Institutional and Attitudinal Impediments to Development of Ethnic Groups in North-East India: A Case Study on the Continuing Underdevelopment of Poumai Naga

Ph. D Synopsis

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INTRODUCTION

For more than fifty years of active state intervention in the development of ethnic groups and yet their being in persistent economic stagnation have provoked one not only to think but ask: what is wrong with the state and the people? Are the state’s developmental interventions inappropriate to the situations? Are the ethnic institutions and attitudes not conducive for development? Or both the state’s developmental interventions and the people’s institutions and attitudes are responsible for continuing underdevelopment.

There is a widespread and frankly unhelpful implication in the literature that most if not all of the problems - the entire state of affairs - can be blamed for misguided development policy programs. The development programs are usually administered by a distant, uncoordinated and occasionally corrupt bureaucracy, insensitive to the needs of the local people, and often they reach very little to the intended beneficiaries of the programs. The conventional development ideals and methods of implementing no longer enjoy confidence of the people (Bardhan 1996). Literature abounds that attributes rapid development or wide-spread development failures to favorable or unfavorable social institutions and attitudes of the concerned society. According to Szirmai (2008) one can find some common attitudinal characteristics in successful developers which are rooted in culture; these elements include a strong work ethic and social discipline, a high value placed on education and learning, attitudes conducive to high savings rates, low levels of risk aversion and positive attitudes towards entrepreneurship. Higgins (1955) has attributed prolonged underdevelopment of the underdeveloped societies to lack of favorable social attitudes: saving habits, stronger spirit of emulation in the field of consumption than in production and backward sloping supply curves of
effort and risk taking. Therefore, it is evident that, both the state and the concerned society may be accountable for continuing underdevelopment.

The nature of underdevelopment is so different from one another and generalization about these realities is so often destructive, that it is most appropriate to approach these hard realities on individual basis; ethnic group by group or problem by problem within a single country (Ciparise 1978). These differences in institutions and attitudes partly answer the question as to why some societies still remain socio-economically stagnant when some others are developing rapidly. Development involves changes in all these variables and their relationship is “hen-and-egg” in nature and it is difficult to separate causes from effects. The symptoms of underdevelopment may be same amongst the regions or ethnic groups but the causes (sociological, psychological and economic) mostly differ from society to society because each has its own unique culture, institution, attitudes and social-behavior. Underdevelopment is a serious issue but the more serious issue is continuing underdevelopment. This complexity challenges us to seriously analyze the institutional and attitudinal impediments to development of the Poumai ethnic group incorporating socio-psychological perspectives as more than fifty years of continuous inflow of special economic development packages for their development have rather proved to sustain their underdevelopment.

The mainstream development theories have assumed away almost all the issues confronting the current underdeveloped societies. As a result, their applicability to continuing underdevelopment is limited. According to Dowd (1967) “When economists move with, and hasten, the process of change, it is important to note that their analyses make variables of what had previously been taken as given”. This study attempts to diagnose how institutional and attitudinal elements impede the progress of economic variables; income, savings, capital
formation, productivity, entrepreneurship, technological progress etc. Investigation into core internal causes to continuing underdevelopment will help to know why the ethnic groups (particularly Poumai) have lagged behind in economic development and why its further progress is fraught with confusion. Therefore, the study will be restricted to what is wrong with the concerned people themselves, what they can do by themselves to start developing with appropriate intervention from outside, while acknowledging that there may be many positive elements in their institutions and attitudes.

Economic development consists not merely in a change of production techniques, but also, a reorientation of social norms, values and attitudes. Any analysis of economic development which is to be fruitful and complete must include a set of propositions relating changes in production techniques to changes in social institutions and attitudes (Hoselitz, 1952). Therefore, social institutions and attitudes are very vital for economic development because they shape the incentives of key economic actors in the society; particularly they influence savings, investment (resource utilization), technological progress, productivity, innovations and resource distributions.

Institutions are the humanly devised constraints that structure political, economic and social interaction. They consist of both informal constraints (sanctions, taboos, customs, traditions, and codes of conduct), and formal rules (constitutions, laws, property rights). In the present context institution is used in informal sense which is defined as the rules, norms and strategies which shape individual and organizational behavior. They evolve incrementally, connecting the past with the present and the future. Institutions provide the incentive structure of an economy and as that structure evolves, it shapes the direction of economic change towards growth, stagnation, or decline (North 1991). The basic norms, rules, conventions, habits and values of a society exhibit informal institution.
These elements are the most fundamental properties of institutions and are the most enduring and resistant to change (Hollingsworth, 2000). Social institutions affect individuals through regulative and incentive mechanisms that impinge on the conditions of life and affect individual behavior (Parboteeah and Cullen, 2003).

Attitude is an important concept which can be often used to understand and predict people's reaction to an object or change and behavior. Attitudes are learned predispositions to respond to an object or class of objects in a favorable or unfavorable way (Fishbein, 1965). A social attitude is a behavior pattern, anticipatory set or tendency, predisposition to specific adjustment to designated social situations, or, more simply, a conditioned response to social stimuli (LaPiere, 1934). Attitude is a short-hand term for certain abstracted characteristics common to a number of behavior patterns which are frequently repeated whenever certain conditions prevail (Kunkel, 1965). Thus, attitude may be defined as learned predispositions to respond to an object or situation which is manifested in a persistent behavioral pattern.

The agents of development are arbitrarily classified into two: state (government) and ethnic group concerned (Poumai). Given other physical constraints, development depends on the roles of the state and the people concerned. The failures of these two agents may be responsible for stagnancy in socio-economic development of the Poumai. This study attempts to look into the unfavorable social institutions and attitudes of the Poumai.
A brief background and context of the study area

North-eastern region is a hilly-region isolated from main-land India. This region is inhabited by many ethnic groups having different cultures, traditions and histories. Agriculture is their main source of livelihood and employment; there is hardly any industry in the hilly region except a few industries in the valleys. Poumai Naga is one of the ethnic groups inhabiting the hilly northern part of Manipur and southern part of Nagaland. There are about sixty revenue villages in Manipur with a population of 1,44505 and the literacy rate is below 40%. They may be one of the most neglected tribes in India, highly alienated and least governed by the state.

No literature is available about the socio-economic conditions of the Poumai. Their social structure is based on the village, and the economic unit is family. The village consists of khels and functions like independent state. The village council comprising representatives from each khel govern all the members of the village. The village structures are geared primarily towards maintenance of traditional social cohesion and hardly any economic function is found. Attachment to village is so strong that they still live in traditional villages on the hill-tops.

Till now, their main source of livelihoods and employment is subsistence agriculture. They follow the traditional way of cultivation; jhuming and terrace cultivation with traditional implements and tools. Terrace cultivation is done only for rice. Maize, potato, bean and cabbage are the main crops cultivated through jhuming. Cultivation is mostly done for subsistence. Therefore, there is hardly any surplus for commercial purposes except a few quantities of vegetables.

The most important source of making their livelihood is land and they have both common and private land. There is no common land for the whole ethnic
group, but in every village the larger portion of the land belongs to community or clan which is mostly located at the borders. Private land is tiny and scattered and they are mostly located near their village except paddy fields which are mostly located near the rivers. Terrace land is purely private land. Most of the jhumings are carried out in common land and terrace cultivation purely on private land.

The little well to do people of the society are mostly government job holders, contractors, politicians and black-businessmen who have close association with corrupt government officials and underground elements. The universal desire for an improvement in the standard of living and the tendency to emulate the rich has resulted in the frequent association of corrupt political practices and economics. Buying of government jobs, assistances and black-marketing through nexus-link with corrupt elements like a government official, politicians and underground organizations are open-secret, even ignorant villagers are aware of prevailing unwanted practices.

For more than fifty years of government active intervention has not brought about much improvement in their economic condition. The earlier self-sufficiency in food grain (rice) and their rich forest resources have become history for many villages. Today, many villages import rice and timber from other villages or outside the tribe. Their past five-decade’s history may be more a story of “resistant movement against the occupational force”. Their involvement in resistant movement and excesses committed (burning down the village, murdering common people, forced labor without wages, etc) by Indian arm-forces have to certain extent destroyed their economy.
Review of literature

The development literature shows different approaches to economic development. The formalists, who believe uncertainty, high risk and high opportunity cost as general impediments to development try to extend classical deductive methods of analysis in non-Western cultures and derive policies from this analysis to affect productivity and consumption. The substantivists reject cross-cultural applicability of formal economic models and view that economies historically have grown out of subsistence village communities by a process of increasing social differentiation. Hence development is seen as a process of promoting institutional development which help to increase control of destiny and other economic helplessness. The Marxist and parallel radicals accept substantivists’ view of society evolving by a process of increasing differentiations but hold that each new level progressively deteriorates with change in mode of production (Schneider 1975).

Another alternative approach is viewing growth as an endogenous or exogenous outcome of the economic forces working within the economy. The merit of growth models depend on their ability in explaining the empirical evidence on the diversity of the level and rate of economic growth cross-sectionally as well as over time. The models differ in the identification of engines of growth and their motivating forces and since they make different assumptions about which parts of the economy are endogenous or exogenous to the growth process, and reach at somewhat different behavioral and policy implications. Relatively very little systematic evidence is available in support of the competing growth models. While population, human capital formation, and technical innovation have been endogenized to explain differences in economic growth rates, the interactions among fertility, longevity, human and physical capital
accumulation, and inventive activity in the context of both closed and open economies have not been fully explored. The micro-foundations of the growth dynamics also need to be better understood: the mechanics of growth, its real-world counterparts, and the motivating forces that link successive generations. In practice productivity enhancement originates in numerous economic organizations: both inside and outside the firm, within the household as well as the market sectors, and across countries linked by international trade. It is clear that the analytical part is still in need of much refinement (Ehrlich 1990).

The economic analysis of the problems of economic development contains indispensably valuable elements, but still, the available analysis is woefully inadequate to the tasks to which it directs itself. Recent economic thought on economic development has started bringing into examination the current development issues, previously assumed as given but the frame-work is not yet broad enough, nor does it push in as deeply as it must, to have an adequate approach to the problems of economic development. Economics today is too much bound by its genteel recent past; it is too conventional, too timid, most especially when it confronts the problems of economic development. It provides with a more lengthening list of the factors that in the past and the present appear to have contributed to, or retarded, the process of economic development. Most of the same factors find themselves on both lists, the principal difference being found in the adjectives, rather than the nouns (Dowd 1967).

Hirschman’s (1965) work revealed the difficulty to give certain concrete situations as barriers or prerequisites to economic development. According to him obstacles must be removed before forward step can be usefully attempted, but if alleged obstacles turn out to be blessing in disguise then quite a few of those hitherto considered as favorable are likely to function as barriers and vice versa.
And the inability on the part of the policy makers to perceive the possibilities of converting the obstacles into assets is the ‘supper-obstacle’.

Dator (1996) in his work ‘The "Protestant Ethic" in Japan’ investigated into the values that support successful Japanese economic development. He found an analogue of ‘protestant ethic’ of Weber (1904) in Japanese society; entrepreneurial spirit, as expressed in the desire to work hard and do better than others, cultural values of diligence, perseverance, mutual responsibility and friendly human relations. "Protestant Ethic" values were the central part of their traditional childhood and peer group socialization process, hence these attitudes persist. The source of protestant ethic was attributed to pre-war curriculum, especially that of the specifically ethical classes, and the ‘Imperial Prescript’ on Education, which was reverentially read each day, were strongly duty-achievement oriented, stressing the values of diligence, hard work, and self-sacrifice for the welfare of the nation. The Japanese social system was not only highly developed in its basic pattern-maintenance and integrative sectors, but was also even advanced in institutions and attitudes appropriate for "modern" goal-attainment and adaptive sectors. For these reasons Japan was able to modernize so rapidly and successfully. Thus, he argued that economic development can be achieved by skillfully utilizing existing values and institutions and selectively manipulating them without overturning traditional values.

Luigi et al. (2002) studied several economic attitudes towards; the government, cooperation, working women, legal rules, thriftiness, and the market economy, and found that on average, religious beliefs are associated with “good” economic attitudes, where “good” was defined as conducive to higher per capita income and growth. Yet religious people tend to be more racist and less favourable with respect to working women. These effects differ across religious
denominations. Overall, they found that Christian religions are more positively associated with attitudes conducive to economic growth.

Szirmai (2008) in his study on “explaining success and failure in development”, argued that those countries which are not able to absorb exogenously (international) generated technology will tend to fall behind and differences in absorptive capacity account for much of the difference between success and failure in economic development in the post-war period. The evolution of absorptive capacities depends on a complicated multi-casual mix of ultimate cultural and institutional factors and intermediate policy efforts.

According to North (1991) institutions define the choice set and therefore determine transaction and production costs and hence the profitability and feasibility of engaging in economic activity. They provide the incentive structure of an economy; as that structure evolves, it shapes the direction of economic change towards growth, stagnation, or decline.

Charles (1955) has demonstrated how institutions may stimulate or impede those kinds of behavior leading to economic growth by their effect on (1) the direct calculation of costs and benefits; (2) relationships between output and income; (3) the order, predictability and probability of economic relationships; (4) knowledge of economic opportunity; and (5) motivations and values.

Smock’s (1969) investigation into social structure, religion and folk beliefs, values, self-definitions and land tenure patterns of twenty-four villages in Eastern Nigeria revealed that their culture and attitudes have both negative and positive impacts on agricultural development.

Besides other obstacles like manpower, Higgins (1975) in his study on the problems of development in Libya found that the main obstacles to their
development were institutional and attitudinal in nature. The interest rate was extremely high—often exceeding 100 per cent per annum. The wealthy Libyans are accustomed to invest in extremely high rates of interest and the tribal organization is inconsistent with private property rights. The Libyan are not used to work and save for long term purposes and there is a general tendency to live for today and entrust the future to “Providence”.

With extensive historical illustrations Baumol (1990) has argued that the productive contributions of the society’s entrepreneurial activities depend on their allocation between productive activities (innovations) and unproductive activities (rent seeking or organized crime). The allocation is heavily influenced by the prevailing rules of the game that specify the relative pay-off to different entrepreneurial activities.

According to Nicholls (1960) the Southern Traditions: (i) the dominance of agrarian values, (ii) the rigidity of the social structure, (iii) the weakness of social responsibility, (iv) the undemocratic political structure, and (v) conformity of thought and behavior, have seriously impeded its economic progress.

Rottenberg’s (1952) argues that changes in absolute and relative prices of labor may have a negligible influence on labor supply in the communities where social-prestige factors intensify occupational reservations. His argument was supported by empirical evidence in Antiquan Island where labor supply curve is more powerfully affected by cultural and psychological factors than the price of labor.

The historical analysis of cultural economic evolution of Maori tribe of New Zealand by Clydesdale (2007) revealed that inherited cultural legacies are very sensitive and they act both as barriers and opportunities for development. The
adopted prestige and routines shape their economic behavior and define identity. High levels of conflict due to kinship-based organization and the factional nature of the tribe drain most their time and energy from performing gainful economic activities. The decisions are made with constant historical reference.

According to Bardhan (1996) the following institutional impediments to development are found in India: (i) lack of accountability and legitimacy in the local self-governing institutions, (ii) extreme social fragmentation, lack of community coordination and unfavorable land rights for progress, (iii) the inability of financial institution to tap society’s potential for productive investment, to encourage innovation, human resource development and progress of mercantile, and (iv) the defective system of implementing state development programs.

The work of Godsell (1991) has convincingly demonstrated how cultural factors shape the people’s response to economic challenges. Her study tested the economic culture hypothesis of distinct entrepreneurial traditions of three ethnic groups- Indians, Afrikaners and urban blacks in south Africa- and proved that the status of business in the community, the structure of community (network in the community) and religion play important role in the success of entrepreneurs.

Nag’s (2007) work on the saving behavior of South Africans revealed the following factors as the main causes for lack of commitment to saving: (i) low income and lack of income due to unemployment (ii) overspending due to conspicuous consumption, procedural rationality and bandwagon effect and (iii) market failures due to lack of information, cultural and political factors. Her findings also indicated that still the poor households prefer informal saving institutions to formal institutions.
Landa’s (1991) work has confirmed the cultural embeddedness of ethnic enterprises. Taking the example of success stories of ethnically homogeneous middlemen groups such as Chinese in Southeast Asia, the Indians in East and Central Africa, the Lebanese in West Africa and the Jews in medieval Europe, she has demonstrated how cultural factors allow a particular group to succeed and reinforce the group’s homogeneity.

Geletkanycz (1997) in his work, *the salience of ‘culture’ consequences*, found that culture has an important impact on executive mindsets. The executives of differing cultural backgrounds are not equally open to change. Rather, in accordance with their culture's values, executives maintain varying levels of commitment to established policies. The findings also suggest that, at least in the short term, the idea of a culture-free executive is a myth. Cultural values of individualism, (low) uncertainty avoidance, (low) power distance, and short-term orientation were found to constitute significant determinants of executive commitment to status quo.

Van der Kroef’s work (1956) on “Economic Development in Indonesia” attributes underdevelopment of Indonesia to some major social and cultural factors which stem out from a combination of traditional traits reinforced by the effects of popular expectations of a successful nationalist revolution: (i) traditional subsistence orientation, (ii) parasitic behavior of entrepreneurial elite, (iii) distrust of government fiscal policies, (iv) over-dependent on government for fulfilling their ambition and ideal, and craze for government jobs.

The work of DeVos (1965) revealed the uniquely cultural psychological features found in particularistic and paternalistic familism have contributed to Japan’s rapid industrialization. An individual is always guided by sense of self-
The Japanese family system is analogous to Hindus sacred cow but the traditional Japanese social values and ideas inculcated within the context of family life were responsible for prevailing type of personal motivation. Community beyond family is united by a network of interpenetrating obligations and expectations. The assimilation of aspects of Western culture did not alienate the leadership from common people. The economic progress is found to be related to their strong achievement orientation.

The work of Parboteeah and Cullen (2003) demonstrated that the social institutional variables i.e. socialism, union strength, educational accessibility, social inequality, and industrialization, have negative relationship with ‘work centrality’.

Ciparisse (1978) has studied the attitudes and the clan structure of Zaire society and found that wealth distribution system within the clan acting as barriers to individual economic incentive, population explosion due to their attitude towards fertility and the clan structure impeding development. The technically correct development projects failed due to overlooking the functioning of human group. He, therefore, advocates that any development intervention should based on real understanding of social and economic obstacles or avenues to development inherent in the society studied.

According to Amborn (1984) the condition for introduction of decisive technical innovations in the early Nile Valley were basically conducive, but due to the specific social structure and the organization of production connected with it they could not become effective, as this would menace the continuity of social relations.
According to Pannell (1999) four conditions are necessary for an individual farmer to adopt an innovative farming-system: awareness of the innovation, perception that it is feasible to trial the innovation, perception that the innovation is worth trialing, and perception that the innovation promotes the farmer’s objectives.

The work of Ping Ping Fu et al (2004) tested empirically the relationships between societal cultural values, individual social beliefs, and the perceived effectiveness of different influence strategies. The findings showed that different dimensions of individual social beliefs (cynicism, fate control, reward for application, and religiosity) predict the perceived effectiveness of the three types of influence strategy (persuasive, assertive, and relationship based), and that cultural values can moderate the strength of the relationship between these dimensions of individual social beliefs and the perceived effectiveness of influence strategies.

Mohammad and Majeed (1979) have studied the correlation between socio-economic factors and diffusion of agricultural innovations of six villages in Basti district of north-eastern Uttar Pradesh and found that socio-economic factors: education, training, value orientation, cast and age have positive correlation with the adaption of innovation.

Mohammad and Teli (1979) find traditional land tenure patterns as major impediment to introduction of new technology and economic and rational use of labor.

**Importance and statement of the problem**

In this study we conceive development holistically – a movement of the entire socio-economic system (encompassing material resources, people and the implicit as well as explicit rules of conduct and social interaction) to a higher, more productive, enabling, capacitating and self-sustaining state (Dopfer and
Potts, 2008). Our view of development is evolutionary than mechanistic. In this framework, the issues of development are not strictly limited to developmental economics but involve questions that overlap other disciplines, especially sociology and psychology. The role of social institutions and attitudes in development is psycho-cultural specific and no comprehensive literature is found on institutional and attitudinal impediments to development except related literatures. Despite the quantity of related literatures written on the vital role of social institutions and attitudes in economic development of various societies, there is serious a weakness as they cannot be generalized.

Real development certainly involves converting attitudinal and institutional impediments embedded in the society into stimulating or motivating factors. It is believed that the basis of development lies within the concerned people. Therefore, it is important and necessary to study each the Poumai community separately to get into core problems embedded in them as prolong underdevelopment may also be attributable to failure to diagnosis core issues of underdevelopment and address them from appropriate perspectives. This exercise might not only enlighten the people concerned with the fundamental development problem embedded in them consciously or unconsciously but give an opportunity to convert them into stimulating or motivating factors for their development by themselves with appropriate inducement from outside.

The extant approach to development of the Poumai community which has failed to bring notable progress in their lives even after many decades has rather frustrated them. Till now no scientific inquiry is made into these development issues which have locked them in continuing underdevelopment. Therefore, there is a need to explore alternative development intervention for this ethnic group. The sensitivity of ethnic identity may pose difficulties to outsiders do in-depth study on
embedded unfavorable elements and social behavior but it can be overcome through self study. The identifications of those economic as well as non-economic (in conventional sense) variables largely determined by these elements may help improve development policy formulation and its prediction.

The outcome of the study will be useful for development of other ethnic groups, also encourage other scholars to do more researches on similar hidden development issues of the underdeveloped ethnic groups. It may help to evolve a framework for analyzing the impact of social institutions and attitudes on ethnic development.

**Objectives**

As pointed out earlier the urgent need to explore alternative development intervention and the need to convert unfavorable elements into motivating and stimulating factors of development, the study will investigate into the following elements (impinging on economic behavior and performance);

i) Social norms/ conventions

ii) Habits

iii) Beliefs

iv) Attitudes

   encompassing and in relation to the agriculture practices, consumption and savings, work and leisure, corruption, entrepreneurship and utilization of available resources.
Hypotheses

The development histories of developed societies have revealed that the basis of development starts from the concerned people themselves. Therefore, the continuing underdevelopment of this (Poumai) ethnic group could be partly attributable to certain embedded institutional and attitudinal elements.

i) The utilization of resources is influenced by social norms and attitudes
ii) Traditional Land tenure is unfavorable to economic farming
iii) Rampant corruption is accepted as normal economic activity without guilt
iv) Unfavorable entrepreneurial environment is over-riding

METHODOLOGY

To investigate the linkages between continuing underdevelopment and institutions and attitudes is not only difficult to adopt appropriate model for analysis but have to face with very sensitive ethnic identity. The basic question is what types of rules, norms, habits, values and attitudes do actually guide the economic activities of the people. A methodology suitable for investigating the sets of norms and learned predispositions that govern the actors involved is required.

The study will be purely based on primary data collected through personal interviews with well framed set of questions (or schedules) to measure their attitudes towards certain specific economic variables and social variables related to economic variables. To study institutional linkages with continuing underdevelopment and take care of other important aspects of attitude a schedule containing relevant questions will be used. The schedule will be divided into part-I and part-II to measure attitude variables and institutional variables.
**Sample**

The sixty four villages will be divided into four regions according to geographical proximity. According to familiarity with the villagers four villages (one from each range) will be chosen for the study. Systematic random sampling method will be used to draw 200 individuals as samples; 25 males and 25 females from each four villages. Out of 25 males/females 10 will be married and 15 will be unmarried.

**Measures**

Part-I of the schedule will be a set of some latent attitude variables that measure a person's attitude about taking risks, belief in the ease of starting a new firm, feelings about entrepreneurs and small business owners, and approval of corruption, children starting a business etc. Some attitude variables will be used as the measured indicators of the set of latent attitude constructs. Each variable will be rated using Likert’s attitude scale.

Part-II of the schedule will be a set of social variables which have close relation with the economic activities like land holding system, agricultural practices, festivals, parents’ treatment of their children, and other community activities.

Data analysis will be done by suitable statistical (multivariate and univariate) methods. Multi-dimensional scaling methods, factor analysis and other methods may be used to analyse the data.
Tentative chapterization

1. Introduction

2. Utilization of available resources
   i) Saving and consumption habits
   ii) Human resources and dependency period of male
   iii) Animals-how they are used
   iv) Forest resources
   v) Investment nature -lend to whom and for what purpose
   vi) Loans from financial institutions
   vii) Market facility utilization/ shop keeping

3. Institutional and attitudinal factors and Agricultural underdevelopment
   i) Cattle-crops problems
   ii) Traditional land tenure system
   i) Agri-practices
   ii) Short-term plan\ routine plan
   iii) Settlement pattern
   iv) Land disputes\ traditional boundaries

4. Entrepreneurial environment
   i) attitudes towards uncertainty
   ii) adoptive capacity of new ideas/technology
   iii) local interest rates
iv) status of entrepreneurs/government jobs in the society
v) Parents attitudes towards children taking up entrepreneurial activity.
vi) Willing to go outside for work.
vii) Attitude towards work and leisure
viii) Attitudes towards small businesses.
ix) What is success/achievement or failure as defined by society?
x) striving behavior

5. Common attitudes towards corruption
   i) Loans repayment
   ii) Religious teachings and reaction
   iii) Society’s opinion on corruptions
   iv) Parents comments on corrupt activities of the children
   v) Destructions of Public (govt.) properties.

6. Policy prescriptions and identification of areas for further researches if any

   Very often development policy programmes are distorted to suit administrative convenience, the failure is obvious when administrative expertise take the role of the development expertise. Therefore development experts should not only involve in planning but also monitor the administrators in the implementation of these programmes to achieve the predetermined objectives.

7. Conclusion
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