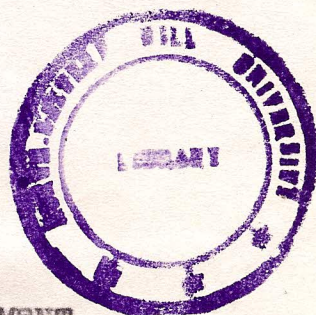


COMMERCIAL EXPLOITATION OF  
FOREST AND MINERAL

RESOURCES IN TWO JAINTIA  
VILLAGES AND ITS IMPACT  
ON SOCIAL AND CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS



DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PART FULFILMENT  
OF THE REQUIREMENT OF M. PHIL DEGREE IN  
ANTHROPOLOGY

BY

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1986

C E R T I F I C A T E

This is to certify that the thesis entitled "Commercial Exploitation of Forest and Mineral Resources in Two Jaintia Villages and Its Impact on Socio-Cultural Institutions" submitted by Sri Henry Lamin for award of the Master of Philosophy in Anthropology (Social) is based on the fieldwork conducted by him under my supervision. The thesis, or any part thereof, has not been previously submitted for any other degree.

SHILLONG.

September, 1986

  
(Dr. K.H. Ehat).

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation entitled "Commercial Exploitation of Forest and Mineral Resources in Two Jaintia Villages and Its Impact on Socio-Cultural Institutions" submitted by me to the Department of Anthropology, NEHU, is of my own and it is not submitted for degree to any other University or published at any before.

*Lamin*  
15/9/86

(Henry Lamin)

Shillong  
September, 1986.

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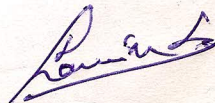
I wish to express my deep sense of gratitude to my teacher and guide, Dr. K.H. Bhat, who suggested this topic of study for my M. Phil Dissertation. He has not only been my mentor and guide but has been a constant source of inspiration in every aspect of my life. He has taken great pains in discussing, criticising and clarifying my entire thinking and working process in a systematic manner. I lack appropriate words to express my indebtedness and sense of gratitude to him.

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I shall be failing in my duty if I do not mention all those respondents and informants who have in one way or other contributed towards the completion of my humble endeavour.

Any inaccuracy and poor presentation in this dissertation are completely my own responsibility. I finally thank all concerned people especially my parents and wife for their cooperation and services.



(HENRY LAMIN)

SHILLONG

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## CHAPTER - I

### SCOPE OF THE STUDY

In this chapter I shall be discussing (A) Theoretical Background, (B) Review of Literature, and (C) Formulation of the problem of study and methodology.

#### A. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

There are only a few social anthropologists, who write about 'primitive economy', who are professionally trained in the discipline of economics. Professional economists have chiefly studied the complicated economic institutions of western societies, with their complex monetary systems and their wide range organization of production and distribution. They generally ask questions like:

1. How people extract the natural resources?
2. What is done with the goods after they are produced?
3. How the economic entrepreneurs operate in the society?
4. What are the aims of commercialization?
5. What is the expected outcome of commercialization?
6. What do the people gain?
7. What forms of exploitation that grows?
8. Is there any organization involved in the process?
9. How the system continues?
10. How is the decision making process takes place in the community, family and individual?

The most essential requirement for any human community is to feed itself and in some of the very simple societies this is everybody's main pre-occupation from childhood to death. It is a truism that everything we eat, whether animal, vegetable or mineral, comes either directly or indirectly from the earth. But this is much less obvious to the modern man who lives in a world of processed foods and super markets, than it is to a member of peasant community, living at or near a bare subsistence level. As well as food, the environment has also to produce shelter, clothing and essential tools (Beattie, 1964: 184).

Occupation is the means through which a person earns his livelihood, it is an activity and through this activity, the person gets something. For example, the fruit seller gets money by selling fruits.

As all our interactions with other individuals is relevant, in particular cultural matrix of which we form a part, so also the nature and variety of occupation is totally determined by the culture. The main occupation of 'primitives' is hunting and gathering. Their material culture is so undeveloped that they know nothing about farming. The lack of a variety of occupations in a low cultural level implies lack of specialization. Specialization starts at a higher level of culture

when some sort of a division of labour comes into existence. Division of labour in the society causes specialization of skills and such skills are acquired by particular individuals or groups of individuals. The diversification and the stratification of occupation comes along with some other peculiarities like religious sanction, endogamy, untouchability. According to Marx, this type of division of labour resulted in the formation of two classes, one having power over the other. In the present world we usually identify three classes viz., upper, middle, and lower, and it is impossible to find out a rational nexus between the occupations and the classes because the rating of an individual into one of the three classes is not based on any rational ground; so also, the rating of an occupation in the hierarchical scales is not based on any rational consideration. However, many scholars have tried to devise an occupational scale for particular societies (North and Hatt, 1961). These scales are based on some particular aspects of the occupation, like income, education, training etc. or on the combination of more than one such aspect. But the rating of an occupation mainly depends upon public opinion. And it is very difficult to judge on what the public opinion about an occupation is based. Moreover, the status of an occupation may also change from time to time.

Miller and Form (1964) have shown the impact of industrialization and modernization of economy on the occupational structure. They have noted the following changes:

- (i) With industrialization and modernization of economy occupations become more and more specialized and hence require long period of training, resulting in delay in entering the labour market.
- (ii) Modernization of economy involves universalistic norms in hiring practices and so more women enter the labour market at all its levels.
- (iii) Due to the demand of labour in the area, many outsiders come into the area. Some work temporarily, and some settle permanently.
- (iv) At the early stage of industrialization workers in manufacturing and new services increase. But this takes a different shape with the growth of industrialization. When industrialization comes to its full form the requirement of occupations, connected with transport, communication, trade, finance and government goes on increasing.

The size of an occupational group is also a thing of great importance, because it indicates the trend of the society towards that particular occupation. An occupation which may be

held in high esteem by the society will not certainly attract many persons if the reward from it is meagre. At the same time, an occupation in which the reward is high but not held in high esteem will not attract many people towards it. However, usually occupations which are held in high esteem are highly rewarded. Form (1965) formulates that changes in the size of an occupation group depends upon the market demand. On the other hand, the dependence and the financial rewards affect how it is evaluated by the society.

Intra-generational mobility was studied by Miller and Form (1964). Their study of individual mobility has shown that most of the occupational mobility takes place within the first ten years of work life. They have also found that proprietors and managers move rapidly and in an orderly way while skilled manual workers and clerical workers change jobs in the first part of life. It is also interesting to note that according to their finding workers in domestic and personal service and semi-skilled and unskilled workers change jobs throughout their work life. Miller and Forms' findings may be true for the areas they studied and may not be true for other areas or in other societies where occupations are graded differently and rewarded differently.

Economic theory and market economy:

In the 19th century Britain, factory industrialism and market organization compelled people to sell their labour, land, and material resources to market for livelihood. Finance, transportation, market place, purchase and sale at money price are all linked to each other. This is called market mechanism or market principle in which all components of the economy are mutually dependent.

According to economists, market is a self regulating system. The price change induces the sellers and the buyers to economize. When market organization is economy-wide it creates market society. Social organization has to adapt to market needs e.g. movement of labourers for high wages.

The market economy is highly decentralized. The individual fixes the buying and selling and reinforces the atomistic view of society and self-interest of individuals. Anthropologists ask the question: Why the economic theory derived from such a specialized institutional matrix should be relevant to all economics including primitive? Economists and some anthropologists like Le Clair argue that since the analysis is structured in the physical universe, ~~so~~, it is universally applicable. Moreover, the economists use the economic approach to focus on economy as separate from society and independent of the other social institutions. Economic motivation induces the

labour to work for fear of hunger. Another assumption of natural scarcity is that because of man's unlimited wants, which is relevant only to some societies, market economy is regarded as universal fact. Economists believe that man has unlimited wants, but the material means are limited, maximum material acquisition therefore requires economizing calculation. If such things happen, it is a socially determined result in a materialistic society.

Preference for materials at the cost of social goals might be in conflict. If we see that the importance given to material acquisition is determined by social institutions, then the scarcity of means also depends on social circumstances, not physical circumstance. This is the argument of some economic anthropologists.

#### Two meanings of economic:

There are two meanings for the term economic according to Karl Polanyi, viz., substantive and formal. In substantive sense, provision of material goods for satisfying biological and social wants is general in its applicability. In any economic system natural resources are exploited with some techniques, goods are distributed among all people and there is an institutional structure for repetitive attainment of these aims. Participants in the system are mutually dependent for technique, labour and natural resources. Rules integrate all activities in the system.

Formalists say that an economic system has a special set of rules designed to maximize some ends or minimise the expenditure of some means. There are four aspects of this meaning:

(i) It has no necessary connection with substantive meaning of economic. (ii) Economizing calculation need not be universal in substantive sense. (iii) Economizing calculation is not confined to the creation, distribution or use of material goods, and (iv) It can be found in any human activity. Price and distribution theory is an application of economizing calculation to a special set of conditions and organizational practices for the provision of material goods.

The fruitful application of the economic theory derived from the formal meaning of economic depends on the existence of a substantive, real world economy so organized that at least some of the special postulates of the analysis are institutionally fulfilled.

Western market industrialism and primitive economy:

Both meanings of economic are relevant to market organised industrial economy. Material goods are acquired in market structure. That every society must have substantive economic organization to provide material means of existence does not

mean that each must have market exchange institutions for analysing which formal economic theory was designed. Market integrated economy is historically and anthropologically rare.

Polanyi and his associates have shown that there exist at least two non-market principles of integrative economic organization for the analysis of which conventional economic theory is inappropriate. They said that economy-wide market mechanism, its materially self-gainful economizing calculation and its monetized internal and external trade do not exist as integrative pattern in primitive economies.

In primitive societies, production and distribution involves little of profit motive; labour is not available for sale; and distribution is set in a non-economic matrix in the form of gift or ceremonial exchange. The different types of right in holding land affect its use. The kinds of choices involved in the assembly of labour force differ. Different sanctions maintain its operation. The magical and other ritual procedures affect the allocation of productive effort. Different kinds of social factors provide the basis for and give meaning to the scheme of distribution of the product of labour. There are local media of exchange with specific mechanism of operation. The incentives, individual and communal, in inter-community trade are also specific in nature.

### Tribal and Peasant Societies:

A tribal society is characterized as isolated in ecology, demography, economy, politics and other social behaviour. Tribal society flourished all over the world before the invention of agriculture i.e. about 10,000 years ago. With the advent of agriculture and food production a new social category emerged in the society. This came to be known as peasant society with the emergence of cities and civilization arising 5,000 years ago. Generally, a peasant society is in contact with a city for ideological, political and economic reasons.

Definition of the term 'peasant' has been the subject of some argument in recent years. It can be held that this is not a critical term, capable of much theoretical handling, but it is a broad descriptive term of an empirical kind, suitable only for demarcating rough boundaries in categorization. From this point of view, 'peasant' refers to a socio-economic category. It describes a socio-economic system of small-scale producers with a relatively simple, non-industrial technology. The system is a rural one, though as Robert Radfield has shown, it depends on a rural-urban antinomy and interrelationship, particularly upon the existence of market. Definition of a system as 'peasant' implies that it has its own particular local character, partly because of intricate

community interrelationships and partly because in economic and social affairs, it both contributes to and draws upon a town in trade, cultural exchange and general ideology. The term peasant is commonly restricted to agricultural producers, even to those who retain effective control of the land and are not tenants. But such distinctions are difficult to maintain when owners and tenants, as in a Malay rice-growing area, are mingled together and may be related by kinship or live in the same village.

In Raymond Firth's opinion it is not necessary to restrict the term 'peasant' only to those people who cultivate the soil as owners. It can usefully include other 'countrymen' also who share the social life and values of the cultivators, so that we can speak not only of peasant agriculturists but also of peasant fishermen, peasant craftsmen and peasant marketers, if they are part of the same social system. In any case, such people are often in fact part-time cultivators as well. If the concept of 'peasant' be viewed as indicating a set of structural or social relationships rather than a technological category of persons engaged in the same employment, then this unconventional inclusive usage seems justified.

#### Definition of some key-terms:

Some of the key-terms used in this thesis are discussed below:

1. Commercialization - Commerce means an exchange of merchandise especially on large scale (Oxford Dictionary). Production of goods and services may be for self consumption (subsistence economy) or primarily for sale (commercial/market economy). By commercial exploitation, I mean, large scale utilization of natural and human resources for sale. People produce more goods than what is required for consumption. Money plays an important role in this economy as a medium of exchange, a unit of value and a means of accumulating capital. Market also plays an important role in this economy because almost all transactions between buyer and seller take place through the market institution.

2. Market - Originally, market was understood as a public place in a town where provisions and other objects were exposed for sale. When we generalise it means any group of persons who are in intimate business relations and carry extensive transactions in any commodity. A great city may contain as many markets as there are important branches of trade and these markets may or may not be located in specific places. The idea of locality is not necessary. The traders may be spread over a whole town, or region, or a country and yet form a market, if they are, by means of fairs, meetings, published price lists, the post office or otherwise, in close communication with each other (Marshall, 1936: 134-35). A

market has certain essential components like commodity, buyers and sellers, a place, intercourse between buyer and seller, and one price for the same commodity at the same time. Markets are also variously classified on the basis of area, time and the nature of competition (perfect and imperfect). The size of the market depends on various factors. In order to have a wide market a commodity should be portable, durable, suitable for sampling and grading etc. A commodity of general consumption (fuels, foods, clothings etc) is bound to have a wide market.

3. Factors of production - The important factors of production are land, labour (including organization) and capital. Land and labour are original or primary factors. Capital is the outcome of the combined efforts of land and labour. Organization is only a form of labour. The entrepreneur also plays an important role in production.

#### Land:

The term land has given a special meaning in Economics. It does not mean soil as in the ordinary speech; but it is used in a much wider sense. In the words of Marshall, land means 'the materials and the forces which nature gives purely for man's aid, in land and water, in air and light and heat. Land stands for all natural resources which yield an income or

which have exchange value. It represents those natural resources which are useful and scarce, actually or potentially' (Marshall: 1936 - 138).

In every stage of economic evolution, nature has been man's most useful ally. In the hunting and fishing stage, nature supplied food freely and sustained human life. In the pastoral stage, the land surface and the pastures and meadows, herds of cattle and sheep could have been reared and kept. In the agriculture stage man grew his crop in the soil. Even when the agriculture gave place to the handicraft and industrial stage land is still essential. Every commodity that we can use can directly or indirectly be traced ultimately to land. Our very existence would be impossible without it. Marshall's word earth's surface is a primary condition of anything that a man can do, it gives him room for his actions. Land marked certain peculiarities: Land is Nature's gift, is fixed in quantity, is permanent and lacks mobility.

### Labour:

In our ordinary understanding 'labour' means an unskilled person. But in Economics it is used in a wider sense. Any work whether manual or mental which is undertaken for a monetary consideration is called labour. Any work done for the sake of pleasure or love does not fall under labour.



Marshall's words 'Any exertion of mind or body undergo partly or wholly with a view to some good other than the pleasure derived directly from the work is called labour' (Marshall, 1936: 65). So labour, include the very highest professional skills of all kinds, as well as the labour of unskilled labour.

Labour is manifestly different from the other factor of production. It is a living thing, and that makes all differences. Labour is not only means of production but also ends of production. There are certain characteristics: Labour is inseparable from the labourer himself, the commodity that labour has to sell must be delivered in person, labour does not last, labour has a very weak bargaining power, the changes in the price of labour react rather curiously on its supply and there can be no rapid adjustment of the supply of labour to demand.

#### Capital:

In ordinary language capital is used in the sense of money. But when we talk of capital as factor of production, the economist regard capital as that part man's wealth, other than land, which yields an income. The money which is a form of wealth and which yields income when it is lent out cannot be called capital. With money, we can buy machinery and raw materials which then serve as factor of production. Securities,

bonds, stocks and goods possessed by a man yield income to him but they cannot be called capital because they represent only titles of ownership, rather than factors of production. Capital is defined as 'produced means of production'. Capital consists of those physical goods which are produced for use in future production, machines, tools and instruments, factories, canals, transport equipment, stock of material are some of the example of capital. All of them are produced by man to help him in the production of further goods.

Capital may be classified into fixed capital and working capital. Fixed capital are the goods which are used in production again and again till they wear out e.g. machinery, tools, railways. Working capital are the single use producer goods like raw materials, goods in process and fuel. They are used up to a single act of consumption. Moreover, money spent on them is fully recovered when goods made with them are sold in the market.

#### Enterprise:

In the earlier stage of economic evolution, the independent worker owned his own land or shop, supplied his own capital, worked with his own tools, planned the operations himself and stood by the result of venture. He was, in short, the landlord, the labourer, the capitalist and the entrepreneur

all rolled in one. But considering the complexity and the scale of production today and the nature and magnitude of problems involved in modern production, undertaking of all these responsibilities by one man is out of the question. Hence, the emergence of the entrepreneur. Factors of production are divorced from one another. Land, labour, and capital are all separately owned and lie scattered. The entrepreneur brings them together and harnesses them to the work of production.

The entrepreneur specialises in the work of organization. He may own no land of his own and probably no capital, and he will not be expected to labour in the ordinary sense of the word. He possesses one thing i.e. organising ability. He will be able to take land on rent, borrow capital, hire labour and use each in the right proportion so as to yield the best result. That is how he organises production.

The role that the entrepreneur play consists in coordinating and correlating the other factors of production. He starts the work, organises and supervises it, and faces the issue. He undertakes to remunerate all the factors of production: to pay rent to the landlord, interest on the capital, and wages to labour and pays them in advance of the sale of goods. The residue, if any, is his. Nothing may be left after

he has made the necessary payments. In that case, his venture will have been miscarried. But it is also possible that he may be lucky to make a handsome profit. Whatever may be the outcome, he must be prepared to accept. He thus, takes the final responsibility of the business.

As it appears today all these factors of production are operating in the coalmines of Bapung area. Land where there is mineral resources i.e. coal, labourers who had come from different regions to work in the coal mines. Capital is required to work in the mines, tools and implements are necessary and last and not the least, is the entrepreneur who will take the risk of the whole business. Thus the people could reach to the stage to commercialise coal of the area.

#### B. REVIEW OF LITERATURE:

The tribal areas constitute a very significant part of backward areas of the country. The areas covered by the tribal sub-plan comprise about 15 percent of the total area of the country and 7.63 percent of the total population. In addition the predominantly tribal states cover 3.74 percent of the area and about 0.5 percent of the population of the country. The concentration of tribals however, varies from area to area. Some areas have highly tribal concentration, while in other areas, tribal people form only a small proportion of the total population (N.E.C. 1981: 1).

The Indian constitution envisages a special position for the protection and development of tribal communities. The Fifth Schedule of the constitution gives the Union Government a special responsibility for administration of the scheduled areas. There are provisions for special development programmes as also for providing financial assistance to raise the level of the administration of these areas and their development. The legal framework for administration of these regions has been kept extremely flexible so that a smooth transition could be ensured for them as the nation as a whole marches ahead (N.E.C. 1981: 2).

Meghalaya is a tribal state, situated at the North East region of which 60 percent of the population live a "primitive" life, except the urban areas like Shillong, Jowai and Tura. The study is conducted in Jaintia Hills District of Meghalaya. The literacy of the people is only 28 percent. The people practise shifting and dry cultivation. In the recent years coal mining has become one of the major economic activities of the people in some villages of Jaintia Hills. The coal mining has changed the entire economic activities and the mode of living of the people in certain areas.

An attempt is made in this section to review some of the studies on transformation of tribal communities, with special reference to industrialization. Most of these studies

will not throw much light to the problems in Meghalaya because of certain constitutional status accorded to this region. The socio-economic forces cannot act here in the same way as they act in other parts of India where such restrictions are not found. However, an overview of such studies is necessary to gain insights into the problem of socio-economic transformations of a community.

T. S. Epstein has conducted a pioneering study on the impact of the changing economic opportunities on social institutions and also the effect of different kinds of social institutions in inhibiting or assisting the response to changing opportunities in two South Indian villages. She has collected innumerable statistics on income, expenditure, cost, capital, distributions, and other quantitative expressions. She has also collected data on social institutions, kinship, caste, class, religion and political allegiance. After a gap of about 15 years she revisited the villages and further added both qualitative and quantitative data to support her conclusions (1962, 1973). Another important study on the relationship between economy and social institution is by F.G. Bailey (1957). He has discussed the changes which have been brought about in the structure of a village society in Orissa over a hundred years of British rule. Private rights in land, sale of land in the market, money economy and new economic opportunities like business and trade brought many changes in the traditional social structure of the village.

Several studies have been conducted by anthropologists on the impact of industrialization on tribal communities in Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and West Bengal. It is worthwhile to review some of these studies.

Sachchidananda (1965: 172-179) observed a number of changes in Hazaribagh and Dhanbad coal mine areas. The changes in tribal life are attributed to the intensive mining industry. Some of the changes mentioned by him are as follows:

1. Displacement from hearth and home.
2. Disorganization of village life.
3. Process of detribalization.
4. Introduction of money economy.
5. Shift from egalitarian to class society.
6. Change from communal goals to personal achievement.
7. Growth of criminality.
8. Ineffectiveness of traditional leaders in social control.
9. More anxiety in people leading to alcoholism, petty quarrels etc.
10. Preference for conjugal family.
11. Indebtedness.
12. Change in food habits.
13. Free mixing between tribals and non-tribals including marriage and illegitimate sexual relationship.
14. Contact of new diseases.
15. Changes in language, dress etc., religious ceremonies etc.

L. P. Vidyarthi and B.K. Rai (1977: 462-471) have summarized the findings of several researches conducted in Bihar, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh. These studies also confirm that industrialization of the area brought about many socio-economic changes in tribal life. One important change noted by almost all researchers like L.P. Vidyarthi, Sachchidananda, Rajendra Singh, J. Sarkar, T.R. Sharma, P.K. Das Gupta and J.S. Tandon is that of alienation of tribal land (Ibid). The lands were taken either by the government for setting up industries or purchased by non-tribals, often by paying very low prices.

The tribal people of Meghalaya have one advantage. Since they are protected by special laws under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution, alienation of tribal land to non-tribals is almost impossible.

There is no literature on the impact of industrialization in Meghalaya. Descriptions of the traditional life-styles of the tribal people of Meghalaya are available since the days of British rule. I have utilized several of these reports, books and articles in this thesis which are discussed in different chapters.

### C. FORMULATION OF THE PROBLEM OF STUDY AND METHODOLOGY

As a tribal youth from Jaintia Hills, the area of present discourse, I have been noticing certain socio-economic changes among the people during the last ten years or so. I was curious to know whether the changes were apparent or real. Since I became a student of anthropology this curiosity increased, and so I decided to study the problems of socio-economic change in small region of Jaintia Hills, for my M.Phil. degree.

Coal mining and timber lumbering are the two most important commercial activities of the people. Timber lumbering started much earlier than coal mining. In the traditional economy cultivation of paddy was the most important activity. Since rice was the staple food of the people, much of the product was consumed locally. Left-over paddy was sold in local markets. People had very little money in hand. About twenty years ago, people started exploiting natural resources like timber and about ten years ago they also started exploiting coal in large-scale.

This is primarily an explorative study since no work has been done on these problems by any social scientist. In the present study I have asked a rather simple question: What are the implications of the commercial exploitation and sale of coal and timber with special reference to the socio-cultural institutions of Jaintias (Pnars)? The implications are extensive and rather deep.

I have started the study with the following assumptions:

1. Commercial exploitation of natural resources and monetization of economy influences the society in many respects.
2. Expansion in knowledge and accumulation of wealth lead to further exploitation of the natural resources in the area.
3. Outside people (entrepreneurs and labourers) act as catalysts to some of the social changes.

The specific objectives of the study are:

1. To make a review of the existing literature on coal and timber on the basis secondary material.
2. To make a review of the socio-cultural institutions of the people on the basis of published literature and field work.
3. To investigate the factors (variables) relevant to the present study since no work has been done on the problem so far.
4. To investigate the modus operandi of coal mining and timber lumbering in the specified area.
5. To find out the nature and extent of utilization of natural resources viz., coal and timber.
6. To find out the impact of commercial economy on other economic activities and socio-cultural institutions in general and matrilineal social structure in particular.

The theoretical premises for this study are mainly from functional anthropology. According to this approach:

"The social structure, customs, beliefs, economic life etc. are closely related. When the economic structure changes it would affect changes in other aspects of life. With the change from subsistence to commercial economy, there must be relevant changes in the social structure of the society."

#### Methodology:

The study was conducted in two villages of Jaintia Hills viz., Bapung (Wapung) and Byndihati for a period of about 4 months, from June to September, 1985. Coal mining is an important activity in Bapung. Timber lumbering was an important activity in Byndihati a few years ago. At present, their main economic activity is cultivation of paddy.

In spite of my knowledge of local language and ethnic affiliation I had to face many problems during the field work. The people were very suspicious about my work. Since there was some efforts by the government to nationalise or control coal mining, I was not welcomed by the people. I could not get an independent room for more than a month.

I had prepared a schedule for household census. I visited majority of the houses but could not complete the

schedule in many houses. Therefore, I have not used much of quantitative data in this dissertation. I hope that people will trust me when I visit them again.

My data are largely derived from interviews and observation. I have also collected some case studies.

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