

Annexes

Annex 1

Workshop Programme

Annex 1

1 May	2 May
<p><u>MORNING</u></p> <p>Arrival of participants at the Hotel</p> <p>=====</p> <p>I. <u>OPENING SESSION</u> Moderator: Anis Dani</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o <u>Welcome</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - E.F. Tacke Director, ICIMOD - Christopher J.N. Gibbs Aga-Khan Foundation - Ata Jafar Additional Chief Secretary Govt. of Baluchistan o <u>Introduction to Workshop</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Deepak Bajracharya, ICIMOD - Anis Dani, AKRSP <p>-----</p> <p>II. <u>CASE STUDIES IN PAKISTANI MOUNTAINS</u> Moderator: Rudolf Hoegger</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Village Management Systems and the Role of the Aga Khan Rural Support Programme in Northern Pakistan. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Tariq Husain o Comments: Shoaib Sultan Khan o Discussion o Organisational Innovations and the Impact on Resource Utilisation in the Pak-German Self-Help Project Area, Baluchistan. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Saifur Rahman Sherani o Comments: Paul Lutz o Discussion o Film: "First Harvest" on AKRSP Experiences 	<p>III. <u>CASE STUDIES IN CHINESE MOUNTAINS</u> Moderator: Christopher J.N. Gibbs</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Contractual Responsibility System and Rural Development in Miyi County, Sichuan, China <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Chen Guojie <i>et al</i> o Management of Resources for Development in Guxu County, Tibet, China. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Zhang Mingtao <i>et al</i> o Comments: Wang Hai o Discussion <p>-----</p> <p>IV. <u>CASE STUDIES IN NEPALESE MOUNTAINS</u> Moderator: Christopher J.N. Gibbs</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o The Management of Forest Resources in Sindhupalchok and Kabhre Palanchok Districts of Nepal <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Robert Fisher <i>et al</i> (Presented by A. Dani) o Women in Kattisunde Forest Management in Dhading District, Nepal <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Shanta Pandey (Presented by J. Denholm) o Comments: M.R. Maharjan o Discussion <p>=====</p> <p>Moderator: Paul Lutz</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Inside the Dhading Development Project <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Ludwig Stiller, S.J. o Comments: Dwarika Dhungel o Discussion <p>-----</p> <p>V. <u>PERSPECTIVES FROM BANGLADESH AND BHUTAN</u> Moderator: Paul Lutz</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Development and Buddhism in Bhutan <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Barun Gurung o Role of Institutions in the Management of Forest Resources: Perspectives from the Hilly Regions of Bangladesh <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A.M. Shapan Adnan o Discussion o Group Formation and Preparatory Meetings

Note: ----- Tea/Coffee Break; ===== Lunch Break.

3 May	4 May
<p>VI. <u>OVERVIEW</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Main Issues Based on Case Study Presentations <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Deepak Bajracharya - Anis Dani o Comments: Learning a Lesson from the Ban-Manchhe <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Rudolf Hoegger <p>VII. <u>GROUP DISCUSSIONS</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Organizational Structure for Local Development <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Moderator: Javed Majid 2. Local Level Organizations and User's Perspectives <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Moderator: Ludwig Stiller <p>=====</p>	<p><u>FIELD TRIPS</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. PAK-GERMAN SELF-HELP PROJECT AREA, BALUCHISTAN 2. AGA KHAN RURAL SUPPORT PROGRAMME, GILGIT
<p>VIII. <u>CONCLUDING SESSION</u> Moderator: Christoph Feyen</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o <u>Group Reports</u> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Ludwig Stiller 2. Javed Majid o Discussion o <u>Concluding Remarks</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Shoaib Sultan Khan, General Manager, AKRSP - Director, Local Government Dept. Baluchistan - E.F. Tacke, Director, ICIMOD 	

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Annex 3

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| 2. Organizational Innovations and the Impact on Resource Utilization in the Pak-German Self-Help Project Area | Saifur Rahman Sherani et al. |
| 3. The Contractual Responsibility System and Rural Development in Miyi County | Chen Guojie et al. |
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Annex 4

Summaries of Papers

VILLAGE MANAGEMENT SYSTEMS AND THE ROLE OF THE AGA KHAN RURAL SUPPORT PROGRAMME IN NORTHERN PAKISTAN

Tariq Hussain

with

Abdullah Jan and Fawad Mahmood

The overall objective of the study was to explore the common concerns related to the design and implementation of rural development programmes in mountain areas of Northern Pakistan where the Aga Khan Rural Support Programme (AKRSP) has been in operation since 1982. Case studies were conducted, on nine villages in the Gilgit district of Northern Pakistan, to elucidate the changes introduced through new development initiatives (e.g., the opening of the Karakoram Highway in 1978 and the initiation of the AKRSP in 1982) and the responses to these changes by the communities of the region.

The AKRSP Project Area is rugged and hilly with steep heavily dissected slopes. The landscape is highly irregular due to erosion and landslides. Water courses run along the slope faces and valley bottoms. The region lies outside the influence of the monsoons and has an annual rainfall of 100-900 mm which is mainly in the form of snow. The climate is the arid continental and mediterranean type. Agriculture is the major economic activity, and it is sustained by irrigation from glacial melt. A wide range of farming systems is practised. Wheat, maize, millet, and buckwheat are the major crops. There is very little commercialization and no specialization. Diverse groups, representing three major Islamic traditions, inhabit the study area. Resource limitations induce able-bodied men, from most households, to migrate in large numbers during the winter, within the region or down country, to work for cash.

A number of changes are taking place in the area. These changes have resulted from improved transportation, the mechanization of farm activities, and the induced pace of rural development.

The AKRSP, a non profit, non-sectarian NGO, started its operation in Gilgit in 1982, with the objective of increasing the capacity of local people to identify and utilise opportunities to solve their own problems. The induced local capacity to plan and implement development programmes was intended to contribute to increased income and employment. The AKRSP is staffed completely by Pakistanis.

The key concept in AKRSP's approach is that of the Village Organization (VO). This is a broad-based coalition of village residents whose common economic interest is best served by forming a multi-purpose development organization. The VO is brought into being as a result of a series of diagnostic dialogues undertaken by AKRSP with the villagers. The first dialogue is initiated by AKRSP. The objectives and methods of AKRSP are explained and villagers are invited to identify a project that could be undertaken and maintained by villagers for their common benefit. If successful, the first dialogue leads to a second dialogue that determines the feasibility of the identified project. The Social Organisation Unit (SOU) of the AKRSP undertakes the technical supervision. The finalized scheme and the terms of partnership between AKRSP and the villages are discussed in the third dialogue. This results in a village level project for the VO. The VO then becomes the executing agency at the village level for a Productive Physical Infrastructure (PPI) Project. AKRSP provides grants for such projects. The VO and the PPI become vehicles for creating a disciplined organization for collective management.

The First Phase (1983-86) activities of AKRSP focussed on the establishment of village level institutions for managing development and the funding of essential local infrastructure. It demonstrated the potentials of community management vis-a-vis financial resources and physical assets (such as irrigation channels, link roads, storage reservoirs, etc.) and contributed to increases in income and employment.

For the Second Phase (1986 onwards), the AKRSP strategy lays emphasis on improving the integrated management of resources at farm, village, and valley watershed levels. This is to be achieved through work on farming systems, integrated livestock-cropping pasture systems, and contributions to valley planning and management. The strategy is expected to lead to improvements in the productivity and sustainability of natural resources and an enhanced capacity among villagers for managing common supra-village resources. These issues are now being addressed by AKRSP's existing programmes in collaboration with relevant government and other international agencies. The need for greater women's involvement in resource development programmes is also being recognised.

The World Bank evaluation of AKRSP's First Phase activities concluded that AKRSP's achievements were attributable to the effectiveness of institution-building efforts at the village level. The primacy of the VO, continued attention to innovation, and the flexibility of AKRSP as a NGO were judged to be critical to the effectiveness of the management principles used in AKRSP. The existence of an administrative and political vacuum at the local level, the tradition of cooperation, and a high proportion of Ismaili villages were other characteristics of the project area that worked to AKRSP's advantage. The major operational implication of AKRSP's approach was that the VO is the missing link between conservation and development and between income generation from a resource and its sustainable use over time. AKRSP, thus, provides a model for the management of change through institutional and technological innovation.

Unlike during the First Phase, issues relating to non-traditional assets and supra-village dimensions of collective management are being addressed in the Second Phase of AKRSP activities. Villagers are responding to the new challenges with reference to traditional patterns of management. The AKRSP experience suggests that common property resources (such as forests) can be sustainably managed if the

administration offers to work with AKRSP and the VOs and if the VOs can devise rules for internalizing the costs and benefits of resource use.

The in-depth case studies of the organizational structures and institutional arrangements for resource management, in the nine villages of the AKRSP Project Area in Gilgit, display a number of common features. For example, membership in the VO is open to all households; one male member represents each household; women participate either through a Women's Organization or by attending VO meetings; VOs are organised by neighbourhoods; and multiple VOs may work in the same village by apportioning the share of work. In the majority of cases, VOs were initially formed to implement a PPI, start group savings, and nominate and support a cadre of village level specialists. Decisions are by consensus and the process of the VO's operation, including finances, is transparent. Technical services are provided by the AKRSP through the Social Organization Unit (SOU) which consists of a Social Organizer, an Engineer, and an Agriculturist. Wages, determined by the VOs, are paid in return for unskilled labour contributions and village level specialists are remunerated for services rendered. A variety of methods are used by VOs to mobilise financial resources. AKRSP provides short-term loans for inputs and marketing and medium-term loans for land development. VOs devise their own rules and discipline and their meetings provide a forum for communication among members.

Although institutional and technological innovations are imperative for effecting rural development at the local level, AKRSP's experience demonstrates that institution building should precede the delivery of technology. Therefore, the models of community management and sustainable production together make up the model for sustainable resource management.

On the basis of AKRSP's experience, a number of operational guidelines for models of community organization and sustainable production become apparent. These are described below.

- o An innovative approach to planning has to combine local knowledge and traditional practice with scientific knowledge and modern practice. The areas of comparative advantage for villagers and outside experts have to be identified. Informal methods of enquiry, structured long-term monitoring, and understanding of regional trends are essential to combine the two sources of knowledge and expertise.
- o Lessons learned from AKRSP in collective management suggest that the VO has the potential to be the manager of natural resources and act as a service contractor. Production units that are not traditionally common property, however, represent a formidable challenge to collective management. Also, the scope for a greater role for women, in management of natural resources that are not traditionally common property, needs to be further explored. Institutional development has no blue-print, it is a learning process.
- o AKRSP experiences have also produced a minimal framework for a sustainable production model. Developing an awareness of environment-specific technological options, analysing markets and their susceptibility to change, identifying "recommendation domains" (groups of areas where a

combination of resource, technology, and market can have broadly similar results), and maintaining the balance between activities with short-term payoffs and those with long-term payoffs are some of the essential elements of a sustainable production model.

- o Innovative practices need to be backed up by a communication strategy. Simple and clear recommendations are most effective. In AKRSP, model farmers, village meetings, dialogues, and village demonstration plots have been regular features of the programme. Audio-visual methods of communication can be quite effective in extension efforts. In the AKRSP area, greater emphasis needs to be placed on communication with village workers.

A small farmer development programme like AKRSP raises a number of questions regarding future directions. AKRSP offers a development package that combines collective management with agricultural production and marketing. The roles of AKRSP and the VOs are, however, limited and cannot respond to the larger environment. AKRSP and the VOs have been both innovative and have adapted to change. Innovation by VOs has been most forthcoming when the VO has been offered an appropriate opportunity by AKRSP. Similarly, AKRSP's innovation in programme development has been most forthcoming when it has perceived villagers taking the lead. The basic lesson that can be derived from the study is the recognition that indigenous organization models do exist and village and project management can be improved by dwelling on participatory dialogues and building the capacity to respond to change.

ORGANIZATIONAL INNOVATIONS AND THE IMPACT ON RESOURCE UTILIZATION IN THE PAK-GERMAN SELF-HELP PROJECT AREA, BALUCHISTAN

Saifur Rahman Sherani, Hafeez Buzdar, and Karim Nawaz

The objective of the study was to analyse the process of rural development in Baluchistan in the context of the Pak-German Self-Help Project. The Project was established in 1983 with GTZ as the implementing agency and the Local Government Department (LGD) as the counterpart. The aim of the project is to improve the socioeconomic conditions of the rural base in selected union councils of Baluchistan by pursuing a strategy of self-help to mobilise resources, organise village level self-help groups, and facilitate popular participation in the development process.

Baluchistan is the largest and the least developed province of Pakistan. Eighty-five per cent of the 4.3 million people (1981) live in villages that are scattered throughout the desert and mountainous areas. Baluchistan manifests a wide variation in topography, soil, and climatic conditions. The cropping pattern is diverse but settled agriculture is limited. About 70 per cent of the rural population are pastoralists and live a semi-nomadic life. Agricultural development in the past few decades has contributed to change in the agrarian structure. Consequently, common property rights have given way to private ownership of land and pastures. Ethnically, the province is heterogeneous comprising of three major groups: the Baluchis, the Brohis, and the Pattans. The social organization is tribal. Tribes inhabit fairly defined geographical territories and, despite the abolition of the legal basis of the system in 1976, it still persists. Sex segregation is common. Women play only a limited role in decision-making concerned with the management of resources. Scarcity of safe drinking water is the major health hazard.

Under the indigenous resource management system, all resources in the area were the common property of the entire tribe. With increased pressure on resources, the development of irrigation, and establishment of revenue records, influential tribal gentry began to impose "enclosure" on common land. Consequently, common rangeland began to disappear. However, the institution of range closure and a common property regime for range management survives in a limited number of areas in Baluchistan. Since livestock raising is a principal economic activity, over-exploitation of commonly owned rangeland has emerged as a major problem.

Indigenous institutions for water management still perform their role in the maintenance of the water courses and in distribution of water according to established water rights.

It was in this setting that the Pak-German Self-Help Project aimed to inculcate the spirit of self-help by supporting self-help groups at the village level. Self-help groups were designated as the Project Committees. The Project Committees identified the felt needs of the villages and, on their behalf, the Development Officer (DO) of the Local Government Department (LGD) submitted applications

for community development schemes for funding to the Pak-German Project. Scheme implementation was the responsibility of the DO of the LGD. The programme was initiated in six union councils in four districts of Baluchistan.

During 1983-1985, known as the Orientation Phase, the Project approved 293 schemes. About 17 per cent of the schemes ran into difficulties. Questions were raised regarding the nature of the schemes and benefits to the community from the schemes. Shortage of field staff for monitoring the activities of the Project Committees was a major problem. In 1985, a GTZ team evaluated the strategy and implementation procedures of the Project. It noted that the Project had failed to organise broad-based self-help groups and had relied more on "local influentials". The project staff was too small to supervise the large number of schemes. Scheme approval procedures were unsatisfactory and the Project lacked a sustainable institutional structure. The evaluation team recommended that broad-based village organizations (VOs) be formed and enabled to establish common savings' funds. For the integration of project activities, the evaluation team recommended the creation of a Self-Help Unit within LGD.

The lessons learned from the Orientation Phase helped in the formulation of a coherent strategy and a well-defined work plan for project implementation. Specific goals and verifiable indicators for the Project were worked out. Three more union councils were brought within the Project. The concept of the VO was introduced to encourage self-help, effect popular participation, and establish the VO as a village institution. The project management base was broadened through participation of the LGD. A Self-Help Unit was created in the Project by the LGD. The Project was implemented with these changes from 1986-1988. This was the First Implementation Phase.

In this phase, the VO concept, successfully used by the AKRSP, was applied. The experience showed that decision-making by consensus was more successful in communities with a majority of tenant-cum-small-landholders. VOs were required to establish and maintain a joint savings' fund and physical infrastructure projects were intended to help the VOs in capital formation. Savings were raised by depositing 25 per cent of wages earned from physical infrastructure projects in the VO savings' account.

In operational terms, the VOs proposed the scheme to the DO. Feasibility of schemes was determined by the field staff of the LGD. A Monitoring and Evaluation Unit reported on the operational status of projects. By the end of 1988, 181 VOs were organised in 179 villages; 127 schemes were approved; and considerable savings were made by the VOs. Most of the schemes involved the creation of physical infrastructure. Some activities for women's development were initiated but these had a very limited scope and were restricted to a few union councils.

The Project entered the Second Implementation Phase by mid-1988. On the basis of lessons learned, organizational changes were introduced. Separate Training, Technical, and Social Development Sections were created. Within the Social Development Section, three social organisers were appointed and each was made responsible for specific VOs in the union councils.

The training of villagers in different fields, particularly in health, was emphasised. Training was also imparted to women in health, nutrition, and traditional skills. Internal lending schemes were initiated through the VOs. The DO was made responsible for regular monitoring and evaluation of VO activities.

However, there were several problems. These included financial irregularities; the problem of communication due to the difficulty in recruiting a polyglot staff; and the difficulties faced in regular field visits.

The Project has demonstrated that learning from experience and adapting to situations as they arise can yield results. More specifically, the Project has contributed to the improvement of the water supply situation in many areas. It has also helped communities to adjust to social and economic changes. Schemes in the livestock sectors have brought about market-oriented changes.

Assistance in the development of human skills through training has created a local pool of trained manpower. Women's programmes have helped integrate women in development activities to some degree. Institution building in the form of VOs has created a base for the sustainable management of local resources. Project-sponsored institutions have still to explore and demonstrate their full potential. VOs, in particular, have been more successful in poor areas where indigenous institutions are strong.

The case studies of the five villages, included in the study, elucidate the problems as well as the prospects for development through projects such as the Pak-German Self-Help Project. The Project attempted to operate through existing government institutions in so far as this was feasible. The integration of the rural development project with a local government institution was intended to strengthen institution building and implementation. Empirical evidence from the project area indicates that sharing responsibilities with the LGD has not been completely successful. Coordination among different agencies remains a major problem.

The study recommends that the project areas should be contiguous. Supervision and monitoring problems are compounded in non-contiguous areas. It was observed that, in relatively prosperous communities, the communities tend to be factional and segmented. The Project might, therefore, want to withdraw from such areas. On the management side, the Project has faced problems as a result of lack of supervision. An autonomous project leader with this responsibility might improve project implementation. Fixed daily wages for labourers, working on physical infrastructure projects, has led to abuses in certain cases. Daily wages should, therefore, be negotiated on an individual basis.

THE CONTRACTUAL RESPONSIBILITY SYSTEM AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN MIYI COUNTY

Chen Guojie, Yu Dafu, Wang Fei, Li Jiguang, Huang Xiyi, and Li Ling

The objective of the study was to examine the organisation and management systems, ownership patterns, and distribution and productivity aspects of the *Contractual Responsibility System* introduced in 1982. The study is based on case studies undertaken in eight villages of Miyi County.

Miyi County is located in the Hengduan Mountain Region. The overall relief consists of alternate gorges and ridges. The climate varies from subtropical to temperate, and average precipitation exceeds 900 mm. Strong insolation and high temperatures give the region a climatic advantage since vegetable production is 1-2 months ahead of the normal season in other parts of the country. The County is an important vegetable producer. About 17 per cent of the land is under agriculture and 47 per cent is under forests. Around 1.7 million people, mainly Han, inhabit the County, and nearly three-fourths of the population live in river valleys. Agriculture is the predominant activity and over 90 per cent of the population live in villages.

Compared to the past 40 years, the value of agricultural output has expanded rapidly. The economy has also been relatively diversified. Significant achievements have been made in the field of capital construction and productive infrastructure such as irrigation, hydroelectric installations, etc.

Development in Miyi County reflects, in microcosm, the development process in China since 1949. Fundamental changes have been made in the ownership pattern. Policy changes affecting ownership have occurred every two years or so since the 1950s, resulting in changes in the organization and management of production. It is only in the last ten years that economic principles based on resources have been introduced. Prior to 1978, political and administrative interferences; lack of concern for regional and ethnic differences; and a bias towards large, collective, albeit egalitarian, distribution had serious consequences on the production and resource (particularly forest) situation.

After the introduction of the *Contractual Responsibility System*, leeway has been provided for individual choices and decisions through a structured planning process. Features of a planned market economy are combined with features of a traditional, self-sufficient economy.

At present, the administrative structure in the county has four tiers. The County Government makes policy decisions. County Bureaux provide the townships and villages with directions concerning the organisation and management of resources. Township Governments organise and guide the villages in undertaking productive activities. At the village level, village leaders organise concrete production activities and sign contracts with households and collective teams. Large and medium projects are the responsibility of the County Government. Townships and

villages draw up their own plans based on directives and local situations. The People's Committee is responsible for village development. Its functions are manifold and include production management as well as welfare.

At present, State, collective, and private ownership patterns coexist in Miyi County. The same household may work under all three patterns. Collective ownership is, however, predominant. State ownership is confined to land, parts of forests, and major infrastructural installations. Private ownership is restricted to small agricultural implements and family plots. Since the introduction of the *Contractual Responsibility System*, collective ownership operates at the village, cooperative, and household levels. A variety of ownership systems coexists within the collective system. Water conservancy, technical services, and welfare remain the main collective activities. Under the *Contractual System*, the County Government signs contracts with the township which in turn signs contracts with the villages, the villages with the cooperatives, and the cooperatives with the households. Land is generally apportioned to each household, but some aspects remain under the control of the union of households. In order to deal with the problem of labour scarcity, a system of exchange among households is practised.

The collective retains the right to deduct a certain percentage of income from each contracting household for redistribution (mainly in the form of benefits). Despite this, the introduction of the *Contractual Responsibility System* has resulted in rising disparities between the rich and poor which did not exist in the past.

Resource utilization in the villages of Miyi County is based on low level traditional agriculture and rarely on post-harvest processing and, as such, is not optimal. Crop-livestock mix, crop livestock-biogas, and "vertical" agriculture, through comprehensive use of light, heat, soil, and fertiliser, are some of the more common resource use patterns.

The irrigation and water system, though owned by State or collective, are managed by contracting households or household groups. Large systems are managed by the State. The County Government is responsible for scientific and technical support. Self-organised Farmers' Societies, consisting of professionals and experienced farmers, are the major source of innovation. Training needs are taken care of by specialized training schools.

Under the *Responsibility System*, a part of household production is used for taxes. A typical family has three income sources: production from family work, payment for collective work according to contract, and bonuses from collective enterprises according to work. Those who work more, therefore, earn more income.

Funds for local development come from the State, Province, and County Governments in the form of operating expenses for production. Loans from State Banks and the collective savings of farmers are other sources. Priority in loans is given to production inputs. Commodity circulation takes place in two forms. There is the "invisible" structure of State monopoly in purchasing and marketing; important agricultural commodities circulate under this system. Traditional free markets coexist where State trading agents, marketing cooperatives, and individuals trade in farm products and hand-made goods.

Since the 1980s, Miyi County Women's Federation has been encouraging rural women to go into commodity production. Training, to upgrade women's skills in agriculture and livestock, has been an essential part of the activities of the Women's Organizations. As a result, changes are taking place in the role and status of women.

Observations regarding women's involvement in selected villages and households show that household work and livestock raising are shared by husbands and wives. While the preparation for production and marketing is the responsibility of men, women are involved in agricultural and livestock activities in or near the house. Because of the enhanced scope for subsidiary production, women's contribution to family income is almost at par with that of men and is rising faster. Expenditure patterns reveal that women spend very little on themselves. The introduction of the *Contractual System* has contributed to a rise in women's income and status as well as their role in decision-making. There has also been an increase in the participation of women in social activities. About ten to fifteen per cent of leadership positions at the township level are filled by women. Although the level of female education in Miyi County has risen, the enrollment of girls decreases with the level of education. The situation is worse in the case of minority nationalities.

Assessment of the *Contractual Responsibility System* in Miyi County shows that the rural economy has improved as a result of changes in production structure. The decentralized structure has contributed to the creation of a sound base for comprehensive use and management of resources. A number of problems are, however, apparent. These result from small-scale production; a widening gap between rich and poor, as well as between and within villages; increases in the surplus labour force; neglect in the maintenance of common irrigation channels; and problems with respect to the environment.

A number of suggestions are made to improve the situation in the future. These include: enhancement of support services and marketing systems, improvement in land and water resources (particularly farm land and irrigation works), protection of the environment, and universal education up to middle school level.

MANAGEMENT OF RESOURCES FOR DEVELOPMENT IN QUXU COUNTY, TIBET, CHINA

Zhang Mingtao, Qi Yachuan, Yo Chengqun, and Li Gaoshe

The objective of the study was to discuss the organization and management of production in Tibetan villages. The paper draws upon the case studies of nine selected villages in Quxu County.

Quxu County is situated in the middle reaches of the Yarlongzangbu River in the Tibetan Autonomous Region. Geographically, the County is a temperate semi-arid mountain plateau characterised by shrubby grassland. The altitude ranges from 2,300 to over 5,000m. A continental monsoon climate prevails with about 133 frost-free days in a year and about 450 mm of annual precipitation. The valley areas are centres of agricultural production and are densely populated. Higher altitudes have natural grassland.

Quxu County is part of the administrative area of Lhasa City. The total rural population is about 25,000 distributed in 166 villages. Ethnic composition is predominantly Tibetan. Agriculture and animal husbandry are the major activities, and there were over 100,000 head of livestock in 1987.

Educational levels are much below those of other regions outside of Tibet. There is little gender discrimination and women fully share in production work. Religious traditions are strong. Commercial exchange is limited.

Most of the cultivated land is along river terraces and valley floors. About three-fourths of the cultivated land can be irrigated and about 90 per cent of the cultivated area is used for grain production; mainly naked barley, winter wheat, and potatoes. The industrial foundation is weak.

The County has a closed, small-scale economic system. Villages with road access have better commercial activities. Quxu Town does not have a market but it has a number of service points. Location, irrigation possibilities, and availability of arable and pastoral land define the production system.

Cooperative groups were introduced during 1960-67 on the basis of village units. Administration by the *Xiang* was introduced with the establishment of the *Contract Responsibility System* in 1983. Altogether there are ten *Xiangs* covering Quxu County.

The villages are managed by the Commission for Village Management (CVM) whose members are selected by the villagers themselves. With the introduction of the *Contract Responsibility System*, agricultural as well as infrastructural facilities have improved. Education is free but children from farming villages have a higher enrollment rate than those from villages where animal husbandry is a major occupation. The *Responsibility System*, however, has increased the family work load and, consequently, children are prevented from attending school. As a result

of socioeconomic development, family size has tended to decline, although the County still has a higher than average rate of population growth.

Village case studies show that three major types of production system - animal husbandry, a mix of animal husbandry and farming, and farming - prevail in the County. Farming, animal husbandry, fishing, and subsidiary production are the main sources of income. Livestock production determines the standard of living.

With the introduction of the *Responsibility System*, the CVM no longer has the right to manage land or production. Property is allocated to each family according to the number of members. A number of resources are managed collectively, and collective property is managed by the CVM and supervised by the local administration. Family or private property consists of draught animals, tools, and livestock; in addition families own arable and pasture land. There are only a few differences in terms of management and technological inputs among villages.

Only a few natural forest areas remain. A *lingka* (small areas of forest for timber and other village uses) is maintained by every village. Under the *Responsibility System*, *lingka* resources are distributed according to family size but are managed and protected collectively by the CVM.

The *Responsibility System* has made families the key decision-makers in production activities. This stimulated the initiative of farmers and pastoralists to increase production. Land, irrigation facilities, and public constructions are still owned by the collective.

A number of issues have emerged after the introduction of the *Responsibility System*. Farmers ceased to grow high yielding winter wheat, for example. The Government had to intervene to restore wheat cultivation and farmers' decisions had to be guided by the Government. The *Responsibility System* has also led to the neglect of irrigation facilities because of the lack of coordination and cooperation between the villages and *Xiangs*. Because of the small size of holdings, the use of machinery has declined. There has also been a marked decline in specialization. Also, the tax-reduction policy of the Government resulted in a drop in County revenue. This has weakened the linkages between farmers/pastoralists and the Government. The operation of market forces also led to a rise in the market price of grain at times of shortage. Consequently, the Government forbade the sale of grain in the open market. This has adversely affected grain production.

In conclusion, a number of recommendations has been made for the development of Quxu County. Expansion of irrigated areas and renovation of canals are priority areas for increasing production. The *Responsibility System* needs to be supported by collective work in maintaining the infrastructure essential for production. Vegetable gardening for the market in Lhasa should be explored. Animal husbandry has to be guided by commercial considerations. Pasture degradation, due to overgrazing, is a serious problem. Areas of fenced grassland should, therefore, be increased and their usage controlled. Natural forests have vanished. Forest protection needs to be encouraged to facilitate conservation and the agro-ecological balance. Extensive reforestation is essential. To meet rising energy needs, new hydropower stations have to be constructed. Education, technical training, and the strengthening of agricultural services need to be emphasised. A supply and

marketing system for inputs and finished products has to be established. Other areas requiring attention are as follows:

- o family planning to reduce the population growth;
- o reduction of non-productive expenditure; and
- o transformation of the closed, traditional barter economy into an open economy integrated with wider markets.

THE MANAGEMENT OF FOREST RESOURCES IN SINDHU PALCHOK AND KABHRE PALANCHOK DISTRICTS OF NEPAL

R.J. Fisher, H.B. Singh, D.R. Pandey, and H. Lang

Since 1978, His Majesty's Government of Nepal (HMG) has encouraged the hand-over of forests in the Middle Hills to local communities. The main objective of this is to promote development through decentralisation and people's participation. This becomes necessary (i) due to the inadequacy of government staff to manage all forests and (ii) because people will continue to use the forest regardless of the tenure, since the forest products are an important part of the farming system. However, the hand-over process has been slow, and it has become clear to many observers that local communities had been organising and managing forests on their own initiative. This study of two districts, where there has been a long history of involvement by the Nepal-Australia Forestry Project (NAFP), was conducted to explore the ways in which these indigenous systems operate.

Both Sindhu Palchok and Kavre Palanchok Districts are located in the Middle Hills of Nepal and can be reached within one and half hours from Kathmandu. This relatively high level of accessibility facilitates project activities. It also means that most residents have access to major markets which provide employment opportunities in addition to being outlets for surplus goods and sources of consumer goods. Nevertheless, most people remain heavily dependent on agriculture and livestock production for subsistence. Food deficits are common and migration is a strategy used to sustain a significant number of households.

The population of the two districts is composed of a mixture of Hindus and Buddhists; sometimes found in mixed communities, but frequently living in separate hamlets.

Forest management systems, defined as a set of practices (including protection, utilisation, and distribution of products) and the institutional arrangements by which they are carried out, can be indigenous or externally-sponsored. Historically, forests in these districts were controlled by local appointees of the central authorities in power (Ranas) to extract fees and taxes from the utilisation of forests. This system did not allow for the emergence of true indigenous management systems. Since its demise in the 1950s, political, demographic, and environmental circumstances have encouraged the formation of numerous (15 identified in one Panchayat) indigenous systems. Almost without exception, such systems have appeared only within the past three decades.

Systems observed in the area ranged from structured social organisations with committees to relatively simple institutional arrangements. Structured systems typically consist of a defined users' group represented by a committee. A common feature of such systems is the existence of forest watchers who are paid through the collection of grain from each household. The sense of ownership and responsibility involved in paying the watchers is crucial to the successful protection of the forest.

Informal institutional arrangements, with mutually agreed upon norms and values, often exist in the absence of formal organisations. These norms, based on a degree of consensus within the group of users, are the essence of all indigenous forest management systems. The critical issues in defining membership in a users' group is the presence of mutually recognised rights to a particular forest or grazing area. Users' groups covered by the study were usually small (30-50 households) and identified by residence in the locality. Evidence suggests that residence is the primary principle underlying usage rights, but lineage-based forest management systems also exist. Another factor that has an effect on user group definition is whether the system is focussed on protection or utilisation. Groups merely protecting forests tend to be larger in size and rather loosely defined.

The effectiveness of local systems can be analysed in terms of sustainability of forest production and of the utilisation. Most of the systems studied demonstrate a conservative management scheme, limited to protection with little or no utilisation of products. This may reflect the organisational difficulties inherent in distribution, for a large and heterogeneous users' group, or the legal constraints in cutting green wood.

Considerable evidence exists to show that local systems emerged in response to perceived shortages of forest products. However, this may not be a sufficient condition; it is argued that political stability, such as that afforded by the establishment of the Panchayat System, also created conditions favourable to the development of indigenous systems. Strong local leadership and homogeneity of users are also important factors.

A second hypothesis, supported by this study, is that greater participation is encouraged under circumstances of equitable distribution of benefits to all users. Few complaints about unfair treatment of women or low caste people were heard, unlike the situation with externally-imposed systems.

In conclusion, the authors present a discussion of the implications of the study for future forestry development programmes in Nepal. The failure of many such activities has often been associated with an inadequate understanding of local conditions such as land rights and existing local management systems. There is an imperative to understand these local realities right from the beginning in order to develop appropriate forms of assistance.

Furthermore, there is a need for a flexible strategy which recognises, utilises, and builds on existing indigenous rights and institutions. A "minimum intervention strategy" is advised as follows: where an effective system exists, it is best to leave it alone. Inadequate existing systems should be strengthened by attending to their problems and, where new institutions need to be established, existing usage rights must receive close attention. It is noted that "minimum intervention" should not imply minimum activity but rather refers to the need to avoid unnecessary changes.

The underlying lesson here is that there is a position between the idea of the ignorant villager and the idea of the all-wise villager held by some development professionals. The role of development agencies is to recognise and build on the strengths of village systems while finding ways around the limitations.

WOMEN IN HATTISUNDE FOREST MANAGEMENT IN DHADING DISTRICT, NEPAL

Shanta Pandey

Hattisunde Forest is a 1.3 hectare forest protected by 53 households from four villages of one Panchayat of Dhading District in Nepal. In 1986, the communities involved in its protection and management were awarded the "Jarajuri Award"¹ in recognition of their efforts to conserve the forest on their own initiative with no outside assistance. The women of the communities played a significant role in the successful forest management system.

Almost 99 per cent of Dhading's population is involved in agriculture, and a notable proportion of households derive income from the sale of livestock and seasonal migration activities. Many households do not produce sufficient food to feed themselves throughout the year and all are relatively poor subsistence farmers.

Hattisunde Forest had been subject to heavy usage for timber, fodder, and the making of leaf plates and bowls until about ten years ago. At that time, one woman began protecting the *sal* (*Shorea robusta*) trees on her private land, and, eventually, she extended protection to the trees of the forest area adjacent to her paddy field. Other villagers became aware of the benefits of protection through her example and became instrumental in encouraging the protection of the entire forest. During a village meeting, with representatives from each household, it was decided to protect the forest and distribute its resources to all on an equal basis. Rules were established to penalize violators and to permit the cutting of grass and *sal* leaves at certain times.

The management of this forest continued informally until the community received the "Jarajuri Award" in 1986. As a result of a conflict arising within the leadership at that time, the household representatives chose to establish a formal Forest Management Committee. However, the management did remain informal and there was no need for fencing or a forest guard. In fact, despite the dense growth that resulted after years of protective measures, villagers have not yet begun to harvest or even thin the trees. Regulations for the use and distribution of the valuable *sal* trees have not been established.

Women have played an active role in the initiation and ongoing protection of the forest. The reasons for this are numerous, and it is important to examine them, because of the rarity of their occurrence, despite the applicability of such schemes elsewhere in the country.

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1. The "Jarajuri Award" is given annually, to communities which have conserved a forest through their own initiative, by a private group of environmentally-conscious people.

- o Women perceive the value of protection measures because of the advantages to be had from a nearby source of fodder and fuelwood.
- o Women feel assured that they will have equal access to the forest products.
- o The simplicity of the management scheme, developed on the basis of their own knowledge and experience, does not require literacy and this makes it possible for women to understand.
- o The informal methods of decision-making and implementation are culturally compatible with the ways in which women have collaborated in the past in undertaking activities.
- o Local support for women's involvement and recognition of the key role they play has made women confident, despite their non-participation in formal meetings of the Forest Management Committee.
- o Women are *de facto* heads of households when menfolk migrate from the villages in search of work.

The case of Hattisunde Forest demonstrates that management of a forest by local people, with the active involvement of women, can be an effective, inexpensive way to regenerate Nepal's degraded lands. This case study raises questions concerning the desirability of government intervention in such instances where local communities have already initiated management schemes. Hattisunde villagers are fearful that the handover of the forest to the Panchayat will result in the forfeit of their rights to make decisions and reap benefits from the forest they have protected for so long. Another likely consequence is that women will be excluded as the management system becomes more formal and less locally-based. Nevertheless, the author is of the opinion that the study of the Hattisunde Forest Management System has much to offer Nepal's country-wide Community Forestry Development Project by providing a model for people's participation in forestry programmes.

INSIDE THE DHADING DEVELOPMENT PROJECT

Ludwig Stiller

The performance of Integrated Rural Development Projects in Nepal has, by and large, proved unsatisfactory to government planners and donors alike. Despite the achievement of agricultural targets, there has been no significant increase in food grain production, nor have serious pockets of poverty in IRD districts been affected. Instead, in some areas where incomes have sub-stancially increased, a steady disintegration of values of mutual assistance amongst villagers has been observed. Vested interests within the government bureaucracy and lack of coordination among line agencies have worked against the hope that IRDs could meet all development needs. A more realistic goal for planners would be to recognise that political and bureaucratic structures also need to develop and strengthen the linkages between line agencies and political decision-making bodies in order to cope with the responsibilities. The power granted to the people by the Decentralization Act needs to be understood before it can be effectively utilised for local level planning.

The Dhading Development Project (DDP), initiated in 1982 in one of Nepal's poorest districts, was designed to try out some approaches that are different from normally accepted practices of other IRDPs. As far as possible, all activities were to be directed through offices of the district, using existing services rather than creating parallel structures. DDP chose to focus on the villages at the ward level rather than the panchayat level, thus demonstrating their intent to work at the grass roots' level to maximize community unity and cooperation. The execution of projects would be entrusted to the villagers to mobilize their self-help potential, allowing them to choose the desired type of project. As a first step, the DDP strategy promoted confidence-building amongst members of users' committees in order that they might solve their own problems and develop trust in their leaders. This was followed by the delivery of a human resource development package to enhance the technical as well as organisational management skills of the users' committee members. Seed money and follow-up support were provided to assist them in gaining knowledge and experience. DDP personnel did not expect the people to become adept planners immediately, nor did they expect district offices to function without project assistance, but they hoped to set in motion a development process that would become self-sustaining.

The first phase of the DDP resulted in the construction of an impressive number of drinking water and irrigation facilities, trails, bridges, and schools. Training for literacy and also for technical skills in agriculture and cottage industries was provided. After five years, three lessons could be drawn from the initial experience:

1. most people are prepared to develop their villages themselves, with a little financial assistance,
2. long range development requires an awareness by villagers that they are responsible for their own welfare, and
3. the key to success is local level organisation.

Once the Government amended the Decentralisation Act to change the nature of users' committees into political entities, a serious obstacle was created for DDP. To promote the development of permanent self-help groups, DDP sought the collaboration of the Small Farmers' Development Project (SFDP) as an alternative channel to government line agencies. Local group leaders, including the youth, were trained to become SFDP promoters to assist existing groups and form new ones. These workers, who bridge the gap between the farmers' way of doing things and the procedural requirements of the bank issuing loans, have learned first hand the art of village leadership.

Under the auspices of the Community Development Programme of DDP, larger infrastructural development projects are undertaken at the panchayat level. Road construction is conducted using the same DDP strategy, through local organisations and local resource mobilisation.

In conclusion, three simple slogans, that have been adopted by DDP, summarize the lessons learned over the eight years of experience with this flexible approach:

1. funds and decision-making should be transparent; everyone should know what is happening and what it costs;
2. clear and simple guidelines should be used so that programmes can be easily understood by all; decisions made by local authorities must be honored; and
3. motivation must be built from the lowest levels by a consistent, confidence-building effort coupled with a refusal by the project team to accept responsibility for the people's development.

DEVELOPMENT AND BUDDHISM IN BHUTAN

Barun Gurung

Bhutan is a nation of subsistence farmers who cultivate only eight per cent of the plains, foothills, mountains, and river valleys that comprise the total land area. Farming systems are centered around small, scattered communities producing subsistence crops and livestock products. All items required for nutrition, energy, clothing, and shelter have traditionally been produced or collected from the land and the plentiful forests nearby. In addition to the cultivation of staple food grains, other crops are grown for various uses and to be consumed in times of food scarcity. These include oil crops, fibre crops, dye crops, fodder crops, and crops required for religious purposes.

Livestock production is well-suited to the highland areas of Bhutan. Cattle, sheep, and/or yak are raised in almost every rural household for the butter, cheese, meat, and hide they provide.

The farming systems, which have been influenced by such factors as environmental conditions, land availability, socioeconomic conditions, and religious beliefs, have proven to be sustainable in providing for all human needs with little ensuing environmental damage. This paper focusses on how a system can maintain itself under the pressures of increasing population, growing consumerism, and other changes brought on by development itself.

The introduction of Buddhism into Bhutan occurred in the sixteenth century. Since then, it has undergone an evolution to suit the particular social, cultural, and environmental conditions found in the mountain areas. The Buddhist value system has been absorbed into the subsistence culture, and has in turn provided a framework for its ongoing existence. The three components of Buddhism that are prominent in Bhutanese society are:

- o the social use of rituals,
- o monasticism and its social importance, and
- o the legal constitution which was established under the theocracy.

Rituals are of three types: (1) commemorative, in honor of the Buddhist saints, (2) expressive, serving as vehicles for manifesting sentiments felt towards the Trinity (Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha), and (3) instrumental. Of the three, instrumental rituals are of the greatest value to subsistence farmers. Natural and unnatural factors, that limit the chances for human survival under harsh conditions, require remedial action through the recitation of scriptures and the use of spells. Commemorative and expressive rituals are conducted with the motivation of accumulating merit to secure a better birth in future lives. The most common rituals include daily rituals, monthly rituals linked to the human calendar, and annual rituals to secure a good harvest. Death rituals (performed for 49 days) are very important ceremonies for Bhutanese Buddhists. All ceremonies and rituals

required by the society are performed by monks who also provide psychological support in times of need and promote Buddhist teachings. Traditionally, it has been a common practice to send a male child from each household to the monastery to receive an education.

The Constitution of Bhutan was drawn up in the 16th century, when the country was ruled by a theocracy. Based on the spiritual law of *karma*, as well as temporal concerns, this legal framework cemented the moral law of causality into a secular context. A belief that temporal actions require guidance from spiritually derived principles was the basis for the formulation of this dual legal system.

The cultural translation of Buddhist philosophy into the every day life of subsistence farmers is manifested in types of behaviour that are often not based on economic considerations. For instance, the killing of animals is taboo, with the result that farmers will not slaughter even sick animals for meat. Similarly, farmers are reluctant to use pesticides to improve crop yields or to cultivate tobacco.

In conclusion, it is proposed that the factor of religion has played a crucial role in promoting the sustainability of the Bhutanese subsistence culture. While the contribution of other factors, such as low population density and the Bhutanese farmer's ability to adapt to harsh conditions, are recognised, it is argued that it is the Buddhist world view that has given a sense of dignity and cultural richness that has endowed the society with its creative potential.

The challenges to the sustainability of this unique culture now come from development itself, accompanied as it is by values of modernisation that encourage the expansion of the economic system at the expense of the subsistence culture. Religious aspirations and respect for nature have no place in the growth of a society based on material ethics. Development in this context implies:

- o exploitation of the environment,
- o decreased independence and deterioration of self-reliance in subsistence-oriented communities,
- o promotion of market orientation,
- o increased urbanisation and the break-up of families, and
- o loss of traditional knowledge of subsistence production systems.

To avoid the cultural poverty that would ensue from such development, changes must be initiated by retaining the sustainable nature of the traditional subsistence culture.