# Development in Crisis:

# Livelihoods and Social Complexities in Swat, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan

Philosophiae Doctor PhD Thesis
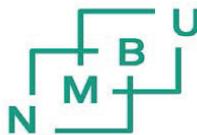
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# *Dedicated to my kids: Moaiz, Moazzam and Hibba*

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# Abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| ADB | Asia Development Bank |
| CCBs | Citizen Community Boards |
| CERINA | Conflict Early Recovery Initial Need Assessment |
| CIP | Community Infrastructure Project (1 & II) |
| CPPR | Center for Public Policy Research |
| DFID | Department for International Development |
| EPS | Environmental Protection Society |
| ERRA | Earthquake Rehabilitation and Reconstruction Authority |
| FATA | Federally Administrative Tribal Areas |
| FGD | Focused Group Discussion |
| GAD | Gender and Development |
| GAF | Gender Analysis framework |
| GoP | Government of Pakistan |
| IDEA | Initiative for Development and Empowerment Axis |
| IDPs | Internally Displaced Persons |
| IRDP | Integrated Rural Development Program |
| KPK | Khyber Pukhtoon Khawa |
| LAF | Livelihoods Analysis Framework |
| LGO | Local Government Ordinance |
| MDGs | Millennium Development Goals |
| MRD | Malakand Rural Development Program |
| NGO | Non-Governmental Organization |
| NWFP | North West Frontier Province |
| PaRRSA | Provincial, Reconstruction, Rehabilitation and Settlement Authority |
| PATA | Provincially Administrative Tribal Areas |
| PDMA | Provincial Disaster Management Authority |
| PRA | Participatory Rural Appraisal |

| | |
|---|---|
| PRSP | Pakistan Poverty Reduction Strategy |
| RSPs | Rural Support Programs |
| SAP | Social Action Program |
| SDPI | Sustainable Development Policy Institute |
| TNSM | Tehreek Nifaz-e- Shariait-e- Mohammadi (TNSM- Movement for the enforcement of Islamic Law) |
| UCs | Union Councils |
| UNDP | United Nations Development Program |
| WB | World Bank |

# Acknowledgement

**Abstract**

Global socio-economic development strategies, fast communication systems, and natural and manmade disasters have put constructed social and cultural notions of developing societies into continuous processes of change. This study explores societal change in the Swat valley of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa KPK, Pakistan in light of two interlinked processes: how livelihood development projects and their implementation strategies since 2001 have influenced gender relations, and how the conflict as well as flood crises (2008–2010) have affected the social and cultural system of the pukhtoonwali (a code of ethics). The study addresses the following four objectives in individual but interrelated papers, where gender and development, gender relations in livelihood and development, and social cultural transformation in the context of crisis are central:

1) To analyse how men and women of different ethnic and social groups access livelihood resources, and how the gender relations in pursuing livelihood strategies changed during the last decade in Swat valley.  2) to study how the development project interventions, humanitarian aid, and their implementation processes (approaches) contributed to gender empowerment and livelihood development of marginalized classes. 3) to explore how the consequences of militant conflicts, military operations and internal displacement have influenced the social and cultural network of pukhtoonwali in the Swat valley, and  4) to examine the social, cultural and political constraints in the implementation of development projects, and the influence of crises on participatory development.

Primary data was collected using mixed qualitative research methods of semi-structured interviews, participant observation, informal interviews, and household survey and focus group discussions with selected village dwellers. Key informant interviews with traditional leaders, government and Non-Governmental Organization officials, and academic researchers selected from different parts of Swat were also conducted. In addition, secondary sources such as project appraisal and completion reports, historical literature and NGO progress reports have been consulted.

The historical literature reveals that the merger of the Swat state in 1969 with Pakistan as part of the KPK province brought a major shift in administrative and political systems and to the customary rules, regulations and institutional setup in subsequent decades, such that formal law functioned under a mix of Pukhtoonwali and Islamic laws. Since 2001, the government of Pakistan, donor-funded development projects and participatory development strategies, when combined with militant conflict,

Pakistan military operations and internal displacement, radically changed the roles of the major tenets of Pukhtoonwali. The tenets including the council of elders (Jirga), common hospitality, place of male guests (Hujra), gender boundaries (namoos), and truce (teega), can be claimed to be non-functional. In fact, the current militant movement and Pakistan military operations in northwest Pakistan tried to delink the Pukhtoon from their history and indigenous narrative. Nevertheless, these consequences provided opportunities and sensitized the local people to reorganize themselves and develop new social networks and revisit the cultural system in more democratic and modern ways. This is the philosophy of Khudai Khidmatgar Tehreek (Servant of God movement) – a non-violent movement which began in 1928 and presented Pukhtoonwali as a discourse of human dignity, pluralist democracy, indigenous wisdom and cultural identity. The codes of pukhtoonwali are still very prominent in verbal discussion, poetry, songs and proverbs. Therefore, more research needs to be conducted on the narratives of pukhtoonwali to make it more compatible with the needs of contemporary development perspectives.

The gender role and relations interpreted under the patriarchal structure of the pukhtoonwali embody the theoretical perspective of social and cultural constructionism. Women's roles are confined to household domestic activities while men hold the political and social power outside the home. Men are therefore represented as front-runners for satisfying the livelihood needs of their family members. The analysis revels the inequality between gender and different ethnic and social groups in accessing livelihood resources whether social, human or natural. However, inequalities varies among gender of different groups. Socio-economic development, political reforms and development projects created and provided opportunities for skills attainment and jobs for men and women in the pre-crisis period, which to some extent changed socially constructed roles and empowered women to make decisions in terms of their children's education, marriages, use of cash income and property rights. We observed the flexibility in cultural values for women's mobility and their access to education, health services, jobs and property rights against what has been written in previous research by a number of anthropologists, sociologists, historians and political thinkers as well as by media. The inequalities in gender relations at household level need to be addressed in development programmes, which have the potential to generate outcomes that are more positive. This may increase women's access to education and skills training and to the creation of more opportunities, which is essential for women's capacity to question, reflect and act on the conditions of their lives.

Participatory development practices applied before the crisis in development interventions have resulted in some positive impacts in improvement of socio-economic condition for the projects' beneficiaries. This is in spite of number of political, social and administrative constraints in implementation of development projects. However, the crises of militant conflict, prolonged relief and rehabilitation interventions and change in the needs and priorities of the people and organizations have significantly influenced the ability to practise participatory development. The national and local NGOs, together with civil society organizations, dropped the application of participatory development practices in relief, rehabilitation and even reconstruction activities. Nonetheless, this study suggests that it may be possible to apply participatory approaches to development in the rehabilitation and reconstruction phases, in order to achieve better results for humanitarian aid in terms of equal distribution of resources among crisis-affected populations, promoting gender equality and strengthening local institutions. There is need for more detailed studies on how humanitarian aid in crisis-affected societies can be utilized to improve livelihood conditions of the marginalized populations on a sustainable basis, which will indirectly decrease the inclination among poor people towards militancy. Improved research assessments are needed in order to identify cultural, religious and political challenges in relation to militant conflict and development, which in turn can lead to alternative options, which are both feasible and appropriate.

**Sammendrag**

Globale sosioøkonomiske utviklingsstrategier, raske kommunikasjonssystemer, og naturlige og menneskeskapte katastrofer har satt konstruerte sosiale og kulturelle forestillinger i utviklingssamfunn i en kontinuerlig endringsprosess. Denne studien utforsker samfunnsmessig endring i Swat-dalen i Khyber Pakhtunkhwa KPK, Pakistan, i lys av to prosesser som er innbyrdes forbundet: hvordan utviklingsprosjekter for levekår og deres implementeringsstrategier siden 2001 har påvirket kjønnsrelasjonene, og hvordan konflikten samt flomkriser (2008–2010 ) har påvirket det sosiale og kulturelle systemet i pukhtoonwali (et sett av etiske normer). Studien tar for seg følgende fire mål i enkeltstående, men beslektede artikler, hvor kjønn og utvikling, kjønnsrelasjoner når det gjelder levekår og utvikling, og sosiokulturell transformasjon sett i sammenheng med krisen, er sentrale:

1) Å analysere hvordan menn og kvinner i ulike etniske og sosiale grupper får tilgang til levekårsressurser, og hvordan kjønnsrelasjonene når det gjelder å forfølge levekårsstrategier, har endret seg i løpet av det siste tiåret i Swat-dalen.  2) å undersøke hvordan utviklingsprosjektene og humanitær bistand, samt implementeringsprosessene og tilnærmingene til disse, bidro til bedre vilkår og styrkede rettigheter for kvinner og bedrede livssituasjoner for marginaliserte grupper. 3) å utforske hvordan konsekvensene av militante konflikter, militære operasjoner og internt fordrevne har påvirket det sosiale og kulturelle nettverket i pukhtoonwali i Swat-dalen, og 4) å undersøke de sosiale, kulturelle og politiske begrensningene i gjennomføringen av utviklingsprosjekter, og påvirkningen som kriser har på deltakende utvikling.

Primærdata ble samlet inn ved hjelp av blandede kvalitative forskningsmetoder med semistrukturerte intervjuer, deltakende observasjon, uformelle intervjuer og husstandsundersøkelser og fokusgruppediskusjoner med utvalgte landsbyboere. Det ble også gjennomført intervjuer med nøkkelinformanter blant tradisjonelle ledere, embedsmenn og ledere i frivillige organisasjoner, og akademiske forskere valgt fra ulike deler av Swat. I tillegg har sekundærkilder som evalueringsrapporter og sluttrapporter for prosjekter, historisk litteratur og fremdriftsrapporter fra frivillige organisasjoner også blitt konsultert.

Den historiske litteraturen viser at sammenslåingen av staten Swat i 1969 med Pakistan som en del av KPK-provinsen, førte med seg et stort skifte i administrative og politiske systemer og i

sedvaneregler, bestemmelser og institusjonell oppbygging i de påfølgende tiår, slik at formell lov fungerte i en blanding av Pukhtoonwali-lov og islamske lover. Siden 2001 har regjeringen i Pakistan, donorfinansierte utviklingsprosjekter og deltakende utviklingsstrategier, når de er kombinert med militant konflikt, pakistanske militære operasjoner og internt fordrevne, radikalt endret rollene til de store læresetningene i Pukhtoonwali. Læresetningene om de eldres råd (Jirga), vanlig gjestfrihet, plassen til mannlige gjester (Hujra), kjønnsgrenser (namoos), og våpenhvile (teega), kan sies å være ikke-fungerende. Faktisk har den nåværende militante bevegelsen og Pakistans militære operasjoner i det nordvestlige Pakistan prøvd å bryte koblingen mellom Pukhtoon-folket og deres historie og urfolkets narrativer. Ikke desto mindre har disse konsekvensene gitt muligheter og sensitivisert lokalbefolkningen til å reorganisere seg og utvikle nye sosiale nettverk og revidere det kulturelle systemet på mer demokratiske og moderne måter. Dette er filosofien til Khudai Khidmatgar Tehreek (Guds tjener-bevegelsen) – en ikke-voldelig bevegelse som startet i 1928, og presenterte Pukhtoonwali som en diskurs om menneskelig verdighet, pluralistisk demokrati, urfolkets livsvisdom og kulturell identitet. Reglene i pukhtoonwali er fortsatt svært fremtredende i muntlig diskusjon, poesi, sanger og ordtak. Derfor må det gjennomføres mer forskning på narrativer i pukhtoonwali for å gjøre det mer kompatibelt med behovene til moderne utviklingsperspektiver.

Kjønnsroller og relasjoner tolket under den patriarkalske strukturen i pukhtoonwali legemliggjør det teoretiske perspektivet for sosial og kulturell konstruktivisme. Kvinnenes rolle er begrenset til huslige aktiviteter i hjemmet, mens mennene besitter den politiske og sosiale makten utenfor hjemmet. Mennene blir derfor fremstilt som foregangspersoner for å tilfredsstille familiemedlemmenes behov for livsopphold. Analysen avdekker ulikheten mellom kjønn og ulike etniske og sosiale grupper når det gjelder å få tilgang til ressurser til livsopphold, enten de er sosiale, menneskelige eller naturgitte. Imidlertid varierer ulikheter mellom kjønnene i ulike grupper. Sosioøkonomisk utvikling, politiske reformer og utviklingsprosjekter skapte og ga muligheter for ferdighetstilegnelse og arbeidsplasser for menn og kvinner i perioden før krisen, noe som til en viss grad endret sosialt konstruerte roller og satte kvinner i stand til å ta avgjørelser i forhold til barnas utdanning, ekteskap, bruk av kontantinntekt og eiendomsrett. Vi observerte fleksibiliteten i kulturelle verdier når det gjelder kvinners mobilitet og deres tilgang til utdanning, helsetjenester, arbeidsplasser og eiendomsrett mot hva som har blitt skrevet i tidligere forskning av en rekke antropologer, sosiologer, historikere og politiske tenkere, så vel som av media. Ulikhetene i kjønnsrelasjoner på husholdningsnivå må tas opp i utviklingsprogrammer, som har potensial til å generere resultater som er mer positive. Dette kan øke kvinners tilgang til utdanning og ferdighetstrening og til oppretting av flere muligheter, som er

avgjørende for kvinners kapasitet til å stille spørsmål, reflektere og handle når det gjelder forholdene i egne liv.

Deltakende utviklingspraksis som gjaldt før krisen i utviklingstiltak har gitt noen positive virkninger i form av forbedring av sosioøkonomiske forhold for dem som nyter godt av prosjektet. Dette er på tross av antallet politiske, sosiale og administrative begrensninger i gjennomføringen av utviklingsprosjekter. Imidlertid har krisen med militant konflikt, langvarig støtte og rehabiliteringsintervensjoner og endring i behovene og prioriteringene til folket og organisasjonene, påvirket muligheten til å praktisere deltakende utvikling betydelig. Nasjonale og lokale frivillige organisasjoner, sammen med sivilsamfunnsorganisasjoner, droppet bruk av deltakende utviklingspraksis i nødhjelp, rehabilitering og også gjenoppbyggingsaktiviteter. Likevel antyder denne studien at det kan være mulig å benytte deltakende tilnærminger til utvikling i rehabiliterings- og gjenoppbyggingsfaser, for å oppnå bedre resultater for humanitær hjelp i form av lik fordeling av ressurser blant den kriserammede befolkningen, fremme likestilling og styrke lokale institusjoner. Det er behov for mer detaljerte studier om hvordan humanitær hjelp i kriserammede samfunn kan benyttes til å forbedre levekårsforholdene for marginaliserte befolkningsgrupper på et bærekraftig grunnlag, noe som indirekte vil redusere tilbøyeligheten blant fattige mennesker til militant aggressivitet. Det er nødvendig med forbedrede forskningsvurderinger for å identifisere kulturelle, religiøse og politiske utfordringer i forhold til militant konflikt og utvikling, som igjen kan føre til alternative muligheter, som både er gjennomførbare og hensiktsmessige.

# 1.    Introduction

Worldwide, the contribution of men and women to family subsistence varies widely. However, in the domestic sphere and childcare, women's involvement continues to dominate. The socially constructed roles and relationships between men and women referred to as gender relations, are an integral and inseparable part of livelihood and development practices (Ellis, 2000). These relations are, however, not static – they change as the social, economic, environmental and political context changes, particularly in times of crisis; natural or manmade, social relations often undergo immense adjustments and even transformations. Zurcher (2012) observes that during periods of civil conflict, women and children are inadequately supported and are sidelined in peacekeeping and state-building projects. International response in the form of humanitarian assistance is not capable of understanding the social relations at macro level. This may be because humanitarian aid effectiveness during and following crisis is hampered by a lack of capacity of both government and donors, combined with political will of an elite who are not interested in accepting some aspects of the reform agenda. Duffield (2001) notes that humanitarian actions are in themselves no longer sufficient to contribute to conflict resolution and development. Humanitarian aid is now a conditional part of a strategic framework bringing together humanitarian action, development, military assistance and private investment into one functioning whole. For example, Zurcher (2012) in his study on aid effectiveness in Afghanistan, found that although communities have benefitted from development programmes, it seems there have been hardly any impacts on sustainability of development intervention and maintaining security. Post-crisis development largely focuses on conflict resolution, security and stability but lacks attention to the complexities of gender relations, empowerment and livelihood development. This raises certain questions. How can development interventions contribute to power dynamics between men and women such that the crisis and constraint be avoided? How might a better understanding of the effects of the crisis on gendered social relations in different types of advantaged and disadvantaged contexts give insight into vulnerability to crisis and development assistance?

This study, conducted in the Swat valley of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK) province (formerly known as Northwest Frontier Province) of Pakistan, attempts to address such questions through a detailed qualitative research. This research, anthropological in nature, focuses on development in livelihood strategies and gender relations, and explores how the interventions of development projects and their implementation over the last decade or so have contributed to change in gender relations and empowerment of different social and ethnic groups in accessing of livelihood

resources. Further, the study examines how the conflict and flood crises[1] (2008–2010), and post-crisis humanitarian development have affected the social and cultural systems of Pukhtoonwali (a code of ethics) in the Swat valley of Pakistan.

The Swat valley is well known from anthropological and sociological studies conducted by Fredrik Barth (1965, 1981), Akbar Ahmad (1980), Charles Lindholm (1982), Ameeni Ahmed (2006), Rahim and Viaro (2002), Sultan-i-Rome (2008) and many others. Currently Swat is an interesting case to study as it has experienced major shifts in political and governance systems, militant conflict and internal displacement since its merger with Pakistan in 1969. All these consequences have influenced the social and cultural perspectives of its inhabitants. Swat valley was an independent state from 1917 to 1969 and was ruled by a king (Bacha/Wali) through the combination of customary or traditional systems of Pukhtoonwali and Islamic laws (Rome, 2008). Since the aftermath of 9/11 when Pakistan joined the US-led war against terrorism, militant groups spread throughout the country, particularly in KPK province and the federally administrative tribal areas (FATA) bordering Afghanistan (Rome, 2010).

The Swat valley over the last 10 years has been the site of extreme crises in the form of militant conflict and flood disaster. The intrusion of the Taliban[2] in Swat valley during 2006 under the leadership of Mullah Fazal-Ullah – now the central chief of Tehrik Taliban Pakistan (Rehman, 2014) – and the Taliban's control over the major part of Swat by end of 2008, has had diverse impacts on the social fabric of society (Salman, 2012). This intrusion was followed by the government military operation named Operation Rah-e-Rast ('the straight path') in 2009, which caused huge internal displacement of more than 2.3 million people from Malakand division – including Swat – to other parts of the country [World Bank and Asian Development Bank (WB and ADB), 2009]. This internal displacement was one of the largest recorded humanitarian relief efforts since World War II (Aziz, 2010). Although, Aziz (2010) in his study on Swat noted that the army military operation brought peace to the valley and ousted most of the militants, they are not yet routed out. During the period this study was conducted (2012–2013), the military operation was over, but the situation remained

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[1] The period 2001–2013 covers the pre-crisis era of development (2001–2006), the consequences of militant conflict, Pakistan military operations against militants and internal displacement during 2007–2009, and the flood disaster of 2010. I referred all these consequences and the period 2007–2010 as 'crises'. The term 'pre-crisis' denotes the period before 2006, while 'post-crisis' refers to after 2010. These terms are used in relation to people, their livelihood strategies and participation in development interventions. (See section 3.4 for detail.)

[2] Taliban (Madrassa students), Name of the militant group since 1996, fighting against the government across Pakistan and Afghanistan and carrying out terrorist activities for enforcement of their own interpreted Islamic system.

tense. Indeed, terrorism activities and the targeted killing of security personal and local political leaders continued, albeit at a lower level than before.

The militants in Swat damaged government buildings, and terrified the public and government servants with deaths and detentions. The livelihoods, local trade, industries and tourism sector were devastated (Salman, 2012). Similarly, the routine activities of the local people and the social and political structure have been significantly disrupted due to the political hold of the militant groups (Bari, 2010). The militants established their own centres (*Markaz*) for resolving all kinds of civil and criminal cases, and for imposing their decisions upon the people. Women and girls were forbidden from participating in public life, having to conceal themselves from head to toe as per the Taliban's interpretation of Sharia law. In December 2008, the militants banned education for girls and bombed or torched more than 170 schools and other government-owned buildings (CERINA, 2010).

The rehabilitation, reconstruction and resettlement of internally displaced persons (IDPs) was in process when a devastating flood in 2010 hit Pakistan, including Swat, which created a new crisis. According to the government of Pakistan (GoP)'s Conflict Early Recovery Initial Need Assessment (CERINA) report (2010), this combination of conflict and flood crises over the last 10 years has greatly affected the livelihood strategies of not only the poor segment but also the economically well-off population. The conflict and flood lowered the economic growth through destruction, disruption and depletion of natural resources, and reduced livelihood opportunities for many. The whole of the district's population suffered from a shortage of basic the needs for food, health and shelter. Women and children lived in very difficult social, cultural and economic conditions and faced difficulties in accessing basic needs and services (CERINA, 2010). Moreover, women in Swat society are dependent on the male members for their livelihoods and are constrained by many socio-cultural barriers. In practice, this means conflicts and disasters often affect women more severely than men in the community (Bari, 2012). To overcome these issues, the GoP, humanitarian agencies and NGOs[3] rushed to the affected areas for relief, rehabilitation and resettlement of the IDPs, and revival of the socio-economic and physical infrastructure losses (Aziz, 2010; Ali, 2012). These crises changed the needs and priorities of the people, and development strategies of the government and humanitarian organizations towards relief, rehabilitation and reconstruction (ADB and WB, 2009).

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[3] By humanitarian agencies and NGOs, I refer to all the international, national and local organizations including civil society organizations who are/were involved in process of development, rehabilitation and reconstruction in Swat

This forms a backdrop for studying livelihood strategies, development projects and changing gender relations in the regions over the last decade. Since 2005, on one hand, the access of academic and NGO researchers (national and international) to the Swat area decreased as a result of insecurities and threat from militants. However, studies conducted on Swat from 2001 to 2008 (see for example, Rome, 2008; Rahim & Viaro, 2006; Ahmed, 2006) reflected on political structural reforms, economic development, migration, education and natural resources and to some extent cultural practices. On the other hand, the researchers such as Orakzai (2011), Rome (2010), Fleshiner (2011) and Shah (2010) have concentrated on the historical consequences and causes of the militant conflict and its resolution mechanism. Similarly, the studies conducted by government, local NGOs and researchers during and after the crises, mainly focused on the need assessment and losses of economic and physical infrastructure of the population of Swat. This has increased the general gap for in-depth analysis of social, cultural and political perspectives of the people. Likewise, no academic research exists on the contribution of the development projects, humanitarian aid and displacement, and how these changed household livelihood strategies and gender relations in Swat valley. This study attempts to fill these gaps by posing the questions: How and in what ways have development projects, conflict, military operations, internal displacement and humanitarian aid influenced the social and cultural aspects of people's lives in pursuing their livelihoods and development? In particular, how have gendered relations and the overall social network organized through Pukhtoonwali (a code of ethics) changed during 2001–2013 in Swat valley of KPK, Pakistan? For detailed objectives of the study, see section 1.2. The following section further clarifies reasons for the selection of this research and study area.

## 1.1. Choice of research and study area

My academic background in social anthropology and then professional experience in community development, particularly in the areas of livelihood, natural resource management, gender and development and planning of development projects, motivated me to conduct research on development in the social and cultural perspectives of the gender relations and their roles in Pukhtoon[4] society. My research here builds upon several influential studies conducted on Pukhtoon ethnicity and their culture of pukhtoonwlai. For example, Caroe (1960), Spain (1972), Ahmad (1981), Barth (1965), Khan (1960), and Barfield (2010), reflect on the genealogical structure, the

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[4]According to the Encyclopedia Britannica (2013): 'Pashtun, also spelled Pushtun or Pukhtun, Pakhtoon, Pathan, Persian Afghan: Pushto-speaking people residing primarily in the region that lies between the Hindu Kush in northeastern Afghanistan and the northern stretch of the Indus River in Pakistan'. In this research, the term 'Pukhtoon' is used for simplicity.

principles of pukhtoonwali and the historical roles of wars in south Asia. Similarly, during and after the crises, much research has been conducted on the social, physical and economic impact of the conflict and displacement. However, very little attention has been paid to the issues of men and women of different ethnic and social groups, or to their social network system in their pursuance of livelihoods and development. This could be owing to the patriarchal structure of the Pukhtoon society where researchers (Man, whether native and outsiders) have very little access to interact with women (Lindholm 1982; Ahmad 1981). In addition, the practice is that government officials and the researchers usually access the landlords (*Khan*) and stay in their guesthouses (*hujra's*) for collection of data. Therefore, in most cases, the information is limited to landlords' families. In northwest Pakistan, women's roles are usually limited to household domestic activities; however, in some parts, they are involved with agricultural activities while in other parts, their involvement is minimal. The fact that I am myself a Pukhtoon having grown up in the same culture, provided me with the opportunity to understand the basic context of our cultural practices and gender issues within various ethnic groups. However, I am not native to the Swat valley, nor do I belong to the same tribe of Yousazai (a Pukhtoon tribe in Swat); my hometown is situated in the southern part of the KPK province, which is almost 250 kilometres away from Swat. Therefore, in the anthropological context, this difference in distance, customs, cultural norms, language dialects and geographical setup comes under the study of 'other'.

The study area was selected under the auspices of the project 'Human Security, Gender and Development' in post-conflict Pakistan, funded by the Norwegian Research Council and implemented through collaboration between the Norwegian University of Life Sciences (NMBU) of Norway and COMSATS Institute of Information Technology, Abbottabad Pakistan in the Malakand region of Pakistan. This PhD research is funded by the said project. Second, my personal choice was also to work in northern part of the KPK province as my professional fieldwork experiences were mainly in southern and central districts of KPK province and Azad Jammu Kashmir of Pakistan, when I was working with UNDP as gender coordinator under the rehabilitation and reconstruction project of the 2005 earthquake in Pakistan. I also did my M.Phil research on 'Pukhtoon Society in Transition' in Hangu, one of the southern districts, focusing on the analysis of factors such as education, migration and development projects involved in social and cultural transition of society. Nevertheless, my professional work experiences in social sector development – including education, health, gender, livelihoods and natural resources management – drew my attention towards the issue of gender relations, livelihood strategies and development in the crisis-affected areas of Pakistan. By analysing development projects and livelihoods strategies as well as social and cultural aspects

of gender issues in accessing livelihood resources in crisis-affected areas of Swat, this research provides vital results, which suggest how to offer a space to both men and women in the development policies of reconstruction. Moreover, the study contributes to knowledge of the ways in which development projects and relief, rehabilitation and reconstruction activities have empowered the marginalized classes and transformed the social system of pukhtoonwali. Ultimately, this research seeks to motivate policymakers to consider the issues and constraints identified in the application of participatory development practices, particularly in post-crisis humanitarian aid and development projects, while formulating development policies. In the long run, this will help the development actors working in post-crisis development to focus on how to access crisis-affected populations and promote gendered fair distribution of the humanitarian aid among marginalized populations.

## 1.2. Objectives of the research

Objectives and research questions have two main functions: one is to help the researcher to focus the study (the questions, relationships to purpose and conceptual context) and the other is to give guidance on how to conduct it (their relationship to methods and validity) (Miles and Huberman, 1994). In order to address the main research questions posed above, the following main objectives have been identified: Four independent papers have been developed on each of the above objectives (see Part II thesis).

1.    To analyse how men and women of different ethnic and social groups access livelihood resources, and how the gender relations in pursuing livelihoods strategies have changed during the last decade in Swat valley.
2.    To study how the development project interventions, humanitarian aid, and their implementation processes (approaches) contributed to gender empowerment and livelihood development of marginalized classes.
3.    To explore how the consequences of militant conflicts, military operations and internal displacement have influenced the social and cultural network of pukhtoonwali in Swat valley.
4.    To examine the social, cultural and political constraints in the implementation of development projects and humanitarian aid, and how the crises influenced the participatory development.

## 1.3        Structure of the thesis

This thesis is divided into two parts. The first part consists of seven sections.  The first section provides a brief introduction to and objectives of the research. Section 2 discusses the theoretical

context of gender and development, livelihood, and socio-cultural relations and change in the structure of society. Section 3 provides information on the context of the study, with detailed historical, social and political perspectives of Swat valley, followed by discussion of the militant conflict and flood consequences and their social and economic effects on the Swat valley. Then follows Section 4, which explains the research approach and methods used in this study along with challenges faced in conducting fieldwork. Section 5 discusses the synthesis of the four papers, which, while analytically distinct, are interrelated in context, overall research objectives and aim. Section 6 discusses the major findings of the research in terms of impact of conflict, development and humanitarian aid on the livelihood conditions and social relations of the people. Section 7 presents the conclusion, which summarizes the overall findings of the research and suggests further research on similar issues. The second part of the thesis is comprised of four individual papers.

## 2.     Theoretical framework

According to Maxwell (1996), a theoretical framework gives the researcher insight into existing theories, the findings and literature to be used and also personal experiences that one draws from for his/her study. I follow the Feyeraband view (1994:39) that 'today no researcher depends on only one theory because no single theory in qualitative data ever agrees with all the known facts in its domain'. In this study, I use a number of different theories for better understanding of issues under investigation. Such an approach is useful as the nature of the research is multidisciplinary covering social and cultural aspects, gender, livelihood, conflict, humanitarian aid and development. In this endeavour, I embrace the theoretical perspectives of social constructionism and postmodernism particularly in reference to understanding social relations in practising livelihood and development. These approaches enable this research to tackle the culturally constructed notion of gender in livelihoods and development (Ellis, 2000) and deal with processes of social change, taking a critical stance in interpreting received wisdom in the field of development. A postmodern theoretical approach sees reality as not mirrored in the human mind, but rather as constructed by humans, and thus focuses on relative truth of each person and community (Neuman, 2008). This leads to an analytical interest in how men and women are being disciplined to act in certain ways.

### 2.1     Development in the postmodern world

Since the World War II, the term 'development' become a buzzword which seems to defy definition. Development has been alternatively described as modernization, freedom, trusteeship, a technology of control, and change towards better life (Cowen and Shenton, 1996; Sen, 2001). Modernization

theories hold the discourse of development perspective since 1950, linked development with concepts of westernization or eurocentrism, and assume that traditional countries can develop in the same way as modern countries did (Cowen and Shenton, 1996; Peet and Hartwick, 2009). Modernization sees development as the process of change towards those types of social, economic and political systems that have developed in western Europe and North America and spread to other developing countries in South America, Asia and Africa (Giddens, 1991). In the 1990s, modernization theories were highly criticized because of pro-western bias and not gaining the promised objectives of development (Peet and Hartwick, 209). This led to the emergence of postmodern development perspectives which try to be more neutral, being neither in favour of, nor against western modernization, but rather explain the consequences of modernity for individuals in contemporary society (Giddens, 1991).

Amartya Sen (2001) consistently projects development as freedom, as a process of intentional social advancement through the expansion of human capabilities. According to Cowen and Shenton (1996), an intention to develop becomes a doctrine of development when it is attached, or when it is pleaded that it be attached, to the agency of the state to become an expression of state policy. Similarly, Mathur (1995) notes that governments and a host of international agencies are deliberately encouraging economic and social change in the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America – countries that are trying to find their way to modernization. In view of the context of this research, I take the meaning of development to be a better life for all, as being concerned with how society grants to individuals the capacity for taking part in creating their own livelihoods, governing their own affairs, and participating in self-government (Sen 2001; Peet and Hartwick 2009). To achieve the goals of better life for all and the intentional social advancement in developing states, several theoretical concepts of integrated rural development, community development and participatory development have been applied since 1960. Since the understanding of development is also socially constructed, part of the project of this research is in fact to learn how different actors define development, and to examine how this influences both policy and practice.

For example, Nanda (1998) says that postmodernists see the knower, knowledge and reality as the active construct of one another and bearing the marks of socio-historical context. Postmodern theory argues for a multitude of voices and subjectivities in which no particular point can be more privileged than the other (Sachs, 1996). In relation to this, the postmodernists offer new insights into women's life experiences, together with 'the way societies define women's sense of themselves and how this can limit the opportunity for social change and development' (Parpart, 1993:455).

Postmodernism not only addresses questions and controversies surrounding the notion of a universal woman's standpoint developed by white western feminists, but instead recognizes the multiple forms of oppression experienced by women in various racial, ethnic and class groups (Sache, 1996). This research mainly deals with social changes in gender relations, empowerment and equality in the context of development and cultural construction. Therefore, the argument of postmodernists such as Linda Nicholson, Nancy Fraser and John Scott is followed, focusing on localized, indigenous knowledge and power systems in order to encourage development planners to pay more attention to the concrete circumstances of Third World women's lives (Parpart, 1993). My aim is to analyse how social and cultural aspects of gender have been used in development projects and how gender relations are socially constructed in perspective of livelihood and development. Therefore, a gender and development (GAD) approach has been drawn as necessary element of the theoretical framework. This is an interrelated part of postmodernism, which focuses on gender rather than women, and particularly on the social construction of gender roles and relations, women's productive and reproductive work and other aspects of gender equality (Kabeer, 1991).

## 2.2    Gender and development

The term 'gender' is widely used and often misunderstood (Momsen, 2004), both in meaning and context, by academic researchers and development practitioners. Often the word is taken to mean women (Smyth, 2007) or is sometimes referred to as sexual division of labour between men and women. The feminist movements for civil and political rights since the 1960s, further boosted by the United Nations Decade for Women (1976–1985), have greatly influenced the ways in which gender is understood in development assistance. Different theoretical approaches exist among Marxist, liberal and radical feminists, while postmodernists emerged to explain women's particular viewpoints. Socialist feminists follow Marxist arguments 'that women's consciousness emerges from the social context of their lives, specifically from the sexual division of labour and from women subordination to men' (Sachs, 1996:14).  Under socialist feminism, defining gender lies in changing women's economic roles within households and outside in societies (Nyborg, 2002), which the development practitioners had labelled as invisible or suppressed.

Radical feminists criticize the policies of capitalism further as gender-biased and discriminatory, and propose to address the sexual exploitation of women by men (Sachs, 1996), which is overlooked in the socialist feminism explanation. Liberal theorists, on the other hand incline towards more liberal feminists assumptions, bringing women into development (Papart, 2002) and directing

resources to women who have been kept aside in the past. Liberal feminism emphasizes redefining the roles of men and women within the existing social structure (Nyborg, 2002). However, differentiation remain among the feminist theorists on development of a common women's standpoint.

Despite agreement in all of the feminist positions that women face universal discrimination, they do not universally agree how women subordination could be changed. Alternative perspectives are needed to better understand the contexts under which women and men's relations are formed. Haraway's concept (1991, cited in Sache, 1996) of women's partial and situated knowledge embedded in their particular localities and activities, for example, proved helpful in defining diverse feminist standpoints and paved ways for development of postmodernism and postmodern feminism. Postmodernism with its focus on the construction of ideas and on situated knowledge, recognizes the multiple forms of oppression experienced by women in various racial, class, ethnic and sexuality groups, which raises questions about the existence of a common feminist standpoint (Sachs, 1996). Postmodernism criticizes the validity of a universal feminist theoretical perspective developed by western white, heterosexual and upper-middle class women who, in the majority of cases, fail to represent multiple voices of Asian, African and Latin American women (Parpart, 1993). Parpart argues that postmodernism supports development theory and practises highlighting women's perspectives, which come out in socialist and feminist movements. Later feminists have included forms of gender expressions and representation that are less political (Peat and Hartwick, 2009).

During the 1980s and 1990s, development approaches in the form of GAD and gender mainstreaming emerged. This wave prefers dealing with issues such as political rights, poverty, empowerment, social and economic inequalities between men and women. These issues raised by feminists in both the north and the south became important among international organizations dealing with development, and have succeeded in bringing about significant changes both in discourse and in actual policy (Sen, 2006, cited in Smyth, 2007). In fact as Cornwall et al. (2007:1) observe, 'GAD is a recognized sub discipline and "gender" has gained official status within the discourse of mainstream development'. Rathgeber (1990) argues that GAD goes further than 'Women In Development & Women And Development' in questioning underlying social, economic and political structures, which makes its recommendations difficult to implement since structural changes are required. While writing from a GAD perspective, Connell (2009:29) sees gender identity as 'activities, traits and values culturally and historically associated with men and women, hence masculinities are configuration of practices within gender relations, a structure that includes

large scale institutions and economic relations as well as face to face relationships and sexuality'. Therefore, getting gender concern onto the mainstream development agenda requires pragmatism (Cornwall et al., 2007).

Within gender and development, gender relations is the main focal theme; it argues that women are not a homogenous group but are instead divided by class, race, and creed (Kabeer, 1991). Young (1993) notes that GAD is a holistic approach in which culturally specific forms of inequality and divisions occur and gender becomes interrelated with this overall socially created hierarchy. GAD focuses on gender-strategic needs, and envisions equality between men and women's basic human rights, empowerment, non-recognition of women's domestic work and transforming women's position to productive roles rather than exclusively reproductive roles (Parpart, 2002; Momsen, 2004; Smyth, 1999; WB, 2012). However, since the Beijing declaration in 1995 (a UN conference on women), gender mainstreaming in development has gained momentum as a development approach which reflects on improving women's lives within an existing social, political and economic system rather than challenging unequal power within the system. In spite of such advances on gender reproductive roles, justice and empowerment, these approaches faced strong opposition from the social and religious conservatives (Cornwall et al., 2007).

Pakistan, as a signatory of the Beijing Platform for Action 1995 and the UN Millennium Declaration of 2000, developed indicators for eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) to be achieved by a deadline of 2015. Since then, the GoP and international and national organizations have put men and women's concerns and experiences in place in their development policies and strategies to achieve the targets of MDGs and the broader perspective of development theory. This research evaluates how these development policies and strategies, implemented in the Swat valley, have affected the conditions of gender and how these development projects and the process following the GAD approach have contributed to changing gender relations and improving gender equality in accessing livelihood resources within households and in society.

## 2.3    Livelihoods and gender relations

The second key concept of this research is the livelihoods strategies, where we see how gender is an integral and inseparable part of livelihood practices (Ellis, 2000) at household level and outside the house. According to Grown and Sebstad (1989), men and women are equally responsible for providing a household's needs, either in the form of income earned, or in unpaid work such as support in agricultural activities, childcare, cooking, cleaning, washing and sewing. However, cross-

culturally, recognition of such domestic work as sources of livelihood is very low (Grown and Sebstad, 1989).

Livelihoods can be referred to as the capabilities, assets (both material and social resources) and activities required to earn a living (Chambers and Conway, 1992). Livelihood assets or capitals are subdivided into five categories: social, human, physical, financial and natural resources (Ellis, 2000; DFID, 2002; Schafer, 2002). Many international organizations such as UNDP, DFID, Oxfam and Care International developed and advocated a number of livelihood approaches and frameworks as central to their programmes and projects to solve the problems of rural households in deriving livelihoods and accessing livelihood resources. For example, a livelihood approach takes as its starting point  the actual strategies of people, while a livelihood analysis framework (LAF) can be used as a tool to capture the main elements which comprise the complex livelihoods of people at a given point and time, and ideally the trajectory and dynamics of change in livelihood (Schafer 2002). According to De Satge (2002), the LAF focuses on how households and groups of households derive their livelihoods, and it categorizes the different types of assets and strategies which households undertake to access and meet their basic needs. The LAF, however, has several weaknesses which De Haan (2012) notes, namely the lack of conceptualization of power relations, politics, and institutions of civil society, gender studies and environmental consideration. In addition, it does not focus on the sustainability issues facing different social groups of people, nor does it pay close attention to the gender relations bound up with livelihoods practices in the community. Therefore, I have chosen to focus on a gender analysis framework (GAF) to seek a fuller understanding of culture, expressed in the construction of gender identities and inequalities in relation to household livelihoods (Pasteur 2002). Designed at primary community level, a GAF aims to uncover the dynamics of a variety of gender issues such as social relations, strategies, access to and control over resources, as well as needs (DFID, 2002). Nevertheless, the sustainable livelihood framework of DFID (1999) is perhaps the most enduring (Maxwell, 2005) and links the notion of access to assets to the transforming structure and process (Carney, 1998). Thus, it sees access as both determining assets and potentially being influenced by that use (Schafer, 2002).

In Pakistan and in the northwestern areas in particular, the literature revealed that gender roles are often seen as divided based on cultural and social values and norms of the society. Women are supposed to work inside the house while men perform outside roles and responsibilities (see for example, Ahmad, 1980; Barth, 1981; Lindholm, 1982; Banerjee, 2000 and Ahmad, 2006). The argument given by Kottak (2003:222) that gender roles are the activities a culture assigns to each

sex, and that gender stratification is the unequal distribution of social resources between men and women, reflects a similar situation in that these stratified gender roles and relations in livelihood and development are an important part of the expression of Pukhtoonwali in Swat. I argue that within pukhtoonwali, gender roles of women and men are socially constructed and are being followed in different ways that legitimize the assigned roles and responsibilities of productive, reproductive and community roles (Paper 2). These roles and relations have been treated as socially and culturally constructed notions between men and women, and are usually unequal in terms of decision-making, access to resources and ownership, particularly relevant in analyses of livelihoods (Ellis 2000). However, these are by no means static or uniform and may vary over time and space, by geographic region and according to societal perceptions (UNDP, 2006).

This study revolves around the gender perspectives starting from the social and cultural role of men and women within the household and then extending to their outside roles and relations in controlling their economic and political resources. The research examines how these livelihood approaches applied in some of the government and donor-funded development projects in northwestern Pakistan addressed gender relations, inequality and empowerment perspectives within the practices of pukhtoonwali. Some of the basic concepts of pukhtoonwali have been explained in the individual papers, while section 3.5 critically reviews and elaborates upon the context of pukhtoonwali in order to make it understandable in the rest of thesis.

## 2.4    The context of crisis and post-crisis

Before discussing crisis, it may be necessary to explore the concepts of conflict and militancy. Conflict, according to the Oxford dictionary (2014), is a serious incompatibility between two or more opinions, principles or interests of individuals, groups or state; it suggests deeper contextual meaning to the acts of violence. Conflict may be violent or non-violent, and essentially all societies contain some form of conflict (Beswick and Jackson, 2011). The dimensions of and motivation for conflict may be diverse (Collier and Hoeffler, 2004). Conflict is explained in terms of motive, and the circumstances in which people want to rebel when grievances are sufficiently acute (Collier and Hoeffler, 2004). On the other hand, Stewart (2010) states that mobilization by a group who shares a common identity is one of the important sources of violent conflict. 'Horizontal inequalities' as defined by Stewart (2010) refer to severe inequalities between culturally defined groups. These have been recognized as a major cause of conflict. The horizontal inequalities include economic, social, political and cultural dimensions, and inequality in one dimension can provide incentives for

political mobilization (see Stewart, 2010). According to Orakzai (2011), conflict is an event occurring between multiple organized groups or actors for meeting tangible and intangible needs as well as for achieving political and religious end. The conflict in Swat can be referred to religious radicalization where the militant groups use violent means to impose the Islamic law and the horizontal inequalities pave ways for motivating people from different social groups to fight against the government securities agencies.

Militancy involves having a combative character in the service of a cause, and a person or group struggling to achieve their goals or interests, either political or religious, through violent methods can be referred as militant (Shah, 2014). The term 'militant conflict' used in this paper denotes the violent acts adopted by a militant group (locally known as the Taliban) for the goals of the establishment of Islamic law[5] and forsaking the old social and political structure in Swat valley.

Defining crisis and how it relates to a particular context is important in understanding both impacts and responses. According to Webster's dictionary (2014), a crisis is an unstable or crucial time or state of affairs in which a decisive change is impending. Duffield (1994) links crisis with complex emergencies and states that they (complex emergencies) protracted from political crises, destroy the cultural, civil, political and economic integrity of established societies, and attack social systems. Several authors such as Hussain (2013) and Rome (2010) relate the present conflict crisis in Pakistan, particularly in KPK and Swat, to the US war against the Soviet Union, precipitated in the religious radicalism in Afghanistan and Pakistan. On the other hand, the international actors, particularly western governments, have linked the conflict to wider geographical issues, including stability in Afghanistan, global counter-terrorism and security in South Asia (ODI, 2009). In the context of Swat, I define crises as the unstable conditions caused by excessive political and religious stresses and natural disaster, resulting in changes in the social, economic and political systems as well as in the need for development and security.

I have termed the period 2001–2006 the pre-crisis period. This has been drawn from the interviews of the respondents who referred to this period as the time before the intrusion of the Taliban in Swat valley. The period 2007–2010 is referred to as the period of crises composed of the event occurring when the Taliban controlled the major part of Swat in 2008, the Pakistan military operations, the period of internal displacement and resettlement of the displaced people, and finally the flood disaster of 2010. The period 2010–2013 is termed in this research the post-crises period, although

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[5] At least this is what they claim publically, but other hidden interests could not be ignored.

the conflict crisis is not over but has been reduced to a large extent. The post-crisis period referred to 'humanitarian work and development', which is widely understood as the actions taken by government and non-government organizations to protect and save lives, alleviate suffering, and build livelihoods during and following the emergencies, and in the long run, to work on peace-building and disaster risk reduction to prepare for and recover from the crises (Hoare et al., 2012). The detailed consequences of the conflict and flood crises are discussed in section 3.2.2.

## 2.5    Social and cultural perspective of Pukhtoonwali

Pukhtoons, one of the largest ethnic group in the world, live in northwest Pakistan of KP province, in the FATA areas named as 'tribal agencies', the southwest of Baluchistan Province and in the eastern and southern regions of Afghanistan (Ahmad, 1980). The Pukhtoons, like all other cultures and ethnicities, demonstrate the essentials of distinctiveness as well as influences of politics, history, ecology and economy. This distinctive nature of Pukhtoon cultural features has been termed 'pukhtoonwali' by historians and anthropologists (Hussain, 2014). Banerjee (2000:29) sees pukhtoonwali as 'a highly distinctive code of ethics and behaviour, dating back more than thousands of years, which is found on several interrelated institutions and concepts'. Pukhtoonwali is a worldview that encompasses political, economic, social, religious, and secular aspects of life (Taj, 2011; Ali F., 2012).

The people of Swat have lived for centuries under the traditional system of Pukhtoonwali and possess a strong social network system. 'Social network' refers to the network consisting of persons or groups linked by different kinds of social, political and economic relationships (Wood 2008). Lindholm (1982) says that in Swat, pukhtoonwali governs all aspects of social structure, genealogy, morality, political action and economic life. Pukhtoonwali as mentioned in literature, is composed of some prominent principles, namely *Malmastia* (hospitality), *Jirga* (council of elders), *Badal* (revenge), *Nanawatee* (refuge, asylum), *Ghairat/Nang* (honour, chivalry), *Tor* (shame), *Tarboorwali* (agnatic rivalry), *Hujra* (guest place), *purdha* and *Namoos* (gender boundaries), and *paighor* (taunt) (see Spain, 1962; Bart, 1981; Ahmad, 1980; Lindholm, 1982; Banerjee 2000; Kakar 2007). This can be understood as a cultural structure continuously reproduced through practices that underpin social, political and economic life of Pukhtoon, and provide an alternative form of social organization (Orakzai, 2011). Pukhtoonwali can be considered an unwritten constitution of Pukhtoons and its meaning is communicated through the Pushto language in the form of proverbs, metaphors, idioms, and anecdotes (Ali, 2012; Khan, 2014). Pukhtoons adhere to *pukhto*/Pushto.

Here the word 'pukhto' not only means language, but is constituted beyond the language as a symbol of belief, behaviour, integrity and the cultural identity for Pukhtoon (Grima, 2005). It is still commonly understood by the Swat people that any man or woman who fails to adhere to pukhto or to abide by the tenets of pukhtoonwali, is not really a Pukhtoon. Any deviation leads to *paghoor* (ostracism) and shame, which in Pukhtoon society is considered as high abuse and in the of majority cases becomes a cause of conflict between families, other groups and sometimes even between clans. This is one of the main reasons that people strictly follow the culture and my observations are that the inherently accepted norms of following pukhto has curbed social change in major part of the northwestern Pakistan.

Being a native of the northwestern region, and having had first-hand experiences of Pukhto culture has helped me as a researcher to understand the anthropological and sociological perspectives of the Swat region and pukhtoonwali. It also has provided me with challenges of self-reflection when it comes to a critical analysis of gendered relations, when I myself am a male member of the Pukhtoon culture. Keeping these sometimes contradictory identities in mind, I nevertheless try to have a critical view of Pukhtoonwali in terms of gendered social relations. Pukhtoonwali represents men as dominant, responsible and open to express their opinions, while women are the runners who are to follow and submit. The primary responsibility of women within the Pukhtoon cultural system is to perform domestic chores (Rahim and Viaro, 2005). The culturally constructed notions instruct women to live according to norms and traditional values. The gender boundary as a principle of pukhtoonwali revolves around the *ghairat* (honour) of both men and women and sometime women are treated as scarified organs in the name of honour. In the context of livelihood practices, again women's roles in accessing the livelihood resources are limited to agriculture-related activities and livestock care. However, there is variation among women of different social and ethnic groups as well as in urban and rural setups (Rahim and Viaro, 2003). For example, Ahmad (2006) worked in Swat and Mardan of KPK province on the role and contribution of the elite class women to sorrow and joy as an important part of the social and cultural practices of pukhtoonwali. She reflected on the power of elite class women in the selection of mates for boys and girls, and in decision-making regarding the practice of marriage ceremonies. Similarly, their participation in death ceremonies and in providing financial support to poor households during periods of sorrow and joy contribute to strengthening the social and political affiliation within the society. Elahi's (2008) studies in the southern part of the KPK province reveal similar results, finding that women among the *Khan* (landlord's) families enjoy more power in decision-making at household level in both financial and social matters and this is because of their access to education and outside mobility. The women of

the elite class rarely participate in agricultural activities or livestock care even within the household, as this is considered against the norms of honour for elite women; instead, women of tenants' families perform such activities at Khan's households (Ahmed, 2006). Such constructed roles vary among the low landholder or landless Pukhtoon families, where women must perform all these domestic household activities and lack access to financial resources and decision-making at household level (Naz and Rehman, 2011).

The research reflects on the changes in the functioning of various tenets of the pukhtoonwali. However, I have not concentrated on all the tenets or principles of Pukhtoonwali such as *Nanawati, Tarboorwali*, and *Badragah* (usher). Instead, I focus on *Nang, Jirga* and *Melmastia* which directly cover tenets like *Hujra, namoos* and *badal,* keeping in view my research objectives and aims (see Papers II and III).

## 2.6    Participatory development and gender empowerment

The participatory development practices (approaches) initiated in the late 1970s, followed by the applications of participatory rural appraisal (PRA) in the 1980s, were considered as an important process of seeking equal participation of various ethnic and social groups, gender equality and empowerment, democratization and poverty reduction  (De Haan, 2009; Chambers, 1997). The involvement of local population in planning and implementation process of development project interventions was linked with changes in the social and cultural system, sustainable development and better project outcomes (Cornwall, 2002; Chambers 1997). Cleaver (2001) sees that the theory of participatory approaches to development as being reflected through the efficiency argument, which focuses on achieving better project outcomes, and the equity and empowerment argument, which focuses on enhancing the capacity of individuals to improve or change their own lives. Chambers (1995) advocates that participatory approaches are processes of empowerment which enable local people to analyse their own situation, to take command, to gain confidence and to make their own decisions. Nonetheless, as researchers like Moser (1989) have pointed out, the power and benefits of development have been largely confined to men, since the dominant development approach only targeted men and saw 'heads of households', 'farmers' and 'breadwinners' as men. Women were merely seen as 'housewives', 'secondary earners' and 'mothers' within the context of the family/household unit. Indeed, if dominant development approaches addressed women at all, it was only in these marginal roles. However, the equity approach then recognized that women are active participants in development processes, who through reproductive and productive roles

provide a critical, if often unacknowledged, contribution to economic growth (Razavi and Miller, 1995).

Gender empowerment remains an essential objective of the participatory development and GAD (Cleaver, 1999). Empowerment itself is a multifaceted concept that cannot be limited to one definition. The term 'empowerment' has become quite fashionable within development discourse and is now a constituent part of the rhetoric of most bilateral and multilateral donor agencies (Bigdon and Korf, 2004). According to Batliwala (2007), empowerment is a socio-political process in which the critical operating concept within empowerment is power, and that empowerment is about shift in political, social and economic power between and across both individual and social groups. I use the context of empowerment given by Batliwala and connected to the social process and transformation in relationships of individual, groups, institutions, and how participatory development shifted social and political power of these actors within the social system of pukhtoonwali. Of course, there are many actors/institutions: government, donors, international and local NGOs, and pukhtoonwali. There were contradictions and tensions between different actors which may be described as asymmetrical relations at various levels, for example between external actors and local communities in terms of material resources, human capacities and information regarding projects and their modalities of operation.

Gender empowerment specifies the recognition of men and women in economic, political and social spheres, which leads towards social transformation. The postmodernism views of participatory development present empowerment as process of change and enhancement of individual or group capacity. However, researchers such as Razavi and Miller (1995) see the participatory development as an externally constructed or NGO approach to development, which is essentially project-orientated and often anti-state, or against local culture. On the other hand, the rhetoric of empowerment and bottom-up development has much recognition in socio-economic development. The study focused on how and in what way the participatory development interventions, involvement of external and internal NGOs and the development itself altered power relations (decision-makings, property rights, access to livelihood resources) between both men and women of different ethnic and social groups as well as between the operating institutions.

# 3.    Context of the study area

## 3.1    The geography, economy, and culture of Swat

KPK province is one of the four provinces in Pakistan, and lies on the western part of the Pakistan bordering Afghanistan on the northwest, Punjab province of Pakistan on the southeast, Gilgit Baltistan and Azad Kashmir on the northeast and FATA to the west and south. The total area of the KPK province is 74,521 square kilometres and has a population of over 22 million with a density of 238 per square kilometre, making up almost 14 per cent of the total population of the country (Government of KPK, 2014). KPK is home to the majority of Pukhtoon (locally referred to as *Pashtuns or Pathan*) as well as other smaller non-Pukhtoon ethnic groups, such as Awan, Kohistani, Hazara and Chitrali. Pukhtoons are predominantly an Eastern Iranian people who are speakers of the Pashto language and live in a contiguous geographic location across Pakistan and Afghanistan (Gnagkovsky, 2006). The principal and dominant language is Pashto (locally referred to as *Pakhto*), but the province also includes non-Pushto-speaking people residing in Hazara division, and the districts of Dera Ismail khan, Peshawar, Chitral and Kohat. Pukhtoon make up approximately two-thirds of the population. At the same time, about 1.5 million Afghan refugees live in different parts of the province (Gnagkovsky, 2006). The industries of forestry and mining dominate the province; however, agriculture remains important and the main cash crops include wheat, maize, rice, sugar beets, as well as various fruits (Ali, 2010). However, the local economy has been performing below its potential due to various geopolitical and developmental constraints in the region (WB and ADB, 2009). Consequently, a large population in the 25 districts live around the poverty line. This study has been conducted in one of the northern districts known as Swat, which will be described below in two parts:   Historical Swat and Current Swat.

Figure 1:  **Map of Pakistan political and administrative divisions, the study area district Swat highlighted in green**



Source: Pakistan political map, taken from http://www.magazine.com.pk/travel/Pakistan/maps/ November, 2004

Figure 2: **Map of the Swat district, highlighting sub-divisional settlement and study area selected for this research, circled in red**
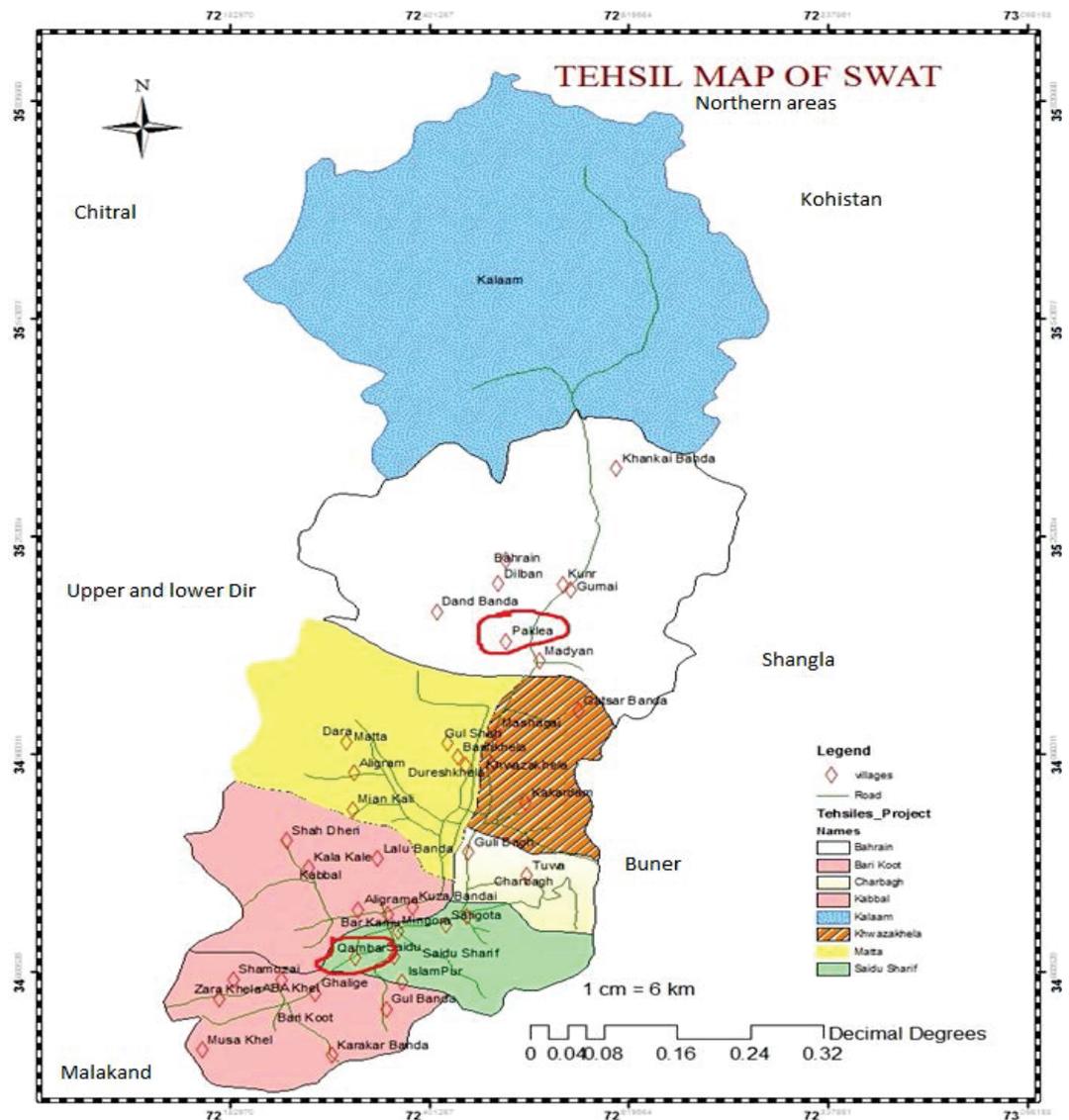


Source: local government department of Swat, however, modified to present selected villages.

The present Swat valley is the part of Malakand Division comprised of the districts Malakand, Swat, Buner, Upper Dir, and Lower Dir. These districts come under the control of the Provincial Administrative Tribal Area (PATA), Article 246 of the Constitution of Pakistan 1973. It borders

Buner and Malakand to the south, the Lower and Upper Dir districts to the west, Chitral and Gilgit to the north and Kohistan and Shangla districts to the east. The total area of the district is 5,065 square kilometres with a population of approximate 1.80 million; 86.62 per cent live in rural areas while 13.38 per cent live in urban areas (PDMA, 2012; Salman, 2012). Mingora is the main city of the district, which is situated at a distance of about 160 kilometres from Peshawar, the provincial capital, and about 250 kilometres from Islamabad, the capital of Pakistan. However, Saidu Sharif is the main headquarters of the government's administrative departments. A number of ethnic groups reside in Swat including Pukhtoon (mainly of the Yousafzai tribe), Mian/Syed (Holy descent), Kohistanis, Gujjars, and a small number of Hindu and Sikhs (Fleishner, 2011; Salman, 2012). Almost 99 per cent of the populations are Muslim, and Pushto or pukhto is the predominant language of almost 93 per cent of the population.

Pakistan's Swat valley was once a popular destination for both national and international tourists due to its scenic beauty, snow covered peaks, moderate climate and pristine rivers. Indeed, its appealing geography once earned it the nickname 'Switzerland of Pakistan' (CPPR, 2010; Fleischner, 2011). Some of the more famous tourist spots include Madyan, Kalam, Malam Jaba (also a ski resort), Marghozar (White palace), Saidu Sharif, Mahodand Lake and Matltan. All these tourist spots were easily accessible by road but the conflict and flood have considerably damaged the infrastructure.

### 3.1.1 Topography and climate

Topographically, Swat is a mountainous region located among foothills of Hiundukush mountain range. The elevation varies from 600 metres above sea level in the south, rising to around 6,000 metres in the north. The main Swat River rises from the Mashabar range and flows south and southwest approximately dividing the valley into two halves (District Census report, 1998). The climate in the Swat varies as a result of factors like latitude and altitude, and the summer monsoon. It is warm in the lower Swat, and cool and refreshing in upper northern part. The average minimum and maximum temperature in summer is 16 degrees Celsius and 33 degrees Celsius, while in winter the mean minimum and maximum temperature is -2 degrees Celsius and 11 degrees Celsius respectively. The average annual rainfall in district Swat ranges from 1,000 millimetres to 1,200 millimetres (District Census report, 1998; CPPR, 2010).

3.1.2        Area and land use

The Swat valley has rich land resources including forest, agricultural land and water. The total area of the Swat district covers 506,528 hectares, of which 98,054 hectares is cultivated while the net cropped area, including horticulture, is 189,051 hectares (CPPR, 2010). The total area covered by forest in 2007–08 was 136,705 hectares, which makes up almost 20 per cent of the total land while the total unavailable land for cultivation is 187,245 hectares and is classified as waste area. The forest is concentrated in upper areas of Madyan and Kalam and consists of famous species of pine and deodar such as kail, fir, spruce and chir (District Census report, 1998; CPPR, 2010).

Agriculture, forestry and fisheries are the main sources of livelihood for more than 45 per cent of the population, while 80 per cent of the households are indirectly depend on agriculture (Ali A., 2010). However, a significant number of population work in other sectors: 29 per cent work in skilled jobs like government and private industries; 12 per cent are involved in off-farm employment such as wholesale, retail trade and the hotel industry; and eight per cent depend on remittances both from in and outside the country, while the rest are involved in unskilled work or are unemployed (District Census Report, 1998; Khan, 2009). Before the conflict crisis, the farming system of Swat was considered a model for the rest of the KPK province:  it was a centre of orchard production together with multi-processing industries, cold storages and efficient transportation and marketing systems (Ali, 2010). Approximately 500 to 600 trucks (average load 1,500 to 2,000 kilograms per truck) transport different kind of fruits (peaches, apples, pears, tomatoes, plums and persimmons) and vegetables to other parts of the country during the harvest season (Ali, 2010).

## 3.2    Historical context

### 3.2.1   Early history

The historical context of the Swat is presented in order to reflect on how the social, political and cultural dimensions functioned and to link the past consequences with current scenarios of social and cultural systems. The first mention of Swat – named *Udyana*, a Sanskrit word meaning garden – is found in the historical documents of Aryan and Greek (Khan, 1960). The history of Swat dates back more than two thousand years and the rich resources, scenic beauty and clean water attracted many invaders including Alexander the Great in 326 BC, the Buddhists in first century and Chinese

tourists in 403 to 752 AD[6]. The Buddhists, attracted by the region's fertility, laid the basic infrastructure such as roads and tracks and made it a great centre of Buddhist civilization. Indo-Greek, Kushans and Hindu-Shahi ruled the state until the entrance of the Muslim ruler Mahmood of Ghazna in the eleventh century, who, after conquering the Swat, established a Muslim state. Around this time, the Yousafzai tribe of Pukhtoon ethnicity migrated from Afghanistan to Peshawar valley and entered the Swat valley in the sixteenth century. In the process, they pushed out the indigenous inhabitants known as Kohistani or Swati to the upper mountain areas and to the Hazara division of the current Pakistan. However, the Yousafzai did not establish a government or a state but lived in tribal fashion (Rome, 2010). While, the Mughal emperors (1526–1858) marched twice to occupy Swat, they were unsuccessful and the Yousafzai Pukhtoon retained their independent position for the time they ruled. Swat remained unpenetrated by the Mughals until Akbar's rule (a Mughal emperor, 1556–1605). Therefore, they retained their freedom throughout the Mughal period and also during the reigns of the Durranis and the Sikh in the northwest part (Rome, 2008). The various Afghan tribes who settled in the Swat valley came to be known as Swat Pukhtoons (Rahi, 2011).

The land of Swat was later attacked by the Mughal, Durrani, Sikh and British forces during the fifteenth to nineteenth centuries, but none of them managed to control the whole Swat (Qayyum, 2010). However, the British occupation of Peshawar and the plain areas up to the borders of Swat in 1849 alarmed the leaders of Swat. Indeed, in the same year, Syed Akbar Shah from the Akhund family established the first Islamic state in Swat but after his death in 1857, differences remained between the Swat leaders and Nawab of Dir. The British army along with Nawab of Dir attacked Swat in 1895 but could not succeed in occupying the whole Swat, apart from a small portion, which he ruled until 1907. But the Nawab of Dir rule's was neither popular nor strong, therefore internal agitation continued until 1915 when the *Jirga* (council of elders) of different clans invited Mian Gul Abdul Wadood, the grandson of the Saidu Baba (a religious priest) to rule. He refused and the Jirga then selected Abdul Jabar Shah as ruler. Owing to uncertain consequences in 1917, the same Jirga again decided to force out the Abdul Jabar Shah and crowned Mian Gul Abdul Wadood as the new *Bacha* (king) of the Swat state. He strengthened the state through developing the communication system, establishing forts and spreading the state rule in surrounding areas. The British government in the subcontinent recognized the Swat state in 1926 and a title of *Wali* (ruler) was given to Miangul

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[6] The historical details of Swat throughout the paper have been taken from various sources such as Barth, 1965, 1981; Khan, 1960; Rome, 2008, 2010; Ahmad 1980; Lindholum 1980; Qayyum 2010; Rahi 2011; Fleishner 2011; Orakzai 2011 and Salman 2012. Also see website: www.zamaswat.com and http://www.valleyswat.net/

Abdul Wadood (Rome, 2008). The Wali extended the state territories up to upper Swat and established Swat as a welfare state (Khan, 1960; Qayyum, 2010).

In 1947 during the partition of the British colonies in the subcontinent, the Swat state announced their alliance with Pakistan and became a part of Pakistan as independent state and this status continued until 1969. Minagul Abdul Wadood handed over the ruling authority to his son, Mian Jehanzeb, in 1949 who initiated developmental works like the construction of roads, schools and hospitals. He ensured peace, order, and provision of justice to a greater extent than before, and improved government institutions. He took steps and initiated policies that aimed at bringing drastic changes in the social organization of the Swat state area (Rome, 2008; Barth, 1965). However, the feudal system remained intact and the Yousafzai and influential religious leaders remained the dominant in political force and privileged groups (Rome, 2008).

In 1969, the Swat state was merged with Pakistan as a settled district of NWFP, currently known as KPK province. The post of deputy commissioner and other administrative departments were set up in the district and the administration was put under the provincial authority of the KPK government. Anthropologists and historians such as Fredrik Barth, Akbar Ahmad, Asad Ali, Charles Lindholum and Sultan Rome suggested in their studies that during the Wali Swat period, the region developed significantly in terms of education, health, infrastructure, communication, economic and implementation of rule of laws, and even became a tourist spot for its scenic beauty and peace. However, because of lack of investment, unemployment and little attention to the speedy justice system, the new administrative setup put the society into misery (Rome, 2010). The Wali Sahib compared the post-Swat State in conversation with Fredrik Barth in the late 1990  and described the period as follows:

> The present administration functions very differently from mine. Cases must wait for years before they are decided; security has become poor, maintenance of public facilities is poor. Officers in charge come and go; they never have time to learn, or to see any project through. The different branches of Government do not coordinate. At the time of the State, one mind and one purpose controlled it all; we could coordinate all the efforts and pursue persistent and long-term policies (Barth, 1995:151).

These statements by the Wali of Swat were indicators for the government administrations to abide by, but the situation began to deteriorate since 2001 instead of giving relief to people, which paved the way for the militant groups' intrusion into the Swat valley.

### 3.2.2 History of the current militant conflict and flood crises

In Pakistan, the militant conflict can be traced back to the Afghan war of 1979 when the Soviet Union forces entered Afghanistan (Salman, 2012). The international community including the US, Europe and Arab states financially, militarily and politically supported the Afghan *Mujahideens* (fighter) groups to fight against the Soviet Union (Rome, 2010). The tribal areas of Pakistan bordering Afghanistan were used as the main base for these Mujahideens groups. 'Hundreds of *madrassas* (religious education schools) and Mujahedeen camps were established in KPK, Baluchistan and Punjab, and heavy funds and ammunition were brought into Pakistan for Mujahedeen' (Mazoor, 2010:104). The withdrawal of the Soviet Union in 1989 left Afghanistan in chaos (Rome, 2010), providing the opportunity for the Taliban (at the time, a new group) to emerge triumphant at the end of the civil war. Afghani and Pakistani madrassas students following the traditional 'Salafi/Wahabi' version of Islam (Afsar, Samples, and Wood, 2008; Orakzai, 2011; Fleischner, 2011) joined the Taliban group – mainly composed of Pukhtoon lineage people. The influence of the Taliban movement spread to all parts of the country, but particularly in the Pukhtoon belt, and the Malakand division of the KPK province. The Tehreek Nifaz-e-Shariait-e-Mohammadi (TNSM: Movement for the enforcement of Islamic Law) started by Sufi Mohammad, a religious scholar in 1989, mainly concentrated on the Malakand division, but in 1994 the TNSM was extended in the form of Tor Patki (black turban) movement in Swat (Salman, 2012).

Following the 9/11 attacks and the subsequent US invasion of Afghanistan, Sufi Mohammad led a group of approximately 5,000 young boys to Afghanistan to fight against the US-led forces. On return from Afghanistan, Sufi Mohammad and some of his group members were arrested by the GoP and were sent to prison (Rahi, 2011). During this period of imprisonment, his son-in-law, Fazlullah – the militant leader in Swat – took the lead of TNSM in the Malakand division, which included Swat. His speeches on FM radio succeeded in winning the hearts of a large numbers of people in Swat including women (Salman, 2012), many of whom donated their jewellery and money to Fazlullah to help him impose an Islamic system (Aziz, 2010). In the meantime, the Red Mosque (Lal Masjid) Islamabad incident in 2007, together with the assassination of the former Prime Minister of Pakistan, Benazir Bhutto, in 2008, further deteriorated the security situation and motivated militants around the country.

During 2008–2009, the militant conflict in Swat was at its peak. Taliban militants were attacking political activists, police, personal, civil society members and bombed government buildings,

particularly girls' schools, and established their *markaz* (centre) for Taliban which was deciding all kinds of civil and criminal cases (see also Rome, 2009 and Ali, 2012). A number of efforts were made through *Jirga* (council of elders) to bring peace to the whole Malakand region but these efforts were unsuccessful. The last agreement made with Sufi Mohammad in February 2009 in Swat brought ceasefire for a short period, but the situation worsened again when some of the groups within Swat refused to lay down their arms and stop their militant activities (Rome, 2010). Thus, the ceasefire was broken and the then provincial coalition government led by Awami National Party requested the federal government to launch a fully-fledged operation against the militancy in Swat. The military operation caused internal displacement. The IDPs of Swat lived in camps established in the districts of Mardan, Swabi, Charsada and Nowshera by the GoP and NGOs. Some of them lived in government schools; those who could afford it rented houses, while many families fled to live with relatives in the KPK province, Islamabad and other part of the country. By June 2009, most of Swat was freed from the militants and Mingora was in government control again (CERINA, 2010). Most of the IDPs left for a period of three to six months. According to recent reports of the provincial disaster management authority (PDMA) 2012, all registered IDPs have now returned to their communities.

The conflict and internal displacement not only affected law and order and security, but it also left deep imprints on the very social and economic fabric of the region (Salman, 2012:77). According to estimates of the Pakistan government, the loss to agriculture alone in Swat amounted to PKR, Rs. 35 billion (approximately USD 33.97 million) during 2007–2009 (Ali, 2010). The government and NGOs were in the process of rehabilitation and resettlement of the IDPs when the 2010 monsoon-related flood hit the whole province of KPK and devastated large parts of the country. The Swat district was badly affected by flooding and this caused further extensive damage to Swat's agricultural sector and infrastructure (CERINA, 2010). At present, the society is moving from the rehabilitation to the reconstruction phase. Both the crises and rehabilitation responses reflected the particular roles and positions of men and women within the private and public spheres. Humanitarian aid is now transforming the reconstruction phases and there are hundreds of development projects implemented or under implementation in the Swat valley.

## 3.3    Development policies and programmes in KPK and Swat

Since Pakistan's inception in 1947, the GoP with financial and technical assistance of world organizations and donors, pursued a number of rural development policies and strategies aiming to

improve the lives of human populations throughout the country. During the 1950s and 1960s, the 'Pakistan development strategy' was articulated to promote agricultural industrialization, public enterprises in the manufacturing sector and privatization; it was made operational through midterm (three and five year) plans (Hamid, 2008). In the 1970s, policies shifted to heavy industrialization and nationalization of institutions such as banking, cement and oil refineries. During the 1980s, the GoP followed a mixed economy strategy; de-nationalization of heavy industries, trade liberalization and provided incentives to textile industries (Hamid, 2008). A number of development programmes during 1950–1980 such as Village-Agriculture and Industrial Development (V-AID), Rural Work Programme and Comella Project, Oringi Pilot Project, People's Work Programme, Integrated Rural Development Programme were planned and implemented. However, these policies lack incorporating the social gap particularly in the sectors of public health, education and vulnerability. These were supposed to reduce poverty and promote rural livelihoods but did not bring about the desired change in conditions of the poor (Arif and Farooq, 2011).

During the period 1990–1998, the policies continued despite repeated changes in government. Recognizing the social gap in government policies and underachievement in human development, the Social Action Programme (SAP) was launched in 1992–1993, with aid of donor financing. The SAP aimed at increasing public spending on social development and improving institutional capacities (World Bank, 2002). The community development approaches introduced following the Agha Khan Rural Support Programme (AKRSP), were extended to the whole country under the umbrella of Rural Support Programs (RSPs) during the 1990s. In KPK, some of the well-known projects/programmes since 1990 were launched to achieve the objectives of the SAP. These projects include the Barani Area Development Projects-I (1990–2000), the Malakand Social Forestry Project (1985–1995), the NWFP Forestry Sector Programme (1995–2005), the Pakistan Poverty Alleviation Fund, and the Community Infrastructure project (CIP-1, 1995–2002). However, the outcomes of the projects in terms of improving the target sectors was low, although in some phases improvements occurred, particularly in education and providing physical facilities at institutional level (World Bank, 2002).

During 2001, the military government of General Musharraf (President of Pakistan from 1999–2008) introduced a new type of local government system which focused on devolution of political and fiscal central power to local government system at grass root level. To overcome the problematic governance, the large social gap, anticipation of most fiscal resources for interest payment and defence, and low foreign exchange reserve, the new government launched a large-scale development

policy agenda of the Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (I-PRSP) ) in 2001 (World Bank, 2002). The policy set out five main goals for the years ahead, namely reforming governance, engendering growth, creating income-generating opportunities, improving human development and reducing vulnerability to shocks. More specifically, the GoP along with the consultation of the IMF prepared a poverty reduction strategy paper (PRSP) in 2003 for economic growth, poverty reduction, investing in human capital and promoting social upliftment of the vulnerable regions of the country. The PRSP focused on attainment of MDGs for sustainable development and poverty reduction through support of the development partners (PRSP, 2003). The PRSP includes policies to address issues of gender, employment, human development and environment with poverty. Under the PRSP of 2003, the GoP committed to participatory-based community development of infrastructure, livelihood, natural resource management and social services (World Bank, 2004).

To achieve the objectives of the MDGs by 2015, and to improve the overall social and economic growth of the country, the GoP and the KPK government along with support of donors such as the World Bank, IMF and the Asian Bank, initiated a number of development projects under the I-PRSP and PRSP strategies. Some of the prominent projects implemented in the Swat valley during 2001–2008, include the Malakand Rural Development programme (MRDP-2001-07), Community Infrastructure project-II (CIP-II, 2004–2009), agricultural and environment development, and many other projects supported and implemented by national and international NGOs.

Since this research covers the period 2001–2013, I chose to select the two recently implemented development projects before the crisis, namely MRDP and CIP-II, because of their relevance to the conduct of research in terms of their approaches to development, focus on livelihood strategies, gender equality and overall social changes in the informal system. The project documents (see SCIP-II, 2010; MRDP, 2007; and MRDP, 2010) reveal the applications of participatory development approaches in the implementation of project interventions by relevant government departments, national and local NGOs and communities. The current research examines the interventions and processes of these two development projects and their impact on gender empowerment, informal institutional changes, and accesses to livelihood resources (see Paper I). Nonetheless, these projects have been implemented with some degree of success, although they have also faced numerous political and bureaucratic constraints (see Papers I and IV).

During the last decade, Pakistan has faced a number of natural and manmade disasters. The earthquake of 2005 affected an area of approximately 30,000 square kilometres across Azad Jammu

Kashmir (AJK) and the Northwest Province, killed more than 73,338 people, injured 128,309 people and damaged physical infrastructure (ERRA, 2007). In response, in order to relieve, rehabilitate and reconstruct the affected areas, the GoP established a new entity known as the Earthquake Reconstruction and Rehabilitation Authority (ERRA) at federal level, and extended the jurisdiction of ERRA through state and provincial reconstruction and rehabilitation authorities to deal with the areas of AJK and KPK. Following the internal militant conflicts and government military operations since 2005 in KPK province and FATA areas, the government of Pakistan established a new organization, the Provincial, Reconstruction, Rehabilitation and Settlement Authority (PaRRSA), to oversee the reconstruction, rehabilitation and resettlement of the conflicted, affected and internally displaced population. Following the flood disaster in 2010, the Provincial Disaster Management Authority (PDMA)[7] was given the mandate to take the lead in setting up a system to respond to crises whether natural or man-induced. However, PaRRSA was supposed to work closely with PDMA in Swat. The conflict crisis changed the strategies, needs, priorities and objectives of the development policies and diverted development projects towards relief, rehabilitation and resettlement. A number of humanitarian aid agencies and international NGOs carried out the development projects in the affected areas for rehabilitation and reconstruction of the livelihood strategies, human security and physical infrastructure development.

The introduction of new actors/institutions by the GoP prompted changes in the strategies of the rehabilitation and reconstruction activities. This, in turn, complicated coordination, stakeholder identification and the ability of the various actors to formulate a comprehensive policy – particularly for implementation of the development projects. For example, major construction projects like bridges, hospitals, schools and roads which have been funded by countries such as the United Arab Emirates, Turkey, Japan, Saudi Arabia and China have been implemented by the Pakistan army, while under normal circumstances, the implementation is the responsibility of the respective provincial or districts government specialized departments. Similarly, small-scale infrastructure projects funded by donors agencies like the US Agency for International Development, Oxfam, UNDP, Care international, World Vision and many others, are being implemented through the local or national NGOs or implementing partners. These NGOs need to register their organization with PDMA and obtain a 'no objection certificate' for carrying out interventions in Swat. A forum for coordination of NGO activities was in place, but there were no specific directions for any NGO in the form of interventions or area allocations. I examined the post-crisis development projects of the

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[7] For details, see http://www.pdma.gov.pk/index.php and http://www.pdma.gov.pk/PaRRSA/index.php

few NGOs like HUJRA, the Environmental Protection Society (EPS) and Initiative for Development and Empowerment Axis (IDEA) in order to document what types of strategies they adopted for planning and implementation of project interventions. The research focused on how these organizations involved communities in identification of needs of the affected men and women, and to document the overall impact of the project interventions on livelihood of households and gender relations (see Paper I). In broader developmental theoretical perspectives, the research supports identification of issues and constraints in application of participatory development process in planning, implementation and monitoring of the post-crisis development aid.

## 4.    Research perspectives, approach and methodology

This study is based on certain ontological assumptions that exist in the human world. Norman Blaikie (2000) suggests that ontological assumptions are made about the nature of social reality, claims about what exists, what it looks like, what units make it up and how these units interact with each other. In short, ontological assumptions are concerned with what we believe constitutes social reality. This study's ontological position is contained within the perspective of constructivism, which asserts that social phenomena and their meanings are continually being produced and reproduced by social actors (Grix, 2002). It is human knowledge that makes social phenomena, and the roles of actors are socially constructed. On the other hand, epistemology concerns the knowledge-gathering process about social reality and involves the development of new theories that are better than competing theories (Blaikie, 2000; Grix, 2002). Constructivism clarifies epistemology as a broader subjectivist assumption that sees knowledge as created in interaction between investigator and respondents (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). It is the epistemological position that differentiates critical theory and constructivism from positivism and post-positivism of objectivist assumptions that enable the investigator to determine how things really work or to approximate reality (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). In this research, the epistemological position is contained within the perspective of interpretivism, which is predicated upon the view that a strategy is required that respects the differences between people and the other objects of natural sciences. Intepretivism therefore requires the social scientist to grasp the subjective meaning of social action (Bryman, 2004; Grix, 2002). An intepretivist epistemology allows this study to 'get at' its object of analysis, to investigate how the gender roles and relations are socially and culturally constructed in terms of livelihood resources and development, and to interpret the subjective meanings of socially constructed notions within society.

A theoretical perspective is the philosophical stance informing the methodology of a research project, thus providing context for the process and grounding its logic and criteria (Crotty, 1998). Understanding social relations in the context of a theoretical perspective of social constructionism is necessary to understand what social constructionism is. However, constructionism has also been followed as a methodological approach and explained in section 4. Social constructionism has increasingly emerged as an important perspective in the social sciences and has even become predominant in areas like rationality, objective knowledge, reality, actions and facts (Alvesson and Skoldberg 2009)[8]. Barlebo (2001) defines social construction as a critical perspective, a sociological theory, a theory of knowledge and a theory of reality. This makes four degrees of radicality within social construction: a critical, a social, an epistemological and an ontological. Social constructivist theories hold as their first principle that the standards of evaluation of truth, rationality, success and progressiveness are relative to culture's assumptions and that the way of seeing further varies with gender, race, class, and cast in any given culture (Nanda, 1998). The constructivist perspective has important implications for managing cultural differences. For example, from this perspective, gender is not given by nature but the outcome of cultural differentiation (Nanda, 1998). However, Bhaskar (1978) maintains that social constructionism is superficial, unrealistic and anthropocentric, because all knowledge is linked to our social actions, individual relations, and social construction and should not arise in nature.

Ian Hacking (1999) suggests that the most influential social constructions have had to do with gender; that was to be expected. To quote a famous line from Simon de Beauvoir's canonical text of 'The Second Sex', 'one is not born but rather becomes a woman' (cited in Hacking, 1999:7). Social construction raises gender consciousness in two distinct ways: one is overarching and the second is more localized (Haking, 1999). Social construction is a complex, varied and overall fragmented picture; one cannot easily decide to support any one version of social constructionism. Indeed, Hacking's statement (1999:6–7) about 'gender as construct' – that the actions of men and women and their participation in livelihood resources relate to the local cultural structure and therefore require subjective understanding – is the most relevant to this study and can be extracted and applied in societies such as the northwestern part of Pakistan. Similarly, Ellis (2000) finds that the centrality of gender in understanding livelihoods is that gender roles and relations are socially and cultural constructed and usually unequal in terms of decision-making, access to resources, and

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[8] The history of the social construction is traced to Durkheim's 'social facts as things', Weber's view on subjective meaning contents in social actions, the Luckmann and Berger emphasis on 'individual level and social facts', Ian Hacking's 'construction of what', and recently the work of Latour in 'investigation of scientific knowledge'.

ownership. However, here in this study, I draw mostly on the local claim of the concept 'gender as a construct' wherein the cultural norms (Pukhtoonwali) of this particular society claim that every action of woman is because of man, and that women cannot do anything without the actions of men (Qayyum, 2010). These actions of men and women and their participation in the use of livelihood resources and development relates to their cultural structure and needs to be understood as situated within the subjective structure. In this research, the concept of gender as construct is meant to understand gendered social relations in the context of social constructionism and postmodernism where both men and women's actions and knowledge have equal importance.

Social research disciplines are uniformly confronted with broadly similar difficulties of understanding social reality and the challenges posed by techniques of data collection and analysis, which, on account of their qualitative nature, are suspected by some to be seriously lacking in scientific rigor (Maxwell, 1996). Keeping in view the theoretical and methodological issues and the complexity of this study in terms of gender relations, culture, livelihoods, conflicts and post-crisis development, an interdisciplinary approach was preferred. In an interdisciplinary study, it is important to address carefully the issues of disciplinary bias and meaning relevant to specific subject or actors. Maxwell (2005:37) suggests four modules from which a researcher can choose to construct the conceptual framework for his/her study: (1) your own experiential knowledge (2) existing theory and research (3) your pilot and exploratory research and (4) your experiments. My academic background in anthropology and professional experiences in rural community development with both national and international organizations in Pakistan, led me to follow the first two modules of 'own experiential knowledge and existing theory and research'. Nevertheless, the field experiences particularly during collection of data for this research, have added value. In this regard, I started my fieldwork with focus on the ontological 'reality' of how the social and cultural practices functioned during 2001–2013 and what is the current position of gender relations in terms of livelihood and development. In the second step, the epistemological perspectives (how we can know) were focused, hoping to find a social explanation for the transformation in the social and cultural aspects of people, and what the factors are that influence these changes. This is very relevant to the context stated by Archer et.al. (1998) that one should first concentrate on the ontological questions of the properties that society possess, before shifting to the epistemological questions of how these properties make them possible objects of knowledge for us.

The nature of the study is anthropological, based on ethnographic methodological findings and interpretations. The 'constructionism methodological perspective' of Michal Crotty (1998) is

followed for the development of the methodological conceptual framework, which is explained below with a few modifications.

Figure 3: **Methodological approach**

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┌─────────────────┐              ┌─────────────────────────┐
│ Constructionis  │ ──────────▶  │ Theoretical perspective │
└─────────────────┘              └─────────────────────────┘
        │                                    │
        ▼                                    ▼
┌─────────────────┐              ┌─────────────────────────┐
│ Interpretivism  │ ──────────▶  │ Epistemology + ontology │
└─────────────────┘              └─────────────────────────┘
        │                                    │
        ▼                                    ▼
┌─────────────────┐              ┌─────────────────────────┐
│ Ethnography     │ ──────────▶  │ Methodology             │
└─────────────────┘              └─────────────────────────┘
        │                                    │
        ▼                                    ▼
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| Participant Observation: transect walk, daily calendar, Resource analysis, mobility mapping | Semi-Structured/ unstructured Interviews with different ethic classes/ Groups, informants, HHs survey | Focused Group discussions, Key informants interviews (PRA Tools) | Document analysis Secondary sources: case studies, project documents |

Source: Adapted from Michal Crotty, 1998 (The Foundation of Social Research, Meaning and Perspective in research process, Figure 2, and Table 1, page 5. The description has been changed from the actual explanation; similarly, the figure has also been modified)

The four basic elements of the research process, namely epistemology, theoretical perspective, methodology and methods shown in the above diagram compose the whole research and guide the development of the conceptual framework or new theory (Crotty, 1998). In the above figure, constructionism is found to be the most suitable perspective to approach my research, together with interpretivism, which is explained by the two approaches of symbolic interactionism and hermeneutics. Karl Popper (2008) states that interpretivism entails an ontology in which social reality is regarded as the product of processes by which social actors negotiate the meanings of

actions and situations. Ethnography is an anthropological research method kept as methodology at a broader level, whereas participant observation, semi-structured/unstructured interviews, key informants interviews and focused group discussions are the major methods of data collection. The following section discusses the issues and problems related to these methodologies and methods. The reasons why these methods are relevant to this study will be justified and explained.

## 4.1    Methodology and selection of methods

Methodology is the total framework of a research study and defines the procedure of data collection and types thereof. However, the term 'methodology' has been used in different and even contradictory ways (Lehaney and Vinten, 1994). Despite the differences, it is possible to view method as a demarcation criterion between scientific approaches to the creation of knowledge and non-scientific modes of exploration (Nachmias and Nachmias, 1987). This study applied qualitative approaches to primary data collection, since qualitative research takes place in natural settings employing a combination of observations, interviews, formal/informal discussions, document reviews and analysing data collected form the fields. I used the methodological framework of Michal Crotty (1998) as an interpretive paradigm, which uses observation and fieldwork notes to investigate the object. This research employed a range of qualitative methods for data collection, such as participant's observation, household surveys, informal/formal interviews, key informants and focus groups discussion/interviews (see section 4.3).

Ethnographic fieldwork was conducted in two phases.  In the first phase, from August to December 2012, preliminary discussions were held with various relevant parties, particularly the staff of HUJRA (a local NGO based in Said Sharif Swat and conducting coordinated research with COMSATS University, Abbottabad campus) and some former colleagues and friends based in Swat. With the support of the HUJRA organization, I visited more than 12 villages in order to select two villages for detailed primary data collection. The staff of the HUJRA organization supported me in building rapport with key people in different villages and I used the opportunity to test my question guide as well as my socio-economic household survey form. This helped me to revise the questions and the household survey form to better focus on the objectives of the research. After a detailed examination based on the criteria from section 4.2.1, two villages were selected: Paklea from upper Swat and Qamabar from lower Swat (see Figure 1.2). At first, I used with broad research questions, but after analysing the data collected during the first phase and drafting Papers I and II, I narrowed down the research questions and visited the field area again during the period September to

December 2013, for more focused interviews and information collection. In the second phase, I focused more on key informant interviews in different parts of the Swat valley and extended the household survey to five more houses in each village, particularly to collect data from the lower ethnic groups and women-headed households.

## 4.2    Sampling and selection of villages

A sample is obviously a smaller part of a larger population. In qualitative research, as Maxwell (2005) states, the most important consideration is the selecting of those times, settings, and individuals that can provide the information a researcher needs to answer the questions. The available sampling frame for this study was the list of projects implemented before the crisis, the local NGOs and government departments who participated in implementation of projects and the villages and community organizations where the projects' interventions have been implemented. Similar information was also available for post-crisis relief and rehabilitation interventions. Therefore, purposeful sampling was used in this research, with some degree of random selection within the purposive categories. Purposeful sampling, according to Patton (1990), is a strategy in which particular settings, persons, or events are selected deliberately in order to provide important information that cannot be obtained as efficiently or effectively from other choices. The snowball technique assisted in finding and contacting the initial respondents, and was helpful in reaching the respondents according to the scope and objectives of the study. While the selected research participants belong to different categories of social and ethnic groups, focus was given to those who had some knowledge of participation in development interventions or were either included or excluded in the projects' activities. Similarly, government and NGO officials involved in or having knowledge of participatory development practices, relief and rehabilitation interventions, and those having worked on gender issues, were preferred. With the help of HUJRA staff and activists in respective union councils, a number of individuals and key informants were identified within the study areas who have knowledge of historical background, influence on community and experiences of working with government and NGOs. The data collection process was continued and I extended the sample size in the second phase, until it seemed that no further information was required. Therefore, the size of sample was only known after the completion of fieldwork. Table 1 shows the final sample size in terms of sites, methods, institutions and respondents.

Table 1: **Sample size of the households and respondents**

| Villages | HHS | FGD | | SSI | | IWNGOs[9] | | IWGD[10] | | Total interviews (columns 4,5,6) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **1** | **2** | **3** | | **4** | | **5** | | **6** | | **7** | |
| | | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female |
| Paklae | 21 | 1 | 1 | 18 | 6 | 8 | 4 | 6 | 3 | 55 | 21 |
| Qambar | 26 | 1 | 1 | 23 | 8 | | | | | | |
| Key informants interviews | 0 | 0 | 0 | 10 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 10 | 4 |
| **Total** | **47** | **2** | **2** | **51** | **18** | **8** | **4** | **6** | **3** | **90** | |

**Key:** HHS: Household Survey; SSI: Semi-Structured Interview; FGD: Focused Group Discussion; IWNGO: Interview with NGO; IWGD: Interview with Government Department

In addition to the semi-structured interviews detailed above, participatory observation, informal interviews and discussions have been conducted with more than 30 persons, including landlords, tenants, shopkeepers, hotel owners, political and social welfare activists, labourers class as well as government line agencies and NGOs during my stay in Swat.

### 4.2.1   Description of villages

The Swat District of KPK province, as a whole, was selected for this study, but two villages, Paklea and Qambar from upper and lower Swat (see Figure 4), were selected to focus in more depth based on the criteria detailed below. However, key informant interviews with government departments, NGO officials, political and Jirga persons as well as informal interviews, were also conducted in the main city of Mingora.  In addition, interviews were undertaken in other towns like Saidusharif, Charbagh, KhwazaKhela, Fatehpure, Madyan and Odigram, in order to obtain diverse information about the historical perspectives, cultural practices, gender relations, conflicts and their effects in the area.

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[9] NGOs interviewed include: HUJRA, Environmental Protection Society, Lasoona, CARVAN, IDEA, SRSP, Pakistan village Development Programme, Aurat Foundation and Mercy corps.

[10] Staff interviewed from Government Departments include: Agriculture, Forest, Education, Health, Social Welfare, PDMA, Fisheries,

Keeping in view the objectives of the research, the following criteria were developed for the selection of two villages, one each from upper and lower Swat:

- A village composed of a minimum of 60 and a maximum of 100 households. The household was taken as a unit in relation to gender and livelihoods.
- A village heavily affected by militant conflict, either by the Taliban or during army operations, as well as by the flood of 2010.
- A village where government or NGOs (humanitarian agencies) have already implemented some livelihood interventions before and after the crises.
- A village which has multiple livelihood resources such as agriculture, horticulture, forestry, remittances, and skilled/professionals services.
- A village where the population internally displaced, full or partial as a result of conflict and army operations during 2009.

The criteria for the upper and lower Swat areas were designed to capture the diversity in topography, livelihood resources, dependency, social relations between different classes and involvement of gender together with the diverse effects of conflict and flood crises. Short descriptions of the two villages follow.

The village of Paklea in the Madyan Union Council (UC) is located at a distance of about 56 kilometres from the main city of Mingora in the north of the Swat district, and is surrounded by forest and high mountains. River Swat separates the boundaries of the village from the Madyan town. According to Madyan UC records of 2012, the total area of the village is 2,680 acres, including forest land of 1,586 acres. The population is about 3,308 comprising 1,732 males and 1,576 females, and the total number of households is 417. Different ethnic groups such as the Khan (Yousafzai), Mian/syeed, Gujjar, and various occupational groups and tenants live in the village. The inhabitants depend on multiple livelihood resources, with the main sources of income being agriculture, remittances, employment, small-scale business and tourism. The main crops are maize, wheat, vegetables and fruits used for domestic as well as business purposes. In this village, there is one primary school for boys and one for girls, and in the nearby town of Madyan there are high schools for boys and girls. The Taliban and the Pakistan army shelling during military operations did not directly affect the village and surrounding areas. Nevertheless, up to 30 per cent of the households were displaced during the conflict crisis, while the rest remained in the village. According to the

agricultural office in Madyan, however, the flood directly damaged the agricultural land of 12 to 15 families, and some shops, hotels and buildings were also affected.

The village of Qambar is situated about six kilometres west of Mingora city. According to Qambar UC data from 2012, the approximate population of the village is 13,364 and the number of households is 1,582. The village is divided into six *mohallah* (parts), therefore, I chose to select a minimum of four households from each mohallah. The majority of the population belongs to the Yousafzai tribe, followed by the Mian/Syed, and a migrant population from the nearby districts of Dir, Buner, Malakand and Bajourh. The livelihood sources are agricultural and market businesses (property, shops, taxis), remittances, employment (government and private), non-farm labour, dairy farming and fishing. The village has electricity, a drinking water supply, a *Pakka* (tarmac) road, transport, mobile and telephone facilities. There are primary and high schools for boys and girls and, because of the proximity to the main city of Mingora, many of the village pupils attend private schools, colleges and even the university in the city. The village was severely affected by the militant conflict and flood, resulting in 100 per cent displacement from the village for a period of three to six months. The business, labour, agricultural products, self-employment and local income sources declined severely for more than 12 months in 2009–2010. In the following section I explain the way in which I conducted these interviews and discuss the challenges I encountered.

## 4.3.    Methods applied for data collection

The study principally used qualitative methods; however some statistical data was gathered from secondary sources and from a household socio-economic survey which provided information such as literacy ratio, age, land and also historical profiles. Swat, as stated earlier, is famous for its scenic beauty, tourist attractions and pleasant weather in summer. From the literature, I tried to establish what was already known about social and cultural system of people, impacts of crises, and development projects, what information was missing and what still needed to be obtained. The anthropological and sociological studies of Barth, Ahmad, Lindholm, Rome and Ameeni provided useful information about the historical, cultural and political perspectives, while project documents such as  MRDP and CIP's feasibility and completion reports and NGO progress reports offered a great deal of information. For example, they provided information about the projects' participatory methods, their interventions and achievements as well as their impacts on gender empowerment and social change. Similarly, the documents prepared on the effects of conflict and flood crises such as PaRRSA/PDMA reports, WB and ADB (2009), CERINA, (2010), SDPI, (2010), Save the Children

(2009) and many academic articles provided information about the losses of physical infrastructure, livelihoods, and the social sector.

Entering Swat was not new for me; I have been there many times since 1996 as a tourist and sometimes on official visits, particularly when I was working with the Forestry Department of KPK under the forestry sector programme (2001–2003). In the context of this research, I entered Swat in July 2011, with groups of students from the COMSATS Institute. However, the scenario was very different to past visits in terms of forest cover, infrastructure and social behaviour. We as a group felt that this was mainly because of the high security risk after the conflict crisis. Physically and topographically, the area was familiar to me, but in terms of cultural and social relations of the people, it was new, especially when compared to past writings of the 1960s and 1980s about the Swat valley. I entered this research with some preconceptions about pukhtoonwali culture and its tenets, but in terms of the effects of crises, and particularly their social ramifications, I was blank. Thus, I sought to follow the traditional anthropological saying that for ethnographic study, one should enter the society as 'blank paper'. However, with help from HUJRA and some of my friends and ex-colleagues in Swat, I managed to build rapport with the communities' members, and finally succeeded in applying the following methods for obtaining primary and secondary data. The following section explains why I selected these methods and how these are relevant to this particular study. The challenges faced in applying all of these methods are explained in separate subsections (4.6).

### 4.3.1. Household survey

A household socio-economic survey form (Annexure B) was developed to collect data about socio-economic conditions of households including a livelihood assessment (resources, access, decisions), and information about occupations, skills, demographic variables, education level and age as well as the daily activities of men and women. Applying a purposive sampling technique, an average of two to five households per village – from poor, middle and rich classes as well as different ethnic groups – were selected for the socio-economic household survey. A household socio-economic survey of 47 households (21 from Paklea and 26 from Qambar) was carried out to identify degrees of access of men and women of various ethnic and social groups including *Khans-Syed*, *Gujjar* (non-Pukhtoon ethnic group), tenants, shopkeepers, government/private employees, and general labour classes to livelihood assets. Three women-headed households (two from Paklea and three from Qambar) were included in the survey. This is to some extent elucidate how women in such a culture

survived and secured their livelihoods as well as how they dealt with crises. It was also a challenge to interview women or conduct household survey of women headed household. I conducted survey of only two female-headed households in each village, but young boys or elder male as close relative of the household accompanied me, while the rest of the household surveys from women were managed through a female enumerator in Paklea village and through a female masters student of development studies of Swat University in Qambar village.

The household survey provided a base and was used as a stepping-stone to ensure access to other interviewees, identify key informants and to establish close relations with community members. The purpose was to obtain basic demographic variables and to assess the impact of crises on individual households, therefore, no statistical significance or measurement has been used. Interviews of male and female household members of different age groups were conducted to understand their participation in community interventions and decision-making processes related to access to and use of land, agricultural, and forest resources, and other household activities. This basic information also helped to understand the concerns of local authorities, government and other potential external actors (NGOs) on issues of gender and livelihood as well as conflict. Further, it made it easier to arrange subsequent interviews with individuals and household members. However, a few household members, both heads and non-heads of households, were not interviewed in detail as sometimes the respondents refused to be questioned beyond the household survey. At other times, the respondents who provided household information did not satisfy the criteria for a detailed interview. Therefore, the respondents of semi-structured interviews as shown in Table 1 are not the same as those for the household survey.

### 4.3.2 Participant observation

Participant observation is a common method used in social sciences, particularly in anthropology and ethnographies. It belongs to everyone, interpretivists and positivists alike. For example, Boas (1858–1942), a well-known American anthropologist, believed that anthropologists should build a body of factual ethnographic data from which reliable generalizations could later be drawn. I used to do participant observation fieldwork, but in this case it was possible only to a limited extent because staying longer outside in the village or field areas was not permissible owing to the security situation. However, I did manage to attend some relevant events like Jirga, a marriage ceremony, and observed the participation of people in Khan Hujra for political and conflict resolution. The

researcher also attended community training organized by a Pakistan village development project in Madyan on gender-based violence and sensitization, which give me insight about the perceptions of locals regarding gender-based violence and inequalities. A similar training was organized by the Danish Red Crescent in Saidu Sharif Swat on emergency management and first aid; however, the discussion mainly centred on girls' education and women's access to education. I also attended a number of NGO staff meetings with community organizations in different villages, which gave me some insights about participatory development and the implementation of project activities in the post-crisis period. I also attended political gatherings of villagers in Hujra of Khan in Odigram and Qambar villages, where I observed the political affiliation of different groups of people and how the local people bring their disputes to khans for resolution. I visited agriculture areas, orchards, forest patches, markets and some tourist resorts such as Malam Jaba, Marghozar, Bahrain where informal discussions took place with people from different walks of life.

This participant observation provided the opportunity to develop close interaction and relationships with local people, to document various cultural aspects and gender roles and their social mobility outside the households. I visited destroyed schools, houses and hotels to record the perception of the owners about the Taliban and post-development interventions. I lived with my friend in Said Sharif, who shared a house with six more young NGO officials. Discussion with all of these young professionals in the evenings about issues connected to NGOs and their interventions and current conflict helped me to understand the perceptions of fieldworkers about participatory processes, access of men and women to project interventions, and the constraints they faced in implementation. Being a native speaker of the Pushto language, I have not faced any problem in talking and understanding the local dialects. I used a daily diary to record on-the-spot observations. However, in studying gender from various perspectives, I confronted difficulties in being participant observer of the events relating to women, as the cultural system does not allow any outsider (local, national or foreigner) to interact with women.

4.3.3   Focus group discussion

Focus group discussion (FGD) is a valuable method of data collection, which can promote a comfortable atmosphere for the disclosure of people's ideas, experiences and behaviours (Krueger and Casey, 2000). It also helps to substantiate the data collected from individual, structured or semi-structured interviews because when speaking in front of others, people are less likely to exaggerate. On the other hand, local leaders, for example, Khans or religious leaders can dominate focus groups.

However, I encouraged the participants to talk openly about the crisis, discrimination, gender issues, development projects and other relevant issues. The focuses groups were composed of at least one representative from each different ethnic and social group currently residing in the village. Four focus group discussions- composed of five to eight members of different social and ethnic groups- two each with male and two with female participants in each of the two villages were conducted. Utilizing my professional experience in participatory method, I used PRA techniques during focus group discussions to get all members involved. PRA is a planning and research method for collecting quick information about socio-economic conditions and natural resources, and developed to overcome the difficulties experienced with conventional data collection methods (Chambers 1987, Mosse, 1998). As FGDs were held in Hujra village, I used white charts to draw a village map with the help of participants showing the natural resources (land, forest and water), habitat, and important places. I asked about development project interventions and participation of people in project interventions such as tube wells, water tanks, bridges or roads. Through FGDs, I also collected data about poor, middle and wealthy households as well as about different ethnic and occupational groups of people living in villages and their access to resources. A woman facilitator (enumerator) was hired for interviews with women; she also conducted focus group discussions with women in both villages. She has experience of more than five years with local NGOs and was involved in relief and rehabilitation activities in Swat.

### 4.3.4 Semi-structured interviews

An interview schedule was developed (see Annexure A) to guide semi-structured and informal interviews. Semi-structured interviewing is consistent with participatory models (Gillman, 2000) and helps with the understanding of individual perceptions. The interview guide is composed of both closed- and open-ended questions and was used to obtain relevant information about the male and female livelihood situations and their dependencies on various livelihood resources, the development projects of government and NGOs, and how the development practices changed over the time particularly during crises. Moreover, the interviews revealed the cultural practices of pukhtoonwali: how it functions and how conflict, displacement and development affected its functioning. The interview guide was targeted to gain information about the effects of the development interventions, crises, displacement and reconstruction activities on the social and cultural aspects of the society. In total, 55 interviews (41 with men and 14 with women) were conducted in both villages. These included eight local leaders of the community (Khans/landlords), six political and religious people, ten people from other social and ethnic groups, four tenants, five

local NGO activists, five government officials (including a female teacher and a female health worker) and three members of academia. However, not all of the respondents were asked all of the questions in the interview guide. Rather, questions were asked depending on the capacity of the respondents to provide relevant answers. In general, the focus of these interviews was on content rather than form. I found the interview guide more flexible in terms of the flow of discussion and the kinds of issues raised by interviewees. Face-to-face interviewing may be appropriate where depth of meaning is important, and when the research is primarily focused on gaining insight and understanding (Gillman, 2000). I asked the questions in local language, taking notes on the spot in the field note diary and sometimes writing on the question guide itself. This face-to-face interaction and interviewing provided broader information beyond my interview guide and helped me to revise the question guide and focus more effectively on key areas.

These interviews were completed in two phases in 2012 and 2013. I personally carried out all the interviews with men; however, as mentioned, face-to-face interviews with women particularly in villages, was very difficult. Nonetheless, I managed to interview five women from households (two from Paklea and three from Qambar), while the other women were interviewed by the hired female enumerator. I conducted face-to-face interviews with government and NGO female officials, which provided me with an opportunity to understand women's perspectives from different angles. Interviews with community members were conducted in Hujra, schools, hotels, restaurants, open fields or orchards and at UC offices, while interviews with government and NGO officials took place in their offices or sometimes in their personal residences. Occasionally these interviews were conducted in the form of group discussions when nearby relatives, friends or family members joined us in their guest room.

### 4.3.5 Key informant interviews

The application of this technique assists in validating and clarifying the data collected through participant observation. According to Bernard (1988), good key informants are the people who you can talk to easily, who understand the information you need, who are glad to give it to you or get it for you. Identifying key informants is always a difficult task for a researcher, particularly in the situation of militant conflict where people often lack trust and may fear retribution for participating. However, I managed to overcome this problem by building a rapport with the community and with government and NGOs officials, who were able to assist me in identifying key informants. I used the network of my friends and colleagues in Swat to generate their trust and introduced myself as a

teacher and PhD researcher in COMSATS Institute, Abbottabad. I carried out 14 key informant interviews (ten men and four women) in a relaxed environment. The key informants include two academics (a lecturer in Swat University and a professor in Jehanzeb college who worked and wrote on Swat), two members of the *qoomi* (national) Jirga Swat, Ex-Nazim of the district, two Swat elite family members, four NGO activists including two women, and three retired government employees who had worked in projects like Malakand Social Forestry, PHP and MRDP. These key informants were selected from other villages and towns such as Mingora city, Saidu sharif, Fatehpur, Kanjo, Charbagh, Matta and Islampur. These interviews assisted me in understanding the historical background of Swat, pukhtoonwali and its practices, the causes of current conflict, the impact of the development projects and the participation of local people, local political hierarchy and the changing social relations. I separated the key informant interviews from the government and NGOs official interviews because of the different contexts for questions. However, I used the same semi-structured interview guide in all cases.

### 4.3.6 Informal interviews

This method is one of the most frequently used methods of data collection in ethnographic studies. People are interviewed informally during the chores of an ordinary day or routine life. In this way, the respondent feel sufficiently comfortable to give the required details. During my stay in the Swat at different places, like Saidu Sharif, Mingora city, Madyan and visiting other towns or villages, informal interviews were conducted with more than 30 persons from different walks of life. For example, while staying in Mingora city, I held informal discussions with hotel owners, shopkeepers, and other small-scale businesspeople about the impact of the conflict. Through these kinds of interviews, I received information about the historical background, migration, communication and access to the market as well as concerning the running of their businesses and effects of the crises and displacement on their household livelihood strategies. These informal discussions and participant observations helped to identify key informants in different locations. They also helped in observing the impact of development on the social relationships, the socio-economic life of people and on women's mobility to market and education. Such kinds of information helped me to elaborate on the general views of the people about the changes in social and cultural perspectives and the factors involved in transition of traditional systems.

## 4.4. Secondary literature and sources

Secondary data has been important in this study for gaining historical and cultural perspective, understanding the geographical setting and understanding in more depth how people utilize their livelihood resources. Moreover, secondary sources provided facts and figures about the pre-crisis development projects. I had already studied some anthropological literature like Barth, Ahmad and Lindholm during my M.Phil study in the department of anthropology at the Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad. However, these studies were written in the 1970s and 1980s, therefore I preferred to search the latest literature beyond 2001. In Swat, the library of Jehanzeb Collage Saidu Sharif and Swat University were key resources, not only for finding literature, but also for identifying key informants and establishing linkages. I also visited Quaid-e-Azam University, the departments of anthropology and history, and the Centre of Gender Studies and the Pakistan Institute of Development Economics. Similarly, I visited the Peshawar University departments of sociology, anthropology and gender studies, the Pushto Academy, and area study centre in Peshawar. The relevant literature was found in the form of books, articles, journals, census reports, newspaper articles and biographies, as well as local and foreign student research on the history of Swat and Pukhtoon. Besides these, I also mined online sources such as the Higher Education Commission digital library, the website of the GoP and KPK, Zama swat, the Planning Commission of Pakistan, PDMA, UNDP Pakistan, the World Bank and the Asian Bank. These webpages provided relevant literature about development policies and strategies, project documents, feasibility and evaluation reports and gender consideration in projects.

In addition, through establishing close connections with government and NGO officials, I managed to get relevant development policy documents and progress reports from government departments of agriculture, education, health, forestry, local government, finance and planning and PDMA. Similarly, documents regarding development projects/programmes on livelihood, natural resource management, agricultural development, and gender and development interventions were collected from local and national NGOs based in Swat such as HUJRA, Lasoona, EPS, Sarhad Rural Support Programme (SRSP), IDEA, and CARVAN. These links and connections with government and NGO officials enabled me to identify and discuss the implementation process of these development projects and their involvement with communities. We discussed how these projects catered to the needs of local communities and how local political leadership, donors and the government bureaucracy, has influenced these projects.

**4.5. Data analysis**

The use of diverse sources and methods for data collection serves to triangulate the data (Maxwell, 2005) and thus helps to ensure the validity of the research. The data collected from diverse groups of people, government and non-government institutions through means of interviews and participant observation has been triangulated. The purpose was to find the variations in respondents' perspectives about the issues considered in this study and to compare with personal observation and secondary sources. This is important for getting at tacit understanding and the aspects of participants' perspectives (Maxwell, 2005).

Data collected through semi-structured interviews and participant observation was recorded in the form of daily notes as audio recording was not allowed. The interviews collected from governments, NGO officials and key informants were separately analysed from those collected from villages. This was then used to develop interlinkages between the perceptions of various respondents. The qualitative data gathered through various types of interviews, group discussions, and field notes was analysed using a narrative interpretive approach. NVivo 10, a qualitative data analysis software, was used for coding the data and dividing it into thematic areas. The goal of data coding and categorizing facilitated comparison and aided in the development of theoretical concepts (Maxwell, 2005). I used MS Excel for the socio-economic household survey analysis in order to obtain some figurative facts regarding the demographic variables and the respondents' personal information. The data was interpreted in view of the research questions and objectives, which overlapped with the writing process. This assisted me in grouping the data according to the relevant themes of each paper. At time of writing this research, when new questions arose, I traced the data backwards and searched the relevant responses noted. Finally, during the process of writing, I revised the papers repeatedly after receiving guidance from my supervisors and other colleagues, in order to make the writing more focused.

4.5.1 Trustworthiness and authenticity

The methodology for this study follows the constructivism approach which focus on local and more specific constructed realities, subjectivist assumptions and created findings through hermeneutical inquiry and interaction between investigator and respondents (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). This makes the use of terms such as 'validity' and 'reliability' less relevant, at least in the ways these terms are

used in positivist research[11]. Instead, one can consider trustworthiness and authenticity. Authenticity is concerned with research that is worthwhile and thinking about its impacts on members of the culture or community researched. Trustworthiness, in its essence, can be thought of as the ways in which qualitative research ensures that transferability, credibility, dependability and confirmability are evident (Given, 2008). One can also consider ontological authenticity, which enlarges personal construction and educative authenticity to improve understanding of the construction of others. The use of various methods of data collection which developed interconnections, together with the description of background and qualifications of the researcher, supported by secondary sources to establish the context of study through a process of triangulation, ensured trustworthiness and authenticity as two primary criteria for assessing the qualitative study (Guba and Lincoln, 1994).

In this study, the trustworthiness and authenticity of the research were addressed through selection of study site and respondents, applying purposive sampling, and using more than one method of data collection to study the social and cultural phenomena. The household socio-economic survey served to double-check the basic demographic information and livelihood resources of the household as well as gender roles in accessing livelihood resources. The selection of the representative households through purposive sampling authenticated how the households benefited from the development project interventions and also how they were affected by the crises. Meanwhile, the key informants, selected from different parts of Swat, provide further validation for the information collected from the community and the institutions. The household survey form and semi-structured interview guide were pretested before interviewing in order to control validity, while further modifications were made in the second round of fieldwork. The female enumerator, who was hired for collecting data from woman-headed households and female respondents, was trained so that she had the understanding of how to ask questions and what the questions intended to achieve. Observation of the events and people's behaviour during formal interviews helped to avoid misinterpreting of the meaning and purpose of what respondents said. These interviews also provided a rich insight to my own biases and misunderstandings of what I had observed or perceived as socially constructed.

The study focuses on the social and cultural system and the changes that occurred over time through a number of variable factors in gender relations. While such changes threaten the validity of the conclusion in more positive approaches (Campbell, 1988), change in a qualitative study is expected.

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[11] Validity is a key issue in qualitative research design. It concerns how one can believe that the conclusions drawn are valid and how the data collected supports or undermines the researcher's claims about what is going on. Validity refers to accuracy and trustworthiness of the research data, instruments and findings (Maxwell, 1996). Reliability refers to the process of asking questions to seek stability in results coming out of the sample of respondents (Bryman, 2012).

Constructions are alterable, as are their associated realities (Guba and Lincoln, 1994:111) and hermeneutic methodology is aimed at the reconstruction of previously held constructions. Thus, the investigator under constructivism holds consensus but is open to new interpretation as information and sophistication improves. In the case of Swat, the consequences of conflict, flood disaster and the post-crisis development interventions have brought changes in the socially constructed household livelihood strategies and gender relations of a number of households. Therefore, viewing the historical insights of social and cultural construction in Swat valley may vary in meaning with current findings of this research. Indeed, there is change in the social and cultural constructions of pukhtoonwali in terms of gender relations, empowerment and increased access of men and women to livelihood resources. Apprehendable reality exists, but this varies from place to place, for example urban and rural setups; therefore, the findings of the study may not be generalized to the whole valley of Swat or to inhabitants of northwestern Pakistan.

## 4.6.        Challenges in data collection

When I was selected for PhD studies and it was confirmed that I would conduct fieldwork in Swat, it looked too difficult for me initially, owing to the security situation. Second, due to my Pukhtoon identity, I was hesitant about how to ask questions of other Pukhtoons about gender, women's roles and relationships in Swat. Although my home town is more than 250 kilometres away from Swat, there is, to some extent, variation in cultural practices and behaviour of people. I predicted correctly that I would sometimes receive dismissive responses from participants along the lines of: 'You are Pukhtoon and you know what the best is for men and women to perform under the values of pukhtoonwali'. I did receive such responses, particularly from Khan and NGOs and government officials – but I managed to overcome this by using different techniques and using examples of differences between Swat culture and other parts of the province. Using techniques such as this, I was able to procure reliable responses.

One of the main challenges of this research was face-to-face interviews with women.  Values and norms of the northwest Pakistani society, particularly the rural areas, do not typically allow an external man (either national or foreigner, and even local) to talk or make discussions with women, especially young women. Therefore I was not allowed to participate in or observe some events directly relating to women. As Margaret Mead (cited in Freeman, 1983) points out, gender has at least two consequences: one, it limits access to certain information, and second, it influences how you perceive others. Mead explains further that in all cultures, gender determines what questions

you can and cannot ask. You cannot go into certain areas and situations because you are a man or a woman. You cannot watch this or that report because you are a man or a woman. On the other hand, feminists say that gender is a negotiated idea. While what you can and cannot do if you are a man or woman appears more fixed in some cultures than in others, scratch the surface and all cultures contain considerable individual variation in gender roles. However, I managed to interview five women from villages and eight women working in government departments and NGOs, but it was not possible to select equal ratios of male and female respondents. However, to mitigate this problem, I hired a female enumerator as well as enlisting the support of female students at Swat University who collected data from women in both villages.

In the aftermath of the militant conflicts in Swat, the community as well as the army, police, government departments and NGOs do not trust anyone to share any sensitive information. Many are even reluctant to give interviews; they worry that the interviewer may be an agent of army, Taliban or any foreign agency. I considered my personal background, identity and relationship with respondents as potential sources of influence and to get reliable information. To strengthen my position and to put me on the 'safe side', I presented myself as assistant professor in COMSATS University, which is an honourable position in Pakistan and is linked to my previous professional work in both the government and NGO sectors. Being Pukhtoon and a Pushto-speaking person was an advantage to gain the trust of the local people. However, at the same time, I felt this disclosure of my identity in the community as a threat. By introducing my research purpose, the respondents agreed to support the common cause of identifying issues relating to the development of the communities in the area. In the majority of cases, I succeeded in gaining the trust of the respondents, which was necessary for the quality and validity of the data. Still, there was tension around personal security and restriction of movement, particularly after dark.

The threat of Taliban attack was not over and the Pakistan army remained a heavy presence, establishing checkpoints at the entrances and exits of every town. Sometimes we waited in long queues for identity verification, which affected our timely arrival to study areas. Sometimes it was dangerous too, as they always asked for details of our travels in Swat. Though the situation was tense, I remained safe because of the availability of required documents throughout my fieldwork and interaction with army and police at check-posts.

## 4.7.          Ethical considerations

The NMBU ethical guideline of research for data collection, data analysis and publications was followed to the letter and in spirit for this research.  According to NMBU guidelines, employees and students shall base their work on a fundamental respect for human dignity, respect persons' integrity, freedom and right of co-determination, and follow the rules on informed consent (NMBU 2009:9). As stated earlier, the field area is very sensitive because of the militancy crises. Since the 2009 army operations, research or development activity has not been permitted in Swat without a 'no objection' certificate from the PDMA. Therefore, the purpose of the research was clearly explained to the government institutions, interviewees, and NGOs, upon which they granted consent. In this research, the names of the respondents have been kept anonymous in both analysis and publications, to minimize security risks. Personal judgment has been avoided in interpretation of the statements obtained from respondents. In addition, Pukhtoon society has strong cultural values and norms; therefore, I was bound to abide by these conditionalities and cultural values so that the values and emotions of respondents would not be disturbed or violated.  One way I ensured this was to always be accompanied by one local resident of the village, not only for the sake of my own security, but also because the values of the society did not permit strangers to move alone within the vicinity of the village.

## 5.     Synthesis of research papers

Social science research always faces problems of being concise and limiting itself to a specific issue, but at the same time, it covers many other related social issues. The following section gives a brief description of the four independent papers and how they relate to each other and to the overall objectives of this study.

Paper I.  Elahi, N., Nyborg, L. P. Ingrid, & Nawab, B. (2015). Participatory Development Practices: A Critical Analysis of Gender Empowerment and Development in Pre- and Post-crises Swat, Pakistan. *Forum for Development Studies, 42*(2), 333-356. doi: 10.1080/08039410.2015.1025828

The development projects of physical infrastructure or socio-economic development aims to improve the living condition of poor and marginalized populations, particularly in rural societies of developing countries. This paper analyses the application of participatory development practices carried out in development projects and their contribution to gender empowerment and the transformation of the socio-cultural system in the Swat valley. The paper then discusses how the crises and humanitarian aid itself influenced the participatory development practices. The GoP since

the 1980s used participatory development practices in donor-funded development projects throughout the country, and there are some good examples of success stories of project outcomes in terms of improvement in livelihoods of the poor people and providing access to basic facilities. The findings illustrate that participatory development practices in the pre-crisis period (2001–2007) engaged local communities through formation of village development committees of men and women for implementation of development project interventions in order to achieve better projects results. This yielded some positive impacts in terms of improvement of the socio-economic conditions of marginalized people and gender empowerment. Similarly, the local government system during the same period promoted empowerment of the lower classes, including women, through their participation in local body's elections. This has, to some extent, brought changes in informal institutions like Jirga and Hujra and has provided opportunities for to lower classes to participate in decision-making development interventions. However, the perception of people about NGOs and their employees being western agents working on an agenda of secularism and against local cultural practices, has hindered the successful involvement of local people, particularly women, in project interventions.

The conflict crisis followed by Pakistan's military operations, internal displacement and prolonged humanitarian aid in the form of relief and rehabilitation, influenced the participatory development practices. The fragility of time, coupled with the needs and priorities of people and organizations, change the application of participatory development processes of the development projects to focus on relief, rehabilitation and resettlement. This has resulted in some of the poor and politically affiliated households having receiving more benefits from the intervention of government and NGOs humanitarian aid, and moving to an improved economic position – while many of the crisis-affected households have received fewer financial benefits or benefits in kind. We termed this as 'an unequal distribution of humanitarian aid and relief interventions among gender of different ethnic and social classes'. Nevertheless, according to NGOs, participatory development practices has been reviewed in the reconstruction phase (2013) of the development plans.

We infer that, during the period of conflict and disaster crises as well as during the relief and rehabilitation phase, participatory development is extremely difficult as a result of the change in needs of people, organizations and security. However, participatory development practices can be applied during the reconstruction and resettlement phase, which may contribute to achieving the broader goals of development theory in terms of gendered equal access to distribution of

humanitarian aid, improved livelihood conditions and gender empowerment in the crisis-affected communities.

Paper II. Elahi, N. Nyborg L.P. Ingrid and Nawab, B. (2015). Social and Cultural Perspectives of Gender Inequality in Accessing Livelihoods Resources in Northwestern Pakistan

Revised version submitted after incorporating Reviewers comments to the Journal of South Asian Development, (Article ID: JSAD-14-0180)

The paper was presented by first author in The NFU 2014 conference 'ON WHOSE TERMS', Gender and Positionalities in the Field, organized by University of Tromsø, Norway, October 1, 2014.

In comparison to the first paper where we analysed how participatory development can contribute to gender empowerment, here we see that the patriarchal structure and ethnic hierarchy in northwestern Pakistan constrained access of gender of various social and ethnic classes to livelihood resources. This paper explores how men and women of different ethnic and social groups access and use social, human and natural resources in their daily lives. The theoretical perspective is that gender roles and relations are socially and cultural constructed and usually unequal in terms of decision-making, access to resources, and ownership due to many social, cultural and political factors. Livelihoods in the Swat valley are based mainly on agriculture and trade, remittances (national and foreign), government and private employment, self-employment, and, until the recent conflict crisis, tourism was also a major source of livelihood. The findings in this paper reveal that men are the main breadwinners and that they hold the social and political power and authority outside the households, and therefore access all types of livelihood resources. Women, on the other hand, are limited to reproductive roles within the household, which are viewed as being necessary in order to protect the honour of the family. However, inequality and access to livelihood resources varies among both men and women of elite, educated and poor families.

The patriarchal structure of the pukhtoonwali support the argument that gender access to livelihood resources within and outside households is socially and culturally constructed with norms and values being followed in different ways to legitimize the assigned roles and responsibilities of productive and reproductive works. Nevertheless, the recent socio-economic development, migration, conflict and flood crises and the humanitarian aid of rehabilitation and reconstruction interventions have brought changes in the social and cultural relations of gender. The research reveals that the programmes of skills development of both men and women, provision of job opportunities, and motivation towards education, have improved the gender inequalities and that there was increase of employment of women, particularly in the NGO sector, after the crises. We observed the flexibility

in the social cultural system towards girls' education and women's involvement in development interventions. In long run, this may enhance the access of women and marginalized classes to multiple livelihood resources. The research suggests that there is a need to address the issues of gender inequalities and the gap between different social and ethnic groups in accessing livelihood resources, particularly social, human and natural, through incorporating strategic gender needs in long-term government and NGO development policies and strategies in crisis-affected communities like Swat and elsewhere of the world.

Paper III: Elahi, N. Militancy conflicts and Displacement in Swat Valley of Pakistan: Analysis of Transformation of Social and Cultural Network (manuscript)

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This paper focuses on the impacts of militant conflicts and internal displacement (2008–2009) and examines how these crises changed the social and cultural network of pukhtoonwali (a way of life). The social network under pukhtoonwali described in this paper means the structure and process that underpin social, political and economic life of Pukhtoon people. The historical evidence supports the argument that the tenets of pukhtoonwali like Jirga (Council of elders), hospitality and Hujra (place of guest), and Lashkar (collective combatants) have maintained peace and homogeneity, and protected the society from external invaders through its strong social networks. Over the period, factors like political structural reforms after the merger of Swat state in 1969, education, communication, and development interventions initiated by the GoP and NGOs, put the traditional, social and cultural systems of the people in transition. Over to theses factors, the emergence of the Taliban movement throughout the KPK province including the Swat and tribal areas of Pakistan, and the militant conflicts since 2001, attempted to delink the Pukhtoon from their history and indigenous narratives and tried to isolate the Pukhtoon from the rest of the world (Hussain, 2013). This has radically changed the social structure of the people, for example, from collective action to maintain the security of the area towards individual protection and more dependency on government security institutions. The research shows that the political affiliation of poor and other ethnic groups with Khans reduced when they left the area because of threats from militants. The poor and other ethnic groups affiliated themselves with the leadership which emerged during the crisis.

This paper reveals that political, social and economic relations between the households of different ethnic groups has been fragmented. This is because of the distrust created or aroused among the villagers in response to the affiliation of some households with militant groups while some with

Pakistan government security agencies. The informal institutions like Jirga and Hujra have lost their secure hold of the social and political networks functioning within the society because of establishment of parallel institutions. An example is the Markaz (centre) established by the Taliban to conduct Jirga on all kinds of civil and criminal dispute resolutions, and similarly the village defence committees established by GoP securities agencies for coordination and information-sharing about militants.

Nonetheless, the interventions of national and international organizations, and government security agencies were able to support and provide opportunities for the people to establish and reorganize themselves, not only for peace, but also for development of the Swat valley. The establishment of Swat peace Jirga, Swat national Jirga and women Jirga are examples of reviving the cultural values of pukhtoonwali. The conflict and the post-crisis development interventions and interactions of NGOs opened the doors for more opportunities to women in terms of education, jobs and skill enhancement, which indirectly changed the gender relations in livelihoods and development perspectives.

Paper IV: Elahi N. (2015). Constraints in Applying Participatory Development Strategies: An Analysis of Development Projects and Humanitarian Aid in northwest Pakistan

(Submitted to 'Progress in Development Studies', and under review)

Participatory development has in fact claimed a better way in contributing to the process of economic development and empowerment of marginalized people in terms of ensuring equality and better projects results. This paper on participatory development strategies in the Swat valley, Pakistan, investigates the social and cultural constraints and issues in application of participatory development in implementation of the development projects in the pre-crisis period (2001–2008) and rehabilitation and reconstruction projects in the post-crisis period (2010–2013). Through qualitative methods, including formal and informal interviews, participant observation and focus group discussions, the research reveals a number of political, cultural, bureaucratic and organizational constraints in applications of participatory development. The findings show that participatory development practices were applied in projects like MRDP and CIP, whereas community organizations and CCBs of both men and women were established for implementation of project interventions. At the same time, organizations faced hurdles in the form of women's participation because of the prevailing propaganda against NGOs as western agents promoting western secularism. The men's organizations established in villages were mainly dominated by landlords

while women's committees were mainly run by men. Therefore, although the physical targets of projects such as infrastructure schemes of water supply, street paving, link roads and trainings or distribution of fruit and forest plants and seedlings may have been achieved with the help of these organizations – the outcomes in terms of gender empowerment, equality and livelihood development may not have been achieved. However, there were some prominent examples of skills development training which have enhanced the livelihood condition of the participating women's households.

The post-crisis period itself changed the needs and priorities of people as well as government organizations and NGOs. However, because of uncertain greatly affected the concept of participatory development. The establishment of new conflict and disaster response institutions like PaRRSA and PDMA complicated the coordination between government and NGOs or civil society organizations in adopting collective actions and strategy, particularly during the relief and rehabilitation phase. This also led to lack of transparency in distribution of humanitarian aid among the affected populations. Moreover, the research found that constraints such as political involvement in applications of relief and rehabilitation activities, and corruption in terms of supporting the politically preferred population and areas, have significantly affected the concept of participatory development. While in the reconstruction phase, local insecurity for international NGOs is still a major constraint in the context of direct implementation of projects, which indirectly affected the involvement of participatory development experts and sharing of their experiences. These constraints not only affected the physical results of the projects but also hindered the efficiency and effectiveness argument of participatory development in terms of empowerment, gender equality and better project outcomes. Nevertheless, we found that, in spite of a wide range of complications in implementation of participatory approaches to development, the process has still had some good effects on raising social issues, collective actions and changing the role of gender, and improving the socio-economic conditions of marginalized classes. The study suggests that these constraints can be overcome through capacity building of the government institutions and local organizations, and developing collaboration between government, NGOs and local communities.

## 6.    Major findings of the research

This section discusses major findings, with the emphasis on transformation in the social and cultural systems of society resulting from a number of factors. These include development projects in particular, their implementation processes, the conflict and displacement as well as development. In Pakistan, the focus of the development projects in the late 1980s was shifted to participatory

development practices. A number of donor-funded development projects have been initiated and implemented, and we found that some of the NGO-initiated projects have had some positive results in bringing change in socio-economic conditions of the rural communities (see Paper I). Bigdon and Korf (2004) argue that the strategy for interventions of development projects must actively promote participation in mainstream society, but also work to support NGOs, community-based organizations and local government institutions, helping them to become more responsive to their constituencies. Two projects – MRDP and CIP-II – which we examined from the pre-crisis period, applied a similar development approach, where relevant government departments, local NGOs and communities in the form of village development committees and citizen community boards (CCBs) of men and women were involved in implementation of their interventions. The following section discusses the findings regarding the government development strategies and involvement of NGOs in planning and implementation of development interventions, as well as the crises and development perspectives which have, to some extent, brought changes in the informal institutions, socio-cultural system of pukhtoonwali, gender empowerment, and livelihood strategies of the people in the study area.

## 6.1 Conflict and development perspective

Pukhtoon society is prominently known as culture-based society and has strong cultural traits. The Pukhtoons' society in Pakistan as a whole, and in the Malakand region including Swat in particular, is facing the tense situation of terrorism, internal militant conflicts and natural disasters, and has been passing through a difficult period since 9/11/2001. On one hand, the Taliban groups in the name of Islamic preaching and jihad have received considerable support from the local people, particularly in the Pukhtoon-built areas of Pakistan and Afghanistan. The rise of the Taliban in Swat under the leadership of Mullah Fazullah saw the imposition of Islamic Sharia in some areas (Rome, 2010; Aziz 2010). On the other hand, development experts and researchers from different fields have recognized that the real issue of conflict crisis in the whole province and particularly in Swat is of governance. Sultan-i-Rome (2010) relates the crisis scenario of Swat to constitutional and judicial issues, government policies and roles of police, leaders of political parties and Mullahs in maintaining security and homogeneity in society. A CERINA report (2010) revealed that lack of good governance and equal distribution of resources had led to a breakdown of institutional structures. Indeed, this lack of governance provided the basis for the Taliban to gain the support of local poor and low-class people (Aziz, 2010).

This research, recognizing these weaknesses, reveals that the Taliban targeted the Khans and elites of the Swat valley and tried to slacken the role of Hujra and Jirga by establishing parallel informal institutions for deciding both civil and criminal cases. The new Jirga reconciliation committees, established under the local government system of 2001, were increasingly threatened by the killing and kidnapping of local government elected representatives (see Paper III). Hassan (2014) argues that the militant network have attempted to delink the Pukhtoons from their history and indigenous narrative and have tried to isolate Pukhtoons from the rest of the world. This left the GoP powerless to establish effective administrative systems as real alternatives to combat the Taliban's brand of justice. To establish the writ of the government security agencies, the government carried out military operations (2008–2009) against the militants, which caused a huge internal displacement of people from Swat to other parts of the KPK province. The IDPs of Swat lived in camps, government buildings like schools, and rented houses, and many families lived with their relatives in KPK province, Islamabad and other parts of the country. This has brought about many changes in the social fabric of the people.

Alternatively, the policies and strategies developed by the GoP since inception and by humanitarian agencies since the 1980s for development of northwestern Pakistan, particularly the KPK and FATA areas, have failed to overcome the problems of increased crime rates, militancy, human rights violations and the provision of justice to the common man (CERINA, 2010). However, over the last decade and especially in post-crisis development policies, the GoP and the international community have accepted the importance of addressing human security, poverty, and the need for strengthening of the formal and informal institutions and civil society organizations for bringing peace and security to the affected communities. The GoP, western countries and international organizations are utilizing their resources to slacken the Taliban grip, reduce the inclination towards militancy and are trying to introduce democratic processes through their development strategies and interventions.

Duffield (2001) argues that development in general has become transformative as the aid agencies have sought to spread development, democracy and human rights. The political shift began with President Musharaf (1999–2008) and his local government system of 2001 and the strategies adopted by the GoP and NGOs for development projects. Similarly, the Pakistan Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper of 2003, through its five years of midterm development plans, introduced development projects at micro and macro level, which include projects like small-scale physical infrastructure development, livelihood improvement, agriculture and natural resource management, skill development and capacity building of the institutions. These projects were supposed to be

implemented through participatory development practices in order to improve the living conditions of the people and to make progress in reducing existing gender inequalities (World Bank, 2004; CIP-II, 2001). Along with these, development strategies and plans since 2001 have aimed to achieve the targets of the MDGs, particularly poverty reduction, providing equal access of the vulnerable and marginalized population to human and social assets, promoting gender equality and woman empowerment as well as protection from human rights violations.

All these conflict consequences and development initiatives have transformed the gender relation, and social and cultural system of the pukhtoonwali in Swat society. The findings are presented in the following sections.

### 6.1.1. Social and cultural transformation of Pukhtoonwali

The cultural and social code of 'Pukhtoonwali' governs all social, political, economic and religious aspects of the Pukhtoon life (Ahmad, 1981, Lindholum 1982, Taj, 2011). The tenets of the pukhtoonwali like Jirga, Hujra and Malmastia have regulated the social and political order of the Pukhtoon-dominated areas in Pakistan and Afghanistan for centuries and provided space for peaceful co-existence with non-Muslim communities like the Sikh and Hindu living in northwestern Pakistan. The institution of Jirga, due to its flexibility, was responsible for the resolution of all kinds of conflict within Pukhtoon society and has social, political, religious and judicial functions (Orakzai, 2011). Historically Jirga and their decisions have been dominated by landlords (Khan) and sometimes by strong religious scholars, and they still occupy a prominent space in Pukhtoon social order today. Pukhtoonwali demands equality among all Pukhtoon, however it is a gender discriminatory code that marginalizes women, particularly from the political and economic sphere (Taj, 2011).

We see that militant conflict, Talibanization, internal displacement and natural disasters have been continuously happening in the whole province of KPK and FATA regions since 2001. Our argument is that these phenomena, in both pre- and post-crisis, have transformed the tenets of the pukhtoonwali and its functions in the study area. However, factors like migration both inside and outside the country, education, media and communication cannot be ignored in terms of their transformative effect on the social system of pukhtoonwali. Pukhtoonwali, as mentioned earlier, is a worldview that encompasses political, economic, social, religious, and secular aspects of life. Analysing the functioning of pukhtoonwali in the selected villages in particular and in other areas of the Swat valley in general, I asked about pukhtoonwali: its past and present role, how the conflict affected its

functioning, and how it affected the social order in society, and how it is affected by socio-economic development. I gathered responses from respondents from a variety of different backgrounds, for example, the elite or khans, low landowners of Pukhtoon, Syed, lawyers, humanitarian workers, tenants and also from non-Pukhtoon people. In the words of Khan in village Qambar (which resemble many other responses):

> *There was one Malik* [leader] *and one Hujra in villages, which were responsible to kept the village is a unit, provided common hospitality to guests, performed in socialization of the youth, resolved conflict and dispute among the villagers and maintaining law and order in village ... As the poor become well off due to remittance and education, and other profession, the concept of common Hujra and hospitality shifted and now everyone is Malik and almost every household has their own Hujra (baitak), this has reduced the cooperation among villagers and similarly unity in the villages ... this is why Taliban easily controlled the Swat valley.*

The findings revealed that the majority of the tenets of pukhtoonwali such as *Usher* (collective work), *tarboorwali,* Hujra*, nanawati* and *teega* (Truce) are rarely practised, while *malmastia* (honour), *Namoos* (gender boundaries), Jirga*, badal* are still very strong and visible. The traditional structure of Jirga and Hujra were adversely affected after 9/11 when the power shifted towards religious leaders and Jirga reconciliation committees, which fragmented the society and decreased the influence of traditional leaders (Khan and Malik) substantially (See section 6.1.2). In Swat, the Taliban initially targeted the Khan and local government elected representatives to reduce their hold on people. A lecturer in the department of history, of the post-graduate Jehanzeb College in Swat, told me during an interview that:

> *Along with killing and kidnapping of Khan and their family members by militant, the government security forces also enforced the Khan to leave Swat and shift to other part of the country. The displacement of majority of the khans paved an opportunity to militant in the form of new leaders and strong group in the area and this changed the structure of social networking maintained by the Khan through traditional Jirga and Hujra system.*

One of the national Jirga committee members described about the fragmentation of Jirga and Hujra as follows:

*The functioning of Jirga has been declined since merger of Swat state with Pakistan by establishment of formal judicial institutions, and over to this the Taliban further fragmented the Jirga system through establishment of their own centres of disputes resolution and forceful ousting of local political leaders. Likewise the Pakistan security forces did not allow holding of national Jirga to take action against the militants due to fear of human losses, however, efforts has been made to revive a Jirga system for the purpose of Swat development* [see paper III].

Hospitality (*Malmastia*) is one of the tenets that requires Pukhtoon to provide a guest and stranger, either local or external, with food, gifts and protection in the form of asylum (*nanawati*). Melmastia is linked with the honour of the Pukhtoon and it increases the number of social networks particularly of the landlords (Kakar, 2007) as a way of validating a leader's political position. Melmastia is referred to as common hospitality and is performed by Khans in their Hujra. However, currently such practices of hospitality and asylum have almost disappeared. Individual hospitality is still followed with pride and dignity without any social or political motive. The protection of guests (outsiders and local resident of Swat) is considered obligatory, but in the study area, the majority of respondents expressed their view that a case where when a person is involved in any criminal act or wanted by the government, asylum should not be given. During group discussion it was learnt that this change in protection of guests was the result of an increasing lack of trust of external guests (Pakistani or foreigner) during the recent conflict crisis as the external guests may belong to either a militant group or any security agency. In the past, the Hujra were open for external guests, but currently the security situation is not allowing any person to take someone into his Hujra without identified relations or recognition.

Hospitality and Hujra were part of social cooperation and gatherings within the village, but currently more than 70 per cent of the respondents in both villages agreed that social relations and cooperation among the households of Khans, tenants and other external residents (non-Swati) have been considerably reduced. In recent years, people rarely participate in village gatherings for the purpose of collective decisions on conflict or development issues apart from funeral and marriage ceremonies. The key informants suggested this lack of trust arose because of possible suicide attack on people gathering during the Taliban period. During the conflict period, Taliban attacked a number of landlords and their Hujra, and even at funeral ceremonies.

**6.1.2    Change in informal institutions**

The informal institutions like Hujra, Mosque and Jirga played an important role in maintaining the social order and in making decisions about the development of the society that the local people needed to follow. In the majority of cases, these informal setups are headed by the local landlords and sometimes by religious scholars (*Mullah*). However, the introduction of the new decentralized local government system of 2001–2002, financially supported by NGOs and foreign donor agencies, aimed at decentralization and devolving power to the grassroots level to strengthen local institutions and encourage a more efficient utilization of resources. Further, this local government system introduced a participatory or bottom-up model of development in which the citizens at grassroots level were involved in planning, formulation and implementation of development programmes through establishment of citizen community boards (CCBs). For the first time in the history of Pakistan, 33 per cent of seats at district council and sub division *(tehsil)* level were reserved for women.

The study found that the local body elections in 2001 and 2005, and the subsequent establishment of the district government system, have provided opportunities not only to men of different ethnic and social groups, but also to women, to participate in election. The respondents in both villages, 56 per cent in Paklea and 64 per cent in Qambar, replied that the local government system had changed the traditional social and political system by giving opportunities to the ordinary population  to participate in elections, and by allowing members from other ethnic, social and minorities groups to be elected. The establishment of the village development committees and CCBs of men and women by NGOs and under the LGO system for livelihood and infrastructure project interventions changed the role of the traditional committees on development initiatives. This increased the access of formerly marginalized social and ethnic populations to services, government departments and NGOs, as well as to decision-making processes on many development initiatives at union council level. According to our analysis based on responses collected from diverse groups of people, participation in the implementation of projects interventions and the local government system has raised awareness of self-reliance, created job opportunities for both men and women through skills and training, and increased different groups' access to local resources and to the local political system. The CIP-II (2010) completion report highlighted similar findings that the establishment of CCBs at village level supported institutional changes for grassroots informal organizations. However, traditional community leaders, who continued to hold sway in local decision-making, invariably formed the leadership in these committees.

For example, the Khan were supposed to lead the Jirga institution and make decisions when disputes between families or village arose, as well as on development activities within villages. But under the LGO system, new Jirga Masalihat committees[12] (Councils of Reconciliation) at the UC level were established. The elected members were allowed to select the members of Jirga instead of the traditional Khans. The past practice of holding of Jirga at Khan Hujra was shifted to the UC offices where women also visited to share their issues with female elected councillors. This increased the access of local people to elected Jirga members, who replaced Khans as the primary mediators in family and other minor disputes. The Khans whom I interviewed in the villages agreed that the local government system had decreased the role of the traditional Jirga system, changed the political leadership, and increased dependency of local people on elected members for justice and support instead of courts and police. However, they criticized such changes in the cultural system, using as examples the non-sustainability and ineffectiveness of the Jirga Masalihat committees to implement their decisions. Moreover, the non-continuity of the local government system after 2009 negatively affected the sustainability of these different kinds of committees. The establishment of a parallel Jirga system by the Taliban during their occupation of Swat (2007–2009) also undermined the traditional as well as local government Jirga systems. Similarly, after the conflict, the establishment of village defence committees by security forces for the purpose of cordoning off militancy and helping the security forces in patrolling of respective areas, changed the local informal system of forming *lashkar* against the insurgents, who in past had played an important role in guarding the valley from any kind of external attacks.

Currently in the study area, the functioning of informal institutions like Jirga, Hujra, and the influence of political leadership is very weak, particularly in decision-making on local civil disputes and providing security to their people. In the majority of cases, the disputes between individuals or families are taken to police stations and judicial courts for decisions instead of local Jirga system. Nevertheless, to maintain peace in the valley, a national-level Jirga system could be revived composed of government administration representative, local elite, political and religious leaders; this would help to resolve minor disputes within the villages and may maintain social networks' strength to control militant conflict in future (Orakzai, 2011).

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[11] The Masalihati Jirga was established under LGO-2001, Act 102 (1) at UC level. The Masalihati Jirga comprised three non-elected members including one woman. The Insaf committee was composed of elected members of the UC and it selects these members from their respective UCs within 30 days of the election.

## 6.2.    Gender inequality in accessing livelihood resources

Researchers like Sen (2001) and Ellis (2000) note that gender inequality persists in many parts of the world, where gender roles and relations affect the ability of men and women to access livelihood assets. This access is rarely equal, particularly in developing countries, owing to traditional cultural perspectives, resources and living patterns. Similarly, in the case of Swat valley, the majority of the population belongs to the Pukhtoon tribe and follows the codes of pukhtoonwali. We found that the cultural values and religious beliefs have a strong hold on the behaviours of both men and women as they have been following these traditions for centuries. Meanwhile, non-Pukhtoons living in Swat (such as the barber, blacksmith and even gujjars) follow the same code of ethics. The livelihood resources of the households in Swat valley are agriculture, forestry, livestock and fisheries, followed by government and private services, national and international remittances, and daily wages as well as skilled labour. According to the Centre of Public Policy Research (CPPR, 2010), more than 50 per cent of the working population in rural areas of Swat are  involved in agriculture, forestry and fishing, while 27 per cent work as employees in the government and private sectors.  An additional 12 per cent work in sale and retail trade, restaurants, and hotels, while the remaining population is involved in construction, transport, and industrial labour. Every households depends on multiple sources of livelihood and overall, the male has the main responsibility to fulfil the basic needs for food, shelter, health and education of the households. The household strategy is that men must go outside for labour and to bring necessary food and other domestic commodities. Women have to work in the house and perform domestic activities including childcare, cooking, cleaning, washing of clothes and maintain the household items accordingly. However, gender roles and relations vary among different social and ethnic groups. For example, women from elite classes, in comparison to lower ethnic groups like tenants, barbers and Gujjars enjoy more access to economic resources, mobility, education and jobs as well as face a lower domestic household work burden. Nonetheless, Pukhtoon society is patriarchal in nature, representing the male dominance outside the household, where men of all classes have the cultural power to decide all kinds of social, economic and political issues. On the other hand, women have very limited roles and levels of power in relation to decision-making and access to livelihood resources, particularly outside the household.

This low level of access for women outside the household is mainly because of the cultural purdah (veil) system. A study conducted by Sadaf and Seigmam (2004) in the Punjab and KPK provinces of Pakistan, provided similar results to the case of Swat. These researchers found that in order to protect family honour, women are kept confined within the spatial boundary of four walls as their

sexual behaviour is linked to male honour. Women are considered as symbols of the honour of the pukhtoonwali and to protect that honour, women's roles are kept limited to household activities. The World Bank and ADB (2009), report that almost 97 per cent of the male population in Swat is economically active but that women's share of the direct cash income is between three and five per cent. It was found that the reasons for this were the unequal access between men and women to livelihood assets, particularly social and human, as well as restrictions on women's mobility that limited their opportunity for outside labour (see Paper II). An old women interviewed in village Qambar said that women themselves prefer to stay at home so as to abide by the cultural value of honour and to obey what the men say in order to avoid shame for males in the society (see also Grima, 2005). A female lecturer in Swat university, I interviewed said that even working women cannot go outside the house without permission of the men. She further explained that women restrict themselves to household activities to avoid any kind of disputes or shame for their family. For some male as well as female respondents, frequent mobility of women going to market or for leisure time may bring shame to the family, in case any unethical incident happens. This may be the reason that women going to market, hospital, or nearby relative's houses are always accompanied by a man in the form of a son, husband, brother or any other close male relative.

The literacy ratio among men is 45 per cent while among women it is only 14 per cent (Literacy For All Project, Govt. KPK statistic, 2010). One of the main reasons for this low literacy ratio, as analysed in this study, was the value of honour and patriarchal dominancy. Boys are preferred over girls for secondary and higher education as the culture assigns the subsistence responsibility of the household to men. However, women play an important role in maintaining the social networks within village, family and clan by participating in religious and cultural ceremonies. Ahmad (2006), conducting her study in Swat, writes that in Pukhtoon society, women are permitted to interact at social events like weddings and funerals, while custom does not allow them to mingle during their leisure time. However, we observed varying gender roles among different ethnic and social groups. For example, women of the Pukhtoon families with high social status are invisible to the public eye particularly regarding economic activity, while women from lower classes as well as other ethnic groups like Gujjar and kohistani are seen working with men in agriculture and in the fields, particularly in upper Swat. Women from the middle classes tended to progress in attaining jobs and skilled work (see also Alam, 2012). Such restrictions can be further reduced by increasing women's access to education, skills attainment and the creation of more job opportunities. Indeed, improving access to these livelihood resources is essential for women's capacity to question, reflect on and to change the conditions of their lives (Kabeer, 2005).

The current research also found inequalities between ethnic and social groups in term of access to various livelihood resources such education, land and forestry. While the dominant Pukhtoon group in Swat on average enjoys superior access to resources, access differs between the high, middle, low and landless classes in the hierarchy. Low landholding and landless classes among Pukhtoon have low access to resources and little say in decision-making on the use of land or natural resources. This discrimination exists on the basis of social status; however, all groups live, eat, dress and speak alike, apart from political pursuits which remain the monopoly of the Pukhtoon (Ahmad, 1981). In the past, informal institutions like Jirga, Hujra, Teega and honour played important roles in controlling local conflicts and maintaining order in society. It is possible that these roles might have been changed in the last couple of decades and the elders like khans, Mullah's and traditional politicians might have lost their influence or control over the people. The basic factors identified behind the motivational inclination towards militancy among some of the low income households were the social and economic inequality between the landlords and other social classes, and secondly, the weak political control of the landlords over their people.

## 6.3. Gender empowerment and change in gender relations

Pukhtoonwali has always been considered as gender-biased and has embodied this implicitly with reference to Pukhtoon men, while women have to follow suit (Khan, 2014). The patriarchal structure of Pukhtoonwali represents the overall social, political and economic power of men and limited roles of women in terms of power, decision-making and access to social and economic resources outside the home. The interaction with common public and even government and NGO officials reflect that the word 'gender' (*Jenas* in Pushto) exclusively refers to women's activities or issues. This concept was very prominent between 1996 and 2005, and a fast growth was recorded in women's participation in education, employment and in the political sphere (Planning Commission, GoP, 2013). However, the severity of the conflict after 2005 and opposition of the religious leaders to the enlightened policies of president Musharraf, which they had called westernized, led to a decline in the growth of female participation, particularly in northwestern Pakistan. For example, girls' education primary enrolment increased to above 80 per cent in 2006 while it declined to 58 per cent in 2009 (Literacy for All Project, Govt. KPK Statistics, 2010). The Taliban banned women in some parts of Swat from education and jobs. The people offered little resistance to such actions of the Taliban because of cultural and religious interpretations of women's restriction to the four wall of their houses, and because of terror. However, several national and international NGOs actively opposed the ban on women's education and the attacks on girls' schools. I asked almost all male

respondents about women's jobs, their education and property rights. Their responses reveal that none of the men denied the rights of women to education, jobs or property. However, preference was not given to these needs of women. With respect to women's jobs, the majority of male respondents indicated that the honour of women lies in the home and any activity outside home is disruption (see Paper II). In the words of the ex-mayor of Qambar: 'for Pukhtoon, women's honour is the first priority, and education and jobs of women are secondary. Women's education is good for family socialization and growth but not for the sake of job or earning'. This does not mean that all the households who do not favour women's employment are in a good economic position. Some households such as those of landlords and those whose economic situation was good as a result of foreign remittances, considered that women working outside the house was not required, and that women should keep family relations together and support the socialization and education of their children.

On the other hand, the analysis shows that during the last decade, the trend regarding women's employment among the poor and middle classes was changing rapidly, particularly during rehabilitation and reconstruction interventions, where more opportunities were created and provided to women in post-crisis development policies and interventions. There were examples of success stories of women's access to skills attainment and jobs, and the change in their roles within and outside the households that we collected from NGOs like Hujra, EPS, SRSP and IDEA. With the help of these organizations, women from different groups have received skills training in areas such as livestock extension, poultry farming, embroidery, sewing, kitchen work, gardening and traditional birth attendance. Thee trainings have changed the participating women's traditional role from that of housewife engaged in domestic household activities, to the role of an earning woman, involved in making decisions about the utilization of the income she earns. For example, the project completion report of MRDP (2008) noted that under the component of health, 86 women were trained in traditional birth attendance courses throughout the Swat district. Of the 86 women, 54 have had jobs as female health visitors/workers and currently they are earning a good salary from government as well as from private practices. This not only changed the role of women from reproductive to productive (cash-earning) but also empowered them in decision-making about the use of income, child education and their marriages. We found in both villages that women belonging to elite class families and those who earn a cash income have a good say in household domestic issues (see Paper II), as they share the responsibility of livelihoods and other domestic needs of the household. A female health visitor who was interviewed, supported the argument that earning women should have more say in the household domestic matters than non-earning women,

particularly in poor households. This gives women a sense of power. However, she qualified this statement, saying that in some cases, such a sense of power can lead to domestic violence, as men do not like to lose their patriarchal authority.

I asked all male and female respondents about gender empowerment, and I quote here one interesting example from an employed postgraduate at Jehanzeb College Saidu Sharif Swat. He states:

> *Actually women are powerful within the houses and decisions are shared with men but men dominate outer world, and thus they deal with all external social, political and economic issues. Therefore, the assumptions and reflection of society is that man has all power, while in reality it is more complex as no one discloses the inside situation of the households.*

The current Chief Minister of KPK province made similar statements in his first speech in provincial assembly after his selection in May 2013. He states: 'The new government will work for women's empowerment, however, we know how women are powerful within household but that is the secret each man hold'. An acceptable proclamation in the society is that there are always invisible hands (woman) behind the successes of every man.

Women respondents in both villages revealed that men share the majority of domestic matters – property sale/purchase, child marriages and business – with women particularly with a mother, wife or any elderly woman; however, men took the final decisions. An elderly woman in Qambar said that women know how to adhere to the code of pukhtoonwali and to maintain the honour of the family men. This implies that Pukhtoon women follow the same codes of pukhtoonwali. However, as Khan (2014) notes, sometimes adhering to pukhto (women's honour) can be interpreted in a negative way. For example, in cases of swara (a custom of child marriage), the custom is mostly practised to settle feudal disputes, bride price or inheritance issues, when the father or brother has no choice or sources except to give his daughter or sister to a rival family to resolve disputes. Such marriage always takes place at a very young age (below 15 years) and without the consent of girl. Sometimes a woman, in the name of honour, may be used as sacrificial organ to settle a dispute or to pay money. Therefore, following Pakhto, to maintain women's honour becomes debatable. For example, the first restriction of women's empowerment is itself the restriction on their mobility within society; women require the permission of males to access education, jobs or even to visit a hospital for health treatment. Similarly, the perceptions are that boys are preferred over girls in attaining education and employment, and girls are considered as property of others, which may not support the parent family in long run. Our analysis in the study area suggests that in the majority of

cases, girls' education is not preferred because of the economic situation (poverty) of the households, and the poor households cannot bear the cost of transportation and other expenses of girls' higher education. Therefore, they may prefer boys because of their culturally constructed role as front earner of the household livelihoods. Nonetheless, they do believe in women's education and jobs, although insisting that these should be within the cultural systems of society. I infer here that the statements above may not be generalized to all households.

Nevertheless, pukhtoonwali is always open for reinterpretation and appropriation according to the demands of the times. Pukhtoonwlai is not rigid, as is communicated in the literature and media, in terms of honour killing, women's restrictions, swara, property ownerships and female education and employment. In practical terms, many of the major tenets of pukhtoonwali mentioned earlier become either dormant or ineffective. However, Pukhtoons (men and women) still adhere to their code of ethics and it strongly exists in verbal discussion, poetry, songs and proverbs. This is likely a result of structural changes in the political and economic system, and people's increased awareness through education, development and migration.

Currently there is no ban on girls' education or jobs; women's mobility to markets increased in comparison to pre-crisis times, and this was observed during my fieldwork. We found that both men and women's employment had increased particularly in NGOs and other private sectors, for example in telecommunication and the pharmaceutical industry. This may be because of the arrival of hundreds of NGOs in the area and the increased opportunities in the rehabilitation and reconstruction interventions after the crises. More than 100 national and international NGOs arrived in the  Swat valley for relief and rehabilitation interventions and still involved in post-crisis development. Women employment's in NGOs increased, and we observed that at average of three to five females worked in every local and national NGO. A head of a local NGO in Saidu Sharif told me that during 2004–2009, they had difficulty finding local girls agreeing to work in NGOs because of negative propaganda from non-Islamic, non-ethical organizations, but that currently every organization has local female employees and there is a change in perceptions of local population about NGOs. Nevertheless, the participatory development interventions in the pre-crisis period have helped raise awareness among women about education, self-help, participation in village committees and women's rights. The conflict crisis and post-crisis development strategies have further enhanced the trends towards girls' education, skills attainment and employment, and sensitized the youth regarding sustainable livelihood strategies. This has not only improved the livelihood conditions of a number of households but has also changed their livelihoods strategies, for example from men

being solely responsible to women contributing, and from the dependency on agriculture and other natural resources, to multiple livelihood resources. On one hand, the post-crises development is rapidly changing the cultural practices and perceptions of local people about women education and jobs. On the other hand, among some of the elite class and middle class respondents, post-crisis humanitarian aid has negatively affected men and women and increased the trends of beggary (dependency on aid and NGOs) among the poor and marginalized classes. This may be because of the humanitarian aid implemented in the period of relief, rehabilitation and reconstruction without following the process of participatory development.

## 6.4.    Humanitarian aid and its effects on participatory development

The conflict crisis and flood disaster in Swat have caused devastating social, human and physical losses. The GoP, including the army, the international donors and NGOs, and local civil society organizations collaborated in relief, rehabilitation and resettlement to overcome the losses incurred. This research found that the crises changed the needs and priorities of the people as well as of the GoP and humanitarian organizations in terms of planning and implementation of livelihoods and development interventions (see Paper I). The humanitarian aid provided to the affected people and IDP households during the post-crisis relief and rehabilitation period came in the form of food items, shelter and cash grants of between 25,000 to 50,000 PKR (approximately USD 250 to 500). The relief and rehabilitation interventions continued until the end of 2012; however, the conflict and flood crisis emergency period was over by the end of 2010. A PDMA official explained that, in order to meet the needs of people, the relief and rehabilitation activities extended until the end of 2012, while the reconstruction activities were initiated in 2013. There may be many factors for delay in initiation of reconstruction interventions, but what we found were institutional complexities between the army, civil departments like PDMA/PaRRSA, and the international organizations and donors.  There was lack of clarity beween these organizations regarding who is doing what, and where. The political pressure was also observed on extension of relief and rehabilitation activities. Our analysis suggests that this extension and expansion of relief and rehabilitation activities in the form of food and non-food item distributions in Swat valley has highly influenced the participatory development practices in terms of better project outcomes and the empowerment of local people. Donini (2007) states that in the past, humanitarian actions were limited to the crisis and post-crisis situations. However, the role of humanitarianism during the last decade has expanded to other areas such as human rights, advocacy and conflict resolution. This may be beneficial to many needy people and of interest to many organizations, but it does not sustain their livelihoods. Moreover, the non-

participatory development approaches may have led to unequal distribution of project benefits among men and women of different ethnic and social groups. This was observed during the interviews with a number of respondents who raised questions concerning the unequal distribution of relief and rehabilitation interventions, and who complained about NGOs and government civil departments working only with politically supported households and ignoring those actually affected.

The local NGOs I visited during fieldwork complained of noncompliance of people towards participatory processes of livelihood project interventions, instead preferring direct implementation. In addition, all these relief and rehabilitation interventions were for very short periods of between six and twelve months. Therefore the organizations were in hurry to complete the projects and apply for more funding. The government officials termed this as 'filling the blanks', meaning fulfilling the project targets given by donors without taking care of needy people, affected areas or participatory development. We observed through discussions with various NGOs workers that, among implementing partners, there was competition to obtain more funds from donors while completing the existing projects as early as possible. Our research suggested that participatory development may not be possible during relief and rehabilitation periods, keeping in view the fragility of time in terms of crisis devastation and displacement and the needs of people as well as of organizations (see Paper I). Nonetheless, the process of participatory development can be applied to donor and NGO development interventions in the reconstruction phase. This will minimize the questions about unequal distribution of aid resources and may help to support the marginalized classes in improvement of their livelihood situations.

## 6.5   Constraints in development

While studying participatory development practices in the application of development policies, it is necessary to study constraints in the implementation of the development projects' interventions. The development projects like MRDP and CIP planned to improve the socio-economic condition of the poor and marginalized people through equal participation in project interventions. However, this study found a number of political, social, administrative and institutional constraints that have hindered the access of the marginalized classes and women to the projects' benefits. Paper IV highlights a number of cultural and political impediments in participatory development, for example, the dominance of landlords in decision-making, such as deciding on who can participate in which activities, and who will be the leader of local committees or the organizations.  In general practices,

particularly in this study area, the officials from government or NGOs always enter communities via a political leader or an activist of the village. According to respondents from the poorer classes, such interactions hindered the equal participation of people from all groups because the activist or leader would select members of the committee based on their own interests. We came to know, through ex-employees of the MRDP project, that local and national political leaders influenced the selection of staff on projects, villages and local NGOs as implementing partners for execution of project activities, which undermined efficiency of the organizations and the process of participatory development. The MRDP completion report (2010) identified similar findings and revealed that political involvement highly influenced the planning and implementation processes. Moreover, landlords, either directly or through representatives, tended to dominate the village committees of both men and women that were established for implementing project activities. This may be because of ownership of land and natural resources that, in the majority of cases, belong to Khans' families. For example, because of the land resources ownership, the khan or landlord has the authority to take decisions or has to be involved in decision-making for carrying out any kind of forestry or agricultural sector-related activity by NGOs or even government. Therefore, it may not be possible for NGOs or government to exclude Khans from the village committee and decision processes. But at the same time, equal opportunity might be given to other groups of people, so that they may benefit from the interventions of livelihood development like skill development trainings, credit programmes, agricultural extensions and humanitarian aid distributed during crisis.

The establishment of women's committees in Swat valley and their functioning remains a big question. The cultural and religious perspectives affected women's participation in project interventions because an NGO or any other government department working on women's issues was perceived as a western agent working against the Pukhtoon cultural and religious values. This accusation had been widespread across the whole province in 2003, when I myself was working with a national NGO and these perceptions have set high constraints on women's participation and their socio-economic development. The majority of the respondents suggested that, although women's committees existed by name, they were in fact often run by close male relatives for the purpose of receiving funds.

While superficially women committees were established in selected villages, no such actual participatory process has been applied. This research found that women's participation in village organizations and CCBs was not satisfactory. Moreover, there was lack of coordination between the government departments and implementing partners in terms of the selection of villages,

implementation of interventions and the application of participatory processes. The government departments use a top-down approach for implementation of projects while NGOs and donors prefer participatory development approaches.

During the conflict and displacement period, relief interventions were carried out by government and humanitarian organizations. After the return of displaced persons and re-establishment of government writ in the Swat valley, relief and rehabilitation activities were continued until 2012, and reconstruction activities were initiated in 2013. All these consequences changed the priorities, needs and planning strategies of both government and NGOs where direct interaction with individually affected households was increased. Pretty (1995) found that local people mostly take part in projects and programmes for the purpose of improvement and change in their lives, but individual relief and rehabilitation interventions subverted the participatory interactions with community. According to NGOs and government officials, local people do not participate in the long process of social mobilization and are instead more interested in direct activities or receiving aid items. The analysis of the responses from community, government and NGO officials revealed major constraints in post-crisis relief, rehabilitation and reconstruction interventions, and application of participatory development. It was found that 25 per cent of respondents considered political interference the biggest constraint, followed by corruption (22%), the lack of accountability (17%), coordination problems (17%), government bureaucracy system (15%), local insecurity (12%), and nine per cent naming cultural and religious values as the major constraint. For detailed discussion and explanation, refer to Paper IV.

The research suggests that humanitarian aid should be limited to the emergency phase and quickly transitioned to reconstruction, where focus should be given to revival of livelihoods and infrastructure development. Participatory development practices may not be applied in relief and rehabilitation interventions. However, in the reconstruction phase, it can be applied on the development projects. The constraints mentioned above can be minimized through developing standard operating procedures and establishing close coordination between both government and NGOs with local communities.

## 7. Conclusions

This study conducted in the Swat valley of northwestern Pakistan, contributes to wider perspectives of theoretical discourses on gender relations, livelihoods and development practices in the context of pre- and post-crisis scenarios. The gender relations, explained as socially and culturally

constructed notions and unequal in terms of accessing livelihoods resources, exist in the social and cultural system of society prominently known as pukhtoonwali. The society's norms support the confinement of women's roles to household domestic activities while the same norms grant men political and social power outside the household, leaving them responsible for satisfying the livelihood needs of the family members. The study shows considerable inequality between genders and different ethnic and social groups in accessing the social and political sphere as well as livelihood resources particularly social, human and natural. However, there is variation among different groups.

The findings in this study support the arguments of international studies and development literature that the factors like political and administrative reforms, socio-economic development, migration, education, media and communication have contributed towards change in social system of developing societies. The analysis in this research reveals that since 2001, the development policies like IPRSP of 2001 and PRSP of 2003 of the GoP and its interventions supported by donor-funded development projects and implemented through participatory development practices, have contributed to gender empowerment and enhanced the livelihood conditions of a number of poor households. Participatory development practices applied before the crisis in the application of development projects and their intervention have had some positive impact on the socio-economic conditions of the projects' beneficiaries. The MRDP and CIP-II projects provided opportunities of skills attainment and education, and created jobs for men and women in the pre-crisis period. The projects also improved the socio-economic condition of the poor households, which, to some extent, changed the socially constructed roles, and decision-making power of women in terms of cash income utilization on children's education, marriages (mate selection) and properties rights. Such synergies may enhance gender empowerment in terms of decision-making on household domestic matters, accessing various livelihoods strategies and ownership. Indeed, as suggested by Kabeer (2005), this is essential for women's capacity to question, to reflect on and to act on the conditions of their lives. Based on this analysis, this research suggests that gender inequality can be reduced through increasing women's access to education, skills training and creating more job opportunities.

The crises of militant conflict, internal displacement (2008–2009) and flood disaster (2010) on one hand have highly affected the human, social and physical resources of the society. On the other hand, the post-crisis national and international humanitarian development response is trying to recover the losses made to livelihoods, physical infrastructure and social capital. The study reveals that the militant conflict and displacement radically changed the functions of the tenets of pukhtoonwali,

particularly of the council of elders (Jirga), hospitality, Hujra and gender boundaries (namoos). Theoretically and practically, pukhtoonwali remains a constituent of Pukhtoon social behaviour and networking, which encompasses political, economic, social, religious, and modern aspects of life (Taj, 2011). However, currently the major informal institutions like Hujra, Jirga, common hospitality and truce (teega) become either dormant or ineffective due to structural changes in the political and economic system. In other words, these might be considered functionless in a broader context. This research supports the argument of Hussain (2013), that the current militant movement and Pakistan military operation in the northwestern Pakistan delink the Pukhtoon from their history and indigenous narrative. Nevertheless, the people of Swat still adhere to the code of pukhtoonwali, which we observed in verbal discussion, poetry, songs and proverbs. The respondents like landlords, government and NGOs officials still believe that the local cultural system can be made compatible, not only for resolution of conflicts and security in the future, but can also be utilized for development of the Swat valley.

The participatory development processes and project interventions in pre crisis have contributed to empowerment of gender and improvement of the living conditions of marginalized classes in spite of facing a number of political, social and administrative constraints. However, the militant conflict and flood crises, and prolonged relief and rehabilitation interventions changed the needs and priorities of the people, and influenced the concept of participatory development. The findings reveal that the participatory development practices in the pre-crisis period were successful in terms of local people's engagement and achieving the physical targets, and in turn, in increased awareness among local people regarding self-help and participatory management. While in post-crisis development, national and local NGOs, and civil society organizations have received funds in the name of participatory development practices, we did not observe the application of participatory development practices in relief, rehabilitation or even reconstruction activities. Nonetheless, the thesis suggests that participatory development practices may not be applicable during relief and rehabilitation but can be applied in rehabilitation and reconstruction phases to achieve better results for the humanitarian aid, in terms of revival of livelihood resources of the crisis-affected population, improved gender equality and strengthened local institutions. The policymakers need to address such issues and constraints identified in this study while dealing with post-crisis rehabilitation and reconstruction interventions.

The research study has shown that the participatory development, the militant conflict, internal displacement and post-crisis humanitarian development have together raised awareness among men

and women, and provided opportunities to develop new social networks and revisit their culture system in a more democratic and modern way. Further, it can be inferred that Pukhtoonwali is not as rigid as communicated in literature and media. Rather, it seems that the dynamic aspects as presented in Khudai Khidmatgar Tehreek have always been overlooked. The establishment of Qoomi Jirga and women Jirga after the conflict are examples of such efforts. The NGOs and government security agencies encouraged both men and women to reorganize and strengthen their networks, not only to bring peace in their society but also to take the initiative for social sector development and justice in Swat valley. I observed through literature and personal experience that there is gap between the current practices of the codes of the pukhtoonwali and what has been presented in previous research by a number of anthropologists, sociologists, historians and political thinkers as well as by the media. We observed flexibility in socially constructed values for women's mobility and their access to education, health services, jobs and property rights among all walks of the population. Therefore, more research needs to be conducted on narratives of pukhtoonwali and how the code can be revisited as a discourse of human dignity, pluralist democracy and indigenous wisdom. This cultural identity can provide a foundation for the cause of socio-political, socio-cultural, and socio-economic transformation. The result suggests that if the purpose of political government, securities agencies and NGOs is to bring peace and to improve the socio-economic conditions of the people, the local cultural system can be revisited as a source for peace, reconciliation and development in conflict- affected developing societies.

The research mentions a number of factors – social, religious, political, and military – relating to the current militant conflict in Swat valley and suggests the needs for more detailed studies regarding how humanitarian aid in crisis-affected societies can be effective. Such research can be utilized to improve the livelihood conditions of the marginalized and conflict-affected populations on a sustainable basis, which would indirectly rehabilitate the poor and other ethnic groups. Engagement of the people in their own livelihood subsistence tasks and development interventions may reduce the chance of affiliation of local people with militant groups and may reduce the severity of local militant conflict.

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**Part II**                                    **Research Papers**

**List of papers**


Paper I.

> Elahi, N. Nyborg L.P. and Nawab, B. (2015). Participatory Development Practices: A Critical Analysis of Gender Empowerment and Development in pre- and post-crisis Swat, Pakistan *Forum for Development Studies*, 42(2), 333 – 356, Doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/08039410.2015.1025828

Paper II.

> Elahi, N. Nyborg, L.P. Ingrid and Nawab, B. (2015). Social and Cultural Perspectives of Gender Inequality in Accessing Livelihoods Resources in Northwestern Pakistan
>
> (Revised version submitted to the Journal of South Asian Development, after incorporating the Reviewers comments, under second review). (Article ID: JSAD-14-0180)

Paper III.

> Elahi. N. Militancy conflicts and Displacement in Swat Valley of Pakistan: Analysis of Transformation of Social and Cultural Network (Manuscript)

Paper IV.

> Elahi N. (2015). Constraints in Applying Participatory Development Strategies: An Analysis of Development Projects and Humanitarian Aid in northwest Pakistan
>
> (Submitted to 'Progress in Development Studies' and under review)

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Participatory Development Practices: A Critical Analysis of Gender Empowerment and Development in Pre- and Post-crises Swat, Pakistan

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Participatory development practices (PDP) have been applied in several government and donor-funded development projects implemented since 1980s in the Swat district of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan. This paper analyzes the PDP carried out in development projects in terms of their contribution to gender empowerment and the transformation of the socio-cultural system in pre- and post-crises of Swat. Further, the paper examined how the conflict and flood crises (2007 – 2010) and post-crises humanitarian interventions have influenced PDP in Swat. We used qualitative research methods, including semi-structured interviews, participant observation, key informants' interviews and focus group discussions. The study found that in pre-crisis, participatory development has been used as a tool to engage local communities in the implementation of pre-determined project interventions such as infrastructure schemes, skill trainings and income-generating activities. The study revealed that in pre-crisis, the participation of men and women through community organizations in implementation of projects' interventions was satisfactory, and therefore yielded some positive impacts in terms of improvement of socio-economic conditions of marginalized people and gender empowerment. However, the crises of militancy conflict and flood disaster affected the concept of participation in development projects due to fragility of time, changes in needs and priorities of the people and organizations. This research argues that participatory development can be applied in the reconstruction phase of post-crises development, to achieve the goals of equal distribution of humanitarian aid and uplift the socio-economic conditions of crises-affected people.

Keywords: participatory development practices; gender empowerment; participation; crises; socio-cultural impacts

Introduction
The concept of participatory development has been introduced in the 1970s as an important part of the development agenda with hope that development projects would be more successful and sustainable if the local population were to be engaged in the implementation process (Cornwall, 2002).

Since then, participatory development has come to be considered as a justifiable process in seeking equity and has contributed to poverty reduction, empowerment, gender equality, democratization and sustainable development (Chambers, 1997; De Haan, 2009). Participatory development can be described as a manipulative tool to engage people in pre-determined economic, social and political processes, and an expedient way to achieve goals or an attempt to support a democratic process for the improvement of well-being of the entire population through their free and meaningful participation in development (Keough, 1998; World Bank, 2004). Edwards stated that 'The real goal of the participatory development is to provide the target people with skill, confidence, information and resources to make their own choices' (Edwards, 1993, p. 86).

Since the 1980s, the Government of Pakistan (GoP) with the support of inter-national donors[1] has planned and implemented a number of development projects in north-west Pakistan. Thereafter, community development approaches were introduced following the Agha Khan Rural Support Program (AKRSP), and in the 1990s the AKRSP participatory development concept was extended to the whole country under the umbrella of Rural Support Programs followed by the Social Action Program in 1993. Some of the well-known development projects in the northwest province including Swat are the Kalam Integrated Development Project (1982– 1998), Malakand Social Forestry Project (1987 – 1998), Community Infrastructure Projects (CIP-I, 1995 – 2002 and CIP-II, 2004 – 2009), Promoting Horticulture Project (1988 – 2006) and the Malakand Rural Development Project (MRDP-2000 – 2008), which have used participatory development practices (PDP) in implementation of their interventions.

The documentation of the above projects claims the application of PDP in planning, implementing and monitoring of the project interventions. The overall aim of these projects was to support government policies, contribute to institutional reforms and reduce poverty through capacity building and human resource development. They sought to improve the socio-economic condition of people and to empower them through equal participation in project interventions and village development. Such development projects offered a framework within which to understand the nature, potential and likely effects of participatory interventions (Hickey and Mohan, 2004). Government departments such as Agriculture, Forestry, Fisheries, Tehsil Municipal Administration, Health and Education remained collaborative partners of these projects. During the implementation of these projects few of the famous local civil society organizations such as the Environmental Protection Society (EPS), 'Lasoona, Hujra, and Carvan'[2]

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[1]World Bank (WB), International Monitory Fund (IMF), Asian Development Bank (ADB) and international organizations like United Nations Development Program (UNDP), Oxfam, Department for International Development (DFID), Swiss Development Corporation (SDC), United State Agency for International Development (USAID), etc.
[2]Name of local NGOs in Swat valley.

emerged and, thereafter, performed as implementing partners for some of the above and many other development projects.

   The GoP, appraising the success stories of participatory development process, set out its Poverty Reduction Strategy in 2003 for alleviating rural poverty and promoting social upliftment of the vulnerable regions of the country. Under the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper of 2003, the GoP committed to participatory-based community development of infrastructure, livelihood, natural resource management (NRM) and services (SCIP-II, 2010). We analyze whether the factor of participation of local people before the crisis in development projects was successful in comparison to post-crises in terms of better project results, gender equality and acceptance.

This paper investigates the contribution of PDP applied by the GoP and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) in the implementation of development projects' interventions during 2000–2007 as the pre-crisis period to gender empowerment and change in the socio-cultural system. The research then analyzes how the crises (Conflict and Flood) during 2008–2010 and the humanitarian aid in post-crises have influenced the participatory development interventions in Swat, Pakistan. The paper covers discussions on perceptions of local people about NGOs in the pre- and post-crises periods in Swat.

The context of crisis and crises

Defining crisis and how it relates to a particular context is important in understanding both impacts and responses. According to Webster's dictionary ( 2014) crisis is an unstable or crucial time or state of affairs in which a decisive change is impending. Duffield ( 1994, 4) linked crises with complex emergencies and states ' . . . they are protracted from political crises resulting from predatory or indigenous responses to socio-economic stress and marginalization. Complex emergencies destroy the cultural, civil, political and economic integrity of established societies, and attack social system'. We termed the context of crises in Swat as the unstable conditions caused by excessive political and religious stresses and natural disaster, which changed the social, economic and political system, and the need of development and security.

Swat valley was an independent state from 1917 until 1969, when it was merged with Pakistan as a settled district of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK)[3] under PATA[4] rules. The rise of militants in north-west Pakistan, particularly in the form of the Taliban movement since 1995, has deteriorated the formerly peaceful situation with violations of the rule of law and human rights.

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[3]KPK is one of the four provinces in Pakistan formerly known as North West Frontier Province, lies in the northwestern part of Pakistan and is home to the majority Pukhtoon ethnic group. [4]Provincially Administrative Tribal Areas (PATA), of Chitral, Dir (lower, upper), Swat, Kalam and Malakand Protected Areas are the regions declared under clause (4) of Article 247 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, where certain laws apply (for details see the article of the Constitution of 1973

The intrusion of the Taliban in Swat valley in mid-2005, and occupation of more than half of Swat in 2008, compelled the GoP to oust the militants from the Swat area. The government military operation Rah-e-Rast[5] (straight path) carried out in 2009 caused internal displacement of over two million people from the Malakand region, 1.2 million from Swat district alone, to other parts of the country (World Bank and ADB, 2009, p. 01). The Pakistan army took over the administrative control of Swat and expelled the militants from a major part of Swat in 2009. This was a period of intense political, economic and social crisis in the valley, where people's lives were significantly disrupted. As the internally displaced people (IDP) were returning to their homes and the process of relief and rehabilitation was in progress, a devastating flood occurred in 2010, the worst in the history of Pakistan, which created a new crisis that hindered the earlier progress of reconstruction in Swat valley. In this paper, we refer to the period 2006 – 2009 as the period of militancy conflict and internal displacement. The term 'pre-conflict' thus denotes the period prior to 2006, and coincides with the period of pre-crisis. Since, we term both the human-made 'militancy conflict' and natural disaster 'flood' as crises, 'post-crises' refers to the period after 2010, following both militancy conflict and flood disaster. According to the CERINA ( 2010, p. 21) report,

> The combination of conflict and flood crises has greatly affected the livelihood strategies of not only the poor segment but also the economically well off population of society and seriously affected human, social, physical and financial capital, and development process of the community at larger level.

Since the crises affected all the socio-economic levels in different ways, they also affected people's social relations (CPPR, 2010). This was seen for example in the relations between landowners and tenants, where landowners lost their income resources and power both as targets of militants and due to loss of crops for three consecutive seasons during the military operation and loss of land due to flood. We found that tenants in lower Swat, whose livelihood was highly dependent on land and daily labor, were not much affected in term of income losses. According to tenants in villages Qambar, they worked as daily wagers during displacement, got free foods in camps and received cash relief amount, which was much more than the regular income they were earning before the crisis. However, the poor households in upper Swat who did not dis-place were highly affected due to closing of daily wage resources, for example market, transport, hoteling, small industries and other construction activities. Similarly, those whose houses were washed away by the flood have been highly affected in comparison to landlords, as they have other income sources than land (CPPR, 2010). It has been estimated that 30 percent of the villages' resources like bridges, footpaths, access roads, irrigation channels, water supply (catchment area), drains and natural resources

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[5]Rah-e-Rast is an operation launched by the Pakistan Army in early May 2009 against the ter-rorists and militants to clean up the Malakand division, particularly the Swat district

were destroyed during the militancy conflict and the flood disaster (CPPR, 2010). According to a joint WB and ADB needs assessment report, 'the estimated needs in the KPK Province for livelihood, social protection and housing, health and education was 272.5 million US$ and for physical infrastructure including transport, water, sanitation and energy was 217.7 million US$' (World Bank and ADB, 2009, p. X).[6]

To overcome the problems and losses incurred because of these crises, the GoP, humanitarian agencies and NGOs[7] rushed to the affected areas to provide support in relief, rehabilitation and reconstruction of the socio-economic and physical infrastructure. The conflict crisis changed the needs, priorities and processes of the development projects to focus on relief, rehabilitation and resettlement. The GoP established a new organization, the Provincial, Reconstruction, Rehabilitation and Settlement Authority (PaRRSA), to manage the rehabilitation, resettlement and reconstruction activities of those affected by the conflict in the province. Following the flood, the Provincial Dis-aster Management Authority (PDMA)[8] took the lead role in setting up a system to look after disaster and calamities whether natural, man-induced or accidents while PaRRSA was supposed to work closely with PDMA in the Swat district.

The paper begins with a discussion of the theoretical underpinnings of participatory development. It then introduces the case study of Swat, where two rural development projects implemented before the crisis were examined in terms of their approaches to and impact on gender empowerment and development in Swat. The paper then describes the impact the crises had in the study villages, and it looks at how the crises affected the way development activities were implemented in rehabilitation and reconstruction phases as compared to the pre-crisis period. The research aims to assist policy makers, donors, development planners, NGOs and civil societies in formulating development projects and policies, and show how a better understanding of the local socio-cultural context could improve PDP and con-tribute to wider development perspectives of gender equality, empowerment and sustainable development.

## Understanding participatory development

The word development has been viewed as economic, social and political changes in developing countries since World War II. Development means a better life for all and is concerned with how society grants individuals the capacity for taking part in creating their own livelihoods, governing their own affairs and participating in self-government (Peet and Hartwick, 2009; Sen, 2000).

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[6]For detailed damages and socio-economic impacts of conflict and flood crises, see CERINA ( 2010), Pakistan Flood (Rapid Gender Need Assessment Report, 2010); Rapid Assessment Report of Swat District (Save the Children, 2009); Socio-economic baseline and displacement impacts, Swat district (Center for Public Policy Research CPPR, 2010); Pakistan and WB and ADB combined report on Damage Need Assessment (DNA), 2009.
[7]Humanitarian agencies and NGOs refer to all the international, national and local organizations including civil society organizations who were involved in the process of development, rehabilitation and reconstruction in Swat.
[8]For detail see http://www.pdma.gov.pk/index.php and http://www.pdma.gov.pk/PaRRSA/ indexphp.

To achieve the goals of better life for all, the theoretical concepts of integrated rural development, community development and participatory development emerged during the 1960s to 1980s. Participatory development strategies emerged in the 1980s with a shift in focus to the involvement of civil societies in projects rather than broader political communities.

Since then, the international development organizations and bilateral aid agencies like the WB, IMF, DFID, International fund for agricultural development, Oxfam and many other UN organizations started to search for more people-oriented development approaches (Brohman, 1996). This process led to the development of an alternative approach, which focused on basic needs of people and more social, economic and political power at the community level (Friedmann, 1997). Terms like participation, empowerment, gender, decentralization, indigenous knowledge and capacity building became popular in the development debates. The WB eventually acknowledged that 'social change does not take place if the external experts alone acquire, analyze and present the information' (World Bank, 1997, p. 7).

The development agencies focusing on more decentralized decision-making and empowerment adopted a participatory development process in order to achieve the target of sustainable development (Chambers, 1997; Friedmannn, 1997). For Cleaver ( 2001, p. 37),

> the theory of participatory approaches to development is reflected through the efficiency argument, (participation as a tool for achieving better project outcomes) and equity and empowerment argument (participation as a process which enhances the capacity of individuals to improve their own lives and facilitate social change).

However, participatory approaches have received criticism for their lack of engagement in issues of power, politics and empowerment as a goal. The key arguments against participatory development are 'an insufficiently sophisticated understanding of power operates and . . . .. thus how empowerment may occur (Kothari, 2001), an inadequate understanding of the role of structure and agency in social change and . . . a tendency for agents of participatory development to treat participation as a technical method of project work rather than as a political methodology for empowerment' (Carmen, 1996; Cleaver, 1999, ref: in Hickey and Mohan, 2004, p. 241).

On the other hand, feminist scholars such as Moser ( 1989, p. 2) view the development process in the context that:

> the power and benefits of development have been largely confined to men, since the dominant development approach only targeted men and saw 'heads of households', 'farmers', 'breadwinners' as men. Women were merely seen as 'housewives', 'secondary earners' and 'mothers' within the context of the family/household unit, and if at all, only addressed in these roles.

To overcome the matter of lack of fundamental women's rights, the policy approaches like equity, anti-poverty, efficiency, gender empowerment, Women in Development, Woman and Development and Gender and Development (GAD) were designed. The participation of women has now been almost universally endorsed by governments, donors and NGOs, with increasing political and ideological power in many contexts; however many women still experience a serious lack of rights to and control over the world's resources (Young, 1993). GAD approaches as well as gender mainstreaming efforts have emphasized issues of inequality between men and women, lack of basic human rights, lack of access to resources, ownership, non-recognition of women's domestic work and the transformation of women's roles to include productive roles rather than exclusively reproductive roles (Jane, 2002; Momsen, 2010; Smyth, 1999; World Bank, 2012).

Participation and empowerment in development

Participation can be defined as 'the process through which primary stakeholders can influence and share control of development initiatives, decision and resources which affect them' (De Haan, 2009, p. 162). In the language of development professionals and researchers such as Chamber, Scoones and Cornwall, participation has been explained as a 'process' as well as a 'tool'. Participation as process means to enhance the capacity and skills of individuals (men and women, marginalized, advantaged and disadvantaged groups) to improve their lives and provide equitable access to basic facilities. On the other hand, participation as a tool refers to improving the efficiency of the individual to achieve better project results. In this paper, we define participation as the processes and tools used by a variety of actors to engage local people in the implementation of pre-determined development project interventions in order to achieve better project results and contribute to gender empowerment and equal distribution of benefits among various social classes. In post-crises development, where people have experienced crisis and response quite differently as they have in the Swat valley, equitable participation in this sense is a major challenge to development actors.

Empowerment

Empowerment has become a buzzword in the development agenda and remains an essential objective of participatory development (Cleaver, 1999). The WB defines empowerment as a process of enhancing an individual's or group's capacity to make and express choices and to transform them into desired actions and outcomes (World Bank, 2004). Cleaver claims that

> a number of problems arise when we critically analyze the currently fashionable version of empowerment; it is often unclear exactly who is to be empowered; the individual, the community, or categories of people such as women, the poor or the socially excluded. (1999, p. 599)

Batliwala ( 2007) states that empowerment is a socio-political process . . . and that empowerment was about shift in political, social and economic power between and across both individual and social groups. Power is then explained as probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out one's own will despite resistance (Kothari,  2001). In this paper, the context of empowerment of Batliwala's ( 2007) is linked to the socio-political process and relationships of individuals, social groups and institutions to analyze how participatory development interventions brought shift in the social, political and economic system of Swat valley.

Methodology and the study area

The district Swat lies in the remote northern part of the KPK Province at a distance of 265 km from Islamabad and about 160 km from Peshawar, the provincial capital (PDMA,  2012). The total area of the district is 5065 km$^2$ with a population of 1.7 million, although reliable census data are unavailable. The Swat district borders the Buner and Malakand districts to the south, Lower and Upper Dir to the west, and the Chitral and Gilgit to the north.

A significant number of ethnic groups reside in Swat, including Pukhtoon[9] (Yousafzai, the dominant group), Syed/Miangan,[10] Kohistani, Gujjars, Sikh minorities, etc. and the dominant language is Pushto. The people of Swat share a common identity and history regardless of their ethnic or tribal background (Fleishner,  2011). Swat valley included a Pukhtoon ethnic-based society, where Pukhtoonwali (a code of ethics) functioned as a way of life to maintain the social, political and economic structure and homogeneity among various ethnic and social groups (Ahmad,  1980; Barth,  1985). The various ethnic groups were dependent on each other for their livelihoods and social needs. The population of the valley is dependent on multiple livelihood resources and the main source of income is agriculture (50 percent), followed by employment in government and private sector (27 percent), remittances both foreign and national (13 percent), 12 percent in sale and retail trade, restaurants, hotels, etc. and the remaining proportion is involved in construction, transport and industrial labor (CPPR,  2010). Men in Swat are mainly responsible for provision of livelihood and they take decisions on the use and access of economic and political resources while women are restricted to households' domestic and reproductive activities (Qayyum,  2010). The conflict crisis affected the social and economic system of all groups and according to Rome ( 2010) disturbed the social fabric in terms of cooperation, trust and social relations.

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[9]According to Encyclopedia Britannica, ( 2013). 'Pashtun, also spelled Pushtun or Pukhtun, Pakhtoon, Pathan, Persian Afghan, are Pashto-speaking people residing primarily in the region that lies between the Hindu Kush in northeastern Afghanistan and the northern stretch of the Indus River in Pakistan. In this paper the term Pukhtoon is used for ease of understanding. [10]Syed or Mian/Miangan (the persons of holy descent) are the second strong political ethnic groups in Swat after the Khans (landholding persons), residing scattered throughout the swat (Barth,  1965).

We analyze in this paper how the development projects in pre-crisis and the rehabilitation and reconstruction interventions in post-crises have changed the roles of gender and their participation in livelihood and development.

Choice of projects and villages

A preliminary survey of 10 villages was carried out to select two study villages affected by both conflict and flood and with full or partial displacement, development projects implemented by NGOs and government in both pre- and post-crises, having different ethnic groups and consisting of not less than 50 households. Based on the criteria, two villages, Paklea of the Union Council (UC) Madyan in upper Swat and Qamabr of the UC Qambar in lower Swat, were subsequently selected for in-depth study. In addition to the selection criteria, these villages would provide insight into the different dimensions of upper and lower Swat. From a number of development projects implemented before the crises in both villages, we chose to investigate relatively recent ones starting in 2001 – 2002 and ending in 2007 – 2008, which claimed the use of participatory development in their project interventions. The two projects chosen are CIP-II (2004 – 2009) and MRDP (2000 – 2007). A short introduction of the two selected projects is given below.

In Swat during 2012, more than 100 NGOs were involved in the rehabilitation and reconstruction process and now in 2014, there are 72 national and international NGOs and civil society organizations still active in the reconstruction phase (PDMA, 2012). For the post-crises era, we focused on projects of two local NGOs 'HUJRA[11] and EPS[12]' to evaluate their interventions in terms of participatory development and their impacts on local people's social system. The EPS was a local partner for a number of NRM activities of the MRDP project in both villages. HUJRA has also implemented a number of development projects in both villages in the pre- and post-crises periods.

The MRDP

The MRDP is an ADB-financed project with sponsorship from the KPK government. The total appraisal estimate of the project was 62.9 million US$ (MRDP, 2010). The jurisdiction of the project covered Malakand Division, comprising four administrative units: the Malakand Agency, and district of Swat, Buner and Shangla. The overall goal of the project was to reduce poverty in the Malakand division. The project aimed to raise the per capita income on a sustainable basis though community participation by

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[11]HUJRA, a non-profit, NGO established in 1997 and registered under societies Registration Act of 1860, working in KPK and PATA areas. Details about the organization are available on  www.  hujra.org.
[12]EPS is a non-profit and non-ethnic organization concerned with the physical, social and cultural environment. It was founded in 1991 and registered under societies Registration Act of 1860 in 1994. Details are available at  www.eps-swat.org.

implementing a number of project interventions, including establishment of village organizations, rural financial services, infrastructure and capacity building as well as institutional reforms for the devolution of power to the local level.

The CIP-II

The CIP-II, a WB-funded project was initiated on the basis of successful experiences from a similar project CIP-I in the KPK province. The implementation policy of the CIP-II focused on the devolution process of the local government system through establishment of the Citizen Community Board (CCB) of males/females at the village level. The total cost of the project was 53.30 million US$. The project implementation period covered July 2004 to December 2009 (CIP-II, 2004). The objective of the project was to increase the productivity and well-being of low-income communities in KPK through improving their living condition in the form of basic infrastructure, skill development, institutional strengthening and devolution of power at the local level (CIP-II, 2004).

Research methods

Purposive sampling[13] technique was applied for selection of households and respondents for interviews in the two villages. Primary data were collected during the period of August to December 2012 and again in October to December 2013. We used an in-depth semi-structured interview guide and selected 48 respondents (12 male and 5 female from village Paklea and 14 male and 6 female from village Qambar). In addition, 11 officials including four female employees from Government Departments such as Agriculture, forest, fisheries, education and Tehsil municipal administration, and NGOs were interviewed. The government and NGO officials inter-viewed were heads of departments or organizations and those who were involved in pre- and post-crises projects. Their practical experiences contribute to reliable information; however, proper permission was sought for interviews. Focus group discussions (two per village, composed of four to six members each) were conducted in order to gather more reliable data about the process of project implementation and people participation as well as effects of crises on development interventions. Besides these, informal discussions with more than 30 community members including key informants, like local activists, development professionals and academics professionals and researchers, who had knowledge of both local culture and development practices were held in the main city of Mingora and surrounding towns of Saidu Sharif, Kanjo, Charbagh and Fatehpur to substantiate and triangulate the data.

The 37 respondents selected from both villages through purposive sampling are further classified into categories of landlords (7), farmers (8), tenants (5), shopkeepers (4), hotel owners (2), political and social welfare activists (6) and daily wage laborers(7) including occupational groups.

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[13]Purposeful sampling is a strategy in which particular settings, persons or events are selected deliberately in order to provide important information that cannot be gotten as well from other choices (Patton, 1990).

The literacy ratio among total respondents in village Paklea is 68 percent (men 71 percent and women 40 percent) and 73 percent in Qambar (men 72 percent and women 50 percent). The literacy ratio among respondents is high in comparison to overall ratio in Swat (men 45 percent and women 14 percent) due to easy access to literate men and women as interviewing illiterate women and men was not easy. The conflict and military operation internally displaced 100 percent of population in village Qambar while in village Paklea only 30 percent of the households were internally displaced due to partial military operation in upper Swat. However, flood has directly affected houses, land, shops and hotels of more than 15 households in village Paklea.

Secondary data were collected from government and NGOs offices in Swat, Peshawar and Islamabad. Relevant websites, online journals, government and donors' planning and completion reports as well as news reports for both the pre- and post-periods of crises were searched and collected. The data collected through semi-structured inter-views were analyzed using MS Excel and QSR NVivo 10.

The argument in this research is based on the analysis of project documents and discussions with development professionals and government officials involved in implementation of development projects in Swat. Besides these, we used participatory observation method, conducted qualitative interviews and focused group discussions in two selected villages and surrounding towns with both men and women from different categories and fields. The records of village organizations and project interventions were assessed, the composition of committees was checked and involvement of various social groups and women was compared with the post-crises period.

Challenges in data collection

After the militancy conflicts in Swat, the community as well as the army or police, government departments and NGOs do not trust anyone for sharing any sensitive information and are even reluctant to give interviews. The local people doubt on each other and on external person as may be agent of army, Taliban or foreign agencies. In the beginning, the circumstances for conducting fearless fieldwork appear difficult; however, with the support of local organizations and introducing ourselves as university employees and academic researchers, we obtained access to communities. But at the same time, we felt that disclosing our identity in the community constituted a threat, particularly from militants. By introducing the research purpose, we were able to obtain the trust of the respondents and they agreed for a common cause of identifying issues and development of the communities in the area, which was necessary for the quality and validity of the data. The main challenge was face-to-face interviews with women as values and norms of the Swat society do not allow an external man (either national or foreign) to talk or have discussions with women, particularly young girls. However, we managed to interview women through local organizations

and community activists. The threat of Taliban attack is not over and there was still a heavy presence of the Pakistan army and check posts established in the entrances and exits of every small and big town. Sometimes we waited in long queues for identity verification, which affected our timely arrival to study areas and sometimes it was dangerous too as they always asked for details of traveling in Swat.

## Participatory development intervention in pre-crisis Swat

This section begins with a discussion of participatory development in pre-crisis Swat. This sets the stage for a discussion of the impacts of PDP on the process of empowerment and gender relations, and change in informal institutional followed by a discussion of people's perceptions on participation and development actors.

### Impacts of participatory development on gender empowerment and the socio-cultural system

In Pakistan, the terms gender and empowerment remained prominent among development organizations since the 1990s but these got momentum during the regime of President Musharraf (2000 – 2008) of 'enlightened moderation' where women were encouraged to get education and take up jobs in the government and non-governmental sectors (Orakzai, 2011). In Swat, the concepts of gender and empowerment were popular in pre-crisis development projects; however, on the ground we found the terms gender and women's empowerment as an affront to some of the religious and traditional leaders, who perceived these as going against their code of ethics and the social system. Among common people, the word gender (jenas in Pashto) exclusively refers to women; it was even found that government officials used the term specifically for women-related activities or issues. Similarly, women's empowerment (khazina ta wak warkwal) was also perceived as going against the culture code and patriarchal structure among majority of the respondents. Nevertheless, both the projects MRDP and CIP-II emphasized both men and women in individual interventions. The projects aim to improve the socio-economic conditions of both men and women of the poor and marginalized classes by their participation in project interventions and development of women human resources. For this purpose both projects during their implementation period (2001 – 2008) established community organizations of both men and women to provide ample opportunities to ordinary persons to participate in decision-making processes, identify their problems and to get equal share in project resources.

According to respondents in both villages, participation in development projects raised awareness about self-reliance and created opportunities for local people to acquire skills, education and jobs, and enabled them to access local resources and participate in the local political system. Similarly, the skills and capacity building, and income-generating activities of both projects decreased the dependency of some house-holds on landlords (Khans) for tenanting their land as a source of livelihood. The

development professionals like facilitators, advisors, specialists and humanitarian workers; whose work is to engage members of various ethnic and social groups, and create consensus of power relations in implementation of projects interventions, stated that PDP provided opportunities and resources, and valued the local knowledge and action of people which indirectly strengthen the decision-making power. However, the research found that the power of decision making, political dominancy and access to resources remained in the hands of wealthy men and landlords such as Yousafzai Khans and Mian/Syed.

Women respondents explained that direct interaction of female officials of NGOs and government departments with village women raised awareness about women's rights and increased the decision-making power in terms of children's education, marriages and resolution of family disputes at household level. A former employee of the MRDP project stated that the project has trained more than 80 traditional birth attend-ants (TBA) in Swat district and out of these, 60 women were employed by government as Lady Health visitors/workers (LHVs) in their respective areas. According to him, 'they are earning good salaries and supporting their families financially and their role changed from being traditional housewives to income-earning members of the family'. One of the LHVs interviewed said that 'employed women who earn a reason-able amount of money through paid jobs, have a strong say in decisions making about the utilization of income, property matters and household domestic activities'. Such changes in women roles reflect the empowerment approach (Moser,  1989) which recognizes the triple roles[14] of women and seeks to reach strategic gender need indirectly through addressing practical gender needs such as acknowledge the functioning of different types of organizations and assist traditional organizations to play important roles in awareness of women issues. A female official in NGO added that,

> this approach has changed the role of few of the women in villages but the burden of their triple roles has not been reduced. Women who do jobs outside the houses still have to fulfill the reproductive and domestic roles within the households.

Community participation

The process for the implementation of the MRDP and CIP-II projects' interventions was based on community mobilization and formation of village-based committees and CCB of both men and women. The purpose of the establishment of these village-based development committees was to plan and implement the project interventions such as agricultural, horticultural, livestock, infrastructure schemes, capacity building and skill training through participatory development. We see that participation is the process of mobilization and upon realization when the people feel the benefits, they participate in projects interventions. However, in Swat, a study conducted by Israr et al. ( 2009, p. 643) shows that 38 percent of the respondents were of the view

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[14]Reproductive, productive and community relations roles (Moser,  1989).

that they formed village organizations (VOs) by seeing the development work in other villages, 31 percent said that they formed VOs for solution of problems like retaining wall, irrigation channels, sanitation system and link roads and 19 percent viewed that formation of VOs was only for drinking water supply schemes. Thus, this confirms that participation of communities in village organizations was limited to infrastructure projects while in actual sense they lack social mobilizations in terms of efficiency and empowerment.

  According to the SCIP-II completion report ( 2010), the project has contributed to the creation and strengthening of CCB as well as capacity building of the newly elected local government representatives and improvement of the implementation, operation and maintenance of village-based infrastructure schemes. We analyzed the CIP-II-implemented infrastructure project of street pavement, a sewerage system and water supply in village Paklea to see how it was participatory and how it improved the efficiency of CCB. When the villagers were asked about the project activities, majority of them said that local government carried out this scheme and a committee was established. However, they claimed that the CCB was not participatory but was under the control of the Nazim (Mayer) and councilor, thus being participatory in name only. The CCB was functional until the completion of the project, after which it had no further role, a councilor said. The SCIP-II completion report ( 2010, p. 18) revealed that 'establishment of CCBs supported institutional changes in the grass roots local organizations and leadership, however, the leadership in CCBs is invariably formed by traditional community leaders, who hold sway in local decision making'. Similarly, Women's CCBs were established for implementation of village-based infra-structure schemes, but we found that women members were close relatives of the men's committee members. Some respondents reported that all the records and authority were in the hands of male members, who received the funds and signed on behalf of the women. The ex-'Nazim, Naib Nazim'[15] of Madyan and Qambar UCs criticized that,

> it was and is not fair that women's CCB may be established for infrastructure scheme in a culture of Swat, where women couldn't take the initiative for any kind of infrastructure activities. But it was made mandatory by the CIP project without considering the culture of the region. This led to non-sustainability of the women committees and affected women empowerment concept.

Key informants and activists told that majority of the village organizations established under the projects were for the purpose of achievement of infrastructure schemes; however, people participated to obtain the interest of community as a whole. Nevertheless, both the project has had social impacts on people through the provision of facilities for example, in Paklea the water supply changed the female role in not having to collect water from outside sources, thus saving time taken for water collection.

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[15]Local Government Ordinance (LGO), 2001 policy document: Nazims, Naib Nazim, Councilor are the name used for elected members at UC (compose of 5 – 10 villages) through LGO electoral process in the hierarchy of Head, Deputy and member

A female respondent reported that after receiving training in health, hygiene and establishment of a sewerage system in the village, the women now take more precautions in cleanliness of food, houses and latrines. Based on responses, it may be claimed that there was change in thoughts, actions and relations of the people, but this may not be quantified, as the process of change is very slow. Yet we cannot infer that the change in the behavior and social system of the community is due only to participation in development projects. However, participatory development is a guiding spirit in the process of social change along with many other socio-economic and technological factors such as education, media, migration and urbanization.

Development practices and informal institutions

Since 2002, the development projects were supposed to integrate new decentralized and participative procedures emanating from the GoP devolution policies and poverty reduction strategies. The rationale behind the initiatives of the GoP was the idea that decentralization and devolving power at grassroots level would strengthen local institutions and utilization of resources. Bardhan ( 2002) claims that decentralization and community participation can contribute to efficiency, accountability and transparency of poverty reduction policies through the utilization of local information and resources of beneficiaries. According to respondents in this study, the new LGO system raised awareness among ordinary people and changed the local social and political system. Women took part for the first time in the local political system as 33 percent seats were reserved for women at district and tehsil council levels. During interviews and discussions with former Nazim, Naib Nazims, councilors and Secretaries of UCs Madyan and Qambar, we learned that the local government system (2002 – 2008) had trans-formed the informal institutional system to some extent.

For example the local Jirga[16] system was in a state of transition due to establishment of new Jirga Masalihat(i) committees[17] (Council of Reconciliation) at the UC level where elected members were allowed to select the members of Jirga instead of traditional Khans. Historically, the Khans in Swat were supposed to conduct a Jirga in case of any disputes and development activities in the village and surrounding locality, and all the people equally participate. However, they were strong enough to make decisions and implement them. But the establishment of the Masalihati committee at

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[16]Jirga, the council of elders, comprised elderly influential men, used to resolve conflicts and disputes among individuals, families, ethnic groups, tribes and communities through arbitration, the term widely used in the Pukhtoon belt of Pakistan and Afghanistan (Ahmad,  1980; Barth,  1965,  www.khyber.org).

[17]The Masalihati Jirga was established under LGO-2001, Act 102 (1) at UC level. Masalihati Jirga comprised three non-elected members including one woman. The Insaf committee was composed of elected members of the UC and selects these members from their respective UCs within 30 days of the election

UC level changed the patterns of Jirga and the local people approached elected Jirga members instead of Khans to resolve their family and other minor disputes. The ex-Naib Nazim and secretary of the UC Madyan said that the local government system decreased the role of the traditional Jirga system, changed the political leadership and increased dependency of local people on elected members for justice instead of courts and police.

In addition to these, Taliban also targeted the elected local bodies' members and traditional Khans throughout Swat during 2007 – 2009 and killed a few of them. There-fore, the committees and the elected members remained ineffective at that time and the Jirga system remained in transition. Currently in the selected villages, rare cases of minor disputes were resolved by the Jirga system and people take their cases to police and courts.

We learned through group discussions that these UCs elected the Nazim and Councilor and established village development committees or CCBs; however, participations in these committees were dependent on elected members, and they used people participation as a tool to obtain funds from government and NGOs to fulfill their political motives. The competition between Khans and elected members from other groups was increased to achieve their political motives through development funds, and this process indirectly affected the social relations within the villages in the context of mutual cooperation, participation in sorrow and joys, financial support and respect to Khans and Syed.

Perceptions on PDP and NGOs before crises

The perceptions about participation, NGO involvement and their activities vary among different ethnic groups and classes. Government, NGO employees and local political activists support the projects in the context of betterment of social development, while some of the religious scholars, illiterate respondents and political leaders opposed the participation in project activities. The respondents in both villages revealed that during the period 2006 – 2009, there were strong threats from militant groups to NGO workers as well as their supporters throughout Swat. Therefore, the strategy for implementation of MRDP and CIP projects' interventions was changed and the specialized government departments took the leading role. A head of one NGO stated that it was easier to enter the community for social mobilization and formation of village committee using the name of the government department or collaborating partners rather than directly as NGO officials. A female official in an NGO mentioned that motivating illiterate women and men for participation in project activities was/is very difficult in comparison to literate persons. She said 'in majority cases, literate men and women until primary level participated in community organization and projects interventions, and performed better than illiterate men and women in skill training like livestock extension, agriculture, TBA and health hygiene'.

Development workers with many titles – change agents, field workers, organizers, facilitators and extension workers – are key personnel in the participatory development process to create consensus and work according to the social system of community. During 2006 – 2009, the propaganda against NGOs as western agent was at a peak. The local people doubted the employees of NGOs particularly young girls and women as characterless in terms of their interaction and traveling with non-agnate male, which is considered as a shameful act and against the local cultural values of veil system. A local Imam (a caretaker and prayer leader in Mosque) said that

> employed women coming from other parts of the country did not care about the cultural values of purdha[18] (veil), which defuse negative impacts on villages' women in terms of un-Islamic and western cultural practices.

Many households did not allow educated girls to work in NGOs, to maintain their honor in society and avoid ostracism by other villagers and family members, a key informant said. However, there are no such restrictions on boys or men to work in NGOs. The second propaganda against the NGOs project as stated by the government and NGO officials that NGOs motivate women to participate in immodest or unethical activities in the name of training, often in other cities, prohibited women, particularly young girls, to participate in NGO committees. The male key informants in both villages highlighted the fact that people accept elderly women's involvement in project interventions and support their participation but are skeptical of women staff, as the majority of NGO workers do not belong to Swat and sometimes the behavior of the fieldworkers created biases or may be culturally unacceptable.

However, in spite of many difficulties, majority of the respondents still appreciate the approach that in one way or another it has created a sense of responsibility, collective working, mobilized local resources and improved the livelihood conditions of many poor families. They believe that in pre-crisis, the participation of both men and women was good in projects' interventions but perceptions about participatory development and NGOs were unfavorable particularly during 2007 – 2009.

Influence of crises on PDP

As stated in Section 4.4 during 2006 – 2009, propaganda against NGOs, and development interventions implemented by NGOs were very common and the perceptions were not favorable about participation of people, particularly women. Second, the threat from militant groups to NGOs throughout the province compelled many of the national and international organizations to curtail their interventions or leave the area, and in

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[18]Purdha (veil) means covering of body according to the prevailing way in village: according to Imam, purdha is the covering of women's body including head with large shawl (gown) or black Burqa (a locally made dress used by majority of women in Swat)

Swat only few local organizations such as Hujra, EPS, Carvan and Lasoona continued their interventions but to a very limited level. Similarly, community women were for-bidden by Taliban from cooperating with NGOs or participating in their activities and threatened that they would be killed if they did. This situation shifted the implementation process of a number of donor-funded projects including MRDP and CIP-II, whose interventions were supposed to be implemented by NGOs themselves or through collaboration with government departments. However, according to government officials, the government department lacks expertise in participatory development and usually follow their own bureaucratic and top-down approach to implement development interventions. This period has highly affected the development interventions and reversed the progress made in socio-economic development in Swat valley, the head of a government department said.

The Army operation and internal displacement of 1.2 million people from Swat created a huge crisis. The crisis of IDPs, and their returning and resettlement after ousting of militants from Swat, attracted the humanitarian organizations to support the conflict and military operation affected population. The people were in dire need of shelter, food, medicines, etc., and the government and both national and international NGOs supported the displaced families with cash as well as in-kind relief and rehabilitation interventions. There were multitudes of development projects funded by the GoP and NGOs to deal with relief, resettlement and rehabilitation interventions. Mean-while, the devastating flood of 2010 further aggravated the situation and hindered the rehabilitation and development activities in Swat. Our analysis through interviews and focused group discussion reveals that the PDP have not been applied during relief and rehabilitation period because of the change in the priorities and needs of the people, and the complexities of the crises.

Several development professionals revealed that PDP after the crises were hindered by a numbers of political and bureaucratic complications such as lack of coordination between various institutions and political interference in implementation of activities and distribution of aid items. For example, the Pakistan Army and civil government departments through their bureaucratic procedures were implementing major construction projects like roads, bridges, schools and hospitals. However, national and local NGOs were involved in minor livelihood projects such as distributing agricultural equipment and seeds, building village-based irrigation channels, water supply and skills trainings in honeybees' keeping, livestock, poultry farming, embroidery, sewing and hygiene promotion. Some NGOs were involved in the advocacy of women's rights, facilitation in court cases and the establishment of women's skills centers. However, there was no clear cut understanding between government departments and NGOs, 'who is doing what and where?' The PDMA was supposed to coordinate the interventions of NGOs and to provide them no objection certificates to operate in specific areas but we observed that in one village, there were more than five NGOs implementing their interventions simultaneously and they were claiming of participatory interventions. In contrast, we found that few households obtained

more benefits while many others remained without any benefits. The group discussions revealed that preferences were given to relatives and politically supported households in provision of relief aids like cash grant, food items and compensation against land, livestock and house losses.

Nevertheless, the PDP has been revived in the reconstruction phase of post crises development, however, on the ground we observed very few examples of application of participatory development in implementation of reconstruction interventions. NGO officials agreed that majority of organizations were fulfilling the target set by donors and there is strong competition among local NGOs for securing donors funds. The concepts of participation, gender equality and empowerment were used in policy documents as tools to attract donors; however, very little attention has been given to successful involvement of local population in implementing project activities, a development professional stated. Therefore, this research inferred that the efficiency and empowerment argument of participation may not be achieved without involvement of the stakeholders in planning and implementation of project activities.

Perceptions on NGOs' interaction and participatory development after the crises

NGO officials reported that military operation against the Taliban, and resulting hard-ships of displacement reduced sympathies among local people toward Taliban and to some extent, the threat to NGOs and their workers is now over. The direct interaction of NGO workers and their support to needy people during conflict and displacement restored the people's trust to participate in development interventions. The respondents in both villages saw NGOs and their interventions as less corrupt, friendlier and more accessible in comparison to government institutions. This does not mean that NGOs are 100 percent transparent or applying the participatory method in their interventions but it is due to direct relief aid that people have received from these organizations. According to key informants and some government officials in Swat, NGOs in the name of participatory development and women empowerment are wasting millions of rupees on meetings, trainings, food, hygiene and cosmetics kits (composed of soap, shampoo, pampers, biscuits etc.) but there is no quantifiable result, which may be of interest to the whole community.

We observed that in post-crises development both government and NGOs provided jobs to large numbers of people. They also imparted skills training and supported a number of men and women in establishing their own small-scale business. This might have improved the socio-economic conditions of many households; however, there are many other households that have not been involved in any such interventions. This unequal distribution of resources and non-involvement of many households may be inferred as non-participatory application in project interventions. This research found that village committees of men and women have been established but the number of households in the committees is not more than 10 while there were more

than 50 households in a village. On the other hand, a female NGO worker stated that women's participation in project interventions is low compared to pre-crisis because village women are scared that if the Taliban comes back they would target them for extending support to NGOs. A former Tehsil council chairperson stated 'that there is still lack of trust on government police for protection of people. They do, however, trust the Army and believe that as long as the Army is there, the Taliban can't come'.

The finding from the discussion in the previous sections shows that in the pre-crises era participation was more effective than the post-crises. The reasons found were: (1) the needs of the people were different, (2) there was an established system of local government, (3) there was flexibility in the projects interventions, (4) the security situation favored development activities until 2005 and (5) there was low dependency on humanitarian aid agencies and international NGOs, but perceptions about the participatory development and NGOs were unfavorable. However, in post-crises, the needs and priorities of people and organizations change, there is no established local government system, the security situation is still uncertain, the projects' duration is very short but dependency of people and government on humanitarian aid is very high and there is lack of transparency and monitoring from international organizations.

Nevertheless, the study claims that after the crises perceptions about participation in development activities, NGOs and their workers become favorable and motivation among men and women increased. We noted from a number of key informants that women from poor families and other ethnic groups besides Khans, Syed and Mian come out from their houses when they hear about arrival of NGO or government officials in the village. Among development workers, it is a step toward women empowerment; however, among the male respondents, women participation and interaction with external people are against the cultural norms and may bring censure to some families and may be the cause of disputes that sometimes lead to honor killings. However, the above factors have highly influenced the concept of development theories in terms of gender empowerment, equality, social change and sustainable development, and in addition hindered the overall achievement of Millennium Development Goals.

Conclusions

Participatory development has been promoted in developing countries since the 1970s as the preferred path to achieve wider perspectives of development goals in terms of the improvement of human lives, poverty reduction, empowerment and gender equality with varying degree of success. This study analyzed the application of PDP during both pre- and post-crises in Swat, to see how participatory development and project interventions contributed to socio-economic development and gender empowerment. We then analyzed how the crises affected the participatory development interventions. The research reveals that local village organizations and CCBs of both men and women were established in order to ensure maximum participation and to achieve pre- determined

targets of small-scale infrastructure schemes and improve socio-economic conditions of poor and marginalized classes. However, the local cultural and political system hindered the successful involvement of local population in implementation of project interventions.

Nevertheless, majority of the respondents claim that PDP in pre-crisis played an important role in gender empowerment through community organizations and strengthening of local institutions. Similarly, the local government system of 2001 promoted the empowerment of the lower classes including women, who were able to participate in the local body's election in 2001 and 2007. This has brought changes in informal institutions like Jirga and the decision-making power on development interventions.

The militancy conflict followed by military operation and internal displacement of over millions of people and their resettlement affected participatory development. The fragility of time and needs and priorities of people and organizations changed the applications of participatory development in post-crises. Nevertheless, participatory development revived to some extent during the reconstruction phase but we found that many of the households did not receive the aid of relief and rehabilitation and this may be because of non-participatory interventions. This has resulted in some of the poor and other ethnic groups as well as political leaders receiving more benefits from the government and NGOs and thus moving to a good economic position, while many of the other households receiving lesser benefits.

We see that in spite of a wide range of constraints in involvement of men and women in development project interventions, the participatory development in pre-crises was quite satisfactory in terms of their contribution to gender empowerment, improving the socio-economic conditions of both men and women, and changes in the socio-cultural system. This research argues that participatory development contributes to wider perspectives of development theory in terms of equal access to resources, gender empowerment and sustainable development; however, local cultural and religious perspectives should be considered while planning participatory development interventions. We conclude that during the period of conflict and disaster crises as well as relief and rehabilitation phase, participatory development is extremely difficult due to change in needs of people, organizations and security. Nevertheless, PDP can be applied during the reconstruction and resettlement phase, which may contribute to achieving the broader goals of development theory in terms of equal distribution of humanitarian aid, improving livelihood conditions of crisis-affected people and maintaining peace and security through strengthening institutions and more long-term projects on a sustainable basis.

## Notes on contributors

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Paper II.

Elahi, N. Nyborg, L.P. Ingrid and Nawab, B. (2015). **Social and Cultural Perspectives of Gender Inequality in Accessing Livelihoods Resources in Northwestern Pakistan**

**Abstract**

This paper focuses on how men and women and different ethnic and social groups access and use livelihood resources in northwest Pakistan. Applying qualitative research methods including formal/informal interviews, focus group discussions and participant observation, this study examines the gender inequality and changing perspectives of gender relations in accessing livelihood assets; social, human and natural resources. Further the study analyzed that how the access of men and women to various livelihood resources is not equal, in the context of inherent social and cultural values, for example, *Pukhtoonwali*. The study reveals that men are generally expected to be the breadwinners and they hold the power and authority outside the household in accessing all types of livelihood resources. Women's access is generally limited to reproductive roles within the household, which is viewed as being necessary in order to protect the honor of the family. However, inequality and accesses to livelihood resources varies among women of elite, educated and poor families. The interventions of development projects and the crises themselves brought changes in the social and cultural system and there is need to address gender inequalities in the post crises development strategies, policies and interventions which might improve and increase access of both men and women of different social groups to various livelihood resources.

**Key words:** Livelihood Assets, Gender inequality, Access to resources, Pukhtoonwali,

1. **Introduction**

Gender inequality in accessing social, human, natural and financial resources exists in most part of the world, however, inequality between men and women and between different ethnic and social groups are not everywhere the same (Sen, 2001). Accesses to livelihood assets means choices to selection of livelihood strategies and decision making power on use of resources within the social and cultural values and norms of the society or institutions (See Kabeer, 2005). Livelihood comprises the assets (defined as recognized economic strategies of different types of capital; social, natural, physical, financial and human), activities and the access to these assets (mediated by institutions and social relations) that together determine the living gained by the individual or households (Ellis, 2000). Men and women often have different livelihood needs and priorities like food, education, health, and income, and face different constraints and aspirations, due to social, cultural and environmental perspectives of the society (Pasteur, 2002). The girl children since the childhood have comparatively low status from birth and grow up with less education, food nutrition, and access to other livelihood resources than their brothers (Kabeer, 2011; Molyneux and Thomson, 2011). Girls are assigned less role and responsibility in terms of supporting livelihood of family and generally assisting mothers in household domestic activities and child care (Molyneux and Thomson, 2011). Ellis (2000) emphasizes the centrality of gender in understanding livelihoods, by recognizing that gender roles and relations are socially and cultural constructed and usually unequal in terms of access to resources, and ownership. These assigned and constructed roles under the cultural system led women towards more derivation in adulthood and reduce their participation to socio-economic development than men (Kabeer, 2011).

Pakistan, a developing country face the issues of gender gaps in terms of income, education, health, property right and mobility particularly in the rural areas. The development indicators under the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) are not encouraging and Pakistan is ranked at 146 in terms of the gender gap and Human Development Index (Human Development Report, 2013). Against the

targets of MDG-3; promote gender equality and women's empowerment, Pakistan has only achieved the target of proportion of seats in parliament while it is off track in other indicators (Planning Commission of Pakistan, 2013). A number of factors including man-made conflict, natural disasters, institutional, administrative and political changes and economic reforms have influenced the progress towards the MDGs (ibid). However, the social and cultural perspectives of the gender inequality has always been sidelined in the development reports of the government and NGOs, which is one of the major influencing factors towards achievement of gender equality throughout the south Asia. The prevailing social and cultural system in northwest Pakistan and in the Swat valley, where this study has been conducted expects men to be the main breadwinner in a household, while women are mainly restricted to a reproductive and domestic role (see for example, (Ahmad A, 2006; Qayyum, 2010; Lindholum, 1982).

People living in the Swat District belong to a patriarchal *Pukhtoon*[1] ethnic society, and follow the social and cultural system of *Pukhtoonwali* (a code of ethics or way of life). The anthropologist Lindholm, (1982, xxiv) who conducted his field work in Swat refers to Pukhtoonwali as 'the social structure, genealogy, morality, political action and economic life are all governed by the same code of rules which governs the daily lives of Pukhtoon men and women'. Qayyum (2010) goes even further by saying that the social norms in Swat under *Pukhtoonwali* dictate that every action of women is due to men; in other words, Pukhtoon women can't do anything without the action or decision of men and decisions on use and access to livelihoods resources are controlled by men. This is a clear example of what Ian Hacking (1999) refers to when he states more generally that the actions of men and women and their participation in livelihood resources relate to the local cultural structure and therefore require subjective understanding. This study attempts to explore and analyze the social and cultural perspectives of gender inequality in terms of how men and women of different social and ethnic classes access and use social, natural and human assets in securing their livelihoods in Swat valley of Pakistan.

Land in Swat considered as a symbol of status, and those with little or no land are considered as low status in social spheres and have very little say in matters of the village. In Swat 26% of population own less than 0.5 hectare, 35% 0.5 – 1.0 and 32% 1.0 – 2.0 hectares of land. Only 13% have 2.0 to 75 hectares of land (CERINA, 2009) and these households control the land based resources in Swat. The livelihood needs and access of men and women of different ethnic and social groups to livelihood assets (Social, human and natural) in Swat are unequal because of class differentiation resulting from the cultural traits of Pukhtoon ethnicity. Earlier studies (Barth, 1981; Rahim and Viaro, 2002; Rome, 2008) have shown that men from lower ethnic groups[2] and women in particular in Swat valley rarely own land and may have lower levels of education, low access to land based resources, and little decision-making power on communal issues. Such unequal distribution of resources between different ethnic and social groups, and marginalization of these people in Swat has been considered as one of the important factors that has limited development opportunities and increased poverty, as well as mobilized part of the marginalized class young generation to support and join militant groups (Ali, 2012; Aziz, 2010; Salman, 2012)

Although the government of Pakistan development strategies (Interim Poverty Reduction strategy (2003), Benazir Income Support Program (2009) and devolution plan of local government system (2002) as well as NGOs development programs accentuated the importance of gender equality and provided more opportunities to men and women, particularly those belonging to lower social and ethnic classes for participation in diverse livelihood options, Similarly, the conflict and flood crises[3] on one hand devastated the livelihood opportunities of many households but on the other hand the post crises development brought more changes by providing and creating more employment and human resource development opportunities for many men and women. Several studies have been conducted by the government, NGOs and development professionals on the crises in Swat and their impact on social and economic aspects[4]. However, no such in-depth academic research during the last decade has been conducted on gender inequality issues in accessing of livelihoods resources in

the context of cultural norms of Pukhtoonwali in Swat. This study aims to explore gender inequalities among different ethnic and social groups in accessing livelihood resources. Moreover, the study examines how the development strategies and post crises development interventions changed the social and cultural aspects of gender relation in practicing household livelihood resources.

## 1.1    Context of Livelihood and Gender

A very common and widely used definition given by Chambers and Conway (1992) that, livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (both material and social resources) and activities required as a means to earn a living. This definitions direct the attention of links between assets and options people possess in practice to pursue alternative activities to secure their livelihood required for survival (Ellis, 2000). Singh and Gilman (1999:540), with minor modification argue that 'Livelihood systems consist of a complex and diverse set of economic, social and physical strategies. These are realized through the activities, assets and entitlements by which individuals make a living'. This clarifies that values and norms of the institutions; formal and informal, regulate the ability of individuals to control, use or own the resources and to participate in social and public services such as health, education and skill development (Ellis, 2000). This has been categorized as gender roles and sometime division of labour between men and women.

Since it is a recognized fact that gender is an integral and inseparable part of livelihood practices, where men and women are equally responsible for providing a household's needs, either in the form of income earned, or unpaid work such as support in agricultural activities, child care, cooking, cleaning, washing and sewing (Grown and Sebstad, 1989). The term gender one of the most confusing words and often used to mean women(Smyth, 2007),  can be defined as the form of social and cultural differentiation between men and women pertaining to share resources, make decisions on their livelihoods, social and political sphere, and plan for future of their children, family and community (Mommsen 2010;  Ellis, 2000). Furthermore, Haslanger (1995) argues that gender

should be understood as a social category whose definition makes reference to a broad network of social relations and it is not simply a matter of anatomical differences. These gender differences are shaped on the basis of ideological, religious, ethnic, economic and cultural determinants (Moser, 1989). Kottak (2003) differentiate between ender role and stratification as that gendered roles are the activities a culture assigns to each sex while gender stratification is the unequal distribution of social resources between men and women. Gender roles and relations are the results of the social processes, in which the members of each sex behave in defined ways of behaving. In this study gender relations mean 'the social construction of roles and relationships between men and women' (Ellis, 2000:139), and has for example been used in studying the way in which development policies change the balance of power between men and women (Momsen, 2010). This depicts that the social relations show similarity and differences between gender and social classes as well as societies. . Although cross-culturally men and women expend about the same amount of time and effort on subsistence activities, as women continue do most of the domestic work (Grown and Sebstad, 1989), however, recognition of such unpaid domestic work is very rare in terms of various cultural norms (Momsen, 2010). Development professionals consider that these unpaid activities, particularly those carried out by women, exceed the time spend on paid work (DFID, 2000).

Analyzing the social and cultural perspectives of gender relations in accessing livelihood resources the idea that 'gender roles and relations are socially constructed' is taken as a starting point to examine the unequal gender relations between men and women of different social groups. The context gender as a construct meant that the actions and knowledge of both men and women should be of equal importance (Haking, 1997).

The study of gender roles in rural livelihoods at the household level in northwest Pakistan is particularly interesting in relation to three of the types of assets –human, social and natural- where both men and women are directly interrelating in one way or other to generate income level to fulfill the household livelihoods needs. 'Human assets' are the skills, knowledge, education, household

size, ability to work, and health status; while 'social assets' refer to social stratification, networks, social norms and values, social relations and changes in these assets over time; and 'natural assets' refer to land (irrigated/non-irrigated), forests, water, and produce of various crops, shrubs, trees, pastures, fisheries, non-forest products and livestock (Maxwell, 2003; Ellis, 2000). We do not focus on financial and physical assets in the context that development of micro and macro level polices and strategies for loans, credit, infrastructure, communication, transport and market development, e fall directly under the jurisdiction of government of Pakistan and private sector, where men are the main stakeholders and women participation is very low. This study focus only on household livelihood strategies, therefore, the analysis kept limited to social, human and natural resources. However, physical and financial assets have been included in the discussion where necessary.

2. **Social, economic and political context of Swat**

This study has been carried out in district Swat located in the north of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK) province, bordering Buner and Malakand in the south, Lower and Upper Dir districts to the west, Shangla and Kohistan to the east and Chitral and Gilgit to the north. The total area of the district is 5,065 km$^2$ with a population of approximately 1.80 million (Salman, 2012). Historically the Swat's people have adopted varieties of livelihood strategies to fulfill the subsistence needs of their households. The greater part of the population is dependent on agriculture and off-farm employment, as well as remittances both national and international. Livelihoods in Swat are based mainly on agriculture and trade, remittances (national and foreign), government and private employment, self-employment, and until the recent conflict crisis (2008-2010) tourism was also a major source of livelihood (Ali, 2012). In Lower Swat, agriculture dominates, organized in a feudal system of landlords and tenants, with limited participation of women in crop production and labour. In Upper Swat, the nature of rural livelihoods is more diverse with regards to landholding size (less than 0.5 acres per household), forest and livestock based production systems, and higher dependency on non-farm wage labor, with flexible women participation in agricultural fields and forest resources

(Qayyum, 2010). According to the Center for Public Policy Research (CPPR, 2010), official figures that more than 50% of the working population above 15 years is involved in agriculture, forestry and fishing, while 27% work as employees in government and private sectors, followed by 12% in sale and retail trade, restaurants, hotels etc. and the remaining proportion (11%) is involved in construction, transport, and industrial labor.

## 2.1   The context of Gender Inequality in Pukhtoonwali

The anthropological and sociological studies on Pukhtoon society and Swat valley such as (Spain, 1962; Barth, 1965, 1981; Ahmad, 1980; Lindholm, 1982; Banerjee, 2000 and Rome, 2008) reflects on the fact that the people of this area adhere closely to their social code of Pukhtoonwali. People have lived for centuries under the traditional system of *Pukhtoonwali* (a code of ethics or way of life) characterized by the principles of *Malmastia* (hospitality), *Jirga* (council of elders), *Hujra* (place for guest), *Badal* (revenge), *Nanawatee* (refuge, asylum), *Ghairat* (honor), *Namoos* (gender boundaries), *Tor* (shame) and *Tarboorwali* (agnatic rivalry) (see Ahmad, 1980; Banerjee, 2000; Barth, 1981; Lindholm, 1982; Spain, 1962;). In Pukhtoon society, women have a very limited role and level of power in relation to decision making and access to resources, because of male dominance and a patriarchal structure (Naz and Rehman, 2011). Rahim and Viaro (2002) state that in Swat females are mainly involved in household domestic work; hence workload is categorized into external for males and internal for females under local traditions. This is echoed by Ahmed (1980:17) who says 'young or old, rich or poor, the Pukhtoon upholds his social values by the prevalent Pukhtoon ideology'. The other ethnic groups like Gujjars and Kohistani  follow the same code of Pukhtoonwali; however, the lower social groups like naiye, karigar and *and blacksmith* are not considered as Pukhtoon by Yousafzai Khans and Syed because of their different genealogical lineage. Therefore, they may not claim high status even if they become wealthy due to emigration to foreign countries and purchase of land or change their occupations, and nor they have equal access to resources particularly land and forests (see Ahmad, 1980; Barth, 1981 and Rome, 2008). The

differentiation remains in the social relations and class hierarchy between the Khans/Syed groups at higher level and other social, ethnic and occupational groups at lower level in accessing and using livelihood resources, however, there are variations.

Besides Pukhtoonwali, almost 98% of the population of Swat are Muslim and follow Islamic traditions through Quranic education and Sunnah − practical implementation of the ways of the Prophet Mohammad (Peace be Upon Him (PBUH). There are religious obligations that put certain responsibilities on men and women which quite often misinterpreted in the favor of men, and these religious obligations can be considered as another manifestation of social reality. There are several interpretation to the translation of Quranic verses, for example in broader term Islam put bread earning responsibility on men and child nourishment on women, this however, does not mean that women are not allowed to work and support family. But the local culture use this as an excuse for restriction on women mobility and denial to rights on property since the responsibility of family bread and butter is on men

## 2.2. Crisis and Crises Perspective

The word crisis defined as the critical moments or events when the functioning of society and institutions become disintegrated (O'Conner, 2009). Crises in the context of conflict and flood are described as the complex emergencies and state of uncertainty arises from political crisis and resulting in socio-economic stress and marginalization (Duffield, 1994). Such complex emergencies destroy the social system, and cultural, political and economic integrity of society. Conflict Crisis in Swat can be termed as the unstable condition caused by excessive political and religious stresses, which brought changes in the social, political and economic system of the society.

In the Swat Valley, conflict crisis gained momentum from 2006, while the majority of Swat being under the control of militants by end of 2008. The Government of Pakistan carried out a military operation in 2009, ousting the militants from the valley, which caused internal displacement of more than million people from the Swat valley (Salman, 2012). The word 'crises' as used in this paper

refs to the militancy conflicts and Pakistan military operation against the militant during 2009-10, followed by floods of 2010, which further devastated the livelihood strategies of the poor but also the economically well off population of the society. The term 'crisis' denotes the conflict and internal displacement while the post crises refers to period of 2010 and beyond, which can also be termed as the period of relief, rehabilitation and reconstruction. The crises in Swat destroyed the local infrastructure of roads, schools, health facilities, hotels and other small industries, and in turn reduced rural and urban livelihood resources (ADB and WB, 2009). Women and girls were restricted from education and gaining skills as 190 girls' schools were burnt and more than 8,000 women teachers were left without jobs during conflict (Orakzai, 2011). Since both the crises and post crises development affected the socio-economic system and social relations in different ways (CPPR, 2010), the study analyzes how these crises and development perspective contributed to gender issues pertaining to equality and distribution of humanitarian aid.

## 2.    Research method and the study areas

This study employed qualitative data collection methods including participant observation, formal/informal interviews, key informant interviews and focus group discussion. The study was conducted in two villages (*Paklea and Qambar)* of Swat valley[5], selected on criteria of; diverse effects of the conflicts and flood crises, have partial or full internal displacement, having different ethnic groups, topographical locations, implementation of donor or NGOs development projects and consist of not less than 50 households. In addition the selection from upper and lower Swat provide insight into different social and geographical dimensions, as well as differentiate in accessing of livelihood assets. Purposive sampling technique was used to select respondents from both the selected villages as well as other parts of the Swat valley. Purposive sampling is a strategy in which decision concerning the individual or households to be included in the sample are taken by the researcher on the basis of some criteria in order to get relevant information and specific information

(Palys, 2008). Detail of the respondents interviewed and household survey conducted are given in table 1.

Table 1: sample size of the households and respondents

| Villages | HHS | FGD | | SSI | | KII | | Total interviews (Col: 4,5) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | | 4 | | 5 | | 7 | |
| | | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female |
| Paklae | 19 | 1 | 1 | 16 | 6 | 8 | 4 | 42 | 18 |
| Qambar | 24 | 1 | 1 | 18 | 8 | | | | |
| informal interviews | 0 | 0 | 0 | 20 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 20 | 4 |
| Total | 43 | 2 | 2 | 54 | 18 | 8 | 4 | 84 | |

HHS: Household Survey   SSI: Semi-Structured Interview   FGD: Focused Group Discussion   KII: Key Informant Interview

A household socio-economic survey of 43 households (19 from Paklea and 24 from Qambar) was carried out to identify the livelihood sources, assets and access status of men and women. The purpose was to get basic demographic variables and to assess the impact of crises on individual households in relations to livelihood practices. At average 2-4 households were selected from various ethnic and social groups including *Khans-Syed[6]*, *Gujjar* (non Pukhtoon ethnic group), tenants, shopkeepers, government/private employees, and general labor classes. Semi-structured interviews with 26 heads of households including five women headed households and 17 non-heads of households (including nine women), were held. The rest of five SSI were held with NGOs and local community organizations activists, who are actively involved in development interventions. 12 key informant interviews (eight men and four women) including academic researchers, local political and religious leaders, and government and NGOs officials located in different part of Swat were conducted to get in-depth information and authenticate the data collected. Besides these, four focus group discussions two per village, one each with men and women belong to different ethnic

and social groups were conducted. It helps to substantiate the data collected through individual structured or semi-structured interviews as in front of others people are less likely to exaggerate. Informal interviews and discussion with more than 25 persons including five women of different ethnic and social groups as well as occupations were held during the field work in Swat. Informal discussion differentiate with SSI and focused group discussion in the sense that, it is not based on systematic or planned questions but rely on informal conversation between two or more people. Informal interviews and discussion were held during walking in agricultural or forest land, attending marriage ceremony, market, travelling in local transport and participating in community livelihoods and skill development training.

The primary data was supported by secondary sources, collected from government and NGOs offices and library in Swat as well as in Islamabad and Peshawar, online website, articles, journals and development projects reports, case studies and books on cultural and historical perspectives of Swat. The data collected through SSI and household survey was analyzed through Ms Excel and QSR N-Vivo 10.

A number of challenges arose during collection of field data. The first and foremost was the face to face interview of women by a male researcher as the cultural practices do not allow a male external (out of district, national or foreign) or internal (inhabitant of Swat) to interact with women regardless younger or older. The second challenge was the revival of trust of the respondents, because the local people, organizations, government department and securities agencies do not trust on any external or internal researchers interacting with communities after the crisis. However, the researchers managed to conduct face to face interview with six women through the local NGOs like HUJRA and Environmental Protection Society, and their community organizations and activists in the villages. While the rest of women interviews were conducted by a female enumerator hired during field work. It was very difficult to take equal ratio of the men and women respondents, therefore the number of women respondents is less than the male. The researchers revived the trust of the

respondents to collect reliable data by intruding themselves as university employee and academic researchers, and clarifying the purpose of the research, and also by obtaining proper 'no objection certificate' from government security and development agencies; provincial disaster management authority and local police station. The facilitation of local NGOs and their workers further supported in reviving trust of local people and government department in providing relevant data.

Two villages, Paklea and Qambar from Upper and Lower Swat (see figure1) were selected to analyze how the gender inequalities varies topographically and ethnically, and how men and women of different social groups access the livelihood assets and how changes occurred in gender relations. . A short introduction to each of the two villages is as follows:

Figure 1: Map of Khyber Pukhtoonkhwa Province and district Swat

Figure 1: Map of Khyber Pukhtoonkhwa Province and District Swat showing location of selected villages
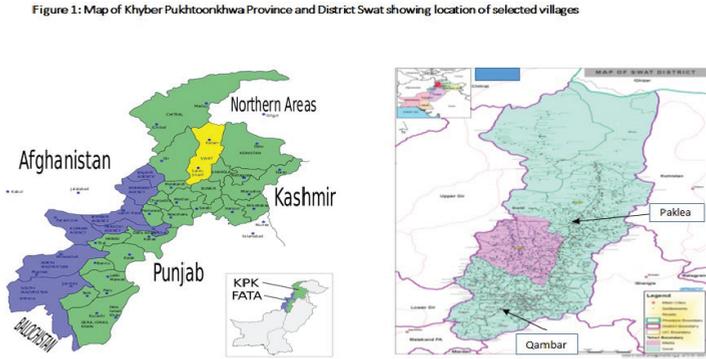


Source: http://torwali.net/travel-guide-swat-valley-the-mini-switzerland/ date September 12, 2014

The village Paklea of Madyan Union Council (UC) is located in the northern part of Swat at a distance of about 56 km from the main city of Mingora, and is surrounded by forest. According to Union Council Madyan official record 2012, the total area of the village is 2,680 acres, including forest land of 1,586 acres. The population is about 3,308 including 1,732 males and 1,576 females, and the total number of Households is 417. Different ethnic groups such as the Khan (Yousafzai), Mian/syeed, Gujjar, Kohistani and various occupational groups (*Sunar* (goldsmith), *Karigar* (blacksmith), *Mazari* (tenant), *Naiye* (barber) and *Muzdoor* (daily wage worker) (see Barth 1965, 1981; Ahmed 1980)live in the village. The inhabitants depend on multiple livelihood resources, with the main sources of income being agriculture, remittances, employment, small-scale business and tourism. The main crops are maize, wheat, vegetables and fruits used for domestic as well as business purposes. In the village there was one primary school for boys and one for girls; and in the nearby town of Madyan there were high schools for boys and girls. The Taliban and the Pakistan army shelling during military operations did not directly affect the village and nearby surrounding areas. Nevertheless, up to 30% of the households were displaced during the conflict crisis, while the rest remained in the village. According to the agricultural office in Madyan, however, the flood directly damaged the agricultural land of 12 to 15 families, along with some shops, hotels and buildings.

The village of Qambar is situated about six Km west of Mingora city. According to UC Qambar data of 2012, the approximate population of the village is 13,364 and the number of households is 1,582. The majority of the population belongs to the Yousafzai tribe, Khan, followed by the Mian/Syed, and migrant population from the nearby districts of Dir, Buner, Malakand and Bajourh. The livelihood sources are agricultural and market businesses (property, shops, taxis), remittances, employment (government and private), non-farm labor, dairy farming, fishing etc. The village has electricity, a drinking water supply, a *Pakka* (tarmac) road, transport, mobile and telephone facilities. There are primary and high schools for boys and girls and, due to the proximity to the main city of Mingora, many of the village pupils attend private schools, colleges and even the university in the

city. The village was severely affected by the militancy conflict and flood, resulting in 100% displacement from the village for a period of three to six months. The business, labor, agricultural products, self-employment and local income sources declined severely for more than 12 months during 2009-10.

## 3. Analysis by Livelihood assets

The argument in this study that gender access to livelihood resources within and outside households are socially and culturally constructed, with norms and values of Pukhtoonwali being followed in different ways to legitimize the assigned roles and responsibilities of productive (cash income earning) and reproductive works (the child bearing and raring responsibilities), (Moser, 1989). This section discusses how men and women of different ethnic and social groups within and outside the households access and use various types of livelihood assets. In section-4 we will then analyze the changing perspective in gender inequality and future prospects.

### 3.1 Social Assets

Social assets, sometimes referred to as social capital, include trust, norms and networks that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated action, upon which people can draw in pursuit of their livelihood (Putman, 1995). Informal social networks operate in the study area among different ethnic groups like the Pukhtoon, Mian/Syed, Gujjars, and between various occupational groups (blacksmith, tenants, and barbers) and social groups of wealthy, middle and poor classes. Social network means the network consisting of persons or groups linked by different kinds of social, political and economic relationships (Wood 2008). Key respondents stated that 80% of both village populations are dependent on each other in one way or other for their livelihood security and social needs. Households within networks of reciprocal social obligations support each other during times of *Gham* (sorrow: death, mourning) and *Khadi (Joy*: celebration, happiness e.g. marriage, birth and *Eid*) [7]. For example, women from tenant families would work in the homes of Khans, helping with

cleaning, washing, cooking etc. without any fixed daily wages. In return, women from the Khans families help the tenants in term of gifts and cash, particularly during Eid ceremonies or marriages of their sons or daughters but these compensations are very minor in relations to the work done. Similarly among male, Khans support the poor households during times of need in the form of cash, land, and crops; however, in exchange the poor class provided reciprocal support in the form of agricultural labor in their fields and in their Hujra (Ahmed, 2006).

These reciprocal relations, also referred as social relations among different ethnic and social groups are unequal and can be termed as patron-client relationships because the Khans provide such assistance in order to maintain their superiority and political control over their subordinates. However, on the other hand it is a kind of income source for tenants, barber and blacksmith households. A NGO worker interviewed referred these to exploitation of human rights in terms of labour and services. In hierarchy, Syed/Maingan are the second strong group and relation with other groups are based on mutual respect because of the belief that the Syed/Miangan are direct descendants of the Prophet Mohammad (PBUH). They, Syed, kept hold on people through religious and spiritual sanctities. Politically, the Khans are strong and control majority of the resources and decision making process in the villages. The access of Khans to the government institutions and NGOs for jobs, funds and uses of resources is greater than any other class in Swat. For example Shah (2010) reported that there were complaints from the poor households that the Khans and relatives of bureaucrats in government departments received more funds and assistance from government and humanitarian agencies than the poor because of unequal access to the respective organizations. Through group discussions, it was revealed that village committees established by NGOs for small scale infrastructure projects and distribution of development aid were dominated by traditional leaders (Khans) in terms of decisions making and distribution of benefits. But the four Khans, two from each village interviewed denied the controlling and receiving more benefits from organizations by asserting that they always support poor and believe in equality. However,

There was a local loan and borrowing system in both villages where more than 70% of the households stated that they borrow money from relatives and neighbors to meet the need for food, construction of houses, diseases treatment, marriages and death ceremonies. Men in both villages have more and stronger networks than women, with the majority of them having access to loans from shopkeepers and other middle and upper class male members in the village, as well as from banks and NGOs. Woman on the other hand tend to have an informal social setup and only have access to loans from other women, or men particularly relatives. The poor class women get loan from upper class women, but these lower class women borrow money on the advice of their men as men has to deal with loan and women don't have physical resources to return. Women do not have access to get loan from market or banks. Not a single case was found in either village about a woman who has got a loan from any commercial institution. One female NGO worker interviewed in Madyan told that actually women role in utilization of money either for household need or for personal use directly in market is very rare and this is because women lack in ownership of land and property. Analysis through group discussions shows that the access of Khans, goldsmith and traders to market loan as well as credit from commercial Banks and NGOs is higher than the tenant, barber and Gujjars households. The latter groups of people need to have a guarantor for accessing loan from commercial organizations as they lack in containing physical property and for that purpose they are dependent on landlords and political leaders. There is a need of change in policy of the commercial organizations to provide equal opportunities of credit and loan to men and women of different ethnic and social groups.

### 3.1.1 Access in Mobility

Mobility in this research refers to movement of men and women to avail the livelihood opportunities and facilities. This also applied to shopping at the market, leisure time, or visiting their relatives and even jobs and education. It was learnt that the Taliban prohibited women and young girls from moving outside their homes and villages without proper veil and a close agnatic male. The analysis

reveals that patriarchal household structures in Swat are much more constraining for women in rural areas than in urban settings in the context of jobs, education and access to resources, however, women in rural areas particularly in upper Swat are less restrictive to move within villages for agriculture or livestock care or sometime water and wood collection. This is in line with Ahmad (2006) that in Pukhtoon society, women's social interactions are limited to social gatherings and events like weddings and funerals, but custom does not allow them to mingle during their leisure time. Mobility, and thereby access to market, jobs, education and leisure activities is highly gendered in both the villages due to social and cultural aspects. For example, public transport does not support women's mobility and similarly the responsibilities of the domestic work limit women's mobility outside the household. Also, as reported elsewhere in Pakistan that traditions combined with poor roads and lack of effective and reliable public transport, limit women's mobility in accessing social, human and economic assets (Bauck, Lexow & Andersen, 2011). Linked to this are the concepts of honor and shame under Pukhtoonwali which also influence gender boundaries and two thirds of the male respondents said that young girls still have to ask permission from male elders in the house, while going out of home for any kind of social and economic activity. According to Seigmam and Sadaf (2006:4) study of livelihoods in KPK, 'women's confinement within the spatial boundary as well as their sexual behaviour is linked to male honour; and women's movements are restricted and controlled in order to protect the family honor'. This also to be the case in Swat, where the majority of women are caught between rigid controls of social customs imposed by traditions and an emphasis on religious adherence.

While conducting field work in 2012-13; after the conflict, house-to-house movement of elderly women and buying food items from shops in the villages were observed. Similarly, there appeared to be no restrictions for women to go to a neighbor's house, visit nearby relatives, or attend wedding or death ceremonies. Women respondents in both villages told that such mobility is the need of the family to maintain social relations and to perform community role given to women under the cultural

system. On the other hand men of any ethnic or social groups are freer to move anywhere for accessing livelihoods, for example migration for labour, jobs, education and living both inside and outside country.

## 3.2    Human Assets: Health and Education

Human assets refers to skills, education, health status and the ability to labor that together enable people to pursue different livelihood strategies and achieve their livelihood objectives (Ellis, 2000). In Pakistan, education and health services are the responsibility of the government, and their support permits individuals to improve their livelihood sources through utilizing their capabilities of skills and enjoying good health. The following section discusses the access of men and women to education and health services in the study area.

In 2012 the literacy rate[8] in Swat as a percentage of the population 10 years and over was 29% combined, with men at 45% and women at 14%. The available education facilities in Swat during 2011-12 were 1335 primary schools (844 male and 491 female), 140 middle schools (84 male and 56 female), 95 high schools (73 male and 22 female) and 18 higher secondary schools (13 male and 5 female). There were four degree colleges, of which one is for girls (Education Department Statistical Report, KPK (EDSR, 2012). Besides these there were three technical colleges, one medical college and one university in Swat established in 2010. The militancy conflict in Swat during 2008 to 2009 destroyed many educational institutions, particularly girls' schools. The total number of badly damaged institutions in Swat was 171, of which 125 were girls; and 276 institutions were partially damaged schools of which 167 were of girls (WB and ADB 2009:22). According to the assistant district education officer; interviewed in December, 2013, at Mingora, that almost 75% of the damaged schools have been reconstructed and made functional.

The above statistics illustrate the differences for boys and girls in terms of accessibility and gender inequality to education. The number of girls' schools is much less than the number of boys' schools,

and in some parts schools are far away from the villages, making it difficult for girls to gain access. Similarly, the respondents in both villages revealed that access to middle and high schools is difficult for poor families; while girls and boys from economically sound households can only go to high school and colleges since they can afford the cost of transportation, admission and tuition fee. The enrolment ratio of girls at higher studies decreases to 19% from that of 75% at primary level (EDSR 2012) due to factors of accessibility, transportation facility and also cultural values.

This study revealed that lower ethnic and social class as well as middle class households prefers boys' education over girls, because the social system views men as the main responsible for feeding their household members. Female respondents in both villages stated that women are not expected to support parents or brothers after marriage even if she is serving in government or private sector because culturally she is supposed to pay her earning to husband family. On the other hand among male respondents, women earning and the dependency of male on woman income is considered a shameful act and they views that 'women don't need to earn', in other words men don't like women in upper hand. A female NGO official expressed her view in these word:

'Such perceptions reduced the access of women to education but during project implementation in villages,  the experiences show that women who are educated to primary school level are more concerned about household livelihoods than uneducated women. They participate in project interventions and income generating activities such as kitchen gardening, embroidery, sewing, poultry farming, honeybee keeping and skills training in order to support their households in securing food subsistence and found them having a good say in decision making at household level about domestic activities.

The research findings of Kabeer (2005: 16) in India support the same results that 'educated women scored higher than less educated women on a composite index measuring their access to and control over resources as well as their role in economic decision making'. During field work, I attended a training session organized by an NGO in Madyan on gender-based violence. During discussion I

asked the participants about the role of educated women. The majority of participants replied that they see the benefits of educated women and girls in the form of improving family health, welfare, and lowering violence, rather than preparing women for employment in government or non-government organizations. Out of 34 male and nine female households interviews 26 men and five women think that higher education and job is better for men than women in order to have a better life, while the rest of the households have the mix responses of favoring and disfavoring about both men and women education and jobs. This means that people in Swat support to educate their women for the purpose of a better life of family but oppose education for employment. The discussion with NGOs and government officials reveal that the ratio among educated women in accessing jobs is very low particularly among Khan and Syed families while among the middle and lower class families (either belong to khan or Syed lineage), women employment is increasing at good average.

In Swat almost 49% of the population are of working age (15-64 years) and out of them 97% of the male population is economically active (WB and ADB, 2009). According to our household survey, on average, 78% of the male population above 15 years is involved in earning household livelihoods. However, only 3% of women over the age of 15 years in the surveyed households are involved in income earning from their paid jobs. The analysis shows that low ratio of women involvement in productive or cash income-earning is because of the factors of the low accesses of females to education and skills acquisition, as well as cultural restrictions on the mobility of women for work outside the households. Women productive role can be improved by providing access to jobs, skills and development interventions which in turn can improve the livelihood of the households.

'Health is Wealth', a common saying internationally which reflects the importance of health, and that there is no wealth without health. According to the Conflict Early Recovery Initial Need Assessment (CERINA, 2010:45) report 'the crisis-affected areas in KPK have suffered heavy damages of physical structure, equipment and dislocation of human resources and as a result …..falls short of addressing the health needs of the people. The total numbers of fully and partially damaged

health facilities in Swat were 18 and 21 out of a total 80 facilities'. Unavailability of health workers, specifically women in most of the government health facilities and remote rural areas is one of the main factors in service delivery. One of the Lady Health Worker (LHW) interviewed told that 'the Taliban's ban on movement of LHWs in the villages during 2008-09, which has badly disrupted and affected maternal and child health and vaccination campaigns'. Mothers and children who had been receiving treatment and vaccines from LHWs in their homes were affected as the majority of the households could not take the mother and children to hospitals for vaccinations. All respondents both men and women in the study areas agree about the free access to government hospital facilities, including access to medicines and routine checkup, however, respondents from lower ethnic and social groups in both villages explained that only those patients who have relations with doctors or hospital administration can get more free medicines and better treatment in government hospitals. Private Doctor Clinics and hospitals provide better facilities and treatment but the poor people rarely avail themselves of health facilities at private medical centers because of the high costs including doctors' checkup fee, medical tests and medicines.

The second type of gender inequality observed was cultural restrictions, for example female respondents in both villages said that women with serious disease are taken to hospital, while in case of minor diseases treatment is carried out at home following traditional methods or depends on medicines purchased from the market without doctor advice. Woman are not allowed to go to hospital without permission from male and they can't share their problem with male health workers separately due to cultural restriction. Under the cultural norms women receive less attention and health care than do men, and girls in particular often receive very much less support than boys. Sen (2001) in his study in India on gender inequality almost revealed similar results, however, in Swat women form elite class told that girls are also preferred in relation to health issues. A lady health worker told that 'roughly 50% of women from poor class as well as middle class still prefer child birth at home because of cultural values, and lack of maternal health facilities and women medical

staff in hospitals'. These lack of access to and unavailability of health facilities in one way or other affect the health of mother and child which in turn definitely affect the livelihood of household. One can conceive from the high ratio of birth mortality rate as shown in a study by Aziz (2010), the average mortality in Swat in 2010 was 95.7 per 1000 live births in comparison to the provincial figure 79 deaths per 1000 live births. We claim that this high ratio is not only because of lack of health facilities or medical staff but the low access of women to hospitals, the cultural restrictions and poverty have equally contributed.

## 3.3    Natural Resources Assets

Swat has an abundance of natural resources and in the past, the majority of peoples' livelihoods rest on land, forests, livestock and fisheries. Almost 20% of the land is under forest, but before and during the conflict crisis, the forest cover was heavily reduced by illegal cutting and timber smuggling and even burning of timber by militants. The flood crisis further damaged the grasses and rangelands, and had a significant negative impact on natural resource based livelihoods of many households (CERINA, 2009).

The household survey conducted in both villages show that more than 80% of households in Qambar have equal access to the scrub forest in terms of firewood and fodder collection, grazing in specified areas, water usage, and fishing. However, Paklea has pine tree forest with vast range land. The land owning households (locally known as *Dautari*)[9] have 60% ownership royalties out of total revenues received from the selling of tress and contracting of pastures for grazing. The revenue received by forest department is divided among Dautari households annually. The landless households can collect firewood and fodder from communal land or according to their rights as tenants from the land of Khans, however they have not any share in the forest revenue. Landless households have no access to cutting down trees for domestic purposes such as for the purpose of house construction while only Dautari households can fell trees for construction purposes. The Dautari households in study villages controlled the business of other natural resources like stone, sand, gypsum and coal

where tenants and landless have no rights. Decisions on natural resource management are mainly made by Dautari households, however, in activities like afforestation and nurseries raising the poor groups' households are being involved in the form of labour. Women have no direct access to any kind of forest royalty because of very limited share in land ownership (See Khalid et. al, 2015).

In Pukhtoon culture, 'the importance of *Zar* (gold), *Zan* (women) and *Zamin* (land) are the core values of Pukhtoonwali, which further shape the local ideology where the inheritance and property rights go in favor of males' (Naz and Rehman, 2011: 27) as being the main bread earner of the household. In reply to a question 'Do men and women have equal access to the distribution and use of income sources like land, property, cash income and skills at the household level?'; 90 percent of total respondents said 'No', accompanied by the explanation that men have the authority to access all resources and decision making process. Only two female respondents − one teacher and one NGO worker- replied 'Yes', but qualified this by saying that only a few households give equal access to such resources. The argument they presented was that those women who are employed or involved in any kind of cash earning, have a good say in decision making within the household and may have greater access to other assets than other women. Under pukhtoonwali land has rarely been given to women (mother, sister, daughter and wife), however, male respondents from land lord households told that:

> …no one refuses to grant rights to women in terms of land, property or cash at the
> household level, but the society has been living for centuries under the norms and values of
> the Pukhtoon culture. Therefore, to protect themselves from any kind of *paighoor*
> (ostracism) and to maintain Izzat (honor) in society, families (men) chose to adhere to the
> Pukhtoonwali.

One woman respondent from khan household said that women in rare cases ask for land rights from their father, brother or husband, as this would bring paighoor and shame to her and would be detrimental to the family honor. According to her 'a Pukhtoon woman should know what is

honorable and better for her family, and should not forget to stay within the parameters of Pukhtoonwali'. A professor interviewed from post graduate college Swat, who contributed a number of academic research studies on Swat state, it culture of people and also on recent conflict told:

' Pukhtoonwali and Islamic religion have a strong hold on the mental capacity of both men and women, since people have been living in that particular tradition for many centuries, therefore any deviations against or toward culture mean losing the honour (Izzat) in society'.

When probing further, the majority of respondents in group discussions revealed that sometimes women within the household are very strong, particularly among the wealthy class. Men are expected to seek advice from women (mother, wife, and daughter) concerning the sale or purchase of land, property, business, house construction, education of children, and particularly marriages of either sons or daughters. However, men maintained their authority through making final decisions, particularly in matters related to property, business and employment. Nevertheless trends in gender inequalities are changing in cultural practices due to many factors and the next section discuss the current scenario of the gender equality and future prospects.

## 4.        Discussion and conclusion

In this section we overall analyze the changing perspectives in gender equality and the factors which contributed in improving the access of men and women of different ethnic and social groups towards various livelihood assets. In doing so we will conclude that how gender inequalities can be addressed within the social and cultural perspectives of society, which will not only improve the livelihood conditions of the people but would contribute in achieving Millennium Development Goals  of poverty and inequality, and might also decrease the trends towards militancy particularly among the young generation of poor classes.

Pakistan's development indicators under the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) are not encouraging. According to the Human Development Report (2013), Pakistan is ranked at 146 in

terms of the gender gap and Human Development Index. Against the targets of MDG-3; promote gender equality and women's empowerment, Pakistan has only achieved the target of proportion of seats in parliament while it is off track in other indicators (Planning Commission of Pakistan, 2013). The main factors behind the non-achievement of MDGs targets are the increase rate of insurgency in Pakistan after 9/11, the talibanization[10] movement and natural disasters that has affected the whole country particularly the province of KPK and Swat valley (ibid). An official in the Social Welfare Department at Mingora city of Swat told that more than 60% of the women's vocational training centers were destroyed and equipment were stolen by the militants, which has adversely affected women participation in vocational trainings and skill learning. Similarly the destruction of girls' schools and banning girls from education and employment further reduced the participation of women in livelihood interventions. The religious mullah interviewed agreed that in Islam there is no such restriction on women jobs and education but the cultural dominancy is very strong where these mullah never discuss women issues related to property, job and education even in their Friday speeches. They support the conservative interpretation of the Quran, and together this results in differences in power and social relations between the sexes, including gender discrimination. These destruction of livelihood resources, physical infrastructure and closeness of education and health facilities during the militancy crisis not only doubled the economic losses but also reversed the progress made in achievement of gender equality before the crisis, and increased the gap in accessing both primary and strategic gender needs in the northwestern part of Pakistan.

The study reveals culturally assigned gender roles within and outside the households in livelihood resources; agriculture, political systems, social networking, marketing, education, and domestic spheres. Women perform the bulk of work within households, including cooking, cleaning, washing clothes, dishes, child care, livestock care, storage of crops, and collection of water. However, all these are unpaid jobs with little recognition in society. Male respondents claimed that these are women's jobs which they have to perform at any cost. Women interviewed in study villages accept

domestic jobs within the cultural division of labor, but expect that men should support them in performing domestic activities. A female NGO official in Madyan told that 'males expect employed women to do the same domestic activities as non-employed women do, and this has doubled the burden on working women by performing triple roles; productive, reproductive and community interaction'. It is through gender relations that men are given a greater capacity than women to mobilize a variety of cultural roles and material resources in pursuit of their own interest (Razavi and Miller, 1995). Male respondents in both villages said that performing domestic work like cleaning, washing and cooking at home by male is considered a shameful act and is against the norms of Pukhtoonwali. Similarly, if a woman goes to the market to purchase food items, or goes shopping without a male companion, it is considered to be in defiance of Pukhtoon culture. These beliefs have restricted the changing perspectives of gender roles and reduced opportunities to both men and women in development practices. This confirms that gender roles are divided on the basis of cultural and social values and norms. Women are, for example, expected to work within the home while men are required to perform outside roles and responsibilities

Nevertheless, on the other hand we observed that the factors like post-conflict livelihood revival development interventions, migration both inside and outside the country, media and development policies designed for post crises development are contributing social changes in the cultural, economic and political aspects of Swat society. Since 2010, the majority of the policy and strategy documents of the government and NGOs prepared for rehabilitation and reconstruction activities in Swat clearly indicated the gender equality aspects and supported the marginalized classes. While visiting NGOs and the government institutions in Swat, the review of the documents of a number of livelihood projects and interview with officials reveals that these development interventions including skill development training not only improve the livelihoods of poor and needy people but also to increase the access of both men and women to various resources. Similarly, the support and struggles of international organizations - UNDP, CIDAW, the Asian Bank and the World Bank,

USAID, Oxfam etc.- to promote gender equality and empowerment and equal civil rights under the millennium development goals, has also contributed in reducing the unequal gap between the genders to a certain extent. The findings shows a high inclination towards children's education among men and women. Consequently, the rehabilitation and construction of over 75% of the schools, increased the girls' primary enrolment ratio upto 76% in 2013, which was dropped to 56% in 2009 from 80% in 2007 (EDSR, 2013). No reliable health statistics were available but based on personal observation and interviewing LHWs and health officials, it was learnt that the women's movement to medical clinics for treatment increased after the conflict. Health workers previously banned by Taliban have now rejoined their jobs and are serving more freely than in the past. The understanding between husband and wife are changing towards family planning, which in past was the sole decision of men to bring more children.

The re-establishment and functioning of major health facilities, restoration of vocational centers, construction of bridges and roads, and the revival of tourism and hotel industry have brought diversity in livelihood resources by creation of more jobs and labour opportunities for both men and women. There was a changing trends among female employment in NGOs which in past was considered as unethical, and common public did not see female NGOs' workers with good eyes. During fieldwork, we found that an average one to two local female staff have been hired by more than 60% of national and international NGOs working in Swat. This reveals that perceptions of local people no longer exclusively negative towards female employment in NGOs or private sector. However, education and health departments are still the preferable and acceptable professions for both men and women in Swat. According to respondents in both villages, factors like access to education, economic development and migration changed the occupational status of a number of households from that of laborer or tenant to business persons, skilled workers and government designators. For example, we found teachers, LHWs, clerks, and other government administrative

officials among the households of traders, goldsmith, skilled worker, and tenant groups. Similarly there were technical and skilled workers in all these groups.

This research, through the household socio-economic survey identified the various livelihoods sources of the people. Agriculture is the main source of income of 31% of HH in Paklea and 25% in Qambar. Similarly Government employment and private services in Paklea are only 14%, while in Qambar it is 28% due to proximity to the urban area of Mingora city and local industry, while daily wage labor (including labor in hotels, restaurant, transport etc.) is much higher in Paklea (26%) than Qambar (10%). The is because of tourism sector in summer season and the people in upper Swat engage to a large extent in the hotel and restaurant industry, taxi business along with agricultural labor in the field. On average, 14% in Paklea and 23% in Qambar are dependent on remittances (both national and international) and currently this trend is quickly increasing. The group discussions and the household survey reveals that the crises has highly affected the households dependent on agriculture, labour, and local small-scale business in terms of livelihood resources and economic losses, while households dependent on government service, professional jobs and foreign remittances were less affected. This changed the trends particularly among poor and tenant classes towards government and private sector jobs, skilled work and migration. For example, a USAID job project in 2010 implemented by local organizations; Lasoona, Environmental Protection Society (EPS) and Carvan, trained 1350 persons including 405 women in various technical skills. The results show that out of total trained person 25% male and up to 10-15% female got jobs in various sectors, and the household economic situation of 54% of the trainees improved. There are several other projects which have positive impacts on gender equality aspects and increased access of various ethnic groups to livelihood assets[11]. However, the findings in this research identified issues of unequal access to the development interventions between man and woman, and between ethnic and social groups. The observations show that majority of the respondents are not happy with the process of distribution of the benefits and funds, and thus complained over the access of elite class to

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institutions and resources. Such complaints can be addressed through social empowerment policy, collaborative action and participatory processes.

In view of above discussion, the research can argue that by creating more opportunities for women in various fields can bring changes in social and culture perspectives, and women can get more access to livelihood resources and this will gradually improve gender equality. Similarly, skill development of lower class people and the creation of market-based labour can reduce dependency of tenants and labour on Khans for cultivation of their land. A human right activist and NGOs official told that the establishment of free desk in courts of Mingora city Swat by a women and human rights organizations for facilitation of women in both criminal and civil cases has increase their access to judicial courts and property rights. In this way women have begun to claim their rights in terms of land and other properties, and there were cases in both villages where women have been granted their property rights in Swat. However in majority parts of the Swat valley, there is still wide gap between different social classes in equally accessing social, human and natural resources.

**Conclusion**

Gender inequality exists in most parts of the world in terms of access to livelihood assets, although the expression of inequality can be varying in different contexts due to different cultural perspectives, resources availability and living patterns. This study revealed that both genders are actively involved in the operation and fulfillment of the livelihood needs of their household. Culturally men continue to perform and earn a living for their household members through various livelihood resources or other income generating activities, while women support the family by performing equally important but not necessarily economically valued domestic activities within the household. The patriarchal dominancy, lack of economic development, governance issues and unequal distribution of resources between genders, and different ethnic and social groups has widened the gaps of groups' inequality in the whole province of northwestern Pakistan. Women's

mobility to access the market for shopping or for leisure time and education is still restricted in rural villages in order to maintain the honour and avoid shame valued under pukhtoonwali.

This study conclude that in Swat there were cultural-based unequal access between men and women, as well as between different ethnic groups to various assets, particularly education, health services, employment, natural resources, land ownership, social mobility and political power. The traditional Khans continue to dominate the overall political and economic structure in the society. Women, though often aware of and frustrated with their subordinate role in society, nevertheless continue to uphold Pukhtoonwali as a central concept in their lives, as a matter of identity, and honour for family. These may reflect the concept of social deprivation to many of the readers. But this does not mean that women and poor class households are totally deprived of all kinds of social and human rights in the Swat valley. The social inequality varies from place to place and family to family within the Swat valley, which is similar in almost all part of northwestern Pakistan.

Nevertheless, the recent socio-economic changes through various factors highlighted in this study led to the conclusion that there is need to address the issues of gender inequalities in accessing various assets along with issues of governance, development and peace building in the light of indigenous approach in the post crises development policies and strategies. This will not only improve the livelihood conditions of a number of poor households but also changed their occupational statuses and decreased the gap in accessing livelihoods assets among men and women. Our understanding that there are certainly growing spaces for reducing gender inequalities and re-interpretations of gender roles within the socio-cultural and political perspectives of *Pukhtoonwali*. Consequently, strategic gender needs should be prioritized in long-term government and NGOs development policies and strategies in Swat and elsewhere in KPK in order to reduce the gap between different social and ethnic groups, and to promote gender equality in accessing social, economic and human livelihood resources. We understand that ethnic and social inequalities considered as a cause of inclination among young generation towards militancy conflict, however,

such motivations can be reduced through providing equal opportunities in the post crises development strategies and policies.

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End Note

[1] According to the Encyclopedia Britannica: 'Pashtun, also spelled Pushtun or Pukhtun, Pakhtoon, Pathan, Persian Afghan:  Pashto-speaking people residing primarily in the region that lies between the Hindu Kush in northeastern 1. Afghanistan and the northern stretch of the Indus River in Pakistan'. In this paper the term 'Pukhtoon' is used for simplicity.

[2] The ethnic groups in Swat are defined as the people belong to other lineage than Pukhtoon tribe. These are Syed/Miangan, Kohistani and Gujjars, while the occupational groups like tenants, barber, blacksmith, are inhabitants exist in each ethnic group but not necessarily belong to genealogy of the same ethnic group. These are considered as lower class people.

[3] The word 'crises' as used in this paper refers to the militancy conflicts and floods of 2010, while the singular 'crisis' refers to either conflict or flood. In the Swat Valley, militancy gained momentum from 2005 with the majority of Swat being under the control of militants by end of 2009. The Government of Pakistan carried out a military operation in 2009, ousting the militants from the valley

[4] See for example, World Bank and Asian Development Bank, report 2009; Conflict Early Recovery Initial Needs Assessment (CERINA), 2010; Salman, 2012; Ali, 2012; Khan, 2009 by Save the Children, Islamabad and Sustainable Development Policy Institute, SDPI, 2012)

[5] Field work was conducted in the Swat District in two phases: September to December 2012 and October to December 2013.

[6] 'Khan' refers to a landlord in Swat, mainly belonging to the Yousafzai tribe. The Syed (holy descent from the Prophet Muhammad PBUH) form the second largest politically powerful group in Swat, after the Khans

[7] Eid is a religious ceremony held twice a year. The first one is after the end of the fasting months, and the second one is after the Huj performance, (10-11) Zi-ul Haj in the Islamic calendar.

[8] According to the Census 1998, a person is literate is if he can read, or write a simple letter in any language.

[9] Dautar refers to those families who inherited land through their ancestors and are eligible for royalty; those who purchased land, even as early as the late sixties but not Dautari, have no share in royal privileges

[10] A name given to the movement started by religious madrassa (school) students for enforcement of Islamic system in Pakistan and Afghanistan

[11] For detail see the Surani (2011), Impact assessment report , available on www.pdma.gov.pk  For other projects see the website of local organizations www.lasoona.org.pk , www.eps.org.pk , www.carvanpk.org, www.hujra.org.pk

**Paper III.**

**Militancy Conflicts and Displacement in Swat Valley of Pakistan: Analysis of Transformation of Social and Cultural Network**

**(Manuscript)**

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**Abstract**

*The paper examines the impacts of militancy conflict and internal displacement (2008-2009) on social and cultural system of the people of Swat valley, Pakistan. The research analyze that how militancy conflict and displacement radically changed the functioning of socio-cultural system of pukhtoonwali (a code of ethics), such as Jirga (Council of elders), hospitality and Hujra (place of guest) which in past maintained peace and harmony in society through their social networks. The conflict and internal displacement affected the social fabric in terms of social relations, cooperation, trust and interactions between various ethnic and social groups. However, consequences of conflict and internal displacement encouraged men and women of different social classes to stand up for their rights and develop new social networks. Nevertheless, the paper argues that the social and cultural system be reconsidered in terms of its possible contribution to peace and development in conflict affected societies.*

**Keywords:** Militancy conflict, internal displacement, Pukhtoonwali, social network, transformation, social relations

## *1.        Introduction*

Arising out of the fight to free Afghanistan from the Soviet Union in the 1980s, the Islamic movements in the form of Afghan Mujahideen (Fighters) and then the Taliban (Madrassa students; a movement for imposition of Islamic system), spread across the boarders of Pakistan and Afghanistan. The Taliban movement which surfaced in 1994 and controlled almost 95% of the Afghanistan by end of 2000, (Afsar, Samples and Wood, 2008; Fleischner, 2011; Orakzai, 2011). Following the 9/11 incident, the US-led forces attacked Afghanistan and demolished the Taliban government in 2001. The leaderships of Taliban and Al-Qaeda dispersed and majority of them hid in the mountain areas across the boarder of Pakistan and Afghanistan (Taj, 2011). Thereafter, the Taliban movement was particularly prevalent in the *Pukhtoon*[1] belt of northwestern Pakistan including Malakand division, composed of Swat, Buner, Shangla, Lower Dir and Upper Dir districts (Rome, 2010). During 2007-2009, militancy conflict in Swat valley was at a peak, wherein the militants attacked and killed the security personal, civil society members, the local leaders, the elected representatives of district government but also destroyed government buildings particularly schools and hospitals. Nonetheless, the militant also targeted the informal institutions like *Hujra's* (Guest houses), *Jirga* (council of elders), and even Mosques, which are symbols of unity in Pukhtoon society (See also Rome, 2010; Ali, 2012). Further, they established their markaz (center) as parallel courts against the government judicial system for deciding all kind of civil and criminal cases, and also challenged the local Jirga system (Orakzai, 2011), which in past played an important role in resolution of conflict and maintaining peace in society. The militants occupied more than half of the Swat valley during 2007-2009, and delinked functioning of both government machinery and structure of the local cultural system (Rahi, 2011).

After several attempts to resolve the conflict through negotiations but remained unsuccessful, the government of Pakistan launched a military operation named Operation Rah-e- Rast (The straight path) in May 2009 against the militants that caused internal displacement of more than 2,3 million people from Malakand Division including Swat (World Bank and Asian Development Bank (WB and ADB, 2009). The internally displaced persons (IDPs) of Swat lived in camps; established by government of Pakistan and Non-governmental organization (NGOs), and in rented houses or with relatives in the districts of Mardan, Swabi, Charsada,Nowshera,and Peshawar, Islamabad and other

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[1] Pukhtoon also spelled Pashtun, Pakhtun and known as Pathan; the Pashto language speaking people residing in primarily in the regions that lies between the Hindu-Kush in northeastern Afghanistan and northern stretch of the Indus river in Pakistan (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2014). For simplicity, I used the term Pukhtoon in this paper.

part of country for a period of about six months (May to December 2009). The IDPs suffered a numbers of cultural, economic, health, social protection and psychological complications during displacement period (WB and ADB, 2009; Bari, 2012). All of these events; the radicalization of society in the name of religion and Jihad, the military operation, and the internal displacement, not only affected the law and order, and security, 'rather it has deep imprints on the very physical, social, cultural and economic fabric of the region' (Salman, 2012:77). Hussain (2013), claims that the Taliban movement and their militant network attempted to delink the Pukhtoon from their history and indigenous narrative, and tried to isolate them from the rest of the world. However, the literature on Pukhtoon society explains that the social network under the customary laws of *Pukhtoonwali* (a code of ethics) was very strong in history and maintained peace and security in the society through its social and political networks, despite of major differentiation in class relations. Nevertheless, the factors like political structural reforms, economic development, migration, education and communication, and development interventions initiated by government of Pakistan and NGOs cannot be ignored in terms of impacts on social and cultural system of the people before the conflict.

This paper first describes the historical perspective of Swat valley that how social and cultural system under the influence of pukhtoonwali maintained homogeneity and peace in the society. The paper then examine, the impacts of militancy conflict and internal displacement on social and cultural networks of the people and analyzes how the social network system and social relations changed in Swat valley of Pakistan. The paper will give insights into how the local cultural system might be revisited particularly in the context of peace and development in conflict affected societies.

## 1.1. Research Methods

This study has been conducted in Swat district of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province, Pakistan. The total area of the district is 5337 sq. km and boarder the districts Buner and Malakand in the south, the Lower and Upper Dir districts to the west, and Chitral and Gilgit to the north. Mingora is the main city of the district situated at a distance of about 160 km from Peshawar the provincial capital and almost 150 km from Islamabad, however, Saidu Sharif is the head quarter of government administrative departments. The approximate population of the district according to Government of Pakistan statistics (2012) is 1.80 million. A number of ethnic groups reside in Swat including Pukhtoon (mainly of the Yousafzai tribe), Mian/Syed (Holy descent), Kohistanis, Gujjars, Hindu and Sikh minorities (Fleishner 2011, Salman, 2012). Pushto or pukhto is the predominant language of almost 93% of the population and almost 99% of the populations are Muslim.

The study is based on primary and secondary data collected from September to December 2012 and again in October to December 2013 in Swat valley. A semi-structured question guide was used for data collection from respondents in two selected villages, Paklea from upper and Qambar from lower Swat, to explore the diversity in the changing perspectives of social networking and effect of militancy conflict. There was 100% displacement in village Qambar and directly affected by conflict while in village Paklea there was approximate 30% displacement, and was not directly affected in terms of bombing and shelling by Taliban or Pakistan army. The village Qamabr is dominated by Yousafzai (mainly Pukhtoon) followed by Mian/Syed, and other occupational groups; blacksmith, barber and carpenter, while village Paklea is dominated by Syed/Mian, followed byYousafzai, Kohistanis and Gujjars. Semi-structured interviews of 64 persons including 18 women were conducted. Out of 64 respondents, 45 interviews were conducted in two villages; Paklea (15 male and 5 female) and Qambar (18 male and 7 female), while 19 key respondents (13 male and 6 female) interviewes were conducted at Mingora city and the surrounding towns such as Saidu Sharif, Odigram, Charbagh, Fatehpur and Madyan to substantiate and triangulate the data. The key informants include elite persons of the areas, local researchers, activists and government and NGOs officials.

Moreover, four focus group discussions composed of 4-6 members, one each with men and women in both selected villages were held during the fieldwork. In addition, applying participant observation methods, informal discussions with men and women of different social and ethnic groups were carried out to further validate the qualitative data.

## 2. The Context of Social Networks, Militancy Conflict and Internal Displacement

Swat valley, a Pukhtoon ethnic and Islamic religious based society, where the Pukhtoonwali *as* code of conduct and the Islamic sharia laws as religion have been used in parallel to maintain the social structure and homogeneity among various social and ethnic groups (Barth, 1981; Rome, 2008). Pukhtoonwali can be described as a way of life characterized by the principles of *Malmastia* (hospitality), *Jirga*, *Hujra*, *Badal* (revenge), *Nanawatee* (refuge, asylum), *Ghairat* (honour, chivalry), *Tor* (shame), *Tarboorwali* (agnatic rivalry), *purdha and Namoos* (gender boundaries)[2]. Orakzai (2011) states that pukhtoonwali is the structure and process that underpin social, political and economic life of Pukhtoon, and provide an alternative form of social organization.

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[2]See for detail: Ahmad (1976, 1980); Ameeni (2006); Barth (1981, 1985); Banerjee (2000); ; Kakar (2007); Lindholm (1982); and Spain (1972)

This form of social organization can be termed as social networks, which consists of persons or groups linked by different kinds of social, political and economic relationships (Wood, 2008). For example, patron client relationships between landlord and tenants in Swat represent a kind of social network in the form of political and economic dependency (Barth, 1981).

Pukhtoonwali is the core of Pukhtoon social behaviors (Ahmed, 1980) and 'the set of informal common laws and tribal codes that are strictly followed by Pukhtoon' (Haring, 2010:2). It is an unwritten constitution and has been communicated in the form of proverbs, themes, songs and anecdotes (Ahmad, 1980; Khan, 2014), although in recent years it has been documented by anthropologists, historians, poets and local researchers. Among the Pukhtoon, 'doing pukhto (Pashto)' defines the behavior patterns of the Pukhtoon, which are essential to their identity and there is no distinction between practicing Pukhtoonwali and being Pukhtoon (Kakar, 2007).

Throughout history, writers have depicted Pukhtoonwali in very different ways. For example Olaf Caroe (1958) and Spain (1962, 1972) portrayed their construction on Pukhtoon as noble savage, ungovernable and militant race. However, later researchers presented Pukhtoon and Pukhtoonwali as ethnic and cultural entity. Khan Abdul Ghafar Khan, known as 'Bacha Khan', (1890-1988) started *Khudai KhidmatgarTehreek* (Servant of God Movement) in 1928, based on philosophy of non-violence, linked Pukhtoonwali as discourse of human dignity, pluralist democracy, and indigenous wisdom and cultural identity as a foundation for its cause of socio-political, socio-cultural, and socio-economic transformation (Banerjee, 2000; Hussain, 2013). Nonetheless, Pukhtoonwlai in the context of militancy in Pakistan constitutes the extremist discourse of ethnic, religious, sectarian and nationalist sentiments, which Hussain (2013) claims, totally against the philosophy of Khudai KhidmatgarTehreek and completely disjointed in the fabric of Pukhtoonwali.

Hussain (2013) writes that majority of the people in Swat adhere to the discourse of Pukhtoonwali closer to the KhudaiKhidmatgar Movement as a modern and dynamic code which encompass all essential elements of civilization. The non-pukhtoonethnic groups in Swat like Gujjars and Kohistani also follow the same socio-cultural system as these people have been lived for decades under the same code of life and pukhto operates in their social and cultural life (Ahmad, 1980).

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[3]Ahmad (1980), Bar Field (2010), Barth (1981, 1985), and Lindholm (1982)

In considering Pukhtoonwali in this research, I draw on the discourse of Khudai Khidmatgar Movement which best resembles the context of democracy and equality, and is flexible to transformation. It is this understanding of Pukhtoonwali that the militants challenged and attacked the culture of Pukhtoon, and killed and threatened the Pukhtoon poets, artists and singers as well as forcibly terminated the indigenous life style, and particularly targeted those who affiliated with Khudai Khidmatgar Tehreek (Hussain, 2013).

## 2.1. Militancy Conflict and Internal Displacement

Conflict, according to Oxford dictionary (2014), is a serious incompatibility between two or more opinions, principles or interest of individual, groups or state; and suggests deeper contextual meaning to the acts of violence. Conflict may be violent or non-violent, and essentially all societies contain some form of conflict (Beswick and Jackson, 2011). Militancy is thus having a combative character in the service of cause, and a person or group struggling to achieve his cause or interests either political or religious through violent methods can be defined as militant (Shah, 2014).

The term militancy conflict used in this paper denotes the violent acts adopted by a militant group (locally known as Taliban) for the cause of enforcement of Islamic law (at least what they claim publically but other hidden interest could not be ignored) and forsaking the old social structure in Swat valley.

The definition of internal displacement has been taken from the guiding principles of the United Nation Office of the Coordination on Human Affairs (UN OCHA, 2001:1), which states that 'internal displaced persons (IDPs) is a person or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or place of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effect of armed conflict situation of generalized violence, violation of human rights or natural or human made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized state border'.

The OCHA principles further explain that the state is responsible for the protection and human rights violations and IDPs shall enjoy the same rights, full equality and freedom under international and domestic laws as do other persons in their country, and should not be discriminated on the basis of internal displacement. This research attempts to address questions such as; how the internal displacement have affected the social relations within the villages and between household? How the

gender relations change after return? How IDPs particularly women adjusted themselves during displacement and after return in the new social network?

## 3. Historical Perspective of Swat Valley

The princely state era from1917 till 1969 is known as the most progressive period in the history of Swat and brought a number of social and structural changes in the Swat society. Maingul Abdul Wadood, the first king (Bacha or Badshah) of Swat introduced the society to modern development patterns first by establishing authority of state to bring peace and order in the Pukhtoon tribal society applying a mixture of customary and Islamic laws and a modern political system (Rome, 2008). Second he developed a system of roads, communication, established education and health institutions for boys and girls, and a local judicial system based on customary codes of conduct known as 'Rawaj Nama' (Fleishner, 2011). The judicial system was not Islamic but a mix of Islamic and cultural practices where cases were often decided quickly and at very low cost. However, decisions were heavily influenced by local political leaders (ministers) who has been given the judicial authority to collect fines and taxes (Aziz, 2010).

During partition of the subcontinent in 1947, the Swat ruler singed the accession with Pakistan but maintained their internal autonomy. In 1949, Mian Abdul Wadood handed over the state rule to his son Mian Jehanzeb well known by the name 'Wali sahib' and the status of state continued till 1969. He continued the development achieved by his father, and priority was given to communication, higher education, health and justice sectors along the lines of westernize way (Fleishner, 2011; Rome, 2010). During his period the old land distribution system of Wesh; where every 10 years land was redistributed among the most powerful men (Khans[4] of Youshafzai tribe), was abolished and permanent land was allotted to these Khans. Some of the lands were allotted to schools, hospitals, mosques and other administrative units. The Khans become more powerful in gaining control over the land while the other classes particularly tenants, craftsmen and traders became less privileged and politically dependent on the Khans (Barth, 1981). However, Wali sahib maintained his authority and being a benevolent leader dealt skillfully with Khans and Mullahs (Fleishner, 2011). According to one of the employees of the state period interviewed: 'The Wali ruled through ministers, advisors, local administrator as Tehsildar and there was about a 10,000 persons army to control any external attack particularly from Nawab of Dir.

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[4]Khan (s) in Swat refers to landlord and sometime to traditional political leaders as an honour and respect in Pukhtoon*wali*, I used both terms Khan and landlords referring the same concept.

Overall the people still remember the old period with nostalgia, that despite many difficulties, there was a steadfast and low cost justice system, clear authority, peace and security, development in health and education services, and people were more prosperous in the form of socio-economic conditions'.

The Swat state was merged with Pakistan in 1969 as a settled district specified in article 246 of the 1973 Constitution of Pakistan as part of the Provincial Administrative Tribal Area. The merger of Swat state brought a new bureaucratic structure like Deputy Commissioner, Assistant commissioner, superintendent of police and judges of courts. It also brought many political, administrative and social changes in the structure of the society. Since the merger, development works continued and the number of schools, colleges, hospitals increased, communication improved, but the quality of works and maintenance remained poor (Rome, 2010).

However, on the other hand, ,according to Fleishner (2011), the absence of democratic representation at local level exacerbated class differentiation and left the poor powerless against the political elite in terms of access to justice and economic inequalities. Over to these, the decades long social, economic and political inequalities, Khanism (Landlordism), ethnic or religious fractionalization and weak government judicial system locally know as western judicial system increased the grievances of the people particularly marginalized classes instead of giving them relief (Rome, 2010). These factors have led to the fragmentation of the social system, and inflicted local people to support and join the new networks of Taliban with hope, greed and grievances (Aziz, 2010; Hussain, 2013).

During the intrusion period of militants in Swat, 'Fazlullah' - the militant leader in Swat and now the chief of the Pakistan Tehrik Taliban (TTP) - motivated local people of Swat through his famous FM Radio speeches and succeeded in winning the hearts of a large numbers of people including women who donated their jewelry and money to Fazlullah in the name of imposing Islamic system (Aziz, 2010). However, majority of the population also opposed Taliban for their harsh punishment and violating the social and cultural norms of society. These motivations and opposition have varieties of impacts on the social system of the people. The below section examines the transformation in social and cultural network system and how militancy conflict and internal displacement affected the social and cultural norms of the few of the principles of the Pukhtoonwali and in long run the process of peace and development in the Swat valley.

### 4. Transformation in Social and Cultural System

Hospitality, Jirga, Hujra and honour are some of the prominent principles of the Pukhtoonwlai and surround both social and political features of Pukhtoon society. We found that hospitality (Malmastia); generally defined as the process where a guest and stranger either local or external is served with food, gifts and protection in the form of asylum (nanawati) with proper etiquette as required for the host, is still exist in almost all groups of people and individually every person practice it at their best. However, in both villages the concept of hospitality in common Hujra given by Barth and Kakar has been found almost nil. Kakar (2007), for example linked Melmastia with honour of the Pukhtoon and put that it increases the number of social networks particularly of the landlord. Barth (1965) sees malmastia as a way of validating a leader's political position. While Lindholm (1982) described malmastia is a sort of ritual of friendship, and the warmth and generosity of the host particularly to foreign and stranger guest. The respondents above the age 60 years interviewed told, 'In past there were one or two Hujra of Khan in every village where guest, local or foreigner are housed and feed as they stayed there. The landlord in village was responsible for all kinds of hospitality to guest or stranger and to the person who request for asylum. However, due to economic development every house has now constructed their own Hujra known as baitak (Drawing room; composed of one room with or without open yard), which has dropped behind the role of common Hujra and nanawati. In group discussion, the respondents in both villages told that this structure of individual baitak has weakened the social networks in terms of controlling the law and order as well as collective decision process about the village protection and development. This study found that in early 2005 the militants were treated as guest and stranger but due to weak social networks and cohesion in and between villages the Taliban easily accommodated themselves in different parts either by force or through consent of some households.

Historically the Khans, who hold the most land in Swat, were socially and politically powerful, and the other groups such as small landowners and landless were politically dependent and remained as client of landlords. This formed a kind of political network between Khans and others, and persisted for centuries in Swat valley. The Taliban targeted the landlords and their Hujra at the very beginning to reduce their power but it was matter of honour for the Khans to protect their land and property, and they resisted against the militant. According to Barth (1981), the protection of land, women and the subordinate is the responsibility of Pukhtoon man, and if he fails to maintain, then this would mean he has lost honour (*Ghayrat*) in society, which reduces his political network and authority. The landlords interviewed told that Taliban succeeded to some extent to break this political networks between Khan and tenants and other dependent groups by motivating them through slogans of equal

distribution of land and other incentives such as payment of PKR 10,000 – 15,000 (100 to 150$) per month to a young man who join the militant group. Over to these, many of the Khans left the area due to low government control and personal securities, which further weakened their political and social networks in their respective localities. The militants established their own centers controlling the decisions process about the villages' social and political matters including development interventions.

## 4.1 Effects on Jirga System

Jirga, one of the key tenets of Pukhtoonwali across Pakistan and Afghanistan, has been used as tool in Pukhtoon belt to maintain law and order in society, and according to Ahmad (1980) crucial to regulate life and resolve conflict through decisions ranging from local clan level to regional and from minor to larger issues between tribes. Since 2005, the Taliban motivations through FM radio for imposing of Islamic sharia, establishment of parallel courts and attacking the Hujra, Jirga as well as government institutions has highly fragmented the functioning of collective decisions and counselling in Swat. Although, in Swat, the Jirga worked as an informal institution which not only undertakes conflict and dispute resolutions but selected the king (Wali) of Swat as ruler in 1917, and structured a strong social network through forming Lashkars (group of local people) to protect Swat and combat militant, external raiders or robbers. The Jirga played the role as judicial institution, for example the document of customary law (Riwaj Nama), developed during the Wali period is consisted of some of the decisions made by Jirga members throughout Swat. The decisions taken in Jirga were mainly based on customary laws and Islamic law, and the Jargeez (those who conducting Jirga) have been given the legislative authority in Pukhtoonwali (Ahmad, 1980; Yousafzai and Gohar 2005). However, later on, the Wali of Swat decreased the role of the Jirga through the establishment of formal institutions. According to key informants, the role of Jirga pertaining to law and order in society was almost transformed and practiced at village level only for resolution of minor family disputes.

Second factor, which hindered the holding of a grand Jirga against the militancy, was threats and killing of local leaders by militants. The Khans who tried to control Taliban through national (qoomi) Jirga and form lashkar were threatened and killed – only a few of them but none of the other members dared to protest openly against the Taliban- even the government police department was helpless (HRCP, 2010). A Jirga member told that 'efforts were made to establish a qoomi level Jirga in 2007, to hold a meeting with provincial Chief Minister, Governor and also the President of Pakistan to

resolve the conflict peacefully and to form lashkar to control the Taliban but remained unsuccessful because of the lack of trust and weak social network among different clans'. Moreover, the government law enforcing agencies including army resisted against the holding of qoomi Jirga and Lashkar due to security reasons as well as to avoid human losses.

However, during our fieldwork, we found the functioning of Jirga in slightly different perspective. I will quote example of two prominent Jirga established during and after the conflict crisis. The 'Swat Qoomi Jirga', informally headed by Zahid Khan as there is no formal appointed or selected head and the second is 'Qoomi Aman Jirga' (national council for peace) headed by Inam-ur Rehman. The former is broader and represent the whole Swat while the latter is limited to the town of Kanju and surrounding areas. The purpose of Swat Qoomi Jirga as told by Zahid Khan during interview, was to bring peace to the Swat valley and maintain peace talk between Taliban and provincial government of KPK as well as army officials. However, after crisis, he told that 'we held a Jirga in 2010, in which more than 200 individuals from various part of Swat participated. But due to resistance from government security forces and fear from Taliban, the Jirga did not discuss the conflict issues, while it focused on issues of development and proper utilization of humanitarian aid/funds given by a numbers of foreign countries and donors to the affected Swati people. However, in past the Jirga had the power to implement any kind of decision because of strong social relations and trust among different clans, which are highly lacking at present.

The Swat Peace Jirga, according to Inam-ur-Rehman, was formed to resolve minor disputes in the town and helped the police and courts in reconciliation between opposite groups. But later the jurisdiction of the Jirga was extended to other parts of the Swat. However, what we found through different sources that this Jirga has been supported by security forces and used as partners for maintaining peace in the area. This Jirga also face the same problem of decision-making power, however, the head of Jirga told that they have extended their links in other villages for utilization of development funds. A teacher in Qambar village told that these Jirga are rarely held in a Hujra, instead arranged in hotel or schools. The Hujra of Khans is now used for political activities instead of its role of socialization or for gathering of the villagers for peace and dispute resolution.

The novel aspect of these Jirga is women's representation, as in past there was no such evidence of women participation in Jirga and even they could not present their cases directly to Jirga's men. The member of the Swat Aman Jirga told that women has been given representation keeping in view the gender boundaries and to facilitate the women to easily access and present their cases to woman

members. Similarly, the first women's Jirga has been established in Swat, which is supported by a number of NGOs and government for the right of women and the first meeting was held in Mingora in July 2013 (Jang, 2013). This can be termed as women social network, which aims to raise voices for women rights and issues in swat valley. This above example reveals that the role of Jirga system along with maintaining the law and order in society can be used in rehabilitation and reconstruction development interventions as a tool of participatory method.

Another impact of the conflict on the informal setup was the establishment of Village Defense Committees (VDCs) by government security forces and village development committees or organizations established by NGOs for implementation of development projects interventions. Security forces select the members of defense committees and their main task is to share information with law enforcement agencies regarding militant and to help the army in cordoning off some areas in time of needs (HRCP, 2010). While the development committee has to dealt with decisions on projects interventions through collaboration of NGOs. These affected the role of informal village committees; such as mosque, forest/agri land resources, funeral activities and other communal issues in terms of social relations and cooperation. The members of defense committee interviewed in several villages, complained that the security forces in Swat did not support them in time of need, and therefore, since 2009 more than 30 defense committees members have been attacked and killed by Taliban (Rehman, 2014).

However, we observed in both villages that the representation in these committees was different than that in past, for example, in past the informal committees were run by landlord or Syed family members but the new committees are rarely headed by landlord and there is representation from middle class. These committees have contributed in developing new social networks and motivated men and women to participate in development interventions and decisions making at village level, although their dependency for decision making on formal institutions increased. For example, the defense committees are totally depend on army and police for security issues, while for development activities, the development committees are dependent on NGOs and sometime relevant government departments. However, due to fragmentation among various social and ethnic groups, each group is trying to establish their own committee to receive more humanitarian aid from Government and NGOs, and there is lack of collective actions.

## 4.2. Fragmentation in Social Relations

As stated earlier that before the conflict, interaction between neighbors' households and between men and women was frequent as women freely move to other neighbours or relatives houses during leisure time. Similarly men were regularly setting in common Hujra of village and this was a source of socialization where they share to resolve their common issues and to help with each other at the time of need. This phenomenon of conflict and displacement has highly affected such social relations and according to respondents in village Qambar, the social relations and cooperation between the households of Khans, tenants and other external residents (non-Swati) has been fragmented while participation in the marriages and funeral ceremonies remained ritual and the social sympathies for each other under Pukhtoonwali has gone out. According to Ex-Nazim (Mayor) 'the conflict created distrust among villagers because of hidden affiliation of people with either group; Taliban or Pakistan security forces including army, and this has fragmented the social relations even between the brothers and close relatives'. However, in village Paklea, the effect on social relations and cooperation was found a little different, and this may be due to low displacement or non-direct interventions by Taliban. There was support to Taliban among different groups, but a professor in college said that this does not mean that the whole family may be segregated from the social set up or may be expelled from village. In both villages, it was revealed through group discussions that tenant households who supported Taliban during conflict did not return after displacement due to fear that the local people may not cooperate with them or may expelled them again.

Another reason of fragmentation in social relation as told by poor class respondents; the noncooperation and non-provision of financial or social support by Khans during displacement and after return. They complained against Khans that they easily shifted to other cities of the country while left the poor families at the mercy of the militants, therefore, unintentionally they supported the militant network which has affected the social and political affiliations between Khans and other ethnic groups. Similarly, availing of new work opportunities by male members of tenants and other lower groups during displacement and after return also affected the households' relations as their dependency on Khans reduced. This lack of cooperation and affiliation has reduced the political control of the Khan and Syed families and new political groups emerged particularly among the young generation confronting the traditional hierarchies in the Swat valley.

One example of the fragmentation of political affiliation can be found from the 2013 parliamentary election of Pakistan, where a new political party –Pakistan TehrikInsaff (PTI), won all the three national assembly seats and five out of six provincial assembly seats and the old rival, Awami National Party, won only one seat from upper Swat. This may be because of the candidate close personal affiliation with his constituency since 1990s and may be that this constituency was not highly affected by conflict and there was only up to 30 percent displacement. There might be many other factors but what we observed and told by our respondents that the previous parliamentary members did not support their constituencies and they were left in chaos during conflicts.

## 4.3. Effects on Gender Relations

Anthropologists like Barth, Ahmed and Dupree often link the purdah and namoos (gender boundaries) with defense of women honour and as tools used by men to control women social and their sexual behaviors, however, men are also bounded by the same norms of namoos and restricted to step in the spaces reserved for women. Women seclusion and segregation come under the code of purdah (veil)  specifying the boundaries between men and women physical space and purdha is considered as the sign of dignity for men and women in Pukhtoon culture (Orakzai, 2007). In Swat, the norms of namoos and purdha are strictly followed, but with varying practices among the Khans/Syed families and other groups in Swat particularly relating to women mobility.

Before Taliban entrance, women and girls in Swat were encouraged to go to schools and do jobs particularly in professions like teaching in educational institutions and as health workers. Few of the households found that their women were working in other government department like administration, banks and NGOs as well as private industries. However, we observed that the patriarchal structure of the Pukhtoonwali oppose women involvement in private sector and NGOs, not only in Swat but in the whole rural areas of KPK and FATA, and termed this as 'inappropriate for Muslim and Pukhtoon women to obtain modern education as they could become westernized' (Orakzai, 2011:12). Such type of mindset is still there and Taliban used this patriarchal interpretation of religion and culture frameworks to justify the confinement of women within the four walls of home and to their traditional roles in the reproductive sphere. The government and NGOs official told that majority of the men did not resist against the Taliban banning of women and girls from education, jobs and mobility because of the patriarchal structure of society. However, beating of women publically and killing of innocent men and women was the matter of honour for Pukhtoon. Therefore, Swati people supported the army operation against the Taliban.

In the beginning, when the militants spreading their strength in Swat, cleverly motivated women through FM radio messages and encouraged them to make direct calls to Taliban leaders about women issues, and this provided an opportunity to women to discuss their matters with leaders, a government official told. We found that some of the women matters relating to property rights and other families issues were quickly resolved to get support of the women. But when the Taliban become powerful and occupied major parts in Swat, they started to confine women to their houses and forbidden to go out without agnatic relatives and veil for shopping in market or even medical treatment (HRCP, 2010). Women access to education was restricted by blasting and burning of almost 70% girls' schools, and this has highly affected the growth rate of the girls' education in Swat. Although, Swat was amongst the leading districts of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province in terms of boys' and girls' primary enrolment ratio 92% and 75% (EDSR, 2008). Similarly more than 8000 women teachers and hundreds of lady health workers were left without jobs which deteriorated the economic condition of the number of household particularly of women headed households. Organizations like Aurat Foundation, KhindoKor and other local NGOs opposed the militants' slogans on banning women from jobs and education, however, Taliban were strong enough to enforce their decisions. Similarly, the government of Pakistan and national and international media publicized women issues like bombing of girls schools, restricting mobility, imposing purdha and lastly the flogging of young girl[5] in Swat that was one of the most turning points to carry out army operation against the militants and to get support of the international communities.

The internal displacement also affected the social cultural values of purdah and social relations among women. The respondent who displaced during conflict told that environment in the form of weather as well as cultural was very difficult for women and children to adjust as the situation in camps was not gendered and women specific needs were neglected. Women respondents told that they were restricted in camps and there was lack of purdha, privacy arrangement and social protection as well as food problems as men and women were very dependent on government food provision system. A female NGO official said, 'The women living in camps and schools faced isolation as women perform a number of domestic works at home and interact with relatives and neighbours but these activities were totally disturbed'.

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[5]Flogging of girl by Taliban in Swat can be found on http://www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/news/2009/05/090527_obj_pakistan_nh_sl.shtml accessed date June 19, 2014

According to an elite person, 'Taliban and then government of Pakistan army operation has buried the values of namoos and purdah, and our women have been exposed to general public which has deep psychological imprints on women's mind'.

Nevertheless, the militancy conflict and displacement have some positive impacts on people of Swat. The respondents in both villages told that the direct interaction of the NGOs and government officials during displacement and after return motivated men and women and now they are taking part in NGOs activities particularly of skills and vocational trainings. Secondly women have also been motivated for self-help particularly women headed households who suffered more during crisis from economic hardship, as Bari (2010) state that due to the loss of family income, the burden on poor people with little or no cash income increased, particularly for mothers who were restricted to their traditional roles. One of the Lady Health Worker/Visitor (LHW/V) in Madyan stated 'In 2008-09, because of ban from Taliban, many of our LHW/Vs restricted their visits to other villages, which significantly reduced the monthly income of their households as well as their social interactions. Currently there are no such restrictions and the network of our services spread; those LHWs who left their jobs due to threats from the Taliban, have now rejoined but perform hesitantly'.

Similarly, the rehabilitation and reconstruction interventions of government of Pakistan and NGOs, which focused on gender empowerment of marginalized people, have given an opportunity to both men and women to access the resources. For example in the beginning women could not come to the queues for collecting food in camps but later they stood in queues for collection of food items and other goods distributed by NGOs in spite of cultural restriction on women mobility. A Khan in Odigram, during informal discussion told that,' the radio speeches of Fazlullah about women rights in Islam raised awareness among women and they took their cases to Taliban courts about their rights in property, where the cases were fairly decided in favor of women'. Further, establishment of free desk in courts to facilitate women and to increase their access to judicial courts through NGOs advocacy programs for women's rights, have affected the social fabric and women have begun to claim their rights in land and other properties. However, in past, women in Swat rarely own land and there were very few cases of property claim by women in courts. We observed that among NGOs and government officials this can be considered a positive change that after the conflict women feel the sharing of economic burden and participating in livelihood activities along with men. It is encouraging that women are coming out of houses for receiving the food items and other incentives like monthly cash cards, and participating in the NGOs and government development projects.

Nevertheless, differentiation remains in social relations and class hierarchy between the Khans/Syed groups and other occupational groups. The militancy conflict affected such hierarchies as the militant target the Khans to slacken their control over the local people and resources. Such slogan motivated some of the tenants and other poor households to support Taliban in the hope that after control on Swat, they might get some part of land and authority of the Khan will be ended. Nonetheless, Taliban could not succeed in their dreams; however, the greed aroused among poor households against Khans not only affected the homogeneity and cooperation but also affected the social system of Pukhtoonwali that have been followed since centuries.

### Conclusion

The Swat valley, a Pukhtoon ethnic society was converted into a hub of militancy conflict during 2007-2009 followed by military operations, which caused internal displacement of over a million people. The research investigates that how militancy conflict and displacement affected the social and cultural system of pukhtoonwali, which the local people claimed that in past the practices of Pukhtoonwali played effective role in maintaining peace, homogeneity and unity in society through their social networks. However, the historical, social and political consequences like amalgamation of Swat state with government of Pakistan bureaucratic system and further institutional reforms and economic development have changed the customary laws, and put the role of Hujra, Jirga, malamstia, in transition. During intrusion of Taliban in Swat, the social network system under Pukhtoonwali was already very weak and there was lack of trust among different groups in terms of cooperation, support and collective confronting. The non-conducting of a Qoomi Jirga to defy the valley against the militant and non-unity under one leadership are the examples of weak social network. Orally all Pukhtoon believe in these tenets of Pukhtoonwali but actually they are rarely practiced.

The continued political and economic dominancy of the landlords and inequalities in terms of resources distribution and access among different groups widened the gaps of social and political cooperation among different groups. The motivations towards Islamic system, equal distribution of resources and establishment of parallel centers (courts) by Taliban; for decisions making on all types of civil and criminal cases, have provided opportunity to marginalized classes to support the militants' network in anticipation to get their rights. Moreover, the militants challenged the government writ and informal institutions through kidnapping, torturing and brutal killing of innocent people particularly the security personal and local leaders. The banning of women from

education and jobs reversed the progress made in social and cultural system within pukhtoonwali towards women equality and empowerment. All these consequences have left stern impacts on social, cultural and economic structure of society.

Nevertheless, it is difficult to say that the militancy conflict has delinked the social and cultural system of the Pukhtoonw*ali* from its basic functioning. However, it can be argued that if the militancy conflict and displacement on one side disturbed the socio-cultural network of men and women, then on the other hand it has also developed new networks and raised awareness by provision of opportunities for revisiting the cultural system in a democratic and modern way. The establishment of Qoomi Jirga and women Jirga after the conflict are the examples of such efforts, which encouraged both men and women to reorganize and strengthen their network not only to bring peace in society but also take initiative for the development of Swat valley. The government securities agencies and NGOs have directly approached and supported these Jirga committees for the purpose of peace and implementation of development interventions. Further, it can be inferred that Pukhtoonwali is not as rigid as communicated in literature and media but rather the dynamic aspects as presented in Khudai Khidmatgar Tehreek have always been ignored. There is flexibility in cultural values for women's mobility and their access to education, health services, jobs and property rights. Keeping in view the broader goals of development theory, the researcher suggests that the social and cultural network system like Jirga can be revisited as a source for peace, reconciliation and development in conflicted affected developing societies.

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**Paper IV**

**Elahi, N. (2015). Constraints in Applying Participatory Development Strategies: An Analysis of Development Projects and Humanitarian Aid in northwest Pakistan**

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**Abstract**

This research investigates the constraints and challenges of applying a participatory approach to development projects in pre- and post-crisis of Swat valley Pakistan. The research reveals how political, cultural, bureaucratic and institutional constraints affected the goals of participatory development in terms of empowerment, gender equality and better projects outcomes. Moreover, this paper examines how the crisis and the prolonged relief and rehabilitation interventions have subverted the concept of participatory development. Indeed, the evidence shows that the top-down approach of the government institutions and the target-oriented approach among NGOs, hindered the equal distribution of humanitarian aid among poor and marginalized people.

Key words: Constraints, Participatory development, Pre and post crisis, Development project, Humanitarian aid

## 1.    Introduction

In late 1980s, world development strategies began to include civil societies in community development projects. The process was supported by a new method known as participatory rural appraisal (PRA), which was recognized as a powerful means of enabling formerly marginalized local people to participate  in development projects (Chambers, 2012). The academic and organizational support for greater utilization of local people's perspectives, knowledge and skills presented an alternative to donor driven development, and was rapidly adopted by individuals and organizations (Cook and Kothari, 2001). The World Bank for instance, (1999) saw participation as an effective way to encourage locals to take ownership of development projects, bring long-term attention to human rights issues, improve the sustainability of programs and help make development projects more results orientated. .

However, the participatory approach to development has been criticized from several quarters.  For instance, Cleaver (1999:597) argues that 'there is little evidence of the long-term effectiveness of participation materially improving the conditions of the most vulnerable people as a strategy for social change'. Meanwhile, Chambers (1997) argues that several key questions relating to participation: "Who participates, for whose empowerment and for whose knowledge?" remain unanswered.  On a practical level, several researchers (Chambers, 1997, Cleaver, 2001, Mohan and Stokke, 2000; Kothari, 2001) have drawn attention to the constraints facing participatory development projects: the top down colonial-structured bureaucracy, traditional cultural, class differentiation, ownership and access issues to natural resources, and imposed external policies as well as the issue of external agents. The prevailing political, cultural and ethnic issues in developing countries, which in some cases predominantly control the economic and political powers, thus affecting public participation in long-term development initiatives in order to preserve their traditional political authority (El-Gack, 2007).

Building on this research agenda, this paper focuses on the social and cultural constraints in the planning and implementation of participatory development projects. Specifically, it investigates that what types of constraints the government, donors and Non-Government Organizations (NGOs) faced in pre- and post-crisis development of Swat valley of northwestern Pakistan. The paper also discuss about the perceptions of the local people about the NGOs and their approaches to community. Drawing on existing research into participatory development in pre- and post-crisis, a comparative analysis of the cultural, political and organizational constraints in participatory development is carried out to illuminate that how these constraints affected the outcomes of the

participatory development in terms of efficiency, empowerment of marginalized classes and the equal distribution of development projects' benefits.

The paper first discusses the development projects in northwest Pakistan before an outlining the consequences of the conflict crisis aroused in the Swat region. The section 1.3 critically discusses the theoretical underpinnings of participatory development. Section 2 describes about the study area and the research methods applied in this research. Section 3 discusses the constraints affecting participatory development projects in pre-and post-crisis of Swat Valley. The paper ends with a discussion of how better application of participatory development practices and in intervention of projects can contribute to achievement of the goals of gender empowerment and equal distribution of benefits among marginalized classes. The research thus aims to provide knowledge to policy makers and development practitioners on how socio-cultural and political constraints can be tackled, particularly in post-crisis rehabilitation and reconstruction phases.

## 1.1. The development projects in northwest Pakistan

In this research, development project means the projects that have been funded by international donors and have a clearly defined set of objectives, activities, to be carried out within a stipulated budget and time period. Since the 1990s, the Government of Pakistan (GoP) with the support of international donors[1] has planned and implemented a number of development projects in the North-west province of Pakistan. Under the poverty reduction strategy of 2003, the government of Pakistan made further commitment to participation-based community development projects (World Bank, 2004). Some of the prominent projects like Barani Area Development Projects (I and II), Pakistan Poverty Alleviation Funds, Community Infrastructure Projects (CIP-I and II), and Forestry Sector Program, which adopted the participatory development strategies for their interventions. The projects specifically implemented in the Swat valley include Kalam Integrated Development project, Malakand Social Forestry Project, Community Infrastructure Projects, Promoting Horticulture Project and Malakand Rural Development Project (MRDP). The evaluation and completion reports of these projects reveals the application of participatory development strategies and involvement of complex collaborations between government departments and NGOs, known as implementing partners (IP).

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[1]Donors refer to World Bank (WB), International Monitory Fund (IMF), Asian Development Bank (ADB) and international organizations like UNDP, Oxfam, DFID, SDC, USAID, IUCN etc.
[2] Some of these projects implemented directly by national and international NGOs such as Swiss Development Corporation, International Union for Conservation of Natural resources, Sarhad Rural Support Program (SRSP), Save the Children (UK), International Labour Organization. Meanwhile some projects collaborated with local NGOs like Environmental Protection Society (EPS), Lasoona, Hujra, and Caravan.

These projects had broadly similar aims:  to reduce poverty, empower rural communities, strengthen institutional capacities, and improve gender equality in accessing projects interventions. This paper focuses on two projects, MRDP (2001-2008) and CIP-II (2001-2007) from pre-crisis period (2001-2007) to find out what types of constraints the organizations (government, IPs and the project units) faced from the community side and among themselves in implementation of project interventions and application of participatory development strategies.

## 1.2. The Consequences of Crises

The words crisis and crises has been used to denote the consequences of the conflict between 2007 and 2009, and flood disaster of 2010 in Swat valley of Pakistan. A crisis is an unstable or crucial time or state of affairs in which a decisive change is impending due to manmade or natural calamity. As such, "crises" captures well both   Pakistan's militancy conflict and military operations against the militants (2007-2009) and the flood disaster of 2010. The intrusion of the Taliban in Swat's society in 2005 followed by the government military operation "Rah-e-Rast"[3] (straight path) to oust the militants from the Swat area, in 2009, caused internal displacement of over two million people from the Malakand region (World Bank and ADB, 2009). The internally displaced peoples (IDPs) were returning to their homes and the process of relief and rehabilitation was in progress when a devastating flood in 2010, the worst in the history of Pakistan, created a new crisis that hindered the earlier progress of reconstruction in Swat valley (Elahi, Nyborg and Bahadar, 2015).

These crises changed the needs, priorities and strategies of the organizations involved in development projects from a routine development initiative towards relief, rehabilitation and reconstruction of the affected population during and after the crises. We refer these relief, rehabilitation and resettlement period as post crises humanitarian aid interventions. The question arise how the needs and priorities of people as well as organizations constrained the concept of participatory development strategies. Focusing on the Government departments and NGOs collaborative interventions, this research investigates the institutional and community related constraints faced by the humanitarian organizations during the implementation of humanitarian aid interventions.

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[3] Rah-e-Rast, a cleanup operation launched by the Pakistan's Army against the militant to regain the control of Malakand division particularly Swat from terrorists and militants, started in early May 2009 and ended in September 2009.

### 1.3 Understanding Participatory Development

Participatory development began during the colonial period and has since followed in the form of devolution of power and resources from national to local authorities (Hickey and Mohan, 2005).

British researchers like Chambers (1983, 1997) and development schools like IDS, Sussex etc. voiced participatory perspectives and influenced a shift in general policy approaches in the development sector. Terms like "participation", "empowerment", "decentralization", became popular in the development circles. Participation was recognized as required tool for empowering people, utilizing the indigenous knowledge, improving efficiency of interventions during implementation, monitoring and evaluation, and supporting sustainability measures (Hickey and Mohan, 2005). Since then international development organizations and bilateral aid agencies started to search for more people-oriented development approaches (Brohman, 1996). This led to the process of participatory development being increasingly adopted by development agencies, which sought to decentralize decisions-making and focus on local empowerment (Chambers 1997, Freidmann 1992).

The term "participation" is derived from Latin meaning to 'take part in' and usually refers to sharing the governance of activities within a group of people. In development, this can imply sharing governance within or between a family, kinship, local community, NGO, CBO, the private sector, civil society and also political and bureaucratic bodies at different level (Chambers 1997). For Cleaver (1999), the theory of participatory approaches are reflected through the efficiency argument as a tool, which focus on achieving better project outcomes, and equity and empowerment argument as process, which focuses on enhancing the capacity of individual to improve or facilitate social change in their lives. Further participation improves the efficiency, equality and empowerment of local people and organizations, which may contribute to the regional and global socio-economic development (Chambers, 1997). Hickey and Mohan (2004) argue in favor of more a reflected or critical approach to participation and suggest relocating participation within citizenship analysis. These arguments, would situate participation within a broader range of socio-political practices, and allow the expression of agency through which people can extend their status and rights as member of particular political communities and thus increase their control over socio-economic resources.

In this research, participatory approach to development is understood as the tools and means through which the poor and marginalized classes are involved in the planning, implementation and monitoring of development projects, which can contribute to improve their living conditions and access to livelihood resources. However, problems arise while applying participatory development,

for example when participation is treated as a technical method of project work to achieve the physical targets of the project rather than as political methodology of empowerment (Cleaver, 1999, Carmen, 1996). This research attempts to understand how such problems have been confronted in participatory development interventions in northwestern Pakistan.

## 2. Study area and methodology:

The Swat valley was an independent state from 1917 until 1969, when it merged with Pakistan as settled district of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK)[4] province. The district lies in the remote northern part of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province at a distance of 265 km from Islamabad and about 150 km from Peshawar, the provincial capital. The total area of the district is 5,065 Sq.km with a population of around 1.7 million. A significant number of ethnic groups reside in Swat, including Pukhtoon[5] (Yousafzai, the major dominant group), Miangan, Kohistani, Gujjars, and Sikh minorities. The Swat district borders Buner and Malakand districts to the south, Lower and Upper Dir districts to the west, and Chitral and Gilgit to the north. The Swat valley experiences the hierarchies in social and ethnic classes particularly among the Pukhtoon (mainly the landlords) and others as mentioned above. Overall, Pukhtoon dominate the social and political system due to land holding and ownership in the land based resources (Ahmad, 1980; Barth, 1981; Rome, 2008). The local people of Swat share a common cultural system popularly known as pukhtoonwali (a code of ethics), Pushto/Pukhto language -the dominant one- and history regardless of their ethnic and tribal background (Fleishner, 2011). However, pukhtoonwali has been described as gender discriminatory code, where women are rarely involved in productive activities outside the households (Taj, 2011; Ali, 2012). Women in Swat have limited access to management of natural resources, livelihoods, ownership and in the majority cases, women are set aside on the back step of development processes (Barth 1985, Ahmad 1980).

### 2.1 Research Methods

This study used purposive sampling for the selection of the respondents and households for interviews in the study area.

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[4] Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK) is one of the four provinces in Pakistan formerly known as North West Frontier Province (NWFP) lies in the Northwestern part of Pakistan, is home to the majority Pukhtoon's ethnic group.
[5] According to Encyclopedia Britannica (2014), 'Pashtun, also spelled Pushtun or Pukhtun, Pakhtoon, Pathan, Persian Afghan, Pashto-speaking people residing primarily in the region that lies between the Hindu Kush in northeastern Afghanistan and the northern stretch of the Indus River in Pakistan. In this paper the term Pukhtoon is used to make it easy for understanding.

According to Patton, (1990), purposeful sampling is a strategy in which particular settings, persons, or events are selected deliberately in order to provide important information that cannot be gotten from other choices. This research is based on both primary sources, collected through fieldwork conducted during the period of August-December 2012, and again in September to December 2013, and secondary sources. The Primary data was collected by applying qualitative methods including structured/semi-structured interviews of 36 male and 14 female from the two selected villages: Paklea of Union Council (UC) Madyan from upper Swat, and Qamabr of UC Qambar from lower Swat. Besides these, seven government employees from Agriculture, Forest, Local Government, health and education departments, and eight NGO officials including four female employees, were interviewed to authenticate the information about development projects and share their experiences.

In addition, eight key informants including local activists, social science researchers, Ex-employees of CIP and MRDP projects, and academics professionals who had knowledge of both local culture and development practices were selected from other part such as Mingora city, said sharif, Kanju and Islampur of the Swat valley. I had discussions with both external (nonresident of Swat) and internal (local resident of Swat) employees of NGOs and government officials in order to further explore different experiences and perspectives. In addition, I held four focus groups: two per village, one with male participants and one with female participants. This enabled the further acquisition of reliable data about the social and cultural issues affecting the participation of the local people in the development projects. In addition, informal discussions with community members including landlords, farmers, tenants, shopkeepers, hotel owners, political and social welfare activists were held during my stays at various places of Swat.

## 3. Constraints in implementation of participatory development programs

This section analyses the constraints faced by the organizations and government departments in application of participatory development strategies in planning and implementation of the MRDP and CIP-II projects interventions during 2002-2008.

The documents of the MRDP and CIP projects – such as quarterly progress reports, midterm reviews and completion reports (see references for detail)—were supposed to implement their interventions through collaborating with government departments, local NGOs and village organizations (VO) or citizens community boards (CCB). Village organizations are those established by NGOs while CCBs were established under local government system 2001-02, and were supported by CIP project in a number of districts in KPK province. These projects documents illustrate a numbers of cultural, political and religious constraints in participatory development faced by the government

departments, national and international NGOs and the community itself. The SCIP-II project completion report (2010) highlighted some of the constraints on the participation of local community. For example, first the program suffered from a lack of coordination between a wide range of line departments, second lack of experienced staff were either unavailable or unwilling to participate in the social organization units (SOUs) of project, and third the political interference resulting in substandard recruitment of staff and lastly weak accountability mechanisms. However, we noted that these reports have not examined in detail the cultural, ethnic and local political aspects due to evaluator's lack of access to the respective communities. Thus, I focused mainly on cultural, political as well as organizational constraints that influenced the goals of participatory development.

## 3.1. Constraints in community organizations and mobilizations

Successful community mobilization is vital to participatory development projects as Cleaver (2001) states; participation depends upon the realization amongst participants that their involvement is for their own benefit. In both villages, I asked questions such as 'How have the village committees or CCBs been formed?", "Who participated?" and "What were the challenges in the formation of VOs/CCBs?" The respondents, who were the members of VOs or CCBs, stated that it was difficult to form a representative committee in village because of ethnic diversity and differentiation in social relations among households. Traditionally the local landlords dominate the committees and they select their allies to the VOs in order to ensure, they receive the benefits of the project. For example in Paklea, the CIP-II project implemented an infrastructure scheme of street pavement, a sewerage system and water supply. The respondents in the village said that the local government contracted the scheme to Nazim (Mayor) of Madyan and his allies, who have carried out these activities. No ordinary men from the village was involved in the committee except as working labour. The Ex-Nazim[6] of the Madyan UC accepted that there was CCB but he qualified that it is difficult to motivate all the villagers to follow one agenda; therefore, the local leaders had always taken decisions. The SCIP-II completion report (2010) revealed that the establishment of CCBs was to support institutional changes in the grass roots local organizations and leadership, however, the leadership in CCBs is invariably formed by traditional community leaders, who hold sway in local decision making.

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[6] LGO 2001, policy document: Nazims, Naib Nazim, Councilor are the name used for elected members at Union Council (compose of 5-10 villages) through LGO electoral process in the hierarchy of Head, Deputy and member

Local activists and key informants in Paklea and Qambar explained that establishment of women's committees was (and sometimes still is) a big challenge, since it is not usual in Pukhtoon culture for women to be involved in activities outside of the home. A government official and an ex-employee of MRDP project explained that before the crisis, cultural, religious, security constraints were dominant. Taliban Propaganda against NGOs, which labelled them as agents of the West; working against the culture and religion, was at its peak between 2005 and 2009. Therefore, people were reluctant to accept the formation of women committees and their participation in development activities. However, sometimes to fulfill the NGOs' funding requirements for the interventions, 'by name women committees'-the committee establish in paper mainly composed of women from some male committee's households and entirely dependent on male members for operation and work- a female social organizer in NGO explained. She stated, culturally women are not allowed to form a committee as it is difficult to gather women at one common house in village because of social and ethnic differentiation. On contrary, the male key informants in both villages highlighted that people were willing to accept and support elderly women's involvement in project interventions but were skeptical of women staff, as the majority of them were considered to not belong to Swat and sometimes the behavior of these fieldworkers was thought to be culturally unacceptable (Elahi, Nyborg and Nawab, 2015).

Another problem we observed in the process of community organization was participation for incentives. One of the key informants said that sometimes the organizers (NGO workers) motivated people at planning stage through describing the benefits of the projects, which aroused individual interest. However, upon failing to fulfill the promises made, the people hesitate to participate in future projects. Thus, motivation for the sake of incentives, material and forming groups for predetermined objectives (Pretty, 1995) and if the material incentives turn out to be illusionary, may not achieve the goals of empowerment of the marginalized people in decisions making and gender equality.

## 3.2. Political interference

In Swat valley, the traditional leaders, known as landlords or Khans, maintained control over the land-based resources and decision-making on agricultural or forest activities and other social issues. Therefore, according to key informants the government and NGO officials seek the support of local leaders to carry out interventions on natural resources like land, forest, water and construction of small-scale infrastructure schemes. For example, any livelihood project intervention regarding agriculture, forestry, pasture management and fisheries, or infrastructure schemes could not be implemented without the consent of these landlords because of ownership issues. In case of

noninvolvement of landlords in VO, they are then in a position to hinder the formation of men and women organizations and the implementation of project interventions. In this way, the Khans control the VOs and ensure participation of their affiliated people instead of wider participation, an NGO official explained. Expanding on this point, an agricultural officer at SOU Madyan and an ex-project manager at PMU of the MRDP project reported during an interview that

> the selection of villages and establishment of community organizations under the MRDP projects were politicized, infrastructure schemes were contracted to relatives and political back village organizations; similarly selection of trainees were not transparent and many of candidates nominated by political leaders instead of the needy and interested candidates.

The research found that political involvement and influence of the then provincial and local government compromised both the neutrality and meritocracy of the process of selecting local NGOs and their staff. Similarly, the selection of villages for projects interventions and the contracting of community managed infrastructure schemes were politicized. The MRDP project report (2010) states that the SOUs were thus expected to organize the village men and women's organizations to serve the interest of both the community and ruling party. The foundations of the edifice so created were very weak, as the motive behind this effort was generally to serve private interests rather than community interests. Therefore, the purpose of the participation in terms of access to marginalized people and equal benefit sharing of the projects' activities was significantly undermined.

## 3.3. Constraints in women participation and issues in project design

As stated earlier, women in Swat are not allowed to participate in any kind of development interventions without male permission and nor do they have the authority to make decisions on any kind of activity outside the households. We observed that women in Swat, particularly in the lower part, are rarely involved in agricultural activities outside the household. We observed that women from families of Khans, Syed and Miagan are not involved due to cultural and religious values of honor and veil (a local cultural or religious restriction where women has to cover her body from head to toe if going outside the household). However, during field visits women in the upper Swat were found working in agricultural fields. A key informant reported that in upper parts, the Kohistani and Gujjars tribes are settled, and they allow their women to work in the field nearby their households. This does not means that these ethnic groups are not taking care of veil, but the geographical conditions and homogeneity in the villages allow women to work in agricultural fields.

I will quote two examples in reference to planning of projects and participation, which indicate how the project plans clashed with the social setup of people, and thus hindered the development goals.
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The MRDP agricultural support services was supposed to include women in a scheme that developed private fruit seedling nurseries, promoted e  horticulture, helped locals grow of various vegetables. . We found that, except in upper Swat, women were rarely involved in these activities particularly among Khan and Syed families. Second, women have no access to market and dealers for selling these products. Moreover, the majority of men and women trained for these activities were from tenants group, or the very least landholders who could not spare or don't have land for nurseries raising.  The progress reports of MRDP projects claim that hundreds of men and women have been trained and their socioeconomic conditions have been improved, but on the ground there is very little evidences of the continuity of such interventions, particularly among women. Even, the MRDP (2010) project completion report accepts that the project did not help develop fruit-seedling nurseries and promote women's horticultural activities as envisaged in the original design. Thus, this indicates that when designing the project, the local cultural aspects of Swat were not properly considered. Rather, the designers seem to have mistakenly generalized from women's involvement in agricultural activities in the rest of the province.

The second example is of CIP-II project about the establishment of women's CCBs to contribute to village-based infrastructure schemes of street pavement, drainage, irrigational channels. As state earlier, pukhtoonwali does not permit women to go to market to deals with retailers or purchase infrastructure related items and nor permit women to do manual labour outside the households. This would clearly indicate that women would not be able to implement these kinds of infrastructure project. Likewise, the same cultural values do not allow women to participate in male VOs to speak and make decisions regarding small-scale infrastructure scheme.

These examples illustrate that the projects were designed through a top-down bureaucratic approach, and that no participatory field surveys nor participatory planning or stakeholder-analysis had been applied. Therefore, the physical targets of the projects may be achieved but the goal of participatory development, poverty reduction and gender empowerment might not be.

### 3.4.    The issues of external agent and NGO

The term "external agent" in this research refers to a person, national or foreign who is working in an NGO. Meanwhile, sometimes local people refer to NGOs themselves as external agents who receive donors' money to propagate an agenda considered 'secular and contrary to culture'. Both

these notions of "external agent" found very threatening and thus acted as a constraint for participatory development between 2001 and 2008. According to local activists and NGO officials, such perceptions about NGOs and their workers significantly undermined the participation of both men and women in project interventions. The people were reluctant to participate in the activities of NGOs due to the threat posed by militant groups and lack of trust of the local people towards NGOs, particularly regarding the involvement of women. Therefore, the implementation strategies of both the projects changed where relevant departments like agriculture, forest, education, public health and tehsil municipal administration were involved in implementation of project interventions in collaboration with NGOs and the PMU. A key official in a national NGO in Swat stated that IPs also changed the strategy and started to enter community for social moralization as collaborative partner instead of using name of NGO. The main purpose was to build the capacity of the government departments and to reduce the threat to NGOs. However, as told by one ex-employee of MRDP, this shift itself became a hindrance, because of the limited capacity of government departments in participatory development and a lack of coordination and collaboration between PMU, government departments and IPs.

For example, the PMUs were responsible for coordination between the IPs and government departments, releases of funds and monitoring projects interventions, while the IPs were responsible for community organization, planning, capacity building of the staff of VOs/CCBs and also implementation of some interventions directly. While the government departments were responsible for implementing their respective activities, for example, for forestry activities the forest department was responsible. The interviews of various key informants revealed clashes and tension between the PMU and government departments and between the IPs and government departments. The official of one of the IPs of MRDP reported that the government bureaucratic system and political interference in the selection of villages as non-suitable for project interventions were the hurdle to actual participation. On the other hand government department officials viewed the IPs expertise in mobilization of communities as unsatisfactory because the committees established were not participatory and nor representative of the whole community. One Ex-employees of the MRDP project quoted in Pushto language,

> 'dero kasabano pa mainz ki ghwa murdaraigi' 'A cow dies without slaughter among many butchers', he explained that when there is too many representative and everyone is claiming their performance but no controlling authority, then the objectives of participation may not be achieved as there may be lack of trust on organizations.

In other words, the local organizational culture did not support effective coordination between key players like government, PMU, and IPs, particularly in terms of participatory development. The same problems repeated in application of humanitarian aid during crisis and in post crises development projects. A suggestion came mostly from NGOs officials that the PMU through local NGOs can overcome such constraints through direct implementation while the government relevant department may only be involved in planning and sharing of experiences.

## 4. Constraints in post crises rehabilitation and reconstruction interventions

Indeed, it was a difficult period for local people of Swat, the government and national/international humanitarian organizations to overcome the basic needs of the IDPs particularly during displacement and resettlement. This process of displacement and resettlement changed the priorities and strategies of the government and humanitarian organizations from that of routine development activities to relief, resettlement, rehabilitation, and lastly reconstruction. This section focused on the constraints faced by the government institutions and humanitarian organizations in implementation of rehabilitation and reconstruction projects. Further how these crises and change in strategies subverted participatory development.

## 4.1 Institutional complexities

The government of Pakistan established a Provincial, Reconstruction, Rehabilitation and Settlement Authority (PaRRSA) to coordinate the relief, rehabilitation and reconstruction (R&R) activities carried out by government and NGOs for IDPs. However, after the flood disaster in 2010, the government of Pakistan authorized PDMA to lead the R & R activities and PaRRSA was merged with the PDMA. International and national humanitarian organizations were obligated to register their organizations and projects with PDMA, and collect a "no objection" certificate (NOC) before entering Swat for carrying out interventions. On the other hand, the government of Pakistan and friendly nations such as UAE, Turkish, China, Saudi Arabia and Japan etc. funded projects for reconstructing of bridges, schools, hospitals, roads and other government buildings, which the army and other specialized government departments directly implemented. Many other international organizations channeled their funds to local implementing partners due to security reasons, while some of them, like USAID, implemented programs directly with the support of government respective departments. There were cases where government security agencies restricted the organizations' interventions to specific areas because of concerns about their links with militants. At the time of my field work, there were more than 100 registered NGOs (PDMA, 2012) involved

in small-scale village based infrastructure schemes (upto Rs. Million or 10,000 $), livelihood revival and skills development interventions.

The research reveals through a number of key informants that there was lack of coordination between government departments and NGOs, and among NGOs, regarding collective action planning, the selection of specific areas and affected communities. In the beginning, the PDMA did not allocate particular areas to NGOs for interventions, and everyone was implementing their interventions wherever they feel easy and comfortable. This led to duplication of activities in the same locality and with same beneficiaries. Therefore, the issues of transparency in the interventions of government, donors and NGOs were raised among affected population. In general, the government departments in Pakistan do not involve beneficiaries in the planning and implementation of projects, and instead use a bureaucratic or top down approach. While, in majority cases, International and National NGOs normally work more directly with the people and seek their contribution in identifying problems as well as the potential solutions (ODA, 1995). However, our analysis based on field experiences and discussion with government and NGOs official shows that the top-down approach of the government departments in distribution of relief and rehabilitation items and implementation of projects changed the mind of people toward direct access of project benefits. Similarly, the competition among local and national NGOs for completion of projects within stipulated time and motive to get more funds from donors reduced the chances of people participation. According to NGOs officials, administrative and political interference particularly during the relief and rehabilitation phase also hindered the people's participation. Thus, the perceptions of people changed towards receiving direct projects' interventions instead of following the participatory process.

## 4.2    Local Perception on constraints in participatory development

According to officials of the local NGOs like SRSP, HUJRA, EPS and Caravan, the participatory strategies have not been applied to the relief, rehabilitation and even reconstruction interventions. A very common perception observed among the NGOs and government departments that the prolonged relief and rehabilitation interventions such as distribution of food items, provision of shelter, health facilities and cash grants for three-six months during displacement and resettlement, and their implementation without application of participatory strategies changed the intentions of people as well as organizations. This indicates that national organizations currently face problems in encouraging softer activities such as community participation.  These may be due to many factors, however, the respondents in both villages and other areas prioritized various constraints on

participation from the highest to the lowest. Figure 1, shows the major constraints in participatory development in post crises period.

**Figure: 1, Constraints in implementation of development projects' interventions and participation in post crisis Swat**
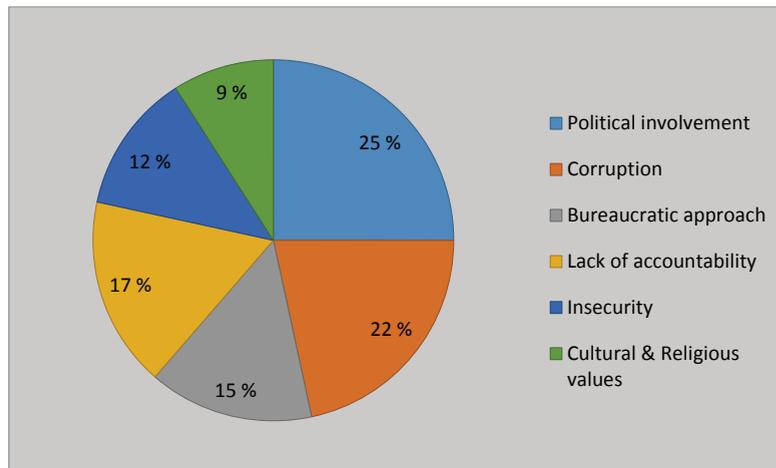


The political involvement as explained in section 3.2 ranks as the biggest constraint in the post-crises development scenario. The political forces influence the hiring of staff in both government and NGO projects. They respondents qualified that political leaders and civil bureaucrats due to their mutual financial interest and social affiliation use resources in the form of give and take. For example, the contracts for the infrastructure schemes are awarded to politically affiliated and civil department supported contractors while excluding ordinary people. This indicate a kind of corruption and lack of transparency in equal access to project interventions between various ethnic and social groups as well between men and women. Thus, such problem afflict the majority of the development interventions, since there was little or no participatory process. During group discussion, it was revealed that after the crises billions of rupees arrived in Swat for the purpose of livelihood rehabilitation and reconstruction, but so far, except the construction of a few bridges and schools, little visible development has been seen. While both the government and NGOs claim to have spent millions of rupees, however, we observed very little checks and balances on their activities. Indeed, local people have not been involved in any kind of monitoring of the projects, particularly in government sponsored or supported projects.

Insecurity in terms of threat from militants to NGOs and their workers remained a constraint on implementation of projects particularly by international NGOs. However, we observed that majority

of respondents in both villages see NGOs as friendlier, more accessible and less corrupt than government institutions, and appreciated their direct support to poor and marginalized classes during the displacement and resettlement. To some extent, this direct interaction of NGOs with affected population revived the trust of people towards NGOs. Therefore, Cultural and religious restriction on women participation and the perceptions about NGOs as western agents were perceived to be the least significant constraint in post crises development. However, some respondents indicated, there is still a sensitivity towards cultural values, particularly among the landlords, and this may be to maintain their political and ethnic superiority they have since decades. Acceptance of women's participation and establishment of committees of women for any kind of development activities was still low. People still feared the return of Taliban, and therefore hesitated to lead the local community in the form of NGO established community organizations or security agencies supported village defense committees. Although, we observed that local people mostly take part in projects and programs for the purpose to get benefits and change in their livelihoods options, but the problems of extent of participation, coordination between institutions and equal distribution of resources continue to hinder the effectiveness of projects.

Another common factor, which affected the participatory development, was the short-term projects of infrastructure schemes and livelihoods activities such as distribution of cereals seeds, provision of seedlings, honeybees' kit, livestock, poultry, and hygiene kits and food items. The time available for the process of social mobilization, identification of problems, then planning at community level is very short, and the NGOs can only meet the target specified by donors during the assigned period, NGOs officials revealed. This may also refers to that NGOs instead of applying participatory practices prefer to implement the projects interventions without community mobilization process to fulfill the targets and thus to receive more funds from donors

## 4.3    Comparative analysis of participatory development and the way forward

This section compares the common constraints found in both pre- and post-crisis and suggests how these constraints can be overcome when applying participatory development approach, particularly in post-crisis rehabilitation and reconstruction interventions. The table:1 shows a  comparison of both pre- and post-crises constraints on the  participation of people.  For example, in the pre-crisis situation, the local traditional leaders and sometimes religious leaders hindered the participation of marginalized classes particularly women, while in post-crises there was a lack of interest among organizations and local people to follow participatory practices. The approaches applied in post crises development projects were not participatory. Instead, institutions like PDMA and other government department used the bureaucratic top-down approach. While NGOs claimed to be

applying participatory development methods, however, they prioritized fulfilling their projects targets above implementing participatory practices in either planning or in identifying needs.

Moreover, there was lack of technical staff among government and NGOs regarding participatory development practices because the development experts in international organizations could not perform in the field due to the security situation and this reduced transfer of knowledge to IPs and newly recruited development workers. In addition, the duplications of activities where sometimes one household or individual received much more benefits from projects than other households reflects the inability of the institutions to cooperate or coordinate their activities. The research suggests that these can be formalized through establishment of a centralized department like PDMA, where the representatives of government departments, NGOs and civil societies may meet twice a month in order to share their projects, plans of interventions and specific areas for implementation. This might reduce duplication of activities and may help to identify new non-accessed and more needy communities.

**Table 1: Comparative analysis of constraints in pre and post crisis**

| Pre crisis | Post crisis |
|---|---|
| Local political or religious leaders interference and involvement | Lack of interest in participatory development both among organizations and local people |
| Corruption by local political leaders and government officials | Lack of transparency, and corruption within institutions, no one know who is doing what. |
| Lack of capacity among both government and NGOs regarding participatory development practices | Bureaucratic approach, with different institutions and agencies involved, such as military, NDMA, PDMA, etc. |
| Local insecurity for participatory development | Lack of technical staff as well as target oriented approaches |
| Religious and cultural constraints particularly women involvement | Low religious or cultural constraints but individual needs and priorities are preferred |

The army's operations and post crises development initiatives to some extent reduced the local insecurity constraints in terms of Taliban threats or religious agitation against NGOs. However,

international organizations could not implement the projects directly as the government of Pakistan security agencies did not allow foreign country workers to affected areas due to security as well as political reasons. Although, this research could not find any such incidents of killing or kidnapping of an NGO workers after the crises, however, the threat is not over and the targeted killing of the village defense committees' members still continues. This may be one major reason for lack of trust among local people to freely participate in the NGOs or government supported VOs for carrying out development activities. This has increased the trend towards direct implementation of project interventions among NGOs, particularly in conflict-affected communities not only in Swat but other parts of the Pakistan. Thus, we can infer that while physical targets of the projects might be achieved and the donors' requirement may be fulfilled. Nevertheless, participatory development accomplished in during the pre-crisis period in terms of empowering marginalized classes, increased gender accesses to projects resources and capacity building of the local people seems unlikely to succeed in post-crisis.

## 5. Conclusions

Since the 1970s, participatory development has been promoted as the preferred path towards the improvement of human lives in terms of poverty reduction, empowerment, gender equality, democratization and sustainable development. The donors, national and international NGOs, civil societies and voluntary organizations contributed in making participatory development a norm for states/governments functionaries and public sector development. This paper analyzed constraints faced by the government and NGOs in application of participatory development strategies in northwest Pakistan.

The paper reveals that the participatory development practices applied in the implementation of MRDP and CIP-II projects through establishment of VOs and CCBs of both men and women in order to ensure equal access of marginalized men and women to projects benefits and to improve their living condition and empower them in decisions making. However, these projects' documents and our findings indicate that the projects suffered from a number of political, institutional, cultural and insecurities constraints. The selection of villages for development schemes, and the hiring firing of staff for PMU and IPs was corrupted by both government bureaucrats and politicians. In the majority cases, the local politicians and landlords controlled the villages organizations and contracted the development schemes to their own people, Meanwhile, the process of identifying needs and trainees was not transparent. On top of these problems, the negative perceptions of many

the local population regarding NGOs – that they are western agents who work against religion and culture – further hindered the participation of men and women particularly of poor and illiterate people. Moreover, this research found that the IPs and government departments lacked the institutional capacity to undertake participatory development projects. Nonetheless, we conclude that in spite of constraints, these projects provided opportunities to a number of marginalize poor men and women to improve their economic condition through skills development and participate in physical interventions of the projects as presented in the projects' completion reports. However, the objectives of the participatory development, in terms of empowering of marginalized people were not be achieved to the degree that might have been with better implementation.

We observed that the needs and priorities of people and organizations changed during relief and rehabilitation interventions period of crisis, therefore, applying participatory development techniques became extremely challenging. However, field experiences show that participatory development succeeded during reconstruction phase probably by end of 2012. However, political involvement, corruption and lack of coordination and the government's top-down approach remained key constraints on the goal of equitable distribution of humanitarian assistance. These prolonged relief and rehabilitation interventions, along with duplication of activities by local and national organizations, and the target oriented approach among NGOs for getting more funds, have subverted the concept of participatory development practices. This research suggests that humanitarian aid should be limited to the emergency phase and then quickly transitioned to reconstruction, where participatory development approaches may be applied to improve livelihood of the crises affected population and may contribute to equal distribution of projects benefits.

Our analysis suggests that organizations cast off participation as a tool of achieving projects' physical targets when confronted with the challenges of relief and rehabilitation. Nonetheless, the process of participatory approaches to development can have some positive effects by raising social issues, improving collective action and changing the role of men and women. Therefore, to overcome constraints in application of participatory development practices in post-crisis rehabilitation and reconstruction interventions, it is necessary to develop a comprehensive participatory development model that strengthens coordination between organizations and government departments to avoid duplications of activities and counter-productive competition over resources. This would to some extent help distribute humanitarian aid more equally among poor and marginalized people. However, further research is required to identify the participatory approaches that can best enable empowerment, consensus building and decisions making considering the local cultural context of communities.

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# Appendix

# Semi-structured interview schedule or guide

**Respondent Name: _____ Village: _____**

| S.No | Questions | Replies | Numbering |
|------|-----------|---------|-----------|
| 1 | What are the main sources of livelihood of your house? | | |
| 2 | Do both men and women have equal access to services, education, skills, labour, and business, agricultural activities etc | | |
| 4 | Do every HHs have an equal access to natural resources like forest (fire wood, fodder, grazing, construction log), water, fisheries etc. | | |
| 5 | Do the non land holders and tenants use the natural resources equally? If yes exlain……. | Yes ---------------No. --------------- Don't know | |
| 6 | How incomes from forest resources are distributed in the village? | | |
| 7 | What are the current practices of the productive use of Natural resources? | | |
| 8 | What are the constraints in utilization of resources in productive ways? | Don't know   No Answer | |
| 9 | Do men and women have equal access to use and distribution of income resources including land, property and cash income at HHs level? | Yes --------------- No. --------------- Don't know ------ | |
| | | If yes how----------- --------------- | |
| 10 | Do civil conflict and flood crises affected the gender needs of livelihood? | Yes ---------------No. --------------- Don't know | |
| | If yes how_____ | | |
| 11 | Who affected more, how and why? | | |
| 11 | Who affected more, how and why? | | |

| 12 | How decisions are made at households' level about the division of labour in livelihoods, children care, education, marriages, income utilization and dispute resolution? | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 13 | How cultural practices in power relationships changed and how women and men perceive their roles in the current scenario? | | |
| 14 | How the government and NGOs played their role in management of livelihoods resources and provision of skills, knowledge and support to the men & women. | | |
| 15 | Do the development programs/projects implemented since 2002 have any impacts on gender role & relations? | | |
| 16 | How the govt. &NGOs strategies and plans pursuing the issues of gender? | | |
| 17 | How the relationships between various groups, classes and tribes have affected the gender aspects? | | |
| 18 | Do you feel any change in the profession/occupation of the villagers or they still depending on agriculture? | Yes:<br>No:<br>No answer/refuse to answer | |
| | If yes, what the people prefer | | |
| | | Govt. /private services | |
| | | Labour inside/outside the country | |
| | | Business<br>………………… | |
| | | Any other | |
| 19 | Do you think that the people migrated to outside country for labour are satisfied with their life? | Partially satisfied-<br>Not satisfied ----<br>No answer--------- | |
| 20 | What is the first priority of a migrated person (especially poor and middle class) when he earns handsome money in foreign country? | Construction of pacca house----- | |
| | | Buying of Kalanshekov or arms | |
| | | Buying of vehicle | |
| | | Early marrying of their children- | |
| | | Any other------------<br>-------------- | |

| 21 | Do you feel any change in the family structure of a migrated person? | Yes --------------- <br> No. --------------- <br> Don't know ------- | |
| | If yes, please explain--- | Don't know <br><br> No Answer | |
| 22 | Do you feel any changes in the custom and tradition of Pukhtoon society which practiced in the past and yet disappeared? <br> If yes, please specify--- | Yes --------------- <br> No. --------------- <br> Don't know ------- | |
| | If no why------------------------ | | |
| 23 | What do you mean by Pukhtoon Wali? | ------------------------ <br> ------------------------ <br> --------------------- | |
| 24 | Do you think there is change in practices of pukhtoon wali? | Yes: -------------- <br> No:-------------- <br> Some extent…… | |
| 25 | Do you think these traditions have changed during the last 20 years? | Yes: -------------- <br> No:-------------- <br> Some extent… | |
| 26 | Do people follow the norms and values of pukhtoon wali? | Yes: -------------- <br> No:-------------- <br> Some extent… | |
| 27 | Is there any change in ancestor period and in the current era? | Yes: -------------- <br> No:-------------- <br> Some extent… | |
| | Explain the difference in both period | | |
| 28 | Have the women's role at HHs level changed? | Yes: -------------- <br> No:-------------- <br> Some extent… | |
| 29 | Do you understand that status of women of those families who migrated to foreign countries has been changed? | Yes: -------------- <br> No:-------------- <br> Some extent… | |
| 30 | Do any changes occur in status of women in the village? | Yes: -------------- <br> No:-------------- <br> Some extent… | |
| | What are the major changes in marriage ceremonies? | ------------------------ <br> --------------------- | |
| 31 | Which custom and tradition is identity of your tribe and why? | | |
| 32 | What do you feel about the role of custom and tradition in your society? | | |
| 33 | Do you relate custom and tradition with conflicting situation? | Yes --------------- <br> No. --------------- <br> Don't know------- | |
| | If yes, how---- | | |

| 34 | Do you think custom and tradition can be used for the betterment of the society? | Yes --------------- No. --------------- Don't know------- | |
|----|----|----|----|
| | If No then how …… | | |
| 35 | What do you think any custom and tradition of pukhtoon society is against the Islam? | Yes --------------- No. --------------- Don't know------- | |
| | If yes, what are those and how-- | | |
| 36 | Which codes of Pukhtoon wali is closely related with teaching of Islam? | | |
| 37 | What are the main factors of transition in Pukhtoon society? (Choose more than one option) | Migration in & outside the country | |
| | | Education -------- | |
| | | Technology and Media development | |
| | | Role of govt. and NGOs, Institutions | |
| | | Militancy conflicts | |
| | | Transportation & Communication--- | |
| | | Modernization | |
| | | Urbanization-- | |
| 38 | Please give detail to any one or more of the above you consider more influential for change in Pukhtoon society. | ------------------------ ------------------------ --------------------- | |
| 39 | Do you think that tourism in Swat have any impacts on social aspects of people? | | |
| 40 | Do the codes of the Pukhtoon wali are currently practiced by the villager in its true sense? | Yes: -------------- No:-------------- Some extent… | |
| 41 | What are the impacts of the Afghan war on Pukhtoon society? | ------------------------ ---------------------- | |
| 42 | Do you understand that the war against terror especially in Afghanistan and Pakistan is against Pukhtoon? | Yes --------------- No. --------------- Don't know------- | |
| | If yes, then explain | | |
| 43 | Do NGOs both local and National have role in transition of society? | Yes: -------------- No:-------------- Some extent… Don't know---- | |
| | If yes, then explain… | | |
| 44 | How you perceive NGOs presence in Swat and way of working? | | |

| 45 | Do NGOs have impacts on culture of pukhtoon society particularly women? | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 46 | How the govt. and humanitarian aid agencies accessed different classes, men and women? | | |
| 47 | Do you understand that community development projects both govt. and non govt. play in important role in changing of life, custom and tradition of the local people? | Yes --------------- No. --------------- Don't know ------- | |
| | If yes, how----- | ----------------------- ----------------------- | |
| 48 | Does Media have a significant role in changing of society culture and tradition? | Yes: -------------- No:-------------- Some extent... Don't know | |
| 49 | Do democratization of local political system brought the society in transition? | | |
| 50 | Has the society structure been changed due to fast communication and transportation services? | Yes --------------- No. --------------- Don't know ------- | |
| | If yes please explain | | |
| 51 | What types of changes do you feel in the Pukhtoon culture due to media? | | |
| 52 | What do you think what changes are occurring in the traditions and custom of Pukhtoon society with the passage of time? | ----------------------- ----------- | |
| 53 | Do the civil conflict (Taliban intrence) and displacement affected the socio-cultural aspects of soceity? If yes, explain………. | Yes --------------- No. --------------- Don't know. ------ | |
| 54 | Do migrations to foreign countries by large numbers of male community members have played important role in transition of society? | Yes --------------- No. --------------- Don't know: ------ | |
| | If yes then explain | | |
| 55 | Do migration and displacement have any role in disintegration of family system? | Yes --------------- No. --------------- Don't know:--------- | |
| 56 | What types of changes you think occurred in the family system due to migration? | ----------------------- ----------------------- --------------------- | |
| 57 | How do you differentiate the current social system from the previous one? (including social organization, Jirga, Balandra/ hasher, godhar, tharh etc) | ----------------------- ----------------------- --------------------- | |
| 58 | What are/were the roles of informal institutions, civil societies, local, national and international NGOs, and humanitarian agencies in mitigation of conflicts and flood crises? | | |

| 59 | What alternative livelihoods options being created by govt and NGOs in the post crises? | | |
|----|---|---|---|
| 60 | What are the constraints in implementation of the govt. policies regarding economic development, political strengthening and security maintaining? | | |
| 61 | How you compare the role of men and women with respect to past and present? | ------------------------ ---------------------- | |
| 62 | What are the reasons for degradation of the Pukhtoon society? | | |
| 63 | What do you suggest for the stability of the society? | | |
| 64 | Any other comments would you like to share | | |

# Annexure B

Socio-economic Household survey

**SOCIO- ECONOMIC CENSUS SURVEY OF VILLAGE** _____  Annex- A

Infrastructure facilities at village: _____

District and Sub Division: _____

NAME OF HAMLET: _____

| S.No | Name | sex | age | Tribe/ Khel | Marital status | | | | | Relation with head of household | Age when married | Total No. of children | | | Literacy Level of HH interviewee | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | Single | Married | Divorced | Widow | Any other | | | Male | Female | Total | Literate (if yes level of literacy) | Illiterate | Primary |
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | | 8 | 9 | | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 |
| 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
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| 21 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 22 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

Remittances- labour, service, business etc outside the country

| S.No | Literacy | | | | | Type of Family | | | | Occupation past | | | | | | Present occupation | | Number of working male and female (above 15 age) outside the HH | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Middle | Secondary y/H Secondary | Graduate & above | Religious Education level | any other | Joint | extended | Nuclear | Any other | Farmer | Govt. or private Services | Business | Wage labour | Remittances | Any other | F+G.P.S+B+W+R | Any other | Male | Female | Total |
| | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 | 23 | 24 | 25 | 26 | 27 | 28 | 29 | 30 | 31 | 32 | 33 | 34 | 35 |
| 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
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Remittances- labour, service, business etc outside the country

| S.No | Average Annual Household income from various sources | | | Dependency of the HH for earning their livelihood before 10-15 years in % (Sources of income) | | | | | | Present trend of earning livelihood | Access to livelihoods sources | | | | | | | other income assets | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Before 10 years | Last two years | Current | Agriculture | Govt. services | Wage labour | Business | Remittances | Any other | | Agriculture | Forest | Business | Services | Technical education | Remittances | Any other | Water mills | hotel | Shop | Any other |
| | 36 | 37 | 38 | 39 | 40 | 41 | 42 | 43 | 44 | 45 | 46 | 47 | 48 | 49 | 50 | 51 | 52 | 53 | 54 | 55 | 56 |
| 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
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| 20 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 21 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 22 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

A= Agriculture    R= Remittances    W= Waage Labour    B= Business    S= Services

199

| S.No | No of livestock per HHs | | | | | Fuel consumption and sources of feul | | | | | Amount of land holding | | | | HH Access to use of land, forest, water etc | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Cow | Buffalo | Sheep | Goat | Donkey & Horses | Wood | Coal | Kerosine Oil | Fan gas | Electricity | 0 Acres | 1-5 Acres | 6-10 Acres | 11 & above | Yes | No | Don't know | | | |
| | 57 | 58 | 59 | 60 | 61 | 62 | 63 | 64 | 65 | 66 | 67 | 68 | 69 | 70 | 71 | 72 | 73 | 74 | 75 | 76 |
| 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 3 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 4 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 5 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 6 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 7 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 8 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 9 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 10 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 11 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 12 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 13 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 14 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 15 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 16 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 17 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 18 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 19 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 20 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 21 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 22 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 23 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

## Activity profile of male and female at HH and village

| | Agricultural activities | | Grazing | | Feul Collection | | Fodder collection | | Storage of crops | | livestock care | | Poultry farming | | water colelction | | Kitchen gardening | | other activity | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female |
| 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 3 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 4 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 5 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 6 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 7 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 8 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 9 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 10 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 11 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 12 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 13 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 14 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 15 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 16 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 17 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 18 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 19 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 20 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 21 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 22 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 23 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

0= No involvement     1= littel involvement     2= Much involvement     3= Main task