

U PN-ABU-535  
23 Pages

94170

KALA DHAKA AREA DEVELOPMENT PROJECT

SOCIO-ECONOMIC SURVEY  
WOMEN'S COMPONENT

FINAL REPORT

Ruth Laila Schmidt

November 7, 1990

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

A.	Scope of the Research	
	1. Survey Design . . . . .	1
	2. Locations Visited . . . . .	2
B.	The Context	
	1. USAID WID Policy . . . . .	2
	2. Constraints on Women's Participation in Development Activities . . . . .	2
C.	Kala Dhaka: The Setting . . . . .	3
D.	The Economy . . . . .	4
E.	Status and Role of Women	
	1. Agricultural Production . . . . .	6
	2. Management Roles and Decision-Making in the Family . . . . .	6
	3. Women's Work Schedule . . . . .	7
	4. Income Generation . . . . .	8
	5. Women's Access To Health Care and Education . . . . .	9
	6. Constraints on Women's Participation in Development Activities . . . . .	11
F.	Discussion of Demand for Development Activities	
	1. Poultry Raising . . . . .	13
	2. Animal Husbandry . . . . .	14
	3. Fruit and Vegetable Growing . . . . .	14
	4. Sewing and Embroidery . . . . .	15
	5. Female Education . . . . .	16
	6. <u>Dai</u> Training . . . . .	17
G.	Miscellaneous	
	1. Local Suspicion of RDADP Project Implementation . . . . .	18
	2. Monitoring . . . . .	18
	3. Cost-Sharing . . . . .	18
H.	Recommendations . . . . .	181
	Appendix: Interview Questions Revised October 17, 1990 . . . . .	20
	Bibliography . . . . .	21

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

A

A. Scope of the Research

1. Survey Design

The designated purpose of the survey was to determine the extent of women's participation in the local economy where many men have migrated out for labor, to document women's views and desires about what the project might be able to offer them, and to structure responses to these desires in the form of specific project activities. I also attempted to identify local female leaders and women who might be able to participate in local education and training activities; and Kala Dhaka women living outside Kala Dhaka. As the survey proceeded, inquiries focused more specifically on the following questions:

1. What role do women have in determining the needs of the household and addressing them? Do they control any household resource?
2. Do women have decision-making control of a nature to provide scope for participating in project activities?
3. In what circumstances do entire families shift to Karachi, where do they stay, how long do they stay, and what impact does this have on women who go? What influence do such women have on other women when they return to the village?
4. Are Kala Dhakan women with any level of education, or girls attending any type of school, to be found in the villages we survey, or elsewhere?
5. What is the value of women's contribution to the economy, as reflected in practices like giving brideprice or dowry?
6. What type of influence does the imam possess in the village, and to what extent?

Interviews were designed to be conversation-oriented and open-ended; they were conducted in Pashto by an interviewer/translator<sup>1</sup>, and translated into English (in the first two field tours) or Urdu (in the third field tour).<sup>2</sup> As the survey progressed, it became possible to structure the interview into 20 relatively innocuous questions that led up to, embraced, or subsumed data we needed (see Appendix). Note-taking during the interview did not seem to bother the respondents. In

---

<sup>1</sup>Farrah Qasim Jan served as interviewer/translator during the first two field tours. During the third tour, we were assisted by Shahnaz Khanum.

<sup>2</sup>With the sole exception of Lakwal (Madakhel), which is Hindko-speaking, all the Kala Dhaka villages are Pashto-speaking. We did meet women who had learned Urdu or Hindko in Karachi, however.

fact, women often saw it as an effective means of bringing official attention to their needs. Most of the villages had already been visited by male enumerators conducting the Basic Village Survey, and so long as there was no resistance to the survey per se, women were pleasantly surprised to learn that female enumerators had been sent to find out women's needs and opinions. In some villages, however, people complained that the KDADP was spending too much time and money on "paper work" and not enough on practical benefits.

2. Locations Visited

We visited 25 villages, in six regions, during three field tours: Hasanzai: Kandar (HZ), Khanano Kilay, Tuara, Kotkay (HZ), and Kanar Sharif; Sitanadar: Saddo Khan, Maira, Matore, Kaho Dherai, Kabalai, Daur, Zizarai, and Kotkay (SD); Basikhel: Shahdag, Shagai, Bar Kilay Judbah, and Garhi Bala Judbah; Akazai: Niway Kilay, Bimbal and Mandha Baba Hamlet of Bilyanrai; Nusratkhel: Kotlai and Surmal; and Madakhel: Mhabra, Lakwai and Dadum. We were accompanied throughout by M. Iqbal A. Niazi, who was already thoroughly familiar with the region as well as being experienced in interviewing techniques.

B. The Context

1. USAID WID Policy

The USAID Asia Bureau has encouraged Missions to maximize and document the targeting of women in project design and approval, in order to integrate them into the mainstream of mission and bureau programming. Small scale or peripheral women's projects have not been discouraged, but are viewed as not constituting a sufficient response to WID policy. In the context of ongoing programs, this has focused attention on:

- . improving the productivity of women;
- . designing programs to reduce, where possible, the amount of time spent on such activities as carrying water and collecting firewood (for example, by improving water systems or reforesting barren hillsides);
- . expanding and improving primary education, especially for girls;
- . making maternal and child health a focus of health programs.

2. Constraints on Women's Participation in Development Activities

---

Weiss 1988, p.27.

The chief impediment to women's development generally identified in Pakistan is sex-segregation. In Kala Dhaka, women do not wear veils inside their villages, because residential patterns are lineage-based and everyone is related to a greater or lesser degree; veils are also impractical for women who do agricultural work. This does not mean that sex-segregation is not an important factor in Kala Dhaka, but that it is achieved by other means than veiling.

Seclusion of women [pardaa] is a complex set of practices of which veiling is only the most visible means. Other instruments of pardaa include segregation of spaces used by women and men, avoidance of eye contact with or turning the body away from unrelated men (ankhon-ka pardaa or veiling of the eyes), and restriction of women's mobility to role-defined spheres of activity. The strictness with which seclusion is observed varies considerably according to a woman's age. Marriageable girls and young married women are subjected to the strictest constraints; women past the age of menopause, on the other hand, enjoy increasing freedom.

In Pakistan, a wife is valued for the children she bears and the work she does, and when betrothals take place early, as they do in Kala Dhaka, these expectations affect females even while they are children. A girl's prospective in-laws have an important voice in any decisions made concerning her, and a married woman is under the control of her mother-in-law. In areas where women's work is essential to most steps in food production (and Kala Dhaka is an excellent example of this), men are often reluctant to allow the establishment of programs for women, unless it can be shown that these programs will not remove women from the unpaid workforce.

In section E.6, the constraints imposed by sex-segregation, women's roles within their marital homes, and their agricultural work, are described in greater detail.

### C. Kala Dhaka: The Setting

Kala Dhaka is divided into two major areas on the basis of land tenure: wesh lands subject to periodic rotational tenure, held by Pakhtuns; and noncirculating lands, held by Sitanadar and Syeds. The population is also differentiated into landholders and tenants, of which the latter are Gujars, Azizwami, etc. Imams (Mullan) and boatmen (Mahanangan) hold land which has been given to them by the people among whom they reside. The social organization and roles of the Pakhtun and Sitanadar have been described in detail by Lindholm 1982 (Chapter 3). The patterns of conflict which he describes, both between individuals and between groups, are also seen here, and account for the diversion of a considerable portion of cash income into guns and other

weapons.<sup>4</sup>

The population belongs to the Hanafi sect of Sunni Islam. There is one active shrine of the "heterodox charismatic" type described by Lindholm, at Kanar Sharif, which is the site of graves of martyred saints, and a center of spiritual healing. Missionaries of the Tablighi Jamat<sup>5</sup> have been active throughout Kala Dhaka; all the villages we visited knew of their teachings.

Although the non-Pakhtun population of Kala Dhaka has adopted many Pakhtun cultural characteristics, as well as the Pashto language, one of the most striking features of the area is its diversity. Even adjacent villages sometimes differ considerably in their economic, educational and health statuses, as well as in their response to modernizing influences.

Some villages (such as Dadum-MK) place importance on consensual decision-making through the jirga process. In such villages we often received an expression of the village's willingness to cooperate with the KDADP, once the consensual process had been concluded. In other villages, (for example, Bar Kilay Judhbah-BK and Maira-SD) we found influential political leaders who looked upon obtaining benefits for the community as a useful means of enhancing their political power. In such villages, it was often difficult to gain access to the women, or there seemed to be a relatively low level of interest in programs designed specifically to benefit women.

In Daur (SD) and Niway Kilay (AK) we found progressive imams who favor education, and this attitude was reflected in the village's receptiveness to women's development. In Kanar Sharif, however, the imam opposes any change in the status quo; and the women's development appears to be a controversial subject in that village.

This diversity calls for flexibility in designing and implementing project WID activities; the cookie-cutter approach, though apparently more impartial, does not provide for adjusting programs to local conditions.

---

<sup>4</sup>The feud between the villages of Maira and Matore, which affects their land cultivation pattern, utilization of the water system, mobility outside the village, and spending patterns, is a good example of the impact of such conflict.

<sup>5</sup>The Tablighi Jamat is a Muslim missionary movement which has its headquarters at a religious school at Raiwind in the Panjab.

#### D. The Economy

The economy is based on agriculture and livestock raising, and more recently has come to depend heavily on cash remittances from relatives working in Karachi. A great deal of the agricultural and pastoral work is done by women; but since crop yields are usually insufficient for local consumption, there is seldom any marketable surplus, and the work does not bring in much cash. In some cases, moreover, food production itself is a deficit operation (for example, when the cost of feeding participants in hasna exceeds the value of the crop). This has led to a division of labor in which women produce most of the goods, and men earn most of the cash. In the Basikhel and Nusratkhel regions, however, women do sell ghee (clarified butter) and sometimes chickens for cash; in the Madakhel region, ghee is sold; and in Mhabra (Madakhel), eggs are also sold.

In the Hasanzai, Madakhel, Akazai, and Basikhel areas where land has been submerged by Tarbela Lake, varying amounts of agricultural land have been lost, with consequent heavier dependence on cash income from outside Kala Dhaka. In all these areas we saw extensive outmigration of men to Karachi. In some households not a single adult male remains.

Marriages have traditionally accounted for disposal of considerable cash income in Kala Dhaka, but the Tablighi missionaries have been discouraging the payment of brideprice as well as musical entertainment and the traditional feu-de-joie; and only 5 villages still report paying brideprice (however in 2, the boy's family provides a girl's dowry if a girl's family cannot afford it).<sup>6</sup> In place of the brideprice, the practice of giving a dowry consisting of household goods by the girl's family has come into use. Since the household goods have to be purchased anyway, this has probably resulted in freeing up some cash for other investments, and may bring some income to village women who stitch clothes and embroider pillow covers.

Guns are a standard item of equipment in Kala Dhakan homes, but where feuds exist, a major portion of cash income is spent on weapons: rifles, pistols, hand grenades; and binoculars and flares for spotting approaching enemies. Feuds also occasion the construction of fortified, but unproductive, watchtowers; and fields may be left uncultivated, resulting in lost income.

---

<sup>6</sup>In areas where brideprice is still given, whether in cash or in other goods, the amount ranges between Rs. 3,000 to Rs. 10,000; or from 1-2 kilograms of silver up to 1-2 kilograms of silver plus 4 to 10 grams of gold.

## E. Status and Role of Women

### 1. Agricultural Production

Women participate extensively in agricultural production, helping with plowing, sowing and harvesting, and doing all the weeding and hoeing. In some of the Akazai villages, however, men and women work in the field together. Women raise livestock and chickens--almost every household we visited kept one or more stall-fed buffaloes or at least a goat or two--and collect fodder and process the dairy products. Women also cultivate vegetables<sup>1</sup> and in some places, fruit trees. Hashar, seasonal communal work like making hay, or threshing grains, is done by men, but requires that the participants be fed ample meals and tea, and it is the women who do the meal preparation.

### 2. Management Roles and Decision-Making in the Family

Distribution of crops, purchase and distribution of monthly food stocks, expenditures for clothes, major household articles, and weapons, and daily cash expenses [mukhtaar-e-aam, or general authority] are handled by the male head of the household or his designee. However, in Niway Kilay (Akazai), and Mhabra and Dadum (Madakhel), women sometimes manage cash income if there are no adult men left in the household.

Daily management of food stocks within the household is a responsibility of married women, each of whom keeps the keys for the steel boxes and almaris [large wooden cabinets]. The boxes are used to store items such as jewellery, weapons, expensive clothes, sugar and tea leaves, while the cabinets hold mainly quilts and pillows. For household management, women keep small amounts of cash, about 30 to 40 rupees, which they have the authority to spend as they need [mukhtaar-e-khaas, or limited authority]. Women who sell qhee, chickens or eggs for cash are entitled to keep their earnings, particularly to buy gold nose pins, kitchen utensils, and cloth.

Men dominate in family decision-making. In addition to making major cash purchases, they usually decide which family members are to go to Karachi to become wage-earners. In the Sitanadar region, Bimbal (Akazai), the Judbah villages (Basikhel) and Kotlai (Nusratkhel), betrothals of children are decided by senior males i.e., the child's father and uncles (although a boy's grandmother, and sometimes his mother, sometimes expresses a wish to have a particular girl as the boy's bride, and her request will usually be taken seriously). In Niway Kilay

---

<sup>1</sup>Vegetables are not always cultivated in separate plots, but may be grown as a companion crop with grain; for example, pumpkins with maize.

(Akazai), Mhabra, Lakwal, and Dadum (Madakhel) and Surmal (Nusarkhel), there is more sharing in decision-making. In Surmal, Mhabra, Lakwal, and Dadum, young men make up their own minds whether to go to Karachi, and seek permission from their parents. In Niway Kilay, Mhabra, Lakwal, Surmal and Dadum the mother's opinion is necessary for the betrothal of a child.

Older women are the traditional decision-makers among women within the extended kin group, but an especially competent or experienced woman also commands respect. A woman who has returned from Karachi often exercises direct and indirect influence on the other women. In Kanar Sharif, however, we found friction between the Karachi-returned women, and those who had not gone to Karachi (particularly the older women).

Both women and men take it for granted that women must obtain permission from their men in order to participate in project activities (such as attending a skills center or sending a daughter to school). As noted above, men and even villages differ in the receptiveness to women's development, and we found many men who favor it. There is little evidence, in any case, that such decisions can be imposed on a family by an authority on the village-wide level, although a powerful leader may sometimes be in a position to dictate whether a school or skills center may be established in the first place. The customary way of making decisions affecting the whole community, however, is by calling a jirga.

### 3. Women's Work Schedule

A women's day begins with the gazaan, or morning call to prayer. Right after saying prayers she prepares breakfast, which is normally only tea. After drinking tea, some women go to collect fodder and firewood, and to weed and hoe the crops during the growing season; while others (usually the older women) remain behind to take care of the children, clean house and cook. In most villages, the younger women bring fodder and firewood; but in Dadum (Madakhel) we found that the senior women (mashurane) were doing the grass harvesting. Carrying water and washing clothes is done by younger women, whenever they are not busy with other tasks. Lunch is eaten between 9:00 and 11:00 a.m.

It is difficult to make generalizations about the amount of time that must be spent in collecting fodder, firewood and water, since this depends on the distance women must walk to get them. Likewise, the agricultural workload is greater in those villages which still have sizeable cultivable lands, but may be minimal in villages where large amount of land were submerged by Tarbela Lake. In the Sitanadar and Hasanzai areas area, most such work is done during the mornings, and women are usually at home in the

afternoons.<sup>8</sup> In Basikhel villages, women do fieldwork and collect grass and firewood in the afternoons.<sup>9</sup> In Bimbal (Akazai), on the riverside, young women bring fodder and firewood in the mornings; but in the hilly village of Niway Kilay (also Akazai) the women have to walk a greater distance, and do not return home until late afternoon.<sup>10</sup> In Kotlai (Nusratkhel) and Dadum (Madakhel), agricultural work continues from sunrise to sunset in the growing season; but in Surmal (Nusratkhel) it appears to take less time. In Mhabra and Lakwal (Madakhel), there are very few fields left to work in.

After the first afternoon prayer women take care of livestock and chickens, and make tea for the family and for guests. Buffaloes and cows are milked twice a day, in the morning and late afternoon. Small children are usually taken care of by older women. The amount of free time enjoyed by women varies from the entire afternoon after the midday prayer until evening, among the Hasanzai; to a brief 90 minutes between 11:00 a.m. and 12:30 a.m., in Shagai and Shahdag (Basikhel) and Kotlai (Sitanadar); to practically no free time except in winter (Bimbal and Niway Kilay (Akazai) and Dadum (Madakhel). Despite such workloads, women said they could find time for project activities, if they were flexibly scheduled.

#### 4. Income Generation

There are few opportunities for women to earn income, in cash or in kind, in Kala Dhaka; nevertheless many do, through the sale of dairy or poultry products, sewing clothes for other women, or making and selling handicrafts. Wives of tenants earn income by doing field work for landholders.

---

<sup>8</sup>In Kanar Sharif, we visited a landholder's family where the women do not do fieldwork; however, as we were leaving (late in the afternoon) we noticed a woman returning to the village with a load of grass. There is little cultivable land in Kanar Sharif.

<sup>9</sup>In Judbah, we could not obtain this information because our meetings with women were dominated either by men who insisted that they did all the field work, or by women of landholders' families, who have tenants to do it. In both villages, people estimate that 50% of the village has migrated to Karachi, leaving as few as one adult male per household; so it is probable that fodder and firewood collection are done mostly by women (as in other Basikhel villages). There is not much firewood to collect here, since the hills are heavily deforested.

<sup>10</sup>We observed three Akazai villages, but in one (Mandha Baba Hamlet of Bilyanrai), we visited a landowner family who have tenants.

In the Basikhel area, women sell ghee and chickens for cash, and some women make colorful bread-baskets [shikeri] and embroidered bands used to trim women's shirt-sleeves [piyaakhali] for their own use and for cash sale. In the Madakhel region, ghee is sold; and in Mhabra, ghee and eggs are sold. In the Sitanadar area, women also make shikeri and piyaakhali, but there is no market for them, because the skill of making them is more widespread. In Kotkay (Sitanadar), however, the imam's wife and two daughters-in-law earn money by sewing clothes and making embroidery for sale in Kotkay and Shahdag (Basikhel). She told us that since they have no land, they live on what they earn in this way and on what their two sons earn in Karachi.

Hasanzai women did not report any income-earning activities, aside from sewing clothes for other women (which is the specialty of only a few women). However, during that phase of our research, we were not asking specifically about the sale of ghee, which is the commonest type of income-generation. In a later visit to Tuara (Hasanzai), the women asked Farrah Qasim Jan about the possibility of raising "boiler" [broiler] chickens.

In most villages, a few women specialize in stitching suits for other women and for children, charging rates that range from Rs. 20 to Rs. 40. Women of all regions trade in broken sandals to itinerant merchants on the purchase of kitchen utensils. Women are entitled to keep anything they earn from cash sales, and typically spend it on gold nose pins, kitchen utensils, and cloth.

In Bar Kilay Judbah and Garhi Bala Judbah (Basikhel), women said that they would be ashamed to sell domestic products, such as chickens, eggs or handicrafts, even if they were very poor. Even here, however, women sell ghee, and a few women specialize in sewing, charging Rs. 40 per suit.

Women generally are aware of the possibility of income-generation. In Kandari (Hasanzai), a woman who asked that a skills training center be established used the word hunar, which means '(marketable) skill(s)'. The word sentar [center] itself has entered the local vocabulary, and we met people who knew about the Gadoon-Amazai Nonformal Education Project.

##### 5. Women's Access To Health Care and Education

Women everywhere reported that they have limited or no access to health care. There are male health technicians in the Basic Health Unit at Daur, as well as privately practicing dispensers and self-taught "doctors", in Kanar Sharif and Kotkay (Hasanzai), Bimbal and Macchra Bazaar (Akazai), and Kotlai (Nusratkhel), but male doctors can not examine female patients, and particularly for obstetrical and gynecological complaints, a female doctor or paramedical is necessary. We found no trained dais; and in some

villages there is not even a traditional dai. There is an LHV in Darband, but even in villages with access to boat and road transport, women reported that their men did not take them for treatment until an illness became serious, owing to the cost of boat or truck fare on top of the cost of the medicine (which they usually have to buy from the privately owned pharmacy near the hospital).<sup>11</sup> Medicines sold in Darband or Kala Dhaka are reportedly marked up as much as 500%.

In villages located at maximum distances from either Darband or Thakot, or in remote mountain villages, women say they usually have to rely on untrained dais (midwives), or on senior female relatives. In such villages, the priority request was for a trained dai or "lady doctor".

No functioning girls' schools were found, although buildings for girls' schools have been constructed in Bimbal and Bar Kilay Judbah. The only means for a girl to acquire any education at all, even literacy, in Kala Dhaka is (1) to attend a boys' school; (2) to attend a madrassa (religious school), where these exist; and (3) to be tutored privately, usually by a male relative. In Karachi, a few Kala Dhakan girls are attending school; but since the families are sent back after a maximum of three years, girls have no opportunity to finish even primary school.

In every village, we looked for educated women. We met 1 woman and 4 girls who had attended, or were attending boys' schools in Kala Dhaka (3 in Saddo Khan and 2 in Bimbal).<sup>12</sup> One woman had studied up through the sixth class in Karachi; and 2 women and 2 girls had been privately educated: 2 in Karachi and 2 in Kotkay (Hasanzai).<sup>13</sup> An additional 4 girls or women were

---

<sup>11</sup>Reporting on the Civil Hospital at Thakot, I. Niazi (July 26) noted that the stock of medicines supplied quarterly by the District health office at Mansehra does not last longer than two to three weeks. Presumably the same shortages occur in the Civil Hospital at Darband.

<sup>12</sup>In both these villages, people placed female education high on their list of priorities.

<sup>13</sup>Although the people of Kotkay (Hasanzai) were extremely unresponsive on two occasions when we visited it, there seems to be a strong demand for education. Some time back, the villagers hijacked the WAPDA steamer and held it for the ransom of a school. When the government agreed to build a school they let it go; however when construction was delayed by some bureaucratic bottleneck, the villagers again hijacked the steamer, until the written authorization to build the school was shown to them.

Although there is a school building, there is presently is no

reported to be studying, or to have studied, in Karachi; but we had no opportunity to learn more about them.

## 6. Constraints on Women's Participation in Development Activities

### Sex-Segregation

The importance of sex-segregation as a factor in women's lives may be measured by the strictness with which pardaa is imposed when unrelated men come to the village, or women move out of Kala Dhaka. Kala Dhakan women are kept away from the gaze of male strangers, and the appropriate place for male visitors is the hujra, or guest house for men. It would be a dangerous impropriety for a stranger in a Kala Dhaka village to stroll about village lanes (where women must come and go in the course of their work), to look at women, or to ask questions about his host's female relatives.

When families were resettled from Kala Dhaka in Tarbela Township in the early 1970's, women started wearing the burqa [the all-enveloping cloak] whenever they left their compounds, because families of different lineages were resettled together in the township. This reduced women's mobility outside the home to such an extent that men were forced to carry water from public taps (a role they did not relish and a source of many problems for WAPDA).<sup>14</sup>

Women who leave the house compound alone do so only in the context of essential work activities, such as fetching water. (But if a woman is suspected of misbehavior on such errands, men may punish them, sometimes severely.)<sup>15</sup> Women usually travel together in work-related contingents, which afford chaperonage.

These restraints on female mobility have important implications for deployment of female teachers and health workers in Kala Dhaka. A woman's acceptance of work requiring her to

---

schoolteacher in Kotkay. Until recently a schoolteacher from Swat, who was absconding from the police, was taking refuge in the hujra in Kotkay and teaching the village children there. He taught them in contingents rather than in a single group, so that the girls could attend separately.

<sup>14</sup>H.S. Plunkett 1976, personal communication.

<sup>15</sup>In Bar Kilay Judbah we met a young woman who had been ordered by her husband not to leave the compound. Her mother-in-law ordered her to bring the buffaloes home, so she was obliged to go. When her husband discovered this, he beat her severely and threatened her with a pistol.

travel or live away from home, unprotected by a male relative, could easily be perceived in the Kala Dhaka setting as an indication of promiscuity; and even though the society accords protection to guests, such a woman could find herself in a very uncomfortable situation. Female teachers, health or agricultural extension workers recruited from outside Kala Dhaka who are expected to live in villages need to be accompanied by a husband, brother or father.

#### Sex-Defined Roles: Daughter, Wife, Daughter-in-Law

Daughters are considered as property of the lineage group, and may be given in marriage in order to solidify an alliance, or to pacify the aggrieved party in a feud; until recently brideprice was universal, and in Kotlai and Surmal (Nusratkheil) brideprice is still taken, and was reported as Rs. 10,000. As mentioned above, a woman is valued for the children she bears and the work she does, and these expectations affect her mobility and access to education even when she is a child. Betrothals may take place as early as the age of six for girls, and eleven or twelve for boys; and although the girl does not usually go to her husband's home until puberty, her prospective in-laws are party to any decisions made concerning her. In 20 out of the 25 villages we visited, marriages were decided by the male head of the household, and a girl's mother had no say in the matter. A married woman is under the control of her mother-in-law, who, having toiled and sacrificed all her own life, feels justified in expecting her daughter-in-law to do the same. Polygamy is common, and a husband does not need a wife's approval; a common reason is a wife's failure to bear sons.

#### Women's Workload

Since women do much of the field work and carry all the firewood, fodder and drinking water, men sometimes oppose the establishment of programs for women because they fear the women will stop doing this work. Women, however, do have responsibility for management within the household, and also enjoy at least some leisure time, particularly during winter. Project activities that enhance a woman's ability to perform work she is already responsible for, that benefit the entire family, and which are flexibly scheduled, would probably be accepted at least in more progressive villages, and in very poor villages, where inputs of any type would be welcomed. Programs of this type include poultry raising, fruit and vegetable growing, sewing and embroidery.

Among the Hasanzai, women told us they were free after the midday prayer until evening, when it is time to light the fire for the evening meal. But in Shaqai and Shahdaq (Basikheil) and Kotlai (Sitanadar), the women are free only between 11:00 a.m. and 12:30 p.m. In Bimbal and Niway Kilay (Akazai) and in Dadum

(Madakhel) the women are free mainly in the winter.

## F. Discussion of Demand for Development Activities

### 1. Poultry Raising

In virtually every village, women are already raising chickens for consumption and to produce eggs; but an almost universal complaint was that the chickens frequently succumb to epidemics. Many villages would welcome programs to improve their poultry and prevent disease through vaccination. Vaccination would make it possible for women to grow more chickens, and to sell the surplus, as is already done in Shagai and Mhabra. An unusually strong interest in poultry raising was shown in Tuara, where women specifically asked for assistance on two visits and also offered to buy the chickens. In Shagai, epidemics among chickens were not mentioned, and the possibility that a more resistant strain of chickens exists in Shagai should be checked.

Protein consumption in Kala Dhaka, especially among women and children, is so low that chicken and egg production could be considerably increased before surpluses are produced for sale, and it would take an undetermined, but significant period of time to saturate the existing demand.

In some villages, women asked for improved breeds of chickens. The Fayoumi and Mini-Red chickens are good egg-layers, but still scavenge for food, instead of requiring special feed.<sup>10</sup> A poultry expert should be consulted to compare the suitability of various breeds of chickens. Since the acceptability of Fayoumi and Mini-Red chickens for eating is not yet known in Kala Dhaka, they should be introduced on a pilot basis, and the pilot projects monitored.

Chickens are raised in households, and the selection of a limited number of households for trying them out might provoke envy or resentment, if there is a strong demand for improved chickens. This can be avoided to some extent if the sale of chickens is subsidized, so that other families are able to buy them. The need for vaccinating the indigenous chickens would not be eliminated, because there would still be households who would not want Fayoumis or Mini-Reds, or could not get them; and it would take a year or two before the success or failure of the pilot projects could be documented in any case.

Since women raise the chickens, Pashto-speaking female poultry experts are needed for instructing the women in vaccinating chickens and in raising the improved breeds.

---

<sup>10</sup>Zanur Alam Nov. 11, 1950, quoting Dr. Fida Mohammad.

## 2. Animal Husbandry

Although women also said they would like to prevent and treat disease in their livestock, especially cows and buffaloes, this was not identified as a major need, in contrast to the situation with chickens. The animals we were able to observe looked well-fed and sleek. Specific problems and opportunities need to be identified by women with qualifications in animal husbandry. The same considerations identified above for poultry apply to animal husbandry; cattle are cared for in households, and not all households can take part in pilot experiments, so the women need assistance in looking after the existing animals even if new breeds are introduced.

## 3. Fruit and Vegetable Growing

Women already grow vegetables. In Niway Kilay (Akazai) women said they have enough land to grow more varieties, but do not have the knowhow; in Surmal (Nusratkhel) they said they have enough land, and need only seeds. In Bar Kilay Judbah and Garhi Bala Judbah (Basikhel), women said they would increase their vegetable production if they were provided seeds; they complained that the seeds available in Judbah bazaar are too expensive. In Lakwal and Dadum (Madakhel), they said they needed seeds and would have to level more land. However, some root vegetables can be grown on sloping land. Mr. Zahur Alam of the KDADP is presently looking at fields in these areas to determine the local definition of "level", and to see whether there is sloping land suitable for planting root vegetables.

Fruit tree cultivation is more common in non-circulating lands than in wesh lands, because fruit trees take time to mature, and are not portable. Another major factor, where cultivable land is scarce, is the size of courtyards. In Tuara, where courtyards are spacious, we saw fruit tree seedlings, about 2 ft. tall, growing in some courtyards. But when space is scarce and houses are stacked one on top of another (as in Saddo Khan), fruit trees are not an option. Women in Surmal (Nusratkhel) expressed interest in growing fruit trees. Women in Bimbal said their men had been approached to take part in a horticulture program but they had declined because there was not enough land. They told us they can grow a few trees in courtyards, but not large numbers.

It would be more efficient to coordinate the demonstration of growing of fruit trees and vegetables. One way to do this would be to set up a horticultural demonstration plot in which some vegetables are also grown. Women who visit this plot would be exposed to a variety of options in a single visit, and it might be possible to reduce the number of experts visiting the villages (thus reducing salaries, travel expenses, and the number of meals

served to the visitors by the villages).

Since women do most of the cultivation, whether of vegetables or fruit, Pashto-speaking female agriculture extension or horticulture workers are needed to visit participating villages to ensure that information about how to care for plants and seedlings reaches women. A good time for them to visit would be during the winter months when the women have more free time.

#### 4. Sewing and Embroidery

Instruction in sewing and embroidery was a frequent request, and fits into an economic niche, because women currently spend cash, in most areas, to get clothes made. Embroidery is not an extravagance in Kala Dhaka, rather it is a standard item on many garments and also on table clothes and pillows (particularly the pillows that are universally tucked behind guests to make them comfortable). However, women in Kotkay (Sitanadar) and Mhabra (Madakhel) said that hand-embroidery is too time consuming, and they would like instruction in using a "tap machine" (a sewing machine for doing machine embroidery). In Matore, women urgently need sewing and tailoring instruction, because owing to the feud between their village and Maira (Sitanadar), they have only one source for getting clothes made: a tailor in Kand who has cornered the market, charges the highest rates, and takes a long time to make inferior garments. Matore should be revisited to ascertain whether they would provide space for a sewing/tailoring class, and to confirm whether they would (as they told Farrah Qasim Jan on October 10) accept a skilled woman in Kabilai as instructor, or whether some other instructor should be recruited.

Other villages requesting some combination of tailoring, sewing and embroidery were Kandar (Hasanzai),<sup>17</sup> Shagai, Shahdag, Bar Kilay Judbah and Garhi Bala Judbah (Basikhel); Saddo Khan and Daur (Sitanadar), Bimbal (Akazai), and Surmal and Kotlai (Nusratkhel). In Garhi Bala Judbah, there is a woman who knows sewing and embroidery well. In Daur, the imam has offered to construct two rooms above the madrasa (religious school) for a women's skills-and-literacy center if KDADP provides construction materials and an instructor. He said that "not everyone will participate, especially in the beginning, but if it is started gradually from [instruction in] embroidery or tailoring, they will take an interest." In addition to Daur, four villages (Surmal

---

<sup>17</sup>When Kandar (HZ) was revisited by Farrah Qasim Jan of October 19, the women asked her what progress had been made on their project skills center. When Farrah told them the request had been submitted, the woman asked why such a lengthy process had to be gone through, and suggested the KDADP just distribute machines. In Zizarai, women asked for sewing machines, but did not request an instructional program.

and Kotlai (Nusratkhel) and Hhabra and Dadum (Madakhel) offered to share the cost, by providing space. In Dadum, there is a women's hujra that could be used for a skills center or a girls' school. Basikhel and Sitanadar women already have a viable handicraft industry, so it might be appropriate to enhance their skills and provide marketing assistance.

Details about the specific mix of skills desired by women in particular villages, plus the contribution, if any, they are willing to make are described under the heading of that village in the Village Logs attached to the three tour reports.

#### 5. Female Education

Most of the villages surveyed said they would send their daughters to attend school, if one was available. The sole exception was Mandha Baba Hamlet of Bilyanrai, where the women told us that female education is shameful. This opinion may not reflect that of the rest of Bilyanrai, however. There are completed school buildings for girls primary schools in Bimbal and Bar Kilay Judbah (Basikhel).

Villages which expressed a strong interest in primary schools for girls were Saddo Khan and Daur (Sitanadar), and Bimbal and Niway Kilay (Basikhel). In Daur, the imam, in cooperation with the villagers, has constructed a madrassa [religious school], which is now being expanded to make room where girls can sit. In Saddo Khan and Bimbal, there are a few girls attending the boys' primary school; both these villages put girls' education on top of their list of priorities. Bimbal asked for a teacher for their existing school, and Saddo Khan asked for a girls' school. In both Saddo Khan and Daur, the imams favor female education (See Village Log in the report on the second tour). Kaho Dherai requested a madrassa (upgraded religious school), and also offered to provide land for a girls' school and a place for the teachers to live. Hhabra was another village offering to provide land for a girls' school. In Dadum, there is a women's hujra that could be used for a skills center or a girls' school.

Comments made by villagers about female education in individual villages, plus details about cost-sharing offers, if any, have been mentioned in detail under the heading of that village in the Village Logs attached to the three tour reports.

Problems relating to the security of female teachers have already been discussed above under section E.6. Female teachers sent to Kala Dhaka should always be accompanied by a husband, brother or father. An ideal combination would be a husband and wife who are both teachers. But it might also be feasible to hire the woman's relative in some other capacity within the village. When both of them receive salaries, this would also help to overcome the recruitment problem posed by the unavailability

of a "hard area allowance".

Female teachers also need safe, clean housing; a house with a latrine and bathing facilities, surrounded by a wall. In this connection, a problem related to their accommodation must be mentioned: bedbugs are widespread in Kala Dhaka, and in our experience, they cause so much discomfort and lack of sleep that staying in a bedbug-ridden house would be enough to discourage a teacher from staying in Kala Dhaka.<sup>18</sup>

## 6. Dai Training

As mentioned above, women have only the most minimal access to health care. We found no trained dais, and in some villages there is not even a traditional dai. Women must often rely on untrained dais (midwives) and senior female relatives. In such villages, the priority request was for a trained dai or "lady doctor". When asked to describe their needs, most villages gave first priority to medical care, particularly for women and children. Entree to any village would be much easier if this were provided initially.

Particularly strong requests for lady doctors or trained dais were made by the women in the BHU at Daur (Sitadar), Shahdag, Bar Kilay Judbah, Garhi Bala Judbah (Basikhel); Niway Kilay (Akazai), Kotlai (Nusratkhel), and Dadum (Madakhel). On the way from Niway Kilay to the boat stop, a woman from Macchra stopped us and asked us to please send someone to train them in midwifery, since "there is no trained dai and no one will come from outside. If four women are trained, that will be enough." The possibility of recruiting women for training as dais from all these places, plus Bimbal,<sup>19</sup> should be looked at, especially for Bimbal, Niway Kilay, Bar Kilay, Judbah; Garhi Bala, Kotlai and Dadum (MK).

Expansion of the role of dais to include preventive care, hygiene and child health would probably not be difficult, considering the levels of need, and the respect which Kala Dhakans show to medical personnel generally (even to dispensers and medical technicians). But at present the foundations must be provided before they can be built on. It might also be possible to expand the women's skills center at Daur (if one is established) to include hygiene as well as literacy.

---

<sup>18</sup>See the third report, page 18 (footnote 22) for a description of these pests.

<sup>19</sup>Bimbal did not emphasize the need for a dai, but we observed that there is a great deal of disease here and little understanding of hygiene. The women reported that many women die in childbirth.

## G. Miscellaneous

### 1. Local Suspicion of KDADP Project Implementation

In Shahdag (Basikhel), Kotkay and Maira (Sitanadar), people claimed that we had only come for paper work, and had not done anything practical; that our activities were all talk, and nothing solid; or asked whether we had just come to complete the work on paper. We previously encountered such suspicions in the Hasanzai area. Under such conditions, even activities of modest cost, which are clearly beneficial, would probably make a big difference in local attitudes toward the KDADP.

### 2. Monitoring

In Kaho Dherai and Daur (Sitanadar) and Niway Kilay (Akazai), people urged us to monitor projects established in their villages. People in Kala Dhaka have seen enough empty school buildings, semi-functional BHU's and partially completed infrastructure projects to appreciate the importance of project monitoring. Monitoring would also be the best way to expand the database in this area, where people have already been so extensively surveyed before much project activity has taken place.

### 3. Cost-Sharing

Seven villages: Tuara (Hasanzai), Daur and Kaho Dherai (Sitanadar), Kotlai and Surmal (Nusratkhel), and Mhabra and Dadum (Madakhel), offered some kind of cost-sharing, usually in the form of offering land or a building to house the activity. In most cases, details about cost-sharing offers, plus comments, have been mentioned in detail under the heading of that village in the Village Logs attached to the three tour reports. The cost-sharing offer made by Tuara was recorded in a later visit, and consisted of an expression of willingness to buy improved chickens.

## H. Recommendations

Initially, a mobile team of female technical assistance specialists in the fields of poultry raising, agriculture, horticulture, and sewing/embroidery should visit villages requesting these types of assistance. The team would circulate from village to village, introducing new skills and identifying local women who could assume the role of instructor after the program concludes. During the program the team would return periodically to follow up and continue the instruction. It would not be necessary for the team to stay overnight in most areas.

The mobile team could also identify candidates for dai training, fill in gaps in our knowledge about women in Kala Dhaka, and explain the RDAD Project. They would be able to spot implementation problems not apparent in the planning phase, and coordinate with the RWADP staff and the USAID WID office in finding solutions. They could also help design the phasing-in of primary education programs for girls, and adult literacy and hygiene for women.

## APPENDIX

Interview Questions Revised October 17, 1990

1. What are the needs and problems of the women in this area as they perceive them?
2. Where do they go for medical treatment?
3. What are the facilities for education in this area? School? Madrasa? Any man or woman who teaches privately?
4. What kinds of jobs do women do in the house? Outside the house? At what time(s) of the day do they have free time, or have less work?
5. When grain from crops grown on family land is divided among the family, which family member makes the division?
6. If the grain grown on the land is not enough, which family member makes the decision to buy more? Who buys it?
7. Who decides what clothing/cloth to buy for the family? Who buys it?
8. Who manages the food supplies every day and buys small things when needed, such as matches, biscuits etc.
9. Do the women in this family keep any cash for expenses? How/where do they get this cash?
10. Do any women earn cash money? How? Do women sell ghee here? Eggs?
11. In this village, how many families have sent people to Karachi? How many women have gone along?
12. In a family, which person decides what family members should go to Karachi?
13. Do people who go to Karachi return, or do they settle there? Where do they stay?
14. In respondent's family, who chooses the bride for a boy? At what age is the boy betrothed? Is this the custom of this village?
15. In respondent's family, who makes the decision to give the girl? At what age is the girl betrothed? Is this the custom of this village?

16. What things does the boy's family give in the ceremony?  
What things does the girl's family give?
17. Do there any women who have returned from Karachi in this village? [Try to meet]
18. Are there any educated women in this village? [Try to meet]  
Are there any girls studying in school? In what class?  
Where?
19. Are there any girls studying in Karachi? Anyone who has finished her studies in Karachi?
20. What would you like the KDADP to do in your village? What kind of benefits would be useful for you? In what ways would you be able to cooperate?

#### Bibliography

- Khan, Shaheena 1983, Spiritual Healing and Witchcraft Among the Hassanzai of Kenar Sharif. Unpublished Master's Thesis, Quaid-e-Azam University (Islamabad, Pakistan), Department of Anthropology.
- Lindholm, Charles 1982, Generosity and Jealousy: The Swat Pakhtun of Northern Pakistan. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Nayyar, Adam 1988, Kala Dhaka. Islamabad (Pakistan): Lok Virsa Research Centre.
- Weiss, Anita 1988, An Historical Review of USAID'S Social Sector Performance in the 1982-87 Country Assistance Program. Islamabad: USAID.

17 Pages

**PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE KALA DHAKA  
SOCIO-ECONOMIC SURVEY**

**PREPARED FOR THE KALA DHAKA AREA DEVELOPMENT PROJECT**

**RICHARD ENGLISH, PH.D.  
DEVELOPMENT ALTERNATIVES, INC.  
OCTOBER 19, 1990**

**BEST AVAILABLE DOCUMENT**

17

## INTRODUCTION

This report summarizes the status of the ongoing Kala Dhaka Socio-Economic Survey and the implications of the survey's initial findings for current and future Kala Dhaka Area Development Project (KDADP) activities. The analysis and interpretation of these findings are linked directly to the efforts of the KDADP consultant agronomist and Women in Development (WID) specialist. Each member of the team will submit his/her separate and preliminary report to KDADP and USAID prior to departure from Pakistan. However, because of the overlap of the team member's assignments and the need to complete the collection of socio-economic data, the teams' collective findings will be compiled by DAI/Washington into a KDADP Phase I Interim Report. This Interim Report will be made available to all concerned USAID, Government of Pakistan and KDADP staff in time for the proposed KDADP workshop scheduled for the first week in December.

Throughout this report the terms "socio-economic survey" and "survey" refer to a number of survey instruments that the KDADP Technical Assistance Team (TAT) have been using to collect data relevant for the design and implementation of project activities. Chief among these is the Basic Village Survey, an instrument that surveys social and demographic patterns, patterns of agricultural production and labor migration and patterns of transport to and from the region. To date, the TAT has surveyed 143 villages, or more than two-thirds of the estimated 173 villages in the project area. The balance will be completed by the end of October. The data presented in this report is derived from 101 surveys that represent complete coverage of three of Kala Dhaka's five sub-regions: Nusrat Khel, Akazai and Hasanzai.

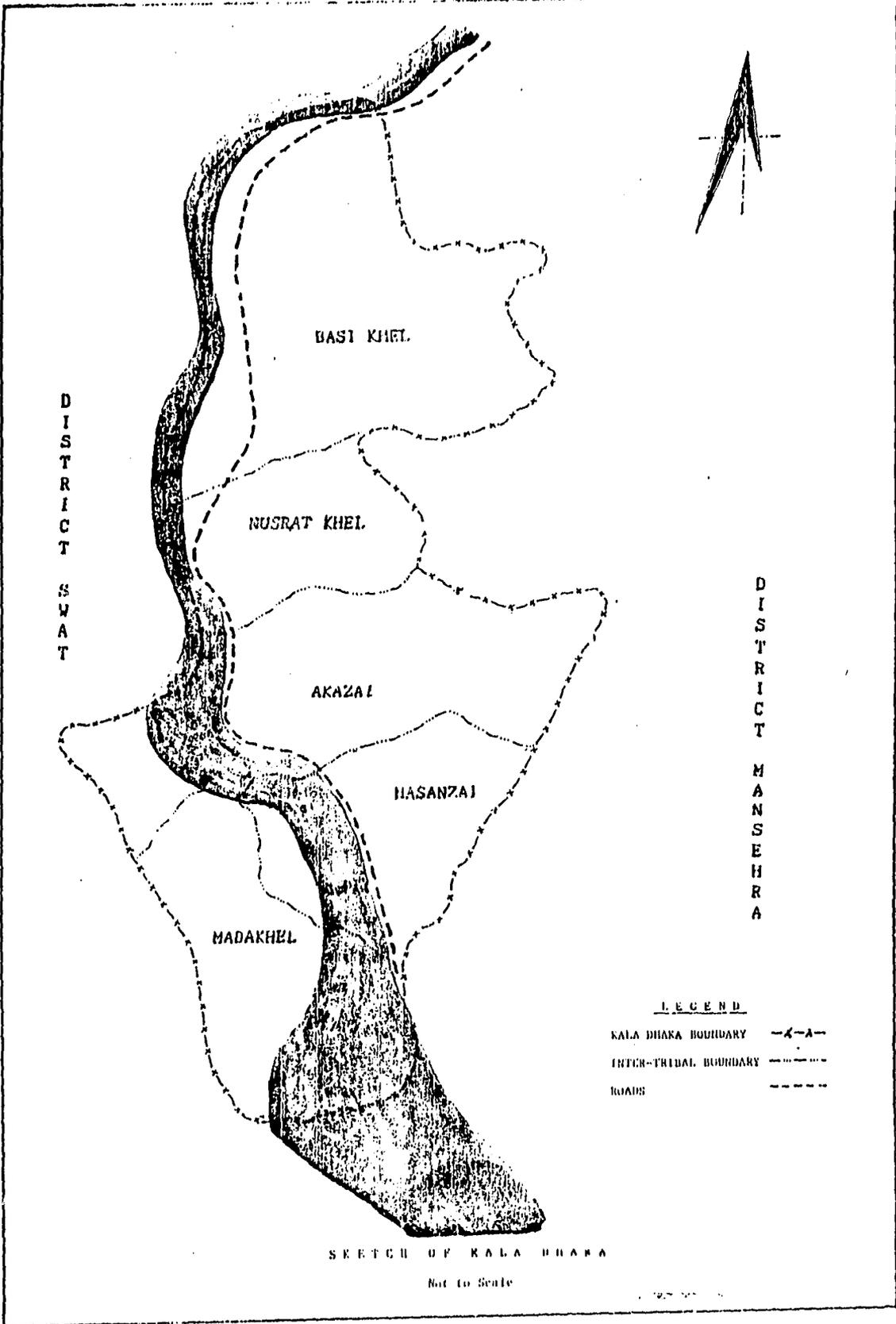
From the socio-economic perspective, the most significant factors that affect the planning and implementation of KDADP sub-projects are: population settlement patterns and land ownership; transport and communications; and, the seasonal migration of Kala Dhakan men outside the region for employment. The following sections review these factors and their implications for the feasibility of KDADP initiatives.

## BACKGROUND

Kala Dhaka is a rugged mountainous area that spans the Indus River in the northwest corner of the Hazara Division of Pakistan's North West Frontier Province (NWFP). A Provincially Administered Tribal Area of NWFP, Kala Dhaka falls under the jurisdiction of the Deputy Commissioner of Mansehra District. The Deputy Commissioner exercises his jurisdiction through the office of a Political Tehsildar based in the town of Oghi, located 25 miles west of Mansehra Town. Law and order is maintained in Kala Dhaka and its environs by the para-military Frontier Constabulary also based in Oghi. Locally, Kala Dhaka is referred to as *chahr ilaka* or "land of honor", a term that implies that the order of custom prevails over the rule of civil law throughout the region. The civil administration defers to the tribal institution of *jirga* (tribal council) for the adjudication of most local disputes in Kala Dhaka in accordance with the traditional Pukhtun code of honor or *pukhtunwali*. Because of the government's tolerance of tribal custom, and the prevalence of blood feuds, kidnapping for ransom and the tradition of providing asylum to wanted criminals that are associated with Pukhtun custom, Kala Dhaka has a reputation among the surrounding population as a "lawless" place not unlike that shared by tribal agencies of Waziristan, Orakzai and Khyber on Pakistan's border with Afghanistan.

Kala Dhaka is divided into five sub-regions named after the Pukhtun tribes that claim respective ownership of the land (see map). From north to south, these are: the Basi Khel, the Nusrat Khel, the Akazai, the Hasanzai and the Mada Khel. The Basi Khel, Nusrat Khel, Akazai and Hasanzai claim ownership to lands on both sides of the Indus River. However, the west bank lands of the Basi Khel and Nusrat Khel were absorbed into the district of Swat in 1969. The tribal lands of the Mada Khel are concentrated exclusively on the west bank of the Indus and are contiguous with the Gadoon-Amazai tribal areas of Swabi District to the southwest. All of the Kala Dhaka tribes lost large amounts of arable bottom land to the reservoir that was formed with the completion of the Tarbela Dam in 1975. This loss of traditional lands and livelihood to the redrawing of administrative boundaries, as well as to the contingencies of modern infrastructure development, lie at the heart of the Kala Dhakans' mistrust of the government and its development initiatives.

In addition to these socio-political boundaries, Kala Dhaka can be divided into three general agro-ecological zones. These are: the sub-alpine pasture, evergreen forest and shallow river valleys of the highlands, or *ghariz*; the sparsely populated, steep sided valleys of the midlands, or *mianzanai*; and the alluvial lowlands along the banks of the Indus River, or



DISTRICT  
SWAT

DISTRICT  
MANSEHRA

BASTI KHEL.

NUSRAT KHEL.

AKAZAI

HASANZAI

MADAKHEL

LEGEND

- KALA DHAKA BOUNDARY —A—A—
- INTER-TRIBAL BOUNDARY - - - - -
- ROADS . . . . .

SKETCH OF KALA DHAKA

Not to Scale

*sinkarai*. There is a general consistency to agricultural production in each of these zones: wheat is the predominant rabi (winter) crop; maize, and in the mid- and lowlands rice, are the predominant *kharif* (summer) crops. All cereals are intercropped with a variety of vegetables (squashes and greens), pulses and grasses. Soil conditions, climate and aspect peculiar to each zone determine the variety of crops and their yields. However, Kala Dhaka clearly lacks sufficient agricultural land to meet the subsistence requirements of its population. Most households supplement their agricultural production by keeping livestock for milk and meat; and the region's abundance of grasslands and pasture support a large number of livestock compared to other mountainous areas of Pakistan. Still, because of the region's limited agricultural lands, a problem compounded by the fragmentation of all land holdings, Kala Dhakans depend on the importation of food for at least half their annual subsistence requirements.

## POPULATION & SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

Preliminary results of the Socio-Economic Survey indicate that, in addition to the "native" Pukhtun tribes, i.e., the tribes that claim ownership of their eponymous sub-regions, substantial proportions of other Kala Dhakan tribes as well as ethnic groups indigenous to northern Pakistan inhabit the same sub-regions. For example, the semi-nomadic Gujars -- a cattle herding population that is found throughout the Hindu Kush and Himalayan foothills -- account for 26 percent of the population surveyed in the Hasanzai area (see Figure 1).<sup>1</sup> The non-Pukhtun *sitanidar* group, which is made up of Sayyids, Mians and Mullahs (groups that claim descent from the Prophet Muhammad) and Akhundkhel (descendants of the rulers of Swat) lineages, accounts for nearly 15 percent of the Kala Dhaka population surveyed to date.

This heterogeneity can in part be explained with reference to the dynamics of *pukhtunwali*. Among the predominant Pukhtun population, enmities between families of the same lineage often force the weaker family to flee their own lands and seek asylum in the territory of neighboring Kala Dhakan tribes. The Pukhtun custom of *pana* (providing asylum to fugitives) compels the host to provide for the livelihood of those who seek his protection. This usually takes the form of providing the fugitive with rights to a parcel of land in exchange for an annual payment in cash or kind, including personal service, called *galang*. When such enmities threaten to erupt between larger tribal sub-sections or entire tribes, a *jirga* will propose a traditional compromise of inviting a neutral, non-Pukhtun group, especially the Sayyid or Mian from outside the region, to settle on lands dividing the feuding factions. The neutral settlers become a buffer between the factions with ownership rights to the lands that they have settled.

Of course, not all tenant farmers are fugitives. Many have been forced by circumstances, such as the over-partition of family lands, to seek a more substantive land holding elsewhere in Kala Dhaka. In the Nusrat Khel area, for example, families of

---

<sup>1</sup> Population figures derived from the Socio-Economic Survey are based on estimates of households per village. These estimates have been solicited by the survey enumerators from the elders of each of the villages surveyed. Independent field observations confirm that these estimates are often exaggerated. However, no attempt has been made in this presentation of the survey findings to correct this bias. A subsequent and more detailed census of sample villages in the project area will provide data from which a standard margin of error can be calculated and applied to all Survey population data.

Basi Khel can be found living as tenants in addition to non-Pukhtun families that have migrated from neighboring Kohistan, Swat and Tanawal.

The remainder of the Kala Dhaka population is made up of the artisan and service groups, including smiths, carpenters, leather workers, barbers, muleteers, boatmen and musicians. Landholding inhabitants of each village retain the services of these individuals by granting them tenancy rights on tribal lands or annual payments in cash and kind.

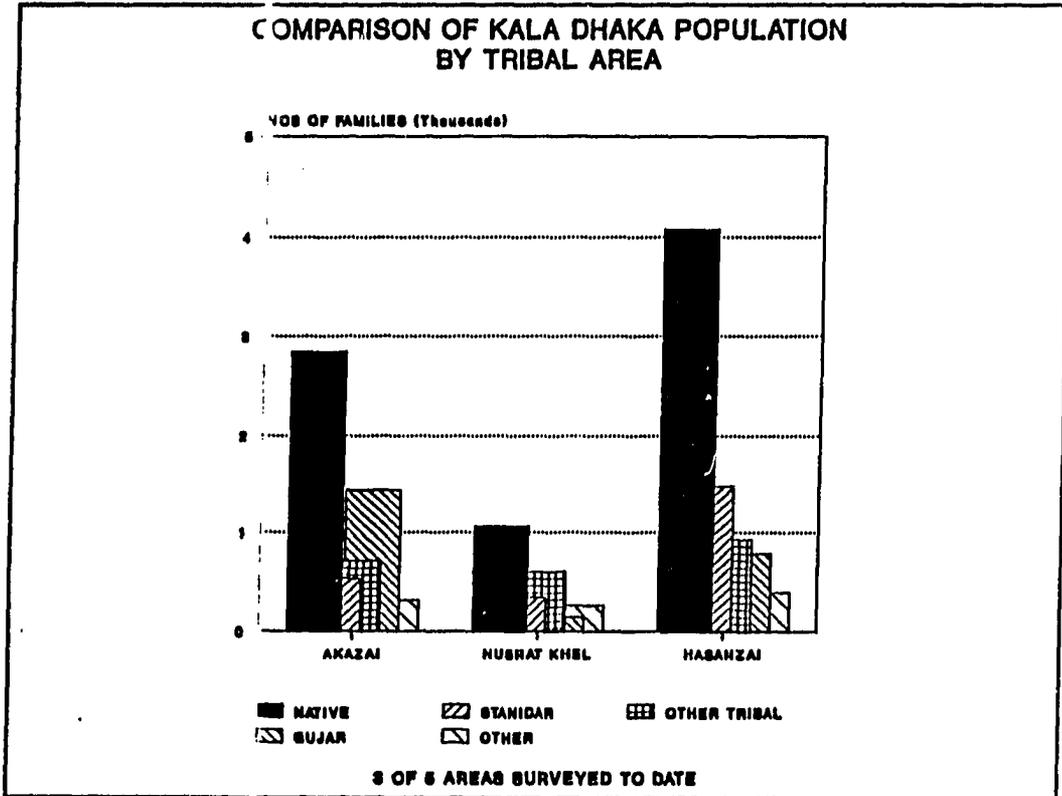


Figure 1

Preliminary results of the socio-economic survey illustrated in Figure 2 indicate that there is a greater number of settlements and households in the highlands relative to both the midlands and riverside. All population groups, landholders and tenants alike, are represented in the highlands. KDADP will have

to take this factor into consideration as it reassesses priorities for the construction of access roads into the region.

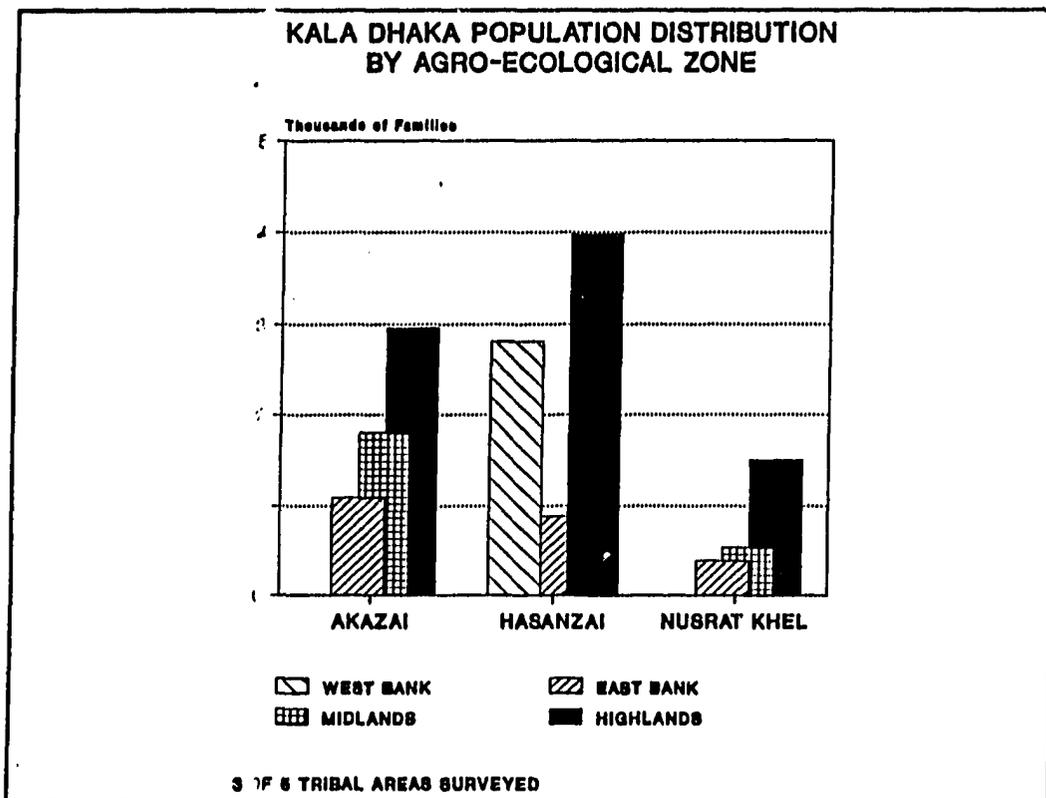


Figure 2

Within each of the tribal sub-regions of Kala Dhaka, the "native" Pukhtun group predominates both in size of population and in land ownership. However, a significant factor highlighted by the socio-economic survey is the importance of the *sitanidar* both as a percentage of the Kala Dhaka population -- nearly 10 percent of the population surveyed to date -- and as land holders. Figure 3 illustrates the percentage of households surveyed that are estimated to be landowning and Figure 4 illustrates the percentage estimated to be tenants. Twenty percent of those claiming to own land are *sitanidar*. These findings, as tentative as they are, indicate that the current KDADP strategy of dividing project resources more or less evenly

among the five Pukhtun groups of Kala Dhaka may be overlooking an important and influential segment of the region's population.

Villages in the midlands and at the riverside are typically contiguous settlements comprised of scores of households terraced into a hillside to maximize the surrounding agricultural land. In the highlands, villages are characteristically clustered settlements of smaller numbers of households that are stacked on top of one another, so that the roof of one house constitutes the courtyard of the one above it. Of the 104 villages surveyed to date, the average number of households per village is 147. A household is defined as the group of individuals related by blood or marriage living under one roof. The average number of individuals living in the households surveyed is 12.5. Households typically comprise three generations, including the wives and children of married sons. Settlements are relatively homogeneous. One or more sub-sections of the predominant Pukhtun tribe and their attendant artisan and service families may inhabit the same village. *Sitanidar* occupy settlements separate from, albeit neighboring to, those of the Pukhtuns as do the Gujar.

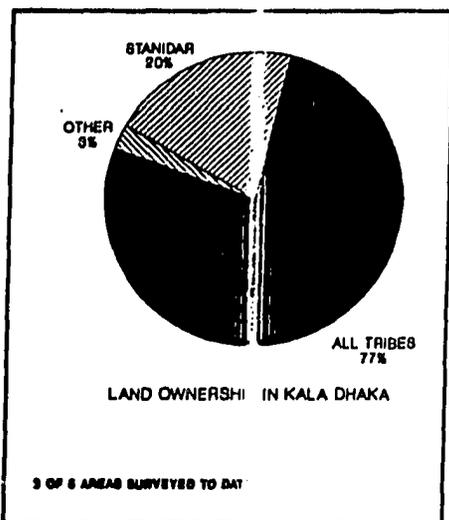


Figure 3

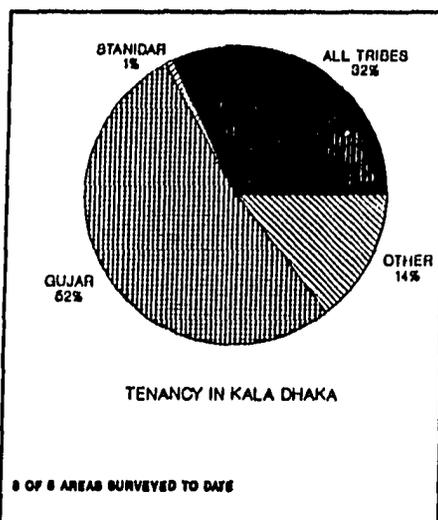


Figure 4

Tenancy is largely concentrated in the highlands where tenant households outnumber those of the midlands and riverside by more than six-to-one. Ninety-seven percent of the Gujar households accounted for in the survey, of which all are tenants, are located in the highland zone.

## TRANSPORT & COMMUNICATIONS

As a component of North West Frontier Area Development Project, KDADP was originally designed with an emphasis on road construction. This emphasis reflected the assistance strategy of the USAID/Pakistan Mission developed for other remote and politically fractious areas of the North West Frontier such as Gadoon-Amazai and the Federally Administered Tribal Areas -- a strategy that depended on access as the necessary precondition to effective follow-on projects. Since KDADP's inception, however, changing perspectives within the Mission regarding the objectives of area development in Pakistan have prompted a reassessment of AID's commitment to spending KDADP funds obligated for road construction. As a result, the Chief of Party and the Project Officer jointly agreed to postpone the consultancy of a Transport Economist until a more specific scope of work could be developed. In the interim, the TAT has itself undertaken a comprehensive Kala Dhaka transport survey to determine the most pressing requirements for road and related infrastructure construction in the region. This survey -- consisting of a traffic count and inventory of commodities imported and exported via nine track, road and river links to Mansehra District -- is still underway and will be completed by early 1991. However, the experience gained in the transport sector by the TAT and the short-term technical assistance team's own observations support the generalizations cited below.

While the mobility of the Kala Dhaka population, as indicated by the extent of labor migration to Karachi (see below), belies the characterization of the region as isolated, the difficulty and cost of access to the area discourages more than the rudimentary commerce and communications that already links Kala Dhakans with greater Pakistan. The east bank of Kala Dhaka is linked to Mansehra via both river transport and road while the west bank communities rely exclusively on river transport for access to the district. During the summer and autumn seasons, much of the traffic entering and leaving the area passes through Darband, a bustling market town situated just south of the Kala Dhaka tribal area border. From there, traffic moves on to the administrative center of Oghi, 15 miles to the NNW via a metalled road, and on to the district center at Mansehra and the Hazara Division center at Abbottabad.

From July to November, the Tarbela Reservoir is of sufficient depth to accommodate a host of smallcraft that ply the riverside ports from Darband to as far north as Shagai/Basi Khel, some 10 miles due south of Thakot. During this season, boatmen effectively monopolize transport service to riverside ports. From these ports, passengers will walk as much as 3 hours to their villages in the midlands, and will pay a muleteer as much as Rs150 per load to transport goods purchased in outlying

bazaars. A small fleet of two-wheel drive pickup trucks continues during this season to provide transport services between Shagal (the northern limit for larger river transport boats) and Luarna Bazaar, on the Kala Dhaka side of the Thakot footbridge, at the upper end of the Darband-Thakot road. Smaller boats ferry passengers across the river to Swat and the west bank of Kala Dhaka. As the reservoir recedes during the winter months, motor transport supplants the boat traffic, with the exception of river ferries, to villages along the entire length of the Darband-Thakot road. However, the poor conditions of that road, with its frequent landslides and washouts, combined with the high vehicle maintenance costs, keep motor transport rates much higher than river transport. A seventy pound bag of flour costing Rs240 in the Darand Bazaar will cost approximately another Rs30 to transport by road to a village on the Darband-Thakot Road as compared to less than Rs10 by boat. The same bag will cost an additional Rs100 to transport to a village in the midlands and Rs150 to a village in the highlands by pack animal. Thus, transport charges can be as much as double the cost of a quantity of a basic commodity for the inhabitants of Kala Dhaka.

As indicated above in Figure 2, the preliminary results of the socio-economic surveys indicate that a larger proportion of the Kala Dhaka population inhabits the highlands of the region than the midlands or the riverside. For much of the year, until the snow blocks the mountain passes, this highland population brings in commodities from entrepôts situated on the eastern slopes of the Kala Dhaka mountains such as Chor Kalan and Shungli Bandi. From their villages, people travel foot paths up and over the 8-9000 foot ridge of mountains that forms Kala Dhaka's eastern border to road heads at Panjagali or Tor Bala/Kopra (a journey of up to three to four hours) where they can hire a CJ-7 jeep to take them on to Chor Kalan or Shungli Bazaar, or to Oghi (a journey of another 2-3 hours). Carriage rates charged by jeep drivers will add another Rs50 per bag of flour from Oghi to Chor Kalan or Shungli Bandi.

The difficulty of access to the region in large part accounts for the problems that government line departments face in keeping staff in the field. Technical line departments such as the Department of Agriculture, the Forestry Department and Local Government, and Rural Development lack adequate numbers of staff to supervise and monitor projects in Kala Dhaka with any regularity. Lack of a hardship allowance and family accommodations for the government teachers and medical personnel assigned to Kala Dhaka facilities discourages many from taking up their assignments. More than seventy percent of the Kala Dhaka government primary schools that have been surveyed by the TAT are not operating either because, according to villagers' reports, the teachers assigned to them had not reported for duty or had abandoned their post.

## LABOR MIGRATION

The extent of long-term migration of men from Kala Dhaka for wage employment is a vivid testament to the dependence of the region on outside sources of income for survival. Preliminary results of the socio-economic surveys indicate that 83 percent of all households in Kala Dhaka have at least one member working outside the region for an average of nine months per year. Half of those households have from two to five members working outside the region. Sixty percent of all males surveyed between the ages of 16 and 50 are employed in Karachi, largely in unskilled occupations such as taxi and rickshaw drivers, factory workers, guards, bearers and waiters. Men in this age group work an average of 11 years in Karachi, typically spending the months of November through June-July at their jobs and returning to Kala Dhaka during the season of peak agricultural labor demand for the harvests of wheat, maize, rice and, especially, grass for winter livestock fodder. A comparison of the population profiles in figures 5 and 6 illustrates how dramatic is this seasonal shift in male population of Kala Dhaka.

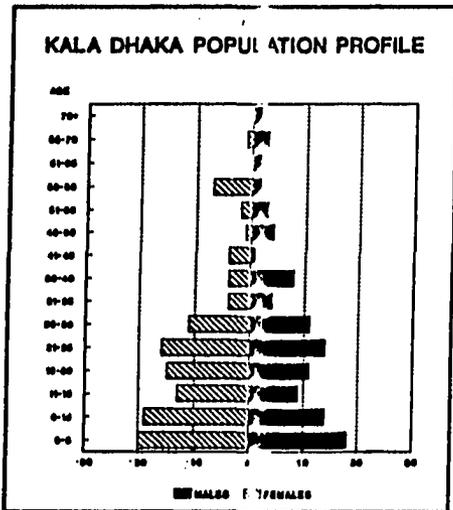


Figure 5

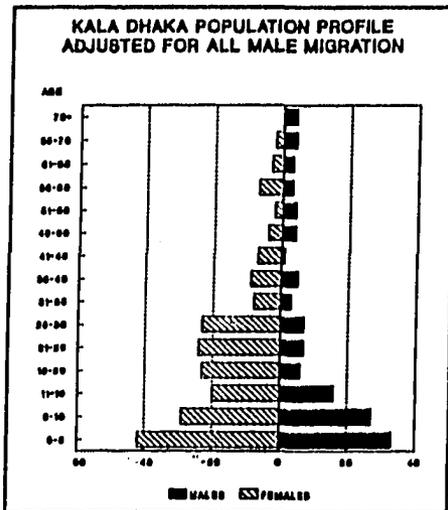


Figure 6

While a number of families do have men working at jobs in the Gulf (5.3 percent of all men sampled working outside the region), the pattern of labor migration from Kala Dhaka to Karachi predominates (see Figure 7) and appears to have been institutionalized for more than a generation. The cost of

obtaining visas and work permits for employment in countries like Saudi Arabia and Kuwait has escalated dramatically in the last decade while transport to Karachi by any of the many express buses departing daily from Oghi can be had for less than Rs200. Many Kala Dhakans have established businesses in Karachi, such as hotels and taxi concessions, that provide steady employment to others from their same tribal group. Sons often follow their fathers into the same factory jobs or household service. Large enclaves of Kala Dhakans have grown up in the Pukhtun ghettos of Karachi such as Orangi Town and Patel Pana. Men from the same tribal group, or even the same village, are able to share housing and subsistence expenses in these settlements, and to send messages and money back to their families with travelling relatives.

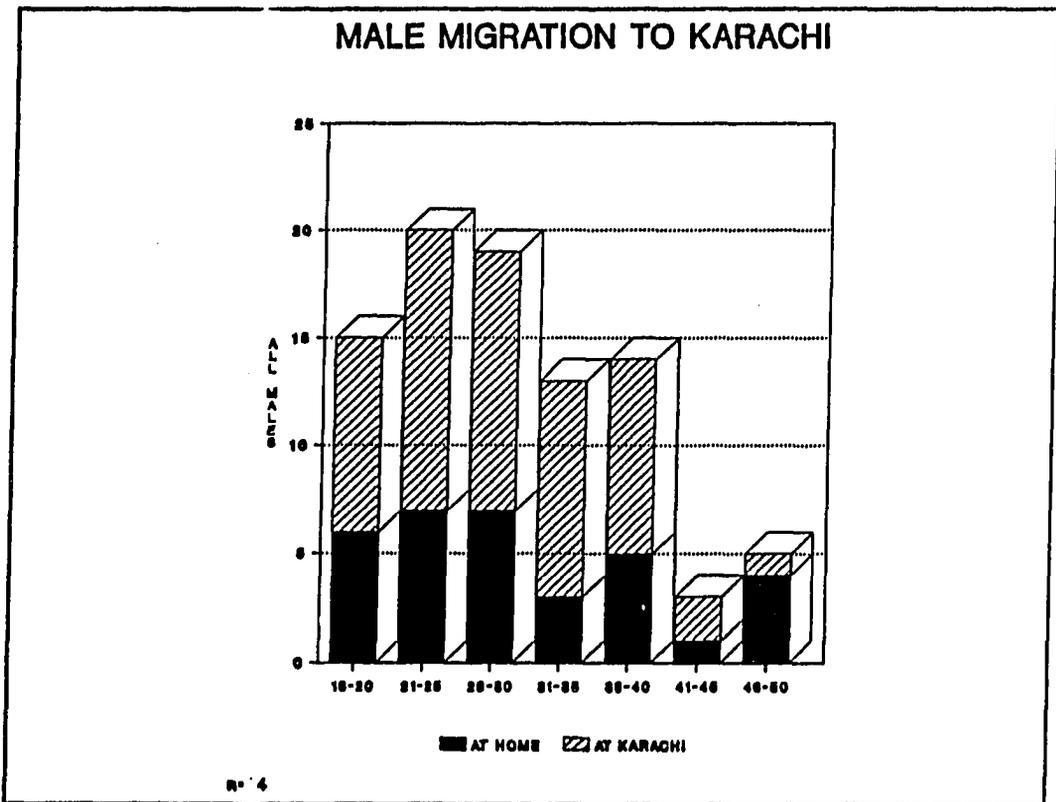


Figure 7

Men employed in Karachi reported saving from Rs900 to Rs1200 per month from their salaries for remittance back to their homes. Wages are generally remitted annually by men returning for the

agricultural season. These remittances are most commonly used to pay shopkeeper debts incurred by the family for the purchase of basic provisions, arms and ammunition over the previous year. The continuity between Karachi and Kala Dhaka is enduring and complete: the survival of the Kala Dhakan population is clearly dependent on cash income earned in Karachi.

Some Kala Dhakan men have established semi-permanent residence in Karachi and have brought their families to live with them for years at a time. Children of both sexes are enrolled in the Karachi school system and adult women are allowed to avail themselves of existing informal education opportunities. However, this residence is most often temporary, lasting up to only a few years for most families. When girls reach marriageable age, they are returned by their families to the home villages; boys are pressed into employment at early ages, some as young as twelve years. Nevertheless, the extent to which Kala Dhakans live and work outside the region suggests that they have potentially had a much greater level of exposure to the modern world than people living in similarly remote areas of the country. Project staff must attempt to capitalize on this potential in their efforts to promote community participation in project activities.

The extensive migration to Karachi, and the extent of the dependence on Karachi earnings, has many implications for the planning and implementation of KDADP activities. Both the widespread male absenteeism for much of the year combined with the intensive agricultural labor requirements of men when they return to their villagers will affect their receptivity to, and participation in, KDADP sub-projects. Sub-projects will have to be carefully targeted and designed to provide suitable incentives for men to divert their labor from either seasonal agricultural demands or wage labor.

This high level of male absenteeism will undoubtedly affect KDADP efforts to promote community participation in project design and implementation. Special efforts will be required to develop village committees in which there is a continuity of membership in order to maintain villager commitment to project activities. Male absenteeism underscores the relevance of project activities that promote skills training and income opportunities among women.

## **ISSUES**

The preliminary results of the socio-economic survey and the related efforts of the technical assistance team have pinpointed a number of interrelated issues that need to be addressed in order to promote the sustainability of any KDADP initiatives in Kala Dhaka. These are as follows:

### **Regional Diversity**

A diversity of both productive environments and socio-economic relations throughout the region will undermine any lasting impact of sub-projects designed to benefit all segments of the Kala Dhaka population equally. As has been demonstrated in other area development projects in NWFP, there is a high degree of divisiveness among tribal Pukhtun communities. Project sites and sub-projects will have to be carefully planned to take advantage of particularly suitable conditions or the receptivity of the target community to innovations. This approach demands flexibility and experimentation in project design.

### **Addressing Local Expectations**

There is among the people of Kala Dhaka an inflated level of expectations for the benefits that KDADP will provide. These expectations stem in part from the population's grievances with previous government interventions in the area, and from the political nature of development assistance that has been provided to Kala Dhaka within the last five years, e.g., water supply schemes, irrigation works, school and clinic construction undertaken with funds provided by members of the Provincial Assembly. The empty schools, empty clinics, crumbling buildings and stacks of water pipe never installed that can be found throughout Kala Dhaka are a testament to the inadequacies of this type of "quick fix" development. KDADP faces a great challenge to temper these expectations and engage the Kala Dhakans in more purposeful and sustainable development activities.

### **Road Construction**

KDADP was originally designed with a significant road construction component. Expectations for road constructions have been raised within the provincial government and among the Kala Dhaka population. The improvement and construction of access roads remains perhaps the singlemost common demand of the population and, thus, the singlemost effective means of gaining the support of the population for KDADP activities. Lessons learned from other tribal area projects suggest that simple road

projects, including construction of jeep tracks, improvements of existing alignments and roadside stabilization, can be successfully implemented by government line departments as long as project designers accept and plan according to the capacities of the implementing line departments.

### **Partnership with the Line Departments**

Because of both the difficult conditions of Kala Dhaka and the limitations of the government line departments to provide services to the area, KDADP must develop an active partnership with the implementing line departments to support their obligations to the project. In addition to providing technical assistance, KDADP can support line department activities specifically designed for Kala Dhaka, such as providing logistic support and improved cold chain equipment for mobile EPI teams, and incentives for government teachers and medical personnel assigned to the area. This support should not be construed as a subsidizing of the line departments. Rather, it should be seen as a catalyst for simple and appropriate activities that would not otherwise be sustainable in Kala Dhaka.

### **Migrant Population**

The high level of mobility among the male population and the enormous demands on their time when they are actually in Kala Dhaka will be an obstacle to promoting community participation in the planning and implementation of project activities. KDADP activities will require the flexibility and the incentives needed to guarantee the continuity of village members' commitment.

### **Community Participation**

The Mission's renewed commitment to promoting multi-sectoral development in remote areas based on a partnership with the intended beneficiaries promises to promote more sustainable, albeit smaller-scale, improvements in the livelihoods of these people. The model of the Sarhad Rural Support Corporation (SRSC), being supported by the Mission in Kohat and Charsadda, provides clear-cut and practical guidelines for promoting community participation in the development process that can be tested under the more difficult conditions of Kala Dhaka. However, KDADP Phase I was not designed with community participation in mind. As the SRSC model demonstrates, the promotion of community participation requires commitment, not only of the village organizers working in the field, but of both government and donor alike to support the process. As currently configured, KDADP Phase I does not have the funding nor staff to promote a significant measure of community participation in its

project activities. KDADP does have a cadre of dedicated and energetic field staff that can begin the process of building community support. A more specific and detailed strategy for promoting community participation can be developed in Phase II.