

UNDERSTANDING RURAL DEVELOPMENT

In

SEMI-PRIMITIVE VILLAGE

*Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University in partial fulfilment of
the requirements for the award of the degree of*

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

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Centre for the Study of Social Exclusion and Inclusive Policy

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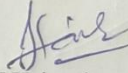


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DECLARATION

I, N Haineube, hereby declare that the dissertation titled “*Understanding Rural Development in Semi-Primitive Village*” submitted by me under the Supervision of Dr. Kaustav Banerjee in partial fulfillment for the award of the Degree of Master of Philosophy is my original work and has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this University or any other University.


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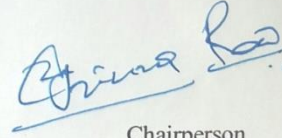
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**To
Mom and Dad**

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Abbreviations

ADC	- Autonomous District Council
BDO	- Block Development Officer
CSS	- Centrally Sponsored Scheme
DRDA	- District Rural Development Agency
DBT	- Direct Benefit Transfer
GIA	- Grant-in-Aid
IAY	- Indira Awas Yojana
IRD P	- Integrated Rural Development Programme
MGNREGA	- Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act
MSRRDA	- Manipur State Rural Road Development Agency
NREGS	- National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme
NRLM	- National Rural Livelihood Mission
NSSO	- National Sample Survey Organisation
PMAY-G	- Pradhan Mantri Awaas Yojana-Gramin
PMGSY	- Pradhan Mantri Gram Sadak Yojana
PMUY	- Pradhan Mantri Ujjwalla Yojana
PTG	- Primitive Tribal Group
RDP	- Rural Development Programme
SDO	- Sub-Divisional Officer
SGRY	-Sampoorna Gram Rozgar Yojana
SMFA	- Small Marginal Farmer Agency
TSP	- Tribal Sub-Plan
UNDP	- United Nations Development Programme
VA	- Village Authority
VCFC	- Village Common Fund Committee
VDB	- Village Development Board
VDC	- Villager Development Committee

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Chapter 1

Introduction

This study is an attempt to understand rural development in the context of the remote rural villages located in the hilly region of Manipur and Nagaland of Northeast India. It tries to look at the concept of rural development based on the experience of the villagers and their living condition. It begins with the conceptual understanding of rural development and the nature of semi-primitivism. The administrative structure of the rural development institutions along with their objectives is discussed in a separate chapter. To look at the perceiving knowledge of rural development programmes and its implementation in the village, the villagers' perception is thoroughly discussed. To further understand the need of the villagers, it is crucial to view at the living conditions in details contextually, without which a generally perceiving knowledge of the entire villages in the region may critically face mismatch in addressing their needs.

The state of Manipur is covered by about 99 percent of the area (in Sq.km) under the rural category, and 67 percent of the total population live in this area. Tamenglong district of Manipur where my fieldwork village Magulong located has about 86 percent of the population living in rural areas. On the other hand, the state of Nagaland has the land area (in Sq.km) covered under rural category by about 98 percent. In which about 71 percent of the total population live in rural areas.¹ The Peren district is where my fieldwork village Nzauna located, and it has about 85 percent of the total population who lives in rural areas. As the figure shows, despite the rapid growth of urbanisation and development, a vast majority of the population found to be living in rural areas. The two selected villages are considered to be one of the most remote/backward villages in the either of the two states.

Much of the importance is given to rural development with an objective to transform the rural areas to that of semi-urban by developing various infrastructure and basic common facilities and improve the socio-economic living standard of the rural poor through employment generation. However, multiple numbers of rural villages especially in the hilly regions continue to struggle

¹ Census of India, 2011.

in their day to day life due to lack of proper implementation of development facilities like road connectivity and other basic necessity of the modern day. Attempts have been made to reduce the problems of inequalities in income and employment, in access to public goods and services, and to alleviate the rural poor through various Poverty Alleviation Programmes for several decades since the Independence of the country. However, the “distributional issues” continue to persist. We have seen certain pockets of rural India living in dire poverty. Even within the rural village, issue of inequalities continues to arise as the richer are getting richer while the poor continue to get poorer each year.

This study, therefore, tries to understand the Rural Development and its implication at the grassroots level. Then raise the concern of whether the case study village- Magulong and Nzauna of Manipur and Nagaland respectively are a semi-primitive village; and tries to understand the implementation of rural development programmes in such setup. In doing so, it will try to study and understand the perception of the villagers who are the beneficiaries of the progressive intended development schemes they got to experience from the government and analyse their living condition.

Rural Development: Concept

In the first place, it is important to understand the concept of rural development and what is it meant for. The concept Rural Development refers to the processes of change in rural societies which involves both the intervention of the government at increasing importance as well as the involvement of rural population. It is a process of change to reduce the problems of poverty, utilise the knowledge and creativity of the concerned rural population through increased productivity based on the contextual requirement for improving their lives. It is also a process of enabling the villagers to fulfil their needs of physical, social, economic and intellectual. So those, at the same time indicate the reduction of hunger, poverty, unemployment and inequality and improve the quality of life of the masses and unleash their creative energy.² The aim is to

² Daramola, O., & Ayo, C. (June 2015). *Enabling Socio-Economic Development of the Masses Through e-Government in Developing Countries*. European Conference on E-Government, Academic Conferences International limited, p-508.

alleviate the conditions of the villagers to enable them to be “self-reliant” and confident for improving their conditions at their own initiative.³

The intervention of the government should also be in both ways- at broader approach as well as in a more specific focus. The broader, because it entails much more than the development of agricultural production- for it is, a distinct approach to the development of the economy as a whole. And it is more specific in the sense that it focuses particularly on poverty and inequality issues.⁴ As we are aware, activities in rural societies mostly relate to agricultural and other allied activities, the land reforms and land policy that seeks to provide distributive justice and to introduce new technologies that may result in greater agricultural productivity should be crucial elements in a development strategy. On the other hand, the problem of illiteracy is particularly acute in rural areas which act as a constraint in furthering the process of rural development, and that characterised to widespread inequalities. Furthermore, the lack of education hindered the villagers in understanding or expressing their own problems. In other words, though the cause of underdevelopment is unclear and could not express, yet the effect is harsh. At the same time, for the policymakers to understand the reality of the villagers’ life become a far-fetched dream when the stakeholders themselves are out of pictures to clarify their problems.

The needs and problems of various regions and people have to be taken into account when planning for rural development contextually.⁵ Local area planning through Panchayat or village council can be a powerful means of bringing the realities of development. However, based on the field investigation, to further prevent leakages from the system and makes the planning more accountable, it is necessary to create a mechanism that can help the government agencies at the subordinate or the district level to put their best effort to understand and educate on certain policies and issues to the villagers as per their needs. In other words, the ‘bottom-up’ approach

³ De Silva, G. V. S. (1988) *Towards a Theory of Rural Development*, Progressive Publishers, Lahore, Pakistan, pp-53.

⁴ Harriss, J. (1982) *Rural Development: Theories of peasant economy and agrarian change*. Hutchinson & Co. (Publishers) Ltd, London, UK, pp-15.

⁵ Hooja, R. & Parnami, K.K. (2007) *Development Administration and Rural Development*. AALEKH Publishers, Jaipur, India, pp-62.

which many researchers have already suggested alone is difficult to materialise without the efforts of the government agencies because the villagers are running out of ideas to see whether the planning are productive or meaningful for themselves.

Rural development is a process that does not simply create a physical environment to be visible, but it should be a strategy designed to enhance the economic and social life of rural poor which are invisible in nature. “Development, like freedom, is invisible”.⁶ But the consequence of the process of change must be there because development is both a cause and a result of change and it is a two-way relationship between them- development influences and is influenced, a change.⁷ Rural development is also a policy and process that be desired and demand inter-disciplinary approach where the broader social and political factors having interaction with the economic process are subjected to examination.⁸

Primitivism: Concept

A clarification for using the term ‘primitive’ has to be done on one ground before discussing further. It is important to indicate that there have been long-drawn-out academic discussions on tribes which are shaped by the perspective of the British colonial and the state. It is a matter of the fact that the recognition of scheduled tribes in India (through article 342) on the inclusion of politico-administrative structure (through article 224) which is still governed by the basic colonial construct became the basic norm or structure for the academic reference to tribes.⁹ The concepts such as 'backward' and 'primitive' are still in use in policy making and practice implying a neo-colonial understanding of the concept of tribes.¹⁰ In this study, I am trying to look at their

⁶ Mishra, S.N. (1981) *Rural development and Panchayati Raj*. Concept, New Delhi.

⁷ Singh, J. V. et al (1986), Organisational Change and Organisational Mortality, *Administrative Science Quarterly*, Vol. 31, No. 4, pp. 587-611.

⁸ Harriss, J. (1982) *Rural Development: Theories of peasant economy and agrarian change*. Hutchinson & Co. (Publishers) Ltd, London, UK, pp-16.

⁹ Report of the High Level Committee on Socio-Economic, Health and Educational Status of Tribal Communities of India, *Ministry of Tribal Affairs, Government of India*, May 2014.

¹⁰ Ambagudia, J. (2011) Schedule Tribes and the Politics of Inclusion in India, *Asian Social Work and Policy Review* 5 (2011) p-33-43.

socio-economic activities which it turns out to be their mode of production which are for their own subsistence rather than the colonial construct of primitivity.

The word 'primitive' generally refers to someone or something less complex, or less advanced, than the person or thing to which it is being compared.¹¹ It is a relational comparison of primitive with modern. This relational operation may help us to understand an extraordinary diversity of forms within the village, what Connelly (1995) has called 'the difficulty in discerning a rationale underlying the chaotic mix of styles identified'.¹²

The "primitive activities" as according to the NSSO Report of 1990 are hunting, shifting cultivation, and collection of minor forest produce. However, the mixture of styles, which begins with the coming of modern development activities and confluence with the traditional and primitive activities, adds significant changes in socio-economic life of the villagers. A frequent motion of change among the villagers in every aspect of their lives is of no exception to the two study villages.

The primitive activities of the villagers are socioeconomic, which is also their mode of production. The activities are social, in the sense that, the activities like hunting, cultivating, or constructing thatch house are a part of their social and cultural life. These practices developed into a culture through their nature where they organise and defined their social well-being. To build a thatched house of an individual household, for instance, it is a responsibility of the whole villagers to come and help. The effectiveness of this culture or to get help from others depends on one's role in society or social relations s/he keeps. Similarly, agricultural works are mostly done by forming a cluster of individual labour to a group of 8 to 10, or even more and exchange for each other (detailed explanation in a later section). These activities are a part of their social as well as cultural life.

On the other hand, it is also economic, in a sense; they earn their living by engaging in most of the activities mentioned above. This study has shown that 89 percent of the villagers earned their

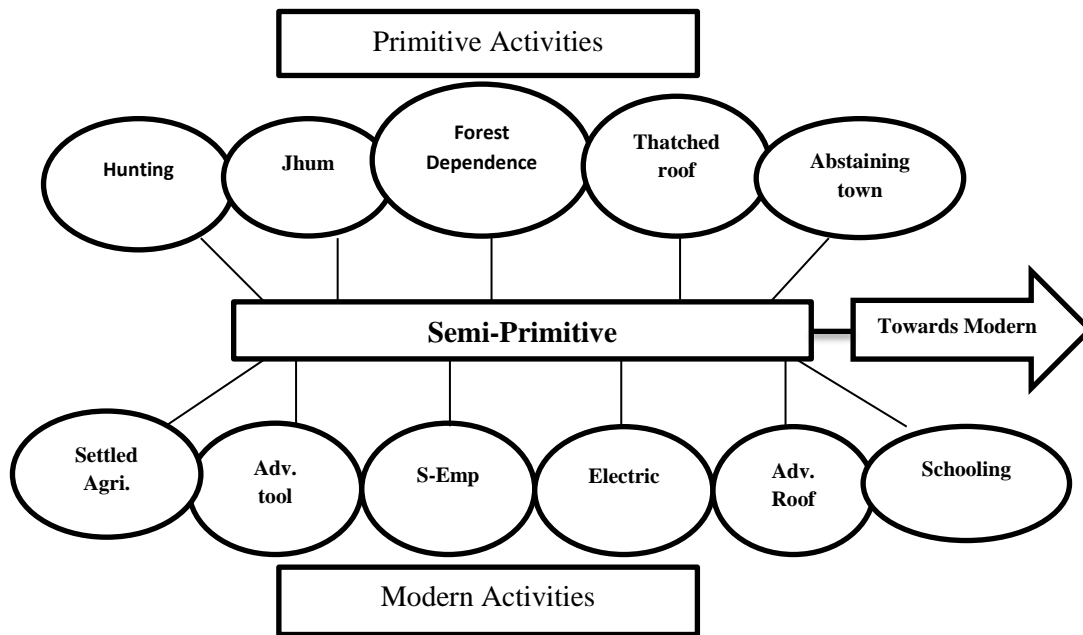
¹¹ Rhodes, C. (1995) *Primitivism and Modern Art*, New York: Thames & Hudson, pp-13.

¹² Connelly, F. (1995) *The Sleep of Reason*, College Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, pp-3

living from ‘shifting cultivation’. Shifting cultivation is described as “an economy” of which main characteristics are a rotation of fields rather than crops (Satapathy et al., 2003).¹³ Other activities like, hunting, collecting minor forest products are also considered as an economic activity. These forest minors have a good price in the market. Some make a part of their income through these activities.

The modern activities (shown in the diagram below) are more into economic and lesser contribution to social relations. The practices are more individualistic in nature rather than social group activities as in the primitive ones. The construction of modern type house, for instance, is built by someone who is an expert in woodwork and carpentry. Those experts (in village level) are hired on daily wages basis or in contract basis. However, in some cases where the wall of the house has to be patched by a mixture of mud and hay (which is out of the hands of carpentry) the whole village gets to involve and help it completed in a day.

Figure I Semi-Primitive Criterion



Source: Author, 2018

¹³ Socio-economic And Agronomical Constraints Of Jhumias In ... (n.d.). Retrieved from http://sajms.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/SOCIO-ECONOMIC_AND_AGRONOMICAL_CONST

Semi-primitive is a term constructed based on the socio-economic activities of the villagers contributed with the mixture of primitive and modern activities which turn out to be their mode of production, and that helps them move towards more of a modern livelihood by eliminating various types of former activities as they add and indulges more into later activities. The semi-primitivity of the villagers is determined by the nature of the combination of the practice of both primitive as well as modern. The division of two groups of activities is not necessarily two type of villager; it is instead divided to create the picture of semi-primitiveness within their socioeconomic activities. All the activities from both the criteria are interrelated to each other. In other words, one villager who practices settled agriculture may engage in all other activities of the two types. Or the one who lives under the thatched roof may engage in its entire primitive as well as in modern activities listed. Only in a few cases (about 11 percent), those who practice only settled agriculture and have access to modern agricultural tools are found not involved in shifting cultivation (*jhum*). Otherwise, they are found to be engaged in almost all the other primitive activities, though not on a regular basis. Therefore, it is relatively relevant that the villagers are neither wholly primitive nor modern, but a mixture of both or possibly the whole of both. Based on this analysis of their socio-economic activities, the middle of the two or a combination of a half of the two is termed as Semi-Primitive (see Table 2). It is semi-primitive because their practice is not purely primitive. To call it 'semi-modern' is another possible term to use, but such term would be more appropriate for those small towns where some primitive activities are still prevalent. With the influence of advance modern lifestyle and with the help of various government development programmes, rapid changes of socio-economic conditions are found. The declines of various unproductive primitive activities are also observed among the villagers. Thus, the villagers are heading towards more of modern socio-economic activities and lifestyle. There are some individuals who try to abstain from town which was practice since forefathers' time, but with the coming of the modern education system and the demand for the need of children's education it turns out to be more of a compulsion to eliminate such abstaining practice among the parents/elders.

It is also, at the same time, important for the rural development policymaker to understand the vulnerability of losing the traditional values and practice at the cost of economic development. There is such a decline happening due to the compulsion of economic needs indulged into their

everyday life. The sole purpose of rural development is to maintain all-round development, rather than just economic development.

Semi-Primitive: Socio-economic Theoretical Concept.

To further understand the situation of the society living in the hilly regions in the far remote village, a thorough investigation and intensive study is needed. Therefore, here, I propose to locate their socio-economic life in a class-framework keeping Marx's guideline at its backdrop. For better viewing towards a class analysis of the villager, I will highlight their agricultural practice and other social and cultural activities which are considered their economic practice. They practice hunting, collecting forest vegetable, fishing from river stream, settled terrace cultivation, shifting cultivation, animal husbandry (though in very small scale like rearing 2 or 3 Mithun, buffaloes, pig or keeping a flock of chicken for occasional consumption as well as to sell in a small rate for their petty expenses). Some of these practices are a way of their culture rather than an economic intention. They are self-sustained, self-reliant and independent. In typical shifting cultivation, the system produced itself at the end of every production period, production was for subsistence only which is just enough to maintain itself; and with exceptions of only a few, many do not produce surpluses.

Though production of surpluses is lacking unlike the capitalist economy and landholdings are on community ownership rights basis, they are neither in the category of "peasant mass", nor will it be difficult to place them in the category of "feudalism". Utsa Patnaik (1976), in his "Class differentiation within the Peasantry", identified the category of the peasantry by suggesting the single index of "the use of outside labour relative to the use of family labour". He maintained that, unlike the European feudalism in the history, India has a "middling category" who is primarily self-employed cultivators. There are the 'upper middle peasants' (- who are net exploiter of others' labour who have just crossed the subsistence barrier and can generate small retainable surpluses through such small-scale exploitation) and 'lower middle peasants' (-who are either do not exploit labour at all or they themselves exploit to some extent, and they still struggle to reach a subsistence; they either just manage to cultivate or supplement inadequate

income from own resources by working to a small degree for others).¹⁴ Such is the category that can be applicable to this study context though no absolute accuracy can capture to determine their class.

The land is owned by a community where the village authority/council or the selected village elders decides the area of cultivation on a rotational basis.¹⁵ The role of the village elders in decision making is not feudalistic; their authority involves in taking the honour and responsibility entrusted by the villagers. The decision taken by the village authority (the representative of the villagers) or the elders are respected or carry the sense of more weight and rigid. Ownership of land can be characterised towards clan-wise or reserve a portion of land area by the village authority for some village development purpose by using a legalised affidavit paper as a document. However, the ownership is not in absolute term as everyone in the village has the community-based rights to cultivate any land within the territory of the village as long as it is within the purview of village authority or the customary practice.¹⁶ In community-based ownership of land, where there is no private property over land, how does the capitalist approach of development for the region expected to be successful? This question remains open to thinking it further.

There is a widespread notion of the economic practice of Northeast Hilly village may not fall within the Marxist class framework. It is a matter of the fact that the concerned village economy being so simple, the “general western economic theories” may not apply to understand their economy. Dalton (1961) stated that,¹⁷

¹⁴ Panaiik, U. (1976) Class Differentiation within the Peasantry- An Approach to Analysis of Indian Agriculture, *Economic & Political Weekly*, Vol. 11, Issue No. 39, 25 September.

¹⁵ Further description of land owning by Jhum cultivator was given as, “In most of the hill areas of Northeast India, land is owned by the community as a whole. ...Each village operates in a particular demarcated area and the power of distribution of land for cultivation to individual families is vested in the headman or the village council (Saikia,1976). The headman or the village council selects a fertile forested area within the demarcated area at the beginning of the agricultural year and distributes land to each individual family of the village according to necessity. But besides necessity, the size of land allowed to a family depends to a large extent on the number of working hands of the family” See: Sachchidananda, (1989) “Shifting Cultivation in India” Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi. pp-37

¹⁶ Such ownership rights over land and resources are further protected by the Sixth Schedule of Indian Constitution. The state government have very little say on the management of such communal forest.

¹⁷ Dalton, G., (1961), Economic Theory and Primitive Society, *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 63, p-20

The primitive economy is different from market industrialism not in degree but in kind. The absence of machine technology, pervasive market organisation, and all-purpose money, plus the fact that economic transactions cannot be understood apart from social obligation, create, as it were, a non-Euclidean universe to which Western economic theory cannot be fruitfully applied. The attempt to translate primitive economic processes into functional equivalents of our own inevitably obscures just those features of primitive economy which distinguish it from our own.

For the assessment of such economy, special analytical concepts and meanings are necessary for social organisation, kinship, political organisation and religion etc. as these affect their economic organisation and performance. They used primitive and straightforward technology in their agricultural practice. No profit or surplus as that of the capitalist economy is making in such an economy. It was a sort of stationary that the “method of production did not entail any substantial imported from outside the system to pay for imports and or accumulation.”¹⁸ Almost all agricultural operations are carried out by family labour and not by wage labour. Regarding the village market, their economy is clear from the interpretation of D.P. Sinha (1968). To him, "traditional economic transactions are carried on through barter, commodities are measured by volume rather than by weight, production is small scale, the transaction is concerned with consumer goods rather than trade goods, where competition is absent and, the price is fixed by traditionally determined relative values rather than by the interplay of demand and supply of commodities."¹⁹

The Church in the village played a vital role in fixing prices. Most of the villagers are Church goers, and they bring their offering in cash or in kind on Sunday worship service. The best of their farming products or crops are brought as their offering to the church. At the end of their service, an appointed “property deacon” will decide the price of the crops gathered as offering measured by volume based on his/her own lump-sum calculation of its value and sell it to

¹⁸ Ganguli, J B (1997), “Structural Changes in Jhum-base Economy and Growing Inequalities in Northeastern Tribal Society” in M C Behera, et al. (Eds.), Trends in Agrarian Structure in the Hills of Northeast India, Commonwealth Publishers, New Delhi

¹⁹ Sinha, D.P. (1968) *Culture Change in Inter-tribal Market*, Asia Publishing House, Calcutta, India.

buyers.²⁰ This practice of the church also is taken into account in the General Body Meeting of the Village Authority/Council while fixing or deciding the price of any village goods.

Whereas, Jairus Banaji (1977), in his “Capitalist Domination and the Small Peasantry”, argued that, the rural Indian at large extent is dominated by ‘pre-capitalist’ relationships of a ‘semi-feudal’ variety.²¹ He referred ‘semi-feudalism’ to be consisting of A Bhaduri’s essential features: a) An extensive non-legalised sharecropping system, b) Perpetual indebtedness of the small tenants; c) rural exploiters operating both as landowners and lender to the small tenants; and d) tenants having incomplete access to the market.²² Most of these features other than ‘indebtedness’ seem to not exist in the context of the tribal community’s economic practice of this study. Moreover, the idea of the theory of ‘peasant differentiation’ of Lenin on Russian Countryside in the late 19th and early 20th century may throw some more lights in identifying or figuring out the social position or class of the tribal villager in Marx class division.²³ By differentiation, he meant even more than that some peasant were growing richer, while the others are growing poorer. He stratified the three-tier structure of the Russian peasantry: the Kulaks- who are rich or well to do peasants, middle peasants and poor peasants. Harriss as well tried to bring the debate of “differentiation or a specific economy” wherein ‘differentiation’ there seems to have distinct classes among the rural producers with increasing commoditization and commercialisation in agrarian societies.²⁴ First, a small agrarian bourgeoisie or class of capitalist farmers created either from former landlords or from amongst the richer peasants; in the second, a large class of agricultural labourers who might or might not retain small allotments of land for their own use. Thirdly, the other distinct class that tends to be squeezed out of existence as the

²⁰ Property Deacon is an appointed or anointed position given by the Church leaders and elders to take care of all the church properties including selling the tithed rice collected in the Church’s rice barn and kinds offered by the believers on Sunday service or family prayer offerings.

²¹ Banaji, J. (1977) Capitalist Domination and the Small Peasantry: Deccan Districts in the late Nineteenth Century. *Economic and Political Weekly*, Special Number (August 1977)

²² Bhaduri, A. (1973) A Study in Agricultural Backwardness under Semi-Feudalism, *Economic Journal*, Vol. 83, Issue 329, p-120-137.

²³ Lenin, V.I. (1952), *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*, “Collected Works”, 3, Moscow.

²⁴ Harriss, J. (1982) *Rural Development: Theories of peasant economy and agrarian change*. Hutchinson & Co. (Publishers) Ltd, London, UK.

process of differentiation proceeds is a ‘middle peasantry’ or a class of more or less self-sufficient household producers, who use mainly their own family labour and are little involved in selling their labour power, and who have sufficient resources to provide for their own livelihood requirements. On the other side of the debate are those who argue, of specific that of small producers who are not separated from their means of production and who retain a degree of control over land and family labour, survives because they are able to produce more than that of the capitalist producers. The peasant society, in general, is considered to be rural producers for their own subsistence, who possess a degree of independent control over the resources which are unlike the workers in a factory owned by somebody else. They are not homogenous and may be marked by quite considerable inequalities. They are defined by subordinate relationships to external markets, the state and the dominant culture.²⁵

Some of the characteristics of the peasant society discussed above, like independent control over resources, rural producers, not homogenous, having subordinate relationships with external markets and so on are the similar features to that of the tribal villagers we are trying to contextualise here. Selling off one’s own labour also practices though on a tiny scale just to meet their small subsistence and not for their livelihood. The study shows that selling one’s labour was not the main source of income in the village. However, the traditional practice of exchanging labour is commonly practising until today. The local people call it “*ka’ngutpe*”, which means, a group of people (of 8 to 10 adult working member irrespective of gender) will form to deliver a group-labour for each group members one by one each day and continue until it is delivered to the last member.²⁶ In this experience, we can see a sense of equality and homogeneity in their working sphere. We find no room to separates a peasantry class of Marx in such an environment. The ‘upper middle peasantry’ characterised somehow to the rich villagers, and ‘lower middle peasantry’ who are earning the barrier of subsistence exist, but to be squeezed out other lower rung and bring down to the rank of a poor peasant or richer ones who can be capitalist or feudalist by the process of ‘differentiation’ is entirely out of context as the village population have never experienced the process of such in their past. They have evolved from the primitive

²⁵ Harriss, J. (1982) *Rural Development: Theories of peasant economy and agrarian change*. Hutchinson & Co. (Publishers) Ltd, London, UK.

²⁶ *Ka’ngutpe* is a Zeme dialect which is a term used by local people for exchange of labor among themselves.

hunting-gathering practice. The characteristics of hunting-gathering or primitive society, into this community whose livelihood are more advanced in nature. Needless to say, large-scale farming is a component of capitalist agricultural practice as they aim to produce a surplus. In a capitalist society, their mode of production has a surplus-value at its output. To quote with Marx (1954), “He aims to produce not only a use-value but a commodity also; not only use-value but value; not only value but at the same time surplus-value”.²⁷ In the village, some few individuals manage to produce a surplus, but they do not utilise them in the “circulation of capital” but save them and use only when they need it. Such a picture of the capitalist mode of production was never found to exist in the history of this village community.

Literature review

Upadhyaya (1989), reported in his seminal book “Semi-Primitive Economy of an Indian Village: A study of Lungdai in Northeast India” that the occupational structure of the sampled village (Lungdai) consist 67 percent of the sampled population showing Jhum cultivation as the main occupation followed by 37 percent in trade; 12 percent as salaried and 4 percent involved in casual labour.²⁸ There are many other social and economic structure and activities which the author elaborated under the theme “Semi-Primitive Economy” to Lungdai (village) which are similar and relevant to that of the Zeme village this study is trying to figure it out.²⁹ The difference is the challenging remoteness, landscape, road connectivity, health facilities, numbers and time, and their cultural or traditional believes and practice. This work correspondingly throws some lights to categorised the present case to be under the so-called “semi-primitive economy” rather than a “primitive economy”. However, his work was just a survey report without building any relevant theoretical framework on this kind of economic structure. Therefore, the idea of “Semi-Primitive” we are describing here would be a “socio-economic

²⁷ This is quoted from the work of Karl Marx, in his “Capital: A critical analysis of capitalist production” Volume 1, pp-186

²⁸ Upadhyaya, K.K. (1989), *Semi-Primitive Economy of an Indian Villag: A study of Lungdai in North-East India*, Mittal Publication, New Delhi, India.

²⁹ There are structural resemblance of human resource, agriculture and plantation activities, housing, occupations and religious practice. Except their cultural or traditional believe and practices found to be uniquely different from each other.

lifestyle” as well as a mode of production of the villagers in a general sense of economic theory. The mode of production, however, would be a semi-primitive one. The shifting cultivation as their agricultural practice using simple tools and the economic practice with much simplicity may fall within the ambit of Marx’s “Primitive mode of production”. The lifestyle of the people, however, living under the influence of capitalist society with a modern communication system, food habits, shelters and high literacy rate makes the people more advanced than the primitive one. Due to the recent upbringing of education among the younger generation, their economic practices also began to go beyond previously primitive practices to a mix of both Primitive and modern.

Moreover, to find out functional criteria or indicator for identification of primitive tribe, a workshop on the primitive tribal group was organised during the Fifth Five Year Plan. Its proceeding was published in 1977 by Ministry of Home Affairs which was edited by Sinha and Sharma. Accordingly, the criterion for identification of “Primitive Tribal Group” (PTG) was adopted as- the pre-agricultural level of technology, low level of literacy and poor numerical strength. Any tribe qualifying at least one of these criteria were stated as “Primitive Tribe”.³⁰ The Zeme tribe was not found to be categorised under PTG. Their educational and social status also shown more advance and does not represent the primitive features. Therefore, the level of primitiveness as per the Indian Constitution remains inapplicable since the 1970s or before. Overall, it may be viewed as a mixture of both primitive as well as some advancement from it in their socio-economic lifestyle.

Gupta (1987) enunciated that the primitive tribal group lives in forests and is exclusively dependent on forest produces for their livelihood by practising hunting and gathering. She further clarified that their entire style of life revolves around the forests with their primitive technology, limited skills, and ritual practices. She suggested the requirement to tackle their living situation with little modulation at the initial level to protect pressure and regenerate the tribal diversity and identity of the specific areas in the programmes of rural development.³¹ The need of intensifying the interdisciplinary approach in understanding the primitive tribal living situation and condition

³⁰ NSSO (1990), A Report on Living Condition of Some Major Tribes of India, *Fourth Round* (July 1988-June 1989)

³¹ Das Gupta, B. (1987) A Typology of Village Socio-Economic System, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 10

is also a culminating intuition without further reasoning. The long historic experience of isolation and exploiting their rights should be a concern by utilising anthropological knowledge and specific tribal constitutional laws hand-in-hand.

Saikia (1970) made an assessment and learned that in hilly rural areas of Northeast India, the land is generally communally owned. Whereas, individual ownership is also found in the land/areas where settled cultivation is practised. Shifting Cultivation, or *jhuming*, which he called it “a primitive system of agriculture” still remains the mainstay of the majority of the tribal people in the hill areas.³² He maintained that there is a negative impact of practising shifting cultivation in the long run. He instead encourages for settled cultivation. He argued that,³³

“..shifting cultivation cannot feed a large population for two reasons. First, under the system, land, after one or two cropping, is left under forest fallow for the recuperation of lost fertility. This means that in a year, only a small fraction of the cultivable land is used. If the cycle of regeneration or *jhum* cycle is, say 10 years and 50 percent of the total land area is cultivable, it means only about 5 percent of the total area is brought under cultivation each year. Secondly, the soil fertility depends on the period under forest fallow. Higher the *jhum* cycle, greater the fertility regained. This again sets a limit to the density of population under shifting cultivation.”

However, based on the ground of sustainability, the shifting cultivation system may not be considered unsustainable per se in relation to the soil system dynamics.³⁴ The causes that may lead to the unsustainability of the system are related to social, cultural, political and economic changes that affect the communities that subsist on this agricultural practice.^{35 36}

³² Saikia, P.D., (1970), Problems of Agricultural Development in the Tribal Areas of Northeast India, *Indian Journal of Agricultural Economics*, Bombay, Vol XXX, No. 3.

³³ Saikia, P.D., (1984), “Present and Future of Northeast India: Land and Population Explosion”, in B.L. Abbi (Ed.) *Northeast Region: Problems and Prospects of Development*, Centre for Research in Rural Development and Industrial Development, Chandigarh, India, pp-89.

³⁴ Filho, A. A. R., et al, (2013), The Impacts of Shifting Cultivation on Tropical Forest Soil: A Review, *Boletim do Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi. Ciências Humanas*, v. 8, n. 3, p. 693-727.

³⁵ Mertz, O., (2002), The Relationship Between Length Of Fallow And Crop Yields In Shifting Cultivation: A Rethinking. *Agroforestry Systems*, v. 55, n. 2, p. 149-159.

J. B. Ganguli (1986), made a comprehensive review of the economic and social developments of both tribal and non-tribal areas of the Northeast region, and he refuted and contended the view that the current troubles in the region are due to the nature of resources transfers from the Centre which is insufficient for the required economic development and public welfare. He concedes that despite considerable flow of resources, no reduction of disparities in consumption and income levels between Northeast region and the rest of the country are seen. He further stressed that the development process itself including the tribal welfare schemes and the development programmes of the Central government and the States has given rise to different dimensions of economic, political and social forces and institutions, which generates the current probable social and political tension. He also blames that there are wrong educational and social welfare policies of the centre and state government, including a disproportionate emphasis on higher education, buying of loyalties through generous welfare grants, incentives, or special concessions, etc. He argued that the approach has led to the destruction of certain tribal values which are important for mobilising their initiative and energies for creating “productive assets for the general welfare of the people.” Ganguli agrees that such structural loopholes of the economy of the region as the colonial type repatriation of surpluses, a lack of “perceptible agglomeration” in economies and the backwardness of agriculture and industry. He argued that the continued lack of economic growth is due to the absence of such “universal intermediaries” as basic manufactured goods such as iron, steel, cement, chemicals, machine tools, power and transport system. He favoured the idea of promoting animal husbandry, poultry, horticulture, and pisciculture to improve agriculture and the economy. He also likes to encourage the idea of public sector undertakings, industrial licensing and fiscal and financial incentives to ensure the preferential promotion of labour intensive, rather than a capital-intensive industry. He also feels the urgent need to devise suitable economic management systems that ensure people’s active participation in the decision-making and implementation processes.³⁷

Goswami (1987), ascribe and stresses that the lack of development in the region leads to an abnormal growth rate of population, small holdings, low crop intensity and the colonial character

³⁶ Van Vliet, N., (2012), Trends, Drivers and Impacts Of Changes In Swidden Cultivation In Tropical Forest-Agriculture Frontiers: A Global Assessment, *Global Environmental Change*, v. 22, n. 2, p. 418-429, 2012.

³⁷ Ganguli, J B (1986), “The Economic Conditions and Change in Northeast India”, *Assam Economic Journal*, vol. 5, no. 1

of economy – having exploitation of the natural resources, rather than promoting manufacturing, poor communications and outflow of economic surplus and bank deposits to the other regions. The narrow base of industrialisation, lack of entrepreneurship, small market, the high cost of transportation and inputs, poor infrastructure and lack of skilled manpower are some of the major constraints affecting industrial development. His suggestion of strategy for development includes ensure water supply for crops in winter, promotion of power intensive industries in the region based on natural resources, strengthening of the public distribution system, uniform concessional freight rates, more aggressive role for public enterprises, manpower planning, training of artisans, technicians, etc.³⁸

Sharma et al. (1977) have submitted that Rural Development as a concept and a reality has suffered from intellectual importations, enormously biased by philosophical-methodological assumptions being quite unrelated to the factual configuration of problem-situation. Over the years, it has caused ambivalence and equivocation amidst those who favour rural reconstruction as devotion and a mission to the soil. It would be neither humanitarian nor compatible to onus wholly on the lack of policy stress or even its clear articulation to account for the deficient pace of rural development, but the very nature of the process is heavily complex, requiring multi-dimensional approach and inter-disciplinary knowledge. The effort also suffered overdue both to the paucity of resources and lack of commitment, not substantially unexpected in nation-building activities of developing countries possessing traditional societies.³⁹

Reddy et al. (1985) in their study of AP (Andhra Pradesh) come to the finding that the policy for small farmers' development could not evolve a significant impact on the target-groups. The schemes proved to be too ill-organised to be viable. In fact, some of the development schemes proved to be counter-productive rather than being an intending aim to be productive. The agricultural-labourers are not only bypassed but are put to a great nightmare. The administrative machinery is not property-oriented, nor is it dynamic to help the poor. As a result, the middlemen have been appropriating the benefits. The poor as a class of status are yet to develop a participative practice to overcome the limitations of public policy and non-egalitarian socio-

³⁸ Goswami, P. C. (1987) Problems and Prospects of Industrialization: A study of Northeast India. *Assam Institute of Development Studies*, Guwahati, Assam.

³⁹ Sharma, M. (1985) "The Politics of In-equality, Competition and Control in an Indian Village" Honolulu ; University of Hawaii.

economic system. Thus, the Small Farmers Development Agency (SFDA), another important public policy like the Green Revolution have failed to make a positive impact or an outcome on the rural poor, especially in Northeast India.

Regarding loopholes of Rural Development Programme (RDP), Maheshwari (1985) comments that RDPs in India suffers from a high degree of centralisation as illustrated by the Integrated Rural Development Programmes (IRDP). This programme has been formulated in great detail at the central level with some flexibility being granted at the implementation level; so much so that it may not be false out with a very inappropriate to say that this programme is for the people but clearly not by the people and of the people. India is one of the exemplary countries which seeks to promote rural development purely through its bureaucratic process with the mere involvement of participation by the people.⁴⁰

Sinha (1986) in an official paper regarding IRDP, opines that things have gone inappropriate at multiple levels. Firstly, the DRDA officials charged with plan-formulation have neither the necessary skills oriented nor the planning experience. Secondly, the obligation for achieving quantitative targets, the related mal-practices and the consequent ‘policing’ role thrust upon the DRDA leaves very less time for such ‘theoretical’ application as planning. Thirdly, directives issued by the Centre and State governments have, in reality, left little room for addressing on the basis of local conditions.⁴¹

Objective

1. To ‘contextualise’ the need of the villagers and help the rural development policymakers implement and prioritise the programmes.
2. To find out some factors that hinder or act as an obstacle to the smooth implementation of rural development programmes.
3. To enhance the knowledge about such type of rural village prevailing in the North-eastern hilly region.

⁴⁰ Maheshwari (1985), “Measurement of General Cost of Living”, November.

⁴¹ Sinha, D.P. (1968) *Culture Change in Inter-tribal Market*, Asia Publishing House, Calcutta, India.

Research Question/s

Main question: What is rural development really mean according to the villagers?

Sub-questions:

1. Is the rural development programmes implemented are at is best applicability for the villagers?
2. Why do we need to understand the living condition of the villagers and contextualised their needs?

Research Methods

My fieldwork is based in two bordered village of Manipur and Nagaland viz. Magulong and Nzauna village respectively. It took one and a half month to collect the primary data (from mid-Dec. 2017 till the beginning of February 2018). Fieldwork started from Magulong villages Manipur and ended at Nzauna Village, Nagaland. The two villages are a homogenous type living by the same tribal community called Zeme. Except the political boundary of the two states differentiate them. Data comprise of secondary as well as primary. I have collected a sample size of 64 (34 from Magulong and 30 from Nzauna) and the data were increased until 'data saturation' is achieved. Total household of the village as per the villagers of Magulong and Nzauna are 78 and 61 respectively (total 139). Sample selection was randomly taken, based on the availability of the respondents by visiting respondents' house, interviewed from a public playground, social gatherings, etc. The data were analysed using descriptive analysis with tables.

Chapterisation

Chapter 1: Introduction:

This section introduced the whole ideas of this paper in brief. It also brings out conceptualisation of the terms rural development and the primitivism in the context of the studied village along with the existing literature.

Chapter 2: Rural Development's Structural Functions in Manipur and Nagaland.

This chapter discusses the institutional structure of rural development and its functions in the state of Manipur and Nagaland.

Chapter 3: Villagers Perception on Rural Development: A comparison Magulong and Nzauna

This chapter deals with the perception of the villagers on development programmes and its function.

Chapter 4: Understanding the Living Condition of the Villagers: Comparing two village

This chapter deals with the socio-economic activities of the villagers and analyses their living condition.

Chapter 5: Conclusion: Open up the ecological concern in capitalistic development, summarize the paper with recommendations and laid down some limitations and suggestions for future works.

The following chapter discusses the structural functions of rural development and the schemes currently going on in the state of Manipur and Nagaland.

Chapter-2

Rural Development's Structural Functions in Manipur and Nagaland

Policy Formulation

Now, it would be pertinent to discuss the development policy formulation as we have some relative idea of the socio-economic grounding of the villagers. We will be able to understand how suitable and viable the rural development programmes are for the villagers. While the benchmark of capitalism and socialism entered in the Indian debate of rural development, as the new India desired to adopt the democratic structure of government, the rural development policies committed to the idea of “socialist path” with a decentralised structure in its implementation.⁴² Likewise, the general picture of administration cum organisational framework for rural development in the state is characterised by a decentralised system. Moreover, due to special constitutional arrangements, historical background as well as geographical location, the central government has been trying to integrate the Northeast region with the national economy through a certain policy framework. Likewise, it has accepted the right of tribal to retain their way of life and identity and has sought to enhance them through democratic means into the federal frame of Constitution of India. The policy framework for this region therefore so far is guided by a combination of political economy and cultural approach. However, on the practical ground, the villagers seem to experience the imposition of capitalist approach in the development programmes implemented for them.

The primary focus of the political economy approach is on the relations between the State and the economy. In this approach, the role of the bureaucratic state arrangement is strongly emphasised. The cultural approach, on the other hand, focuses on the socially constructed character of the economic organisation where the economic system is a product of the social

⁴² India's First Five Year Plan, 1951-56

order. In this combined approach, the importance of the bureaucratic arrangements in the process of economic development has been excessively exaggerated. This special approach has been adjusted with the central governments' policies of a regional planning development model.⁴³ Under the influence of this policy, various schemes for the development that includes rural development in the regions are formulated. The schemes include the formation of North-Eastern Council, Hill Area Development Projects and Sub-plans, Tribal Area Sub-plan and Tribal Development Agency Projects, etc. Further, to protect tribal interests, policies of less interference with the cultural traditions and customs of the tribal people are being followed, and additional political and administrative framework has been provided for the region. For example, under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution, the concept of Autonomous District Councils has been applied (that includes Manipur). Restrictions have been imposed on the rights of the Indian nationals to acquire landed property in these areas. The regulation of Inner Line Permit prohibits entry of outsiders that includes Nagaland, in which without a permit debars a non-native from acquiring any interest in land or the produce of the land.⁴⁴

Likewise, the policy-maker formulates certain sense of each state's uniqueness, and furnished structural-bureaucratic-arrangement for each state.

Manipur

Manipur has a unique structure separately for both valley and hill districts. The hill districts have Autonomous District Councils (ADC) under the 6th Schedule of the Indian Constitution, whereas the valley Districts follow the 3 tier Panchayati Raj system- Zila Parishad, Block Development Committee and Village Panchayat in attenuated form. For the purpose of rural development, however, District Rural Development Agency (DRDA) for each district has been created since the 1980s. The DRDAs played the role of the only agency for the implementation of Central of the Centrally-sponsored Development Schemes. In the case of Manipur, the Block Development Officers (BDO) is also Sub-Divisional Officers (SDO). The Tribal of Manipur, however, realized that the Autonomous District Council have been rendered incompetent, and it

⁴³ The major assumption of regional planning is that it would permit the transfer of surplus generated in on region to another. This machanism expects to increase aggregate national efficiency through optimum resource allocation.

⁴⁴ India's Northeast Rejuvenating A Conflict-riven Economy. (n.d.). Retrieved from <http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/publication/faultlines/volume6/Fault6-GSach-F.htm>

cannot function as institution of Local Self-Government as meant to be, resulting the Hill Area Committees to adopt a resolution on 18th July 1990 to the effect that no election to members of ADC, Manipur will be held until and unless the provisions of sixth scheduled were extended. Short of sixth scheduled the Hill people boycotted the ADC- election for 21 years in Manipur, then revived again in the year 2010 with faith in the commitment of the state government to empower ADCs as that of the other states of India. The ADC, however, still functions at the mercy of the state legislature though it draws its autonomy from the 6th Schedule of the constitution of India. Such being the case, neither the actual powers have been improved during the last 7 years nor were the mandated Act and rules adequately implemented. Thereby, the functionaries of ADCs in Manipur are no better than a mere Government Department.⁴⁵

Village Authority

At the local level, in the Hill Areas, the **Village Authority** (VA) is the mandated body passed by the constitution in the Manipur Village Authority (in Hill areas) Act, 1956 for the administration in the hill areas of Manipur.⁴⁶ As per this Act, the number of members of a VA is determined on the basis of the number of tax-paying houses.

Table 1: Number of Members of a VA on the basis of the number of Tax-Paying Houses

Number of Tax-Paying Houses	Number of Members in a Village Authority
20 to 60	5
61 to 100	7
101 to 150	10

Source: The Manipur Village Authorities (Hill Areas) Act, 1956

⁴⁵ Autonomous District Councils Manipur In Brief By Haokholal ... (n.d.). Retrieved from http://e-pao.net/epSubPageExtractor.asp?src=news_section.opinions.Politics_and_G

⁴⁶ 'Hill Areas' Section 2(j) MLR & LR Act, 1960 defines the term 'Hill Areas' as such areas in the 'Hill Tracts' of the State of Manipur as the State Government made by notification in the Official Gazette, declared to be the hill areas, vide notification No. 181/2/61 dated 25.01.1962.

Figure II Map of Manipur



Map not for Scale. Source: <https://www.mapsofindia.com/maps/manipur/#>

The functions of the VA shall be to:⁴⁷

1. Implement schemes made by the government for poverty eradication,
2. Recognising beneficiaries for poverty alleviation schemes,
3. Supervise developmental works,
4. Help government agencies,
5. Receive grants and utilise them for public works,
6. Provide securities for loans by village residents,
7. Constitute Village Development Committee,
8. Help statutory council in carrying out developmental tasks,
9. Assist central and state government in carrying out various schemes; and
10. Review departmental works within a village and report to the Block Development Officer.

Development Programmes

To reduce poverty, various poverty alleviation programmes, employment generating and basic services programmes are being implemented currently both by the Central Government and the State Government. To mention a few schemes presently in operation are:-

a) National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGS)

NREGS now renamed as Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Scheme (MGNREGS) has become one of the most distinctive flagship scheme taken up by the Ministry of Rural Development, Government of India. This scheme envisages enhancing and improving the livelihood security in rural areas by providing 100 days of guaranteed wage employment in a financial year to adult members of every household in the village who are willing to volunteer to do unskilled manual work which can lead to the development of the village community. In Manipur, this scheme was first introduced in Tamenglong District in the year 2006-07, which was followed by implementing in other districts, - Chandel and Churachandpur which were covered in 2007-08 and the other six districts, - Imphal East, Imphal West, Thoubal, Bishnupur, Senapati and Ukhrul were

⁴⁷ The Manipur Village Authorities (in Hill Areas) Act, 1956 ... (n.d.). Retrieved from <https://lawyerslaw.org/the-manipur-village-authorities-in-hill-areas-act-1956/>

covered in the year 2008-09. The scheme is a Centrally Sponsored Scheme (CSS) by sharing the cost at the ratio of 90:10 between the Centre and State.

b) Pradhan Mantri Gram Sadak Yojana (PMGSY).⁴⁸

This programme is under implementation in the state through Manipur State Roads Development Agency (MSRRDA) with 25 Programme Implementation Units (PIUs) at its disposal under Rural Engineering Department, Rural Development and Panchayati Raj, Government of Manipur. PMGSY began in 2000-01, by converting some works started under Basic Minimum Services (BMS). As per the aim of Rural Development and Panchayati Raj Department, Government of Manipur, PMGSY envisages providing new road connectivity to 1225 villages in Manipur by constructing 6000 KM (approximately) of road length including 20 percent upgradation of existing roads. The objective is to connect all eligible unconnected villages with a population of 500 persons and above, and 250 persons and above in the border area.

c. Indira Awaas Yojana (IAY)

In pursuance of government's commitment to provide "Housing for All" by 2022, the name of the Scheme IAY had been restructured into Pradhan Mantri Awaas Yojana – Gramin (PMAY-G) with effect from 1st April 2016. This scheme aims to provide pucca houses with basic amenities to all houseless households and to those households living in kutcha houses by 2022. It was proposed that households living in *kutcha* houses be enhanced in three years from 2016-17 to 2018-19 by ensuring the construction of quality houses by using local materials, designs and Mason, specially trained in quality workmanship. Adequate care for adopting a habitat approach through convergence is proposed to the houses to become homes. In the state of Manipur, the state Department has taken up several measures for effective implementation of the scheme. During the financial year 2016-17, the MoRD had approved for the construction of 9740 houses and released the fund of Rs. 5337.435 lakhs as a share of Central.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Pmgsy | Official Website. (n.d.). Retrieved from <http://rdmanipur.gov.in/pmgsy-2/>

⁴⁹ Retrieved from : <http://rdmanipur.gov.in/pmay/>

Some other provision in view of rural livelihood enhancement there are certain provisions- viz, use of electricity, piped drinking water facility, rainwater harvesting, solar initiatives, LPG gas connection under Pradhan Mantri Ujjwala Yojana (PMUY), poultry, backyard fruit plantations, goatery, dairy shed, solid and liquid waste management, etc. All the payment are to be done through Direct Bank Transfer to beneficiary's bank/post office accounts registered in AwaasSoft MIS.

Nagaland

The Community Development was first initiated by the government of India while present-day Nagaland was still under Assam in 1952-53, by creating numbers of Community Development Blocks to carry out Integrated Rural Development programme for social transformation. This was further enhanced when the Nagaland state was carved out in 1st December 1963. The concept of rural development through active participation of the village community, however, began to take shape into reality only during the 7th Plan period. And it was just in 1980-81 that the idea of grass-root level planning for rural development came into existence following the statute of "The Village and Area Council Act 1987" and the Constitution of the Village Development Boards in all the recognised villages of the state. There was no separate Rural Development Department in the state until 1978-79 to adequately monitor and function in state level. During 1972-73, the Small Marginal Farmer Agency (SMFA) have started and later merged with Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP) in 1980. The Rural Development Department was a state department, whereas, IRDP was a centrally sponsored Agency, where both run by the State and Centre by 50:50 share ratio. In Nagaland, IRDP schemes are planned and implemented through the local level body, i.e. Village Development Board (VDB) which was established in 1976.⁵⁰ The VDB is where, therefore, the concept of decentralisation gradually constituted and institutionalised to all parts of the State with the enactment of Village Development Board Model Rules, 1980. As the constitution of the VDB implemented in all the recognised villages of the state, the concept of Community Development Programmes as well

⁵⁰ The VDB is a statutory body, functioning under the primary village authority known as Village Council. The institution of the VDBs, which are synonymous with the concept of decentralized grass root level planning in Nagaland, was first set up in 1976 in Ketsapomi village in Phek district on an experimental basis.

has intensified on a large scale. The direct involvement of the VDBs in the planning and implementation of the development at the grass root level was constituted, since then there has been a facelift in the rural economic scenario of the State.

The Rural Development Department claimed today that, there has been an achievement across the State to provide income generation and sustainability service to 1175 VDBs and 2, 29,684 households. The involvement of the VDBs played a significant role that several major schemes and programmes like the MGNREGS (Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme), IAY (Indira Awas Yojana), GIA (Grant-in-Aid), SGSY/NRLM (National Rural Livelihood Mission), and BRGF are being successfully implemented and its resources mobilised at the grass-root level. As per their estimation, 99 percent of the villages are connected by roads, most of the villages have Community Halls and educational institutions; many villages have attained 100 percent housing coverage, and most of the villages now have the basic rural infrastructure requirements available at their disposal (DRDN official website).⁵¹

VDB

The Village Development Board was set-up in 1980 under the Nagaland Village and Area Council Act 1978. The concept of VDB was based on the traditional lines of Village Council which begin in the form of VCFC (Village Common Fund Committees) in Phek District of Nagaland in 1976. All permanent resident of the village formed the General body of VDB. The Village Council choose to form Management Committee from the General Body, and the Secretary of the Committee is selected to manage the affairs of the VDB for 3 years. The district Deputy Commissioner functions as the Ex-officio member of all the VDBs in the district. At the grassroots level, the VDB function as a development institution and are responsible for implementing all development programmes or schemes of both under State Plan and Centrally Sponsored Schemes under Rural Development Department. Village Development Boards identify & select priority-based schemes through General Body Meeting, ensure ground implementation of Programmes, ensure Community participation, ensure transparency & proper fund utilisation, and maintain Account, Muster Rolls & Beneficiary Records

⁵¹ Department Of Rural Development Nagaland, India: Official ... (n.d.). Retrieved from <http://nagard.nic.in/about.aspx>

Figure III Map of Nagaland



Map not for Scale. Source: <https://www.mapsofindia.com/maps/nagaland/>

Village Council

Village Council carries the sole authority for the administration of justice and enforcement of activities within the village. According to the Nagaland Village and Area Council Act, 1978, every recognized village of the Nagaland State shall have a Village Council. The powers and duties as enshrined in the said Act, provide for the following:⁵²

1. To formulate Village Development Schemes to supervise proper maintenance of water supply, roads, forest, education and other welfare activities.
2. To help various Government Agencies in carrying out development works in the village
3. To take development works on its own initiative or on request by the Govt.
4. To borrow money from the Govt., Banks or financial institutions for application in the development and welfare work of the village and to repay the same with or without interest as the case may be.
5. To apply for and receive grant-in-aid, donations, subsidies from the Government or any agency
6. To provide security for the due repayment of a loan received by any permanent resident of the village from the Govt., Bank or Financial Institution;
7. To lend money from its funds to deserving permanent residents of the village and to obtain repayment thereof with or without interest.
8. To forfeit the security of the individual borrower on his default in repayment of a loan advanced to him or on his commission of a breach of any of the terms of the loan agreement entered into by him with the Council and to dispose of such security by public auction or by private sale.
9. To enter into any loan agreement with the Govt., Bank and Financial Institutions or a permanent resident of the village
10. To realize registration fees for each litigation within its jurisdiction;
11. To raise fund for utility service within the village by passing a resolution subject to the approval of the state Govt.;
12. Provided that all monetary transactions shall be conducted through a scheduled bank or the Nagaland State Coop. Bank;

⁵² Linkage Of Traditional Institutions With A Community Based ... (n.d.). Retrieved from http://ijsser.org/uploads/ijsser_02__172.pdf

13. To constitute a Village Development Board (VDB);
14. To empower certain Acts in the event of an epidemic.

Development Schemes

Currently, by the 12th Five Year Plan (2012-17), the Schemes and Programmes undertaken at the Nagaland state Rural Development Department are:

a. RD Grant-in-Aid (i.e. state-sponsored Scheme)

Grant-in-aid to the VDBs is a State Sponsored Scheme which was implemented since 1980-81. Under this programme, the funds are allocated to all the recognised villages of Nagaland on the basis of tax-paying households. This is considered the only programme which ensures the participation of the women in the activities of the VDBs through earmarking of 25 percent of the fund allocated to the Development Board of the village. Another 20 percent earmarked for Youth Programme in the villages. This scheme, therefore, is considered to ensure the active participation of all sections of the rural people in the village development activities.

b. SGRY- Sampoorna Grameen Rozgar Yojana

With effect from October 2002, the Ministry of Rural Development announced the launching of the SGRY following the merging of the erstwhile Jawahar Gram Samridhi Yojana (JGSY) and Employment Assurance Scheme (EAS). The funding is on 75:25 ratios between the Centre and State. Its objective is to generate employment for the rural labourers by providing wages in the form of food-grains per man-day. This scheme emphasizes on agricultural-related activities that can help supplement the production and economic activities of the rural villages.

c. PMAY-G- Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana- Gramin (previously IAY-Indira Awas Yojana)

This programme was introduced with an objective of providing dwelling houses to the poor rural villagers. The scheme is a Centrally Sponsored Programme where funding is shared at the ratio of 75:25 between the Centre and State. Through this programme, the roofing material (especially Tin) is provided to the beneficiaries for the construction of

their houses at five bundles per household/unit. Other construction materials like posts, walls, nails, etc. are so arranged by the beneficiaries themselves. The labour for constructions is expected to the villagers/community to contribute by free of cost.

d. MGNREGA⁵³ - Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act

This is a Centrally Sponsored Scheme implemented through Section IV of the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act 2005 (NREGA). The funding in this scheme goes on the basis of 90:10 ratios between the Centre and State. This scheme has the following objectives:

- (i) To provide 100 (hundred) days of guaranteed employment in a financial year to every household in the rural areas notified by the Central Government under Section 3 (1) of the NREGA and whose adult member in the household, by application, are willing to work;
- (ii) To create durable assets in rural areas; and
- (iii) To strengthen the livelihood security to the rural households as per the provisions made in the guidelines.

e. Micro-Finance⁵⁴

During 2004-05, a pilot project was initiated in the State by the Rural Development Department with 25 VDBs being selected as Financial Intermediaries. A Corpus fund was created with Rs. 1 lakh through the contribution of VDBs, State, Centre and NABARD at the ratio of 40:20:20:20 respectively. Following the successful implementation of the Pilot Project, the Rural Development department had selected 406 VDBs during 2006-07 and 2007-08 in the 21 unbanked blocks of the state. This has been continuing in the state with an increased amount, and the VDBs continue to play a vital role in it.

⁵³ Department Of Rural Development Nagaland, India: Official ... (n.d.). Retrieved from <http://nagard.nic.in/schemes.aspx>

⁵⁴ Performance Of Village Development Board (vdb) In Socio ... (n.d.). Retrieved from <https://facebooknagaland.blogspot.com/2014/04/performance-of-village-development>

Critical Analysis

Neither of the states, however, has to be honestly acknowledged that the development strategy implemented so far, mainly through the Planning Commission and North Eastern Council, has failed to produce the desired results. They are not able to provide enough impetus for grass-root development which would have led to self-sustained growth. Instead of creating an efficiency-oriented economic process, this policy framework resulted in the creation of a politically driven distribution-oriented process. In contrary to the popular perception, many scholars have now noticed that the lack of development in the past was not because of a shortage of funds. In fact, sufficient resources were always provided to the region, but a substantial portion of the funds earmarked for various schemes has not really gone into those schemes.⁵⁵ So far as the political motive is a concern, ensuring development and gaining success in capturing more rural votes using the central development funds is a motivating factor that has been a trend of the game instead of basing on humanitarian grounds. The problems of distribution of benefits to the deserving beneficiaries arise here as ones political affiliations play an important role. Therefore, in the first place, rural development Programme should be made free from deriving political benefits.

More important queries that are of great concern is, how is it viable to have a steep rise in the level of economic growth without an attempt of improving or changing the mode of production, distribution and consumption? How is it possible to bring great impact by providing new technologies or advanced know-how which does not originate locally? How does the capitalist direction or approach of development going to work in a “semi-primitive socio-economic lifestyle” of the villagers, where properties especially land is owned by a community? The urban areas are targeting to bring economic development through making capitalist investor friendly and build hard and soft infrastructure. The rural population, whereas, remained in the orbit of the capitalist-path and continued to lead a life of relative-independence in a semi-primitive bubble in spite of their poverty and destitution. The farmers who practice shifting cultivation are still using “primitive” technologies, but it is found that they are not free from capitalist system anymore. They are already a part of capitalist influence, yet they are not fully capitalised. No parts of the

⁵⁵ Sachdeva, G., (2000), *Economy of the North-East: Policy, Present Conditions and Future Possibilities*. New Delhi; Konark Publishers, p-8.

world exist without capitalist influence but ‘not all parts of the world are thoroughly capitalised’.⁵⁶

The argument of Karna, in his “Aspect of Tribal Development in North-Eastern India” sounds very valid till today. She argued that

“It can easily be gauged from the emerging trends in the North-East that the seeds of inequality have already been shown by the numerous programmes launch in the region. These have started destroying the traditional socio-economic arrangements without a just and prosperous order. This path of development has, in fact, killed the initiative of the people in general and has led to the growth of what we called “sponsored society””.⁵⁷

In such a society, the traditional village solidarity and social harmony have been replaced by differentiated heterogeneous community creating strong vested interests from within the tribal community themselves or even within a single village. Most development programmes have met the need of a handful of people who could politically align themselves or with the dominant group from outside.

Moreover, the practice of agriculture to be a viable instrument of economic change needs to be taken up as an industry. These societies need agro and resource-based industries where the common people can directly participate in their development and not capital intensive and technology-based industries which are alien to their nature. At the same time, since the region is exceptionally rich in natural resource, the primary objective of development strategy must be to utilise these optimally and in a manner that maximises the benefits accruing to the local population.⁵⁸ However, in view of the strategy of the development programmes always turn towards the measures to control shifting cultivation which is the main source of rural livelihood. It would be ethically wrong to stop someone’s source of livelihood without implementing alternative source. The strategy for an animal husbandry programme oriented to local conditions,

⁵⁶ Heinrich, M., (2012), An Introduction to the Three Volumes of Karl Marx’s Capital, (English Translation by Alexander Locascio); Monthly Review Press, New York. ISBN- 978-1-58367-289-1, (pp-8).

⁵⁷ Karna, M.N. (1990) Tribal Demography and Development in Northeast India (Edited by Ashish Bose, et al.). B.R. Publishing Corporation, Delhi.

⁵⁸ *Ibid*, pp-14

settled agriculture based on local landscape condition, the tapping of the considerable potential for horticulture, promotion of sericulture and commercial handicraft and the improvement of communication are a welcoming ones. Such implementation can help the farmers to engage more in settled-agricultural practice which eventually may parish at its own without imposing them to stop. Otherwise, directly halting the *jhum* practice and implementing plantation and forestry or development of modern industries, there is a risk of the poor villagers being exploited in the long process. Theoretically, the strategy may be made in such a manner that will maximise local impact but may not work practically. The field survey revealed that government does not give assistance to any of the productive cash crops they are cultivating in the village. 94 percent of the respondents expressed that no hand of government extended in their cash crops which are productive and valuable in the nearby market. Further details shall be discussed in Chapter 4.

The following chapter will discuss further on the perception of the villagers on rural development. An analysis of quantitative as well as qualitative will be carried out individually on land development, agricultural development and village development and more.

Chapter-3

Villagers' Perception on Rural Development: A Comparative Study of Magulong and Nzauna

Magulong

The village Magulong (or locally called Nggulua) is hanging at the sloppy belly of the hilly terrain of Mt. Kisha range **located** in the extreme north of Tousem Sub-Division (Tamenglong West) of Tamenglong District in Manipur, India. It is situated about 50 KM away from its Subdivision Headquarter Tousem,⁵⁹ 60 KM away from the District Headquarter Tamenglong 210 KM away from Imphal, the Capital of Manipur.⁶⁰ Tamenglong is a district that occupies the northwestern portions of the state and lies between latitudes 24° 30' N to 25° 27' N and longitude 93° 55' 48" E of the equator approximately. According to Census 2011, the village has 139 households with a total population of 1184 having 583 male and 565 female.⁶¹ Magulong acquired a **literacy** rate of 77.79 percent which is higher compared to the state average literacy rate of 76.94 percent.⁶² It is a tribal village live by the *Zeme Naga* community, who share a border with Nzauna village of Nagaland in the North. So far no outsiders were found settling in the village other than their own community.⁶³ The nearest town to access bus service from

⁵⁹ No official record of the distance between Magulong and its Subdivision Tousem was found. There is no vehicular road connected between the two till today. Approximate of 50 KM is calculated from the footpath connected.

⁶⁰ Retrieved from : <https://villageinfo.in/manipur/tamenglong/tamenglong-west/magulong.html>

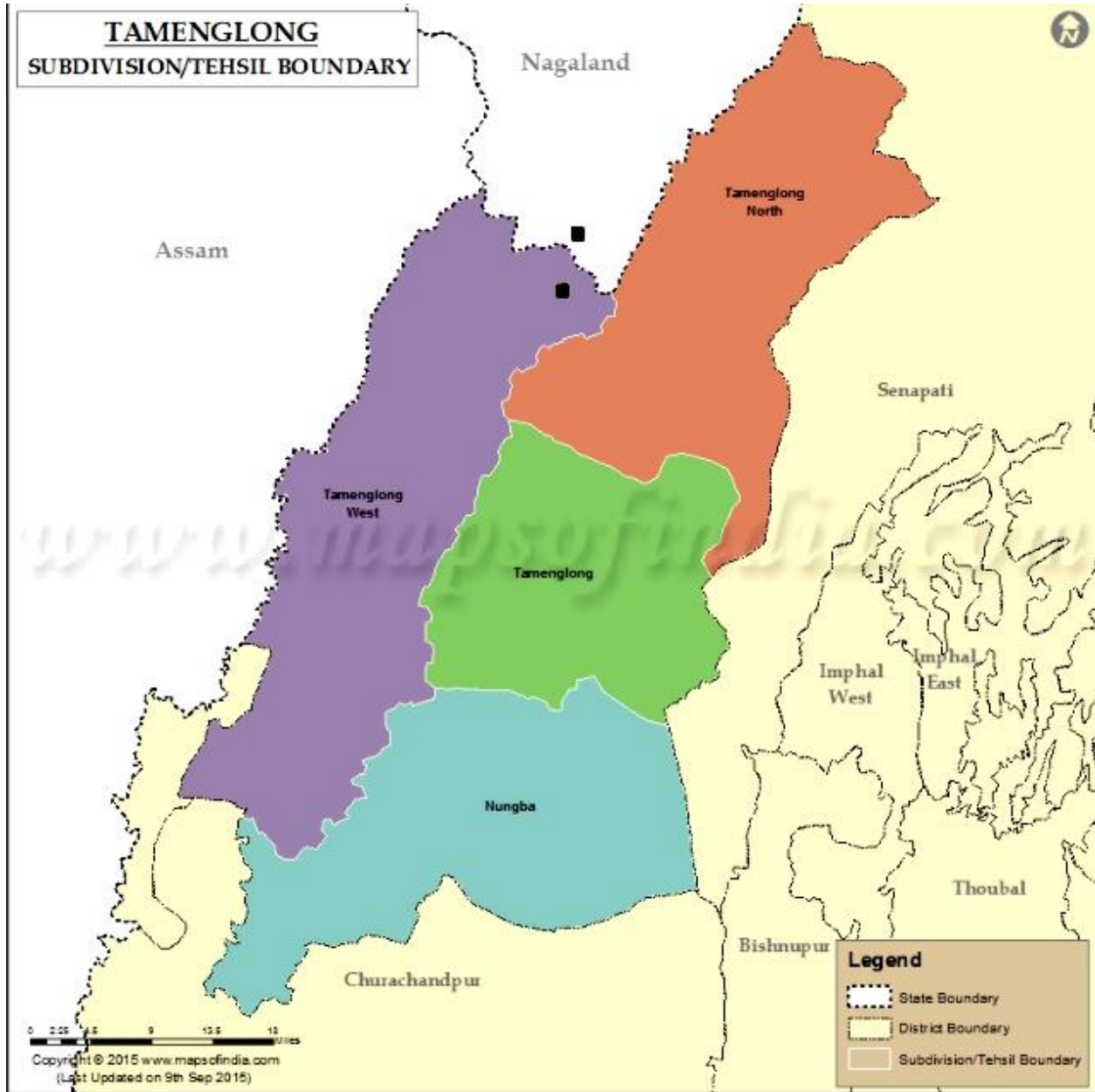
⁶¹ Census, India 2011.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ Zeme Naga tribe is one of the tribes living across three states- Assam, Manipur and Nagaland. They are a minority tribe in each of the states because they have been politically divided into 3 states by the Indian government. In Nagaland, they have their own political representation because they are being submerged with cognate tribes called Liangmai, and they are recognised as Zeliang (combination of Zeme and Liangmai). However, Zeme in Manipur and Assam has lesser population and have meagre chances to make their own political representation. Even under Manipur, they are separated under two different districts, one in Senapati District and the other is in Tamenglong District. Part of the population settles in the Dima Hasao (previously North Cachar Hills) district of Assam as indigenous tribes.

Magulong is Tamei town with about 35 KM approximately. Tousem Subdivision Headquarter does not have bus service till today.

Figure IV: Tamenglong Subdivision/Tehsil Boundary



t

Source: <https://www.mapsofindia.com/maps/manipur/tehsil/tamenglong.html>

Tamenglong district is known for its riches in **flora and fauna**, and Magulong is of no exception for its endowment. It is being observed that the village has some extraordinary riches provided by nature. One of them includes the “Ever Spring Water” available in the heart of the village. Deichong (2004) broadly described that

“..people came from far and abroad to see the wonders of Ever Spring Water. This very spring water never gets dry since the day of village settlement. There is also a saying that people who drink and take bathe by this water can heal some ailments in the body and quench their desperate thirst.”⁶⁴

Magulong is also enriched with a “beautiful/wonderful sacred mountain called Mount *Kisha* (locally called *Kisha kau*) which is a veritable paradise on earth where the Mother Nature has been extra generous in her bounty.”⁶⁵ The mountain imposing majestic looks with a sedimentary rock structure with numerous “half-moon cave” at 1462 metres above the sea level is no ordinary site.^{66 67} This is the second highest peak in the district next to Thingdoi’s 2080 metres high peak. Mt. Kisha is also considered sacred by the “Zeliangrong” people, as there is a saying among the villagers that drinking and taking a bath by the water found in the cave can cure some ailments and gives suiting feelings to the body.⁶⁸ It is also considered sacred due to the presence of some unique animals living in the mountain. Deichong (2004) further described that,

“The most unique feature of this mountain is the presence of a particular animal like Kisha bear, Kisha hen, white antelope, Langoor having two tails which are often seen by the local hunters. Mt Kisha is known for its cascading rapids, a carpet of colourful blooms and modest tripping streams with plenty of exotic fishes flowing through the cradle of the mountain.”

⁶⁴ Deichong (2004) A Brief History of Magulong, *Mt. Kisha English School Silver Jubilee Souvenir (1979-2004)*, Magulong, Manipur, pp-15.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ Retrieved from <http://www.thesangaexpress.com/15434-tamenglong-the-other-side-of-paradise/>

⁶⁷ Graham Bower, U. (1950) *Naga Path*, Butler & Tanner Ltd., Frome and London, 50 Albemarle St. London, (pp-244).

⁶⁸ The term ‘Zeliangrong’ is an acronym formed by the addition of the word ‘Ze’, ‘Liang’ and ‘rong’, which represents the Zeme, Liangmai and Rongmei tribe respectively.

Mt. Kisha also has political vis-à-vis historical importance to India's freedom struggles as the freedom fighter Rani Gaidinliu was camping in its cave during 1932 against the colonial rule of India and again in 1962 while she runs underground from the Indian army.^{69 70} The villagers expect as well as trying their best to make Mt. Kisha a favorite tourist hotspot in the near future by preserving the mountain as virgin as its nature have given to them. Kh Hitler Singh (2015), based on his personal experience during the visits to the village and Mt. Kisha wrote to Sangai Express with a conclusion that,

“It was a great and fulfilling experience to visit this place, and the memories still lingered. We felt it is high time to promote Magulong for the uniqueness of Mount Kisha to the people far and wide. The site can be one of the important historical site, eco-tourism destination or adventure tourism site.”⁷¹

Since 2010, the Magulong became a 100 percent Christian village by religion. Religion plays a very important role in the day-to-day life of the villagers. There are three churches- Baptist Church, Presbyterian Church and the Catholic Church. Christianity came for the first time in 1930 through G.G. Crozier from the USA. In 1944, Magulong Baptist Church was established; Presbyterian Church in 1973; and Catholic Church in 1980.⁷²

Nevertheless, despite having three different churches there is one secular mechanism that binds the whole village together, that is, the Village Authority which functions through the democratic structure and follows as per the guidelines of the decentralisation process of the Indian government. It has been recorded that the first General Body Meeting was conducted in 1957 and

⁶⁹ Rani Gaidinliu was honoured with Tamrapatra (Freedom Fighter) in 1972, Padma Bhushan in 1981, Vivekananda Sheva award in 1984. She died in 1993 and she was honoured with Visha Munda Award (Social Work) posthumously in 1994. It is learnt that Rani Gaidinliu started her freedom fighting from a very young age of thirteen years against the colonial rule.

⁷⁰ Retrieved from http://epao.net/epSubPageExtractor.asp?src=travel.Manipur_Travel_Log.In_the_den_of_Rani_Gaidinliu_Mount_Kisha_at_Magulong_Village_By_Kh_Hitler

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² Passover Souvenir Committee (2010) *Passover History of Magulong*. Magulong, Manipur.

continue to practice ever since. However, the practice of selecting leaders for Village Authority was first conducted in 1971.⁷³

The village has Government High School, and Mt. Kisha English School (private primary school run by Baptist Church).

No record of Hospital or Primary Health Centre was found in the village other than the Accredited Social Health Activist (ASHA) helps during child delivery and gives some first aid to the village.

With the help of Central Government Scheme, for the first time, in 1964 water tank was constructed in the village, and the village received water pipe for the second time through Accelerated Rural Water Supply Programme in 1981. It was also recorded that the Branch Post Office was established in the village in 1982 and found to be functioning very well till today.⁷⁴

During the first phase of NREGS, Tamenglong district was included, and Magulong was included to be one of the villages to receive the scheme in 2006. Various developments was carried out through this scheme, like constructing Village Authority Office, water tanks, repairing of roads, plantation and maintaining sanitation and cleanliness in the village.

Through the Pradhan Mantri Gram Sadak Yojana (PMGSY), the village was connected with the motorable road in 2012 and electrified through Rural Electrification Programme (REP) in 2014. Supply of tins for the roof was also received by the majority of the household though some are yet to through Pradhan Mantri Awas- Gramin Yojana (previously Indra Awas Yojana).

We shall also see about Nzauna village in brief.

Nzauna

Nzauna is located in the southernmost part of Peren District, Nagaland bordering Magulong (Manipur). The border of Manipur and Nagaland cut across the middle of the Mt. Kisha range. Nzauna is located in the sloppy belly of the other side of the same range which is towards the

⁷³ Passover Souvenir Committee (2010) *Passover History of Magulong*. Magulong, Manipur.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

north. Nzauna falls under Nsong circle of Peren district, Nagaland, India. According to 2011 Census, there are 108 households residing in the village having a total population of 989 with 526 male and 463 female. The literacy rate is 77.23 percent which is lower than the Nagaland state average literacy rate of 79.55 percent. The male literacy stands at 81.86 percent and female at 72.04 percent.⁷⁵ The village situated 15 KM away from sub-district Headquarter Nsong, 124 KM away from District Headquarter Peren and 263 KM away from Capital Kohima.⁷⁶ Tening is considered the nearest town which has bus service for the villagers located about 30 KM approximately, but there is no motorable road connected in between. Peren district is situated between 93°E - 94°E longitude and 25°N - 26°N latitude of the equator approximately. The inhabitants of the village are the Zeme Naga tribe, but the name of the tribe is officially recognised as “Zeliang” by the state government.⁷⁷ It remains a Zeme village purely till today.

There is no landless among the inhabitants of the village because the landholding pattern is based on community ownership. Even at the district level, as per the official data, there is no landless person among the inhabitants, as each possesses the land, either by his own or inherited by family, clan, or village.⁷⁸ This unique land ownership pattern and management and control of forest and water resources by the landowners are empowered by Article 371A of the Indian Constitution.

⁷⁵ Census, India 2011.

⁷⁶ Passover Souvenir Committee (2010) *Passover History of Magulong*. Magulong, Manipur. Passover Souvenir Committee (2010) *Passover History of Magulong*. Magulong, Manipur.

⁷⁷ In Nagaland, the term "Zeliang" is coined by combining two words 'Ze' and 'Liang', representing two cognate tribes namely, 'Zeme' and 'Liangmai'.

⁷⁸ Retrieved from <http://peren-district.nic.in/geography.html>

Figure V: Peren Circle/Tehsil Boundary



Source: <https://www.mapsofindia.com/maps/nagaland/tehsil/peren.html>

It is learned that most of the most of the household purchase a plot of land or rent out in nearby towns like Tening, Peren, Jalukie or Dimapur. Most of the students or educated adult live out in the town, and the elders are the ones staying back in the village. Only during festive season like

Christmas or during summer break, those young lots returned to stay with their parents or relatives for a short period. One elderly respondent said that “this has been a trend that is going in the village since a decade back. One of the main reasons for this practice was due to the lack of good school in the village; and that the children have to seek for better schools. The other reasons are for a commercial purpose, jobs and looking for better living opportunity.”

The village has a Government Primary School which was established in 1955, and proper school physical construction with the tinny roof was constructed in 1963.⁷⁹

Since inception, the village has been facing with water scarcity, especially during winter. In 1966, Piped Water Supply Scheme (through Public Work Department-PWD) came to the village (rubber pipe). In 1976, the Public Health Engineering (PHE) which was bifurcated for the erstwhile PWD supplied the Iron Pipe for the village better efficiency.⁸⁰

The village receives Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS) scheme in 1976, right after the year of its scheme launching in India. As per the respondents, they have been receiving this benefit from time to time till today.⁸¹

The village was electrified in 1986 through India’s Minimum Needs Programme (MNP) however, due to poor maintenance the village was disconnected for several years during the 2000s and reconnected only in 2016 through Deen Dayal Upadhyaya Gram Jyoti Yojana (DDUGJY).⁸²

The connectivity of road to the village was done through Pradhan Mantri Gram Sadak Yojana (PMGSY) in 2006. In 2008, the National Employment Guaranteed Scheme reached the village, and this scheme has been continuing till date.⁸³

⁷⁹ Information recorded from Village Council Heads of Nzauna Village, Nagaland.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ District Rural Development Agency report

In spite of all these works taken place in the village, the perception of the villagers was found quite contradictory and showed the expression of dissatisfaction among many villagers. This chapter shall try to discover the reality in it.

What is perception?

Perception is the way one thinks, notice or understand something using one's own senses. Perception is also the process by which organisms interpret and organise sensation to generate a meaningful experience of the world.⁸⁴ In other words, a person is confronted with a situation or stimuli of a contextual environment. The person interprets the stimuli into something meaningful based on his/her prior experiences. However, what an individual understands or perceives may be substantially different from reality. There are four stages in which the perception process follows: stimulation, registration, organisation, and interpretation.⁸⁵ An awareness of a person and acceptance of the stimuli play an essential role in the perception process. Receptiveness to the stimuli is highly selective and may be limited by a person's existing beliefs, attitude, motivation, and personality.⁸⁶ It may be observed that sometimes individuals will select the stimuli that satisfy their immediate needs and may disregard stimuli that may cause psychological anxiety.

The Villagers' perception of Rural Development, therefore, means the way how they think about the rural development process implemented through various programmes and what development really means to them. Through this, we also get to understand more about the need for contextualising development policies. What impact do they notice through such stimuli, and what kind of understanding they perceive based on their prior experiences at their individual as well as the village level. The process of such perception is performed on the basis of the four stages as mentioned above. First, the perception process begins with the stimuli that cause to certain discontentment (for instance) that the villagers perceived can happen through the result of rural development activities were not up to the mark. Second, is the registration or the entering of

⁸⁴ Lindsay, P., & Norman, D. A. (1977). *Human information processing: An introduction to psychology*. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc.

⁸⁵ Babasanya, B. et al. (2013) Women Perception of Rural Development Programmes of UNDP in Akoko North Lga, Ondo State, Nigeria. *Global Journal of Arts Humanities and Social Sciences* Vol.1.No. 2, pp. 19-27, June 2013 (Published by European Centre Research Training and Development UK (www.ea-journals.org))

⁸⁶ Assael, H. (1995). *Consumer Behavior & Marketing Action* (5th ed.). London: PWS-Kent Publishing Company.

the information about certain issues in their mind through various means, be it through media, local leaders, rumours that comes from outside or it can be through one's own personal experience. Thirdly, organise such information or knowledge. Finally, a version of one understands, or adaptation combines into a form of an articulated conclusion or explanation that gets interpreted. This process of perception is purely an expression of personal experience and understanding. Therefore, it is prone to be limited by a person's attitude, existing belief, personality and motivation. Moreover, this perceptual stage is also a primary stage in the formulation of one's "attitude". The presence of this stage is of the utmost psychological importance which helps as a starting point in the formation of attitude.⁸⁷ The formation of this attitude is one of the ways to understand the extent of needs of psychological satisfaction which will be analysed in the final section of this chapter, after analysing all the perceptions.

The perception Survey

The perception survey was conducted in the form of face-to-face semi-structured-interview schedule with a set of at least 20 questions, out of which 10 questions are related to Rural Development. The interview was conducted in such a manner that having a mixture of questions of both perceptions related question on rural development as well as a question related to their socio-economic lifestyle and livelihood. This chapter will analyse only the former one using the mixing method of both qualitative as well as quantitative.

This survey will help to provide an evidence-based understanding of how villagers view and perceive the rural development activities they have been experiencing. The survey may not be fairly represented for the whole state or region, but it will represent well for all the similar type of village's setting within the state. The study village is already well represented with at least 50 percent of the household being surveyed through the random sample selection process.

The respondents were selected randomly in casual social gatherings, playgrounds, visiting their house, and prior appointment for meeting up in a certain place. The gender representation was not able to maintain due to the fact that women are busier in their household chores and other domestic works. At the same time, the women folks prefer their male counterpart to take up this

⁸⁷ Sherif, M., & Cantril, H., (1945), The psychology of attitudes: I. *Psychology Review*, 52, 295.

kind of survey, the reason being their male are the ones who take a decision on the certain external issue (other than domestic). This is one of the limitations encountered in the process of this study.

Questionnaire-based interviews were carried out, and the responses were coded. Data collection began in the mid of December 2017 and continued till the end of January 2018. Most of the interviews were conducted in the morning hours before they leave for work or the evening hours on their returns from work. All respondents in the interview spoke in terms of either anonymity or by giving their name as per their wills. Each interview lasted for about 40 to 50 minutes and was conducted in Zeme, a local dialect. The total of respondents in the sample is 64 from both the villages. See table 2.

Table 2: Sample size

Village	Men	Women	Overall
Magulong	26 (76%)	8 (24%)	34(53%)
Nzauna	21 (70%)	9 (30%)	30 (47%)
Total	47 (73%)	17 (27%)	64 (100%)

Source: Author's Fieldwork, 2017-18

This chapter is to analyse the perception of the villagers on the development programmes that have been implemented; check their awareness about the government early initiation to develop rural villages; see the viability of Rural Development Programmes (RDPs) and sincerity of the government agencies in their job. It also tries to seek what the villagers think and would level the rate of the overall development works done by the government through various schemes; identify specific need of satisfaction of programmes; look at the factors that hinder the development works or the efforts of the agencies; and analyse what the villagers think should put the first priority in the development process in their village. The data were analysed using descriptive analysis.

On Development Programme

Perceptions of the villagers on rural development are taken through various types of questions. There is six crux question which tries to grab their perception from numerous angles. Overall,

this chapter attempts to analyse descriptively to these six questions using the data of the respondents' perception. Each question is maintained as sub-heading.

Awareness about Rural Development Programmes (RDPs)

Being aware or not aware of something to the people is the consequence of how things are implemented which are meant for them. The context here is on RDPs implemented by the government since inception in the village. Table 3 shows that 68 percent of the respondents are aware of the RDPs or the Poverty Alleviation Programmes implemented by the Central Government since inception. Whereas, 31 percent of the respondents were not aware that such things have come to them from Central Government. There is a slight difference of responses between the two villages. An old man in his 80s recalled that "I remember that the government gave us a pilot project of Terrace field, but it didn't continue well in some area due to water scarcity." He also recollected from his memory that "many fishery ponds were dug with the help of government, but none of them is utilising, and they are all of the waste now." Only few of them know such things that happened in the village. However, the majority didn't realise that government came to help them to alleviate their poverty status.

This study has witnessed that most people didn't realise much benefits from the help of the government in the past. They have several reasons why they hindered from getting benefits. Further discussion will be there in the latter part of this chapter. They get to experience the help of government only by the dawn of 21st century AD (the 2000s). A housewife with 5 kids recalled the situation of shortage of food in the village during early 2000. She said,

"Government gave us 50 KGs of rice for each village in a subsidised price during the time of food shortage in the village. I remember that was the first time the government have done a big help for us. But we face another big problem those days as there was no vehicular road connection. All of us have to walk through the hilly terrains crossing more than 20 kilometres and come back with a heavy load of rice carrying on our back. Rice was never sufficient for a family like mine who has many children."

During the late 2000s was the time the villagers started to realise well about government's help with to the implementation of MGNREGS (2006) and PMGSY, IAY (PMGAY-Gramin) and Old

Age Pension Scheme.⁸⁸ There are loopholes and disappointing result in all of these schemes, but the people’s awareness on development programmes increases in recent time.

Table 3: Awareness about Rural Development programmes implemented since inception (in%)

Responses	Magulong	Nzauna	Total
Yes	68	70	69
No	32	30	31

Source: Author’s Fieldwork, 2017-18

Viability of the functions of RDPs

The problems of the “viability” of the functions of RDP seems revealed more intense in this study. Here, the synonym of the word “viability” would be “practicability”, and it would mean to have the problem-solving capability for the function of development programmes. As RDPs were implemented to solve the rural problems, the question of its viability towards the problem is inevitable on the cards. Not to be surprise of, 28 percent of the respondents claimed that the function of RDP is viable. However, the remaining 64 percent responded “No” to the question “Does the function of the RDPs viable to suit the need of the villagers?” The remaining 8 percent don’t know or have no idea about the function of RDPs. Majority of the respondents said, “Many schemes didn’t fulfil the desired outcome.” One of the respondents illustrated “Plantations like Orange, Banana and Bamboo are all gone in vain, and we have already abandoned them.” Another respondent said, “Though there are many abandoned Fishery pond, I have never seen a person from the Fishery Department coming and investigating in our village fishery.” An elderly man lamented, “Fishery has abandoned long ago because there was no alternative arrangement of water for the dry season. Otherwise, fish was easy to take care of.” This study revealed that there is a problem of viability, where the needs of the people were not addressed proportionately.

⁸⁸ There was no detailed elaboration of experiencing government helps by the people in the record but it is mentioned some of the schemes coming to the village in reality in timeline manner. Retrieved from “Passover History of Magulong” recorded by Passover Souvenir Committee, January 12th-14th 2010. (pp-10,11)

Table 4: Viability of the Function of RDPs (in %)

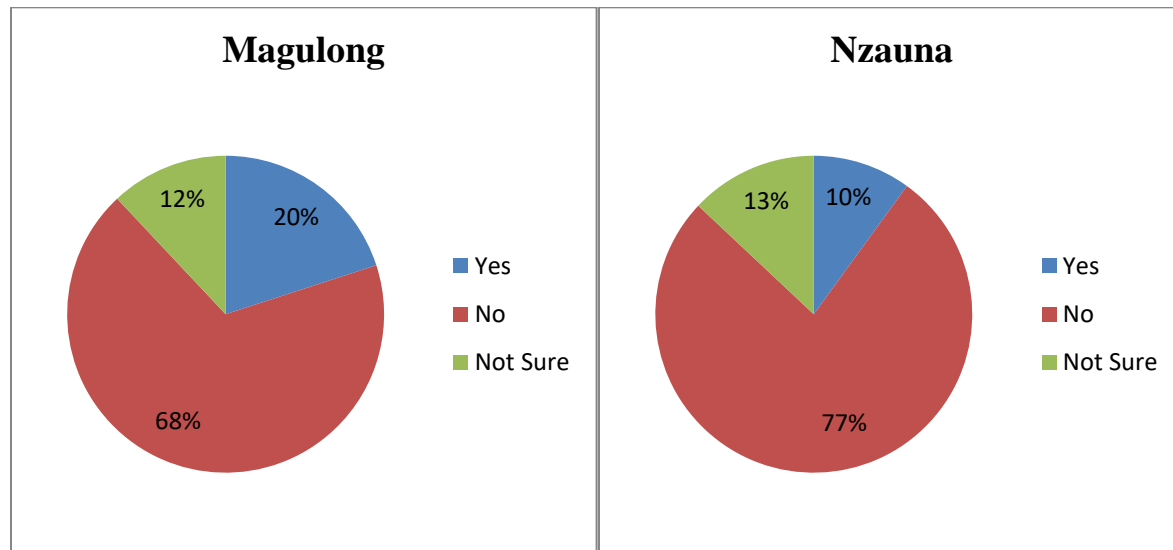
Responses	Magulong	Nzauna	Total
Yes	38	17	18
No	59	70	64
Don't know	3	13	8

Source: Author's Fieldwork, 2017-18

Efforts of Government Agencies

Merriam Webster Dictionary defined the word 'effort' as "a serious attempt to do something" or "the total work was done to achieve a particular end." This definition is applied to the survey question I asked the villagers "Is government agencies giving efforts for the upliftment of the poor people by utilising the development schemes?" The 'Government Agencies' refers to those field agents sent from the respective department for any official work to the village to do the certain assigned task. The respondents' responses towards their work delivery are quite saddened. Only 16 percent responded positively to the 'efforts' of government agencies in their duties. Whereas, a chunk of 72 percent refuses to say that, "Government Agencies are giving efforts on their duties." The remaining 12 percent of the respondents are "Not Sure" what to compliment in this regard. While the village of Nagaland has a higher rate of adverse response against positive, the village of Manipur has a slightly higher positive response. However, since this estimation is within the sampled size and not of the whole, such slight differences in numbers are inevitable.

Table 5: Government Agencies Giving Efforts?



Source: Author's Fieldwork, 2017-18

Performance rating scale of Development in the Village

There is a limitation in measuring the absolute overall performance level of development done in the village. However, it is possible to measure them by using the performance rating scale which is entirely based on the respondents' perception.

To extract the performance, rating of Rural Development done by the government, respondents were asked with a question- "What would you rate over the performance of government on rural development works in your village?" There were options of five levels to which they can choose/rank.

Level 5: Exceptional Performance- this means performance exceeded expectation with the exceptionally high quality of development work performed that includes the completion of major goal or project sanctioned.

Level 4: Exceeds Expectations- this would mean the performance of development work exceeded expectations, and the quality of work overall was excellent.

Level 3: Meets Expectation- Simply meets the expectation, and the quality of work delivered overall was good.

Level 2: Improvement needed- performance did not meet expectations. More or less failed in one or more essential areas, and/or one or more of the most critical goals were not met.

Level 1: Unsatisfactory- Performance was consistently below expectations, and/or reasonable progress toward critical goals was not made. Constant denial or negligence was seen on the part of agencies. Significant improvement is required in one or more essential areas.

In this performance rating scale, the analysis was done by clubbing together the data of two villages as there was no much difference in its number. The combination of the two villages on the performance rating given by the sampled group shows that 62.5 percent rated on level 1, 31.25 percent on level 2, 6.25 percent on level 3 and 0 (zero) percent on level 4 and 5 (See Table 6). The rating scale result revealed a very high percentage of “unsatisfactory” level among the respondents over the rural development performance in the village.

Table 6 : Performance rating scale of Development in the Village

	Level 5	Level 4	Level 3	Level 2	Level 1	Total
Frequency	0	0	4	20	40	64
Percentage	0	0	6.25	31.25	62.5	100

Source: Author's Fieldwork, 2017-18

Obstacles to Development

The works of development naturally could not flow evenly without its odds. In other words, many reasons impede or hold up the progress of work in the village. The kind of impediments or hindrances implicated in the process of development is called obstacles to development. The villagers noticed several barriers which are based on their own experience as well as their *a priori* perception.

It is evident from the field study that one of the main obstacles to development was due to ‘remoteness of the village’ or lack of road connectivity and communication. The meaning of remoteness here does not mean a complete or absolute absence of connectivity but a lack of it. Rural connectivity is also one of the major objectives of Community Development programmes. The condition of rural population improves only when the means of communication and

transport in the villages are developed. Out of six different reasons for hindering development, 39 percent of the respondent suggested the remoteness of the village as the main obstacle. In the case of Nzauna village, respondents have a higher propensity to the opinion of poor connectivity as the major obstacle (with 60 percent). However, in the case of Magulong village, only 21 percent blame on ‘remoteness of the village’ as the main obstacle. Overall, this is the main obstacle in this analysis.

Table 7: Main obstacles to receive development (in %)

Reasons	Magulong	Nzauna	Total
Remoteness of the Village	21	60	39
Corruption	9	27	17
Bureaucratic Delays	0	0	0
Lack of Guidance from the officials	15	3	10
Ignorant nature of local leaders	32	7	20
Others	23	3	14

Source: Author’s Fieldwork, 2017-18

The second main reason perceived over the ‘ignorant nature of local leaders’. As an interviewer, I was not convinced that this reason to be one of the main obstacles. Since the leaders (of Village Council or Village Authority) were selected or elected through democratic means, I put in a rebuttal to my question to several respondents upon this answer. However, they have their own explanation differently. According to them, the village does not have educated leaders who can run for government schemes which are meant for them. One of the respondents of Magulong explained “One problem is our district Tamenglong is very far away from us. But another big problem is the language, as we speak only Zeme (local dialect) whereas in office they use Manipuri or Rongmei.” He continued that “Since we are from the far remote village we don’t use or learn the state language, i.e. Manipuri, and forget about Manipuri, we don’t even speak Rongmei dialect which is used by the local people of Tamenglong town.” This simple narration

clearly shows the difficulties facing the local leaders when it comes to visiting the district office or SDO office. However, it is also noted that in the recent time the people have experience lighter burden due to the coming of certain officials in the district office from their own community. One of the Village Authority members expresses his felicity that “Due to the coming of our own brother Armstrong Pame IAS as DC in our district the issue of language has been wiping off to some extent.” “I may not be educated, but I am not hesitating anymore to visit district office because of his presence,” he shared.

On the other hand, village Nzauna has a lower opinion on this issue. There is 7 percent of the respondent who perceived ‘ignorant nature of the local leaders’ as the main obstacle. Other than the lack of education there was no other greater issue like language as in the case of Magulong. However, this is the main obstacles next to ‘corruption’. While corruption becomes the second major obstacle according to Nzauna, it is the third to Magulong, according to this study.

According to the overall analysis, the third main obstacle to development is ‘corruption’. The issue of corruption implicated in a massive range when it comes to rural development. According to the secretary of a village council, the Al Jazeera reported in Nagaland on 14th April 2016, “his village received only a small fraction of development funds it was entitled to under Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act of 2005. The village was also asked to return 40 percent of the amount it received to Nagaland's rural development department.” The Nagaland Legislative Assembly has formed a select committee for Nagaland Lokayukta Bill 2015, which is an anti-corruption authority constituted at the state level.⁸⁹ The bill so far has yet to be passed. However, the select committee is made to investigate allegations of corruption and mal-administration against public servants and is tasked with speedy redressal of public grievances under a period of six months. The period has been extended for third times since the initiation of July session of Nagaland Legislative Assembly with a condition to give its report within another six months.⁹⁰ However, no such description was found to be reported so far. During the interview with the villagers, when asked about whether they know about the existence of such committee

⁸⁹ Committee of Nagaland Lokayukta Bill 2015 Formed. Information retrieved from : <https://www.nelive.in/nagaland/news/committee-nagaland-lokayukta-bill-2015-formed>

⁹⁰ This issue have been stated clearly in the Kangla Online report of 27 May 2017 under the title “Nagaland Lokayukta (Anti-Corruption Ombudsman Organization) Bill 2015 Unlikely To Be Passed So Soon” Retrieved from:

to redress their complaints against any malpractice in the process of development programmes or corruption, none of the respondents is aware of such things.

The implementation of Ombudsman in Manipur's six district which Includes Tamenglong to monitor MNREGA as well as PMAY and Construction of Individual Household Latrine (IHHL) wasn't very effective when it comes to village level. When asking to the respondents of their awareness about the existence of Ombudsman in the district where they can approach for complaints and issues, none of them is aware of it. The Kangla Online (May 26, 2017), the local online news site reported that "the State Government had submitted a forged report to the Ministry of Rural Development about the presence of Ombudsman in six districts, although in reality, they were not functional."⁹¹

The issue of "bureaucratic delays" found to be marked zero because the respondents consider this as 'comparatively secondary'. One of the respondents during the interview said that "If they deliver the work, even if there are delays from the system, it is fine for us." "However, we hardly get even the delayed works" he added. On the other hand, the delaying of works begins with the bad road connectivity to the village. The villagers were usually charged by the government agencies for the free supplies like food, building material, and plant's saplings claiming that the charge is for transportation. One of the villagers complained that "People said the supplies are free of cost by the government for the poor villagers, but I used to pay for it. I do not understand what is wrong." Another old man who is living with his aged wife lamented, "During Aadhar registration, we were told to pay Rs. 50 for the agents for they came from far place just for the sake of our registration. But, since they know that I do not have money, they said it will be deducted from the MGNREGA money meant for me." Looking at this situation facing the villagers, the root cause of delays and suffering begin with poor connectivity.

In trying to address this issue, recently, the Planning Department, Government of Manipur came up with a new plausible initiative "Go to Village" programme in the state by

<http://kanglaonline.com/2017/05/nagaland-lokayukta-anti-corruption-ombudsman-organization-bill-2015-unlikely-to-be-passed-so-soon/>

⁹¹ It is has been reported regarding the issue of Ombudsman in Manipur by Kangla Online of 26 May 2017 under the heading "Eliminating Corruption Or Helping It Thrive? MGNREGA Ombudsman Of Six Districts Given One Year Extension" Retrieved from: <http://kanglaonline.com/2017/05/eliminating-corruption-or-helping-it-thrive-mgnrega-ombudsman-of-six-districts-given-one-year-extension/>

designating/nominating certain Administrative Secretaries as nodal officer. Instructions were given to all the Deputy Commissioners in the districts to coordinate with their respective nodal officer for successful implementation of the programme. The main task of the officers are as follows: To ensure smooth implementation of programmes and ensure efficient delivery of services at the doorstep, spot solution without delay, that no villager is left out in the programme, coordination with line Departments and District level officer and to ensure any other task specifically assigned by the Government.⁹²

The other obstacle apart from the ones discussed above includes-

1. Lack of unity among the villagers or within the village authority themselves. When it comes to development, it is a contribution of the whole lot than a single individual. The benefits of development are both for the community as a whole as well as for an individual in particular. The government may sanction several schemes for the development of the village, but if the people have groups of a different opinion, there is less scope for completing a project. One of the respondents urged, “There are too many groups with different ideas to a single project, for example, recently the road construction project was allotted for our village through PMGSY. There were a group of people who opined to have a long route and towards settled agricultural land, but the other group want to take a shorter route that does not cover the productive land area.” He further adds that “Due to this kind of opinion, conflict within the villagers, it confused the contractor to start the road construction and took a long time to finish it. Actually, the original alignment of the road by the government was towards the long road, but it ends up with a shorter route as the contractor desires to go for cost-effective one for himself, as expected.” This is one of the instances narrated by one of the villagers who said that the main obstacle to development is due to “lack of unity within the village.”
2. Due to lack of educated officers sitting in the office from their own community. The gap of communication often persists between the villagers and the district administrative office or SDO office because there is no officer in those offices from their village or from their own community who speaks their local dialect. Moreover, proper guidance is

⁹² Extracted from: Orders No. 2/GTV/2018-19/Plg, Government of Manipur, Secretariat: Planning Department. 17th April 2018, Imphal.

required for the villagers for any new schemes or project to take place. As discussed before, the major factor of obstacles begins with lack of officers who can give proper guidance.

What should be the government's first priority in Rural Development?

This study has shown that the first priority in rural development should be in road construction. From both the villages, 64 percent of the respondents wish the government to give priority in road construction. As they suggest, numerous issues can be solved by improving the vehicular road. At the same time, there are various ways to possibly fulfil the primary objective of India's rural development policy, i.e., to improve their standard of living, to increase productivity and reduce poverty, and utilise the readily available natural and human resources. In other words, most of the desired development activities can be carried out throughout the year by having all-weather pliable road connection. The villagers have a dream to have good road connection to their village so that they can carry out various economic activities like, supplying products of the village to the nearby market, bringing in modern improvised tools for agriculture to make it more productive, local business may increase and help the jobless youth to engage in such business and so on. On the other hand, this will also help the students and parents in seeking an education; and any subsidies item comes from government can also reach the beneficiaries without delay or don't have to pay extra money to the agents for difficult transportation charge. Moreover, any other government schemes can be implemented to its best if not adequately. The villagers have expressed their countless reasons why good road connection is required. One of the respondents urged and wished that,

“..if there was good vehicular road connected to our village from before, there might be many educated individuals coming up already in our village. Government High School was planted in our villages many decades ago but not able to run properly due to lack of qualified teachers who would come from outside to teach us. They always blame and complain that they find it difficult to reach the village without a vehicle.”

The second priority falls into better education. The villagers, old or young understand that education can change their life. This study shows that children's education is where the villagers

spent their resources the most. (Detailed discussion on expenditure on education will be made in the next chapter.) Most of the villagers desired to have the local Government School run by qualified teachers on a regular basis in their respective village. They were concern about the quality of the education their children get from the so-called “proxy teacher” or a “substitute teacher”.⁹³

The concern of health becomes the third priority in the village followed by the agriculturally related help and financial assistance. For more detail, see table 8.

Table 8: What should be the government’s first priority for rural development according to Villagers (in %)

Village	Financial Asst.	Terrace Field/Agri.	Health	Education	Road construction
Magulong	3	6	9	17	65
Nzauna	3	6	12	16	63

Source: Author’s Fieldwork, 2017-18

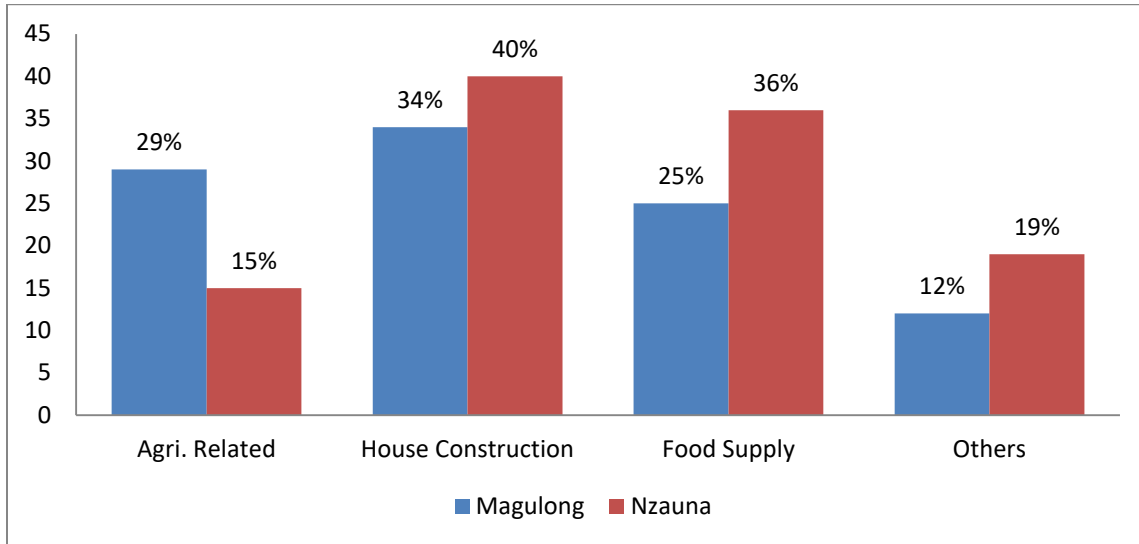
Programmes that benefited the most

The opinions of the respondents based on their personal experience of the benefits they received through various scheme are collected. It is noted that all the programmes implemented in the village are all beneficial and helpful; however, there are some other schemes which are found more benefitting. The questions were formulated in an open-ended without giving the specific option so that it can be able to capture what schemes comes first in their mind as a beneficiary. Based on their responses, four related categories clustered to create a quantitative data. They are agriculture-related, house construction related, food supply related and others that include direct financial assistance, skill development training, NREGS, water supply and road connectivity. As per the data analysis, 33 percent of the respondent thinks House Construction related programme as the most beneficial one; 29.5 percent think it is Food Supply related programme; 22.5 percent opined Agriculture related programme; and 15 percent to others. See the table for more details. The differences between the two villages are also observed. Magulong receives better agriculture-related scheme as compared to Nzauna, whereas house construction related is better

⁹³ Proxy teacher refers to those teachers who are hired by the actual teachers to be present in the school on his/her behalf. This is commonly practice in many government schools in rural area, especially the area I have studied.

in Nzauna as compared to Magulong. Food supply related is also better in Nzauna as compared to Magulong. However, when it comes to other benefits (as mentioned above), Magulong receives greater number comparatively.

Table 9: Programmes Benefiting Villagers the Most



Source: Author’s Fieldwork, 2017-18

As per overall observation, it would be important to mention certain facts that, when it comes to this question, the respondents are more prone to think on their personal benefits related option. The schemes which are indirectly benefiting them or long-term benefits like skill development training, road connectivity, electrification or water supply are opt-out by most of the respondents. Instead, they opt or think more about schemes which are directly benefiting into their individual life like the roof of the house, subsidised rice supply, or agricultural development benefits.

Needs satisfaction analysis

The need satisfaction analysis is based on the same interview data where the questions are framed to catch their psychological needs satisfaction. There are some basic psychological needs satisfaction that have to be fulfilled or that are crucial in one’s well-being. They are innate psychological needs: autonomy, competence, and relatedness.^{94 95} The idea of getting this

⁹⁴ Deci, E. L. & Vansteenkiste, M. (2004). Self-determination theory and the basic need satisfaction: Understanding human development in positive psychology. *Ricercher di Psicologia*, 1(27), 23-40.

analysis is inspired by the work of Landini et al. “Towards a Psychology Rural Development Processes and Interventions”. They argue that “..the need for Psychology of Rural Development, explore how it may provide new insights and tools for analysis vis-à-vis rural development scenarios and issues of social equity and outline the shape that, in our view, such psychology should take.”⁹⁶ The style of framing the questions are borrowed from work of Michelle M Mason (2012) “Motivation, Satisfaction and Innate Psychological Needs.”⁹⁷ However, the data interpretation follows the style of Babasanya et al. (2013).⁹⁸

The questions are arranged in the following format:

1. Satisfaction

- a) I am content and satisfied with the rural development works happening or happened in my village.
- b) No works have satisfied me so far.

2. Relatedness

- a) I consider government officials or agencies to be emotionally supportive and felt the sense of connectedness.
- b) I feel like they are just officers who do not have much concern but merely manipulative and gaining status.

3. Motivation

- a) I feel motivated to welcome and continue any developmental works in my village.
- a) I do not feel motivated to continue, but instead feel content to stay with what I have and remain happy.

⁹⁵ Ryan, R. M., & Deci, E. L. (2000). Self-Determination Theory and the facilitation of intrinsic motivation, social development, and well-being. *American Psychologist*, 55(1), 66-78.

⁹⁶ Landini, F. (2014) Towards a Psychology of Rural Development Processes and Intervention. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology*, Published on 7 February 2014 in Wiley Online Library (wileyonlinelibrary.com)

⁹⁷ M. Mason, M. (2012) Motivation, Satisfaction, and Innate Psychological Needs. *International Journal of Doctoral Studies*, Vol.7, pp-259-277.

⁹⁸ Babasanya, B. et al. (2013) Women Perception of Rural Development Programmes of UNDP in Akoko North Lga, Ondo State, Nigeria. *Global Journal of Arts Humanities and Social Sciences* Vol.1.No. 2, pp. 19-27, June 2013 (Published by European Centre Research Training and Development UK (www.ea-journals.org))

4. Competence

a) I feel that my village is capable of making a useful resource contribution to the society or a nation.

b) I feel my village doesn't have much to contribute, we are instead too needy.

5. Autonomy

a) I feel free to participate in any decision-making process for the development of the village.

b) I felt I was not given much of a feeling of freedom in the decision-making process for the development of the village.

All these five psychological needs have their own way of connecting to each other. However, the feeling of whether not satisfaction with the development works that has been done remains an independent needs.

Therefore, if:

a. 4 psychological needs are met with the need of "relatedness", it will be considered highly met.

b. 3 psychological needs that include motivation, competence and autonomy are met without the other two; it is considered "moderately met".

c. Only 2 or one is met, it will consider "Poorly Met".

d. All the needs are responded negatively from the list, it will be considered "Not met at all".

Table 10: Respondents' extent of needs satisfaction (combine of two villages in percentage)

Respondents	Highly Met	Moderately Met	Poorly Met	Not Met at All	Total
Class					
Low	0	39	8	0	47
Middle	0	47	3	0	50
High	0	3	0	0	3
Total	0	89	11	0	100
Education					
Illiterate	0	23	0	0	23
Low	0	63	4	0	67
High	0	4	6	0	10
Total	0	90	10	0	100

Key Note

Class (Income): Low = Less than Rs.3000 /month

Middle = Less than 7000 /month.

High = 7000 & above

Education: Illiterate= Who does not know how to read and write

Low = Who knows how to read and write or studied up to High School Level

High = Who crossed Senior Higher Secondary and above.

Source: Author's Fieldwork, 2017-18

This study has shown that none of the respondents met their “satisfaction” with the rural development work in the village. The absence of relatedness among the respondents to the government officials mark as an indicator that none of their needs is “highly met”. Maximum of the number of respondents fall within the category of “Moderately Met” (as contained in Table 10).

However, social status or the level of income does not differentiate respondents significantly in terms of their perception of need satisfaction of the rural development works, and there was no significant relationship between social statuses of respondents and need satisfaction.

It is also observed from the field that, the villagers do not have much significant difference between the higher or lower income groups. They mostly shared similar opinion when it comes to the problems and difficulties they are facing living in a remote village. Practically every household involves in an agricultural occupation, and they do not differentiate statuses of one's class base on income within the village/community. More about their livelihood or household problems living in the village will be discussed in detail in the following chapter. These simple

analyses of the villagers' perception based on what they perceive on rural development in their village helps us to understand the ground reality facing by them.

Chapter-4

Understanding the Living Condition of the Villagers: Comparing two villages

Introduction:

The study of tribal life or their living condition is a subject studied by various scholars at a wide range. There are extensive ethnographic literatures available in India, especially on socio-cultural aspects of traditional societies of different tribes. However, these socio-economic findings presented in this paper is mainly based on in-depth studies of only two villages, one each from Manipur and Nagaland which are purposively selected, and are, therefore, not amenable to the broader generalisation of all the villages in the region or state.

This chapter tries to study the living condition of the villagers, mainly covering the aspects relating to their 'standard of living' and their 'economic activities' based on their daily activities. The concept of 'standard of living' comprises of some items viz- housing condition, education, water, healthcare, availability of electricity, and telecommunication. To form a perspective view on the 'economic activities', some activities like agricultural operation, marketing of products, dependence on forest, animal husbandry, employment and unemployment are considered necessary. The semi-primitiveness of the village will be determined by analysing all these socioeconomic activities. Apart from these two subject coverage, this study will also cover their major household problems.

Primitive and Modern Activities

There is a criterion which helps in determining the semi/primitiveness of the village. Some specific criteria to look at their primitiveness can be extracted through the nature of their

housing, agricultural operation, dependence on forest, and their engagement with the modern technology. The “primitive agricultural activities” as according to the NSSO Report of 1990 are hunting, shifting cultivation, and collection of minor forest produce.⁹⁹ All these activities are still prevalent among the villagers. However, at the same time, they adopt and practice the modern type- agriculture, self-employment, and modern housing style. Other modern facilities which are introduced through a government rural development scheme, such as, school, electricity, road connectivity, etc. are also prevalent.

The table below (11) shows the criteria of Primitive and modern activities with the percentage of villagers engaged in it. Those activities or art that have less advanced technic, traditional, irrational, pure, simple and straightforward are considered primitive.¹⁰⁰ In the context of the study villages, primitive activities include hunting, shifting cultivation, the dependence of forest for minor/major products, live in the traditional thatched roof, abstaining oneself from visiting the urban/semi-urban town, and so on. On the other hand, the modern activities are more advanced than the traditional, applied modern technology; use the same modern style (though not equal to the standard of those in urban areas). For example, the villagers are engaging with more advance agricultural practice, lives in advance roofed house, self-employed, use electricity, vehicle, mobile phone, so on and so forth. The items of ‘activities’ included in the table are only some major ones which act as a criterion of primitive and modern activities out of many to make it graspable and straightforward.

Table 11: Primitive and Modern Activities Engaged by Villagers (combine of two villages)

Types of Primitive Activities	% Engaged by Villagers	Types of Modern Activities	% Engaged by Villagers
Hunting(wild animals, fishing and trapping) for consumption	90	Schooling	72
		Settled agriculture (Terrace field)	11

⁹⁹ NSSO (1990) A Report on Living Condition of Some Major Tribes of India. *Fourth Round* (July 1988-June 1989)

¹⁰⁰ Myers, F (2005) ‘Primitivism’, *Anthropology and the Category of Primitive Art. NYU Arts and Science*. Retrieved from: https://as.nyu.edu/content/dam/nyu-as/faculty/documents/Myers_Primitivism_Ch17.pdf

Shifting Cultivation	89	Use modern agricultural tools (tiller, bullocks, etc.)	11
Collection of Forest minor products (wild veg. roots, fruits, etc.)	99	Self-employed (including business, carpentry, handicraft, weaving, driving, etc.)	5
Traditional Thatched Roof House	36	Use electricity or solar energy.	100
Abstaining from visiting towns	51	Advance house construction from the Primitive one (tinny roof, wooden floor, etc.)	64

Source: Author's Fieldwork, 2017-18

Primitive Activities

1. The activities of **hunting** are mostly practice by a male member of the household. The activity includes hunting of wild animals, fishing in traditional technic, and trappings. This is practice by individuals, by forming a small group of hunters or big group depending on the type of hunting and occasion. There are some occasions or festivals where it is required for the whole villagers to feast together with meat on the plate. On such occasion, instead of cutting down their own rearing animals, the villagers sometimes want to go for wild animal-hunting in the deep forest or fishing in the river stream. There are some expert hunters or passionate fisher who wants to go hunting or fishing for family consumption irrespective of any occasion and season. There are also some animal trapping experts who spend their leisure in making traditional traps deep in the forest or at the yard of the *jhum* field. As shown in the table, 90 percent of the respondents whose household has an adult male member engage in these activities. The remaining 10 percent who does not involved are those household that does not have adult male member, or whose male member are engaging into modern education or business and went outside of the village.

2. **Shifting Cultivation** is a common practice in the region, and the two study villages are of no exception. About 89 percent of the respondents' household engaged in the shifting cultivation. The other 11 percent are those who engaged in settled terrace cultivation. Shifting cultivation is considered the main source of livelihood in the village, and therefore they give much importance to it. It becomes their socio-economic and cultural importance of living in the village.
3. **Collecting forest minors** like various types of leaves, soothes, roots, fruits and mushrooms become a part of their lives. The forest produces different edible varieties every season and climates which the villagers are very knowledgeable about its time for collection. As one respondent narrated that, "the forest produces so many varieties around the year for our consumption which we cultivate apart from the vegetables produces in the field." About 99 percent of the respondents do collect such produces on the regular or irregular basis. The remaining 1 percent is the ones who are an old aged who lives in the alms of their generous neighbours or relatives.
4. The traditional **thatch roof** is a common practice in the village since olden days. This roof, however, is replaced by the modern tin-roof with the help of government's rural housing scheme like IAY in the recent times. The field survey revealed that about 36 percent of the respondent's household still live under the traditional thatched roof. Those with the tin-roof are either build with the help or without the help of government. Many respondents mentioned that "the tin-roof coming from the government was never sufficient and have to spend a huge amount of money to complete one and only the rich one manage to do that. For poor household becomes a burden instead, as the government will give some deadline to complete for their completion report."
5. According to this survey, about 51 percent hardly **visit the town**, and some of them have never visited. Most of them said they don't have any reason to visit or have no business. However, in most of the cases, due to the need of their children's education, they are compelled to go to take school admission and the related works. The remaining 49 percent visits town at least once in a month or almost every week in some cases.

Modern Activities

1. About 72 percent of the respondents are engaged in **modern schooling** system. As most of the respondents are 'parents' the figure of schooling found would be of the previous

generation, and not the present schooling children. It is learned that almost every household where there are kids, they all have attended schools, be it in government or private school. This study has found that education is considered very important by the villagers, and most parents spent the most on children's education.

2. **Settled agriculture** is an improvised agricultural practice from the traditional shifting cultivation. Since the lands available are mostly a hill terrain and the best are the sloppy ones, to have settled agriculture becomes a herculean task. It is difficult in various forms - to dig down the sloppy land to a flat-plain surface or a terrace, as well as to bring irrigation for wet cultivation. They need a lot of labours and resources to begin the task. They know the advantages of this type of cultivation, but many could not afford to start. Therefore, only a few were found to be engaged in this practice.
3. The **modern agricultural tools** are used by those who engaged in settled cultivation (11 percent). At present, the best tool is the handmade bullock tiller. This tool is considered modern because it is new and advances from the use of traditional metal spades and iron tools. There is a possibility of using modern oil engine tiller or tractor if Agri-link roads are constructed.
4. About 5 percent of the respondents make their major income by engaging into some **self-employed activities** like running a small business by engaging with the neighbouring towns or cities, carpentry, handicraft, weaving or become a passenger vehicle driver. These are not practiced in the olden days as their profession. However, with the advancement of living standard and the increasing demand among the population to the need of such activities, some people have started to engage as their profession.
5. The use of **electricity** or the solar energy becomes a necessity in their day to day life. Before the coming of electricity and solar energy or kerosene lamp, they use only fire torch as a source of light at night. With the access to electricity, the life of the villagers has changed. They started to use for almost every purpose, not just for lights. Respondents have narrated that, "The comings of electricity have changed their life. With the access to electricity, we get the opportunity to use various modern electronic tools, motors, and machines which make our life much easier." Today, every household in the study villages are fully electrified (100 percent).

6. About 64 percent of the respondents' household get to the **advance roofing house**. They have a fully tin-roofed house with wooden floor or wall. To build such a house are mostly influence by those who went outside of the village and see how other neighbouring towns' advances in their construction style. Their lifestyles and activities have mostly transformed as they begin to own better and lasting roofing; otherwise, the previous traditional thatched roofing do not last for more than five years, and they have to be busy in collecting thatches and building materials from the jungle almost every alternate year.

The main source of Income

The main source of Income here means the villagers' highest area of involvement and preference, and not necessarily source of income where there is the highest paying amount which goes to the few individuals by engaging in business or high paying government job.

This study has found that almost all the household involved in animal husbandry, though at a very low scale. Out of which more than half of the respondents (56 percent) consider animal husbandry as their main source of income. Among their domestic animals, keeping the local chicken (poultry) is a better option for the people because they are easy to be taken care of, as per the respondents' opinion. Piggery is another option next to poultry. They build small huts, pens, sties or coups to rear animals on a small scale at their backyard without adequate hygiene. Mostly, women take care of the poultry and pigs. And the reason for low scale involvement was due to lack of time and financial inadequacy. Comparatively, Nzauna has a higher number of respondents whose main income lies in animal husbandry (53% in Magulong and 70% in Nzauna). See Table 12.

The second group comprise of whose main source of income is drawn from a government job (12 percent) in the case of Nzauna and in the case of Magulong is 'Self-employment' and 'Wage labour' (with 14 percent each). Magulong has a higher number in the case of self-employment and wage-labour comparing to Nzauna (see table 10). Government job refers to those jobs which are in the lowest rung of any department like, in primary school, water supply, Anganwadi, and healthcare.

The group of people whose main income depend on wage-labour are of agricultural labour or agriculture-related type of daily wage labour. Having self-employment in weaving, carpentry work, construction work, handicraft, running small business and driving is another way a meagre amount of population get involved in. Selling of vegetables and crops was the least of all income types. The villagers experienced and said that the sale of vegetables does not make much money because of the availability and abundance in every household in the village. And another reason was that the town market is so far away and it is challenging for them to carry along all their products themselves physically as there is no proper vehicular road for transport. The category “Others” includes who involve in church works or private school and those who depend on MNREGS job card.

Table 12: Villagers’ Main Source of Income Preference (in percentage)

Village	Sell Veg/Crops	Animal Husbandry	Wage Labour	Self Employed	Govt.Job	Others
Magulong	2.5	53	14	14	12	4.5
Nzauna	3	70	6	6	12	3

Source: Author’s Fieldwork, 2017-18

However, most of the involvement in these income sources is not their full-time job. Their major engagements were in agriculture. For instance, almost every household in the village carry out animal husbandry work, but none of them invests into it as their full time. Their major target is to work in the *jhum*/terrace field and meet their subsistence for the whole year without any deficits. If they are able to gather crops (mainly rice) sufficient enough for the entire year consumption, that is considered as a successful harvest. However, most of the time many households failed to meet this target and face the brunt of insufficiency of food.

Other Subsistence-based Economic Activities

The villagers still continue to practice their aged traditional practice of collecting forest minors like edible fruits, leaves, roots, stems, sooths, mushrooms, etc. According to the survey, 99 percent of the respondent’s household engaged in these activities around the seasons of the year. Every type of forest minors has their own season of availability throughout the years, and the

villagers avail them without missing even a single seasonal forest's gifts they get. Young or old, male or female, everyone engaged in these activities at their own capabilities and reached. This is very much a part-time and does them at their leisure.

On the other hand, hunting forest wilds from big to small is a part of their life. One of the elderly respondents narrated that, olden days or a few decades back, village hunters use spears or other sharp manual objects and they have an abundance of wild animals to hunt in the forest. But due to the coming of modern rifles and cartridges and continuous hunting with these advanced weapons, the numbers of animals have decreases massively, and some are finished to its extinction. Since this practice has been practising for a long time, it becomes like a tradition in the village, and many could not refrain from it till today. About 90 percent of the respondent's household engaged in this practice at one point or the other. This practice is a practice of a male member in the family, who are considered sharp and strong. In the tradition of Zeme village, whenever animals like wild boar, wild pig, or the animals between as small as deer and as big as serow are hunt down with gun or spears by any member of the villagers, the village boys are offered to feast the head of that animal from a community centre. They practice animal trapping too but, its head will not be offered to boys which are getting by traps. The whole clans or the colony will be invited to dine together with the meat they got irrespective of male or female in the house of the hunter; while some boys will be feasting in the community centre with the offered head. The hunters offer this gesture not necessarily as a ritual but as a tradition to make him-self blameless and remain sharp throughout the course of his hunting. This is practising by the villagers till today, not for selling in the market but for occasional consumption or to supplement their balance of diet between veg and non-veg. Every villagers has a right to hunting based on this condition. However, there are some who misuse this right and sell them in the market for the outsiders who become a controversial issue within the village in protecting wild animals.

Fishing in the river stream is also a part of their social life. In a year, the spring season is the time for the community mass fishing occasion by using herbal plants or leaves. This also practices by small group or individual in various river streams at their leisure. This practice has been considered fair as long as they use their traditional tactics, but in the recent times people have started using modern chemical poisons that leads to poison the whole water in the river which

cause massive dead of every types of water animals and insects or the use of Alternate Current (AC battery) power to shock out tons of fishes from the rivers. The use of these modern materials which are easily available in the market has become controversial in the area. One of the village head said that, since this practice has become very destructive, the village authority banned the use of such material their village stream, and conveyed the same to the neighbouring villages. Both the study village maintain this banned very effectively as of now. Shooting of birds, mostly practice by boys and adult men has become very destructive and noticing the decreases of its population. Therefore, the whole hatching season of bird is banned from shooting them by the village authority, he added.

Major Problems of Household

There are various problems that the villagers suffer from within their household. Some of the issues the villagers often face are insufficient food, health issue, joblessness, disputes in the family, bad water and some others.

Insufficient food: The maximum percentage (20% in Magulong and 43% in Nzauna) of the respondents said that the main problems they get to face are due to lack of enough food available for the family throughout the year. Villager has to travel to the town to get a bag of rice using their hard-earned money. Government subsidised rice distribution is a great help to the villagers because they often face food insufficiency especially during monsoon when the crops are yet to grow mature. Food is a basic need; likewise, when there is a lack of it, it becomes a problem for the household in particular and the village in general.

Table 13: Major problems of Household (in %)

Village	Insufficient Food	Health Issue	Joblessness	Dispute in Family	Bad Water	Others
Magulong	20	20	24	18	0	18
Nzauna	43	30	14	10	3	0

Source: Author's Fieldwork, 2017-18

Health Issue: The issue of health remains the major problems next to food. It has been observed that there is no Health Centre in neither of the village. Both the villages expressed the same fate of misery they used to face and they will be facing whenever someone from the village is down with some severe sickness. One of the elderly respondents shared that, “They have to carry the sick person in a bamboo stretcher to the nearest health centre or hospital by travelling about 20 to 30 kilometres through the footpath of steep ranges with ups and downs in the hilly terrain crossing many other villages.” The only available Health option is the ASHA health care worker who is selected by village council/authority for safe delivery service to pregnant women.

During the interview, a separate question on “who do they contact first during health emergency” is also maintained. To this question, it is being observed that there are only 3 options found to be available for the villagers during such an emergency. First, the majority (about 77 percent) of the respondents opted to contact their church leaders to come and pray. They are a very conservative society in this matter, as their belief in the divine power of God is very strong. Second, about 18 percent opted for local *Kobiras*. There are local *Kobiras* available in the village that are skilful or artful with the natural treatment and herbal cure. And the final option is to ‘look for medicines wherever available’ which is opted by about 5 percent of the respondents. Some few individuals who have little knowledge about modern medicines keep some first aids for an emergency. An open option was given to the respondents if there is any “other” they use to opt for, but none of them has any other option other than this three.

Table 14: Health Emergency contact option in the village (combine of the two villages)

Emergency Contact Option	Church Leaders	Local Kobiras	Look for modern medicine
Percentage opted	77	18	5

Source: Author’s Fieldwork, 2017-18

Joblessness: The issue of ‘joblessness’ is about lack of earning member in the household. The financial need is increasing, but the income does not improve. Due to the coming of the modern lifestyle, and the need to educate the children, the financial burden is amounting. It is being observed that the villagers have so many works to do, and they are hardworking people, but there is little job available to make money. The rest of the work, which they continue to be busy with

are for their living subsistence. The issue of joblessness is more intense in Magulong (24%) in comparison with Nzauna (14%).

The issue of living with deficits and indebtedness among many villagers are also found to begin from lack of earning member in the household. There are many respondents whose income is lower than the expenditure relatively. Among the respondents, about 9.5 percent are having lesser income than their expenditure. When interrogated for such reason, most of them fall into indebtedness due to their children’s education. The other 81 percent group whose expenditures are equal to their income are no exception from indebtedness. Only 9.5 percent respondents have their income greater than their expenditure. The reason of indebtedness is not necessarily decided by the amount of one's income. In other words, those who have higher income are not necessarily able to avoid debt or the lower income in vice versa.

Table 15: Income-Expenditure Gap (combine of two villages)

	Income ≥ Expenditure	Income = Expenditure	Income ≤ Expenditure
Percentage	9.5	81	9.5

Source: Author’s Fieldwork, 2017-18

According to the respondents, the reasons to fall into indebtedness are as follows:

1. Children’s Education: About 62 percent of the respondents claim to have spent most of their income on their children’s education. They even go for taking credit with interest from certain source like, Church, women Self-Help group, Youth Organization, or sometimes from a certain individual who can lend it. Most students go out to nearby towns for studies, and parents take the responsibility to pay all the school fees and the food and lodging or hostel expenses along with extra pocket money and travelling allowance. A mother of 5 children lamented about the height of school fees, and she said “Education becomes Gold” and one “has to buy with lots of money and efforts.”
2. Taking credit for hiring agricultural labour: When the workload is getting tougher due to the issue of excessive weeds or rodents, the cultivators (mostly shifting cultivators) get compelled to immediately clear-off the field or could not finish it by a meagre number of labour of the family member alone they have to take credit to hire labour, or get the

labour in credit without paying instantly on the day of delivering its labour. More than 15 percent of the respondents fall into indebtedness due to this reason.

3. Health Issue: The third reason to fall into indebtedness was from the treatment of sick member in the household. About 12 percent of them fall for this reason.
4. House construction: For about 5 percent of the respondents, house construction becomes another way to fall into indebtedness.
5. Failure of Crops: More than 3 percent of them experience that they get to fall into indebtedness due to the failure of crops. They express that, there are certain years when they are not able to collect the adequate amount of crops for their subsistence from the field they work for the whole year. They have to work extra to earn money as wage labour to buy food and at the same time have to work in their own field to avoid another failure. When they are not able to manage this task, they go for taking credit.

In analysing their expenditure, villagers were found to be spending the most in children's education. Around 68 percent of the respondent spent their income on their children at its most. It has been observed, therefore, that the villagers who are interested in education are at its highest above all others. Around 24 percent were found to be spending more on buying food items. This reality is due to the fact of lack of sufficient food, as discussed above. Another 20 percent were found to spend the most in 'agriculture' related expenditure. The remaining 6 percent spend the most on others like buying medicines or health treatment, and on house construction pertaining spendings.

Dispute in Family: Problems of the household also includes the 'dispute within the family'. There are various types of disputes from small to big, and from light to severe issue. For some household, for about 18 percent in Magulong and 10 percent in Nzauna, dispute within the family becomes a major issue. The dispute here does not show to the issue of the relationship between husband and wife or a matter of a love affair. The point is mostly about having a stubborn kid who is difficult to handle or manage disciplinarily. Most of them opined their problem within the household is from their physically grown-up male kid (certainly boys) who do not want to obey their parents, elders, do not involve in any social activities and didn't go to school and become a spoiled brat to the family.

Problems of Water Supply: Most of the villagers did not face the issue of water supply. Only 3 percent of the household of Nzauna's respondents considered this as a problem to their household. This problem was not found to be faced by the Magulong village. "This is because for an extended period of the season they receive rain and their river stream never goes dry", said one of the respondents. However, it has been observed that fetching of water has been a duty of women in the village. Especially in Nzauna, water supply is provided for the villagers to fetch only from the public water tank and not allowed to connect to their home on private, as per the directives of the village council because the water supply is limited. However, this issue is not there in Magulong, because almost every household has a water pipe connected at their own. In other words, Magulong does not face much of a water problem as compared to Nzauna.

Other problems: There are so many problems, and some few were mentioned distinctively by the respondents. There are too much of workload to do, and there are not enough adult members to work, or there are problems of work division, where one has to do most of the task, and other failed to understand the responsibility. About 18 percent of Magulong's respondents considered this as their problem in the family.

Use of Firewood for cooking:

Collecting firewood is another primary activity of the villagers. According to the survey, 100 percent of the household use traditional open fire system for kitchen, and over 78 percent of the firewood was collected by women by traditional cane basket carrying at their back. The remaining 22 percent are managed collaboratively by both men and women of the household and using a truck or by conventional way. When asked about the use of advance woodstove like rocket woodstove or rooftop chimney system, 70 percent of the respondents does not have an idea about it or never heard about its use. And the other 30 percent have heard about it or have seen it but did not. As I asked about whether they would like to try if introduced to the village, about 90 percent of them favoured to try it, while the remaining 10 percent don't care or have no interest other than the traditional one. The reason for having no interest was also covered, and they said, the weather is very cold, and the conventional method is the best to suit such a climate. Moreover, some said, open fire in the kitchen is a part of their life and culture and it would be difficult to live without it.

Table 16: Use of Firewood

Particulars	Response %
Use Traditional Fire System for cooking	100
Firewood collected by women	78
Firewood collected collaboratively with men	22
Have Knowledge about advance woodstove	30
No knowledge about advance woodstove	70
Those favoured trying advance woodstove	90
Those not willing to try advance woodstove	10

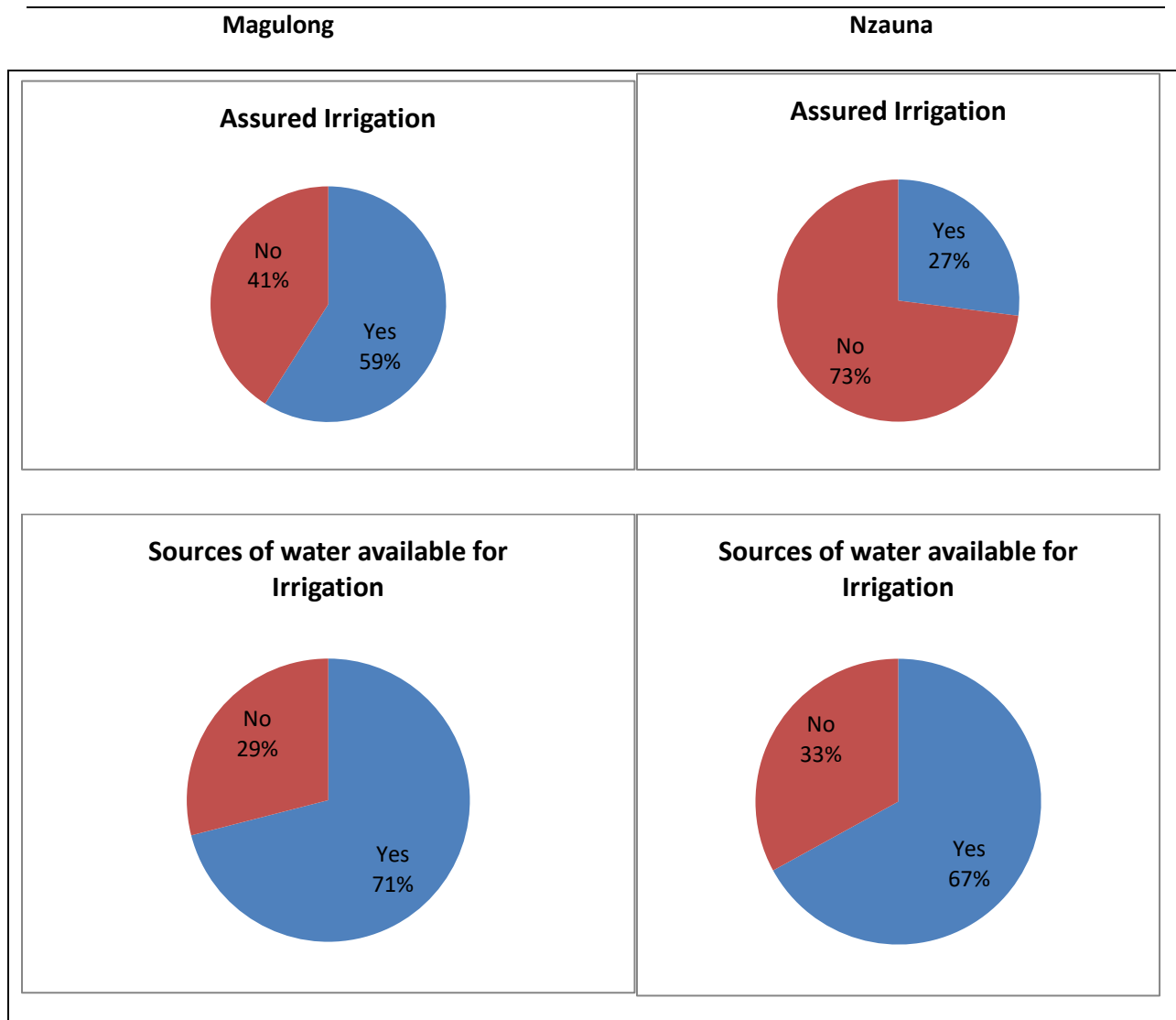
Source: Author's Fieldwork, 2017-18

Irrigation Availability:

To see the advancement in agricultural practice, it is essential to look for the irrigation option. When it comes to the knowledge about land and the water source, the villagers know it best than any other because they have been living there since ancestors. Therefore, their knowledge and response to this kind of question is considered to be authentic and real.

Over the question of whether having assured irrigation or not, in Magulong, 59 percent of the respondents said 'Yes' and 41 percent said 'Not'. Nzauna, on the other hand accounts to 27 and 73 percent of 'Yes' and 'No' respectively. Having assured irrigation does not mean that they utilised them. As mentioned earlier, only 11 percent utilised this source. The availability of assured irrigation is found to be more in Magulong to Nzauna comparatively.

Table 17: Irrigation availability



Source: Author’s Fieldwork, 2017-18

Based on the knowledge of the villagers, the availability of water source for irrigation is very high in Magulong. About 71 percent of them assumed that there is a source of water available for irrigation and only 29 percent said ‘No’. However, in the case of Nzauna, only 17 percent said ‘Yes’, and the remaining 83 percent does not agree to it, or they are not very sure to be practical. In other words, Magulong has a higher favourable response than that to Nzauna on this as well.

But since there is no 100 percent surety, the probability for its practicality seems difficult to achieve. It has been observed that either way, the chance of having water available during winter for cultivation purpose is meager because there is no major river and only a few perennial water bodies available. Therefore, this leads to a scarcity of water especially during the winter season for irrigation. And during the summer monsoon, the region witness high rainfall and excessive land surface run-off by water.

Usual Reason for Failure of Crops

One of the major agricultural problems shared by the villager is a failure of crops. Their main crop is rice which is one-time cultivation in a year. Once, this crop is failed, they have no other alternatives and just have to wait for the next year’s agriculture. The survey data collected from the respondents reveals that the usual reason for the failure of crops is due to the breeding of rodents’ population in their field. “Rodent’s population grow at its peak during June, July and August when rice plants are growing at its best and are close to yielding its flowers”, said one of the respondents who practices both Terrace as well as *Jhum* Cultivation. About 81 percent of the respondents considered ‘Rodents’ as the main issue that leads to failure of their crops. Failure of crops is also causing due to some other problems; that about 15 percent is due to ‘lack of capital’ to invest it for cleaning of weeds and other important tasks whenever required, and the other 4 percent is due to ‘Irrigation problem’, which are facing by those who practice Terrace Cultivation. During the survey, no other reasons that caused to the failure of crops are found.

Table 18: Reasons for Failure of Crops in the Village

Reasons	Rodents	Lack of Capital	Irrigation problems
Percentage	81	15	4

Source: Author’s Fieldwork, 2017-18

Cash Crops which are productive and profitable

Some of the plantations that have high demands are Orange, Ginger, Banana, Petai, Elaichi, Chilly, and Broom. However, most of these plantations have failed in the village due to low maintenance and proper treatment. One of the respondents expressed his feelings of helplessness when it comes to the requirement of scientific treatment because he has no clue beyond his traditional way. Most of the farmers said that be it orange, banana, or petai which they have invested a lot of energy and time were all dying at the time when it starts to yield its fruit. Many years back, said by respondents that, this never happens, even a petai tree or orange tree live for over 20 years or more, and they yield fruit so richly. They said they have no idea whether this is due to climate change or the problems in the traditional way of the plantation. They believe that there must be some way to treat this right if proper research is conducted which should be beyond their traditional knowledge.

As per the survey result, 93 percent of the respondents said they did not receive proper assistance on their profitable cash crops plantation by the government, and the remaining 7 percent have no idea about it. There are some assistance from the World Bank like Tea plantation, and orange plantation in Magulong, but it didn't come out as expected. Most of its maintenance was based on their own traditional knowledge without any advanced technical assistance. The villagers know that the demands for these products are very high. Therefore, they continue to maintain even if at tiny scale apart from their main agricultural practice.

With this limited maintenance and at a tiny scale, about 9 percent manage to produce some surplus for selling in the market. However, the remaining 91 percent could manage it only for their own subsistence and failed to make any excess for selling.

Village Industry

Some of the village industry practices in the villages are handicraft, traditional handloom and carpentry works. Their practices are at individual level and on irregular basis which is engaged only at their leisure time. According to the villagers, some skilled individuals make money out of this, but none of them makes their living through this industry. Likewise, the survey revealed that about 76 percent of the villagers do not believe that the profession of village industry to be a sustainable option as of now. Looking at the current situation, many respondents do not want to

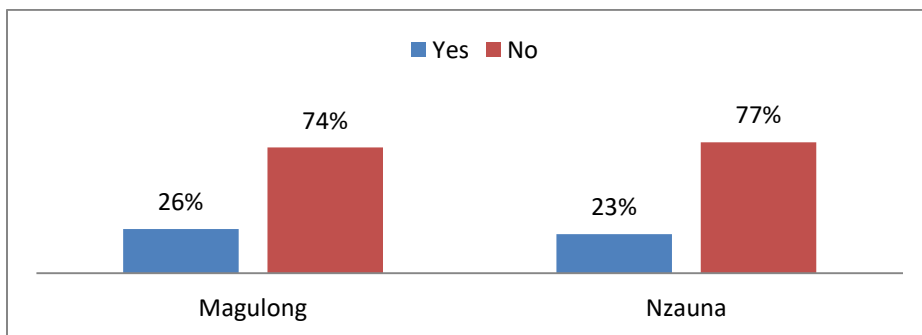
take a risk by involving fully on this profession to make a living. They also do not believe that this industry will be able to generate employment. However, the remaining 24 percent has the confidence to make it reliable and generate even employment if there are people who have the will to take a risk.

In this situation, the government’s intervention will be a worthy contribution to the life of the villagers, especially to those skilful individuals by providing loans, or financial credits. It has been noted that none of the individual villagers from either of the village got any financial credits or loans from the government for any self-help initiatives or any village industry start-ups.

Farming as the best option to sustain a livelihood

As discussed earlier, the majority of the population depends on agriculture for their livelihood in the village. However, one more specific question on farming as a source of sustaining livelihood was entertained to ascertain if there is more option or if there are people who has a good plan of shifting to some other profession from agriculture but couldn’t do it due to its high risk. The result of the survey indicated that majority (about 75 percent) said that farming is not the best option to sustain for livelihood. Most of these respondents have ascertained that they practice agriculture, especially *jhum* out of compulsion and that they also understand the demerits of practising shifting cultivation and the vulnerability of productivity in their agricultural practice if continuing in the same way in the long run. They have no other option to sustain their livelihood; therefore, farming is continued to practice by most of the villagers.

Table 19: Farming as best option to sustain Livelihood?



Source: Author’s Fieldwork, 2017-18

However, the other 25 percent considered farming as the best option, and the villagers must work harder and gain the best crops out of its land available. They have the opinion that farmers must strive to utilise and improvised their practice for better production and made use of the land available to its maximum, instead of having far-fetched dreams which are impractical.

Nevertheless, overall, the two village shares almost equal standard of living- in terms of their mode of production, income, problems of household, and their grievances. On the availability of settled agricultural opportunity, Magulong has a higher chance. The following chapter would open with ecological limits on development and make the summary of the paper along with discussion and future studies.

Chapter-5

Conclusion

This study has made an investigation on the living condition and the understanding of rural development implementation in the remote rural villages located in the hilly terrain of Manipur and Nagaland in Northeast region of India. This study looks at the policy formulation of rural development at the central level and its structural functions from the state to the village level in a brief manner. To achieve the knowledge of the real-life experience of the villagers in the matter of rural development's functions, perception survey strategy has been devised and discussed. As the understanding of rural development is important, so is the understanding of the villagers living condition for which this dissertation has discussed in length. Likewise, for a better understanding of economic, social and cultural activities, the concept of the semi-primitive mode of production they practice in the village is being introduced.

Ecological Limits of Capitalism

The implementation of rural development programmes in a capitalistic nature to a semi-primitive mode of production of the studied villages may lead to the concern of severe ecological discomfort. Development project intervention in the rural areas is a set of the formal introduction of capitalism. As Bebbington (2001) have intended that "Rural development can be understood as the unfolding of capitalism in rural areas, and as that package of policy and project interventions that aim to foster socio-economic change and human improvement in rural areas."¹⁰¹ The ecological critique of capitalism determines to save environmental destruction that

¹⁰¹ Bebbington, A. (2001), Development: Rural Development Strategies, *International Encyclopaedia of the Social & Behavioural Sciences*, Science Direct, p- 3578-3583. Retrieved from : <https://doi.org/10.1016/B0-08-043076-7/03345-3>

may have caused through the process of rural development and its capitalist influences among the rural population. Ballukcu and Aciksoz (2016) endorsed any rural economic development projects be aimed to use own local resources with the help of government or foreign aid to turn a profit, and that all natural resources can convert to a tool of economic gain for the people living in it. However, the most crucial point to be taken into account while taking the steps is to conform to the natural and cultural environment or in other words to a sustainable approach. They argued that an approach to rural development without considering ecological structure would lead to an irreversible loss to the future exhaustible natural resources.

Foster and Clark (2009) further argued that the expansion of capitalism and its ecological destruction can be wrought by an army of self-styled “sustainable developers” who considered and sees wealth as entirely a value generated through exchanged and count the external nature – air, water and living species- outside of the exchange system were viewed as a ‘free gift’.¹⁰² There is a great concern that once such blinders have been put on, and continue the unhindered growth of the economy for a century or so from now, under usual condition of normal business, it is of the fact that leading U.S Climate Economist William Nordhaus see the absolutely catastrophic path over the same time span for both human civilization and the life of the planet as a whole.¹⁰³

Such ecological limits to the expansion of capitalism must be considered a priority while making further rural development policies. The villages have very rich natural resources – fertile land, clean stream water, forest, vegetation, herbs, exotic animals, rocks etc. The drastic expansion of modern lifestyle and the influence of the capitalist economy in their pursuance towards better life are seen in the village today. In such a development, the faster the growth, the greater the environmental demands and its degradation is prone. In this regard, Foster (1992) contended that “under capitalism, ‘the greater the social wealth, the functioning capital, the extent and energy of

¹⁰² Foster, J. B. and Clark, B. (2009), The Paradox of Wealth: Capitalism and Ecological Destruction, *Monthly Review: An Independent Socialist Magazine*. Vol. 61. No. 06. Retrieved from : <https://monthlyreview.org/2009/11/01/the-paradox-of-wealth-capitalism-and-ecological-destruction/>

¹⁰³ Nordhaus’s stance on climate change in Richard York, Brett Clark, and John Bellamy Foster, “Capitalism in Wonderland,” *Monthly Review* 61, no. 1 (May 2009), 4-5.

its growth', the greater are capital's ecological demands and the level of environmental degradation."¹⁰⁴

Possible solutions that may maintain ecological balance with the economic development of the village at this juncture would be to utilise locally available resources, generate useful and innovative ideas to utilize that resources and create a suitable market to circulate money within themselves at the maximum possible ways. For instance, in agricultural practice, it is required to improve their organic vegetables and crops by utilizing natural manures that can be obtained from the freely available forest decays; increase the rearing of local chickens to a possible larger size by adding contemporary technique to their conventional small coop; and utilize village industry in sync with modern ideas for better marketing scope. Based on the result of their sources of income analysis, these are some practical potentialities the villagers may have acquired for faster economic growth that can continue without hindering ecological concerns.

Summary

As discussed in the introduction, rural development is a process of change to reduce the problems of poverty, enabling the villagers to fulfil their physical needs, address the problems of social inequality, utilise knowledge and creativity of the concerned population along with modern scientific ideas to increase their productivity and enriched them economically. At the same time, unleashed their creative energy and enabled them to be self-reliant and confident for improving their living conditions at their own initiative. Thus, it is very crucial that there is the efficacious intervention of government through various development programmes rather than just a politically institutionalised agendum in a capitalistic embarkment without contextualising their socio-economic lifestyle and environmental concern.

Rural Development policymakers followed the combination of political economic and cultural approach with slight differences of institutional-structural functions in each state. Both Nagaland and Manipur have different sets of institutional structure from the state to village level. In comparative studies of the two states, theoretically, Nagaland has a better administrative

¹⁰⁴ Foster, J. B. (1992), The Absolute General Law of Environmental Degradation Under Capitalism, *Capitalism Natures Socialism*, Vol. 3, Issue 3.

structure and functions. However, practical experience analysis indicates similar results- income, living standards, educational status, agricultural practice, remoteness and the opinions on rural development programmes as beneficiaries.

According to the perception survey, about 69 percent of the respondents are aware of the Rural Development Programmes (RDPs) implemented in the village since inception as against the total of 31 percent who are not aware of it. About the perception on the viability of RDPs, there is a total of about 64 percent of respondents who said “No” and 18 percent who said “Yes” and 8 percent who “don’t know”. Looking at the rate of the efforts giving by the government agencies, about 68 percent and 77 percent of the respondents said they see “No” efforts from them at both Magulong and Nzauna village respectively. The performance rating-scale of development of both the village shows very “poor” as 62.5 percent of respondents scaled it to its lowest level, 31.25 percent next to lowest and only 6.25 percent at the average performance level. The main obstacle to receive development in the village accounts to “remoteness of the Village” and issue of “corruption” with 60 percent and 27 percent respectively in the case of Nzauna’ and “Ignorant nature of local leaders” and “remoteness of village” with 32 percent and 21 percent respectively in the case of Magulong. According to the villager’s perception, the government’s priority should be upon better road connectivity to the village. Among the RDPs, the programme that benefitted the most is on House Construction and subsidised food supply.

In analysing the living condition of the villagers, it begins by identifying the primitive and modern socio-economic activities the villagers normally practice. In this mode of production, the main source of monetary income is found to be based from “Animal Husbandry” with 53 percent and 70 percent in both Magulong and Nzauna respectively. The major problem of the households falls on “insufficient food”, a health issue and joblessness in the village. The usual reason for the failure of crops is because of the excessive breeding of rodents in their field. Overall, the villagers considered farming as the best option to sustain livelihood as of now.

Discussion and recommendations

Rural development aims to enable villagers to be self-reliant and confident for improving their conditions at their own initiative. However, based on this study, there are some possible loopholes in this process at the grassroots level.

It has been notified that most of the development schemes are used for political gain by various agencies and officers. The interview with one of the DRDA officer in District Headquarter of Tamenglong, Manipur revealed that the political party inclination of the beneficiary village also matters a lot to implement developmental works. It further explained that the similar influence of political biases is usually played at the village level during the selection of beneficiary. To curve away such loopholes in the system, the government has introduced Direct Benefit Transfer (DBT) schemes. However, there have been many disadvantages for the rural villages due to the limited banking facility access and road connectivity, and the problems of illiteracy among the beneficiary. In this situation, as I interviewed with one of the DRDA officers of Peren District Nagaland, it said that, “due to the introduction of DBT scheme it becomes helpless to help the villagers as funds are transferred directly to the account of beneficiary or the VDB’s account, or in other words, we are powerless even if we sit in the office”. Despite this issue, it is encouraged that DBT facility further continue as it helps in curving out corruption issue to some extent. It must improvise and facilitates more of its accessibility to gain maximum benefits out of it.

Distribution of funds has always been a problem when it comes to rural development, especially in the hilly region. Most of the officers opined that there has always been a fund insufficiency especially in the case of remote hilly villages. It requires more funds to improve the lives of the remote villagers, and extra incentives are necessary for field agents/trainers as well as the trainee/villagers who are willing to participate in any skill development training at the initial stage.

Giving “effort” from the respective development agencies is one term that has been considered crucial to uplift the condition of the villagers. The fieldwork survey, on the one hand, indicated that the ‘efforts’ from the government agencies to guide the ignorant villagers are lacking. On the other hand, the remoteness of the village with poor road connectivity hinders the officials to pay a visit even when needed. However, one of the Village Authority members said that “Bad road connectivity is not the main reason to hinder the agencies to visit the village, those who have the

heart are giving best efforts”- citing the works of Mr Thaithuilung, IAS Deputy Commissioner, during his tenure of the 2000s. Thus, simple “efforts” from the government agencies can be one of the life-changing factors for the villagers.

The efforts of the Development agencies need further attention, as this has become the core issue. In practical, reaching village where there is no vehicular road connected or proper mobile network connectivity or electricity access, it becomes a herculean task even to pay a single visit especially in wet summer weather. Thus, most of the villages are left alienated almost throughout the year. In such situation, the more practical strategy may be to carry out certain incentive plans for government agencies as well as respective deserving villagers who may participate voluntarily for the development of the village under certain terms and conditions.

It is also necessary to discuss briefly the agricultural practice and its productivity. The village finds it so difficult to make a shift from their so-called “unproductive” *jhum* cultivation to any “productive” and settled-agriculture. They do not have much confidence that they will be able to make it because they are unfathomable with the new technique as compared to the old traditional practices. However, this does not mean that they are not accepting the better practices. So far as the technological achievements are concerned, it must be said that the village has gradually accepted modern means of increasing agricultural production. They welcome new varieties of technique to produce organic vegetables and crops, besides replenishing their income through propagating and raising of better quality domestic animals.

In the context of the hilly rural village, the hilly nature of the terrain is a hindrance to rapid economic development because of the difficulties in construction of lines of communication and introduction of settled agriculture, which are the prime factors for economic growth. These remarks, however, are not valid in the case of valley inhabitant community.¹⁰⁵ The field survey also confirmed that 94 percent of the respondents participate in ‘road construction’ or road repairing work as their primary activities of land development of the village. The reason to why they give more importance to roadworks was simple and straightforward. “This is the lifeline of the village”, they said. One of the women respondents said, that “I have produced surpluses of

¹⁰⁵ Majumdar, D.N., (1989) *Problems of Development in the Tribal Areas of Northeast India*. Rural Development in North-East India, Edited by P.D Saikia and U Phukan. B.R. Publishing Corporation, Delhi, pp-121.

organic pumpkins, but they are all going to get spoiled within few months. They are too heavy to carry by myself without a vehicle, but the road is too bad that no one will come to carry these cheap pumpkins.” For any activities, be it, economic, social, or political, they begin with good road connection. The villagers believe, only the connectivity of good road that can be pliable at all weather can uplift them in many ways. One exaggerates that, “there is nothing we can’t do, and except to dig the pliable vehicle road in this hilly terrain.” Therefore, pliable road construction becomes their basic needs, and this should be at the priority of rural development policy.

The responsibility of the government and its people may be put it in this way at the simplest. The villagers are those at the grass-roots, the rural inhabitant, and whose whole idea of rural development should focus be upon. Good or bad, they are the receiver of any rural development programmes implemented from the central level. The priority of any development policy is meant to be on them. The whole idea of rural development should be of the villagers, by the villagers and for the villagers. The intellectuals and the government agencies should play the role of the responsible institution to support and guide to its people to grow well. As a responsible body, the institution should be able to identify the uniqueness and potentiality of its citizens and treat them accordingly without raising any biases to whichever region, colour, culture or creed one may be living. There should be a certain level of decency and transparency between the two. A government should recognise and understand the problems and need of its people, while the people on the other hand too should be able to appreciate if anything good has done responsibly for them. This practice must continue until as the people have grown enough and can stand sustainably at their own disposal. If necessary, provision of more than a basic necessity should also be attempted. Rural development, therefore, is not a coded machine whose work remains the same and applies the same to every region and expected its output to be delivered monotonously productive from every corner.

Understanding the villager's socio-economic pattern and position and treat accordingly would be a plausible gesture. In a common ‘semi-primitive’ socio-economic structure of the hill villages, the uniform approach of development to that of the rural peasantry of the plain areas would definitely be unviable. However, this would not mean to create the feeling of differentiation between the tribal and non-tribal or hill and valley and left the space for unwelcomed prejudices.

In that sense, they deserve to be treated at par with any other village whether inhabited by tribe, scheduled caste, other backward class or community. We often hear the terms as ‘tribal development’, ‘tribal aspirations’, ‘tribal economy’ and so on.¹⁰⁶ These terms imply the notion that the communities denoted by the terms ‘tribe’ need particular strategies for development, and that they have certain aspirations which are different or peculiar. Such peculiarity does not create a better space in practical; instead, it does diminish their values by portraying them as backward, uncivilised and economically weak. It does create a space for their urban counterparts for unnecessary prejudice and profiling with such a portrayal, instead of loving the beauty of their nature and appreciate for protecting and preserving traditional values. I submit that at the broader picture there should be no special category of tribal villages to be treated separately and differentially. But at the micro level, appropriate authoritative guidelines should be made to identify the condition of the village and formulate the suitable policy at the block or district level. The field survey report has suggested that there is less viability in the function of RDP. There is an old saying that “simplicity is the characteristic of truth.” We may have a sky-rocketing plan and aim for development, but maintaining its ground reality and the minimum cost of basic human needs must be assumed with viability.

Limitations and suggestions for further work

Lack of prior research studies and literature on the region and community: Despite availability of ample size of research work on the topic “Rural Development” in the Northeast region in general, when it comes to a particular community, especially of Zeme community, prior studies on their political-socio-economic and living condition is not really available. There are also limited sources that explain the nature of the semi-primitive mode of production in the region. Due to this limitation, there are certain gaps encountered in the literature review. However, the methodology entertained here is neither completely exploratory nor explanatory; it is a mixture of both. It relies on the existing rural development literature as well as political-economic literature for explaining the theoretical front, whereas understanding the socio-economic activities and their living conditions are more or less explorative.

¹⁰⁶ Majumdar, D.N., (1989) *Problems of Development in the Tribal Areas of Northeast India*. Rural Development in North-East India, Edited by P.D Saikia and U Phukan. B.R. Publishing Corporation, Delhi, pp-120.

In future studies, more of specific studies could be helpful using robust methodology. This paper was not able to address the question of “How capitalistic development approach work in a progressive semi-primitive mode of production or a semi-primitive socio-economic lifestyle?”

Lack of women’s respondents in the data collection: The number of women in the data did not reach up to the mark. Therefore, the voice of the women on rural development issues may not be able to assure through this studies. However, the problem was, during the visits to the household, women often preferred to let their husband take the interview (or at some point in time they consider their husbands always knows better). In many cases, women would be busy doing their household chores like cooking, taking care of animals like pig, chicken etc., and they prefer not to get interrupted. Men, on the other hand, are more likely to take out their time for this kind of one-time interview and most of them obliged to take it like a responsible person in the family to discuss and take care of this kind of serious matters.

However, this limitation could be of one way to lead to another dimension of studying rural development as well as to understand the other side of the villagers’ lifestyle from women’s perspective. In other words, this should lead to understanding women’s perspective on rural development or rural development could begin from within the household.

Self-reported Data: This study is mainly based on the self-reported data which was collected by conducting a qualitative research study interview of face to face with each respondent. Therefore, unanticipated biases could be possible as the interviewees are demanded to depend on their -memory (which could be a selective memory), knowledge (which may fall out of its accuracy), or experiences (which may contain possible exaggerations) and so on. Despite anticipating its best to escape from any biases, it is possible that these kinds of untoward outcomes may occur, which are beyond the limit of control.

Nevertheless, looking at the bright side, this work lit up, to some extent, the obscured dusk and the inscrutableness of the villager’s living condition and the difficulty in understanding of rural

development at a contextual perspective. By and large, the effectiveness of rural development lies on the understanding of the villager's actual needs and requirement based on their living conditions. The contextuality and the viability to the beneficiaries should be a major focus in the policy formulation, rather than emphasising on skyrocketing plans that may hamper the interest of the local inhabitants. The existence of ecological limits should also be vigilantly cared for from the point of its growth and sustainability.

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Appendix I

Semi-Structured Interview Questions for Villagers

Introduction:

I am a research student from Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. I am carrying out a research project on various aspects of rural development in this area. My objective is to study the problems and prospects of rural development in this area. This project will try to raise the issues relating to the interest of your village as well as yourself. More specifically, **I am studying the problems of rural development policies and schemes implemented in this area.** Accordingly, **my study is concerned with, first, identification of the obstacles in implementing development programmes at the grassroot level and , second, formulation of eradicated measures of those obstacles and look for alternative option for sustainable village.** So, I can say that the findings of this research will be directly or indirectly beneficial for you through some specific policy recommendations for rural development strategy in this area/district. I am here to talk to you about development or rural development of your village, development condition/status and some aspects of your own household and daily activities, your agricultural farm, or non-farm activities (if any) in particular. You know that I am a student and not from government office or NGOs, so please don't worry about the questions. You can trust me and freely have conversation. I promise that, I will not use this data for anything except for my academic research purpose. I have around 50 simple questions that you can easily answer based on your own experience or knowledge. I invite you to be straight forward and share wholeheartedly.

General Questions:

Name:

Age : Upto 25 ① 26-50 ② 51 & above ③

Gender : Male ① Female ②

Village:

Number of family members:

Type of house construction:

Education levels of the respondents:

Illiterate ① Primary ② HighSchool ③ Intermediate ④ Graduate & Above ⑤

Profession of Respondents

Shifting Cultivators (SC) ① Terrace Cultivators (TC) ② Both SC & TC ③
Business ④

Govt Employees ⑤ Pvt Employees ⑥ Others ⑦, please specify...

1. We have seen so many people have left agricultural work for other profession while still many people continue to stick to what they do. Do you think farming is the best option in the village to sustain our livelihood? Or do you have any better option that you think you could do but difficult to make a shift? Or have you ever thought of taking up new occupation? YES/NO Reason if any.....
.....

2. What are the main source of income?
Selling Veg/crops① Rearing Chicken/pig/cow/bafaloe② laboring for wages③
Carpentry/construction work④ hunting wild animal⑤ Others⑥ please specify.....
.....

3. Does any of your family member go for hunting, trapping and fishing?
Yes① No②

4. Do you go for collecting forest minors? And how often if you go?
Yes① No②

5. How often do you visit town?
Most frequently (3-4 times in a month) ① Frequently (once in a month) ②
Occasionally (Once or twice in a year) ③ Never ④.....

What is the main purpose of your visits?

Selling crops or business related ① Children's education ② Shopping or purchasing goods ③

Visiting relatives ④ Others, please specify.. ⑤ None ⑥ Can't say ⑦

6. Monthly Household Expenditure: some spend more, some spend less, some don't have to spend because they get from their own produces. What would be yours?

Below 1000 ① Below 3000 ② Below 5000 ③ 5000 & above ④ None ⑤ Can't say ⑥

7. Where do you spend money the most?

Children's Education ① Food items ② Agriculture ③ Purchasing goods for household ④

Others, please specify.. ⑤ Can't say ⑥

8. Average Monthly household Income: we all know that everyone's income is not same and cannot be same because each individual make money through various ways. What would be yours?

Below 1000 ① Below 3000 ② Below 5000 ③ 5000 & above ④ None ⑤ Can't say ⑥

9. How do you get water for household use?

Direct connection in the house ① Fetch from Public Water-tank ② Other ways ③ please specify.....,

10. Firewood must be using as the main fuel for cooking with open fire system, how and who collect them...

11. Do you know that woodstove can also be used as an alternatives to save firewood, save from inhaling smoke, save time etc in place of open fire system?

Yes ① No ② Would you like to try...

12. What is the major problem of household?

Joblessness ① insufficient food ② bad water supply ③ health issues ④ dispute within family ⑤ others ⑥ please specify.....

13. Who is the first person you contact with when you or your family member fall sick?

Local Kobiras ① Church Leaders ② Look for medicines wherever available ③ others ④ please specify.....

14. What is the reason of getting into indebtedness (if there is)?

Taking credit for hiring agricultural labourer ① Children's Education ② House Construction ③ Lose in business ④ failure of crops ⑤ health problem ⑥ others ⑦ please specify.....

Land Development and Agricultural related

15. What are the land development activities the villagers usually do?
Road construction① Tree plantation② Irrigation work③ Constructing well④ utilizing barren land for something productive⑤ others⑥ please specify.....
Have you participate in any land development activities?
Yes① No ② Can't say③ if yes, which do you participate the most and why?.....
16. Do you have any assured irrigation for cultivation? (to ask those who have paddy/terrace field)
Yes① No ② Can't say③ if no, are you planning but could'nt do yourself or has no option at all?.....
17. Do you think there are sources of water available for proper irrigation if government gives assistance?
Yes① No ② Can't say③ If yes, what will be the best possible way to make that happen?.....
.....If no, do you know other alternative option to achieve good cultivation which you alone is difficult to do?.....
18. What are the usual reasons for the failure of crops?
Failure of Monsoon ① Irrigation problems ② Lack of capital ③ Natural hazards ④
Others, please specify.. ⑤ Can't say ⑥
.....
19. What are the cash crops that yield more production and are profitable? Please name at least two.....
20. Name those cash crops which are not so productive or profitable. Please name at least two.....
21. Are the government giving assistance for producing such profitable crops?
Yes① No ② Don't know③

22. Are you able to produce any crops surpluses for selling apart from your own consumption?

Yes① No ② Can't say③ if yes, can you sell able to sell them in the market without any problem?.....

23. Do you have any problem with the pricing system in the market?

Yes① No ② Can't say③ If yes, do you think government or outside professional agencies should involve in fixing this problem?.....

24. Are the village industry reliable to make a living (without depending on agriculture?) Can they generate employment in the village? Yes① No ② Don't know③

.....

On Development programmes (Problems)

25. Are you aware that the Central Government has implemented Poverty alleviation programme or Integrated Rural Development programme very long ago?

Yes① No ② Don't know③

26. What is the thing through such programme that benefited you the most?

Financial assistance ① Skill Development training ② Agricultural related benefits ③

House Constructions ④ Food supply ⑤ Others, please specify.. ⑥ None ⑦.....

27. In your opinion, does the functioning of the rural development programmes viable enough to suit the need of the villagers? (iv)

Yes① No ② Can't say③

28. What should be the main objective or priority for rural development programme in the village according to you and why?.....

29. Do you think the government agencies are making efforts for the up-liftment of the poor people by using and utilizing those schemes? (iv)

Yes① No ② Can't say③

30. You have the awareness about the development benefits. How would you rate the level of the benefits you received?

High ① Medium ② Low ③ None ④ Can't say ⑤

31. Overall, what are the main obstacles that this village has to receive development? (iv)
Remoteness of the village① Corruption② Bureaucratic delays③ Lack of guidance from officials④ Ignorant nature of leaders or weak local governance⑤ others⑥ please specify.....

32. Psychological Need Satisfaction Test frame

- | |
|--|
| <p>6. Satisfaction</p> <p>c) I am content and satisfied with the rural development works happening or happened in my village.</p> <p>d) No works have satisfied me so far.</p> <p>7. Relatedness</p> <p>c) I consider government officials or agencies to be emotionally supportive and felt the sense of connectedness.</p> <p>d) I feel like they are just officers who do not have much concern but merely manipulative and gaining status.</p> <p>8. Motivation</p> <p>b) I feel motivated to welcome and continue any developmental works in my village.</p> <p>b) I do not feel motivated to continue, but instead feel content to stay with what I have and remain happy.</p> <p>9. Competence</p> <p>c) I feel that my village is capable of making a useful resource contribution to the society or a nation.</p> <p>d) I feel my village doesn't have much to contribute, we are instead too needy.</p> <p>10. Autonomy</p> <p>c) I feel free to participate in any decision-making process for the development of the village.</p> <p>d) I felt I was not given much of a feeling of freedom in decision-making process for the development of the village.</p> |
|--|

On village Development

33. What will be your best contribution as a resident of this village?

Financial support① Physically being available② Maintaining cleanliness in surrounding③ Plant beautiful trees④ help the needy and make them happy⑤ others⑥ please specify.....

34. If the village authority/council issue an order or one time in a month for cleanliness drive or any work that is related to village development or betterment, do you think our villagers can come together unitedly?

Yes① No ② Can't say③ if no, why would that happen?.....

35. What would you do if you were given a large amount of money, say Rs. 50 Lakhs?

Start Business ① Buy goods for your household and agricultural work ②

Save in bank and enjoy interest ③ Donate ④ Others⑤ please specify...
.....

Appendix II



Condition of road towards Magulong



Cutting down of jungle for *jhum* Cultivation



Jhum field after the Harvest at the border of Magulong and Nzauna



Terrace Field alongside the *jhum* land at the border of Magulong and Nzauna



Selling of Christmas Offerings that came in collection of crops after service at Church compound, Magulong



Bonfire during social gathering and merry-making, Magulong



Mithuns loitering at the roadside of Village, Nzauna



Traditional Rice barn and a woman carrying firewood at her back in her cane basket, Magulong.



**Water well made of wooden log,
Magulong**



**Cleaning public water
well by Local students'
Union on Social work day**



Village Panchayat Hall at Nzauna



Village Council Office at Magulong



Traditional Thatched Roof with Bamboo wall house at Nzauna



Traditional Thatched roof with Mud wall house at Magulong



Tin roof with Tin wall house at Magulong



Tin roof with wooden cum brick wall house at Nzauna

