incentives or incentives for plantation etc are aimed at weaning away the Jhumias. These have met with partial success. However, **no scheme can really be effective unless food security is assured and the question of alternative livelihood is addressed and incorporated.** Furthermore, the hill village has to be seen in the context of overall ecology and its relationship with man. Appraisals have indicated less success towards shifting the Jhumias for settled cultivation due to the following (ICAR, 1983):

- New settlement cut into their socio-cultural life abruptly;
- Farmers are not used to cultivation on terraces/using bullocks/implements;
- Low production on newly built terraces during first few years;
- Lack of production technology for terrace in the region; and
- Poor extension services; lack of dedicated workers to serve rural areas.

This indicates the failures by conservationists to acknowledge, farmer's awareness of the environmental constraints, labour-efficient innovations with assured returns on extra labour and other investments in the conditions of land surplus in view of limited to negligible risk taking capacity. (Brown, and Schreckenber, 1998)

Experiences in IFAD projects in Asia (Vietnam, Laos, Bhutan, Nepal and peninsular India) in association with UNOPS for swidden intensification by

multiple systems of fallow management (multipurpose tree species, different versions of sloping agricultural land technologies [SALT]’ indicated ‘fear of unsustainability of project-driven interventions’ (UNOPS, 1997). Two general types of farmers’ indigenous approaches towards: a) more ‘effective fallows’, improving biological efficiency and b) more ‘productive fallows’, adding perennial species of economic marketable products. (UNOPS, 1997) have been seen in practice. *“Analysis of data gathered elucidated the economic, social and technical factors that have facilitated or retarded the adoption, spread and success of the indigenous innovations that have contributed to the process of intensification”* (UNOPS, 1997).

5.6.5. Approaches for Change:

There can be various external and internal factors of social, cultural, economic, legislative, environmental and such varied dimensions which can allow a conscious decision by farmers and their family for moving away from the practice of shifting cultivation. The **prime factor would be assured and decent means of alternative livelihoods** within their socio-cultural acceptability. Any assumption that there would be one chartered course will be highly mistaken. The transformation ‘from forest fallow systems to increasingly unstable bush fallow’ in either direction may be marked by a range of variant livelihood systems which may be locationally and ethnographically differentiated ‘complex pathways’ (see, for example, Brocklesby and Ambrose-Oji, 1997 quoted by Brown and Schreckenberg, 1998).

External developmental factors and benefits of sedentarisation (schooling, access to transport, access to health care, etc.) have led to the adaptation of farming systems with emphasis on permanent orchard gardens among the Tawahka communities of Honduras. Earlier people tended to migrate to new homestead areas near cleared primary forest (Brown and Schreckenberg, 1998). This to some extent has been also observed in close to urban and peri-urban centres in Meghalaya, too.

UNOPS, (1998) in ‘strategies of Shifting cultivators in the intensification process’ has indicated following propositions on factors for intensification which can provide clues to situation specific responses:

1. For farmers to change, a surplus over current consumption is essential;
2. In the absence of secure tenure (ownership/ user rights) investment of labour and other resources for intensification is also absent;
3. The interaction of shifting cultivators with the market, valley cultivators, government agencies and technological interventions of terraces lead to learning and expanding their options;

4. Possible recognition of extent of income from forest produce contribute towards decision of preserving certain species of trees;
5. Labour and land is limiting factor in the change of farming system; higher income per se do not lead to abandoning shifting cultivation; availability of family labour and particularly women labour contributes to continuance of the practice; and
6. Value for women's labour and opportunity cost is lower; consequently fuel and fodder (supplied by women's labour) are last areas of agricultural system to intensify.

Ruttan (1991) mentions that where the shift to short fallow occurred slowly such as Western Europe and east Asia, sustained growth in agriculture production emerged; where short fallow has been forced due to population pressure, the consequences has been soil degradation and reduced productivity. Besides, revenue-sharing arrangements in timber concessions may, for example, play an important part in encouraging farmers not to cut down trees for agricultural purposes (Brown and Schreckenberg, 1998.)

Ramakrishnan, (1992, quoted by IFAD, 1995) has suggested the following general *approach for future guidelines* in respect of alternatives for increasing efficiency and returns:

- Variation in species composition of the crop mix;
- Redesigning agro-forestry systems incorporating agro-ecological realities and tree architecture;
- Use bamboo and other fast growing species as wind breaks;
- Redevelop valley land for wet rice cultivation; improve other land use systems such as home gardens by the use of native crop species, and redesign systems incorporating traditional knowledge;
- Strengthen traditional animal husbandry practices for recycling of waste and efficiency in conservation;
- Introduce appropriate rural technology such as bio-gas, energy efficient stoves; rainwater harvesting tanks; mini-hydro and solar system for natural resource conservation;
- Encourage and rehabilitate artisan skills and products based on natural resources accessible to rural communities; and
- Priority to conservation based benefit to small farmers in agricultural and rural development perspectives.

The above aspects have close relationship with the overall dimensions of sustainable rural livelihood which encompasses resource intensification and diversification approaches. The issue of livelihood will be discussed in detail in the next chapter. Furthermore, one donor-funded project by IFAD

has just been launched in its pilot phase based on an approach of natural resource management and livelihoods in areas affected by shifting cultivation. This will also be examined in the next chapter.

5.7. Summary and Conclusion:

In planning development, Meghalaya will have to be responsive to its hill specificities taking the study by ICIMOD into account and proper analysis of resource productivity linkages. Such an action plan cannot dissociate itself from the environmental concerns and the overall dimensions of sustainability as the trends and consequences indicate growing impoverishment and can lead to marginalisation of its rural populace. Sustainability has to be operationalised through the integrated resource management as one of the approaches. Since the community and people are the owners of resources, the state has to ensure equitable development of regions and people by facilitating policies. Integrated resource planning is necessary in order to increase the productive capacity of its people and resources.

The traditional practices of resource management reflected in shifting cultivation are rooted in antiquity. This has been a broad response continuously evolving over space and time to various socio-cultural and economic settings for land use. Shifting cultivation in recent years has caused environmental degradation. However, there are other causes of deforestation, which include resource privatisation, land speculation, incentives for land conversion, tenural policies, and timber exploitation that must be simultaneously addressed for restoring the health of the environment. Attempts to replace shifting cultivation systems in past have achieved partial success owing to inadequate understanding of the decision-making processes involved, particularly regarding the labour constraints and the assured means of sustenance and livelihoods. This calls for a cautious approach to change the practices of Jhuming taking rural realities and livelihoods issues into account. The propositions of UNOPS (1998) and the suggestions for the future approaches towards change as mentioned at 5.6.5 above need to be kept in mind while evolving any interventions. Giving farmers greater security of cultivation rights, ensuring non-disparity approaches in access to productive assets, assistance for land development with irrigation appropriate to the area, improved extension services and supporting innovative indigenous adaptations by farmers are a required part of the strategy to encourage alternative livelihoods.

In addition, an acceptable mode of options and interventions for the shifting cultivators in particular, and rural populace in general, revolving around sustainable livelihoods and basic needs will have to be evolved in close

consultation. Such a response will have to be integrated and linked to natural resources management towards sustainable intensification and diversification by evolving location-specific, differentiated solutions in a close consultation with people.

CHAPTER VI
SUSTAINABLE RURAL LIVELIHOOD AND INTERNATIONAL
ASSISTANCE FOR COMMUNITY RESOURCES MANAGEMENT
PROJECT

6. 1. Introduction:

The conceptual debates in development, planning and resource management become meaningless if these do not relate to the rural realities existing in the 'vernacular space' (Rahnema, 1992). In such a space, many do not know of sustainability, all that they do know is sustenance and survival. Sustainable and integrated intensification of natural resources as aims of planning the development, mentioned in the previous chapter, becomes difficult unless sustenance and survival issues are addressed through the adequate and assured means of livelihoods. Livelihood is a basic concern of the vast majority of populace in India including the state of Meghalaya. This also came out in Chapters III and V and was flagged in the introduction too. The issues in livelihoods need to be understood in its various dimensions for policy understanding and interventions.

The following discussion carries forward the relationship of natural resources management as discussed in chapter V with the concerns of livelihoods. The chapter discusses the realities of poverty and addresses the concerns of rural livelihoods in the state. In this regard, the concept and the framework for analysing the dimensions in livelihoods are briefly discussed. The dimensions of poverty and interactions with environment that are so pertinent for the fragile hill socio-eco-realities are indicated and reviewed in the context of livelihood strategies including the coping strategies, agriculture production strategies and potentiality for non-farm sector in Meghalaya. In this sense the constraints of access to credit in the state is also flagged. Poverty reducing policy framework and interaction of policies with household behaviour is briefly indicated to appreciate the complexities and relationships in developmental interventions and linked relationships with livelihood dimensions. A donor-funded project is examined in brief in so far as it attempts to address resource management and livelihoods.

6.2. Livelihoods Concerns in Meghalaya:

Meghalaya has more than 80% of the populace dependent on agriculture (GDP contribution about 32%) and living in rural areas in the natural surroundings. Many think, that in Meghalaya poverty is comparatively less. But, almost 45% of its population are below the poverty line. "*While poverty dropped by 6.7 per cent between 1987-88 to 1993-94 in India, poverty has increased from 40 to 46 percent in the North East.*" (Roy

P.1999. IFAD. quoting a study conducted by the North Eastern Hill University NEHU, reported by The Assam Tribune: May 20, 1999 dateline Shillong, May 19). The state has rural literacy of 41% and the infant mortality rate is 58 per thousand births. The main workers in the state constitute 40% of total population of which cultivators constitute 55%, whereas agricultural labourers are only 12.5% and household industry and manufacturing is 0.4%. The state's net sown area of total land area is only 9.2%, and only 19% of the net sown area is sown more than once with per capita sown area amounting to 0.12 ha. We have also seen at Annexe-2 & 3 its socio-economic indicators which reflect its backwardness, and also in chapter IV the shortfall and gaps in respect of infrastructure and the BMS. All these are more acute in rural settings.

One estimate according to U. C. Sharma, indicates a growing food shortage in the north-eastern region; the region at present is deficient in food grains by about 1.72 million tonnes, by the year 2025-26 the food grains deficit in the region is expected to reach a level of 4.55 million tonnes (Indian Express, 1998). Thus, major concerns are '*low productivity and low cropping intensity*' as poverty alleviation and due attention to agriculture becomes imperative (Indian Express, 1998). Such pronouncements have been voiced for a long time. Low production in sedentary agriculture causes a shift in occupation and migration to nearby cities and towns (Majumdar, 1979).

Unemployment and youth restlessness has been recognised as one of the factors underlying insurgency. Interestingly, these are more intense and prevalent in areas affected by shifting cultivation and marginalised rural setting in Garo hills and west Khasi hills. The social pattern of property inheritance and detachment of male child from his natural parent's home has some implications, which need establishing, but may be seen as a potential source of vagrancy. This is becoming apparent as jobs in government become saturated and education is not geared towards livelihood issues. Besides, there has been an attachment to roots and many youth do not like to join even government service if it entails travel or stay away from home.

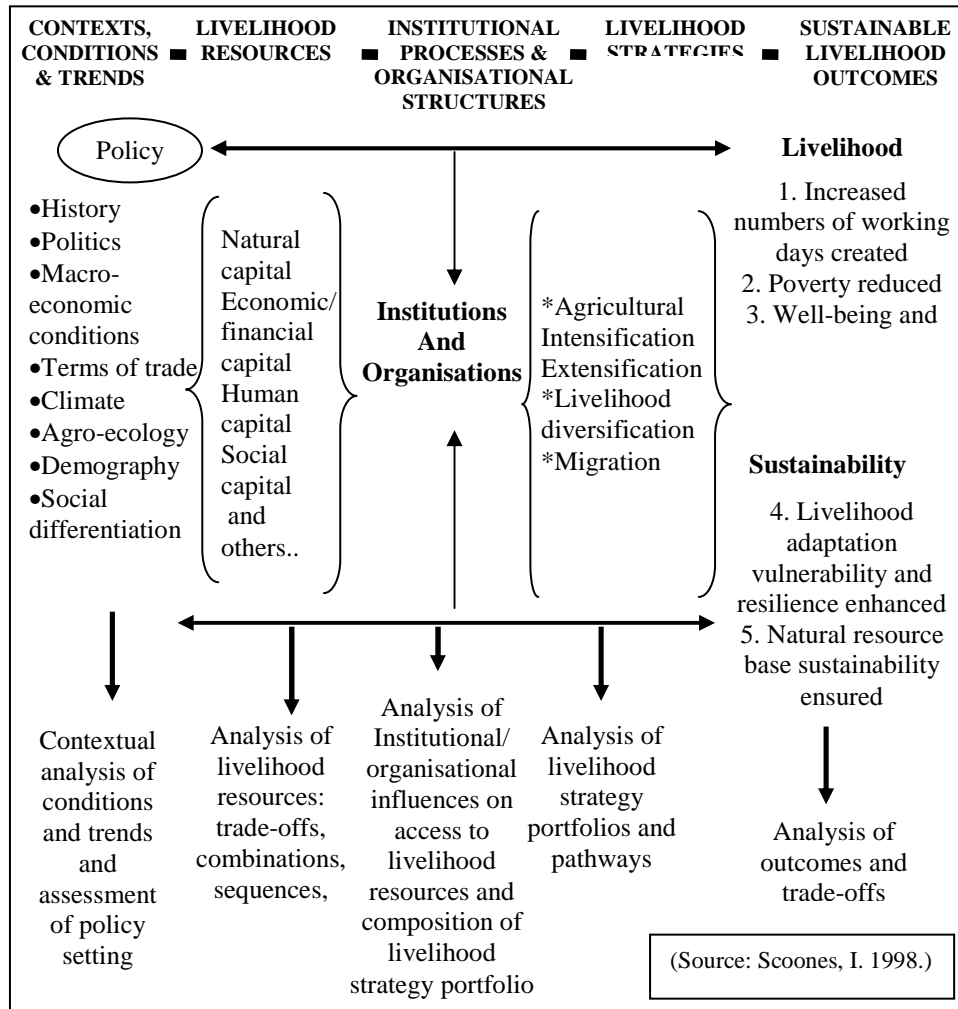
6.3. Rural Livelihoods:

6.3.1. The Concept and an Analytical Framework:

"Rural livelihoods" considers natural resource and agricultural policy from the perspective of poor people and highlights the need for location-specific interventions targeted to the livelihood needs of the poor (Chambers 1988 quoted by Scherr, 1999). "*A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a*

means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, while not undermining the natural resource base.” (Chambers and Conway, 1992 and the IDS team, quoted by Scoones, 1998).

Figure-8: Sustainable Rural Livelihood: a framework



An analytical framework (see **figure-8**) broadly reflecting the above concerns of development with livelihood dimensions has been evolved by Scoones, (1998) which fits these dimensions for analytical purposes and may be necessary to be understood. This framework has five recognisable key elements (Scoones, 1998):

1. Creation of working days;

2. Poverty reduction;
3. Wellbeing and capabilities;
4. Livelihood adaptation, vulnerability and resilience; and
5. Natural resource base sustainability.

Thus it incorporates the major concerns of poverty, employment, well-being and capabilities, adaptations, natural resource base sustainability and the context which are essential for arriving at considered location specific responses.

6.3.2. Poverty and Population Dimensions in Livelihoods:

It is well established that the poor are differentiated and locationally diverse. Jazairy, et al. (1992. IFAD) indicated five types of rural poverty having links with agriculture and environment:

1. Interstitial poverty is caused by material deprivation and alienation;
2. Peripheral poverty is the existence of pockets of poverty surrounded by affluence and power in isolated, marginal areas.
3. Overcrowding poverty arises from population pressure and limits on resources and results in material deprivation.
4. Traumatic or sporadic poverty is due to the vulnerability to natural calamities and disasters, labour displacement and insecurity, which can be transitory.
5. Endemic poverty is the symptom and result of isolation, alienation, technological deprivation, dependence and lack of assets.

On the other hand, Reardon and Vosti's (1997 quoted by Scherr, 1999) typology of poverty is linked to environment with regard to asset portfolio of the rural poor, and relates to:

- (1) *natural resources*, such as water, ground cover, biodiversity of wild and domestic fauna and flora, and soil;
- (2) *human resources*, such as education, health, nutrition, skills, number of people;
- (3) *on-farm resources*, such as livestock, farmland, pastures, reservoirs, buildings, equipment, financial resource);
- (4) *off-farm resources*, including local off-farm physical and financial capital;
- (5) *community-owned resources* such as roads, dams and commons; and
- (6) *social and political capital*

The above typology is more relevant to Meghalaya and it also avers that where markets are absent, underdeveloped or constrained, *asset-specific poverty* can influence livelihood activities and investment decisions (Reardon and Vosti, 1997. quoted by Scherr, 1999). Welfare poverty criteria

according to these authors can miss those that are not "absolutely poor" but are 'poor' enough, as their surplus is still too insignificant to prevent them from being the agent and victim of environmental degradation. Reardon and Vosti (quoted by Scherr, 1999) suggested a measure of "*conservation-investment poverty*, 'based on site specific function of local labour and non-labour input costs and the types of investment that are needed for the particular environmental problems or risks faced.'

More than 70 empirical studies of cases in hill and mountain regions concluded that the '*effects of population growth* were indeterminate in respect of land quality' (Templeton and Scherr forthcoming, quoted by Scherr, 1999). The relationship between environmental degradation and population density 'often resembled an inverted 'U' (Scherr, 1999)'. Checking population growth or resettlement from densely populated areas may not improve either productivity or resource quality' (Scherr, 1999). This is important for Meghalaya, as efforts are made to commercialise production through plantations and contract farming and the rich sections of society thinking of having joint ventures. It appears such approaches may complicate the situation, rather than solving it.

6.4. Rural Livelihood Strategies: dimensions of an holistic approach:

6.4.1. Dimensions of Strategies:

The option to pursue a particular livelihood strategies is 'dependent on the basic material and social ('tangible and intangible') assets that people possess' (Scoones 1998). In economic language it means a complex combination of natural capital, economic and financial capital, social capital and human capital. The natural capital indicates the land, soil, minerals, water, biodiversity and the entire ecosystems in its dynamic relationships. The economic and financial capital would include infrastructure, cash, credit, savings, production equipment and technologies essential for the pursuit of any livelihood. Human capital indicates and includes the skills, knowledge, labour, health and other endowments inherent in individuals. The social capital refers to the societal and community network and linkages that exist in associations, relationships, kinship etc. People's capacity and capability, access and endowments are varied. In such a scenario in a simple way it means that in order to generate and pursue livelihoods, 'people must combine the 'capital' endowment they have access to and control over' (Scoones, 1998).

In the context of Meghalaya we have examined the rich natural resources potentials in Chapter V at 5.3. and the need for an approach towards

sustainable resources management from the perspective of evolving strategies to sustain rural livelihoods dimension.

6.4.2. Rural Livelihood Strategies:

These are often reliant on the natural resource base (Scoones, 1998). In such a diverse and complex situation, a multi-pronged approach with policy and institutional coherence and commitment has to be adopted. In a rural setting, agriculture, off-farm income generation, migration and remittances along with the linkages between the rural and urban areas and also the larger economy has to be looked at together for any sustainable livelihood (Scoones, 1998). Studies of livelihood strategies have revealed 'considerable capacity' of rural poor 'to adapt to environmental degradation, either to mitigate its effects on their livelihoods or to rehabilitate degraded resources (Scherr, 1999).

6.4.2.i. Coping Mechanisms:

In traditional rural setting where kinship is strong as in the case of Meghalaya, to deal with environmental stress and growing marginalisation there are various coping strategies adopted such as (Scherr, 1999):

- reducing consumption, depleting household resources (liquidating assets or taking out credit for immediate consumption), or moving (dividing the family or migrating). These are responses which may imply further impoverishment;
- hoarding (accumulating land and other assets), increasing off-farm employment, exploiting common property resources, and making claims on others (borrow or receive gifts, avail of kinship and friendship ties; adopt patron/client relationships, seek state support). These may offset the welfare effects of resource degradation, but without improving the natural resource base;
- by protecting and preserving the asset base, diversifying and improving on-farm production systems, or taking out credit to invest in future production or resource protection (Masika; Davies 1996 quoted by Scherr, 1999). This may improve natural resources and reduce household poverty. However such positive results are only existing in small pockets and may not emerge all across.

In Meghalaya, the clan and kinship is an important social safety net existing in the tribal society, which helps during sudden exigencies, for education, employment, enterprise, and contract etc. However, with the urbanisation and skewed distribution many have adopted illegal recourse as an easy means having bearing on law and order. Besides, poor may not be driven to

take recourse to these adaptive and coping mechanisms as it affects their self- esteem.

6.4.2.ii. Agricultural Production Strategies:

It is by now admitted that agriculture strategies must take environment into account which was dubbed as the "doubly-Green Revolution"(Scherr, 1999). Quibria and Srinivasan’s study (1991 quoted by Scherr, 1999) of seven Asian developing countries showed more dependence on agriculture of the rural poor than the rural non-poor. Delgado, Hopkins and Kelly (1998 quoted by Scherr, 1999) has concluded ‘that the prosperity of people depended substantially on the forward and backward production and consumption linkages; besides recognising the ‘growing importance of non-farm activity’. It is also revealed that ‘income derived from common property resources is much more important to the rural poor than to the non-poor’, (Jodha 1991; Hopkins, Scherr and Gruhn 1995 quoted by Scherr, 1999).

Sustainable agriculture is “successful management of resources for agriculture to satisfy changing human needs while maintaining or enhancing the quality of the environment” (Chopra and Rao, 1991). Figure-9 depicts the links between the sustainable agriculture growth and poverty in their interrelationships.

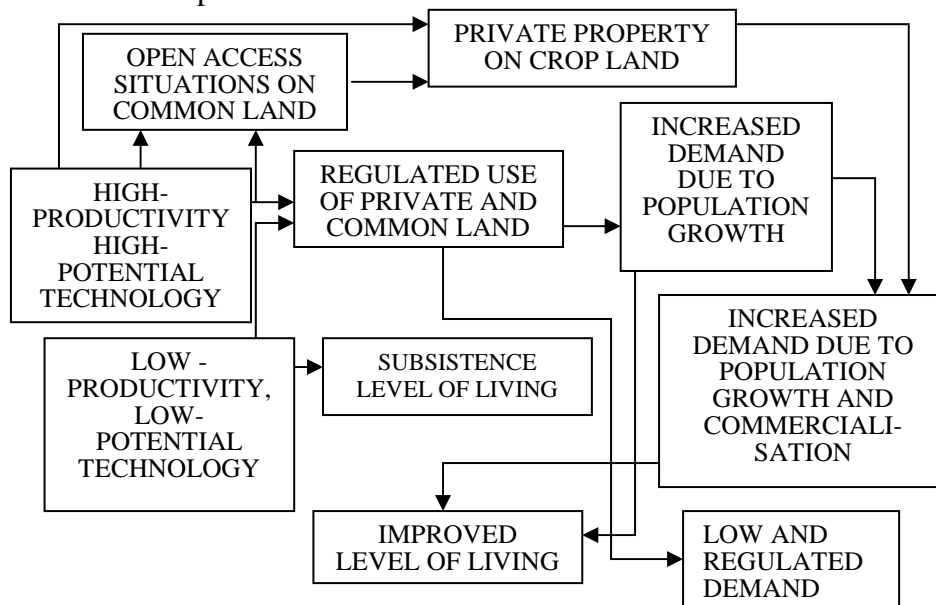


Figure-9: Links between Sustainable Agricultural Growth and Poverty (Source: Chopra, K and Rao, C. H. H. 1991.)

According to Scherr, (1999) *Eight key factors* appear to condition the poverty-environment interactions and outcomes in relation to agriculture:

- * “The characteristics of the natural resource base and farming systems of the poor;
- * Farmers' awareness and assessment of the importance of environmental degradation;
- * Availability of sustainable production technologies and their suitability for the poor;
- * Farmers' capacity to mobilise investment resources through own assets and networks;
- * Economic incentives for conservation management or investment;
- * Security of tenure and rights of access to resources by the poor;
- * Institutional capacity within communities to support adaptive response by the poor; and
- * Degree of political inclusion of the rural poor in decisions affecting resource policies.”

Some pro-poor strategies as suggested by Scherr (1999) for agriculture are as below:

- 1) facilitate ‘co-investment in on-farm natural resource assets of the poor’;
- 2) investment in projects promoting the agricultural resource base and employing the poor;
- 3) promotion and development of environment friendly technology in agriculture;
- 4) promoting low-risk perennial production in marginal and degraded areas;
- 5) assisting and encouraging the poor by compensation or share in revenue for ‘conserving or managing resources of value to others’; and
- 6) ensuring ‘access of the poor to natural resources essential for farm livelihoods’.

These suggestions can be ‘adapted and modified to a variety of local conditions linking poverty and environment’ (Scherr, 1999) and can be meaningful in Meghalaya’s context.

6.4.2.iii. The Agricultural Potentialities and Livelihood Dimensions in Meghalaya:

The *variety and diversity* that exists can be turned into opportunity and strength by adopting a holistic approach and proper strategies. This has been also recognised by IFAD (1995) which mentions following developmental potentials and opportunities in the area:

- diverse agro-climatic and bio-diversity as potential for diverse activities;
- adequate rainfall for supporting good natural and plant growth ;
- community structure and kinship existing in the society;
- ‘informal relationship among locals and local institutions’;
- access to lands and resources through the traditional system and district council;
- ‘traditional patterns of use of wood and non-wood products’;
- tradition for protection of forest in ‘sacred groves’;
- ‘perceptiveness and consciousness of women , excluded in village decision making process, to stop felling and conserve forests in sensitive watersheds’;
- willingness of people to take up supported afforestation activity with supportive programmes;
- availability of techniques and technological linkages;
- local knowledge in homestead forestry, agro-forestry, horti-forestry, etc.
- availability of potential of markets; and
- ‘adaptability of villagers to the changing needs and modified ecosystem’.

For Meghalaya all aspects mentioned at 6.4.2.ii are relevant as environmental concern in agricultural policy must be central, besides recognising the factor as suggested by UNOPS (1998) discussed in Chapter V at 5.2.1.iii; 5.5; 5.6.5, for sustainable agriculture, shifting cultivation and resource intensification.

Above potentials with suggestions at 6.4.2.ii, incorporating suggestions for future action by Ramakrishnan (1992 quoted by IFAD, 1995) as mentioned in chapter 5 and the activities, dimensions in respect of sustainable livelihood conservation strategies as suggested by Mullen, (1998; see ‘Natura Research paper’. University of Louvain) the action frame and activities in respect of sustainable agriculture towards livelihood issues stands well elaborated.

6.4.2.iv. Potentials of Non-Farm Sector in Meghalaya:

The growing realisation of the role of the non-farm sector has been recognised in recent years in broad basing and diversifying rural economy. *“Successful rural development requires a thriving agriculture, but the problems of rural poverty and retention of rural population cannot be solved by agriculture alone, however, successful it may be”*(Janvry, 1996). As it is, the agriculture in Meghalaya has its limiting factors, thus ‘given the increasing population, land scarcity and environmental degradation off-

farm and non-agricultural incomes need to be promoted' (Janvry, 1996). Potentially, these are strong in supplementing rural livelihoods particularly enhancing the productivity and ultimately the well being of women and consequently the family. Meghalaya has folk-art and songs; crafts, weaving, metal work, cane and bamboo works, woodcraft, pottery and traditional ornaments; rural implements and items of utility. Government has been extending various kinds of assistance, entrepreneur development programmes and promoting self-employment towards household and small-scale enterprise. IFAD (1995) also acknowledged the strength of these activities in the state by recognising a high level of skill and craftsmanship; low capital requirements; good reputation of certain indigenous products in national and international markets; availability of time to artisans. The opportunities as mentioned by IFAD (1995) are availability of training facility, research organisations and technical support for cottage industry; a wide network of promotional organisations and institutions; good domestic market and export potential.

The weaknesses as mentioned by IFAD (1995) in this respect are:

- * predominance and dependence on primitive and underdeveloped technologies;
- * unorganised and dispersed system;
- * inadequate facilities for on the job training;
- * financial constraints ; and for procurement of raw materials;
- * presence of sub-contract marketing and lack of organisational support including marketing;
- * 'weak production base'; and
- * 'illiteracy of artisans'.

However, the extension of services is relatively constrained owing to the large gap in infrastructure and lacks financial allocations to meet the gaps early.

6.5. Constraints of Adequate Access to Credit in Meghalaya:

Besides the bottlenecks of development elaborated in chapter III, and the institutional and planning regime requiring strengthening, one of the biggest constraints in livelihood matter such as relating to poverty alleviation, employment oriented, production oriented, conservation oriented and income generating programmes is the *lack of extension of credit*. The credit deposit ratio in the state remains below 20% for more than a decade or so. Traditional land tenure is blamed as constraining security for the credit. This appears to be only an excuse for non-performance and reluctance for credit

extension, as such traditional land tenure system is justifiable in courts. The State government has already enacted legislation namely the Meghalaya Miscellaneous Credit Operations Act way back in 1976 and detailed necessary exemptions to financial institutions under the Meghalaya Land Transfer Act 1972, under which these institutions would be categorised as non-tribal entities. Such poor performance is more in respect of commercial banks. It is also ironical that in a society so well knit for ethnicity, clan relationship and kinship, Co-operatives have so far also not been successful to a large extent. It might be related to the issue of leadership which can be other than the traditional leadership. Some rethinking and innovation in this regard is called for and is underway. Thus alternative credit arrangement is a dire necessity. A facility for availing concessional credit at 4-6% interest rate (compared to 10-13% otherwise) does exist for majority of poor tribal population through the mechanism of the Schedule caste and Schedule tribe Financial Corporation. But, these require the state government to guarantee such loans and also indicate a nodal agency for the purposes. In view of the poor recovery environment and the poor resource position coupled with debt burden of the state, such a mechanism remains as food for thought before it materialises in policy or civil society efforts.

6.6. Pro-Poor Policies Framework and Implications on Household:

A good policy framework is essential to promote poverty reducing and livelihoods promoting and facilitative environment. A framework of pro-poor policy as indicated below (figure-10) would catalyse the overall dynamics of livelihood strategies towards poverty alleviation and would create enabling environment.

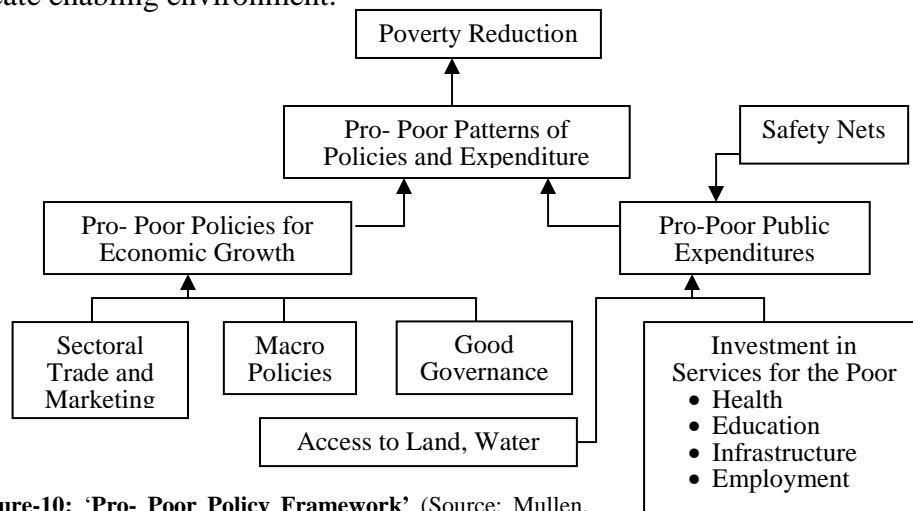


Figure-10: 'Pro- Poor Policy Framework' (Source: Mullen, and Hulme, 1996 modified from World Bank)

Recognising the dimensions in the analytical framework for livelihoods as mentioned earlier in the chapter such a macro policy framework would create ambience. Thus a good analysis of context and other dimension would go a long way for providing foundation for pro-poor good governance. The impact of policy at various aspects of decision-making of a household is depicted (figure-11) to indicate the relevance of policy regime and its impact negative or positive on marginalised section. The decision at the family level of coping strategy has a relationship with the interventions and policy implications.

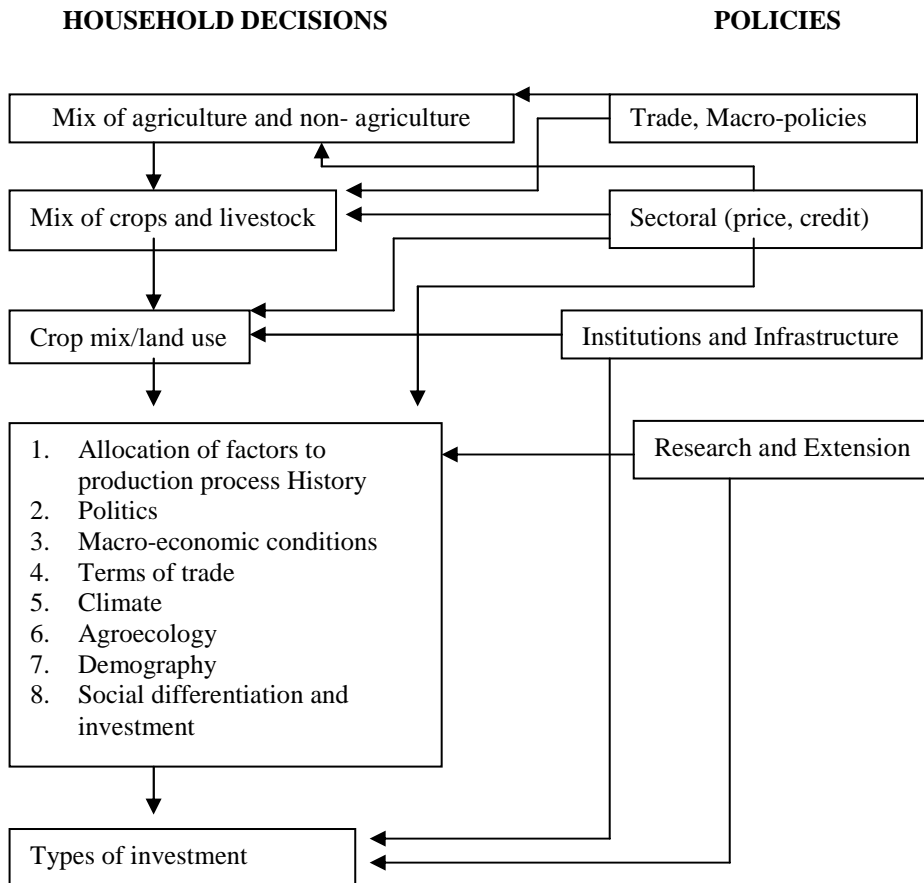
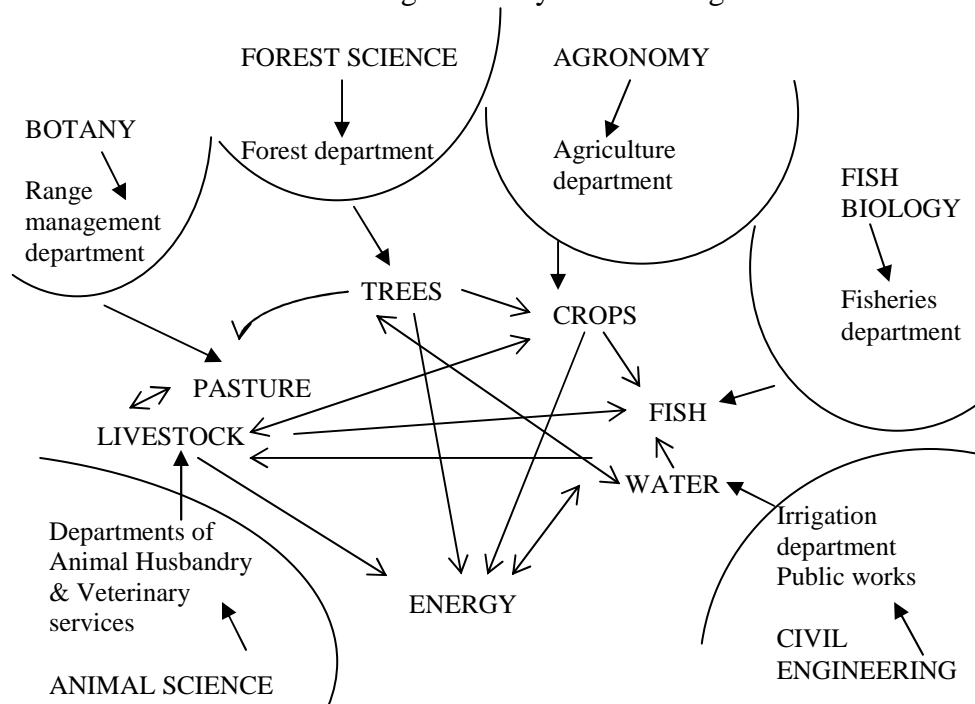


Figure-11: Policies' Effects on Household Behaviour in Decision Tree Stages (Source: Vosti and Reardon 1991.)

6.7. A Holistic Strategy for Reconciling the Concerns of Sustainability in Livelihoods:

The definitions and framework provides the analytical aspect in livelihood dimensions. Such analysis in particular towards sustainable rural development with livelihood dimension must be based on frameworks for *Stakeholder analysis, poverty reduction* and livelihood implications, *enhancing social capital, gender implications* and *suggested action plan* (Mullen, 1998) in respect of the entire range of cropping systems, livestock, agro-forestry, fisheries and other activities like sericulture etc involving the natural resource base including land water, plants, animals, minerals (ODA, 1996 quoted by Mullen,1998). These dimensions are to be examined and explored in each sectoral and specialised field in particular the given context at differentiated level due to large diversity in the settings.



Note: Gaps neglected by normal professionalism are represented by most of the lines in the centre, which often represent the linkages critical to resource poor farmers

Figure-12: Professions, Departments, Interactions and Gaps. (Source: Chambers, R., 1988.)

However, in doing so the linkages of context, resource, institutional structure and processes, strategies and livelihoods approach need to be brought to a common area, and a consensual integrated approach involving the prime stakeholders, mainly the people, need to be evolved. The pitfall of

the ‘common professionalism’ as reflected in normal sectoral planning and implementations under the current planning regime is vividly indicated by Robert Chambers above (figure-12). In a holistic approach as mentioned earlier, such gaps get filled up. The gaps as mentioned by Chambers can well be filled up by harmonising the *six group of institutions* involved in resource conservation as detailed by Mullen, (1998). These institutions are: *Government organisation* (central &/ state, and local levels); *civil society organisations* (which would include traditional organisations in the context of Meghalaya); *aid organisations* (where applicable); *private sector*; and *academic/scientific institutions/ fora* (Mullen,1998).

An accountable mechanism of co-ordination will be central to such institutional arrangements. Based on the case studies in countries like India, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Thailand etc (Samad, Watanabe and Kim, 1995 quoted by Mullen, 1998) following *guidelines fundamental for institutional arrangement* has been suggested towards sustainable resource management reconciling livelihoods perspectives, by Mullen (1998):

- *local control* or autonomy for sustained resource conservation and management;
- *equity* indicating the distributional aspect of the benefits of development, particularly protecting the poor and marginalised;
- *inclusive*: by involving all stakeholders to obviate any conflict ;
- *holistic*: organic linkages between sub-ecosystems and between people and nature and their inter-relationships in the overall diversity; and
- *transparency*: public accountability of institutions involved in the processes for continued trust and confidence.

UNCED, (2nd March, 1992, NewYork.) realised the urgent need for such ‘alternative models’ for ‘restoration of creative potential ‘by allowing the ‘rural people themselves to define their own lives and manage resources basic to their livelihoods’. Fundamentally such development must assure (UNCED, 2nd March, 1992, New York.):

- Access to and control of land and all resources for their present needs and future development;
- Full scope for expression for their traditional system of decision making, cultures, knowledge and technologies;
- Sustainable development must make sustenance of livelihoods of the people as central issue / goal;
- People should be given decisive voice in formulation of policy on the use and conservation of resources (and be made accountable for the same);

- Development of their lands and resources should have explicit consent from representative institutions;
- Indigenous knowledge system and technology must be respected and secured against the depredation of transnational companies claiming intellectual property rights.

Based upon the above discussions in the chapter, a holistic approach towards reconciling the issues of livelihoods through adequate analysis of its setting and pro-poor policies and to bring institutional aspects for good governance will go a long way in achieving sustainable rural livelihoods.

In doing so, *adequate investment for enhancing the capacity of people* is necessary. So far, in such an isolated region of India, the donors have not experimented with the people, excepting a few on micro-scale involving some of the NGOs. One reason might have been the sensitivity of the region regarding security concerns and external influences. Recently, IFAD has initiated and funded a loan proposal for the ‘North Eastern Region Community Resource Management Project for Upland Areas’ which is detailed and examined below.

6. 8. IFAD’s Project for the region: Promises towards livelihood issues:

As mentioned at 6.2. the imperatives of the poverty scenario indicate that the state requires a focussed investment for rural livelihood to mitigate the hardship faced by marginalised poor. To the credit of the IFAD, it caught the signals of distress from this isolated and underdeveloped region, with the prevalence of shifting cultivation causing stress to the environment and the people. Formulation and approval of the project took about five years. *“The North Eastern Region community resource management project for upland areas, a Rs 160 crore developmental project, to combat rural hunger and poverty, was launched here today. The project jointly funded by the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) and the Government of India”* (The Assam Tribune: Guwahati, Thursday, May 20, 1999 dateline Shillong, May 19.online.)”

The *objective of the project* is ‘to improve the livelihood of vulnerable groups in a sustainable manner through improved management of their resource base in a manner that protects and restores the environment’ (IFAD, 1997). The project is targeted to assist Jhum cultivators, is demand driven and attempts at increasing the productivity of short fallow Jhum plots through changes in crop mix and agronomic practices. It will also incorporate the allied activities in agriculture such as forestry, fisheries, conservation, livestock and non-farm activities towards livelihood

requirements. The project will adopt a participatory approach in community resources management.

The ***components of the project*** are (IFAD, 1997):

1. Capacity-building of communities and participating agencies (9% of the project cost);
2. Economic livelihood activities (50%);
3. Community-based biodiversity conservation(1%);
4. Social sector activities(6%);
5. Village roads and rural electrification (20%); and
6. Project management (13%).

7% has been kept as contingencies. 69% of the project cost will be a loan from IFAD, GOI will contribute 17%, 4% will be mobilised through institutional finance to meet the credit requirement and 11% is to be met by beneficiaries in the form of labour and savings to the credit (IFAD, 1997). The project will be implemented in seven years. The overall economic rate of return was expected to be 15%; but with two-year delay it may be around 12%.

The coverage of the project will be the six districts in the NER namely - West Khasi Hills, West Garo Hills Districts in Meghalaya; Senapati, Ukhrul in Manipur; Karbi Anglong, North Cachar Hills in Assam. A total of 23000 households are expected to benefit directly from the project. Besides, some 444000-Jhum households will benefit indirectly.

The logical framework of the project is at **Annexe-19** which provides the essence of the project format. The project is in the pilot phase of implementation and is likely to follow the process approach. For monitoring and evaluation it will use the framework of 'FRAMES' and a mid-term evaluation/ review will take place during the three year implementation (IFAD, 1997). Project supervision will be the responsibility of UNOPS (IFAD, 1997).

Economic Livelihood Activities: The project attempts at modification of current Jhum plots; other on-farm investments for horticultural, perennial crops, forestry, support for nurseries, seeds and seedlings, construction of 370 ha. of new irrigation structures and rehabilitation of 1370 ha. of existing irrigation systems. For livestock productivity, new stocks of breeding pigs and poultry will be provided to government breeding farms for multiplication and distribution and for the establishment of village level breeding units, besides extension of health coverage for an initial limited period. Fish production will be given a fillip by the construction of 500 fishponds. Assistance for non-farm enterprises will be an integrated package of consultancy, design, technology, skill, market linkages etc. Credit will be extended by SIDBI channelled through commercial banks or NGOs. Special

Funds (NGO Fund, equity fund, SHG Revolving Fund and Agricultural fund) will be established in the regional society of the project. Besides, the project proposes to develop extension services through participation, training and demonstration by involving existing institutions and NGOs. Studies, workshops, seminars are also proposed to 'promote the debate on strategies' and to broaden the range of development opportunities' (IFAD1997).

The project is a welcome step for the people of these states. The above description is for the entire project and Meghalaya's farmers will have their fair share. However, the allocations for livelihood should have been higher, and more in respect of biodiversity and its linkage to livelihood issues by creating stakes for the farmers and community in preservation and restoration. The process of beneficiary identification would be most critical, as there does not exist any list of core Jhumias; this can be sorted out by participatory mode in a transparent manner. How the existing traditional village institutions and creation of new village development committees are going to be harmonised will be of interest. At the same time, the project will have to be mindful that the benefits are not cornered by an influential section and does reach the intended and targeted beneficiaries. Another critical aspect is the selection and capacity of NGOs as there are not many such institutions of adequate capacity. Such NGOs will require extensive orientation as well as intensive monitoring. Since NEC is the co-ordinator and the funding and organisational structure is bypassing the state governments, accountability will be essentially outside the domain of state governments. A more intensive interaction with the governments at the policy and direction level will be desirable, as NEC has been essentially a non-implementing agency. Much would depend on the acumen and innovative initiatives of the project management. Effective monitoring, flexibility, dialogue and communication at all levels will be prerequisite towards the success of the project in achieving sustainable rural livelihoods.

6.9. Summary and Conclusion:

The hill imperatives of Meghalaya, particularly its ecological vulnerability, have made sustainable resource management as one of the core concerns of development in the state as discussed earlier in Chapter V. In addition, the increasing trend of poverty and rural marginalisation, reflected in continued prevalence of shifting cultivation, calls for alternatives in rural areas, especially for the poor and marginalised to have assured means of livelihoods. Though coping strategies of rural poor are known, and social security network exists among indigenous tribal society, livelihood aspects are critical issues for survival in rural isolated settings of Meghalaya.

Various interventions under rural development programmes of poverty alleviation and the sectoral programmes have not attempted to see the integrative and holistic requirement under the normal professionalism towards reconciling the conservation with the means of livelihoods. The thin spread and limitations of governmental funds, besides the politics of it, has made many in rural areas more marginalised and vulnerable.

The constraints of resources and resource management must be redressed through enhancing the capacities of the people. In any strategy of livelihood, conservation and protection of hill ecology will have to be central. Nature has been the nurturer and mother of sustenance. Thus the carrying capacity of the ecosystem needs to be analysed and harmonised with the needs of people by a restorative framework of livelihood. Such framework would essentially revolve around the holistic approach as mentioned in the chapter incorporating sustainable agriculture with a mix of complementary non-farm activities. It will have to adhere to the fundamental guidelines of participation and local control; equity; inclusiveness and holistic approach with transparency and accountability in actions through the institutional arrangements as mentioned.

Well thought out investments through project interventions which directly concentrate on the problems of people are the need of the hour in the North Eastern India within the overall objectives of governance. IFAD's project in the region is timely and a trend setter in its initiatives in so far as it tries to address the issue of livelihood in a somewhat holistic manner. The transformation of formulations to the reality of well being is the task of all concerned in the process. The capacity of people and institutions involved will have to be strengthened. Objectiveness, commitment to the challenge, transparency, accountability and above all, involvement of people will be essential for success of any intervention.

CHAPTER VII SUMMARY & CONCLUSION

“This I say, let us not govern these hills for ourselves, but administer the country for the well-being and happiness of the people dwelling therein. What is wanted here is not measures, but a man. ...not a mere cog in the wheel..., but one tolerant ...and yet prompt to see ...the touch of nature...Let the people by slow degree.... With education open to them... and yet moving under their own laws and customs, Turn out not debased...” (*A fine passage by T. H. Lewin, written in 1869, anticipates the attitude and policy of modern India*’, as Quoted by Elwin, V. 1959.pp. xviii-xix).

The preceding chapters have attempted to pursue the broad framework of the perspectives on development in the case of Meghalaya (India) as outlined as a broad objective in the introductory chapter. This attempt does not claim to provide an integrated and holistic dimension of development in the state. It has tried to capture the essence of some of the contextual dimensions, streams of meaning development can have and possible dimensions which the plans and the programmes should incorporate.

As proposed in the specific objectives (see Introduction 1.3, Chapter I) socio-political sensitivities, trends and realities in the context of Meghalaya in federal India has been discussed in Chapter II. The debate and dimension of development in general was discussed and the contextual analysis of the problem, constraints and policies were detailed in the succeeding Chapter III. Chapter IV studied the aspects of the planning regime and suggested a format for more people centred participatory planning and development. The challenges of natural resources management with reference to the prevailing traditional farming system of shifting cultivation was elucidated in Chapter V. Chapter VI, discussed the dimensions of livelihoods in the considerations towards sustainable livelihoods as the core concern for hilly rural areas.

India, representing almost one sixth of humanity, presents diverse dimensions of potentialities, problems, and prospects encompassing differentiated aspirations and needs, encompassing a mosaic of culture, traditions, and natural resources of diverse peoples. India’s North Eastern Region epitomises most intensely the truism and richness of this diversity and attendant complexities. Traditional society in hills remained mostly isolated, marginalised and uncared for in the pre-independence era. Sensitivities towards tribals were incorporated as safeguards in the Constitution of India. Democratic fervour in the post independence era provided voice and exposure to people under a new political order,

displacing and marginalising some of its traditional institutions. Ethnicity remains the centrepiece of ends and the means of political and developmental agenda. Insecurity and identity coupled with ethnicity manifests themselves as demands that reflect local aspirations. The creation of Meghalaya as a separate state was one such manifestation; but it shares common problems and perceptions of regional backwardness with other states in the NER.

Development aims at achieving a change through a web of concepts that are centred on human needs towards facilitating achievement of potentials. Thus it incorporates social, political, economic and environmental dimensions towards well-being and progress. Acknowledged concerns in development incorporate poverty, production, employment and livelihood, and equality through sustainability. Responsibility of such an onerous task and the distributive aspect in development brings in the role of the state. Dynamism of the change process also reflects itself in experimentation and emerging role shifts, as society operates as a complex matrix organisation, which expresses itself differently to contextual requirements. The development process in government revolves on policy, planning and implementation. The core of tribal development policy, as seen in Meghalaya, has been protection, development, and social justice as reflected in the 'Panchsheel for tribals'. Major problems in the state relate to lack of resources for investment, infrastructure, and basic needs/ services, besides enhancing productivity of its natural resource base.

Planning has been the main vehicle of development in India and its constituent states. Planning in Meghalaya remains centralised. It also does not attempt at resource planning but essentially on source (of funding) planning for 'slicing the cake' in favour of each sector of government. The absence of natural resource inventories and lack of integrated natural resource planning, which takes hill specificities and people's participation into account remains the centrepiece of the failures in the state. In the wake of the Panchayati Raj Act an opportunity has emerged to reconsider effective framework of participatory development by incorporating best elements of Sixth and Eleventh Schedule of the Constitution of India and by correcting any considered distortions in the past in respect of the traditional institutions. This is necessary to generate demand driven action from grassroots and traditional society through effective involvement in planning and development towards rational resource planning in the state.

An integrated natural resources planning and management perspective takes local specificities into account and provides the basic impetus towards the issues of sustainable livelihoods. Rationalising and defining the traditional community structures with scope of benefits for individual enterprise from

the natural resource base; resource inventory, capacity building and reforms; and evolving local perspectives on development with due involvement of traditional systems, are core dimensions in resource management in Meghalay's context.

The shifting cultivation (Jhum) prevalent in the state has caused considerable environmental degradation in recent years. Dependence on this natural farming system is linked to the traditional tribal way of life in rural areas; accompanied by the absence of assured, stable and viable alternatives for livelihoods. Meaningful strategies are dependent on access and extent of resource availability, security of ownership and tenure, incentives (both tangible and intangible) for resource intensification and diversification together with constraints of labour. This calls for diverse, decentralised, location-specific planning towards resource-intensification-focussed strategies of livelihood with ecological security of sustainable development. The majority of people in Meghalaya live in rural areas and is dependent on nature and agriculture. The increasing trend in poverty, disparity and unemployment may form a breeding ground of violence. A variety of potentials exist in the farm and non-farm sectors in the state. This calls for an urgent holistic approach towards rural livelihood that reconciles the environmental concerns with integrated intensification of production systems by enabling provisions and enhancing capacities. Sustainable livelihoods allow people to integrate 'capital endowment'. This calls for institutionalised local control and accountability for resource management and conservation; equitable distribution for checking and reducing disparity; and holistic strategies for enforcing the mutuality and linkages of components in the ecosystem.

International assistance to the North Eastern Region and in particular to the tribal population has been minimal so far. IFAD's community resources management project holds the promise of containing the decline of rural areas. More assistance for enhancing the production and productive capacity is required from the international community in view of the poor resources of the country and the state and the imminence that the task of rural livelihoods has assumed.

Attempts to encapsulate all dimensions of development in a study have limitations; the foremost necessity is to understand the context and setting of the study. India's North Eastern region, which contains Meghalaya, has special historical and local sensitivities that must be acknowledged and reflected in developmental concerns. The role of government (both at the centre and in the state) and international aid agencies in these isolated and fragile areas becomes more pertinent in reducing intra-and inter-regional disparity and providing and impetus towards sustainable development.

Though planning plays a pivotal role towards attaining the objectives of development, planning in Meghalaya remains centralised and is essentially not a resource planning but source (of funding) planning for distributing investment to each sectors of government. Planning ought to be decentralised and participatory providing space to traditionally rooted society. The hill specificities of Meghalaya and the richness of natural resources in its diverse agro-ecological setting demands integrated resource planning with a holistic approach towards natural resource management. An approach that can harmonise the traditional way of living with nature and improve the production base through resource-intensification-focussed strategies of livelihood with ecological security of sustainable development will be necessary for adoption. This would require rationalising and defining stakes; sincere efforts towards capacity building and reforms; and, evolving local perspectives on development for in-tandem action.

The evolution of a new approach for development in Meghalaya, conscious of the pitfalls of normal sectoral segregation, is essential. Adequate investment in the productive sectors coupled with mitigating the constraints of infrastructure, investment and credit, backward and forward linkages and institutional arrangements allowing more effective format of participation in planning and development will lead to the enhancement of indigenous and local capacities. This may contain the growth of the poverty trap and help towards a better disposition of the 'outside world'.

Thus, key issues emerging from our analysis would include the following:

- Pro-agriculture and pro-poor growth strategy aimed at intensive integrated farming coupled with diversification strategies in development;
- Resource based planning with enabling environment for building human resources and capacities towards assured and sustainable livelihoods;
- Encouraging traditional institutions, NGOs, grassroots organisations; and
- Reforms to reorient towards providing 'good governance', people's involvement in development, and greater transparency.

A detailed discussion of these is beyond the scope of this work, but it has provided theoretical justification for further development of the ideas.



COUNTRY DATA

Annexe-1

India

Area (Thousand km ³)	3287.6
Population (millions, 1994) 5/	913.6
Population density (population per km ² , 1993)	278
Local Currency	Indian Rupee (INR)
Social Indicators	
Population (av. ann. Growth % 1985-94) 5/	2
Crude birth rate (per thous. pop.) 1993 1/	29
Crude death rate (per thous. pop.) 1993 1/	10
Infant mortality rate (per thous. live births) 1993 5/	80
Life expectancy at birth (year), 1993 5/	61
Number of rural poor (millions) 1992 3/	270
Poor as % of total rural population (1980-90) 3/-	42
Total labour force (millions), 1993 1/	341.5
Female labour force as % of total (1993) 1/	25
Education	
Primary school enrolment (% of age group total), 1992 2/	102
Adult literacy rate (as % of total pop) 1993 4/	50.6
Nutrition	
Daily calorie supply per person (1992) 4/	2 395
Per capita daily calorie supply as a percentage of requirement, 1980-90 3/	105
Prevalence of malnutrition (under 5-thousands) 1992 4/	n.a.
Health	
Population per physician (1988-91) 4/	2 439
Population per nursing person (1988-91) 4/	3 333
Access to safe water (% of total population) 1990-95 4/	81
Access to health services (% of total population) 1985-95 4/	85
Access to sanitation services (% of total population) 1990-95 4/	29
Agriculture and Food	
Cereal imports (thousands of metric t) 1993 1/	694
Food imports as percentage of total merchandise imports, 1992 4/	4
Fertiliser consumption (kilograms of nutrient per arable ha) 1992 1/	67
Average index of food prod per capi 1987=100 1/ 1993=	113
Food production per capita (average growth rate: 1979-81=100 1979-93)	n.a.
Land Use	
Agricultural land % of total land area (1992)* 1/	61
Forest and woodland area (sq km) 1991	517 292
Forest and woodland area as % of total land area (mre)	15.73
Irrigated land as a % of agricultural land, 1991 1/	25.30

1/ World Bank Stars Dataset, 1995

n.a. not available

2/ World Bank Development Report, 1995

mre most recent estimate

3/ UNDP, Human Development Report, 1994

* Estimate of area used for crops, pastures, market and kitchen gardens or lying fallow, as % of total land area (excluding area under inland water and rivers)

4/ UNDP, Human Development Report, 1996

5/ World Bank Atlas, 1996

COUNTRY DATA
India

Annexe-1(Continued)

GNP per capita (USD, 1994) 5/	310
Average annual rate of growth of GNP per capita % 1985-94 5/	2.9
Average annual rate of inflation 1985-94 5/	9.7
Exchange Rate: USD 1=	INR 9.7
Economic indicators	
GDP (USD million) 1993 1993 2/	225 431
Average Annual Growth Rate of GDP (%)	
1978-80 2/	3.4
1980-93 2/	5.2
Sectoral distribution of GDP	
% of agriculture 1993 1/	30
% of industry 1993 1/	28
% of manufacturing 1993 1/	17
% of services 1993 1/	42
Gross National Income (local const pr) in millions 1993 1/	4 407 862
Government consumption (as % of GDP) 1993 1/	31 61
Private consumption (as % of GDP) 1993 1/	68 39
Balance of Payments (USD million)	
Merchandise exports 1993 1/	21 600
Merchandise imports 1993 1/	22 800
Balance of trade	-1 200
Current account balance	
before official transfer 1993 1/	-685
after official transfer 1993 1/	- 315.000096
Direct foreign investment, 1993 1/	272.999904
Net workers' remittance, 1992 1/	2086.00
Terms of trade (1987=100) 1/ 1993	100
Government Finance	
Overall surplus or deficit as a % of GNP, 1993 2/	-4.80
Total expenditure (% of GNP) 1993 2/	16.90
Total external debt as a % of GNP, 1993 1/	37
Total external debt (USD million) 1993 1/	91 781
Debt service ratio (as a % of exports of goods an services) 1993 1/	27.20
Nominal lending rates of banks 1993 1/	16.25
Nominal deposit rate of banks 1992 1/	n.a.

1/ World Bank Stars Dataset, 1995

n.a. not available

2/ World Bank Development Report, 1995

mre most recent estimate

3/ UNDP, Human Development Report, 1994

* Estimate of area used for crops, pastures,

4/ UNDP, Human Development Report, 1996

market and kitchen gardens or lying

5/ World Bank Atlas, 1996

fallow, as % of total land ares (excluding

area under inland water and rivers)

Key Socioeconomic Indicators of India (IFAD, 1997)

ECONOMIC INDICATORS: MEGHALAYA AND INDIA (1988-89)

Sl. No.	Item	1988-89	
		Meghalaya	All India
1	2	3	4
1.	Population (in lakhs)	16.69	8193.21
2.	Population Growth Rate (%)	(a) 24.92	(a) 19.58
3.	Density per Square Kilometre	74	249
4.	Effective couple protection rate	5.2 (1990)	43.3 (1990)
5.	Scheduled Tribes as percentage of total population	80.64	8.05
6.	Scheduled Caste as percentage of total population	0.43	15.86
7.	Total main workers as percentage of total population	42.9	32.1
8.	Cultivators as percentage of main workers	57.7	40.2
9.	Agricultural labourers as percentage of main workers	10.1	23.9
10.	Non agricultural workers as percentage of main workers	32.2	35.9
11.	Percentage of industrial workers (manufacturing and household industries) to the main workers	0.7	3.4
12.	Literacy percentage		
	(a) Total	34.1*	43.7*
	(b) Rural	27.5*	36.1*
	(c) Urban	64.1*	67.3*
13.	Cultivated area as percentage to total area	10.80	55.08
14.	Forest area as percentage to total area	41.93	20.41

15.	Gross irrigated area ('000 hectares)	49	59329
16.	Percentage of irrigated area to total cropped area	20.2	32.2
17.	Gross irrigated area per cultivator (hectares)	0.13	0.64
18.	Crop yield per hectare (kg)		
	(a) Rice	963	1690
	(b) Food grains	1000	1330
19.	Per capita availability (gms/day)		
	(a) Cereals	216	451
	(b) Food grains	223	493
20.	Per capita value added by large scale manufacture (Factory Sector) Rs.	62	609
		(1990-91)	(1990-91)
21.	Percentage contribution of industrial (manufacturing) sectors to gross domestic product at current prices	3.3	17.8
22.	Per capita income in real terms (1980-81prices) Rs.	1455	2059
23.	Per capita income at current prices (Rs.)	3074	3842
24.	Per capita consumption of electricity (Kwh)	98.4	216.5
25.	Number of doctors per lakh of population	18	26
26.	Percentage of villages electrified	39.5	78.7
27.	Road density per 100 sq. km.	24.1	56.2
28.	Surfaced road length per 100 sq. km.	10.2	27.4
29.	Employment in public sector as percentage to total employment	93.15	71.23
		(1989-90)	(1989-90)
30.	Employment in private sector as	6.85	28.77

	<i>percentage to total employment</i>	<i>(1989-90)</i>	<i>(1989-90)</i>
<i>31.</i>	<i>Credit - Deposit Ratio</i>	<i>1:4</i>	<i>1:2</i>

*Note: * as per 1981 census; ** as per 1991 census; (a) -Growth in Eight Years; (b) -Growth in five years; (c) -Growth in four years; Q - Quick Estimates; NA - Information not available*

Annexe-1A (Continued)

ECONOMIC INDICATORS: MEGHALAYA AND INDIA (1993-94)

Sl. No.	Item	1993-94	
		Meghalaya	All India
1	2	3	4
1.	Population (in lakhs)	19.33	9016.53
2.	Population Growth Rate (%)	(b) 15.82	(b) 10.05
3.	Density per Square Kilometre	89	274
4.	Effective couple protection rate	4.0	45.4
5.	Scheduled Tribes as percentage of total population	87.07	8.15
6.	Scheduled Caste as percentage of total population	0.55	16.66
7.	Total main workers as percentage of total population	39.7	34.1
8.	Cultivators as percentage of main workers	54.5	37.9
9.	Agricultural labourers as percentage of main workers	14.5	26.5
10.	Non agricultural workers as percentage of main workers	31.0	35.6
11.	Percentage of industrial workers (manufacturing and household industries) to the main workers	0.3	3.7
12.	Literacy percentage		
	(d) Total	49.1**	52.2**
	(e) Rural	41.7**	44.7**
	(f) Urban	81.7**	73.1**
13.	Cultivated area as percentage to total area	10.63	56.71
14.	Forest area as percentage to total area	41.84	20.81

15.	Gross irrigated area ('000 hectares)	46	68367
16.	Percentage of irrigated area to total cropped area	19.3	36.6
17.	Gross irrigated area per cultivator (hectares)	0.12	0.62
18.	Crop yield per hectare (kg)		
	(b) Rice	1128	1890
	(b) Food grains	1133	1500
19.	Per capita availability (gms/day)		
	(b) Cereals	224	434
	(b) Food grains	227	470
20.	Per capita value added by large scale manufacture (Factory Sector) Rs.	50	996
21.	Percentage contribution of industrial (manufacturing) sectors to gross domestic product at current prices	4.5	17.5
22.	Per capita income in real terms (1980-81 prices) Rs.	1681	2337
23.	Per capita income at current prices (Rs.)	5934	7324
24.	Per capita consumption of electricity (Kwh)	135.0	299.0
25.	Number of doctors per lakh of population	18	25
26.	Percentage of villages electrified	49.1	85.3
27.	Road density per 100 sq. km.	26.8 (1992-93)	82.6 (1992-93)
28.	Surfaced road length per 100 sq. km.	12.7 (1992-93)	39.0 (1992-93)
29.	Employment in public sector as percentage to total employment	91.43	71.12

30.	<i>Employment in private sector as percentage to total employment</i>	<i>8.57</i>	<i>28.88</i>
31.	<i>Credit - Deposit Ratio</i>	<i>1:7</i>	<i>1:2</i>

*Note: * as per 1981 census; ** as per 1991 census; (a) -Growth in Eight Years; (b) -Growth in five years; (c) -Growth in four years; Q - Quick Estimates; NA - Information not available*

Annexe-1A (Continued)

ECONOMIC INDICATORS: MEGHALAYA AND INDIA (1997-98)

Sl. No.	Item	1997-98	
		Meghalaya	All India
1	2	3	4
1.	Population (in lakhs)	21.65	9811.17
2.	Population Growth Rate (%)	(c) 12.00	(c) 8.81
3.	Density per Square Kilometre	96	298
4.	Effective couple protection rate	4.2 (1996)	46.5 (1996)
5.	Scheduled Tribes as percentage of total population	89.18	8.36
6.	Scheduled Caste as percentage of total population	0.60	17.10
7.	Total main workers as percentage of total population	38.6	34.6
8.	Cultivators as percentage of main workers	52.2	36.9
9.	Agricultural labourers as percentage of main workers	16.3	27.0
10.	Non agricultural workers as percentage of main workers	31.5	36.1
11.	Percentage of industrial workers (manufacturing and household industries) to the main workers	0.2	3.8
12.	Literacy percentage		
	(g) Total	49.1**	52.2**
	(h) Rural	41.1**	44.7**
	(i) Urban	81.7**	73.1**
13.	Cultivated area as percentage to total area	10.64 (1994-95)	57.24 (1994-95)
14.	Forest area as percentage to total area	41.70 (1996-97)	19.27 (1996-97)

15.	Gross irrigated area ('000 hectares)	46 (1994-95)	70640 (1994-95)
16.	Percentage of irrigated area to total cropped area	19.3 (1994-95)	37.5 (1994-95)
17.	Gross irrigated area per cultivator (hectares)	0.11 (1994-95)	0.59 (1994-95)
18.	Crop yield per hectare (kg)		
	(c) Rice	1346 (1996-97)	1879 (1996-97)
	(b) Food grains	1349 (1996-97)	1601 (1996-97)
19.	Per capita availability (gms/day)		
	(c) Cereals	241 (1996-97)	474 (1996-97)
	(b) Food grains	244 (1996-97)	512 (1996-97)
20.	Per capita value added by large scale manufacture (Factory Sector) Rs.	NA	NA
21.	Percentage contribution of industrial (manufacturing) sectors to gross domestic product at current prices	3.9 (1995-96)	19.7 (1995-96)
22.	Per capita income in real terms (1980-81 prices) Rs.	1837 (Q) (1996-97)	2761 (Q) (1996-97)
23.	Per capita income at current prices (Rs.)	8474(Q) (1996-97)	10771 (Q) (1996-97)
24.	Per capita consumption of electricity (Kwh)	139.6 (1994-95)	320.1 (1994-95)
25.	Number of doctors per lakh of population	18	24
26.	Percentage of villages electrified	49.7 (1995-96)	86.6 (1995-96)
27.	Road density per 100 sq. km.	34.4 (1994-95)	91.7 (1994-95)
28.	Surfaced road length per 100 sq. km.	15.6	41.9

		(1994-95)	(1994-95)
29.	Employment in public sector as percentage to total employment	80.96 (1996-97)	69.54 (1996-97)
30.	Employment in private sector as percentage to total employment	10.04 (1996-97)	30.46 (1996-97)
31.	Credit - Deposit Ratio	1:8	1:2

Note: * as per 1981 census; ** as per 1991 census; (a) -Growth in Eight Years; (b) -Growth in five years; (c) -Growth in four years; Q - Quick Estimates; NA - Information not available

Source: Directorate of Economics & Statistics, Government of Meghalaya, Compiled 2000

Table-5: Socio-economic Profile of Meghalaya

<i>Sl. No.</i>	<i>Items</i>	<i>Units</i>	<i>Particulars</i>
1.	GEOGRAPHICAL AREA	Sq.Km.	22429
2.	1. POPULATION (a) Total	In '000 Nos.	1775
	(b) Male		908
	(c) Female	% of 2.1.a	868
	2. Rural	% of 2.1.a	81.40
	3. Urban	% of 2.1.a	18.60
3.	4. Scheduled tribe	Person per Sq. Km	85.53
4.	DENSITY	Females / 1000 males	79
5.	SEX RATIO	Percentage of population	955
	LITERACY (7 years and above).		49.10
	a. Total		53.12
	b. Male		44.85
	c. Female		41.05
6.	d. Rural		81.74
	e. Urban		40.32
	Labour		
	a. Main workers as % of total population	%	55.31
	b. % to total Main workers	%	12.51
	i. Cultivators	%	0.40
	ii. Agriculture labourers		31.78
	iii. Workers engaged in household industry, processing and repairs		
	iv. Other workers		
7.	STATE INCOME (1994-95) (1) Net State Domestic Product by	Rs. in Crores	

	<p><i>Industry of origin-</i></p> <p>(a) <i>At Current price</i></p> <p>(b) <i>At Constant Price</i></p> <p>(2) <i>Per Capita State Domestic Product by Industry of origin</i></p> <p>(a) <i>At Current price</i></p> <p>(b) <i>At Constant (1980-81) Price</i></p>		<p>1205.68</p> <p>360.48</p> <p>6136</p> <p>1835</p>
8	<p>LAND UTILISATION (1995-96)</p> <p>(a) <i>Gross cropped area</i></p> <p>(b) <i>Net sown area</i></p> <p>(c) <i>Area sown more than once</i></p> <p>(d) <i>Per capita net area sown</i></p> <p>(e) <i>Consumption of fertilisers per ha. of cropped area sown</i></p>	<p>'000 HECTARES</p> <p>Ha. (95-96)</p> <p>KGs (94-95)</p>	<p>247.41</p> <p>206.48</p> <p>(9.21)</p> <p>(19.83)</p> <p>0.12</p> <p>16</p>
9	<p>a. AREA UNDER CROPS</p> <p>(a) <i>Rice</i></p> <p>(b) <i>Maize</i></p> <p>(c) <i>Potato</i></p> <p>AVERAGE YIELDS PER Ha.</p> <p>i. <i>Rice</i></p> <p>ii. <i>Maize</i></p> <p>iii. <i>Potato</i></p>	<p>'000 hectares</p> <p>KGs</p>	<p>104.04</p> <p>16.96</p> <p>17.85</p> <p>1039</p> <p>1282</p> <p>8233</p>
10	<p>PRODUCTION OF IMPORTANT CROPS (1994-95)</p> <p>(a) <i>Rice</i></p> <p>(b) <i>Maize</i></p> <p>(c) <i>Potato</i></p>	<p>'000 MT</p>	<p>111.49</p> <p>20.55</p> <p>80.125</p>
11	<p>ANIMAL HUSBANDRY & VETERINARY (1992)</p> <p>(a) <i>Total Livestock</i></p> <p>(b) <i>Total poultry</i></p> <p>(c) <i>Hospital</i></p>	<p>'000 Nos.</p> <p>'000 Nos.</p> <p>Nos.</p>	<p>1,186</p> <p>1,826</p> <p>4</p>

12.	FOREST(1995-96) Total Forest Area	'000 hectares	949.60
13.	ELECTRICITY (a) Installed capacity (b) Generation (c) Electrified villages	Megawatt MKWH(MU) Nos. (%)	186.71 542.55 2408 (43.91)
14.	INDUSTRY(1995) (a) Factories registered under Factories Act (b) Small Scale Industries registered with Director Industries	Nos.	58 2533
15.	MINING (1995) Production of (a) Coal (b) Limestone	'000 Tonnes '000 Tonnes	3199 152
16.	CO-OPERATIVE (1995-96) (a) Co-operative Societies (b) Membership (c) Co-operative societies per lakh population	Nos. '000 Nos.	803 184 44
17.	ROAD LENGTH (PWD)(1995-96) (a) National Highways (b) State Highways (c) Major District Roads (d) Other District Roads (e) Total (f) Road- length per 100 sq. kms of area (g) Surfaced road per 100 sq. kms. of area (h) % of surfaced road to total length of roads	Kms. %	350 953 1032 4587 6922 30.90 12.92 41.81
18.	EMPLOYMENT(1995-96) (a) Public Sector	Nos.	64615

	(b) Private Sector		6800
19.	HEALTH (1995-96) (a) Government Hospital (b) Government Dispensaries (c) Sub centre (d) Primary Health Centre (e) Birth rate (f) Death rate (g) Infant mortality rate (h) Hospitals and dispensaries per lakh of population (95) (i) PHC per lakh of population (95) (j) Hospital beds per lakh of population (95)	Nos. Per thousand (1993P) Per thousand (1993P) Per thousand (1990-92P)	9 20 325 77 28.5 6.8 58 2 4 131
20	EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS(1993-94) (a) Primary and Junior basic (b) Middle and Senior basic (c) High and Higher Secondary (d) Colleges for general Education (e) University (f) Primary school per thousand of population (93-94 P) (g) Middle schools per ten thousand of population (93-94 P) (h) High and Higher secondary schools per lakh of population (i) Teacher pupil ratio at primary, secondary and Higher secondary respectively	Nos.	4099 816 401 26 1 2 5 23 43, 18, 17.
21.	BANKING (September, 1996) (a) Number of branches (b) Deposits (c) Credit (d) Bank branches per lakh	Nos. Rs. in Lakhs Rs. in Lakhs	179 80402 10746 10

	<i>population(1996)</i>		
22	COMMUNICATION (1995-96)	<i>Nos.</i>	
·	(a) <i>Head Post Office</i>		1
	(b) <i>General Post Office</i>		1
	(c) <i>Sub Post Office</i>		62
	(d) <i>Branch Post Office</i>		414
	(e) <i>Post office per lakh population</i>		27

(Source: Adapted from Statistical Handbook, Meghalaya (1996) and Directorate of Industries, GOM. brochure 'Meghalaya Investment Friendly')

MEGHALAYA AT A GLANCE - 2000

Total Area of the State - 22,429 Sq Km

<i>Sl-N o.</i>	<i>ITEMS</i>	<i>MEGHALAYA</i>
<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>
<i>1</i>	Administration	
	<i>Sub-Divisions</i>	<i>8</i>
	<i>Community Development Blocks</i>	<i>32</i>
	<i>Towns (1991 Census)</i>	<i>12</i>
	<i>Total Villages (1998) [Provisional]</i>	<i>5780</i>
	<i>Households in lakhs numbers (1991 Census)</i>	<i>3.27</i>
<i>2</i>	Population in Lakhs (Estimated)	
	<i>Meghalaya</i>	<i>22.97</i>
	<i>Male</i>	<i>11.68</i>
	<i>Female</i>	<i>11.23</i>
	<i>Rural</i>	<i>18.43</i>
	<i>Urban</i>	<i>4.48</i>
	<i>Scheduled Tribes</i>	<i>20.73</i>
	<i>Scheduled Castes</i>	<i>0.27</i>
	<i>Density per sq km.</i>	<i>102</i>
	<i>Sex Ratio (female per '000 males)</i>	<i>967</i>
	<i>Annual Growth Rate in percentage (1991-2000)</i>	<i>2.88</i>
	<i>District-wise (Estimated) Population in Lakhs</i>	
	<i>Jaintia Hills</i>	<i>3</i>
	<i>East Khasi Hills</i>	<i>6.84</i>
	<i>Ri-Bhoi</i>	<i>1.58</i>
	<i>West Khasi Hills</i>	<i>2.97</i>
	<i>East Garo Hills</i>	<i>2.53</i>
	<i>West Garo Hills</i>	<i>5.12</i>
	<i>South Garo Hills</i>	<i>0.93</i>
<i>3</i>	Working Population (1991 Census) in percentage	
	<i>Cultivators</i>	<i>22.3</i>

	<i>Agricultural Labourers</i>	5.04
	<i>Household Industry</i>	0.16
	<i>Other Workers</i>	12.82
	<i>Marginal Workers</i>	2.35
	<i>Non-Workers</i>	57.33
4	<i>Population by Religion in Lakhs (1991 Census)</i>	
	<i>Christians</i>	11.46
	<i>Hindus</i>	2.6
	<i>Muslims</i>	0.67
	<i>Buddhist</i>	0.03
	<i>Sikhs</i>	0.03
	<i>Other Religions and Persuasions</i>	2.98
	<i>Religion not Stated</i>	0.02
5	<i>Literacy in percentage (52nd Round National Sample Survey)</i>	
	<i>Total</i>	75
	<i>Male</i>	77
	<i>Female</i>	72
	<i>Rural</i>	72
	<i>Urban</i>	94
6	<i>Public Health and Vital Statistics</i>	
	<i>(i) Birth rate per mille (1997)</i>	
	<i>(a) Total</i>	30.2
	<i>(b) Urban</i>	16.6
	<i>(c) Rural</i>	32.9
	<i>(ii) Death rate per mille (1997)</i>	
	<i>(a) Total</i>	8.8
	<i>(b) Urban</i>	4.4
	<i>(c) Rural</i>	9.7
	<i>(iii) Infant Mortality rate per mille (1997)</i>	
	<i>(a) Total</i>	54
	<i>(b) Urban</i>	52
	<i>(c) Rural</i>	56

7	Agriculture	
	A. Land Use Statistics in hectares (1997-98)	
	Net Sown Area	2.15
	Area sown more than once	0.44
	Total Cropped Area	2.59
	B. Area under Principal Crops in lakh hectares (1998-99)	
	Rice (Ahu, Sali etc.)	1.05
	Total Foodgrains	1.33
	Maize	0.17
	Potato	0.21
	Jute	0.04
	Cotton	0.07
	Rapeseed and Mustard	0.06
	Ginger	0.07
	Citrus	0.07
	C. Production of Principal Crops in lakh Metric Ton (1998-99)	
	Rice (Ahu, Sali etc.)	1.5
	Total Foodgrains	1.87
	Maize	0.25
	Potato	2.01
	Jute (in bales of 180 kg each)	0.27
	Cotton (in bales of 170 kg each)	0.05
	Rapeseed and Mustard	0.04
	Ginger	0.46
	Citrus	0.35
	D. Yield of Principal Crops in kg/hectare (1998-99)	
	Rice (Ahu, Sali etc.)	1421
	Total Foodgrains	1404
	Maize	1468
	Potato	9688
	Jute (in bales of 180 kg each)	1150

	Cotton (in bales of 170 kg each)	126
	Rapeseed and Mustard	667
	Ginger	6158
	Citrus	4680
	E. Consumption of Fertilizer in Metric Ton (1997-98)	
	Kharif Crops	1817
	Rabi Crops	1499
8	Animal Husbandry and Veterinary (1998-99)	
	A. Veterinary Institutions	
	Hospitals	4
	Dispensaries	59
	Veterinary Aid Centres	64
	Artificial Aid Centres	2
	Stockmen Centres	86
	Veterinary Doctors/Surgeons	171
	B. Government Farms	
	Cattle	4
	Poultry	10
	Pig	10
	Sheep and Goat	2
	C. Dairy Development	
	Milk Chilling Centres (in Numbers)	3
	Capacity (in Litres)	6000
	D. Total Livestocks in lakhs (1992 Census)	11.86
	E. Total Poultry in Lakhs	18.26
9	Forests (1998-99)	
	Total Area (in Square Kilometres)	9496
	Reserved Forests (in Square Kilometres)	713.2
	Protected Forest (in Square Kilometres)	12.4
	Unclassed Forests (in Square Kilometres)	8503
	National Parks (in Square Kilometres)	267.4
10	Mining Production (1998-99)	

	Coal ('000 Tons)	4238
	Limestone ('000 Tons)	389
	Cement in lakh tons (MCCL)	1.03
11	Electricity (1998-99)	
	Installed Capacity (M.W.)	185.2
	Generation (M.K.W.H.)	555.795
	Per Capita Consumption (in KWH)	192.81
	Number of villages electrified	2510
	Sale of Electricity (in MKWH)	
	(a) Domestic	122.872
	(b) Commercial	34.15
	(c) Total Sale the State (Domestic, Commercial & Others)	342.207
	(d) Sale to Assam	147.243
12	Police	
	Police Stations in numbers	34
	Police Outpost in numbers	24
13	Health (1996-97)	
	Hospitals in numbers	10
	Dispensaries in numbers	38
	Primary Health Centres in numbers	78
	Sub-Centres in numbers	344
	Numbers of Beds in Hospitals an Primary Health Centres	2377
	Number of Family Welfare Clinics/Centres	112
	Number of Doctors	379
	Number of Para Medical Staff	848
14	Education (1995-96)	
	A. Number of Primary and Junior Basic Institutions	4257
	Enrolment	380408
	B. Number of Middle and Senior Basic Institutions	913
	Enrolment	73720
	C. Number of Secondary and Higher Secondary	443

	<i>Institutions</i>	
	Enrolment	87256
	<i>D. Colleges and Institutions for General Education</i>	29
	Enrolment	22300
	<i>E. University</i>	7
	Enrolment	1390
15	Banking (1999)	
	<i>A. Regional Rural Banks</i>	
	Number of Offices	57
	Deposits (Rupees in Lakhs)	8174
	Credit (Rupees in Lakhs)	2333
	<i>B. All Scheduled Commercial Banks</i>	
	Number of Offices	179
	Deposits (Rupees in Lakhs)	114704
	Credit (Rupees in Lakhs)	19137
16	State Income (1999-2000 Advanced Estimates)	
	<i>Gross State Domestic Product (in Crore Rupees)</i>	
	At Current Prices	3388.28
	At Constant Prices (1993-94)	2287.92
	<i>Per Capita Income (NSDP) in Rupees</i>	
	At Current Prices	12466
	At Constant Prices (1993-94)	8454
17	Miscellaneous (1998)	
	Number of Tourist Visiting Meghalaya	138007
	Numbers of Indians	136952
	Numbers of Foreigners	1055
	Cinema Houses	10
	Tourist Spots	63
18	Vehicles (1998)	
	Total Number of Vehicles (excluding two and three wheelers)	32666
	Number of Vehicles (Four Wheelers) per thousand population	15

19	Roads in Kilometres (1996-97)	
	<i>Surfaced roads</i>	3355
	<i>Unsurfaced Roads</i>	3136
	<i>National Highways</i>	386
	<i>State Highway</i>	910

Source: Directorate of Economics & Statistics, Government of Meghalaya, Compiled 2000

Status of Development in Meghalaya

A. Table-6: Key Economic Indicators:

Key Economic Indicators	1990-91	1991-92	1992-93	1993-94	1994-95	1995-96
Net State Domestic product (RS. Million)	7,946	8868	9679	11217	12580	13803
Annual Growth (%)	-	11	09	15	12	09
Per Capita Income (Rupees)	4530	4905	5215	5873	6402	6826

(Source: GOM, 1996/7 brochure Directorate of Industries, 'Meghalaya Investment Friendly.' pp.33.)

B. Table-7: Sectoral Contribution to the State Economy:

Sector	1990-91	1991-92	1992-93	1993-94	1994-95	1995-96
Primary	33.58	35.47	32.22	31.58	32.99	32.13
Secondary	17.00	13.34	15.70	15.21	13.58	13.51
Tertiary	49.42	51.19	52.08	53.21	53.16	54.36
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

(Source: GOM, 1996/7 brochure Directorate of Industries, 'Meghalaya Investment Friendly.' pp.33.)

Box-4: A Brief Chronology of Management Thought		
In contemporary development administration are found strands from many schools of management thought. Most approaches originated in the private sector and have been absorbed only slowly into the mainstream of development administration where, until recently, classical theory and practice maintained a tenacious hold.		
<i>Approach</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Selected features</i>
Classical	1900	Organisation perceived as closed system; stress on efficiency, control and the bureaucratic form.
Behavioural/ Human Relations	1930	Emphasis on people rather than machines; close attention to factors such as group dynamics, communication, motivation, leadership and participation.
Quantitative	1940	Provision of quantitative tools to support managerial decision-making; found in management science, operational management and management information systems.
Open Systems/ Contingency	1965	Organisations seen as systems of interrelated parts which relate to the environment; emphasis on fitting organisational structure to the specific environment of the organisation.
Power/ Politics	1965	Organisational decision- making is not guided by technical rationality but is determined by political processes; a dominant coalition will be the major locus of organisational power.
Quality Movement	1955	Strongly pursued in Japanese post-war industrial development and much later adopted elsewhere; continuous improvement by working together and client focus; typified in total quality management, benchmarking, quality circles and ISO9000
Managerialism	1980	Adoption by the public sector of private sector management practices; application of public choice theory and neo-classical economics to public sector management.

(Source: Turner, M. And Hulme, D. (1997) 'Governance, Administration and Development making the state work' Macmillan Press Ltd. pp. 14.)

Box-5: India's Five-Year Plans: a Resume.

Five year Plan	Period	Outlay (RS. in Crores) and Major Emphasis
First Plan	1951-56	RS. 2378 Crores; no reliable statistics to work upon; Isolated patchwork of projects; had a national character and was based on a rational hypothesis. Laid emphasis on agriculture, irrigation, power and transport to provide an infrastructure for rapid industrial expansion in future. Turned out to be more than a success, mainly because it was supported by two good harvests in the last two years.
Second Plan	1956 - 61	Stress on heavy industries; Industrial policy resolution amended to shift the primary responsibility for development on the public sector. Private sector left to handle consumer industries. Heavy imports (both public and private) practically denuded India's accumulated sterling balances (as much as RS. 500 Crores) in two years and compelled the country to seek extensive foreign aid. Agriculture and small-scale industries remained sluggish, without adding any momentum to development.
Third Plan	1961 - 66	High expectations of overall growth; aimed at establishing a self-sustaining economy; internal resources strained to the utmost, had to rely on heavy foreign aid; national income (revised series) at 1960-61 prices rose by 20 per cent in the first four years but registered a decline of 5.6 per cent in the last year. A growing trade deficit and mounting debt obligations led to more and more borrowings from the international Monetary Fund. The rupee was devalued in June 1966 to little purpose, as it soon turned out as Interim Planning. Planning process was discredited in the eyes of many. The economy was under lot of difficulty. The Annual Plans continued from 1966 to 1969-1966-67, 1968-69.
Fourth Plan	1969 - 74	Growth with stability as the main objective. Agriculture (five per cent per annum); industry (about nine per cent per annum); national income expected to increase at the rate of 5.5 per cent per annum. The per capita income was expected to increase at the rate of 3 per cent per annum or about 16 per cent in the Fourth Plan period.
Fifth Plan	1974 - 79	Perspective Plan (1974-75 to 1985-86). Co-ordinated attempt; new slogan Garibi Hatao (Remove Poverty). rate of growth (at 6.2 per cent annum) Delayed approval (September 1976); revised outlay from RS. 37,463 Crores to 39,303 Crores. Political change; scrapped. The Janata government reconstituted the Planning Commission and announced a

		new objective Growth for Social Justice – a distinction without a difference. The new pattern - Rolling Plan started with an annual plan for 1977-79 and as a continuation of the terminated V plan.
Sixth Plan	1980 - 85	Review of three decades of planning. Actual expenditure (RS. 109,291.7 Crores (current prices) as against the envisaged total public sector outlay of RS. 97,500 Crore (1979-80 prices) accounting for a 12 per cent increase in nominal terms. The average annual growth rate for the Sixth Plan works out to 5.2 per cent, which is equal to the targeted growth rate for the plan period.
Seventh Plan	1985 - 90	Outlay of RS. 348,148 Crores with a public sector outlay of RS. 180,000 Crores ended with an average rate of growth of the gross domestic product (GDP) at 5.3 per cent per annum, which was well above the targeted rate of 5 per cent. 1989-90 saw the growth in national income by 4% largely contributed by the secondary (manufacturing) and services sector. The annual average growth of the Seventh Plan has been put at 5.3%.
Eighth Plan	1992 - 97	Recognised as re-orientation of planning in line with economic reforms and restructuring of the economy. Initial experience discerns the direction of change for identifying the measures adopted emphasising: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ human development as focus of planning; ▪ a large economic space for the private sector; ▪ physical and social infrastructure development by the public sector (allowing at the same time the private sector to participate); and ▪ A greater role to the market to infuse competitiveness. Proposed growth rate of 5.6% per annum on the average during the Plan period. An investment of RS. 798,000 Crores (1992-93 prices) projected - of this, public sector investment, 361,000 Crores (45%). Adding to this the current outlay came to RS. 434,000 Crores. Consistent with the expected resource position, the size of the Plans of the states and the union territories was projected at RS. 1,86,325 Crores and the Central Plan at RS. 2,47,865 Crores. This outlay was divided between the Centre and the States in the ratio 58.5: 41.5.

Source: Modified and adapted from 'Five Year Plans'[Online]
http://www.travel-india.com/stat/economics/five_year_plans.htm)

Annexe-6

Table-8: Ninth Plan Outlay of Meghalaya:

Sectoral Groups	Ninth Plan 1997-2002		Annual Plan 1997-98	
	Proposed Outlay (RS. Lakhs)	Percentage to Total	Proposed Outlay (RS. Lakhs)	Percentage to Total
1	2	3	4	5
1. Agriculture and Allied Services	35920.	13.30	4037.	10.57
2. Rural development	15550.	5.76	2157.	5.65
3. Special Area Programme	2000.	0.74	328.	0.86
4. Irrigation and Flood Control	9800.	3.63	1770	4.63
5. Energy	31700.	11.74	9266.	24.26
6. Industry and Minerals	10200.	3.78	1384.	3.62
7. Transport	58100.	21.52	6955.	18.21
8. Science and Technology & Environment	730.	0.27	120.	0.31
9. General Economic Services	7230.	2.68	1142.	2.99
10. Social Services (including education)	91470.	33.88	9960.5	26.07
11. General Services	7300.	2.7	1080.	2.83
TOTAL	270000.	100.	38200	100.

(Source: Draft Ninth Plan Document. Planning Department. GOM, 1997)

Annexe-7

Table-9: BASIC MINIMUM SERVICES (B.M.S.):

B.M.S. items	Ninth Plan 1997-2002		Annual Plan 1997-98	
	Proposed B.M.S. outlay (RS. In Lakhs)	Percentage to total	Proposed B.M.S. outlay (RS. In Lakhs)	Percentage to total
1	2	3	4	5
1. Universalisation of primary education.	21980.	32.71	2190.	26.24
2. Health Care	10236.	15.23	1306.5	15.66
3. Provision of potable water supply.	23070.	34.33	3300.	39.55
4. Village connectivity by roads.	8300.	12.35	1000.	11.98
5. Housing facilities to the shelterless poor.	1510.	2.25	270.	3.24
6. Public Distribution System.	200.	0.30	40.0	0.48
7. Nutrition	1900.	2.83	238.	2.85
TOTAL	67196	100	8344.50	100.

(Source: Draft Ninth Plan Document. Planning Department. GOM, 1997)

Table-10: Recommendation of High Level Committee (HLC or Shukla Commission) in respect of Meghalaya:

Items	Amount Projected by State Government (Rs. in Crores)	Amount recommended by the High Level Commission	Shortfall (RS. In Crores)
1. Rural Connectivity	528.88	68.25	460.63
2. Rural Housing/ Housing for Shelterless poor	49.43	27.00	22.43
3. Safe Drinking Water supply	269.21	48.42	220.79
4. Elementary Education	451.86	72.73 (construction) 200.20 (salary)	178.93
5. Primary Health	101.34	11.70 (construction) 5.49 (salary)	84.15
6. Nutrition	43.54	-	43.54
7. Public Distribution System	0.14	-	0.14
Total	1444.40	228.10 (construction) 205.69 (salary)	1010.61
Grand Total		433.79	1010.61

(Source: Draft Ninth Plan Document. Planning Department. GOM, 1997)

Box-6: The Notorious Nine, Implementation Problems:

[These were implementation problems of US agency for International Development (USAID) after study in 19 countries and covering 24 projects taken from Gow, D. D. and Morss, E. R. (1988). 'The Notorious Nine: Critical Problems in Project Implementation', World Development, vol.16 (12), pp.1399-1418. Solution indicated by authors are not listed here.]

1. Political, Economic and Environmental Constraints: Four problems which must not be ignored- Donor foreign policy, National politics, Macro economic policy and physical and sociocultural factors in the Local environment.
2. Institutional Realities: Core requirements of project success; emphasis on production than institutional and administrative capacity building; selection of implementing and managing agency; access to resources and structures requiring for flow of information.
3. Host Country Personnel Limitations: in most cases, there are small cadres of appropriately trained personnel, who are overextended and outstretched.
4. Technical Assistance Shortcomings: quality unsatisfactory, role-ambiguity, overlaps, confusion and disputes in function.
5. Decentralisation and Participation: inadequate resources, lack of political commitment, bureaucratic resistance makes decentralisation and participation ineffective or constrained.
6. Timing: Delays in identification and start-up, in implementation, and inappropriate time phasing of activities are detrimental to effective implementation.
7. Information System: Information system ill-designed; ineffective in warning, response and adaptation; returns on investment poor; output is mostly unusable, unused, and unlearnt.
8. Differing Agenda: Various actors place and pursue different agenda, often contradictory jeopardising the objective and sustainability of success.
9. The Bottom-Line: sustaining project benefits: Developmental projects lead to assets, personnel and services; sustainability a far cry. Assumption of continued governmental/civil society/ community support misplaced; political, economic, institutional, financial, technological factors affect and outweigh the outcome and impacts.

(Source: Based on Turner and Hulme, 1997 and IDPM hand out by R. Bond.1999.)

Box-7: The Past and the Present of Community Stakes in the Natural Resource Base (NRB): Factors and processes associated with the community approaches and usage of natural resources in fragile mountain areas under the traditional and present systems:

<i>Situation under the traditional systems</i>	<i>Situation under the present system</i>
<p><i>A. Basic objective circumstances</i> (i) Poor accessibility, isolation, semi-closedness; low extent of and undependable external linkages and support; subsistence-oriented small populations (ii) Almost total or critical dependence on a local, fragile, and diverse natural resource base (NRB) <i>Bottom line: Strong collective concern for health and productivity of the NRB as a source of sustenance</i></p>	<p>(i) Improved physical, administrative, and market integration of traditionally isolated, marginal, areas/communities with dominant mainstream systems on the latter's terms; increased population (ii) Reduced critical dependence on local NRB; diversification of sources of sustenance <i>Bottom line: Reduced collective concern for local NRB; rise of individual (extractive) strategies</i></p>
<p><i>B. Key driving forces/factors generated by (A)</i> (i) Sustenance strategies totally focussed on local resource (ii) Sustenance-driven collective stake in protection and regeneration of the NRB (iii) Close proximity and access-based functional knowledge/understanding of limitation and usability of NRB (iv) Local control of local resources/decisions; little gap between decision-makers and resource-users</p>	<p>(i) External linkage-based diversification of sources of sustenance (welfare, relief, trade, etc) (ii) Disintegration of collective stake in NRB (iii) Marginalisation of traditional knowledge and imposition of generalised solutions from above (iv) Legal, administrative, fiscal measures displacing local controls/decisions; wider gap between decision-makers and local</p>

<p><i>Bottom line: Collective stake in the NRB supported by local control and functional knowledge of NRB</i></p>	<p><i>resource users</i> <i>Bottom line: Loss of collective stake and local control over NRB; resource users respond in a 'reactive' mode</i></p>
<p><i>C. Social responses to (B)</i> <i>Evolution, adoption of resource use systems and folk technologies promoting diversification, resource protection, regeneration, recycling, etc</i> <i>(ii) Resource use/demand rationing measures</i> <i>(iii) Formal/informal institutional mechanisms/ group action to enforce the above</i> <i>Bottom line: Effective social adaptation to NRB</i></p>	<p><i>(i) Extension of externally-evolved, generalised technological/institutional interventions; disregarding local concerns/experiences and traditional arrangements</i> <i>(ii) Emphasis on supply side issues ignoring management of demand pressure</i> <i>(iii) Formal, rarely enforced measures</i> <i>Bottom line: NR overextracted as open access resources</i></p>
<p><i>D. Consequences</i> <i>(i) Nature-friendly management systems</i> <i>(ii) Evolved and enforced by local communities</i> <i>(iii) Facilitated by close functional knowledge and community control over local resources and local affairs</i> <i>Bottom line: 'Resource-protective/regenerative' social system - ecosystem links</i></p>	<p><i>(i) Overextractive resource use systems, driven by uncontrolled demands</i> <i>(ii) Externally-conceived, ineffective and unenforceable interventions for protection of NRB</i> <i>(iii) Little investment and technology input in NRB</i> <i>Bottom line: Rapid degradation of fragile NRB; "nature pleads not guilty"</i></p>

(Source: ICIMOD, (1998) ' Issues in Mountain Development' ISSN: 1027-0027, 1998/1. [Online]. <http://www.icimod.org.sg/publications/IMD/imd981.htm>)

Annexe-11.

Table-11: Constraints and Approaches to Reviving the Key Elements of Traditional Resource-use Systems in the Present Context.

(A) <i>Community stake in local natural resources</i>	(B) <i>Local control over local natural resources</i>	(C) <i>Recognition and use of resource users' perspectives and traditional knowledge system</i>
<p>Constraints</p> <p>1) Formal legal, administrative fiscal controls/restrictions creating a range of perverse incentives; reactive mode of community behaviour as individuals</p> <p>2) Highly depleted status of the NRB creating no hope and incentive to have a stake in it</p> <p>3) More diverse and differentiated communities with different, individual rather than group-based views on community resources</p>	<p>Constraints</p> <p>1) State's inbuilt resistance to self disempowerment through passing decision -making power to local communities; focus on 'proxy arrangements' e.g., village Panchayat(s)</p> <p>2) Faction ridden, rural communities driven by diverse signals and concerns</p> <p>3) NGOs as key change-facilitating agents, often governed by own perspectives, concerns</p>	<p>Constraints</p> <p>1) Top-down interventions with a mix of "arrogance, ignorance, and insensitivity" towards local perspectives and traditional knowledge systems</p> <p>2) Focus on (old context-specific) forms of traditional practices rather than their rationale for use in the current context</p> <p>3) Rapid disappearance and invisibility of indigenous knowledge</p>
<p>Possible remedial approaches</p> <p>1) Genuine local autonomy for local resource management (see 'B' for</p>	<p>Possible remedial approaches</p> <p>1) Genuine decentralisation, decision -making powers and resources to</p>	<p>Possible remedial approaches</p> <p>1) Promotion of bottom-up approaches to resource management</p>

constraints to this); legal framework and support system for NR user groups	communities; raising latter's' capacities to respond to the above (with the help of NGOs)	strategies, using participatory methods and NGO help
2) Resource protection, investment, and use of new technologies for regeneration/ high productivity of NRB (using experiences of successful initiatives)	2) Rebuilding 'Social Capital', mobilisation, and participatory methods using NGO input; focus on diversified, high-value products from rehabilitated NRB (using successful experiences)	2) Focussed efforts to identify present- day functional substitutes of traditional measures for resource management
3) Collective stake through planned 'diversification' and 'share holding' system in natural resource development and gains (using experiences of successful initiatives).	3) Required changes in NGO approaches/ perspectives by introspection; involving small local groups and unlabelled agencies	3) R & D to incorporate rationale of traditional knowledge systems (using experiences of successful initiatives)

(Source: ICIMOD, (1998) 'Issues in Mountain Development' ISSN: 1027-0027, 1998/1. [Online]. <http://www.icimod.org.sg/publications/IMD/imd981.htm>)

Annexe-12.

A. Table-12: Loss/Gain in Forest Cover in North-Eastern States(sq. km)

State	Loss			Gain			Net change
	Shifting cultivation	Other reasons	Total	Nat. reg. in shifting cultivation	Other reasons	Total	
Arunachal Pradesh	75	-	75	56	-	56	-19
Assam	257	159	416	163	16	179	-237
Manipur	603	-	603	463	-	463	-140
Meghalaya	75	2	77	20	-	20	-57
Mizoram	292	-	292	491	-	491	+199
Nagaland	573	-	573	503	-	503	-70
Tripura	-	3	3	4	7	11	+8
Total	1,875	164	2,039	1,700	23	1,723	-316

Note: Nat.- Natural, Reg.- Regeneration (Source: State of Forest Report, GOI.1997. [Online]. <http://www.nic.in/envfor/fsi/sfr97/A2.HTML>)

B. Table-13: Change in Forest Cover in North-East Region(sq.km.)

State	1997 Assessment	1995 Assessment	Total
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	<i>Dense forest</i>	<i>Open forest</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Dense forest</i>	<i>Open forest</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Change</i>
<i>Arunachal Pradesh</i>	54,155	14,447	68,602	54,176	14,445	68,621	-19
<i>Assam</i>	15,548	8,276	23,824	15,694	8,367	24,061	-237
<i>Manipur</i>	4,937	12,481	17,418	5,318	12,240	17,558	-140
<i>Meghalaya</i>	4,044	11,613	15,657	4,045	11,669	15,714	-57
<i>Mizoram</i>	4,348	14,427	18,775	4,281	14,295	18,576	+199
<i>Nagaland</i>	3,487	10,734	14,221	3,487	10,804	14,291	-70
<i>Tripura</i>	1,819	3,727	5,546	1,819	3,719	5,538	+8
<i>Total</i>	88,338	75,705	164,043	88,820	75,539	164,359	-316

(Source: State of Forest Report, GOI.1997. [Online].
<http://www.nic.in/envfor/fsi/sfr97/A2.HTML>)

Table-14: Classification of 'Slash-and-burn' Systems by Distinguishing Variables (Fujisaka and Escobar, 1997)

<i>Class</i>	<i>Initial vegetative cover</i>	<i>Resource users</i>	<i>Final vegetative cover</i>	<i>Length of fallow</i>	<i>Total cases in group</i>
1	primary forest	indigenous users	secondary regrowth	long	2
2	primary forest	settlers	natural regrowth	(fields abandoned)	1
3	primary and secondary forest	indigenous users	natural regeneration	medium to long	13
4	secondary forest	indigenous communities	natural regeneration	medium to long	46
5	secondary forest	colonists	natural regeneration	medium	3
6	primary and secondary forest	mostly indigenous communities	agroforestry	none	28
7	secondary forest	government-sponsored colonists	plantation crops or taungya	none	7
8	secondary	mostly	pasture	none	10

	<i>forest</i>	<i>settlers and ranchers</i>			
<i>9</i>	<i>grasslands</i>	<i>indigenou s users and settlers</i>	<i>natural regenera tion and pastures</i>	<i>variable</i>	<i>12</i>
<i>10</i>	<i>.....</i>	<i>insufficie nt informati on</i>	<i>available</i>	<i>.....</i>	<i>14</i>

(Source: Brown, D. and Schreckenberg, K. 1998. Natural Resource Perspective. ODI. Number 29. [Online] <http://www.oneworld.org/odi/nrp/29.html>)

Box-8: Myths and Realities about Shifting Cultivation (Thrupp *et al.* 1997)

<p>1. <i>Shifting cultivation is a primitive precursor to more commercial forms of production in the theoretical stages of agricultural development.</i></p>	<p>1. <i>Shifting cultivators respond to agroecological and socioeconomic factors in dynamic, nonlinear ways.</i></p>
<p>2. <i>Shifting cultivation systems in tropical rainforests are uniform and unchanging, and shifting cultivators are homogeneous poor people.</i></p>	<p>2. <i>Shifting cultivation systems encompass a remarkably diverse range of land use practices developed and changed over time by farmers in varied social, ecological, economic, and political settings.</i></p>
<p>3. <i>Shifting cultivation is the sole activity among rural subsistence farmers in forest margins and is unconnected to commercial market activities.</i></p>	<p>3. <i>Shifting cultivators engage in a wide variety of activities in subsistence and cash economies and often merge subsistence production with commercial surplus-oriented production.</i></p>
<p>4. <i>Shifting cultivation is always characterised by low productivity and low yields and can support only low population densities.</i></p>	<p>4. <i>Shifting cultivation systems are often productive, make relatively efficient use of resources, and have supported large populations.</i></p>
<p>5. <i>Shifting cultivation systems are environmentally destructive, wasteful, unsustainable, and cause the majority of tropical deforestation and soil erosion.</i></p>	<p>5. <i>Shifting cultivation systems are not responsible for the majority of deforestation or land degradation, and they have varying and complex environmental impacts, some of which may be sustainable and enhance biodiversity.</i></p>
<p>6. <i>Shifting cultivators usually use primitive, low levels of</i></p>	<p>6. <i>Techniques used in shifting cultivation systems are generally</i></p>

<p><i>technology, have limited knowledge about agriculture and the environment, and rarely adopt new technologies.</i></p>	<p><i>appropriate for their agroecological contexts (although not "modern"), and cultivators often have complex and useful knowledge about resources, land use, and surrounding environment.</i></p>
<p><i>7. Shifting cultivation systems exist in empty, open-access forests without any form of legal rights or controls, thereby necessitating state and private control for management.</i></p>	<p><i>7. Shifting cultivation cultures embrace a variety of tenure regimes that mediate access, use, and transfer of resources, including informal community-based, household, and individual rights that overlap with state authority.</i></p>
<p><i>8. State and international agencies use interventions and policies to bring about beneficial agricultural and environmental changes affecting the practice of shifting cultivation.</i></p>	<p><i>8. Mainstream programmes and policies influencing shifting cultivators are biased and not neutral: they have often been unilaterally designed to stop, alter, or replace shifting cultivation or to introduce land use practices that may not be appropriate or desired by local people.</i></p>

(Source: Brown, D. and Schreckenber, K. 1998. Natural Resource Perspective. ODI. Number 29. [Online]. <http://www.oneworld.org/odi/nrp/29.html>)

Table -15: Land Utilisation in Meghalaya (provisional in Hectares)

Particulars	1993-94	1994-95	1995-96
I. Geographical area	2242900	2242900	2242900
II. Reporting area for Land utilisation statistics	2240900	2240900	2240900
1. Forest	938454	938457	937287
2. Not available for cultivation	225596	225601	229457
3. Other uncultivated land excluding fallow land	642992	643358	636613
4. Fallow land	232637	232192	231071
5. Net area sown	201221	201292	206377
6. Area sown more than once	37267	37389	40936
7. Total cropped area	238488	238681	247413

(Source: GOM 1996. *Pocket Statistical HandBook, Meghalaya*. Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Meghalaya. P.27.)

Table-16: District-wise Incidence of Jhum Cultivation in Meghalaya:

<i>Description</i>	<i>Jain tia Hills</i>	<i>East Kha si Hills</i>	<i>Wes t Kha si Hills</i>	<i>East Gar o Hills</i>	<i>Wes t Gar o Hills</i>	<i>Meghala ya</i>
<i>Villages practising Jhum cultivation</i>	146	233	185	410	138 3	2357
<i>% of villages practising Jhum cultivation</i>	36	20	26	63	71	48
<i>No. of rural households('000)</i>	28	79	29	27	72	235
<i>Household practising Jhum cultivators('000)</i>	3	7	4	9	29	52
<i>% of households practising Jhum</i>	11	9	14	33	40	22

(Source: Directorate of Economics and Statistics, GOM based on 1981 census, quoted in part in IFAD's formulation report for NER Community resource management for upland areas, 1995, Annexure 1, Table 5.)

A. Table-17: Labour Requirement for Activities in Shifting Cultivation in Meghalaya

Operations	Labour inputs (workdays per ha.)
Cutting	40
Burning	10
Clearing and second burning	5 (sometime 15)
Sowing (by dibbling, seed rate 60kgs/ha)	20
Fencing and protecting from animals	35
Weeding	60
Harvesting (by stripping the grain from the rice panicle)	80
total	260 workdays/ ha.

(Source: IFAD, 1995. Formulation Report for NER Community Resource Management for Upland Areas, Annexure 6. p.7.)

B. Table-18: Indicators of Potential Land Degradation in West Garo Hills, Meghalaya.

Land use	Area (ha)	
	1986/87	1993/94
Agricultural land		
Crop land	7875	16937
Fallow land	26271	20111
Primary forest		
Evergreen and deciduous	10200	8693
Moist deciduous	8875	6871
Grassland	41	574
Fluvial lands	5244	6087

(Source: NRSA, 1995. Land use/Land cover analysis with special reference to Shifting cultivation in West Garo Hills, Meghalaya, India, draft report, quoted by IFAD, 1995. Formulation Report for NER Community Resource Management for Upland Areas. Annexure 4, Table 3.)

Table 19 : Trends* in Land Resource Allocation and Productivity of Food-grain Crops in the Hindu Kush-Himalayan Region

Province/ State/Region	Area under Food-grain Crops			Productivity			Year
	Paddy	Wheat	Maize	Paddy	Wheat	Maize	
Balochistan	0.6	2.1	0.6	0.5	2.0	1.0	1975-93
NWFP	0.1	0.4	1.4	0.1	0.8	0.5	1975-93
Himachal P.	-0.38	0.17	0.19	0.53	2.10	1.32	1981-91
Uttarakhand	-0.13	0.01	-0.94	1.48	2.35	-0.26	1980-93
Meghalaya	-0.64	2.17	0.05	2.30	-1.38	-1.46	1984-91
Nepal (Mtns)	0.74	0.85	1.11	0.19	1.77	0.41	1985-94
Nepal (Hills)	0.36	0.55	1.06	0.68	1.03	1.12	1985-94

*Annual Growth Rates (%)

(Source: ICIMOD, 1999. 'Trends and Prospects of Sustainable Mountain Agriculture in the Hindu Kush-Himalayan Region A Comparative Analysis' Issues in Mountain Development. ISSN: 1027-0027 1999/2. [Online]. <http://www.icimod.org.sg/publications/IMD/imd99-2.htm>)

**Logical Framework for NER Community Resource Management
Project for Upland Areas (IFAD, 1997)**

Narrative Summary	Verifiable Indicators	Means of Verification	Important Assumptions
<p>Goal Increased income and well being for vulnerable groups through improved management of the resource base in a way that contributes to protecting and restoring the environment</p>	<p>Income/well being of the target group, incidence of asset accumulation, increase in area under horticulture/perennial crops and forestry, improved village infrastructure, higher level of knowledge and skills</p>	<p>Quarterly monitoring reports, baseline surveys and interim evaluation studies and final impact study to be undertaken by the M&E agency</p>	
<p>Purpose 1 Develop institutional capacity to promote participatory development and implement sustainable rural development activities 2 Increase incomes through developing a range of on-farm and non-farm economic activities based on environmentally sound and sustainable land use systems</p>	<p>1 Around 460 VDCs and 920 SHGs formed Number of VDC and SHG members trained in accounts and management skills Number of staffs of RS/DS, NGOs line departments research institutes trained in participatory management 2 Increase in area under improved <i>jhum</i> production Increase in area under horticulture/perennial crops and forestry Increase in area of new/rehabilitated irrigated land Changes in cropping patterns & productivity increases Increase in livestock/fish production and productivity Increase in non-farm activities</p>	<p>1 Project records and quarterly monitoring reports of RS/DS 2 Project records and quarterly monitoring reports of RS/DS Crop yield surveys Interim evaluation studies and final impact evaluation SHG records on loans by purpose</p>	<p>(Purpose to Goal) 1 Security situation in the region does not deteriorate further hampering assistance from reaching communities 2 Communities address equity issues and agree to direct development efforts to the resource poor households 3 Political will to promote development initiatives which are flexible and responsive to the needs of the community is maintained 4 Sensitisation of support</p>

<p><i>3 Increase awareness of need to conserve biodiversity</i></p>	<p><i>3 Increase willingness to conserve, protect and regenerate biodiversity resources Creation of buffer zones around protected areas</i></p>	<p><i>3 Concurrent evaluation Project records/reports of implementing NGOs</i></p>	<p><i>agencies will result in attitudinal change which allows for an approach to development which is more acceptable to the communities and consequently evokes a more committed response</i></p>
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Logical Framework for NER Community Resource Management Project (Contd)

Narrative Summary	Verifiable Indicators	Means of Verification	Important Assumptions
<p>4 Improve access to basic services (drinking water & health care) and relevance of education</p> <p>5 Improve economic base of rural communities through improved access to markets through better road links and rural electrification</p> <p>6 Create efficient, innovative, responsive and service oriented institutions for promoting and managing development efforts</p>	<p>4 Construction of wells and gravity piped water supplies selection of CHWs by communities Inclusion of more relevant agricultural teaching and practical projects in school curriculum</p> <p>5 Upgrading of gravel village roads to all weather roads and construction of new all-weather village roads Provision of electricity to villages through grid connections and micro-hydel schemes</p> <p>6 Communities' views on appropriateness of project activities, responsiveness of management to expressed needs and implementation performance</p>	<p>4 Project records and quarterly monitoring reports of RS/DS Interim evaluation studies and final impact study</p> <p>5 Project records and quarterly monitoring reports of RS/DS VDC records Interim evaluation studies and final impact study</p> <p>6 Concurrent evaluation by M&E agency Participatory M&E procedures Annual beneficiary and planning/revi ew workshops Interim evaluation studies and final impact study</p>	
<p>Outputs</p> <p>1 Efficiently managed VDCs and viable SHGs demonstrating sound financial</p>	<p>1 Accounts maintained by VDC are sound Volume and regularity of saving of SHGs Repayment performance</p>	<p>1 Concurrent evaluation by M&E agency From detailed data on SHG</p>	<p>(Purpose to Outputs) 1 Farmers are more convinced by and</p>

<p>management</p> <p>2 Areas under horticulture/perennial crops, forestry, irrigated terrace cultivation and</p>	<p>exceeds 90% Rotation of funds exceeds one Stability of membership All group members/representatives trained in group dynamics and group management Member of SHG or appointee trained in accounts</p> <p>2 Development of around 12000 ha of horticulture/perennial crops and forestry; modifications to <u>jhum</u></p>	<p>operations collected through MIS and presented in quarterly monitoring reports supplied by state M&E agencies/VDCs</p> <p>} } } } As above } } }</p> <p>2 Project records and quarterly monitoring reports of RS/DS</p>	<p>willing to adopt the technologies promoted under the project than has been the case in the past</p> <p>2 The adaptive research programme generated technologies which are seen as relevant and acceptable to farmers</p> <p>3 Communities develop the necessary capacity to manage the development process</p> <p>4 New development opportunities with sustainable markets are identified for non-farm</p>
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Logical Framework for NER Community Resource Management Project (Contd)

Narrative Summary	Verifiable Indicators	Means of Verification	Important Assumptions
<p>modified <u>jhum</u> cultivation expanded and productivity improved and livestock, fisheries and non-farm enterprises established</p>	<p>cultivation on 18000 ha and development of 370 ha of newly irrigated land and rehabilitation of 1370 ha of existing irrigated land No. of livestock/fisheries enterprises</p>	<p>3 Project records and</p>	<p>activities</p>

<p>3 Areas of rich biodiversity protected and regenerated</p> <p>4 Safe drinking water provided, access to basic health care and family planning advice improved and education made more relevant through greater focus on the local environment and agriculture</p> <p>5 Better road communications and electricity provided for selected communities</p>	<p>developed No. of non-farm enterprises established No. of farmers trained</p> <p>3 No. of sacred groves protected/restored Reduction in encroachment in protected areas</p> <p>4 No. of drinking water schemes constructed and No. of households served No. of CHWs and dais trained and functioning by end of project period and use made of services No. of schools joining schools agriculture programme</p> <p>5 No. of km of village roads constructed/upgrade d No. of villages provided with grid connections No. of micro-hydel schemes constructed Improvements in prices received for products No. of non-farm enterprises established in electrified villages</p>	<p>quarterly monitoring reports of RS/DS Remote sensing data analysis</p> <p>4 Project records and quarterly monitoring reports of RS/DS</p> <p>5 Project records and quarterly monitoring reports of RS/DS</p>	
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Logical Framework for NER Community Resource Management Project (Contd)

Narrative Summary	Verifiable Indicators	Means of Verification	Important Assumptions
<p>Activities/inputs 1 Hire NGOs to form and sustain VDCs/SHGs and provide training Provide training, exposure visits and communications materials for VDC and SHG members Provide training and exposure visits of participating agencies</p> <p>2 Inputs/labour for plantation/forestry development & seedling production Materials/Labour for construction of irrigation schemes/fish ponds Mobilisation of credit funds from SHG members' savings and group loans from financial institutions Credit for short term loans for annual crops, livestock, fisheries Inputs for demonstration plots Training for farmers Design and marketing studies for non farm enterprises Provision of medium term credit/equity participation for establishment of non farm enterprises Equipment, inputs and labour, field allowances and other supervision costs; international/national technical assistance for adaptive research Equipment and commissioning of</p>	<p>Summary Budget 2/ USD 2.7 million</p> <p>2 USD 15.5 million 3/</p>	<p>1 Contracts RS/DS quarterly financial reports</p> <p>2 RS/DS quarterly financial reports</p> <p>SHG records and records of financial institutions</p> <p>Contracts</p> <p>Records of financial reports</p> <p>Contracts</p> <p>Contracts</p>	<p>(Inputs to Outputs) 1 Adequate number of competent and motivated NGOs can be found to mobilize/train communities and form and support SHGs</p> <p>2 Sufficient support will be forthcoming from the technical and social line departments and from private sector agencies to back up income generating activities and provision of social services</p> <p>3 Financial institutions come forward to provide credit to SHGs and economic activity groups</p>

<i>research into new product development, studies and consultancies for strategy development</i>			
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Logical Framework for NER Community Resource Management Project (Contd)

Narrative Summary	Verifiable Indicators	Means of Verification	Important Assumptions
<p>3 Inputs as above for livelihood activities</p> <p>Surveys, compilation of databases, <u>in situ and ex situ</u> conservation</p> <p>Workshops, seminars and production of communication materials</p>	<p>USD 0.3 million</p>	<p>3 RS/DS quarterly financial reports</p>	
<p>4</p> <p>Materials/Labour for construction of drinking water supplies</p> <p>Training and provision of medicines, basic equipment and manuals and communications materials for CHWs and dais</p>	<p>USD 2.0 million</p>	<p>4 Contracts and RS/DS quarterly financial reports</p>	
<p>Curriculum development, training of teachers, development of teaching materials, provision of inputs for practical schools</p> <p>agriculture projects and visits to research stations for teachers and pupils</p>	<p>USD 6.3 million</p>	<p>5 Contracts and RS/DS quarterly financial reports</p>	
<p>5 Materials and labour for construction / upgrading of roads</p> <p>Materials and</p>			

labour for construction of micro-hydel schemes			
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- 1/ These outputs are generated by the whole range of project interventions
- 2/ Base costs
- 3 Includes project management and monitoring and evaluation

NOTE: This is a process-oriented project which is seen as the first part of a long term programme to improve women's economic and social status. It deliberately avoids setting targets in order to provide an enabling environment for focussing on the quality of the project outcomes and the development of institutional mechanisms to lay the foundation for wider replication in the future. Thus whilst the verifiable indicators can be identified, the expected order of magnitude is not always known. The project puts in place a comprehensive M&E system to gather the information on key aspects of the project to enable reasonable performance criteria to be established for the next phase.

Logical Framework for NER Community Resource Management Project for Upland Areas (IFAD, 1997)

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