

**Revitalization of Indigenous Knowledge Systems
and Sustainable Rural Development
in the Punjab**



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**Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment for
the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Anthropology**

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Table of Contents

Acknowledgements.....	i
Abstract.....	15
CHAPTER ONE	19
INTRODUCTION.....	19
1.1 BACKGROUND	19
1.2 AGRICULTURE IN PAKISTAN	23
1.3 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY	26
1.4 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM	27
1.5 OPERATIONALIZATION OF MAIN BARRIERS IN SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT	32
1.6 ANTHROPOLOGY AND DEVELOPMENT	44
1.7 METHODOLOGY.....	67
1.7.1 Sample of the Study	67
1.7.2 Participant Observation	68
1.7.3 Key Informants	69
1.7.4 Informal Interviews.....	69
1.7.5 Focused Group Discussions (FGDs).....	70
1.7.6 Case Studies.....	71
1.7.7 Archival Data	72
1.8 SCOPE OF THE STUDY	73
1.9 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY.....	78
CHAPTER TWO	81
REVIEW OF LITERATURE.....	81

2.1 DEVELOPMENT AS A CONCEPT	81
2.2 CRITICAL APPRECIATION OF DEVELOPMENT	89
2.3 INDIGENOUSNESS: FROM BACKGROUND TO FOREGROUND.....	93
2.4 RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN PAKISTAN	104
2.4.1 Retroversion from Jinnah’s Vision	105
2.4.2 An Elite State: Domestic ‘Colonization’	106
2.4.3 Economic Planning: Retrospective Perspective	108
2.4.4 Development Strategies.....	112
2.5 OVERVIEW OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS.....	113
2.5.1 Village Agricultural and Industrial Development Program (V-AID) 1952-61	114
2.5.2 Basic Democracies (1959-70).....	115
2.5.3 Rural Works Program (1963-71)	115
2.5.4 Integrated Rural Development Program (IRDP) 1972-80	116
2.5.5 People’s Works Program (1972-77)	117
2.5.6 Local Government and Rural Development Program (1979 - 1985)	117
2.5.7 Prime Minister’s Five Point Program (1985-88).....	118
2.5.8 People’s Program- I & II (1989 – 90 & 1993 - 97)	118
2.5.9 Tameer-e-Watan Program I & II (1991 – 93 & 1996 – 98).....	119
2.5.10 Social Action Program (SAP-I & SAP-II)	120
2.6 CRIPPLED LOCAL GOVERNMENT INNOVATIONS.....	121
2.7 LAND REFORMS	124
2.8 GRIMNESS OF PAKISTANI AGRICULTURE.....	128
2.9 INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE AND ITS RELATION WITH SUSTAINABLE RURAL DEVELOPMENT	134
Summary	137

CHAPTER THREE	141
PROFILE OF THE RESEARCH LOCALE	141
3.1 RISE OF CULTURE: INDIGENOUS ROOTS	141
3.2 PAKISTAN: LAND AND PEOPLE	142
3.3 THE PUNJAB	143
3.4 DISTRICT SHEIKHUPURA	146
3.4.1 Geology of the District	147
3.4.2 Flora	147
3.4.3 Fauna.....	148
3.4.4 <i>Nalahs</i> (Streams).....	148
3.4.5 Flood	149
3.4.6 Climate and Soil Conditions	149
3.4.7 Rivers and Streams.....	150
3.4.8 Industry	150
3.4.9 Agriculture	151
3.5 THE VILLAGE	151
3.5.1 Geography and Demographic Features of the Village	154
3.6 SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF <i>SACHA SODA</i>	155
3.6.1 <i>Qaum</i> (Caste)	155
3.6.2 <i>Zamindar</i> (Landlords).....	157
3.6.3 <i>Sufaid Posh</i> (White Collar)	161
3.6.4 <i>Mazaray</i> (Tenants).....	162
3.6.5 <i>Kammi</i> (Occupational Groups).....	164
3.6.6 <i>Tabbar</i> and <i>Kunba</i> (Family and Kinship)	167

3.6.7 Friendship and Traditional Hospitality.....	168
3.6.8 Dwelling Patterns.....	170
3.6.9 Dress Patterns.....	170
3.6.10 Food Practices.....	171
3.6.11 Betrothals and Marriages	171
3.6.12 Deaths	174
3.6.13 Daily routines	176
3.6.14 Fairs and Festivals	178
3.6.15 Games and Sports	180
3.7 POLITICAL SETUP.....	181
3.7.1 <i>Dera</i> and <i>Deraydar</i> (Men’s room and its Functionary).....	181
3.7.2 <i>Dhara</i> of Village (Electoral Alliance)	183
3.8 AGRICULTURE PRACTICES AND RELATED OCCUPATIONS	188
3.8.1 Main Problems faced by Farmers shifted to Mechanized Farming.....	189
Summary.....	193
CHAPTER FOUR	195
VILLAGE DEVELOPMENT PROCESS:.....	195
<i>NAUKAR-SHAHI</i> APPROACH.....	195
4.1 INTRODUCTION.....	195
4.2 BACKGROUND OF PROJECTS.....	197
4.2.1 Agronomic Research Project (ARP).....	199
4.2.2 Second Scarp Transition Project (SSTP)	200
4.2.3 Water Management Project (WMP).....	202
4.2.4 Running of Projects in Sacha Soda.....	204

4.2.5 Functioning of ARP in Sacha Soda.....	206
Case 1.....	207
Case 2.....	208
Case 3.....	208
4.2.6 Field Operations of SSTP in village.....	208
Case 4.....	211
Case 5.....	211
Case 6.....	212
4.2.7 WMP and its performance in Village.....	212
Case 7.....	213
Case 8.....	214
Case 9.....	215
Case 10.....	215
4.2.8 Commentary on Progress of Projects in Village.....	217
4.3 DEVOLUTION OF POWER: A LOCAL EMPOWERMENT AND DECENTRALIZATION PLEDGE.....	219
4.4 DEVOLUTION IN SACHA SODA AND MAIN HURDLES.....	224
4.4.1 Caste Based Politics.....	224
4.4.2 Disharmonized Pace of District Assemblies.....	227
4.4.3 Citizen Community Boards (CCBs).....	229
4.4.4 Bottom Up Planning and Ownership Incentive System.....	230
4.4.5 Endangered Theme of Participatory Development.....	232
4.4.6 Union Council to Control villagers and opponents.....	233
4.4.7 Fabrication of Union Council’s Administrative Powers and Functions.....	234
4.4.8 Business Conduct of the Union Council.....	237

4.4.9 Manipulation of Devolution Plan by the Influential	238
4.4.10 Union Monitoring Committees (UMC).....	240
Summary	241
CHAPTER FIVE	248
ZARAAT IN SACHA SODA	248
5.1 INTRODUCTION.....	248
5.2 ZAR, ZAMIN AND ZARAAT	250
5.2.1 <i>Zar</i> (Money)	250
5.2.2 <i>Zamin</i> (Land)	251
5.2.3 <i>Zaraat</i> (Agriculture)	252
5.3 AGRO-ECOLOGICAL REGIONS	255
5.4 CROPPING PATTERN OF SACHA SODA.....	257
5.4.1 <i>Kanak</i> (Wheat)	258
5.4.2 <i>Chaawal</i> (Rice)	259
5.4.3 <i>Ganna</i> (Sugarcane).....	260
5.4.4 <i>Channa</i> (Gram).....	261
5.5 ARIDITY CLASSIFICATION OF DISTRICT	265
5.6 LAND TENURE SYSTEM	266
5.6.1 <i>Zamindari</i> System (Landlordism)	267
5.6.2 <i>Jagirdar</i> (State Landlordism).....	268
5.6.3 Private Land Lords.....	268
5.6.4 <i>Raiyatwari</i> Tenure.....	269
5.6.5 <i>Mahalwari</i> System	269
5.6.6 <i>Mazaray</i> (Tenant Proprietorship)	270

5.7 DEFECTS OF LAND TENURE SYSTEM	271
5.7.1 Unequal distribution of Land	271
5.7.2 Political Problems.....	272
5.7.3 Interest of Landlords.....	272
5.7.4 Deficiency of Credit.....	273
5.8 AFTERMATH OF FARM MECHANIZATION IN SACHA SODA.....	276
5.8.1 Displacement of Labour	276
5.8.2 Small Land Holdings	277
5.8.3 Adverse effect of Chemicals.....	278
5.8.4 Environmental Hazards.....	280
5.8.5 Focused Group Discussion on Farm Mechanization	282
5.8.6 Focused Group Discussion on Support Prices and Taxation.....	289
5.9 FARMERS' EXPERIENCE WITH MODERN TECHNOLOGY	293
5.9.1 Reduction in Soil Fertility	293
5.9.2 Incompatible Fertilizers and Supply.....	294
5.9.3 Nitrate run-off.....	295
5.9.4 Soil Erosion.....	295
5.9.5 Soil Compaction	296
5.9.6 Threats to Indigenous Seeds, Animal Breeds and other Species.....	297
5.9.7 Habitat Destruction.....	297
5.9.8 Contaminated Food	297
5.9.9 Destruction of Traditional Knowledge Systems and Cultural Traditions	298
5.9.10 Control of Agriculture Inputs and Food Distribution Channel	298
5.9.11 Threat to Individual Farmers.....	299

5.9.12 Non Suitability of Modern Agricultural Machinery.....	299
5.10 MODERN METHODS AND WATER POLLUTION: A CASE STUDY	301
5.10.1 Water Pollution as a threat to Indigenous Resources	301
5.10.2 Water Pollution and Health related Issues in the Village	305
5.10.3 Water Pollution in Irrigation and Drainage System	308
5.10.4 Safe Water Drainage, Environmental Threats and Economic Compulsions	311
Summary	314
CHAPTER SIX.....	318
<i>DESI ZARAAT IN SACHA SODA</i>	318
6.1 INTRODUCTION.....	318
6.2 'DESI' AND 'WALAYATI' DICHOTOMY.....	321
6.3 DESI ZARAAT IN SACHA SODA	323
6.3.1 Social Face of Indigenous Agriculture	324
6.3.2 <i>Wangar</i> System (Communal Labor).....	324
6.3.3 <i>Kammi</i> or <i>Seipi</i> System	326
6.3.4 <i>Mazaray</i> of Village	328
6.4 DESI ZARAAT PRACTICES	330
6.4.1 Soil and Fertility	332
6.4.2 Pest Control and Bird Attack.....	335
6.4.3 Seed Preservation and Storage.....	337
6.4.4 Soil Tillage and Management.....	341
6.4.5 Flood Control and Land Erosion.....	343
6.4.6 Livestock Management	344
6.4.7 Growing Importance of IKS in Agriculture	347

Case 1: Evaluation of various moisture conservation practices through green manuring and tillage.....	351
Case 2: Integrated use of gypsum and green manuring for wheat production under rain-fed conditions.....	352
Case 3: Role of green manuring in amelioration of salinity effects on wheat at IRS.....	352
Case 4: Role of sesbania in providing fodder during <i>Kharif</i> and improving wheat yield in Rabi	353
6.5 SOCIO-ECONOMIC HURDLES IN ATTEMPT TO REVITALIZE INDIGENOUS AGRICULTURE	353
6.6 IMPROVING AGRICULTURE SECTOR AND INDIGENOUS FARMING PRACTICES.....	356
6.7 PROBLEMS FACED BY SMALL FARMER COMMUNITY REGARDING MODERN AGRICULTURE	364
Summary	368
CHAPTER SEVEN	373
INDIGENOUS DEVELOPMENT PARADIGM:	373
<i>PAIDAAR TARAQQI</i>	373
7.1 INTRODUCTION.....	373
7.2 BASTI OR PINDTHAN (THE COMMUNITY)	375
7.3 TARAQQI (DEVELOPMENT)	377
7.4 DESI TARAQQI (TASAWWAR AUR MUZMIRAAT)	381
7.5 DESI ILM AND TARAQQI.....	392
7.6 MARSAHIL OF PRACTICING INDIGENOUS DEVELOPMENT (ID).....	398
7.6.1 First Stage: <i>Sooch Bichar</i> (Conceptualizing)	398
7.6.2 Second Stage: <i>Shinaakhat</i> (Identification and Homogenizing).....	398
7.6.3 Third Stage: <i>Farahmiyee Wasaael aur Intizaam</i> (Resource Management)	399
7.6.4 Fourth Stage: <i>Tajaweez</i> (Interventions).....	400
7.6.5 Fifth Stage: <i>Amali Jama aur Nigraani</i> (Implementation and Monitoring).....	400

7.6.6 Sixth Stage: <i>Takhmina aur Jaiza</i> (Evaluation and Updating IMD)	401
7.7 SHIRKAT (PARTICIPATION).....	402
7.7.1 <i>Tanzeem</i> (Community Organization)	402
7.7.1.1 <i>Qayyadat</i> (Leadership Training).....	402
7.7.1.2 <i>Istadaad-e-Kaar</i> (Capacity Building)	403
A Case of Community Organization.....	404
7.7.2 <i>Shamuliat</i> (Community Participation)	405
A Case of Community Participation.....	406
7.7.3 <i>Mukhtariat</i> (Community Empowerment).....	407
7.7.3.1 Local Perception of Community Empowerment.....	409
7.7.4 <i>Taraqqi</i> (Community Development)	410
Summary	413
CHAPTER EIGHT.....	420
<i>DESI SIYAASAT AND SIYAASI IDARAY</i>	420
8.1 INTRODUCTION.....	420
8.2 PUNCHAYAT SYSTEM: A CASE OF INDIGENOUS POLITICAL INSTITUTION AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT.....	423
8.2.1 A Case of <i>Punchayat</i> Proceedings.....	429
8.2.2 A Case of <i>Parya</i> Functioning	431
8.2.3 Role of <i>Keth</i> in <i>Qaum</i> Matters	432
8.2.4 Role of <i>Keth</i> in Extended Family Issues	433
Case 1.....	434
Case 2.....	435
8.2.5 Traditional <i>Dhara</i> and Leadership	436
8.3 VILLAGE CORE GROUP'S SUGGESTIONS TO REVITALIZE THE INDIGENOUS PUNCHAYAT SYSTEM	441

8.4 PUNCHAYATI SYSTEM: AN APPRAISAL	451
8.5 DEVOLUTION: A CASE OF MODERN LOCAL GOVERNMENT	453
Summary	469
CHAPTER NINE	473
SYNTHESES OF <i>DESI ILM</i> AND <i>TARAQQI</i>	473
9.1 INTRODUCTION.....	473
9.2 NEO COLONIAL MODEL OF DEVELOPMENT	475
9.3 AGRICULTURE DEVELOPMENT AND INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE	485
9.4 RURAL DEVELOPMENT AND INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE.....	498
9.5 INDIGENOUS POLITICAL INSTITUTION AND INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE	511
9.5.1 Social Organization of Indigenous Political Institution	517
Summary	529
SUMMARY.....	536
CONCLUSION.....	548
GLOSSARY OF INDIGENOUS TERMS.....	551
BIBLIOGRAPHY	561

List of Figures

Figure 1: Map of Pakistan	143
Figure 2: Map of the Punjab	145
Figure 3: Pakistan Agro-ecological Regions	256
Figure 4: Pakistan's Cropping Pattern.....	263
Figure 5: Crop Zoning of the Punjab	264
Figure 6: Pakistan Aridity Classes.....	265

Abstract

Indigenous Knowledge System (IKS) as evident from the title is an entire system of livelihood which is the intellectual property of a particular community. The study was conducted in a village Sacha Soda of Sheikhpura district of Punjab province in Pakistan. The methodology of the study is descriptive in which different anthropological methods were used. The data collection for this study was conducted during 2005 and 2006.

The current research basically undertook the objectives of studying the IKS connected with agriculture as an idea as well as a set of practices, secondly, to study the features of indigenous perception of development and its relationship with sustainability. Thirdly, to construct a case that highlights the fact that what passes for development activity in name of agricultural developmental projects is just another face of elitist and hegemonic systems of exploitation and control in rural areas and finally, to present the characteristics of IKS as viable alternatives that can be implemented for agricultural development, local empowerment and effective decentralization. The aim of the study was to investigate the extent to which the local population in the study locale still practicing their indigenous life styles.

In this regard, chapter one is 'Introduction' that discusses the research problem along with the detailed narration on the objectives of study, research problem and the hypotheses. The research problem explains that why indigenous knowledge is not consulted in countries like Pakistan. Extensive survey of literature was done to develop a theoretical base for sake of study. Chapter two is 'Review of Literature' also includes the hybrid model of study and the concepts borrowed from scholars for the sake of study. Chapter two consists of three main sections including debate on 'development' as a concept, 'indigenous knowledge' and also a case of rural development in Pakistan.

Chapter three is 'village setting' that provides information on the geographic setting of district including historical details. The chapter highlights the socio-economic life of village people. The social organization of village contains information about social quartiles of village population divided into different *quams* i.e. *Zamindars*, *Sufaid Posh*, *Mazaray*, and *Kammis*. The importance of *Tabbar* (nuclear family) and *Kunba* (extended family) in social and cultural life of village is also included as well as various other facets of cultural life styles are discussed in the chapter. This chapter also briefly delineates about the political organization and its actors in village. Information on agricultural practices and related occupations brings forth details about the agriculture as main profession of the village people and problems faced by farming community in village.

Chapter four is 'Village Development Process'. This chapter talks about the major interventions made by the agriculture development agencies to cope with the hurdles impeding the agriculture development and sustainability. The chapter contains information on four major development initiatives including Agronomic Research Project (ARP), Second Scarp Transition Project (SSTP), Water Management Program (WMP) and finally, 'Devolution of Power' as a composite development scheme to replace the previous development through local government institutions.

Chapter five is 'Agriculture in Sacha Soda' that adumbrates about the agriculture domain in country as well as in village. The cropping pattern of village is explained in detail with reference to the cultural concept of *Zar* (capital or money), *Zamin* (land) and *Zaraat* (agriculture). After discussing the aridity classification of village, the merits and demerits of Land Tenure System (*Zamindari* system) operational in village is also sketched with reference to historical and current perspectives. The most important section of chapter is the note on consequences of farm mechanization in Sacha Soda due to which modernization in agriculture domain and mechanization of agriculture became responsive to influential and powerful people in village and adjacent villages.

Chapter six is *Desi* (traditional) Agriculture in Sacha Soda. This section includes two main issues in modern agriculture practices that hinder national progress to seek national level self reliance. These two are related to the agriculture sector of rural areas, out of them, first, is the small farm size, lack of access to irrigation water and related factors of production, and, second, is the high level of prevailing rural poverty due to which modern farming methods have merely turned out to be feasible for big and wealthy landowners. On the other hand, total ignorance of spirit of traditional agriculture and its practices has created alienation, where farmers are wholly concerned about their profit margins and material gains. This section discusses the perception of people about 'Indigenouslyness' (*desi*) including the social face of indigenous agriculture in the village including views of a core group of *Wadkay* (visionary people) in village.

Chapter seven is 'Indigenous Development Paradigm: *Paidaar Taraqqi*'. This section is a discussion on the perception of 'development' as it is perceived by people of village. The term *Taraqqi* in both Urdu and Punjabi languages substitutes 'development' that denotes the relationship between *abaadi* (population), and *wasaael* (resources). *Taraqqi* is not a mere set of practices to make best use of resources by the community rather it is composite whole that binds *Basti* (Community), with its *wasaael* (resources) in a reciprocal relation that continues to progress due to a benignity.

Chapter eight is about indigenous politics and political institutions. This section has discussed the local and traditional political institutions and their role in village's social life. It is also discussed that why these traditional leaders were successful in dealing with the political issues of village people. The concept of *deraydari* (patronage) and the role of *Dera* (Men's room) are discussed in this section to understand the importance of *Dera* in traditional life. The chapter also discusses in detail that why the indigenous political institutions were demolished and failure of successful revival of these local institutions thus created a gap for rise of different power groups in the area that instead of empowering people merely worked for their vested interests and alienated the rural

folks from practicing control over their local issues. Finally, the research highlights the recent experiment of government to devolve the power and decision making authority at local levels to empower people.

Chapter nine is a synthesis of whole discussion while highlighting the importance of various aspects of Indigenous Knowledge of village people. It was found that the discarding of local knowledge is because of many factors that included: firstly, unwillingness of contemporary generation to practice the traditional methods; secondly, the governments welcomes to non local technologies without blending them in local context; thirdly, the whimsy of being a backward among the younger generations and infusion of agricultural staff towards modern techniques; and, fourthly, the aim among younger generation to get more remuneration were main reasons of why indigenous practices less preferred by them.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

The thesis deals with the Revitalization of Indigenous Knowledge Systems and Sustainable Rural Development Practices in the province of Punjab, Pakistan. The study was carried out in the village Sacha Soda, District Sheikhpura in the province of Punjab. The main thrust of research was to study the extent to which villagers' life was influenced by indigenous patterns with special emphasis on traditional farming methods. The province of Punjab is agriculture based with its population largely residing in rural areas. In this connection, it is important to mention that the national development depends on the development of education, health, infrastructure, and agriculture. The study covers a survey of major development efforts launched in Pakistan and their aftermath, especially the most recent 'devolution of power' through local government system. The study focuses on the validity of indigenous practices in the spheres of agriculture, development perception and political organization.

Since human beings have inhabited the earth, the credible sources speak for the very human nature that surrounds around the struggle for survival.¹ Humans since the very first day started to explore the world and resources to make sure that the survival needs are met. Pandey (2008: vii) expresses 'man is only being who has thought, planned, and made development ever since he emerged on this planet from his animal ancestry'. It was the recognition that humans before the harsh forces of nature need to bond in order to give strength to one another. The known historical evidences about humans

¹ Throughout much of their prehistory humans have relied on hunting wild animals and gathering wild plants. This period of primary hunting-gathering is referred to as the Paleolithic period (Scupin & DeCorse, 2009: 451).

and the overtime survival strategies adopted by humans reveal that humans consciously tried to evolve technologies best suited to cope with the challenges posed by the natural agents. The human history is in a way a history of strategies evolved, refined and adopted for the sake of human survival. Anthropological evidences speak for the early stages of human society including hunting and gathering bands, tribal and horticultural societies, agricultural and industrial phase of humans' settled life fashions, and of course the post-industrial phases of human society. In course of history, man passed through several stages and thus 'he became civilized citizen of a nation' (Pandey, 2008: vii).

The survival of man largely depended upon interacting, understanding and knowing the natural forces around. Human effectively interacted with the external factors like environment, water sources, soil, vegetation, etc. The challenges posed to survival were understood and where needed effectively tools and techniques were made up. It can be said that the spirit of development though not professionally recognize as of today was very much existent.

In early times when man emerged from his animal ancestry, he was completely dependent upon nature particularly forest for his survival. He was not producer, rather he was consumer of goods provided by the nature (Pandey, 2008: 1).

Among variety of survival issues faced by early man, the food sources were on top priority.² It was the nutritional needs of man due to which early ancestors evolved their tool traditions that reveal renewed efforts of human for life perpetuation. Tool making of man was started by various methods of flaking to later on a full-fledged tool tradition.³ 'Use of a tool is a commonplace human behavior; every day, every one of us uses tools. Until fairly recently, tool-use and tool-making held a privileged place in

² During the Neolithic period, beginning about 12000 years ago, new patterns of subsistence developed involving the domestication of plants and animals and the emergence of tribal societies: horticulturalists and pastoralists (Scupin & DeCorse, 2009: 451).

³ Archaeologists and historians have discovered increasing technological capacities and more social complexity during this extended period of the Neolithic era (Scupin & DeCorse, 2009: 451).

definitions of humanness. Humans made and used tools, animals did not' (Wynn, 1994: 133).

This tool industry and culture prevailed in entire Paleolithic period, In Mesolithic period, micro-lithic and bow-arrow industries and culture developed. In Neolithic period, polished and grinding tools, agriculture, domestication of animals, weaving, pottery, houses, villages, and megaliths were developed..... (Pandey, 2008: 2).

From The early evidences usher that life of early man was simple that gradually went complex during the Bronze Age, ancient and medieval times. The multiplicity of survival issues is largely associated with settled life patterns that gave rise to specialization of occupations and division of labor. The agricultural societies perplexed social life and led to institutionalization to carry out diverse socio-economic and cultural chores in a permanent human settlement. The agriculture revolution was the first long lasting human effort that lowered the dependence of man on nature for his survival. I mean to say that man successfully domesticated various crops and thus raised survival chances considerably to greater extent. The effort of man has been to have more and more control over natural resources. This effort was accelerated in modern British times upon the dawn of scientific and industrial revolution. It was time when the rate of social change was even swifter whereas 'in post-modern period, knowledge revolution has taken place. This process has given birth to global economy, market culture and politics' (Pandey, 2008: 2).

The preliminary survival strategies though rudimentary but those suited human survival over all. The sources suggest that survival based schemes were progressively refined by man with passage of time as progress was more than survival. Progress might be interpreted as a greater assurance of survival of race or the preservation of human society being in danger of extermination at almost any time and liable to perish in face of any great disaster (Quddus, 1995: 229). The disasters and destruction of races included extermination of Neanderthal man by Cro-Magnon even in recent times the

waves of Mongolian migration, the campaigns of Attila, the Hun, and other religious concept. The Black Death eliminated a majority of population in Europe and the two world wars threatened the retardation of society, while causing the deaths of millions. Even now it is feared that world will be so densely populated that subsistence will be extremely difficult if not impossible. Progress then would include ability to combat such dangers and to guarantee future existence to society. It is not merely a negative concept but it is also positive and must offer some other goal than mere existence (ibid: 299-30).

Globally, about seventy percent of the poor live in rural areas (this also goes true for rural population in South Asia) and depend on agriculture for their livelihood. Declining rates of poverty reduction between 1998 and 2008, and a diminution in the natural resource base (land and water) of agriculture, have raised doubts about the capacity of the agricultural sector to help lift the rural poor from a poverty trap (IFAD, 2011a: 1). More recently between the years 2006 and 2009, rise in food prices and in quick succession, the global financial crisis has adversely affected the poor and other segments of the population. Although some estimates of the effects of these crises on the poor especially of the food price crisis – are alarmist, research findings offer some grounds for optimism (Thapa, et al. 2009). A combination of measures such as exploitation of untapped yield potential of major cereal crops, judicious use of natural resources (land & water), and implementation of appropriate policies and institutional reform can create a dynamic agricultural sector capable of substantially raising incomes of the rural poor (World Bank, 2008). IFAD's future calculations on food crisis in 2050 to feed over nine billions people demands the rehabilitation of smallholder agriculture that can play a much more effective role in these countries, and that greater and more effective efforts are made to address the concerns of poor rural people as food buyers (IFAD, 2011b: 1).

In face of all changes and modernization, agriculture remains the major source of livelihood and global statistics favor that still the largest population of today's world

lives in rural areas and dependent on agriculture for their livelihoods. It was estimated that in 1993, 2.3 billion people lived in rural areas as producers with 800 million lived in rural areas (Cypher & Dietz, 2004: 309) and the world population residing in rural areas in year 2003 was estimated to be 2.5 billion (Todaro & Smith, 2003: 452). The largest rural concentration is said to be living in continents of Latin America, Africa and Asia. The countries like Bolivia, Guatemala, Ecuador of Latin America and India, Indonesia, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, China, Philippines and Myanmar of Asia where as in Africa, three quarters of total population (ibid, 2003). The majority of the people that is about two third of total population of the globe is said to be poorest who are located in rural areas out of them 800 million are reported to lack their basic nutritional needs (ibid, 2003).

1.2 Agriculture in Pakistan

'Agriculture is mainstay of Pakistan's economy. It accounts for 21% of the GDP and together with agro-based products fetches 80% of the country's total export earnings' (Government of the Punjab, 2011a). Pakistan as stated above is populous nation of South Asian region⁴ with its population's largest segment that is 111.8 million out of total 177.10 million living in rural areas (Government of Pakistan, 2011a). It can be said that development of rural Pakistan would mean developed Pakistan as sixty percent of its population is rural based with agriculture being the source of economy. The Pakistani nation being agrarian where agriculture is treated like a family occupation has declined over the years. Agriculture provides major employment opportunities to people though this ratio has also declined from '60 percent in 1960 to 48.4 percent in year 2002' (Jalalzai, 2003: 233). The importance of agriculture goes stronger when it is realized that agriculture sector still provides 45 percent of employment to the Pakistanis. The gravity of agriculture being the foundation of national economy is not in satisfactory mode as the official sources of Pakistan state that 'agriculture has lost significant growth

⁴ The Population is growing with Annual Growth Rate of 2.05Percent. The population is being increased with net addition of 403 live births per hour out of a total of 550 births along with 147 deaths (Pakistan Economic Survey, 2011).

momentum as its growth slowed down to 2.7 percent in the decade of 2000s as against 4.4 percent in 1990s and 5.4 percent in the 1980s' (Government of Pakistan, 2011a). The case for livestock sector and forestry is same as of agriculture. Official sources state that 'livestock sector having 55.1 percent stake in the agriculture sector was also impacted by the massive floods and witnessed marked slowdown recorded growth at 3.7 percent in 2010-11 as against 4.3 percent last year.' Whereas the case of forestry also 'experienced negative growth of 0.4 percent this year as compared to last year's positive growth of 2.2 percent' (Government of Pakistan, 2011a).

The relationship of Agriculture and Irrigation Water is same as that of Fish and Water. The sources authenticate that country is facing water shortage and it is feared that few years down the road, a crisis over water resources will emerge. The data reveal that *Kharif* season 2010 faced acute shortage of water since 2003-04. Governmental sources acknowledge the malfunctioning of irrigation mechanism due to production of crops is badly affected. Overall, national agriculture figures show a decline in yield per acre (Government of Pakistan, 2011a). The situation of forests is also alarming as government acknowledges itself that 'Pakistan is a forest deficient country'. The Economic Survey of Pakistan (2010-11) unveils that 'the area of natural forests and state-owned plantations declined at a rate of 27,000 ha/year.' The situation in private sector is even more dismal due to on-going energy crisis and involvement of timber 'mafia'. In addition, agrarian economy of Pakistan pre-dominantly depends on availability of water. The available water resources only meet less than 40 percent of the requirement (Cheema & Farooq, 2007: 117). Seeing alarming condition, dearth of irrigation water largely acts as a limiting factor of the yield. It is estimated that out of currently 31.16 million hectares (Mha) of land is culturable out of which 23 Mha is cultivated for agriculture and available water resources can only irrigate 16.2 Mha of land through canals and underground water resources (ibid: 119). Related to irrigation is the issue of rain-fed agriculture whose even dismal picture is portrayed in the following:

One of the most important recommendations for the creation of a 'watersheds and Arid Land Development Authority (WALDA) has not so far been implemented. Just as WAPDA has responsibility for 23 million hectares of irrigated areas, there is need for a similar authority to look after the 60 million hectares of non-irrigated areas ⁵(Aziz, 2009: 76).

Pakistani nation is relatively a younger nation as its 60 percent of total population lies in age group of 15-65. As regards Labor Force of Pakistan, the country is the world's ninth largest nation. The trend shows an increase in the unemployment rate with an ever increasing trend of rural-urban migration (17.8% in year 1951, 32.5 in year 1998 and 37 percent in year 2010-11) due to increasing unemployment among rural people due to 'unplanned' agricultural mechanization. Governmental sources claim that by the year 2030, half of total population would be living in urban centers (Government of Pakistan, 2011a). The Unemployment rate presents devastating figures showing increasing trend year wise. The national figures gathered by Labor Force Survey 2009-10 describe that 1.20 million were added in just one year. The unemployment rate in fiscal year 2009-10 reported to be 5.5 that further jumped to 5.6 in year 2010-11 (Government of Pakistan, 2010a). The data portray that there are grave disparities regarding Labor Force when compared Gender and area wise. According to Labor Force Survey (2010), urban areas are reported to be containing higher portion of unemployed labor force (7.2%) but at the same time admits that low percentage i.e. 4.8 percent in rural areas is may be due to large number of people engaged in unpaid labor shown as employed (Government of Pakistan, 2010a). To sum up the progress acclaimed in agriculture sector, government confessed failure of achieving merely 1.2 percent out of 3.8 percent of its targets in spite of large scale promotion of synthetic fertilizers. Estimated decrease by 11.3

⁵ Non-irrigated lands include Northern Glaciers to Baluchistan's range lands and the arid areas of *Cholistan* (desert zone comprising the Southern districts of Bahawalpur, Bahawalnagar and Rahim Yar Khan) and lower Sindh.

percent is reported due to less usage by farmers due to its higher prices⁶ (Government of Pakistan, 2011a).

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The relatively low performance of the country regarding development indicators particularly in agricultural domain further poses queries as to why the nation is not able enough to seek a satisfactory level of sustainability. A student of Pakistan's development experience is keen to know hurdles and impediments that hinder the way to achieve prosperity, self reliance and sustainable growth. This research throws light on Pakistan's development initiatives in order to infer the relationship of Pakistan's colonial legacy being a historical force that hindered the path to progress. Similarly, attention is focalized to understand post-independence governmental role in empowering local masses. In this respect, recent 'devolution of power' is stressed to see how this system operated at local community level and whether or not the promise of empowering local masses got fulfilled. The study intends to excogitate a possible way for selecting an alternative strategy that could be helpful in bringing masses to have better control of their vicinity, natural resources and thus their lives. The study throws light on Indigenous perception of '*taraqqi*' (development) and '*khushali*' (prosperity) to determine its cultural meanings. The objective of this was to study local masses' mind to ascertain whether or not the terms of 'development' and 'progress' carry same meanings and entail same implication by both development agencies and local community. The study covered various aspects of traditional knowledge to see (based on community interactions and secondary sources) that unless people (the recipients of development) are targeted, no development initiative can bring its intended results. The indigenous knowledge is the very much intellectual property of any society that is gained through man-vs.-nature relationship that is obtained through mutual

⁶ Urea prices soared by 25.8 percent and DAP is expensive by 46.5 percent in the first nine months of the current fiscal year. Domestic production is up by 2.7 percent but import of fertilizer is down by 50.4 percent (Pakistan Economic Survey, 2011).

interactions based upon centuries. This relationship is not based on exploitative harvest of natural resources rather it is said to be mutually beneficial and interdependent on each other. However, the main objectives of the study were to:

1. Study and document indigenous farming methods still practiced by farming community of village;
2. Construct a case based on empirical data to see indigenous perception on development;
3. Understand local wisdom associated with community organization, participation and empowerment;
4. Look into other related areas of social-economic and political life under influence of indigenous practices;
5. Find out reasons for failure of modern agricultural developmental schemes launched in village;
6. Enlist major health and environmental hazards faced by village community due to modern agricultural methods; and
7. Document the effect of interplay among stakeholders for manipulation of 'devolution of power' in village life.

1.4 Statement of the Problem

As stated earlier that Pakistan especially province of the Punjab whose population is largely rural and whose economy is based on agriculture. Empirical data suggest that the province has not still witnessed ample mechanization of agricultural in terms of modern standards which had been promised by governments from time to time (Government of the Punjab, 2011). The vision of the state was to develop agriculture because of certain reasons like; first, the majority of the masses reside in rural areas; second, to concentrate on agriculture and employment based strategy of economic development;

third, to support the national economy through export of agriculture based commodities.

Haq and Haq (1998) state that recent World Bank studies have estimated that over 75 percent of the real wealth of East Asian countries is their human and social capital (Saif, 2010). Similarly, South Asian and African countries have taken up the issue of revitalization of IKS more seriously. On the other hand, the case of IK in Pakistan is still lagging behind in the field of research. My concern is that if after two or more decades, Pakistan realizes the significance of revitalized models of IKS in development process especially in agricultural sector to enhance rural development, she would make a mere shift from western model of development to a non-Pakistani Asian model or an African model which would denote that in name of IKS, Pakistan would only have replaced merely one foreign model with another.

The question arises that why is it not possible for Pakistan to apply its local system of IK. I am arguing that in order to do this the public and private sector in Pakistan needs to invest in research projects geared towards this goal. Having started research projects would allow Pakistan to come up with a macro development model integrated by the conduits of shared cultural value system, which would in turn result in elimination of internal inconsistencies in development process. The current research chore strived to make a case for essentiality of revitalization of IK to sustain developmental efforts and thus empowering the people of Pakistan to have their own model of development which is totally indigenious. The theme of research is not to disengage the agricultural sector from global scale rather only to look for more sustainable and viable option for the farming community and to put forth local alternatives with which people can relate.

A lot has been written by the various schools of development and modernization (details in chapter two) about bringing the world to witness a more sophisticated way of life. The promise has not been in effect since we have seen that interaction of new

models and technologies lag the most important and crucial element of Culture. People of third world have been influenced to accept western techniques and developmental thoughts to be something that could only bring prosperity. On the contrary, all of them proved to be exploitative, against cultural norms and production of colonial mindset.

In the known history of development practices, the effectiveness of non local ideas and technologies has been questioned. The so-called 'bottom-up' approaches of development not being democratic in their nature have put local people in a development riddle. Meanwhile, scholars (chapter two) also commenced to work on studying indigenous knowledge (IK) to establish relationship between centuries' old repertoire and with empowerment of local populations and sustainable solutions to development. Many countries of world are dealing with IKS on several levels: first, as a mean for sustainable and self reliant development, second, as an alternate source of overcoming problems arising out of non-local models of development, and third, to preserve their own cultural identity which has long been in question by capitalistic ethos. The third world developing nations are ardently working to scientifically prove the worth and utilities of their indigenous knowledge. In doing so these nations have successfully documented their indigenous practices along with perceptions to know what exactly is development for their people. In Pakistan, no such attempt has been observed in private or public sectors to at least reexamine the indigenous notions of development and progress. The history of Pakistan since independence reveals that focus of development has never been the masses due to the bureaucratic bias. Planners based their inspirations on adoption of westernized models and preferred importing westernized technology. The Parliament itself comprised of people with non democratic and authoritarian interests. Majority of Politicians was self-centered and they never defended the right of people to make them center of development planning and progress. The bureaucracy turned out to be bearer of colonial legacy that was totally authoritarian and in a state of denial for bestowing the rights of people to them. Since the partition and demise of founder of nation, political institutions were still in their

infancy and could not affectively lead the nation. This gulf was filled with people holding colonial legacy along with the rise of other vested interest groups who manipulated political system into their favor. These vested interests group never allowed democracy and democratic institutions to flourish and be responsive to social needs and requirements of masses at grass roots. The following lines uncover this situation with a vivid description:

As politicians were marginalized or edged out of the decision-making, civil servants trained in the colonial tradition of bureaucratic authoritarianism took charge of administering the affairs of state (Bose & Jalal, 2003: 213).

The first military establishment was imposed in October 1958 while 'in conjunction with the president and the higher echelons of the civil bureaucracy to directly take over the levers of power' (ibid: 214). General Ayub's 'Basic Democracies' was an attempt to bring a change in the form of government from 'parliamentary' to 'presidential' to suite his 'power thrust'. This was also supported by bureaucracy under the assurance of getting unaccountably empowered with no social and moral audit. 'Ayub sought to strengthen the state's grip over society by giving the civil bureaucracy a bigger hand in dishing out political and economic patronage' (ibid: 215). 'By calling the rural localities directly into the service of the centralizing state, Ayub hoped to exercise his presidential authority without any interference from parties and politicians with provincial bases of support' (ibid: 215). The self-reliant rural communities were deliberately pushed into a system where the center of hope was Federal Capital and central government. This step snatched the feature of self sustainance from rural communities and thus increasing their dependence over urban centers. The rural population was made to believe that policy makers and civil administration in cities will bring new initiatives of development and progress. These frequently promised and proclaimed statements of prosperity never turned into a reality.

Probably the most fatal step to tarnish integrity of development in Pakistan was the increased 'aid dependence' from Washington. Bose and Jalal (2003: 217) pointed out that 'dependence on aid and advice from Washington, Ayub and his advisors quickly imbibed the logic of functional inequality and adopted measures to promote growth, not redistribution' and this also raised dependence of rural areas upon urban centers and labelled development as urban phenomenon. The argument presented here is basically to highlight the issue that since independence, Pakistani state never witnessed implementation of any model for development⁷ or rural development strategy⁸ that preferred indigenous knowledge. The same treatment was also done with indigenous practices especially in agriculture domain and available resources. The planners only preferred the foreign models to await development. "Pakistan was forced into pursuance of a neocolonial capitalistic model, in which authoritarianism and economic growth were blended together, a trend which continues even today' (Saif, 2010: 207). The innovations in agricultural sectors though raised agricultural yield but in the longer run disturbed the natural cycle of resources. Now it is clearly observed that lots of problems are hindering agricultural development including soil and land erosion, soil compaction, effects of synthetic fertilizers, pesticides, fungicides, and weedicides on human health as well as creating water pollution and gradually affecting and poisoning underground water table. Biswanger et al., provide numerous examples where incomplete and failed land tenure reforms were a source of populist discontent and subsequent revolt (Biswanger et al., 2005: 34). They warn that 'social costs of failing to reform have often included peasant uprisings and civil war' (Ibid: 31) and they cite Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Guatemala, El Salvador, and Peru as examples where

⁷ This includes; Village Agriculture and Industrial Development Program (V-AID) in 1952-61; Basic Democracies (1959-70); Rural Works Program (1963-71); IRDP (1972-80), People's Works Program (1972-77); Local Government and Rural Development Program (1979-85); Prime Minister's Five Points Program (1985-88); People's Program-I (1989-90); People's Program-II (1993-96); *Tameer-i-Watan* Program-I (1991-93); *Tameer-i-Watan* Program-II (1997-98); Social Action Program-I; Social Action Program-II; *Khushal* Pakistan; *Tameer-i-Pakistan*; and the most recent Devolution of Power.

⁸ The case of rural development in Pakistan revolves around three main strategies adopted by the Government including; Growth Strategy (1950-1970), Welfare Strategy (1971-1978) and Integrated Rural Development Program (IRDP) in 1971-78.

discontent over land tenure and ownership was a significant factor in popular support for insurgents. Conflict over land ownership and distribution has also played a significant role in recent conflicts in Nepal, the West Bank/Gaza, Sudan, Kenya, and Uganda.

Keeping in view, long quotable experience of anthropologists (discussed in the same chapter under the heading of 'Anthropology and Development') with rural communities, the present research strives to bring forth an important issue of non-participatory and non-democratic development practices that has featured rural development in Pakistan (details follow in discussion with reference to development projects in the study locale). Pakistan has seen various phases in her agricultural development cycle with incessant and perpetual shifts in policy further bringing the upshots of not achieving sustainability. Failures in heavily invested programs and projects, fragmentation of rural population, rise of rural rifts, etc., were the aftermaths of such development efforts. Unfortunately, neglected area was the strengthening of research traditions to benefit the rural farmers. Appropriately deemed investments in the domain was severely lacked and resultantly lagged the farming community to arrogate the winning board. Most of new experiments done in agricultural research institutes were either restricted to the laboratories, or were a matter of disagreements among planners at national and provincial levels. Few of new innovations discovered by the scientists were not even cost effective to suite subsistence level farmers. The said problems perplexed scenario for farmers and made them only thinking of ensuring their own survival. This phenomenon also raised dependency on agricultural imports that further put farmers out of the developmental planning.

1.5 Operationalization of Main Barriers in Sustainable Development

In Pakistan, the province of Punjab contains twenty nine percent of total reported cropped area. This percentile reveals that Punjab has fifty seven percent of total cultivated area whereas sixty nine percent of the total cropped area of the country

(Government of the Punjab, 2011). The share of Punjab contributes ninety seven percent of rice, eighty percent of wheat, eighty three percent of cotton, sixty three percent of sugarcane and fifty one percent of maize. As regards the growth of fruits citrus is ninety five percent, guava is eighty two percent, mango is sixty six percent and dates make thirty four percent of total national production (Government of the Punjab, 2011). The geographical data of land uncovers that 7.29 millions of acres of land is unsuitable for cultivation out of the total 50.98 millions of acres of land. Out of this 50.98 millions of acres, 30.86 million acres of land is cultivated in the Punjab (Government of Pakistan, 2009). The fiscal allocations in annual budget for agriculture though show progressive increase from 3.391 billion in year 2005-06 to 8.615 billion in 2009-10 yet general trend of agriculture in Pakistan speaks of sky high issue as is evident from below:

The agriculture has lost significant growth momentum as its growth slowed down to 2.7 percent in the decade of 2000s as against 4.4 percent in 1990s and 5.4 percent in the 1980s. The structural problems and lack of mechanization remained main impediment to growth. Major crops remained the victim of natural calamities during the last few years and three out of last four years witnessed negative growth in the major crop sector (Government of Pakistan, 2011a).

Similarly, The Pakistan Economic Survey of Pakistan (2010-11) cites Federal Bureau of Statistics that unwraps the gloomy situation of agriculture falling from six percent in year 2004-05 to 1.2 percent in the year 2010-11. The major crops including rice, wheat, cotton and sugarcane unveils a decreasing trend from 17.7 percent in 2004-05 to -4.0 percent in 2010-11. The same trend is calling public attention in domain of deforestation. In the year 2004-05, the national figures for forestation have improved from -32.4 percent to -0.4 percent but still the figures do not match the national requirements. The perplexed situation of agricultural development in country demands a critical revisit of agriculture policy as well as assigning realistic and achievable targets for all agriculture related national and provincial agencies. The realm of affairs thus questions the suitability of mere mechanization of agriculture to be the sole remedy.

Jinnah (founder of the nation) stated while announcing the economic policies of Pakistan in his inaugural speech at the opening of the State Bank in Karachi:

The economic system of the west has created almost insoluble problems for humanity, and to many it appears that only a miracle can save it from the disaster that is now facing the world. It has failed to do justice between man and man and eradicate friction from the international field. On the contrary, it was largely responsible for the two world wars in the last half-century. The Western world, in spite of its advantages, of mechanization and industrial efficiency, is today in a worse mess than ever before in history. The adoption of Western economic theory and practice will not help us in achieving our goal of creating a happy and contented people. There is need to work destiny in our way, and present to the world an economic system based on the true Islamic concept of equality of mankind and social justice (Government of Pakistan, 1989: 271, Bolitho, 1964 quoted by Saif, 2010: 201).

Jinnah's rejection of the western economic model, and his emphasis the concept of equality of mankind and social justice on the occasion of the opening ceremony of the State Bank of Pakistan, was the restatement of his faith in creating a new state for the Muslims of India for their economic and social betterment and his assurance for all federating units of Pakistan of their equal participation in the State's resources in accordance with the principle of equity, liberty and social justice (Saif, 2010: 202). Upon delivering his inaugural speech before Constituent Assembly of Pakistan stated 'if we want to make this great state of Pakistan happy and prosperous we should wholly and solely concentrate on the well being of the people, and especially of the masses and the poor' (Bolitho, 1964 quoted by Saif, 2010: 202). Jinnah's disposition over development was pro-masses and people-centered. Of course, these were the people to who development was aimed and a long struggle for liberation was held.

Stephen Cohen in his work discussed the social environment that led the liberation movement on success path and also the hurdles and threats for its existence. He refers to five points for failure of his 'diagnosis' of Pakistan as a failed state including failure to live up to past expectations, one's own and those of others; failure of vision; economic

failure; failure of leadership; and, catastrophic failure. (Cohen, 2005, Aziz, 2009: 348)

The social and economic emergencies like issues of post-independence including settlements of migrants, instable political system, shaky governments, inconsistent policies and developmental programs, lack of unanimity upon development targets, delays in enactment of constitution (i.e., 1956, 1962 and finally 1973), inheriting the colonial legacy in shape of bureaucracy, etc., all of whose outcomes pressed nation really hard due to which country is still strives to fix the desired direction of development so that it could reach grass roots. The situation is evident from the words of Jalalzai:

The economic and social outcomes in Pakistan over the fifty years have turned out to be a mixture of paradoxes. The economic growth rate during the last fifty years has averaged five percent annually a feat achieved by very few countries in the world but almost all social indicators are below the average for low income developing countries (Jalalzai, 2003: 225).

The ever existing issues stated in lines above multiplied 'the persistence of poverty, large income inequalities, severe rural-urban disparities, gender discrimination, endemic ethnic rivalries, and political instability that suggest that the benefits of economic growth have not been spread evenly' (ibid, 2000: 225-26).

Soon after winning independence, Pakistan joined the American camp. The dream of development and progress for Pakistan was associated strictly upon winning American Aid. 'Pakistan (also) received massive US aid in the 1950s and 1960s' (Saif, 2010: 192). Saif further adds 'in spite of the fact that Pakistan was turned into a 'client state' of the US, it did not experience the 'miracle' in its economic performance' (ibid: 192). In stead, this parasitic dependence never allowed the masses to enjoy their freedom in real terms. The fear of neighboring India and initial economic compulsions put the pillars of government and its establishment to join american club blindly. In a way, a smaller group consisted of military, bureaucracy and politicians defiled the spirit of

independence. The same trend was being repeated at the community level where power politics gradually became main course. The local elites set about as intermediaries to negotiate their terms and conditions with both parties i.e., masses and national stakeholders of power.

In this regard, two Pakistani scholars Ahmed and Rashid (2011) cite Debiel and Lambach (2008) while highlighting basic developmental issues in third world countries like Pakistan. They state that local elites including remnants of the former state administration, traditional and religious authorities, etc are responsible for maintaining the status quo. They refer Debiel and Lambach who infer that in a functional sense these elites pose as equivalents of the state with their aim of redirecting external assistance in furtherance of their personal and economic interests (ibid: 88-89). It is therefore imperative to study the post-independence period of Pakistan as a free nation to understand the mind set of these influential figures in general and rulers in particular. The citation mentioned below discloses:

Soon after independence the rulers of Pakistan began to yield to all types of inducements to enter into neo-colonial economic and military alliances in order to preserve the internal systems of privilege and power, and the external control of the cheap labor and raw material of the country (Gardezi & Rashid, 1983 cited in Saif, 2010: 196).

The transitional period of Pakistan after independence that was 1947-59 portrays that democratic force in the country were never allowed to get institutional maturity due to a gap as also verified by Mr. Sartaj Aziz who says that 'this space was gradually filled, first by civil bureaucratic elite, followed a few years later by the armed bureaucracy, thus setting in motion a dry rot of power politics' (Aziz, 2009: 28). This trend somehow is also observed in other third world countries that generally failed to witness the supremacy of civilian authority over the armed forces due to which military coups became typical all over the third world countries whereas Pakistan is one of the rank examples speaking of domination of armed forces (Khan, 2009: 570). Jalal (1995) says

that it is because of the continual take overs by the military due to which critics label Pakistan's approach to development as 'economy of defense'. While reinforcing this argument Lubna Saif (2010:197) also refers to the 'economic and social progress' of Pakistan that was in line with neo-colonial model that meant an increased reliance over American technical, military and commodity aid. She says that in an environment of weak political culture, bureaucrats and military generals were more interested in building a 'defense establishment' rather than investing in social sectors. She also points out that in Pakistan heavy industry was linked with military needs that later on became the focus of central government while neglecting agriculture sector and land reforms. Ian Talbot (1990) discusses that though land reforms were proposed in 1945 by All-India Muslim League's planning committee that were also included in Muslim League's Agrarian Reforms in July 1949. As a matter of fact, Talbot says that these proposed reforms were never implemented in country after independence due to the pressure tactics adopted by the influential landlords to safeguard their vested interests.

The armed forces are raised and equipped to defend the country from external aggression. They are supposed to have no political role and are required to take order from the civilian authorities that work under the constitution (Khan, 2009: 569). In Pakistan the military rapidly acquired political importance and by 1958 was directly ruling the country (Niaz, 2010: 159). The initial problems faced by Pakistani nation and later on upon the urge of opportunist politicians, army took over repeatedly while casting serious set backs for establishment and maturity of public institutions, stability of democracy as well as turning the decision making and policy formulation process towards federal level that is 'top-down' approach. Pakistan's westernised civilian and political elite did not realize that in destroying the autonomy of the institutions inherited from the British (the constituent Assembly, the provincial assemblies, local governments, the higher judiciary, political parties, etc.) and inviting the army chief into the cabinet as defense minister, they were preparing the ground for their own downfall (Niaz, 2010: 159). Aziz point outs that 'irrespective of the initial reasons for any army

takeovers has been highly negative for the strength and unity of the federation and for the growth of a sustainable political process' (Aziz, 2009: 355).

It is also worth noting that 'military rule invariably over-centralizes power in the executive to deliver 'quick results' and then seeks legitimacy by forcing the judiciary to sanctify the takeover on grounds of state necessity. It further weakens the democratic process by weakening the role of the parliament and by manipulating certain political parties to obtain 'positive results' which means victory for parties that provide a civilian façade for continuing military rule' (ibid: 355). The interwoven relationship of the landed class, army, civil bureaucracy, and the indigenous bourgeoisie, in the capitalistic world economy, forced the neo-colonial state to acquire an authoritarian character (Saif, 2010: 201). Once the military reacquainted itself with the taste of political power the entire fabric of constitutional development came crashing down (Niaz, 2010: 159). Another damage done to the electoral process by the army in order to 'keep itself in power' (Khan, 2009: 547) and some of the military officers can be legitimately described as politicians manque who prefer the 'cut-and-thrust of political manoeuvring to that of the battlefield and rise by practicing the art of the courtier (Niaz, 2010: 151, Cloughley, 2009). The frequent military takeovers from 1958 onwards acted as a main hurdle that never allowed the stabilization of state affairs and consolidation of political structure. The meanness expressed by the actors having their stakes and vested interests skyrocketed as Aziz observes 'almost all the political leaders in Pakistan after 1958, were the products of the managed political system with the army inevitably created to provide a civilian façade to the military rule for as long as possible and then to share power with the army, if election became unavoidable' (Aziz, 2009: 29).

Democratic institutions and traditions take a long time to develop strong roots. Free and fair elections, held regularly, enable political parties to present their programs to the people. Political leaders who promise but do not deliver are rejected by the people and gradually stronger political parties and better political leaders, with a broader support base among

the masses, emerge and consolidate the democratic process. This process has never been given a fair chance in Pakistan (Aziz, 2009: 29)

After independence, the civil service of Pakistan continued the same system of colonial administration. It retained the same class structure, the same elite character and the same colonial pattern of administration (Khan, 2009: 575). In spite of various reports⁹ recommending the reforms in the bureaucratic structure 'successive governments (have) either ignored the recommendations contained in these studies or adopted them only marginally (ibid: 576). Consequently, the civil service of Pakistan, both structurally as well as functionally, retained its colonial character. It continued to be imperialistic, elitist, and arrogant (ibid: 576). The existing literature recounts that 'lack of representative and responsive policy making results in disempowerment of the citizens undermining their entitlements' (Ahmed and Rashid, 2011: 82). The authors also refer to 'top-down, non participatory and executive oriented developmentalism' that aspires to retain the situation. This top-down approach also 'undermines the national capacity to undertake research and set participatory policy priorities' (ibid: 82). The authors have referred to Haque (2010) stating 'at a meeting with a recent Finance Minister of Pakistan, some of the best economists came up with the refrain that 'research and inquiry is not necessary, we know it all. We need to act and not think', alternatively, 'we know it all.' (ibid: 82). Pakistan has been governed by a group of elite who were in a way united by the means of vested interests. Each of group attempted to win more and more administrative and financial power to raise its relative pressure and power. This group comprised bureaucratic, military and political elites. 'Bureaucratic elite gradually became more assertive, steadily increasing their power at the expense of the political elite (Khan, 2009: 575) moreover, the military governments of 1958, 1969, and 1977 had to fall back upon the civil bureaucracy, further strengthening its power' (ibid: 576).

⁹ Pay and Services Commission, headed by Justice Muhammad Munir of the Lahore High Court submitted its report in 1948. Rowland Edgar's Report in 1953, Bernard Cladius in 1955, Paul Becket in 1957 and Report of the Pay and Services Commission (1959-62) headed by Justice Cornelius, the then Chief Justice of Pakistan. All reports emphasized the need for reforming the outmoded administrative system in Pakistan (Khan, 2009).

Development to respond the social needs relies on availability of reliable statistics to understanding gravity and scale of an issue. Existence of socio-economic infrastructure in a *mouza* or *deh*¹⁰ reflects overall development as well as agricultural development. The realization for such data was felt strongly during seventies and opened new frontiers for the development of rural Pakistan (Government of Pakistan, 2008: 8). The government of Pakistan though acknowledges the importance of credible and verified national statistics yet the statement remains a challenge. Availability of reliable, comprehensive and updated data on different socio- economic indicators is a primary pre-requisite for formulation and implementation of effective development policies and programs (ibid: 5). Revised 'Data Dissemination Policy' of Federal Bureau of Statistics, Government of Pakistan (2011b) explains that 'demand for data is increasing tremendously' yet it also admits that most of the data collected are from secondary sources instead of developing and enhancing primary data collection mechanisms. The issue has been discussed by Ahmad and Rashid (2011:89) while referring to 'the statistical agencies in Pakistan, at federal and provincial levels, to lack the capacity to generate timely, credible and holistic data capturing public perceptions, concerns and inputs to inform policy. The insufficient in-house research capacity in public institutions responsible for planning and regulation leaves them with little options but to rely on donors and private research organizations.' A similar remark registered to illuminate the role of 'local research capacity' (Haque, 2009) has been discussed and termed as 'seriously undeveloped' (Haque, 2009) which makes it essential for the donor agencies to fill the gap. Khattak refers 'while some research is ignored or dismissed, some research is deemed sensitive and triggers a negative response.' (Khattak, 2011: 28).

¹⁰ *Mouza* literally means a 'vicinity' and *deh* is the plural of *dehat* that means a 'village'. *Mouza* or *Deh* is a territorial unit with a separate name, definite boundaries, and area precisely measured and divided into plots / *khasras* (survey numbers). Each *mouza* is a revenue estate and has a cadastral map maintained in the land revenue record. *Mouza*, *Deh*, *pind*, *Killi* and *Chak* are the names commonly used for it. The term *mouza* / *deh* is widely used in the settled areas while the term *pind* and or *killi* are used in the unsettled areas. There may be one or more settlements, *abadies*, *basties*, *dhokes*, *goths*, etc. in the territory of a *mouza* / *deh*. The *mouzas* / *dehs* may also have scattered inhabitation while there may be some *mouzas* without population as well.

Research supporting organizations and other organizations that have specific funds earmarked for research, provide opportunities to local researchers for original and pioneering work. Many such organizations are physically located in their countries of origin either because they are small or because their programs for developing countries are small. Others maintain regional offices. There are many challenges that such organizations face when they wish to work regionally (ibid: 29-30). Similarly as in words of Saif:

It was rightly observed that the five-year development plans (also) tended to ignore problems of unemployment, rural poverty, urban unrest, and poor social services. Since, there was no little quantitative information available in these areas. (Saif, 2010: 201)

The importance of reliable data is imperatively required in adopting corrective measures and aligning the direction of development interventions in required and desired angle. 'Ideally, policy makers and managers need to use the data iteratively in the course of the evolution of projects, planning exercises or development programs. A static, one-shot survey cannot fulfill this need. At present, poor countries lack the capability for re-interpreting, updating and upgrading their natural resources data base' (Dalal-Clayton, Dent, & Dubois, 2003: 83).

The daily lives of poor people are deeply affected by how well the legal system works. The effective rule of law has seriously hampered the developmental process in country due to which benefits of development initiatives have not reached down trodden strata of society especially rural areas. 'Harassment, lawlessness, and violence are ever-present threats to the poor people' (Jalalzai, 2003). Various studies on the role of law in bringing peace in society as well as making the development process even for every walk of life has proved the reciprocal relationship in Pakistan. Zarina Salamat concludes:

Studies around the world have shown that effective decentralization does benefit the poor as development and safety net programs can be

more effective in meeting local needs if they can draw on the advantages of effective community development (Salamat, 2000).

Large landowning farmers have captured the benefit from significant investments in agricultural productivity associated with the Green Revolution of the 1960s—such as improved irrigation, fertilizers, seed varieties, access to credit, and major subsidies for agricultural inputs. Additionally, there is a pattern of bank lending in which family loans and ‘loans taken in the name of tenants but used by landlords’ has resulted in large farmers ‘obtaining a larger de facto share of production loans than is prescribed by law’ or readily apparent from bank ledgers (Qureshi 1993 as cited in Islam, 1996). Recent analysis and articles suggest that landlessness, power wielded by the landed class, the government’s inability to administer justice, and disenfranchisement of customary and religious authorities have fostered strong resentment among the rural poor (Bagnash, 2009; Escobar, 2009).

Naseem (1980) cited by Saif (2010) has described the perplexing nature developmental problems in Pakistan. The education sector was ignored in Pakistan which led to growth of unskilled, untrained, and uneducated manpower. ‘In addition, agriculture sector was ignored while pursuing the establishment of an industrial base, which in turn backfired because of non-availability of trained and skilled labor’ (Naseem, 1980). Two major sets of resources, population and labor, and land and water, play an important role in the economic development of any country (ibid). ‘Low levels of investments in education and agriculture resulted in very low levels of literacy and this was accompanied by a high fertility rate, and a high level of unemployment in Pakistan.’ (Saif, 2010: 193). Unequal resource allocation of funds for the multi-facet development agenda in Pakistan referred by Saif as ‘allocation of resources’ was another threat for complexed priorities in development for Pakistan. As a consequence of putting industrial development first resulted in ‘ignoring more than 80 percent of the population that was dependent on agriculture and living in rural areas’ (ibid: 204) and thus pushing people

for forced rural-urban migration. The emphasis on expansion of industrial base in country was done 'despite the fact that between 1949-50 and 1954-55, the agriculture sector was stagnant, recording a dismal average annual growth rate of 1.3 (ibid: 204) further resulting in food shortages and social unrest.

The deleterious effects of the pro-industrial policies on agriculture...hit East Pakistan harder as its dependence on agriculture was greater and as it consisted largely of small farmers producing cash crops with low bargaining power vis-à-vis the intermediaries many of whom were engaged in smuggling jute across the border (Naseem, 1980).

The factors discussed above perplexed exact determination of the nation to fix its priority list for development. It also complicated the state's internal stability and prosperity for the masses especially the largest component of population residing in rural Pakistan. In fact, factors discussed above contributed to frailness and feebleness of Pakistan's economic independence as well as destroying of 'the traditional and indigenous institutions and left behind a legacy of colonial capitalism' (Saif, 2010: 206). A student of Pakistan's development planning receive no inkling of any preference given to the people who were supposed to be the ultimate recipients of development initiatives.

The economic planning of country was initiated under the 'Harvard Advisory Group (HAG)' (Ibid: 200) that promoted the 'notion of economic growth' while discrediting the social and cultural needs of Pakistanis. This 'economic growth model' was much serving the geo-political needs of US by becoming the 'client-state' of America, raised its dependency on foreign aid and the promise of economic prosperity and self-reliance got never fulfilled. This economic dependency on western economic doctrines and philosophies totally ignored the unique cultural history and heritage of country and was accompanied by 'authoritarian elite of the bureaucracy, army, and the feudal class, that was bolstered by the custodian of the free world, the United States, to ensure Pakistan's association with Defense Pacts against communism.' (ibid: 212). This fatal step put

Pakistan on road to complete dependence upon its 'client-state' of US and made her totally dependent upon various western economic models and philosophies due to which the dream of founder of Pakistan and the developmental aspirations of majority of the masses were thrown to the walls.

Once..... rules accepted dependence on the world capitalistic market economy and its prime movers, especially the transnational corporations and aid agencies either based in or sponsored by the United States of America, the impact of Western Economic doctrines and development models proved to be decisive in shaping ensuing of both national and geopolitical significance (Gardezi & Rashid, 1983).

Summing up, stakeholders' struggle to get dominance put the country on getting more and more dependent on external forces. This phenomenon never let people of Pakistan reap the fruits of what they sacrificed for during Pakistan movement. The 'concept of development' that carries three aspects, growth (the economic aspect), equality (the social aspect) and liberty (the political aspect) and its linkage with human security was completely ignored and agenda of national development was compromised over personal gains and interests.

1.6 Anthropology and Development

'Development Anthropology is the branch of Applied Anthropology that focuses on social issues and the cultural dimension of, economic development' (Kottak, 2000: 539). Anthropology as a human science was called a study of simple societies termed as primitive societies. As a matter of fact it is a study of man that does not simply move forward rather that the idea of anthropology is studying man while studying his known and remote past. This is done so because no in-depth understanding shall be concrete unless the past is known. All major sub-fields of discipline attempt to provide scientific data of past events in a logical sequence. This is not to say that the discipline merely constructs a sequential and logically knitted past of human beings instead what

Routledge Encyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology refers to as 'since the Second World War, anthropology has grown enormously, and its concerns are far wider than popular preconceptions about the study of 'primitive peoples'.'(Barnard & Spencer, 2005: xii). The encyclopedia goes a step further by stating 'anthropologists are often now employed to advise on development projects, but they have also started to look at the very idea of 'development' as a product of a particular culture and history, one more way to imagine what it is to be human.' (Barnard & Spencer, 2005: xiii).

The word 'development'¹¹ was for the first time used in English language in 1750 to denote patterns of change and progress in every human activity (Hulse, 2007). Routledge Encyclopedia refers to Nisbet (1969) and Williams (1985) to claim that 'development is a key concept in Western Culture and Philosophy in two main senses. Firstly, in terms of 'social evolutionism' but picture changed from mid twentieth century in which the term 'development' is seen in economic perspective including production, consumption and living standards while focusing Third World countries. Secondly, 'Development' is 'the term which is especially associated with international projects of planned social change set in motion in the years surrounding World War II, which gave birth to 'development agencies', 'development projects', and, ultimately, to 'development studies' and 'development anthropology'.' The encyclopedia suggests that both senses treat development separately but in Development Anthropology, to understand the term comprehensively, the two of them need to be dealt in total.

The literature presents that World War II casted unforgettable memories and left its deep engraving upon diverse geographical regions and nations of the world. It was time when colonization stopped and transformed itself into new dimensions of global markets and financial aid assistance programs to newly liberated nations in name of development assistance, sharing of knowledge, etc. Escobar (1985) referred by Barnard

¹¹ The Oxford and Webster dictionaries define 'development' as "a gradual unfolding", suggesting that the word is derived from the Latin "*de*" and "*volutus*" meaning "to unveil" (Hulse, 2007)

and Spencer (2005: 191) commented on this new phenomenon in words 'a host of 'development agencies', programs of 'development aid', and so forth, were conceived and put into place in the years following World War II.' The main emphasis of the anthropological work done on development aimed 'studying the development of 'traditional' peoples in modernizing societies was thought to be of mostly 'practical' or 'policy' significance, and the theoretical core of the discipline remained the description and comparison of societies and cultures as little contaminated by 'development' as possible' (Barnard & Spencer, 2005: 192).

In fact, the origin of developmental anthropology can be traced after World War II. After World War II, developed nations began to think that the problems of development of developing nations are quite different (Pandey, 2008: 3)

The mainstream of development anthropology was also influenced by the rise of 'neo-Marxist theories of modernization and traditional anthropology'(Barnard & Spencer, 2005: 193). Under the influence of Dependency theory, Neo-Marxist's mode of production theory and world systems theory, anthropologists began to 'insist that differences between societies had to be related to a common history of conquest, imperialism, and economic exploitation that systematically linked them.' (ibid: 193). Neo-marxist paradigm contended that what passes in the name of development is just 'capitalistic development and expansion in capitalistic mode of production' (ibid: 193) in societies that had not embraced the capitalism. The resolve was to conclude that newly liberated countries may not witness development and could just go on perpetuating with capitalistic orientations and thus getting away from what is called development. Scholastically diverse range of views on development drove hotfoot for more conceptual clarity and reorientation.

The argument stated by Routledge Encyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology describes 'the very popularity within anthropology of the radical, neo-Marxist critiques of orthodox development and modernization theory in some ways set the stage for a

new era of closer collaboration between anthropologists and the organizations and institutions of capitalist development policy.’ (ibid: 193). Anthropology, as regards the previous perceptions about the discipline (only studying remote, primitive and small scale societies) was put under pressure to show up the interpretations about the then current areas of concerns about development, modernization and overall phenomenon of social change. In spite of intellectual differences between academic anthropology and development anthropology, anthropologists are engaged in studying the third world societies while putting their basic training in anthropology into practice.

Anthropologists, in practice (at least those who are trained and hired by ‘leading departments’), continue to work mostly in the ‘Third World’, and to specialize disproportionately in the study of small, rural, isolated, or marginal communities. Anthropologists today are expected, it is true, to address questions of the transformation of local communities, and of linkages with wider regional and global processes; but it remains the case that it is a particular kind of people that anthropologists are typically interested in seeing change, and a particular kind of local community that they seek to show is linked to that wider world (Barnard & Spencer, 2005)

Development anthropology strives to see the normative side of development. The development anthropologists question the notion of growth and economic development to be ultimate aim of development. Rather, development anthropology presents the human aspect of development by illuminating the evils of strict economic-oriented definitions of development. As the current debate in development anthropology focuses ‘around the question of whether raising income levels and standard of living always has a positive effect for all parties concerned.’ (Ferraro, 2008: 407). May be an economist or a development practitioner would agree to this preposition but ‘a number of studies over the past several decades have strongly suggested that economic progress (as defined by rising wages, improved GNP, and so on) actually has lowered the quality of life for many non-Western people.’ (ibid: 407).

Lewellen (2003) refers to the situation after World War II, when there was no idea of the term 'developing world' as most of today's developing countries were colonies supposed to provide the raw materials, cheap labor and all essentials to their respective colonial rule. Both Lewellen (2003) and Scupin and DeCorse (2009) have quoted the articulation of W. W. Rostow¹² (1960) that classified development to be achieved as a result of five-stage conscious intervention. Similarly, another renowned sociologist S. N. Eisenstadt (1967, 1970) developed an alternate theory on modernization suggesting that causes for underdevelopment are internal instead of external in terms of a country. Lewellen (2003) also cites politics, administrative centralization and political elites to be crucial elements of the modernization process. As regards the centralization factor, it is to create a different and distinct ideology that is necessary to incorporate the various multifariousnesses (factions, vested interests groups) into one group whereas the modernization is also concerned with some kind of elite center (wealthy landowners, entrepreneurial class or military). He further elaborates:

Both political and economic modernization will be restricted to the core group, resulting in a situation of internal colonialism in which a few small elites who are centered exploit the rest of the country (ibid, 2003).

In case of dependency theory, L. R. Stavrianos (1981: 34-35) as discussed by Lewellen (2003) states:

The underdevelopment of the Third World and the development of the First World are not isolated and discrete phenomena. Rather they are organically and functionally interrelated. Underdevelopment is not a primal or original condition, to be outgrown by following the industrialization course pioneered by Western nations. The latter are overdeveloped today to the same degree that the peripheral lands are underdeveloped. The states of developedness and underdevelopedness. The states of developedness and underdevelopedness are two side of the same coin.

¹² Rostow described development to be resulting in five stages starting from firstly, traditional stage; secondly, culture change stage; thirdly, take off stage; fourthly, self sustained growth stage; fifthly, high income growth stage. (Scupin & DeCorse, 2009: 514).

Lewellen (2003: 207) thus concludes that capitalistic development of the First World caused the underdevelopment of the Third World. He also stresses that 'dependency theory and the World system perspective were at odds with anthropological tradition.' Famous sociologist Immanuel Wallerstein (1974, 1979, 1980, 1986) contributed World System's Theory in development debate. His model categorizes all countries in three classes called Core, Peripheral and Semi-peripheral Societies.¹³ This approach is also criticized on behalf of critics as over emphasizing economic factors while ignoring other important factors like political and cultural traditions.

According to the paradigm of Hann and Hart (2011: 100-101) development's ultimate goal in post-war decades was a better world with a primal focus on betterment of the poor developing countries' economic prospects. In this scenario, the term development was multifold and translated in various senses for example as an engine to accelerate economic growth or as a mean to trying to understand both how capitalist growth is generated and how to make good the damage capitalism causes in repeated cycle of creation and destruction. Among other meanings of development included governments to best intertwine sustained economic growth with redistribution. The last perception was said to be boosted by communist bloc initiated in late colonial period till the 1970s. Hann and Hart (2011: 102) also point out another version on perception o development as 'commitment of rich countries to help poor countries become richer.'

In the 1950s and 1960s, the rapid growth of the world economy encouraged a belief that poor countries too could embark on their own enrichment, from the 1980s onwards development has more often meant freeing up global markets and applying sticking plaster to the wounds inflicted by exploitation by exploitation and neglect.

¹³ According to Wellerstein, Core Societies are the powerful industrial nations exercising economic domination over other regions. Peripheral Societies have very little control over their own economies and are dominated by the core societies. Whereas, Semi Peripheral societies are somewhat industrialized and have some economic autonomy but are not as advanced as the core societies (Scupin & DeCorse, 2009; Lewellen, 2003).

Development has thus been a label for political relations between rich and poor countries after colonial empire; for some decades it went in tandem with 'aid' but the preferred term nowadays is 'partnership' (Hann and Hart, 2011: 102-103).

The history of development studies suggest that the decades of 1950s and 1960s were focused on the modernization approach. The only recipe to become 'modern' was believed to be shunning of traditional institution and replacing them with the modern ones. The social cost of modernization was told to be accepting the 'norms of modernization' in form of increased reliance over western development models, technology, capital intensive economies and preference of Western political systems marked as best suited for development and modernization. The resultant inequalities were asked to be accepted till the alleged 'trickle-down' effect helps uplifting the poor. The decade of 1980s witnessed the rise of neo-liberalism that made the shift of development theory away from state's role to controlling markets and effective price system.

We see that during 1950s, the aim and objectives of developing nations were assigned to engineering firms that were reassigned to economists in 1960s. The decade of 1970s found the indulgence of other social sciences recruited to monitor the 'human factor' (ibid, 106). As a result of continual intellectual dislodges in fixture of development and its ultimate goals, Hann and Hart are of the view:

It would be no exaggeration to say that the development industry has been a site of class struggle between the bureaucracy, both national and international, and the people, however they are classified. Human lives were overridden by bureaucratic planning recipes that could not accommodate people's real interests and practices (ibid, 106).

As regards, the role of anthropologists, Hann and Hart pointed out three roles as options. First to inform on the people for the benefit of bureaucracy, second, doing vice versa and third adopting the role of mediators. They opine the third role to be chosen

by anthropologists most frequently. As a result, the situation from 1980s started changing because of the contribution made by anthropologists in form of new specialization emerged as 'anthropology of development' to advocate the role of anthropologists in development. Hann and Hart (2011) add:

Under heading of participatory development, anthropologists did their best to enable local people to have a say in the projects that would transform their communities. Particular attention was paid to the needs of poor, marginalized groups and of course to women (ibid, 109).

The concept of development if taken as a social change is meant to be present and occurring in all known human societies. Although, its nature sometimes turns out to be sudden and disastrous when it is understood in form of physical happening in material world like catastrophes, famines, plagues, earthquakes or other forms of natural hazards. On a social canvas, a sudden change could be perceived as a revolution or a rebellion. On the other hand, it also happens as a gradual process, in case so hardly perceptible. In fact, a social scientist is asked to learn that physical and social worlds are meant to be changing all the times. The study of change especially in socio-cultural systems also registers that change does not take place in alienation. The social institutions lay the very fabric of a society which is meant to be affected through the process of social change due to their interconnectedness as well as interdependence. Beatie (1999) assures the students of change that:

The student of change is concerned with all these fields of enquiry, regarded in their temporal, dynamic aspect. He can no more study 'social' change in general than he can study 'society' in general. His data are specific social and cultural institutions and he has to study the modifications of these through time, in the context of other co-existing social, cultural and, sometimes, ecological factors (Beatie, 1999: 241).

In addition, study of change has been a major domain of research for the anthropologists who attempted to describe change from various theoretical standpoints

like evolutionism, diffusionism, neo-evolutionism, socio-biology and many others. The development is also a planned intervention aimed at uplift of certain communities, nations or countries. Beatie refers to British Anthropologists who believed that:

Culture contact represented in relations between European colonial powers and the various indigenous people who they governed in Africa and elsewhere. Of course the alien governments were not the only agents of change: missionaries, settlers, and traders often preceded them, and powerfully affected the indigenous cultures. And the changes brought about by impact with the Western world were not only political; radical alterations in the whole range of social and cultural institutions were brought about (Beatie, 1999: 242).

Beatie (1999) has referred to Malinowski's approach towards social change as 'a process of reorganization on entirely new and specific lines.' On the contrary, Max Gluckman objected Malinowski's approach 'for failing to see that far from being an abnormal state of society, conflict might rather be an essential aspect of it.' Raymond Firth made his point that 'social change always involves some degree of conflict.' Beatie adds that:

It is obvious that some kinds of conflicts are structurally more disruptive than other, for they bring about major changes in the form of social institutions (Beatie, 1999: 246).

Beatie (1999) emphasizes that anthropologists are concerned with two kinds of social conflict and social change. The first type is social conflict and change relates to existing social structure. These changes are meant to be taking place in 'existing normative framework and are resolvable in terms of shared systems of values, and offer no challenges to the existing institutions.' The second type of change comes about in the 'character of the social system itself' due to which the conflicts that arise out of such change are not resolvable. As regards the two types of change, the first type seems to be a part of normal social life that does not pose any threat to the existing social framework. However, the second type of change seems to be direct threat to the foundations of society and its existing structure as it appears to press the society into

situation against whom there are not precedents of dealing with or no known remedies to overcome the unwanted upshots. Beatie further goes on to describe the paradigm of Godfrey and Monica Wilson called 'radical' and 'ordinary' opposition. According to them:

Radical conflict tend to arise when different but related spheres of social action vary widely in range and scope, the same individuals being involved at the same time in both¹⁴ (Beatie, 1999:248).

While advancing the discussion on social change, Beatie adduces the Firthian prototype on development. Firth talks about the impact of rich and advanced Western culture on less advanced and small scale one are likely to move through four stages. According to Firth, first stage is called initial stage that comprises readiness for the Western artifacts but embraces no or little modification in the traditional structure of the recipient culture. But during second stage, as the interaction between Western culture and recipient culture increases, there is a radical absorption and group values seem to be giving way for the individualism due to strain that gets stronger between the older and the new ones. This strain conduce a third stage that contains hostility against the new order and a conscious attempt to retain the traditional practices intact. Finally, the blending of new values and traditional ones witness the effect of previous three stages which could be either way but if in case there is some alignment between newer and traditional values then there is some hybridization of both the values and a happy ending but Firth claims for always a happy ending. Beatie has touched upon the utility of the model in terms of being helpful in explaining historical analysis of change (Beatie, 1999: 249-250).

¹⁴ In many communities in Africa and elsewhere increase in the scale of some systems of social relationships, for example the economic ones involved in participation in world markets, is not balanced by corresponding increases in the scale of social relationship in other spheres, such as domestic life, race relations, or religious practice. It is certainly true that such differences of scale are a conspicuous feature of many changing societies, and conflict often does arise when wide-range systems impinge on narrow-ones. But in the last resort relatively insoluble conflicts arise because the different institutions which social change brings into uneasy contact with one another involve radically different and incompatible ways of thinking and acting, rather than simply because there is a difference in scale (Beatie, 1999: 248).

The 'unhomely' is a term coined by Homi Bhabha to highlight the plight of those people who are refugees, migrants, the colonized people, exiles, women, gays simply carrying the meanings of those having no home. Keeping in view the term, Rapport and Overing (2007) have placed the indigenous peoples of the world into this category. M. Jackson (2000) also terms them 'fourth-worlders' encompassed by, but not at home in, the nation state. Rapport and Overing opine:

In present day speech, these are those people who are 'under-privileged', who suffer 'displacement' and 'social exclusion' (Rapport & Overing, 2007: 197).

There is another term 'politically challenged' used for such voiceless people. There are two characteristic reactions regarding these politically challenged people. First is that they are viewed as threat to the health and well being of the nation-state or, on the contrary, 'the displaced' themselves are understood to be at threat from the powers that be (Rapport & Overing, 2007: 198). Bhabha (1994) as cited by de Certeau (1997) 'calls for:

A development of 'literature of recognition' through which such people could discover their own voices and find the means to signify, negate and initiate their own historic desire, de-establishing traditional relations of cultural domination from the margins (Bhabha, 1994 and de-Certeau, 1997 as both cited by Rapport & Overing, 2007: 198).

Rapport and Overing also talk about the 'simple' and 'natural' that were termed by the colonial administration or other agents of nation-states as 'undeveloped', the 'marginal', and the 'illiterate'. These terms were said to be the essential aspects of an evolutionist mentality that rationalized political domination over all those conquered territories of the Americas, Asia, and Africa. Rapport and Overing refer to Z. Bauman (1995: 66) who points out that these colonial regions were termed as 'primitive' and once the label was put on, it was thought to be a right of Western civilization to conduct what Bauman has said a 'merciless war on the dead end of the tradition. Rapport and Overing punctuate that this war was like a war against cultural particularism that

demanded the training, civilizing, educating, cultivating of the colonized. They further add:

The gigantic aim was to disqualify and uproot all those particularizing authorities – the local shaman, priest, chief and king – who stood in the way of an ideal, ‘progressive’ order within which human homogeneity was believed to be achieved – through subjecting all those local lifeways to the dictates of something called reason (Rapport & Overing, 2007: 201).

To bring Pakistani perspective into it, the statement of Stephen M. Lyon (2010) is worth noticing that ‘Pakistan is a deeply troubled country and I believe that things must change or Pakistan will never be anything but a low income country with an Oxfam EPI of 99 out of 104’ (Lyon and Edgar, 2010: 28). To add more on this, Talbani (2010) cites Eisenstadt’s (1973) notion on Pakistan in following words:

Muslim encountered modernity through colonialism, which stripped their political power and brought about structural, normative, and attitudinal changes for both individuals and society. Modernization stands in opposition to traditionalism, with values such as individualism, secularism, rationalism, and consumerism that that threatens traditional ones- which had protected and passed on enduring values and knowledge- the locus of power to control and legitimize change shifted. The result has been profound changes in the normative, psychological, and the material aspects of Muslims’ lives (Talbani, 2010: 60).

Talbani himself concludes that:

In the Indian continent, the British adopted policies that made it difficult for indigenous institutions to grow and undercut the power base of colonized people (Talbani, 2010: 60).

For doing so, the indigenous institutions especially the education sector was deeply reorganized along the lines that suited that colonial interests for prolongation of political suppression over indigenous Indian populations. Tarar (2010) also refers to this critical point in following:

Writing entered the logic of colonialism as a material coordinate to the system of surveillance and discipline as well as central theme in the narrative of progress and civilization (Tarar, 2010: 166).

Tarrar also quotes the intellection of Jacques Derrida who has questioned the Western Eurocentric distinction between 'societies without writing' and 'societies with writing'.

Derrida argued according to Tarar:

While Western philosophical traditions valorized the civilization role of writing, the actual written texts were denigrated as mere record of the spoken. The spoken word has been assumed to be primary and natural, which represents the spontaneous authentic self, in contrast to writing which was seen as secondary, representational and a mere 'supplement' to the 'originary' speech. The privileging of the speech or 'logo centrism' is 'nothing but the most original and powerful ethnocentrism of the Western societies (Tarar, 2010: 166).

On the other hand, to bring indigenous populations under colonial control, Tarar's conviction as stated by him in following words also speaks of the undermining of local traditions and practices:

To bring peasantry into the fold of the colonial state, a battery of indigenous schools to teach reading and writing in vernacular languages, both Urdu and Hindi, elementary accounting and the measurement of land were set up (ibid, 2010: 170).

The doing so did its best to undermine the indigenous practices of the local people with no option left but to adopt the urges of colonial rule in order to keep pace with the new challenges. The new education system introduced by the British Raj in fact put the indigenous system in oblivion whereas new British education was introduced in order to bring people on the front that were intellectually impressed by the British norms and values. This goes in agreement with what Tarar has said that new British system introduced separate schools for native gentry as well as the so called 'artisan castes'. This was how the British were successful in evolving a new 'social, economic and

political order out of the indigenous social structure of Punjab, which was critical for the stability of British rule in Punjab.'

I believe that the changing of already existing indigenous norms swept the floor for the British interests with ousting indigenous knowledge and practices out of utility and thus creating a vacuum for those who were aimed to be serving the interests of the British rule by creating a new class that was trained under new regime's vision. The trend only successfully served the colonial interests rather the same trend was continued without any resistance after independence in 1947 in newly established Pakistani administration. The same discriminatory behavior of urban rulers especially the bureaucracy who not only took care of the most part of the development planning but also was on the front line to implement the development initiatives. The rural development literature produced by early champions of rural development in Pakistan is replete with flagitious and heinous remarks about the local and rural population that merely believed to conserve their local traditions, institutions and practices. These were simply termed as 'laggards', 'fatalists' and a cause of social resistance in way of development of the country. The indigenous traditions and practices were thought to be the biggest of all threats that overtly threatened development for Pakistan especially in the rural areas. The current education system is also not at all sensitive about the indigenous social fabric rather what can easily be observed in Pakistan today is same continuation of British era's remnants as also verified by Rahman (2010: 241) in his eye opening article that also concludes that Pakistani education system is again prolonging the British colonial heritage while ignoring its own indigenous institutions and practices. In order to strengthen my argument, I present two examples that speak insensitively about the importance of native culture and its institutions and goes on blaming the native rural Pakistanis for not only their plight but also held them responsible for the dismal economic performance of the country. The statements mentioned below also portray the incognizant state of mind and lack of sensitization on development by making it a mere case of economic performance. The quotes selected for specimen are

extracted from a books recommended for the candidates of Central Superior Services (CSS) of Pakistan which itself speak for indirectly reading the mindsets of potential candidature for on-coming bureaucracy of Pakistan.

There are a number of deep rooted social and cultural obstacles in the economic development of Pakistan. Mostly, the people in our country are illiterate, ignorant, extravagant and conservative. The people do not keep a lust for development. The prevalent customs and traditions in our country are very futile. For example, people love litigation; they fight with each other for petty reasons; and they love idleness than to work. Undesirable conventions have inflicted mental worries to the people. In the presence of such obstacles, economic growth has become an important problem. Amendment to the social and cultural environments is thought indispensable for progress in the economic field. Economic development can be geared up with the elimination of these out-dated customs and conventions (Bhatti, 2007: 855).

Similarly, another author Rabbani as regards the factors responsible for agricultural problems of Pakistan claims:

The farmers in Pakistan are ignorant and illiterate. They depend on conventional methods of cultivation. They lack in the modern knowledge of cultivation (Rabbani, 2006: 538).

In this connection, Rahman (2009) cites Basu (1952) who holds responsible the education setup of Pakistan to be historically serving the purposes of perpetuating hegemonic control over general masses. He says that 'public universities of Pakistan are colonial institutions that were setup by British colonial rule to educate the subordinate bureaucracy' in a way to watch British interests by giving Indians a sense of participation in running state affairs.

On the other hand, Kristoffel Lieten (2004: xiv-xv) in his work becomes critical of the term 'development' and terms it as 'nonsensical' because many countries that adopted four point agenda for development as prescribed in the speech of US President Truman remained undeveloped while worsening the gap between the 'developed' and the 'non-

developed'. He thus terms 'development' as a phantom, a chimera and an illusion. While going through the literature on development and post modernity several scholars like Sellama (1999), Turner (1997), Callinicos (1997, 1998), Howard (1995), Washbrook (1997) and Lieten (2004) seem to bring country-arguments opposed to the promises of development paradigms and post-modernity models. The arguments raised in the contributions made by these scholars reveal that development and post modernity are like a paradox that put a nation just like running after the water in the desert. This illusion is largely due to the prejudicial mindset of both paradigms that give least weightage to the local people in the developing world or the third world nations. The survey of literature produced by the scholars mentioned in lines above brings forth many preconceptions on behalf of Western nations about the local institutions and set of indigenous practices held by the third world countries. Lieten elucidates few of the preordinations held by 'developed' world against the 'developing' nations of third world in following lines:

Development is an institutionalized way of the exercise of power meant to destroy local knowledge and autonomy; rationalism, science and development are the same (Lieten, 2004: 8).

Similarly, he also points out:

Institutions such as science, rationalism and secularism are 'western' ways of conceiving and constructing the world; they are features of the grand narratives that has no intrinsic relevance to non-western societies (ibid, 2004: 8).

It is thus conceived that development as desired by any non-western nation could result in ending up total reliance over western system of knowledge and technology and saying goodbye to one very own. Rightly, pertinent to the words of Escobar (1996: 13) discussed by Lieten (2004: 9) who argued that 'invention of development' has produced the Third World as an entity and Esteva (1992) cited by Lieten (2004: 15) who said 'the metaphor of development gave global hegemony to a purely Western genealogy of

history, robbing people of different cultures of the opportunity to define the forms of their social life'. It is therefore understandable for Ashish Nandy (1993) referred by Lieten to conclude that 'colonization of minds' is an instrument of neo-colonial dominance. He further comments:

The ideas of the West are taken over by indigenous intellectuals and political activists, and are against the people. Therefore, development is a psychological category. It must remain directed against people and increase poverty and unhappiness in the guise of eliminating them (Lieten, 2004:17).

The possible way to accept the local values and practices held by an indigenous population is the application of the anthropological concept of 'cultural relativism' which is according to Kottak (2000: 70) is 'the argument that behavior in one culture should not be judged by the standards of another culture'. This is also to make sure what British anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski in 1944 said that 'one of the most fundamental requirements of each society is to see that basic physiological needs of its people are met' (Ferraro, 2008: 37). In this regard, Ferraro stresses that:

Clearly, people cannot live unless they receive a minimum amount of food, water, and protection from the elements. Because a society will not last with living people, every society needs to work out systematic ways of producing (or producing from the environment) absolutely essential commodities and then distributing them to its members (Ferraro, 2008: 37-38).

Why this recognition of local cultures, its values and practices are essential is rightly answered by Lieten (2004: 14) who reinforces that:

We have reached here a basic problem, of identifying the interests of 'people' and 'communities' – a problem looked over in postmodernist theory (and often in development-aid practice of NGOs).

Therefore, Lieten (2004: 13) calls for the importance of protection of hallmarks of local cultures through employing a South American context namely 'indigenismo' which is 'recognizing separation of different local cultures and their defense against the cross-cultural universals.'

Anthropological studies on peasant societies reveal the historical development of this sub domain within Anthropology during the early half of twentieth century when researchers chose the tribal people, small scale societies as well as subsistence level agricultural communities as a focus. But the trend got changed after the World War II, when peasant societies were greatly focused. Eric Wolf is considered to be one of the influential scholars with specialty of working on peasant communities. The early research taste indicates that peasants were considered to be hailing from some primitive mode and carriers of some primitive tradition. As is evident from the statement of Jerry D. Moore:

In early studies anthropologists commonly approached the peasant community as a more or less isolated remnant of an earlier tradition (Moore, 2009)

I have consulted Eric Wolf to elaborate my intentions to work on the Peasant community of Sacha Soda. Eric Wolf's stand point on peasants rests in his distinction that he made between peasants and other non-urban groups. For him, peasants possess certain characteristics that distinguish them from other groups. He contends that peasants are the one with primal focus on agriculture; they have their control over the land with 'subsistence' goal. It is why peasants are different from rest of other rural producers who are either associated with commercial and intensive agriculture or those who do not control their land. Wolf also discusses types of peasantry as 'closed corporate peasant community' and the 'open peasant community'. Wolf believes that peasantry always exists within a larger system as he opines that:

Peasants are rural cultivators integrated into larger economic, social, and political systems (Wolf, 1966: 1-17)

Wolf (1955: 458) says that power is 'intertwined with the religious groups' as regards the closed corporate peasant community in Latin America along with other features, for example, the community is male dominated strongly linked to its 'politico-religious system'. Powerful males of the society gain 'prestige' as they get on with various social positions. With the rise in the status of powerful males, they are also supposed to spend on community activities like feasts, and religious ceremonies, etc. Wolf asserts that peasant community is dependent for its survival on its marginal land to meet their subsistence requirements and maintenance of their social system (1995: 459-460). The peasants are reported to be characteristics wise specific as they deal with the national economy in a way that grow for their survival needs and small amount of surplus is sold to fulfill other petty needs, whereas they remain at a fair distance from the urban centers with a preference for their own community values. They have regards for hard work skills and avarice for material gains is denounced. There is a preference of family over the individuals. Whereas the 'closed peasant community' as defined by Wolf (1955:461-466) is different from previous type that their production is centered upon cash crops. Their land is privately owned and administered through employing their traditional technology. They do obtain capital investments but in a meager amount that is usually insufficient to modern their agriculture chores. The community members usually produce cash crops due to the outside community's demand. As regards their economic position, they are dependent on the national and international markets system. Any visible change may directly affect their economic and social status as well. In this connection, Moore (2009: 348) in case of peasant communities expresses that:

Peasant communities are not impoverished remnants of 'traditional' social forms, but employ specific social, economic, and political institutions that reflect rural cultivators' varying strategies for survival. Understanding these rural communities requires connecting the local to the national and global (Moore, 2009: 348).

Wolf has also connected his notions of agricultural surplus with the dynamics of power (which he elaborates as expressed in four distinctive forms). According to his paradigm, the surplus (made possible through intensification of agriculture and other related innovations) increases the worth and socio-economic position of a power holder which then is expressed in various social situations and becomes a support for underwriting power-holder's political power (which is also supported by the Marxist Anthropology, for reference please see Scupin and DeCorse (2009: 336)). This can be simply concluded that with more surpluses comes more power. In a capitalistic world of economy, Moore steers that:

The most salient characteristic of capitalist mode of production is that the rich use money to control the means of production—the technology, the factories, the markets—and can separate the means of production from the workers who actually produce (Moore, 2009: 352).

While referring to Wolf's classification of capitalistic mode of production¹⁵, he states that:

The three characteristics of the capitalist mode of production are (1) capitalists control the means of production; (2) laborers must therefore sell labor to capitalists; and (3) this results in a spiral of capital accumulation, labor exploitation, and reorganizations of production. Consequently, capitalism divides society into classes (Wolf, 1982: 78-79 referred by Moore, 2009: 352).

Similarly, Eric Wolf's works on 'Power'¹⁶ are also worth noticing while working on peasant agriculture. He defines four modes of power as firstly, individual's power;

¹⁵ In addition, to capitalistic mode of production, Wolf (1982: 91) also talks about two other modes of production namely, tributary mode of production and kin-ordered mode of production. The former is the one in which the producer or the cultivator is allowed to access means of production whereas he has to pay for the tributes to the local power holder in a weak system or the taxes to the centralized state. On the other hand, the kin-order mode of production is operationalized through 'kinship' to decide upon the rights and relationship among people.

secondly the power as capability to impose somebody's will on others; thirdly, tactical or organizational that is exercised by holding the context in which people exhibit their capabilities and interact with others; and fourthly, structural power that is to control the behaviors by exercising access to natural and social resources (Wolf, 1990, 1999, 2001).

Similarly, the paradigm of 'Cultural Materialism' as referred by Scupin and DeCorse (2009: 335) is a 'research strategy refined by Marvin Harris that focuses on technology, environment and economic factors as key determinants in socio-cultural evolution.' I intend to employ the basic statements of this school of thought to further understand the interrelationship of basic assumption held by cultural materialism in relation to my research topic. The main assumption of Cultural Materialism according to Scupin and DeCorse is:

The infrastructure largely determines the structure and superstructure of socio-cultural systems. As the infrastructure changes, the structure and superstructure may change accordingly. Technology, energy and environmental factors are crucial to the development of all aspects of society. All societies must devise ways to obtain food and shelter, and they must possess an adequate technology and energy to provide for the survival and continuity of the population (Scupin & DeCorse, 2009: 335).

On the basis of discussion of arguments generated above, I intend to work in the domain of 'development anthropology' which is according to Kottak (as stated earlier) 'focusing on social issues in, and cultural dimension of economic development'. In my view, development especially sustainable development could be a dream of any nation hailing from First, Second or Third worlds, but this development should not be in terms of ignoring the cultural aspects involved in the development initiatives. I have an inclination towards recognizing the local institutions and practices who should not be excluded during development planning and its execution. At the same time, I also have

¹⁶ Besides, various scholars who worked on 'power' and its dynamics like Max Weber, C. W. Mills (1956), Fogelson and Adams (1977), Lindstrom (1981), van Bakel, Hagesteijn and van de Velde (1986), Ritzer (1996) and Barnard and Spencer (2005) have also been cited in chapter nine.

the proclivity to say that development has to be for the people and by the people. But this is not to say that ignorance of local values and practices by simply terming them to be obstacles in the way of development can bring the fruits of development. If the development is to benefit the people then it needs to involve the local communities and the recipients at all levels of planning, management, monitoring, and implementation. In Pakistan, there is a long history of developmental efforts (details are mentioned in chapter 2) being executed by the outsiders (external agents like foreign aid agencies and planners, internal urban-based bureaucratic setup or arm-chair development practitioners). I aimed to study the effects of development interventions for agriculture community in my research locale. The purpose is to study the traditional perception and practices of development, indigenous political institution to ensure the self-empowerment among the rural people as well as the mega development intervention recently adopted by Pakistan in the name of 'devolution of power' launched by military establishment (that proudly acknowledges that this new intervention is ditto-repetition of French local bodies system). As discussed earlier that a social change can not be studied in alienation therefore I choose to work by adopting the paradigm of Beattie (1999:241). This makes a sense to me because the community in my locale is agricultural whereas the development initiatives launched in the village visualized development while adopting 'top-down' approach by eliminating the local factor from planning and execution stages thus creating a room for rise of social conflict among the village's strata. Along with this, the continual experiments of local government system (all introduced by Military setups in Pakistan) kept the people away from 'self-empowerment' that was promised to them by the military and civil bureaucratic establishments. I intend to relate that current course of events to its historical link, left by the British colonial rule to strengthen its grip over people through undermining of indigenous institutions. The perpetuation of the same governing principles allows me to comment on the development mindset adopted by the respective Pakistani establishment as the same that also suites them to enhance their vested interests and continuing their hegemonic control over the people.

To sum up, anthropology has its roots in studying man in all cultural settings. Anthropologists in West study while focusing on contemporary issues, whereas they also study the remote and indigenous populations in various other parts of world as well as the third world countries. In a way, it can be said that discipline of development anthropology studies all matters related to development especially the changes created by the development practices. In a way 'development anthropology is one of the branches of anthropology which aims at studying and researching on meaning, concept, theories, models, approaches, policies, strategies, and programs of development.' (Pandey, 2008: vii). The scope of development is summarised as:

...those who lack 'development' are those who putatively possess such things as authenticity, tradition, culture: all the things that 'development' (as so many anthropologists have over the years agreed) places in peril (Barnard & Spencer, 2005).

Anthropology has long experience of working with the small scale, simple and primitive societies. The exposure of anthropologists is also with the third world countries where anthropologists do study various aspects of their social and cultural life. Chambers verifies:

Anthropologists have come to an interest in agricultural development through their long experience in working closely with the horticultural and peasant communities of the third world. This involvement coincides with a national interest in improving the agricultural productivity of "food poor" countries. Although the objectives of agricultural assistance programs may vary from project to project, for instance, some programs have as their goals, the elimination of rural poverty, through the introduction of farming technology and techniques, new plant varieties, commercial fertilizers and similar innovations. Other programs are developed around attempts to improve the nutritional status of people. Still other programs might be directed to deal with problems related to capital improvements in lesser developed countries, such as encouraging agricultural self sufficiency and reducing the need for food imports, or helping a country develop foods for cash exports (Chambers, 1984).

1.7 Methodology

As regards the collection of primary data, I resided in village Sacha Soda where I have been working since 1996 during my Masters' dissertation. To seek a better response from the village community, I used to teach in a public school located in the village. I also collected already existing secondary data on my topic available in various research agencies like National Agricultural Research Council (NARC), Pakistan Agricultural Research Council (PARC), University of Arid Agriculture, Rawalpindi, University of Agriculture, Faisalabad, and Akhter Hameed Khan Center for Rural Development and Municipal Administration as well as various other allied departments like agriculture, irrigation, revenue, police, local government, and community development to seek the secondary information. This effort also allowed me to interact with the staff who dealt with my topic in one way or the other. During the course of research, I used various research tools to gather as much valid information as I could.

1.7.1 Sample of the Study

I used two steps during selection of sample of study. First, I divided the population in different strata based on all possible features existent in the population and second after stratifying the population, I selected one third of the total population as sample on random basis. There were 289 households (Total population: 2023, males: 1115 and females: 908) in village out of which the sample comprised 96 households (roughly 33% of households). The sample was selected on the basis of stratified random sampling.

The data was collected in three phases. The first phase included the preparation of Village ethnography with respect to the main objectives of the study. The traditional and modern farming practices were studied and complete notes were prepared. The experience of modern farming practices with respect to agricultural developmental projects was recorded. The Socio-economic Census Forms were administered from the

selected sample. The second phase comprised administering the interview guides from the respondents, detailed informal interviews and focused group discussions. The same phase followed the proper documentation of observatory notes and its further analysis with the anthropological paradigms used in the theoretical framework of the study. The third phase included documentation of relevant life histories and case studies for more in-depth analysis.

1.7.2 Participant Observation

I spent almost a year and half in the village to collect data. I stayed in the staff hostel of a nongovernmental organization called 'Fountain House' located in the village because the village community was more at ease with me to get declared as a neutral person. This stay at Fountain House was also helpful in approaching the offices of Agriculture department, the main market of village, and also to take a transport to go to the town or Lahore even in the odd hours. I have been working in the village since 1996 when I visited the village for the first time to complete my Masters' dissertation that was to conduct an effect evaluative study of various schemes of agricultural development projects. It was during my first visit in 1996 when I developed some really good contacts with the village community that really helped and facilitated my second visit during my doctoral research. It was due to my previous contacts with village people that I was able to conduct research and collect information easily as compared to my first visit in the village when there were more hostile feelings and suspicion against the outsiders like me. My teaching at the public school also helped me to win good and friendly gestures from the village people. It was so because I was at ease to meet the farmers during the work as well as leisure hours. My position as a teacher also bought me respect and social approval on the part of village population. I also interacted with the farmers during their peak agriculture season during sowing and harvesting of different crops. I also used to accompany the farmers during time when they were out for irrigating their crop during late night. I used both participant and non-participant observation

techniques. Mostly in the village setting, I adopted the participant observation technique but outside village, I had to rely mostly on non-participant observation.

1.7.3 Key Informants

I used this technique effectively to interact with respondents in more in-depth way. The purpose was to get more detailed information about various issues related to research. This technique proved to be very useful during my close interactions with target community especially when I decided to form a 'core group of respondents' having insight for local methods of farming. The key informant group provided an opportunity of digging information in more details. My key informants also paved way to interact with the pressure groups of village and also contacting commission agents in the local markets. Similarly, in initial days, some villagers used to refrain from giving any sort of information under fear of me being an official of revenue department. One of my key respondents (Chaudhry Noor Mohammad-God rest his soul in peace as he passed away soon I complete my research) facilitated my contacts with most of district offices in Sheikhpura district and also arranged meetings with *Nazim* of Union Council. In the early days of my stay in village, it was difficult to communicate with respondents as I was new to the terms of local agricultural methods but I was guided by my key respondents with whom I easily started learning the new terminologies and later on communicating with the respondents according to their own understandings.

1.7.4 Informal Interviews

There were situations during information gathering when I needed to interact with my respondents in more informal way to get more information in a face to face situation. It was difficult for me however to conduct these informal interviews with the respondents because of fact that most of time respondents were busy in looking after their daily chores due to which I had to wait long hours to converse with my respondents in person

for a detailed discussion. During the first phase of data collection, I came across problems of communicating with the respondents especially whenever I tried to collect information from respondents in relation to the framework of study. Later on during second phase of data collection, I shifted my focus to informal chats with respondents due to which loads of valuable information was gathered. I found this method useful because as compared to the administration of Socio-economic survey forms, this method kept people at ease and instigated a volunteer response among respondents regarding information sharing process.

1.7.5 Focused Group Discussions (FGDs)

Most of the time, I had to rely on this technique especially in early days because respondents in day time were stuck with their work and other routine matters whereas in evening times people used to gather in smaller groups at their respective men's rooms. This method was helpful in a way that I used to get loads of information in short span of time as compared to other techniques. During the data collection, there were times when I also needed to conduct a focused group interview in order to help my senior respondents to recall their past experiences which in a group form better recalled their memories as one respondent helped the other to remember the details of an event especially the past development experiences, previous local governments' aftermath as well as the social and economic condition of the area. Usually, I happened to conduct group interviews on common topics like to discuss the role of local markets in agriculture, staff behavior of agriculture, irrigation and revenue departments, implementation of devolution plan through union councils, and role of power factions in local political life. It was mostly observed that response of one respondent also encouraged others to participate in the discussion. I mostly conducted the group interviews through pre-determined set of questions but at the same time during my work on indigenous farming practices, I mostly used the unstructured format.

In initial days of my interaction with respondents, this was only method that I used because it was hard to judge that out of my respondents who were most appropriate to contact. Later, I developed it as a technique that before start of any new area of inquiry in my research work, I used to conduct focused group discussion to find out most knowledgeable respondents for further interaction with them in a more personalized way. This method was very helpful when researcher was compiling details of indigenous model of development (IMD). The way of conducting focused group discussion was very interactive in which members were very keen to participate. In a sense, it also provided a forum to the senior people of the village to socialize with their age fellows with an idea in mind that they were contributing something. This method served four important functions which were as under:

1. Firstly identification of the respondents who had been practicing IK related agricultural activities;
2. Secondly, the preference was given to respondents, who were somehow politically aware;
3. Thirdly, the necessity of knowledge about development and community organization in their local terms; and,
4. Fourthly, their willingness to share their experiences was the basic condition during core group operation.

This focused group technique was termed by the researcher as 'Core Group' in the sense that the members of the group were the people who shared valuable information on the social, economic and climatic suitability of the traditional methods of agriculture.

1.7.6 Case Studies

One of the purposes of study were to record the indigenous farming practices therefore I used this method to get in-depth and detailed picture of Indigenous methods and their

utilities as believed and explained by respondents. Case study method also helped in establishing relationship of specific methods with environment, culture, political and economic domains of village life. This method was of utility, especially when I was compiling bad and hazardous effects of modern farming practices. The local core group on IKS which was constituted within village helped and indicated suitable cases related to different aspects of IKS in domains of agriculture, socio-economic, and political scenario. This method also generated information while focusing a specific case to understand its deep rooted details.

1.7.7 Archival Data

Archival data was also used to gather basic information about the village history, population, and important developmental work that was done in previous years. Especially, the office of adaptive research farming institute very much located in the village was helpful in studying previous research experiments done within the village for farm mechanization and testifying new varieties of rice. During the stay, I used archival data because of nature of study and demands of topics within research. The following types of documents were examined thoroughly:

1. First of all, I used archival data from all project offices regarding planned changes to find out records of the village in order to understand responses of the village people during developmental projects;
2. Secondly, regarding pollution of water, I had to study lots of researches conducted within the district or districts nearby to get familiarity with concepts. Very truly speaking I was not aware of the toxic effects of technologies responsible for damaging natural resource base as well as posing threats to lives of people;

3. Thirdly, regarding the devolution of power plan, I had to examine records of Union Council of the village. To develop further insights into it, I had to consult records of the Tehsil and District Governments as well; and,
4. Fourthly, regarding administration of Socio-Economic Survey forms, I had to seek help from secondary sources as well in order to get collective figures about the village population because census report of the district was ten years old and was not helping in drawing basic details of the village.
5. In order to have a better grip over local government system in Pakistan, I used to visit the Akhter Hameed Khan Center for Rural Development and Municipal Administration, the then National Commission for Human Development (NCHD), the then Devolution Trust for Community Empowerment (DTCE), National Reconstruction Bureau (NRB) and various offices of Rural Support Networks (RSPNs) for examining their reports and various researches. I also attended various training programs offered by NCHD in collaboration with district governments on planning and budgeting system under devolution plan, concept of community empowerment through innovative 'citizen community boards', and learning the functioning of *Zila* (district) monitoring committees. I also co-worked with a non-governmental organization 'Regional Development Network' (RDN) to monitor the 2005's local government elections.

1.8 Scope of the Study

In the name of development, what we observe is conscious efforts to speed up the rate of industrial expansion that in a way threatened the indigenous cultures and their unique identities as well as posed serious challenges for the environment and considerably raised unwanted issues that raided the indigenous population while snatching their uniqueness and put them on way to extinction. Kottak refers to 'the

negative effects of an expanding industrial world system include genocide, ethnocide and ecocide' (Kottak, 2000: 521). Kottak refers to Bodley (1988) who estimated that 'an average of 250,000 indigenous people perished annually between 1850 and 1950. The causes included foreign diseases (to which the native people had no resistance), warfare, slavery, land grabbing and other forms of dispossessions and impoverishments' (Kottak, 2000: 521, 524).

The historical series of events help bringing the reader to conclude that there was nothing wrong with the land or the people of Pakistan rather the initial years of independence never allowed any public institution to put the country on the lines of development that was dreamed by the father of nation. The notion of development only corresponded to the definition given by members of HAG and other western ideas in Pakistan.

Many economists still assume that industrialization increases production and income. They seek to create in third world countries a process – economic development – like the ones that first occurred spontaneously in 18th century Great Britain (ibid: 538).

The development efforts, programs, approaches, as well as initiatives in Pakistan were merely the carriers of western ideology and prolonging capitalistic ethos. In spite of attempts made to see any scientific research done in favor of sustainable rural development through the community by letting their indigenous notions on development operationalised embraced failure. The survey of development history of country led me to conclude that the development in Pakistan is only west-bound which is merely another face of neocolonialism. It was at times observed that advocates of national development particularly in agriculture domain talked of past practices in a sorrowful and grief-stricken manner. The development staff posed an ashamed gesture towards traditional agriculture with an excuse that it is now redundant and obsolete. According to modern school, traditional skills and practices were once useful but now

these were thought to be devoid of sense and out of context when compared with new innovations. There was a sense of superiority that prevailed among government departments' staff who took masses mostly as their clients. This thing reminds that public servants had forgotten the message of Jinnah during his speech to civil officers telling them to be like servants of people of Pakistan¹⁷.

In stead, Development was something to be thought of flowing from federal agencies down to the provinces and districts respectively. The public representation was severely compromised as it was observed when I was interacting with the officials of development agencies¹⁸ of Musharaf's reign. The initial days of my meetings with the stakeholders were highly frustrating when my theoretical orientation was attacked and seriously questioned by people who claimed to be champions of sustainable development in country. The term of 'anti development' was often applied to my understandings of 'development'. The fear held by those people was also communicated to me which I would express in words of two of my colleagues 'probably you want to put the country on reverse track' and 'you want us to go back to stoneage'.

I intend to learn why development staff and policy makers in Pakistan are so much afraid of consulting to our own culturally unique body of traditional knoweldge and system of practices. My understanding of the indigenous knowledge is based upon the faith that a community that resides in a place over a long period of time is the one that has usually evolved appropriate knowledge about their surroundings, the soil and land properties, environment and its hazards, the crops' nature and various types of diseases

¹⁷ Informal talk to civil officers at government house, Peshawar: April 14th 1948. Extraction from Statement: *if you want to raise the prestige and greatness of Pakistan, you must not fall a victim to any pressure but do you duty as servants to the people and state, fearlessly and honestly....* (Government of Pakistan, 1989: 231).

¹⁸ Devolution Trust for Community Empowerment (DTCE), National Commission for Human Development (NCHD), Punjab Municipal Development Fund Company, Akhter Hameed Khan Center for Rural Development and Municipal Administration (AHK-CRD&MA). National Reconstruction Bureau (NRB), various other projects of Agriculture Department, Government of the Punjab.

attacks on the crops. Similarly, I believe that the local population living in an area, easily comprehends underlying reasons and causes of a particular issue arising and are in a position to bring relevant citations from their known past practices and through the folklores described to them through their forefathers. In the same way, people also know the techniques to cope with issues. As a matter of fact, available classical and contemporary literature on development and anthropology indicates that societies even those that are simple and small scale have culturally unique means and methods to carry out their various social functions.¹⁹

I intended to work on traditional and indigenous knowledge including agriculture to see that to what extent farmers in my locale still practiced their traditional practices or they had totally given up their traditional practices. It was to study reasons put forth by local people if in case they still adhered to their indigenous practices. On the other hand, if the people still practiced their traditional set of practice then I was especially interested to find out why in face of organized endeavors for adopting new and modern development models and notions including superior technology, people still favored their traditional practices. In addition, I was to look for other spheres of life that were also regulated by these practices. The researcher through this study tried to seek an apprehension of 'indigenous view on development' in the light of people's socio-economic activities related to agriculture to find out how community once organised itself in its traditional way before modern development efforts in village. The study divulges the 'neglected factors of development' that are 'community' and 'actual receivers of development initiatives'. It illuminates that what people believe about nature of development and its distribution to societal members especially in a scenario where people have gone through both. I also studied the traditional political institution regarding its effectiveness to manage the social and economic affairs at local level. The

¹⁹ For example see: Hitchcock 2004 a&b; Lee, 1993; Turnbull, 1983; Tshombe, 2001; Harden, 2001; Kehoe, 1989 & 1995; Sutton, 2004, Diamond, 1997; Chagnon, 1997; Kellman, 1982; Cole, 1984; Beck, 1986; Hutchinson, 1996; Sahlins, 1985 & 1995; Obeyesekere, 1992; Ortner, 1996; Scupin, 2008, Fedarko, 2004; Bhagwati, 2004; and Friedman, 1995.

same was also compared with the most recent local government initiative called 'devolution of power' in Pakistan.

I also studied three development schemes²⁰ for agricultural development in village to see results and ultimate effects on the social and cultural life of people. Since this study was being conducted, I had an opportunity to witness the election process of local government bodies (union council, tehsil council and district council) under the recent developmental innovation in Pakistan called 'devolution of power' and its effect on village's social life. I was able to document and collect case studies to see in detail that how the local power structure comprised of local feudals along with their pressure groups duly supported by politicians, district bureaucracy including police manipulated the whole attempt. The case studies collected present data on the actual on-ground situation to see the development work done in the village and its beneficiaries. This was done so because to learn whether the recent developmental efforts really kept its promises by empowering the local masses or not in the village. The example of four direct experiences of vilage people with modern development notions and techiques were studied to anticipate whether these efforts were successful in addressing people's needs and brought any tangible improvement in the lives of them. I agree with Bodley's statement (1988):

Our respect for cultural diversity is often offended because efforts to extend industry and technology may entail profound cultural changes. Foreign aid doesn't usually go where need and suffering are greatest. It is spent on political, economic, and strategic priorities as national leaders and powerful interest groups perceive them. Planners' interest don't always coincide with the best interests of local people. Although the aim of most development projects is to enhance the quality of life, living standards often decline in the target area (Bodley, 1988 referred by Kottak, 2000: 539).

²⁰ 1. Second Scarp Transition Project (SSTP), 2. Water Management Program (WMP), and 3. Agronomic Research Project (ARP).

1.9 Significance of the Study

This study is first of its kind among Pakistani anthropologists to see the indigenous knowledge from a different perspective. This is an attempt to build a case for promoting indigenous knowledge system as a viable alternate on the road to achieve sustainable development for the rural people because this is something with which people associate themselves as a part of their traditions and ties of emotional attachment. Seeing the situation in world where normative development notions are questioning the effectiveness of capitalistic notions as well as the efforts carried out by various research organizations and even International Financial Organizations (IFIs) like World Bank, there arises a need to reconsult indigenous perceptions of development, and concepts of community organization, participation and empowerment. Countries in latin America, Africa, and South Asia except Pakistan are now in process of giving their indigenous practices its due place and acknowledgment. Mere copying the industrialisation and modernization would mean in losing the cultural identity and getting away from the unique cultural heritage.

Today's industrialization extends to the third world. ...one effect of the spread of industrialization has been the destruction of idigenous economies, ecologies and populations (Kottak, 2000: 512)

The study attempts to put the voices of people first and contends that the center of development planning in Pakistan has to be 'people-centered' in which while adopting the participatory approach and methods, the targets of sustainable development are achieved. The grass root approach needs to get in fact operationalised in Pakistan so that masses embrace the development smoothly without being compelled and further making sure that their voices shall not be unheard. The current research chore is an attempt to see historical and current development process that impeded the development process in Pakistan and pushed the real recipients of development away from its benefits. It addresses the vested interests of powerholders at the local level

who manipulate the development schemes in public sector because of the system that is carrier of colonial legacy. The study is based on empiricial evidences from the village social life that top-down approach toward development is something that doesnot reach the grass roots and becomes a source for the local elites to become more powerful and act as middlemen between the establishment and the real community to enhance their vested and personalised interests.

The study also highlights the utilities of indigenous practices particularly agriculture as economically viable and something with which people can associate themselves and already possessing understanding of them. The properties of indigenous practices held in agriculture, being nature friendly and econimcal, are also discussed to show that if this cultural heritage is given due importance and recognition, then it can bring the development through organization of local communities, encourage the social participation of the masses and shall ensure the community empowerment. As rightly pointed out by Kottak (2000: 551) that 'realistic development promotes changes but not over innovation. Many changes are possible if the aim is to preserve local systems while making them work better. Successful economic development projects respect, or at least don't attack, local cultural patterns. Effective development draws on indigenous cultural practices and social structures.'

The current study was to focus on the indigenous knowledge associated with the modern farming practices as well as its relation with sustainable rural development process. In this regard, the role of traditional punchayat system was studied in order to see the management of farming and other local affairs at grass roots level. As mentioned earlier that IKS is a set of sustainable and successful livelihood practices for any community that evolved as an outcome of commuity's interactions with its natural and human resources. It is therefore IKS carries the seeds of sustainability without demaging the natural resource base of community and remains available for on-coming generations for future utilization. Yet there is still a room for future researchers to

explore certain other aspects of IKS like: traditional ecological management and related practices; integrated pest management (IPM) and indigenous soil fertility techniques; indigenous forest management and its medicinal values; the gender bound IKS; indigenous cultural pastimes; indigenous health perception and practices; and, indigenous community organization and development.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.1 Development as a Concept

The Oxford and Webster dictionaries define 'development' as 'a gradual unfolding' suggesting that the word is derived from the Latin '*de*' and '*volutus*' meaning 'to unveil' (Hulse, 2007). The term 'development' as conceptualized by Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (2005) edited by Sally Wehmeier, Colin McIntosh and Joanna Turnbull states it to be 'the gradual growth of something so that it becomes more advanced, stronger, etc' or 'the process of producing or creating something new or more advanced.' The Development Dictionary edited by Sachs (1992a) stigmatizes the term to serve the aim of Westernization of the rest of the World. Similarly, Sachs (1992b) describes that 'development's hidden agenda was nothing less than the Westernization of the World.'

In a strict economic sense, development has been visualized as 'the capacity of a national economy, whose initial condition has been more or less static for a long time' (Todaro & Smith, 2003: 49). The definition of development in economic sense was highly problematic as it denoted 'planned alteration of the structure of production and employment so that agriculture's share of both declines and that of the manufacturing and service industries increases'(ibid: 49). Development strategies have therefore usually focused on rapid industrialization, often at the expense of agriculture and rural development (ibid: 49). The definition of development based on economic orientation devises the path for it to be passing through industrial installations and expansion. It clearly ignores the society related non-economic factors and issues.

For long time, United Nations (UN) used the term 'development' and its related concepts. This term development was assessed through GNP per capita as single measure rather it was also used in defining development. From 1990, the work of United Nations Development Program (UNDP) had reviewed its orientation and new term of 'Human Development' was coined (Gasper, 2004: 37). World Commission on Culture and Development thus states 'development embraces not only access to goods and services but also the opportunity to choose a fully satisfying, valuable and valued way of living together, the flourishing of human existence in all its forms and as a whole' (WCCD, 1995: 15). UNDP also corresponded to this definition by referring to 'human development can be expressed as a process of enlarging people's choices' (UNDP, 1996: 49).

A brief survey of classical development theory reveals that Adam Smith's treatise published in 1776 was considered to be a 'theory of economic growth' as he was clearly concerned with economic development (Grabowski, Self, & Shields, 2007: 12). David Ricardo later on modified the model of Smith by innovating 'diminishing returns to land cultivation' (ibid: 13-14). He claimed that land is a variable therefore as economy grows, population also grows relative to land. Ricardo believed 'industrialists to be at the dynamic center of the workings of the capitalist economy' and he thought 'what landowners gained in income with population growth, industrialists lost' (Cypher & Dietz, 2004: 111).

John Stuart Mill differed a bit with Richardo. He was in favor of sacrificing economic development to some extent for the sake of environment and limiting the population size to avoid starvation. Thomas Malthus' paradigm provides a theory of the relationship between population growth and economic development (Todaro & Smith, 2003: 311). Marx and Engels discussed the market based capitalism was most dynamics force in the world (Grabowski, Self, & Shields, 2007: 15). What appalled Marx was the 'human cost' that involved in producing such wealth and the extremely one-sided distribution that

resulted from its production (Cypher & Dietz, 2004: 119). In Capitalism, exploitation of human labor is at the heart which results in 'profit-making'. Similarly, the 'mechanization process' also serves the aims and objectives of the rich industrialist who thus 'creates an army of unemployed to negotiate the wages and pushing it downward' (Grabowski, Self, & Shields, 2007: 16).

The classic theories assumed that there was a certain homogeneous character to societies. That is, society, in rich or poor countries, was not fundamentally dissimilar. However, a number of theorists have argued that traditions-the practices of the past that are handed down from generation to generation or are taught by society's dominant institutions – may pose particular problems for economic growth and development (ibid: 17).

The early literature on economic growth and development portrays that factors other than economic were ignored rather population growth was seen to be implemental in growing the profit margins for the industrialists. Early classical works 'ferocity was on economic development with no mention of giving a feeble heed to social factors. The conscientious duty of the privileged and powerful to be compassionate towards the poor and disadvantaged is a doctrinal edict of most major religions. Individual and institutional acts of benevolence have a long and heart-warming history. Following World War I, the League of Nations was created with noble intentions. But it is only since World War II that development, specifically intended to relieve poverty, chronic disease, economic and social inequities, has become truly international' (Hulse, 2007).

During the quarter-century following World War II some 60 new sovereign and independent nations, formerly ruled as colonies by Europeans, came into existence. The economic, material, skilled and educated human resources varied considerably among the newly emerging nations. All, in varying degrees, had – and many still have – need of economic and technical assistance, at first provided by the UN agencies, subsequently by governments of the more affluent North American, European and Oceanic nations. The needs, capabilities and resources among the new sovereign nations differed enormously, in part

attributable to how their boundaries were defined, how they were colonized, and the sensitivity of their former colonial masters, some of whom bequeathed institutional facilities for education, agricultural and economic development, others left a legacy of massive illiteracy (ibid).

Post-World War II literature on economic development brings forth its dimensions for economic growth including: first, linear-stages-of-growth model; second, theories and patterns of structural change; third, the international-dependence revolution; and fourth, the neo-classical, free market counter-revolution (Todaro & Smith, 2003: 145). After World War II, the idea of development, as it evolved focused almost exclusively on economic growth' (Lefebvre cited by North & Cameron, 2003: 25).

It was implicitly assumed that growth would bring about a gradual increase in the prosperity of the low-income communities at large. The unemployed would get jobs, and the workers in low-productivity occupations would be absorbed in higher paying advanced agricultural, industrial, and commercial service activities. Various paradigms of development – ranging from centrally controlled socialism to decentralised planning – were put forward as policy guides. Fifty years later it has become evident that whatever positive results have been attained – in some instances significant improvements in popular welfare – resulted from pragmated approaches to policy making rather than strict adherence to any particular ideology (ibid: 25)

From the late 1940s 'international development' gained currency with the creation of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (the World Bank), the United Nations Development Program, and, among the industrial nations, establishment of government-financed 'development agencies' devoted to offering technical, social and economic assistance to poorer nations in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East (Hulse, 2007). International development agencies came into being soon after 1945 to assist poor nations, many transformed from colonies into independent sovereign states. Declared development objectives were for the newly independent states to be governed efficiently and economically, for their inhabitants to enjoy freedom from poverty, hunger and insecurity (ibid).

Theorists of the 1950s and 1960s viewed the process of development as a 'series of successive stages of economic growth through which all countries must pass' replaced by emphasis on theories and patterns of structural change and International-dependence in 1970s and later on in 1980s and 1990s with neo-classical or neo-liberal emphasizing the beneficial role of free markets, open economies and the privatization of inefficient public enterprises (Todaro & Smith, 2003: 145). This paradigm given by Todaro and Smith (2003) is also supported by Cypher & Dietz (2004: 128-29) in their work. After the limitations observed in the linear stages and structural change models, the False-Paradigm model revolves around the 'international-dependence approach to development that attributes to faulty and inappropriate advice provided by well-meaning but often uninformed, biased, and ethnocentric international 'expert' advisers from developed-country assistance agencies and multinational donor organizations'²¹ (Todaro & Smith, 2003: 159).

Lefebvre argues that 'ideologically rigid reliance in the past on state controls and recently uncontrolled free markets has led to stagnation and immiseration of working populations' (Lefebvre, 2000). Ecologists contended that failure to control human, industrial and other development activities would result in ecological disaster. One publication, based on proceedings of a Conservation Foundation Conference, stated '... international development to date has been destructive' (Farrar & Milton, 1972).

There was change in the debate on development with a different perspective as 'in 1987 the World Bank compiled a set of social indicators related to human development'. The

²¹ 'These experts offer sophisticated models of development those often lead to inappropriate or incorrect policies. Because of institutional factors such as central and remarkably resilient role of traditional social structures (tribe, caste, class, etc.), the highly unequal ownership of land and other property rights, the disproportionate control by local elites over domestic and international financial assets, and the very unequal access to credit, these policies, based as they often are on mainstream, Lewis-type surplus labor or Chenery-type structural-change models, in many cases merely serve the vested interests of existing power groups, both domestic and international' (Todaro & Smith, 2003: 159, See for more details: Chapter Four).

relevant publication opens with the following statement: 'The ultimate goal of development is to improve the human condition, especially for the least privileged members of society' (World Bank, 1987). All this calls attention to the limited relevance of the currently dominant economic theories to the development process. Neoclassical economics is based on assumptions that are not rooted in the prevailing social and economic realities (Lefebvre cited in North & Cameron, 2003: 31-33). With regards to the results of ideologically driven neoliberal policies, carefully designed studies have found that not only did social progress in the third world slow down in the 1980s and 1990s (Weisbrot et al., 2001) but that liberalization failed even its primary objective of generating growth (Weisbrot et al., 2000).

In 1990 Dr Mahbub ul Haq, former Minister of Economic Development in the government of Pakistan, became the principal author of the first in a series of Human Development Reports published by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP). Comparative national ratings were based on a novel indicator: the Human Development Index (HDI). 'Development' was earlier conceived in terms of national GDP growth, it being assumed that the benefits of increasing economic growth would trickle down to poorer members of society. Mahbub ul Haq insisted that, while economic growth is essential, high growth rates do not automatically translate into higher levels of human development. Alleviation of poverty, caused by too little access to income, assets, credit, social services and employment opportunities, is important but not the sole factor in human development. HDI takes account of life expectancy, adult literacy and standard of living, and is calculated from several sub-indices: a. Human Poverty Index (HPI), b. Gender-related Development Index (GDI), and c. Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) (Hulse, 2007).

Government of Canada in a report quoted Brian Walker to say 'the field of development is a veritable junkyard of abandoned models, each focused on a particular aspect while ignoring the rest' (Winegard, 1987). Between 1950 and 1985, 60 former colonies attained political independence. Many, stressed by poverty, had little experience in self-governance, public service administration, financial, resource and industrial

management. The world had no earlier experience of political and economic change on so large, rapid and diverse a scale. Assistance programs were a novelty and largely conducted by trial and error, many donors seeking unrealizable rapid results and simple remedies for highly complex and disparate difficulties (Hulse, 2007).

The situation seemed to be changing after the works of The World Commission on Environment and Development in which Dr. Gro Harlem Brundtland came up with an innovation of introducing a new term 'sustainable development' which was 'to ensure that it [development] meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs' (WCED, 1987). 'The word 'development' has been narrowed to the perception of what poor nations should do to become richer'. 'The 'environment' is where we live; 'development' is what we do in attempting to improve our lot within our abode'. 'The downward spiral of poverty and environmental degradation incur a waste of opportunities and resources'. 'Economic growth must be based on policies that sustain and expand the environmental resource base' (ibid).

On June 20th 1997, General Assembly of the United Nations (UN) adopted 'Agenda for Development' as a result of four years' extensive deliberations made by the member states and secretariats of the United Nations. The then Secretary General of UN, Mr. Kofi A. Anan in its preface notes that:

Emergence of globalization and interdependence as key features of the new international environment. On the positive side, increased trade and communications present opportunities for all nations to enjoy. But many long standing problems and their solutions have increasingly taken on international dimensions as well. Environmental degradation, extreme poverty, sudden population shifts, massive human rights violations, illegal drug trafficking and organized crime are all threats to development that can no longer be resolved by national efforts alone, no matter how important those efforts may be. The way in which the world copes with this global interdependence to ensure equitable and sustainable

development is one of the great challenges facing the international community (United Nations, 1997: vii-viii).

The agenda for development understands the role of peace and security for attainment of development. It accepts 'every state has an inalienable right to choose its political, economic, social and cultural systems, without any interference in any form by another state as well as the right of their political status and right to pursue economic, social and cultural development' (United Nations, 1997: 14). The vision of promoting development based on an integrated approach has also been stressed as 'development is and should be centered on human beings' through adoption of multidimensional approach to development while focussing on economic and social development and environmental protection (ibid: 19-20). The document acknowledges that 'agriculture remains the main source of income for the majority of the population in developing countries' therefore it recommends that 'the agriculture, industrial and services sectors need to be developed in a balanced manner' in order to save agricultural domain from 'marginalization from the overall process of economic development'(ibid: 35-36).

While progress has been achieved in many areas, there have been negative developments, such as social polarization and fragmentation, widening disparities and inequalities of income, and wealth within and among nations, and marginalization of people, families and social groups (ibid: 42).

The objectives set by United Nations in its document 'agenda for development' stresses witnessing economic and economic development through safe guarding basic human rights especially of women, children, migrants, environmental protection and all humanitarian issues by adopting a participatory approach to development. If done so, one can expect to see the results of development reaching out to the poor segments of society, protection of rights by the government, decentralization of public institutions and services, strengthening of local authorities and networks, political empowerment and role of (developing) countries in international economic decision-making process.

The UN World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD), was convened in 2002 in Johannesburg discovers that 'little progress has been made towards eradication or significant alleviation of inequities between rich and poor, or of the environmental degradations'. It further suggests that 'the deep fault-line that divides human society between the rich and the poor, and the ever increasing gap between the developed and the developing world pose a major threat to global prosperity, security and stability' (Hulse, 2007). Sustainable development at the local level is dependent on the implementation of enabling mechanisms at the local, national and international (Grenier, 1998).

In short, development planning has often failed to achieve the desired result: *sustainable development*. In some cases, 'dependencies have been created by an outside world that orders and demands (through laws and natural resource regulations) but do not truly contribute to development. Communities are often left to find their own means' (de Vreede, 1996).

2.2 Critical Appreciation of Development

Alan Barnard and Jonathan Spencer's edited Routledge Encyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology (2005) visualizes the term 'development' in two directions. Firstly social evolutionism but picture changed from mid twentieth century in which the term 'development' is seen in economic perspective including production, consumption and living standards while focusing Third World countries. Secondly, 'Development' as 'the term is especially associated with the international projects of planned social change set in motion in the years surrounding World War II, which gave birth to 'development agencies', 'development projects', and, ultimately, to 'development studies' and 'development anthropology'.' The encyclopedia suggests that both senses treat

development separately but in Development Anthropology, to understand the term comprehensively, the two of them need to be dealt in total.

Development is no longer the responsibility of the state; rather, the state sets the wider framework, the market must be its motor, and civil society would give it direction (Rist, 1997: 223-6). Anthropologists, Mario Blaser, Harvey A. Feit and Glenn McRae (2004) state that 'most development practices have furthered, and still further, the transformation of relatively autonomous and self-governing communities, which over the years have carefully developed an intimate relationship with their lands, into dependent communities easier to subordinate to transnational markets and nation-states.' The editors believe that most development practices have furthered, and still further, the transformation of relatively autonomous and self-governing communities, which over the years have carefully developed an intimate relationship with their lands, into dependent communities easier to subordinate to transnational markets and nation-states. Yet, while Indigenous communities have opposed many of these development agendas, their agendas are themselves emergent, rather than a reaction to other agencies. That is to say, their life projects are socio-cultural in the broadest sense rather than narrowly strategic. Their life projects are also place-based but not limited to the local (Blaser M., 2004).

In contrast, development promoted by market or state-backed agents, with its claims to political necessities, the greater good and market demands in the context of globalization, appears to be disengaged from place conditions. Development as a practice and discourse embodies the European Enlightenment's implicit project of making specific local world-views and values, those broadly described as modern and Western European, into universals. As a successor to imperialism and colonialism, development has extended the reach of those local world-views and values far beyond the place in which they took shape (Blaser M. , 2004).

The sustainable development concept emerged out of the recognition that there are 'strong links between economic development and environmental protection' (Courrier, 1994: 508). *Our Common Future* (WCED, 1987) popularized the term and brought it to the attention of the world. The WCED described the concept as 'development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability to future generations to meet their own needs' (WCED in Courrier, 1994). Others have described it as 'economic development with due care for the environment' (Ramphal, 1994: 680).

Rhoda Reddock in an edited book by Jane L. Parpart, M. Patricia Connelly, and V. Eudine Barriteau (2000) says '.....areas comprised most of Africa, Asia, the Caribbean, the Middle East, the Pacific region, and South and Central America. Today, this grouping includes former colonial, largely but not totally tropical, countries, peopled mainly by non-Europeans. It is usually referred to as the Third World, underdeveloped countries, developing countries, and, more recently, the South or the economic South.' It is further added that 'the heyday of developmentalism — in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s — fostered some strong beliefs, such as that state or government should play the central determining role in introducing development policies and strategies that could lead to improved standards of living and conditions of life; and That international investment, loans, and aid can redirect economies away from their traditional bases — usually in agriculture — toward industry and manufacture.' She refers this change as result of renewed influence of liberal economic thinking (now called neoliberal economics), and adds further that 'today, although much of this sentiment has changed, much has remained the same. The dominant thinking in the late 1980s and early 1990s has been that the state has a leading, but only facilitating, role in the economy.'

Francisco Sagasti and Gonzalo Alcalde (1999) refer 'two alternative ways of achieving development were put forward: one based on market economies and liberal democracy and the other based on central planning and a single-party system. In the decades that followed, each trumpeted its successes and sought to enlist the poor countries, many of

which were emerging from decades or centuries of colonial rule in their camp. Developing countries became contested ground for trying one or another set of recipes to promote economic growth and improve living standards. Moreover, the East-West struggle became the lens through which practically all political, economic, and social events would be filtered and seen.’ Francisco Sagasti and Gonzalo Alcalde (1999) have cited the World Bank (1991) and UNDP (1994) findings that ‘What has been the result of five decades of attempts to promote development?’ Not surprisingly, the development efforts of the past five decades have been neither a great success nor a dismal failure. On the positive side, a handful of low-income countries, particularly in East Asia, have in one generation achieved the standards of living of the industrialized nations; life expectancy and educational levels have increased in most developing countries; and income per capita has doubled in countries like Brazil, China, South Korea, and Turkey in less than a third of the time it took to do so in the United Kingdom or the United States a century or more earlier. On the negative side, poverty has increased throughout the world; income disparities between rich and poor nations and between the rich and the poor in both developed and developing countries have become more pronounced; the environment has been subjected to severe stress, both in developing countries that have remained poor and in those that industrialized rapidly; and social demands have grown many times over throughout the developing world’ (World Bank, 1991; UNDP, 1994).

Francisco Sagasti and Gonzalo Alcalde (1999) emphasize that ‘one of the recurrent themes in the evolution of the idea of development is the tension between the diversity of situations in developing countries and the use of standard models and theories to interpret these situations and to give policy advice. During the past two decades, the recognition of the growing heterogeneity of the developing world — one of the main features of emerging global order — has shifted the balance in the direction of paying more attention to diversity and the variety of development experiences.’ Sen’s inquiry into the meanings of equality and inequality starts by acknowledging the empirical fact

of pervasive human diversity, and he proceeds to develop a framework with concepts such as functionings, capabilities, and effective freedom that allows him to incorporate ethical considerations when examining the different types of inequality embedded in social arrangements (Sen 1992, p. xi). Russell Ackoff has argued that 'development is an exception and theories are not constructed to account for exceptions' Albert Hirschman has made a similar point: 'When change turned out pretty well it was often a one-time unrepeatable feat of social engineering, an outcome that only gives confidence that a similar unique constellation of circumstances can occur again; but trying to repeat the sequence of events formulaically in another context won't work' (Hirschman, 1995: 314–315).

During the last 15 years, development thinking and practice have placed greater emphasis on the institutional and social aspects of development, including poverty reduction, building capable states, good governance, and conflict prevention and resolution. In particular, Ralph Dahrendorf's concept of 'vital opportunities' (Dahrendorf, 1983) and Amartya Sen's criticisms of utility theory, which led Sen to introduce the concepts of 'functionings,' 'capabilities,' and 'entitlements' (Sen 1992, 1984; Nussbaum and Sen 1993), constitute the most promising avenues for the renewal of ideas about development and how to bring it about. 'The inadequate, not to say pernicious theories of development on which policies are based have to be reconsidered' (Lefebvre quoted by North & Cameron, 2003: 35).

2.3 Indigenusness: From Background to Foreground

The term 'indigenous' as defined by the Oxford Advanced Learners' Dictionary is 'belonging to a particular place rather than coming to it from somewhere else.' Similarly, 'knowledge' is delimited as 'the information, understanding and skills that somebody gains through education or experience (practical, medical or scientific)' or

‘the state of knowing about a particular fact or situation.’ Whereas ‘system’²² is ‘an organized set of ideas and theories or a particular way of doing something’ (Wehmeier, McIntosh, & Turnbull, 2005). Knowledge is generated by communities, over time, to allow them to understand and cope with their particular agro-ecological and socio-economic environment (Brouwers, 1993). IKS is also defined as:

Indigenous Knowledge is local knowledge, derived from interaction between people and their environment, which is characteristic of all cultures. Its technical aspects include agriculture, medicine, natural resources management engineering and fishing. With farming system, indigenous technical knowledge (ITK) embraces people’s transformation of tools and techniques for the assessment, acquisition, transformation and utilization of farm resources, which are specific to a particular location. ITK can encompass technical knowledge held by all or most individuals in a specific locality, e.g. knowledge of crop rotation, pest and weed control, soil regeneration etc (Sinha, 2004).

He further states that ‘indigenous knowledge of farmers plays an important role in the sustainable management of farm resources. There is general agreement that the concepts ‘Indigenous Knowledge’ (IK), ‘Traditional Knowledge’, ‘Local Knowledge’, ‘Community Knowledge’ and Rural People’s Knowledge are all terms for the knowledge belonging to grass root people. The term indigenous knowledge denotes a type of knowledge that has evolved within the community and is passed onto from one generation to another. In the area of research, farmer’s knowledge, which they have been putting into practice for decades, encompasses not only IK, but also scientific and other knowledge gained from foreigners. Some of the knowledge has resulted from long experimentation and observation of their environment’ (ibid).

‘Indigenous knowledge (IK) refers to the unique, traditional, local knowledge existing within and developed around the specific conditions of women and men indigenous to a

²² Another meaning is ‘A group of things, pieces of equipment, etc. that are connected or work together’ (Wehmeier, McIntosh, & Turnbull, 2005).

particular geographic area. IK systems are also dynamic: new knowledge is continuously added. Such systems do innovate from within and also will internalize, use, and adapt external knowledge to suit the local situation' (Grenier, 1998). Although each IK system consists of an integrated body of knowledge, researchers interested in learning more about traditional knowledge systems tend to focus on discrete aspects. A diversity of topics is studied under the rubric of IK research including: learning systems, local organizations, controls and enforcement, local classification and quantification, human health, animal and animal diseases, water, soil, and agriculture (Ibid). The majority of the world nations that are working on Indigenous knowledge are striving to look for the locally evolved development model, that is, unlike the *Green Revolution*, less expensive and sustainable in terms of its long-term effect. IFPRI (2002) in its report on Green Revolution states that:

A revolution of this magnitude was bound to create some problems of its own. Critics charged that the Green Revolution resulted in environmental degradation and increased income inequality, inequitable asset distribution, and worsened absolute poverty. Owners of large farms were the main adopters of the new technologies because of their better access to irrigation water, fertilizers, seeds, and credit. Small farmers were either unaffected or harmed because the Green Revolution resulted in lower product prices, higher input prices, and efforts by landlords to increase rents or force tenants off the land. Green Revolution encouraged unnecessary mechanization, thereby pushing down rural wages and employment (IFPRI, 2002).

The lines above discuss about the indigenous knowledge as a concept and its properties. IK is as it is clear the intellectual property of a community which is the result of community's interaction with its specific national resources including land, soil, water, farming practices, etc that are evolved over a long period of time. IK contains the seeds of all that is requirement of any indigenous population and also capable of responding to 'change' factor with the passage of time. It will not be true if IK is labeled as something 'stagnant' or 'unable to respond' to ever changing challenges of society's

continuation. Similarly, the evolution of tools and over time sophistication of farming practices plead the case that IK not only updates itself with the passage of time as well as it encourages innovations. Blaser (2004: 27-28) opines that 'the ideas of development and of indigenoussness have a long and intimate historical relation.' He further stresses that 'Development as a practice and discourse embodies the European Enlightenment's implicit project of making specific local world-views and values, those broadly described as modern and Western European, into universals. As a successor to imperialism and colonialism, development has extended the reach of those local world-views and values far beyond the place in which they took shape.'

Local knowledge systems are geared to dealing with diversity, in both the natural environment and social organization and continue to evolve over time. Like other scientific systems, local knowledge systems develop technology and management practices to improve the quality of life of people. However, local knowledge systems differ fundamentally from those based on modern science and technology (S&T) in that they are managed by the users of the knowledge and they are holistic. Although both 'bodies of knowledge' — traditional and modern — are structured by systems of classification, sets of empirical observations about local environments, and systems of self-management that govern resource use (Johnson, 1992).

Initially, the modern development theory based upon notion of economic growth along with its paradigms has in a way tried to put the indigenous people and their practices on gradual redundancy. The advocacy of development experts has been in favor of adopting the foreign notions in the name of growth and development that is only measured through explanations provided from economic perspective. The ultimate beneficiary of the development ought to be the community and the recipients should be the people. It is usually observed in cases of most of the third world developing nations that the population and community who should be at the deciding end are merely expected to be at receiving end to nod its approval. 'Full recognition of local knowledge systems is central to the issue of sustainable and equitable development. Until recently,

they have been viewed as 'backward,' 'static,' and a 'hindrance' to modernization. This negative view has been fostered by a tradition of Western science' (Hill, 1994). Recognition and reinforcement of local knowledge systems can be the basis for an alternative development model (Appleton, Fernandez, Hill, & Quiroz, 1995).

Development paradigm deals with social change. 'Certain types of social change (e.g. industrialization or commercialization) become defined as 'development' and automatically considered good ('progressive'), regardless of their actual effects and the possible alternatives to them in particular cases' (Gasper, 2004: 28). Development without the conscious choice of community can not be termed as development rather 'development means whatever a group prefers' (ibid: 29) Gasper has further cited Development Ethnology Workgroup (AGEE) of the German Ethnology Society that wished to 'dissociate from the commonly held concepts of development, which define the approach to and goal of development according to standards of ours (Northern society). The term development is retained (by us) but given a new meaning We regard development as an improvement in the situation of the affected groups in accordance with their own criteria' (ibid: 42-43).

Many indigenous peoples are demanding the right to be heard in development decisions (Grenier, 1998). Anthropologists like Blaser et al (2004: 1) state 'In the last three decades Indigenous peoples' struggles to keep control of their lives and lands have moved from being of concern only to themselves, and some specialists and specialized bureaucracies, to being issues of wide public awareness and debate in many sectors of society. Indigenous peoples' struggles are now carried on within complex transnational networks and alliances that traverse the boundaries between the state, markets and civil society, including the environmentalist and human rights movements.'

As indicated by the fragment from ILO Convention 107, the broader agenda of development included human rights to the extent that 'integration' of Indigenous

peoples was supposedly aimed, in part, at extending to them some socio-economic human rights, or 'second-generation rights' (Messer 1993: 222 cited in Blaser, Feit, & McRae, 2004: 5). One could say that with the UN's *Agenda 21*, which provided the framework within which the nation-states should pursue the sustainable development of their societies into the twenty-first century, a reconfigured perception of Indigenous peoples was officially sanctioned by governments and development institutions. In this perspective 'indigenous peoples are given central focus *because of* rather than *in spite of* their cultural differences' (Ellen and Harris, 2000: 13, stress in the original; see also Conklin, 1997).

Western techno-scientific approaches are (in themselves) an insufficient response to today's complex web of social, economic, political, and environmental challenges. The paradigm in support of 'one technology or one knowledge system fits all' has been debunked. IK systems suggest a different approach to problem solving. Whereas Western science attempts to isolate a problem — to eliminate its inter-linkage with various other factors and to reduce a problem to a small number of controllable parameters — traditional approaches usually examine problems in their entirety, together with their inter-linkages and complexities (Shankar 1996). For example, people in the field of medicine are realizing the importance of including the physical, spiritual, socio-cultural, and psychological well-being of a person when considering matters of health. Although this is a fairly new concept for modern medicine, this holistic approach is the basis of many traditional systems (Grenier, 1998). Development has turned out to be not so simple as once was thought. Some of the goals of development now seem illusory; the constraints more and more intractable; and the contribution of natural resources information disappointing in the absence of ways and means of using it (Dalal-Clayton, Dent, & Dubois, 2003: 35).

The aim of holding this whole argument is to understand that the development is not mere technical part i.e. changing of tools and techniques rather it has to deal with the

social part which is more critical. The social aspect of development has to deal with the feeling, emotions, belongingness, identity, etc. the debate on development as discussed earlier poses certain queries in mind to raise a normative concern that 'is development a goal and target oriented task? Or 'should it be people centered'? Both of the approaches of course imply different connotations. The former perhaps deals with achieving the quantitative targets, and while doing so it has to overlook or ignore various other aspects like people's sense of getting away from their tradition or forefathers or accepting a sudden change in their traditional life styles. The later, perhaps is where people feel a choice of deciding what to do and when. The conservative notions held by the advocate of modern development practices about the indigenous people or knowledge has to be addressed effectively in order to put the development effort on the socially approved track. We cannot make people do or chose what they do not prefer or set as their need. The literature produced on development initiatives and its cultural response from behalf of local communities reveals that people do not seem to accept what they do not need or something that is imposed on them without their consents. The question is why development paradigm is so stagnant in accepting the preferences of local communities where as the development staff and agencies are found to be blaming the natives to be conservatives and fatalistic. 'We have also learned that the capacity to acquire, generate, and use knowledge in all its forms — including the recovery and upgrading of traditional knowledge — has been one of the most important factors in the improvement of material standards of living' (Sagasti, 1997a, b).

.....economies based on indigenous technologies viewed as 'backward' and 'un-productive.' Poverty, as the denial of basic needs is not necessarily associated with the existence of traditional technologies, and its removal is not necessarily an outcome of the growth of modern ones (Shiva, 1988).

As stated earlier that IK possesses the qualities to respond to the ever changing survival challenges but the current loss of IK, is because of too much commercialization whose benefits even have not been observed as promised or proclaimed by the 'syndicate of development'. 'Notwithstanding the fact that some IK is lost naturally as techniques and tools are modified or fall out of use, the recent and current rate of loss is accelerating because of rapid population growth, growth of international markets, educational systems, environmental degradation, and development processes — pressures related to rapid modernization and cultural homogenization' (Grenier, 1998).

Of late, IK has been lauded as an 'alternative collective wisdom relevant to a variety of matters at a time when existing norms, values and laws are increasingly called into question' (Berkes, 1993: 7). The need for some alternative wisdom in development initiatives is supported by the observations that 'Green-revolution technology is associated with ecological deterioration, economic decline (at the local level), and poorer diets and nutritional losses resulting from the eradication of traditional foods or from their substitution by nontraditional foods' (Grenier, 1998).

The objective of sustainable rural development in Pakistan cannot be realized without implying the local perception of development held by the people. People have to be the ultimate recipients of the progress but this has to be done without disturbing the local fabrics or threatening the indigenous life patterns. In this regard, sustainable agricultural and natural-resource development means 'the utilization, management and conservation of the natural resource base and the orientation of technological change to ensure the attainment and continued satisfaction of human needs — such as food, water, shelter, clothing and fuel — for present and future generations' (Titilola 1995).

Sustainable development at the local and national levels is a function of five variables: Biophysical and socioeconomic resources; External factors, such as available technologies and development ideologies; Internal factors, including socio-cultural

belief systems and local production and technological bases; Population factors; and Political and economic factors (Matowanyike, 1991). World Commission on Environment and Development emphasized that sustainable development could not be achieved without the active participation of local communities in the development process, including the management of natural resources (WCED, 1987).

The sustainable agriculture will remain a mere slogan because it is oft time confused with intensive agricultural practices which are promoted in name of pressing population pressure along with diminishing natural resources. Similarly, massive interventions in agriculture often failed to witness a pre-intervention appraisals to ascertain the probability of social acceptance and viability to bring the expected outcomes. The top-down approach to development particularly in agriculture domain may bring radical results for the intended beneficiaries as well as the agency that is involved to bring the expected outcomes. In fact, the massive interventions often become a social manace.

With rapid population growth — often due to in-migration or government relocation schemes in the case of large development projects, such as dams — standards of living may be compromised. With poverty, opportunities for short-term gain are selected over environmentally sound local practices. The introduction of market-oriented agricultural and forestry practices focused on mono-cropping is associated with losses in IK and IK practices, through losses in biodiversity and cultural diversity. For instance, policies promoting generic rice and wheat varieties devalue locally adapted species (Grenier, 1998).

The dilemma of development planning has been lacking of valid, updated and appropriate information about the target communities and its population. The opinions of the recipients have often been under represented in the development planning due to many reasons that may be ranging from shortage of funds, no felt need of doing so, bias against the rural communities or the planners being so ignorant of this vital ingredient. Whatever the case may be, final outcomes and community response is usually indifferent, doubtful and lack of participation and the result of program or

interventions ends in total chaos. 'The Comprehensive Development Framework (CDF) launched by the World Bank in 1999 is based on the concept of a holistic approach to development. It was to be piloted in many countries to demonstrate a better-policy balance in policy-making by highlighting the interdependence of all elements of development i.e. social, structural, human, governance, environmental, economic and financial. The aim was to development partnership among governments, development cooperation agencies, civil society, the private sectors and other involved in development to stress ownership of the process' (Dalal-Clayton, Dent, & Dubois, 2003: 72).

In developing countries, there exist specimens of successful community involvement in the private sector that could set path for seeking lessons to be further refined and launched on a much wider scale to multiply the process of prosperous and productive community level interventions. If this is patronised by the respective government and its planners and policy makers, the immediate results would be the rise of sense of ownership among the communities and its volunteering in several implementation stages could clearly be seen and smelt. Whereas in the longer run there would be building of human capital within the communities which could further take up the process at their own while depending on their local resources. Among these examples is the work of Agha Khan Rural Support Program in the northern areas of Pakistan as cited by Dalal-Clayton, Dent, & Dubois (2003: 73-74). In this regard, the role of government and policy making and development agencies is of initiating the community dialogue and organization to boast participation of the same not that what is referred to as 'the presumption that governments drive and dominate the development process' (ibid: 75). The approach to sustainable development is not only to make sure the sustainability of resources for next generations rather it should be at least built upon the seven out of twelve points agenda that is 'people centered; comprehensive and integrated; country-led and nationally owned; high level government commitment; effective participation;

based on comprehensive and reliable analysis; and, linking national and local levels' (ibid: 78).

For most countries, there is unlikely to be a single national sustainable development strategy. Rather the notion is likely to encompass the sum of the different initiatives being undertaken in an individual country, but with effective coordination, stakeholder participation and a focus on processes which provide for continual learning and improvement (Dalal-Clayton, Swiderska, & Bass, 2002).

'Throughout the cycle of a development initiative, from conception to feasibility study, to bidding for funding, to detailed design and implementation, to monitoring and evaluation, the need for information changes. A different mix of political, social, economic and biophysical information and a different level of detail or generalization is needed for sequences of decisions that have to be made at different stages of the cycle' (Dalal-Clayton, Dent, & Dubois, 2003: 83).

It is therefore important to understand and encourage the involvement of civil society in the development process by putting them first. This also demands an independent 'rural policy for development in rural areas' that is self capable of translating the social needs and requirements of development of rural population as a priority. Doing so, could bring at least the hidden strata on the scene to further suggest improvements in development related practices as well as raising the trust already shaken by poor administration during previous development practices and programs. In fact, what has been done in the name of development has really pushed the rural population to the walls with no hope of regaining what they need and deserve. The practices have been an example of 'communism of development'.

2.4 Rural Development in Pakistan

All successive governments in Pakistan since independence claimed to put the nation on way to self reliance, making people the ultimate beneficiaries of development agenda, recognizing and respecting the local norms and culture of the land yet the picture is other way around. The devastating shock to the indigenous culture was casted in the reign of British colonizers. The Culture Policy of Pakistan notes with concern that ‘the colonial encounter resulted in disconnect with our cultural heritage’ (Government of Pakistan, 2011c). It further discloses that ‘impact of some myopic post-independence policies on our cultural heritage was almost suicidal’ (ibid).

To articulate the shortsighted vision on development without prioritizing the masses’ felt needs was later on transcended in social chaos. The following sections illuminate awful backwash of single-factor development vision promoted in the name of prosperity in country. The rural development in Pakistan is a complex case as the establishment and stakeholders in power manipulation game merely served their personal stakes instead of watching over the national interests.

The following debate contains, main features of Pakistan’s development experience including its pre-partition colonial legacy i.e. bureaucracy, military’s indulgence in politics and thus destroying the development fabric, shortsightedness in development planning, major rural development interventions and cause of their failures, and failure of agriculture domain in gaining sustainability. This is done in order to build the arguments stronger to suggest that Pakistan now needs reconsideration of development postulates, shifting development strategy to favor indigenous knowledge as well as resources and redefining its development model that is basically root in the indigenous knowledge of the land.

2.4.1 Retroversion from Jinnah's Vision

Jinnah's stance on development process of newly born Pakistan was crystal clear. He stated 'if Pakistan is to play its proper role in the world to which its size, manpower and resources entitle it, it must develop industrial potential side by side with its agriculture'²³ (Government of Pakistan, 1989: 71). He was well aware of fact that agriculture being the main feature of economy of Pakistan could act as a step to further expanding development agenda for the prosperity of country.

Just as Pakistan is agriculturally the most advanced country in the continent of Asia..... I am confident that if it makes the fullest and the best use of its considerable agricultural wealth in the building up of her industries, it will, with the traditions of craftsmanship for which her people are so well known and with their ability to adjust themselves to new techniques, soon make its mark in the industrial field²⁴ (Government of Pakistan, 1989: 249).

It is important to note that Pakistan's performance in agriculture sector in 1947 and 1948 was satisfactory which in stead of getting more developed and responsive to national requirement, went down and became totally dependent on fulfilling the food requirement of the country while purchasing wheat from abroad. Jinnah's statement in the situation of agriculture presents a different scene:

For the present, agriculture is our mainstay. With a population of about 22 percent of what was formerly British India, Pakistan produces about 33 percent of the total tonnage of rice and about 40 percent of the total tonnage of wheat. In essential foods we are, therefore, comparatively fortunate. We also have some important commercial crops, such as jute, cotton and tobacco. The greater part of the world's jute is grown in East Bengal and it gives us the great benefit of earning large sums of foreign

²³ Speech on the occasion of laying the foundation stone of the building of the Valika Textile Mills Ltd: September 26th 1974.

²⁴ Speech in reply to the address presented by the Karachi chamber of commerce: April 27th 1948.

exchange. Foreign exchange will be very valuable to us in setting up and expanding our industries²⁵ (Government of Pakistan, 1989: 149).

Connecting the education sector to provide the required human resource to promote the agriculture domain, jinnah commented that 'it should be the aim of our colleges to produce first class experts in agriculture....'²⁶ (Government of Pakistan, 1989: 241).

2.4.2 An Elite State: Domestic 'Colonization'

The case of Pakistan clearly uncovers the story of an elite state that is clutched into the hands of Military establishment, colonial legacy in shape of bureaucracy, politicians motivated by self interests, capitalistic minded industrialist, middlemen or the power brokers and rural feudal. LaPorte Jr., (2004: 157) comments that Transparency International's assessment of Pakistan is valid 'as having one of the World's most corrupt governments.' The ruling class of Pakistan is also appended by the foreign trained policy makers, development experts, knowledge elites and sect oriented religious authorities. So what overwhelms the development practices with reference to rural Pakistan is deliberate ignorance of ideology of independence, shunning the vision of father of nation, manipulation of religious preaching, top-down tunnel vision on development interventions, highly politicization of development initiatives, vested interest groups, local power holders and brokers, etc.

All of these phenomena have led to a low performance not only internationally but also within the South Asia regarding basic bio-statistics like annual growth rate of population, number of patients per doctor and dentist, number of patients per bed available in hospitals, infant mortality, maternal mortality, vaccinations, to socio-statistics like low literacy rate, dropouts from schools, left outs from the education

²⁵ Broadcast talk to the people of Australia: February 19th, 1948.

²⁶ Speech in reply to the address of welcome presented by the Principal, Staff and Students of the Edwards College, Peshawar: April 18th 1948.

process, student-teacher ratio, gender disparities, etc. The eco-statistics like poverty rate, unemployment rate, inflation, GNP per Capita, low performance on Gender Disparity Index and Human Development Index, etc. The geo-statistics including rural urban migrations, cities becoming bottled up and overpopulated, land degradation, land erosions, soil erosions, agricultural lands becoming barren and infertile, etc. It is certain that without reorienting priorities, 'Pakistan will far further and further behind as a modern state when compared with most of its peers' (Cohen, 2005: 271).

The culture of authoritarianism, cultivated in the first decade of Pakistan's life, is likely to continue shadowing the democratic struggle unless the army fully divorces itself from politics (ibid: 271) and allows the political system to work. In this regard the work of Martinussen also depicts that 'the Pakistani bourgeoisie favored a regime form that concentrated as much power and decision making as possible in the executive branches of the state, the main reason being that this class was weak in political terms for at least three decades after independence' (Martinussen, 1999: 205). There is no doubt that the social forces favoring an autocratic form of regime in Pakistan were more powerful for a longer period than those favoring some form of democracy (ibid: 206). The decisive power was presumably the national bourgeoisie, but it should be noted also that the working class in Pakistan was in an unusually weak position to promote democracy (ibid: 206).

The same applied to the landowners and to an even higher degree to the peasants, who totally lacked national political organizations (ibid: 206). When further to this Islam's importance as a legitimizing ideology and the *ulama's*²⁷ general opposition to democracy is added, it becomes understandable why the form of regime in Pakistan became so distinctly autocratic during the 1950s and remained so until the end of 1980s, even though formal parliamentary democracy was introduced for brief periods

²⁷ Religious scholars

(ibid: 206-7). The efficiency of civil bureaucracy of Pakistan is evident from the statement which points three main problems for its mal-functioning. These are, an over-centralized organizational structure; seriously eroded internal accountability and lack of accountability to the public; and, politicization of civil service decision-making (LaPorte Jr., 2004: 155 and World Bank, 1998).

2.4.3 Economic Planning: Retrospective Perspective

Economic planning, broadly speaking, is an activity aimed at utilizing the human and material resources available with a nation in a way as to bring maximum economic prosperity and happiness to the people.

The government of Pakistan soon after independence set up the institution of planning in the country. 'Development board' was established in 1948 with a view to carrying out economic planning in the newly born nation in order to promote economic growth. A planning advisory board was also set up which was to extend assistance to the development board in its work of planning for economic development. The development board began its work to prepare its first six year development plan. This plan could not succeed due to the internal political unrest. In 1953, development board was dissolved and a planning board was assigned the job of preparing the First Five Year Plan. The organizational apparatus of planning board was reorganized in 1958 and raised to the level of 'planning commission'.

First Five Year Plan (1955-60) was prepared in 1955 that was later on released in 1956 but got its final approval in 1957. The plan could not achieve its targets for many reasons like instable economy due to which the balance between imports and exports could not be maintained. The delay in obtaining approval of plan from 'National Economic Council' (NEC) greatly damaged the spirit of the plan. The non-developmental expenditures rose to unexpected and unseen limits which adversely affected the

implementation of plan. First plan allocated a sum of Rs. 461 million for agriculture domain (Bhatti, 2007: 838). Second Five Year Plan (1960-65) was prepared in 1959 and approved in 1960 by NEC. Compared to first five year plan, second plan was somehow termed as a success due to achieving few of its targets. The monetary allocations made for agriculture were Rs. 902 million (ibid: 838).

The second five year plan (1960-65) has been widely accepted as the most successful period of economic progress in Pakistan. From virtual stagnation in the 1950s the rate of economic growth had jumped, from 3.5 to 6.7 percent per annum (in West Pakistan), industrial production had increased by 12 percent per annum and investment rate by 14 percent a year. The rate of inflation was only 2 percent (Aziz, 2009: 36).

The Third Five Year Plan (1965-70) was designed in 1964 and approved in 1965 by NEC as a part of 20 years Long Term Perspective Plan to be completed in 1985. This plan contained ambitious objectives but its implementation fell in jeopardy at the very outset because of the Indian aggression in 1965. Aziz recalls the issues in implementation of third five year plan and holds responsible the stoppage of American aid which was conditional and Pakistan-India war in 1965 due to internal expenditure rose and the due-share of East Pakistan was severely compromised.

The overall flow of foreign aid declined from 6 to 3 percent of GDP. At the same time in wake of the war, defense expenditure went up from 2.2 percent of GDP in 1964-65 to 4.2 percent in 1969-70. As a result, the overall share of East Pakistan in the pool of resources, promised under the Third Five Year Plan, could not be protected (Aziz, 2009: 40).

The argument is also supported by Bhatti as he states that 'government had to divert its energies to defend the borders. Among other reasons were stoppage of American Aid, natural calamities like floods and cyclones in East Pakistan, the political turmoil dangerously affected the implementation. The budgetary allocations were in Third Five Year Plan were Rs. 1377 million' (Bhatti, 2007: 838).

Fourth Five Year Plan (1970-75) was enacted on same foundations of third plan but this plan met a different fate. Its implementation was not smooth due to 1971 war with India and later on disintegration of East Pakistan. Tensions were escalated with neighboring India and the internally weakened political situation set up the path for division of the nation just a year after launching of this plan. Fifth Five Year Plan (1978-83) was launched in 1978 that met serious jolt when the allocated funds that were 210.22 billion out of which 128.22 billion were given to the public sector due to which many of the target could not reach its desired and expected aftermath. A sum total of Rs. 16112 million was specified for agriculture development (ibid: 838).

Sixth Five Year Plan (1983-88) was launched in 1983. This plan initiated a debate among the national experts of economic development about the nature of policy to develop the public sector. Though there was an agreement upon eradicating poverty so that benefits could reach out to the poor and needy in the country. The serious political situation due to clashes between the military establishment and democratic forces, Afghan war along western borders, influx of millions of migrants, ethnic killings in Karachi (that was the hub of industrial activity in Pakistan) and elections in 1985 again on non-party basis to stop Zia's opponent Pakistan Peoples' Party (PPP) were the major hurdles in way of its effective implementation. The allocation made for expansion of agriculture and development was Rs. 14200 million (ibid: 838).

Seventh Five Year Plan (1988-93) was launched in 1988 just before the establishment of PPP's government under the premiership of Benazir Bhutto. This plan was also a picture of trembling economy due to the affects of Afghan war in its final destination, refugees, terrorism in country due to Pakistan's involvement in Afghan war, the military controlled political alliance named Islami Jamhori Itehad (IJI) that collided with Federal Government and put the political process and writ of government in question through agitation and strikes all over the country. The stoppage of American Aid, political unrest,

ethnic challenges and killings in interior Sindh especially Karachi resulting in a military controlled operation, sectarian violence and killings in central Punjab led the overall law and order situation in total opaqueness. Punjab-Islamabad clashes (IJI vs. PPP) really put the picture in a dismal condition that ended in toppling and dissolution of government twice in 1990 and later on in 1993 under the directions of Military in the name of maintaining national security. In fact, the nation lost its vision to self-reliance and expectations to see national integrity. All stakeholders of power failed to perform their jobs and thus country was put on a track that could not hope to enjoy a graceful international stature within global brethren. The portion of agriculture was Rs. 15600 million (ibid: 838).

In August 1991, the government established a working group on private investment for Eighth Five-Year Plan (1993-98). This group, which included leading industrialists, presidents of chambers of commerce, and senior civil servants, submitted its report in late 1992. However, in early 1994, the eighth plan had not yet been announced, mainly because the successive changes of government in 1993 that forced stakeholders to focus on short-term issues. Instead, economic policy for Fiscal Year 1994 was being guided by an annual plan. Fiscal ceilings to support and promote agriculture development were 11400 million (ibid: 838). Similarly, the government of Pakistan attempted to frame the Ninth Five Year Plan (1998-2003) but this plan was never released officially (Saeed, 2007: 392). He further states:

Pakistan is still in search of an economic system. We tried to follow capitalism during 1950s and 1960s but the gap between haves and have nots widened. Social destabilization took place and resulted in breaking away of former East Pakistan. During 1970s, an attempt was made to introduce socialism-labeled as Islamic socialism, but this also failed. In 1980s and 1990s we experimented with a mixed economic system but ended up in a messed up economic system. Now in 2010s, we are trying P₃ (Public Private Partnership) but continue to await the results that will ensure a declining trend in poverty (Saeed, 2007: 401-402).

New Growth Framework of the Planning Commission²⁸ recognized the limitation of development planning and commented 'almost all five-year plans prepared during political or military regimes were shelved in the country's history after regime change and none of them succeeded in getting the desired results, so there is a need to look at strategies of other regional economies that are also facing challenges such as security and governance difficulties' (Government of Pakistan, 2011d). The Medium Term Development Framework (2005-10) relied on upgrading physical infrastructure for accelerating output growth. Specific spheres were identified where support to private sector could be extended and finally social sector policies were envisaged for timely achievement of millennium development goals. It further states that never has there been a more pressing need in Pakistan's history to search for a new model; however, at the outset it should be said that if there has to be a common vision on growth, it should by all means take account of the damages caused by security and governance issues currently facing the country. Saeed comments:

A major reason for the lack of implementation of the country's various five year plans has been the widespread failure of governments of the day to maintain financial discipline. What is planned and what is done in many cases has little relationship to each other. At times, it appears that plans are prepared by the planning agency and policy is made by different bodies (Saeed, 2007: 198).

2.4.4 Development Strategies

The principle aim of rural development in Pakistan remained to improve the quality of life of the rural people by improving the rural economy and living condition in the

²⁸ The history of planning commission itself speaks of inconsistencies and lack of governments' commitments to stabilize the economic planning through strengthened and independent planning institution. The history of economic planning is divided into five phases: (1) The period of economic coordination (1947-53), (2) The Planning Boards (1953-58), (3) The Planning Commission (1958-68), (4) The decline of the Planning Commission (1968-80), (5) Attempts at revival of the Planning Commission (Saeed, 2007: 195).

villages by improving the rural infrastructure, providing social amenities, undertaking productive projects to satisfy local community needs besides, creating gainful employment opportunities. Pakistan launched three major strategies to accelerate rural development process from the year 1950 to 1978. These strategies were: first, 'Growth Strategy' (1950-70) which focused on 'growth' criteria to achieve the rapid economic development with an assumption that the benefits of development will trickle down to the poor and disadvantaged groups. This approach was reflected in People Works Program, *Tameer-e-Watan* Program and the Prime Minister's five point developmental agendas from time to time. Second, 'Welfare Strategy' (1971-78) in which basic needs approach was adopted, afterwards for socio-economic uplift of the society for alleviation of rural poverty under the welfare state concept. The basic assumption being that the poor do not have the capability to stand on their feet. This government's intervention tried to help poor in providing necessities of life as food, shelter, clothing, medical and education facilities, etc. Under such approach, *Tawana* Pakistan, Social Action Program (SAP)-I and SAP-II were included; third, 'Integrated Rural Development Approaches' (1971-78) that apparently included the lessons learnt from the failures of the past development strategies and claimed to possess better understanding of the nature and complexity of rural society. The causes of rural poverty were considered multiple and inter-dependent so an integrated or holistic approach involving all the relevant sectors was adopted for achieving the objectives of rural development. Such approaches were vividly V-AID program and *Khushali* Pakistan program, etc. (Chaudhry, 2009: 129).

2.5 Overview of Rural Development Programs

After getting independence in 1947, the rural development efforts began to emerge as a new sector, however, during the period the main focus was on raising the production of essential goods which were short of supply due to disturbed economy in the country. The first formal rural development attempt was made through Village Agricultural and

Industrial Development Program (V-AID) in the year 1953 which was followed by a number of rural development approaches and initiatives undertaken for uplift of the rural areas. Saeed (2007) cites in this regard self-acknowledgement of Planning Commission of Pakistan that:

Preparatory work on public sector projects in Pakistan was frequently lacking. Due to inadequate preparatory work on projects, plans have failed in achieving their targets (Saeed, 2007: 198).

To get an acquaintance with rural development interventions, a brief description of the major rural development programs is given as under:

2.5.1 Village Agricultural and Industrial Development Program (V-AID) 1952-61

It was the first comprehensive multi-sectoral and multi-purposes programs aimed to bring a synthesis of rural development efforts at local level creating self-help and self-initiative. The program aimed at increasing income of the rural people, raising the agricultural production and establishment of rural small-scale industries and to provide social and physical infrastructure through four types of village organizations for involving local population for decision making in development projects. There were village councils, youth clubs, cooperatives and social centers. Major hurdles for failure of the program were: It failed to provide enough support for its continuation; Its temporary nature adversely affected the morals of the personnel and relations with the nation building departments; Rapid expansion without learning from the past experience; Mass recruitments and inadequate professional training; Village worker faced office accommodation and mobility problems; Village worker contact was mainly with the well off people; Participation of local people in planning and implementation of development projects was not obtained; It was American Stamped Aid Program; and finally it Lacked strong political will and support of the national government

2.5.2 Basic Democracies (1959-70)

A system of rural and urban (but primarily rural) development through local government institutions originating from the four tier system; union councils (rural) town committees (urban), tehsil and district councils up to divisional councils which provided local support system to the program close to the grass roots. Its major emphasis was on increasing the farm production like 'Green Revolution' through effective supply of inputs and better productivity. Two separate ordinances for rural and urban areas were promulgated which were 'Basic Democracies Ordinances 1959 for Rural Areas' and 'Municipal Administration Ordinance 1960 for Urban Areas' under the basic democracies system. The development of rural areas in terms of provision and development, improvement of basic infrastructure viz pavement of street, construction of drains, etc., were carried out through District, Tehsil and Union Councils. This program ran into chaos due to following reasons: In rural areas most of the Union Councils had not been able to take up the functions; Union Committees, Tehsil Councils and Divisional Councils had practically no function except to meet occasionally; Financial resources at the disposal of local councils were inadequate; In some cases, Chairmen and Members had not been able to deliver the goods; The attitude of government departments more or less remained unhelpful; In the national plan, local councils had not been assigned a proper role commensurate to their political and social importance; and, the people were not educated properly in the principals and philosophy of the program.

2.5.3 Rural Works Program (1963-71)

Its objective was to provide rural infrastructural needs, gainful employment on labor intensive and productive projects and to make full use of local resources through local leadership. The program was earlier linked with Basic Democracy System, however, after its dissolution, it was re-named as 'Peoples Works Program' in 1972 and continued

up to 1980. Rural Works Program had its origin in a pilot project undertaken at the Academy for Rural Development Comilla, East Pakistan (new Bangladesh) in 1961. Despite numerous limitations, the Rural Works Program operation did not achieve any success and made contributions as a supporting program to rural development in the country. It created considerably political awareness among the rural masses and a new type of leadership had emerged as compared to the old rigid strata such as landed aristocracy.

2.5.4 Integrated Rural Development Program (IRDP) 1972-80

It was based on joint action by the farmers, line departments and local organizations to make the community centre a functional unit of local development of a multi-sectoral nature. IRDP aimed at enhancing rural production and achieving greater socio-economic equity. IRDP approach envisaged bringing about structural changes to integrate various components by pooling the resources and activities of various nation building agencies and farmers in development process in provision of credit extension and related services. The general impression gathered from this program is that it was partial success but could not make much headway in bringing socio-economic changes in the rural areas. Conceptual inconsistencies, lack of institutional support components, lack of coordination between nation building departments and untimely release of funds and inputs, and sporadic strong political commitment were some of the major impediments. The flaws in the program were: A firm policy decision was found lacking at the national level; The IRDP lacked strong organizational and administrative support at different levels; The community centre sites were hastily selected in a number of places without observing the objective conditions of the community centre criteria; Most community centers lacked the basic requirements of buildings for office and residential purposes equipment, farm machinery and storage; Production inputs and public services were not made available to a large number of small farmers in adequate quantity at the proper time and in proper sequence; finally, the community centre benefits did not spread out

over the entire area; the felt needs of the vast majority of small farmers remained largely unfulfilled.

2.5.5 People's Works Program (1972-77)

Rural Works Program continued side by side with IRDP but was captioned as the People's Works Program (PWP) during the above period. People's Works Councils were created at the district and provincial levels for administering the PWP. The objectives included the restoration of initiative among the people, creation of self-confidence in them and make them conscious of improving their standard of living. The program was so conceived that the schemes were to be identified by the local people and executed through locally available talent. Relevant data of the actual impact of the People Works Program upon the development indicators of the study relating to the rural poor are not available to analyze the problem in a meaningful way. The contents of the program indicated that the productive projects like development of land, irrigation facilities veterinary dispensaries etc. remained at a low profile, although they had a large pay off for agricultural development. The communication and education together consumed about three-fourth of the total allocations released. It was found that the Peoples' Works Program generally benefited MNA's, MPA's and some other party influential workers only and failed to provide the over-all facilities of development to the rural majority.

2.5.6 Local Government and Rural Development Program (1979 - 1985)

After the promulgation of the Local Government Ordinance in September 1979, elections of the District and Union Councils took place in each province as well as in the federating units. These statutory local councils were transferred the development administration at the local level previously carried out by the Deputy Commissioner. Both financial and administrative powers as deemed necessary and in varying degrees in

different provinces were delegated to these councils, more so in case of the District Councils over since their inception. The structure of these councils is fundamentally similar in all provinces and federating units and the Chairmen, District Council were declared Project Director for implementation of rural development projects in the districts.

2.5.7 Prime Minister's Five Point Program (1985-88)

The Prime Minister identified five points to promote the welfare and prosperity of the people during the period from 1985 to 1988. These five points covered political system, economic order, modern scientific development, removing illiteracy and social reforms. This program supported rural development, '*Katchi Abadis*' (Shanty towns), and mass literacy program also. The concept of the program was to improve the economic condition of the people and effectively provide assistance for the prosperity of the less developed areas. Considerable allocations of funds were made to all Senators, MNAs for completion of local need projects in their respective areas. They were allowed to choose the implementation or execution agency of their choice. The program was suspended after the dismissal of the Junejo Government in May 1988. In a way, any comment on the success or failure of the program is hard as it was terminated without serving its tenure. Yet the manipulation of development funds allocated through senators and MNAs always questioned the transparency of this program.

2.5.8 People's Program- I & II (1989 – 90 & 1993 - 97)

The government initiated a program called People's Program in April, 1989 in order to improve and upgrade the physical and social infrastructure mobilize local resources, motivate the people for productive efforts and investment in human capital and to provide welfare of under privileged section of the population such as women, youth, disabled and aged and to provide employment opportunities for them. It was federal in

concept and framework. The program was operated through centralized organization. Under the People's Program, Federal government started channelizing the development grants through the parliamentarians for undertaking development activities in their respective constituencies. The focus of the activities was on the development of infrastructure in education, health, communication, energy, water supply and sanitation sectors. In order to achieve the above targets financial resources to the extent of Rs. 3.12 billion were earmarked for rural roads and integrated development projects. In addition, Rs. 260, 32 billion were allocated for rural development under other sectors. In total, a sum of Rs. 163.44 billion was allotted for the development of rural areas out of the total public sector outlay of Rs. 752.13 billion. Moreover, an amount of Rs. 150.00 billion was spared for People's Program during the Plan period. Both phases of the program witnessed political manipulation by the Pakistan People Party and Muslim League. The latter had its government in the Punjab and the rivalry made people suffer. No considerable development work was done rather it was a story of extreme nepotism and political manipulation as the both opponents tried their best to tarnish the development efforts initiated by their rivals. Aziz explicated that 'the Punjab government also objected to the new structure created for implementing the people works program, in place of the district and union councils elected in 1983' (Aziz, 2009: 99).

2.5.9 Tameer-e-Watan Program I & II (1991 – 93 & 1996 – 98)

Tameer-e-Watan Program was launched in July 1991. With the participation of elected representatives (Senators and MNAs) for providing basic amenities such as drinking water, health, education, sanitation, roads, village electrification, supply of natural gas and the establishment of public call offices in the country within their financial ceilings in their respective constituencies. Similarly at lower level the Provincial Governments executed *Tameer-e-Watan* program with the participation of MPAs. The planned development schemes were undertaken to transform the socio-economic landscape

particularly in the rural areas thus leading to improvement in the lot of rural poor. Another significant objective was to strengthen leadership capabilities in the rural areas by developing local initiative and enterprise of the communities. It was planned to develop more income-generating activities to improve the economic base of the community. Priority was given to the development of social sectors including education and health facilities, physical infrastructure including roads, water supply and village electrification.

2.5.10 Social Action Program (SAP-I & SAP-II)

The Social Action Program was conceived in 1992-93, with an investment of Rs.103.15 billion (for five years), it was purely as a domestic effort from own resources. Subsequently, the donors showed keen interest in financing the SAP. Accordingly, SAP-I was designed and launched in 1993-94 with an outlay of Rs.127.4 billion for three years with the assistance from World Bank, Asian development bank, Governments of the Netherlands and the United Kingdom (UK). Out of total outlay, about 25 percent financing was contributed by donors and 75 percent by government of Pakistan. The objectives of SAP-I were to address imbalances between: primary and secondary education; rural and urban facilities; male and female education; and, between current and development expenditure. The ultimate fate of SAP-I is evident as below:

The dismissal of government in April 1993, these plans could not be implemented and despite larger allocations, the physical and qualitative results were disappointing (Aziz, 2009: 124)

After SAP Phase-I (1993-96), the government initiated another five and half year SAP-II (January, 1997 to June, 2002) with an outlay of Rs. 498.8 billion. Out of total expenditure, the donor assistance was envisaged to be Rs.101.0 billion and the government's financing was Rs.397.8 billion. Like Phase-I, the main focus of the Phase-II was also on the four priority areas: the elementary education; primary-health and

population; rural water supply and sanitation, and Population welfare. SAP-II was largely manipulated by the politicians, bureaucratic structures that made themselves inevitable in the program and thus whole development was put into a personal win and loss game. Though SAP-I and SAP-II contributed a bit and were expected to add but 'the program was terminated a year after the military took over in October 1999 because of administrative and institutional weaknesses in the implementation of the program' (ibid: 124).

2.6 Crippled Local Government Innovations

Local government institutions of some kind always existed in the socio-political fabric of Pakistan. But the municipal committee and corporations were the creation of the British Rule. The East India Company precursor of the British rule established rudimentary Local Government institutions. The system in the right earnest, however, was brought about towards the end of the last century when political consciousness grew and there were strings of an anti-colonial struggle. Starting in 1882, it had undergone various changes and improvements (Government of Pakistan, 2002 cited by Chaudhry & Chaudhry, 2011). The system of Local Government inherited from colonial times continued in Pakistan even after the independence. 'However, no attempt was made to release it from strangulating bureaucratic trammels or to convert it into a system responsive to the aspirations and needs of the people. Elections to the local bodies were not held at regular intervals starving these bodies of fresh talent and denying the general people an experience of working of self government institutions' (Government of Pakistan, 2004 in Chaudhry & Chaudhry, 2011). In the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent, the term local government was originally used to denote the provincial governments, which were the local agents of the Government of India. Before the introduction of provincial autonomy, there was only one government for the Sub-Continent i.e. Government of India and the government under Governors were merely local governments (Chaudhry & Chaudhry, 2011).

Ayub Khan's era introduced self-government popularly known as 'Basic Democracies' while stating 'Western democracy could not be transplanted or imposed upon a soil that was not prepared for its healthy nourishment and growth' (Khan, 2009: 125). In real, the basic democracies did not stop at local-government. It was later widened and extended to constituting an electoral college to elect the president and members of National and provincial assemblies (ibid: 126). General Zia ul Haq's innovation of 'Local Bodies' in 1979 was another attempt to boost the military-bureaucracy romance. It was the same pact under which government conducted elections on non-party basis. The mere aim of doing so was to knock out the democratic forces out of office and letting the pro-military pseudo politician type strengthen its roots. 'Local bodies are regarded as the backbone of a democratic order. Zia, who was averse to elections otherwise, relied heavily on local bodies elections to introduce a new cadre of leadership throughout Pakistan and succeeded largely in this attempt' (ibid: 431). The local government is termed as a nursery of politics from where local level politicians gain experience in representing public needs and step up to higher organs of government i.e. provincial and national level.

Though the importance of local government can not be denied but this is again a truth that all governments including military, military controlled democracy or the democratic set ups never allowed the local governments to get mature and be responsibly addressing public needs at local level. In fact all governmental set ups influenced this vital public institution into their favor in order to strengthen their support and thus votes. LaPorte Jr. refers to a World Bank's report in 1998 that reveals:

World Bank recommended devolution as one means to improve government in Pakistan. However, there is no evidence that the government of Nawaz Sharif (who requested that the World Bank develop the framework for civil service reform) acted on the Bank's recommendations. In stead, reform in government structure and

functioning was to await the fourth military takeover, in Pakistan's fifty-five years history (LaPorte, Jr., 2004: 156).

The military ruler for the fourth time introduced the idea of 'devolution of power' via Local Government Ordinance 2001 in Musharraf's reign²⁹. The promise under this system was to effectively decentralize the power to the local tiers (i.e. Union Councils, Tehsil Councils, and District Government). The devolution system was based upon five fundamentals.³⁰

Following the lines of Zia, the government again attempted to incubate a cult of opportunist politicians with the aim to get political support while creating a new herd of politicians. It was therefore, the elections were again on non-party basis but nominees sought support from their respective parties. The funds of local governments were misused and the concept of decentralization was in real another face of centralization termed as 'federalization' (Chaudhry & Chaudhry, 2011). The members of local government look up to Musharraf and Musharraf has used them to undermine the provincial governments (Khan, 2009: 485). In any case 'the new system of local government has thrown the entire system of district governments into disarray' while pushing them in entire confusion especially the respective district administrations knowing nothing about role and responsibilities of policing, revenue, and magistracy in the district (ibid: 485). 'It is commonly believed that elected counsellors and their

²⁹ On March 23, 2000, the Federal Government announced a bold Devolution Plan with elected district governments serving as the focal point for local governance and development (Asian Development Bank:2004). A more detailed devolution proposal was presented in May, 2000 for public comments and debate. Finally, the government on August 14, 2000 approved Local Government Plan 2000 (Government of Pakistan: 2000 cited in Chaudhry & Chaudhry, 2011). The Devolution Plan aimed at decentralizing the government structure and service management, enhancing the efficiency and effectiveness of key public services by bringing their management closer to the people, creating potential for much greater beneficiary participation and monitoring, and better responsiveness to needs and stronger accountability to the public (World Bank: 2004 in Chaudhry & Chaudhry, 2011).

³⁰ The Local Government Plan was based on five fundamental: devolution of political power, decentralization of administrative authority, deconstruction of management functions, diffusion of the power-authority nexus, and distribution of resources to the district level. It is designed to ensure that the genuine interests of the people are served and their rights safeguarded. The new system will create an enabling environment in which the people can start participating in community welfare and be the master of their own destiny (Local government Plan: 2).

leaders are highly criminalised and beyond securing favors, the elected counsellors and their leaders have little understanding of or inclination towards learning the role of an elected executive in a modern state' (Niaz, 2010: 130).

There is a perception that the devolution of power to the grassroots is a farce as the centre controls the purse strings and will be packed up as soon as the incumbent departs (ibid: 130).

Niaz further states:

The devolution of power to elected local governments, combined with the marginalisation of the higher bureaucracy and the undermining of provincial autonomy has steadily drawn the military into local politics and administration (ibid: 280)

Local governments have historically been enacted by non-representative regimes to legitimize patronage structure that produces a class of collaborative politicians who act as a conduit between local level constituencies and the non-representative centre (Cheema, Khwaja, & Qadir, 2006).

2.7 Land Reforms

It was revealed in chapter 1 that among the major faults in Pakistan regarding development in rural areas was the failure in introducing the land reforms due to which the effective use of agricultural land remained a far cry. The state of Pakistan attempted to set in motion the land reforms but as a matter of fact, none of the three reforms turned out to be a real success. The rural elites especially the feudals who were representing in the parliament managed to safeguard their interests. The presence of feudal agriculture complicated the dream of rural development and the benefits of commercial agriculture were largely reaped by the wealthy and big feudals.

As it is discussed in chapter one, that All India Muslim League's planning committee did have proposals for agrarian reforms which were later on included in Muslim League's agrarian reform report in July 1949 which were never allowed to be implemented in West Pakistan by the powerful landed lobby (Talbot, 1990: 122, Saif, 2010: 197). Purportedly, the first land reforms were introduced in 1959 famous as 'Ayub's Land Reforms'³¹. The said reforms spoke for a maximum ceiling on land holding at 500 irrigated acres or one thousand unirrigated acres³² (Khan, 2009: 124-25).

Influential landlords who had been in the government had their lands assessed at very low produce index units with the result that in certain areas, various land owners retained two to three thousand acres of cultivated land per head³³. Another lacuna left, may be deliberately, was that the limits of land holding was fixed on an individual basis. Thus a family of six could easily retain from three to six thousand acres. In addition to holding of 500 acres of irrigated or 1000 of unirrigated land, another 150 acres was allowed as orchards³⁴ (ibid: 125). The local government system introduced by Ayub was characterised by the buying and selling of votes and had pulled the district administration into web of local intrigue and pressure that corrupted and politicised the services (Report of Government of Pakistan, 1967 cited by Niaz, 2010: 253).

³¹ The recommendations were put into force through the Martial Law Regulation No. 64 on February 7, 1959.

³² Lands in excess of the ceiling were to be taken over by the government for the distribution among deserving tenants. All *jagirs* were to be abolished without compensation (a *jagir* was the right enjoyed by certain landlords in the Punjab to collect '*mamla*' (land tax) on commission; tenants were to be given full ownership rights; and, landlords were forbidden to increase rents without the permission of a revenue court. The land reforms according to Ayub Khan would go long way towards breaking the monopoly of landed wealth in the hands of West Pakistan, narrow down the existing inequalities of opportunity, and encourage a more intensive and productive use of the by its actual tillers (Khan, 2011).

³³ 2.5 million acres of land was resumed, 2.3 million of it distributed amongst 183,271 tenants and small owners. The land resumed constituted around 4.5 percent of the total cultivable land in Pakistan, the share of beneficiaries being even smaller. Even these figures were an eye-wash since the number of beneficiaries who had holdings below subsistence level (12.5 acres) was only 59, 906 and just 0.65 million acres was distributed amongst them. By another account, the government overtook only 35% of the holdings that exceeded the ceiling. Clearly, this was no revolution or big achievement.

³⁴ Speeches and Statements by Field Marshal Muhammad Ayub Khan, Volume 1, October 1958-June 1959. Speech broadcast from Karachi on January 24th 1959, pp.47-51.

The landreforms of 1959 and 1972 failed to break the hold of feudals over rural politics. They continue to be very powerful and generally win the rural constituencies particularly in interior Sindh, and in southern and western Punjab. About eighty feudal families in Pakistan have representation in the central or provincial legislatures where they have worked to protect their own interests in conflict with the national interest. These families have generally kept their area deprived of education so as to keep the people under their control (ibid).

The election manifesto of Pakistan People's Party (PPP) was vivid on the issue of land reforms. PPP had assured the public in strong statement that 'to destroy the power of feudals landowners is a national necessity that will have to be carried through by practical measures of which a ceiling is only a part' (Aziz, 2009: 51). On March 11th 1972, the second land reforms regulation was introduced as an edict of martial law.³⁵ The land reforms envisaged under it were an improvement over Ayub in 1959. The maximum ceiling of agricultural land was reduced from 500 to 150 acres for irrigated land, and from 36,000 to 15,000 produce index units. This regulation did not really achieve the purpose for which it was ostensibly made. There were too many loopholes which were made use of by influential and powerful land owners to defeat and frustrate the land reforms (Khan, 2009: 249). Bhutto's regime was toppled by a Military dictator General Zia ul Haq that subsequently dissolved the parliament and arrested Mr. Bhutto under serious allegation and later on awarded death sentence by manipulating and pressuring the court's proceedings. 'About 3.2 million acres were resumed by government, without compensation and over 130,000 tenants received proprietary rights.'³⁶ The actual implementation of these land reforms was far below Bhutto's expectation because many of his colleagues were feudal landlords who created loopholes to minimize the impact of the reforms (Aziz, 2009: 51-52). Under the 1973 reform, 1.3 million acres of land was resumed and 0.9 million of that was distributed amongst 76,000 beneficiaries.

³⁵ Martial Law Regulation No. 115, PLD 1972 Central Statues 388

³⁶ To improve the incomes and working conditions of tenants, land revenue and water rates were made the responsibility of the landlord who was also required to bear 50 percent of the cost of seed, fertilizer and pesticides.

Under the 1977 reform, another 1.8 million acres of land was resumed of which 0.9 million acres was distributed amongst 13,143 beneficiaries (Khan, 2011). By the end of the 1970s Ayub Khan and Bhutto's measures had benefited only 272,000 out of the total 10 million eligible rural population, and only 4.5 million acres of cultivated land (less than 10% of the total) were redistributed. The state, even at the heights of its power, proved incapable of reigning in the landed elite. The two land reforms at best clipped their wings, but they remained the most powerful force in rural Pakistan (Nasr, 1996 cited by (Khan, 2011).

Days before the dissolution of the national assembly, another set of land reforms were introduced by Bhutto government through a presidential ordinance soon followed by an act of parliament in same terms. Bhutto's reforms contained the following features: first, no person should own or possess more than one hundred acres of irrigated or two hundred unirrigated land or an area equivalent to eight thousand produce index units of land, whichever may be greater; second, government resumed the land would be granted to the tenants free of charge in cultivating possession; and third, land not granted to the tenants in cultivating possession was to be granted to other landless tenants or persons owning less than twelve acres (Khan, 2009: 302).

In January 1976, Bhutto announced further land reform to lower the ceiling for irrigated areas from 150 to 100 acres and for unirrigated holdings from 300 to 200 acres. These surprise reforms annoyed the feudal segments..... (Aziz, 2009: 52).

In fact, these reforms were never acted upon due to the political conditions that ensued, and even the operation of land reforms of 1972 was not completed. After three land reforms, Pakistan is still dominated by the colonial capitalist feudal, land class continues to dominate all the elected, or non elected legislatures (Saif, 2010: 231-32). The attempt to proposed land reforms were purposefully given religious bias as

something being against Islam (ibid: 204, 231-32)³⁷ that is also confirmed by Khan (2011). A somewhat concluding remarks by Saeed (2007) resolves to understand the attempts regarding land reforms in Pakistan.

Laws were formulated in a way that left too many loopholes which were fully exploited. Faulty and incomplete revenue records also made it difficult to implement Land Reforms. The reform effort made the tenants more conscious of their plight and more determined to seek their full rights, and this led to tension between the land lords and tenants the land reform's program was conceptually sound but it failed because of poor implementation (Saeed, 2007: 260-261).

2.8 Grimness of Pakistani Agriculture

Agriculture³⁸ in Pakistan is suffering general stagnation despite the fact that majority of population is rural based and depending on agriculture for subsistence. Though the economy is pre-dominantly agricultural but this sector has remained under-developed

³⁷ The reforms did not yield the expected results due to a variety of reasons which I cannot go into due to the paucity of space. However, the commonly held view that it somehow "failed" merely due to the lack of application of the law (accompanied by lack of enthusiasm for it) is not necessarily wrong but is a very big simplification that ignores other causes (benchmark used being 1940 productivity, etc.) and is aimed at vilifying the intentions of the people who brought them forward. The lack of meaningful reform in Sind affirms this viewpoint (average land holding in Punjab had come down to 466 acres compared to 566 acres in Sind – both in violation of the ceiling imposed). In Punjab, only 42% of the holdings in excess of the ceilings were taken over compared to 59% in Sind. However, still 30% of the nation's farm lands were owned by less than 0.5% percent of the population. Meanwhile, wage laborers in rural areas had become a burning socio-economic issue. Needless to say, the reforms did not radically change the nature of land tenure in the Pakistan in practice, however it infuriated the landed aristocracy who were up in arms over the issue and the 1977 abolition of exemption to religious holdings sent the religio-political groups running around with their slogans against land reforms (Khan, 2011).

³⁸ Agriculture contributes about 21.5% of the gross domestic product (GDP) and employs 45% of the national labor force. The contribution of the agricultural sector to the GDP has declined gradually since Pakistan came into existence, from over 50% in 1949-50 to about 21.5% in 2009-10. Agriculture Sector was projected to grow at 3.8% during 2010-11. Major and minor crops were expected to contribute 3.7 and 3% respectively. However, un-precedent devastating flood during 2010-11 crippled economy in general and agriculture in particular. The sector had to suffer a huge loss and a growth rate of 1.2% was achieved. Standing crops of rice and cotton were affected the most. Resultantly, growth projected for 2010-11 could not be achieved. In spite of higher output of wheat crop and comparatively better harvest of sugarcane crop, the major crops witnessed a negative growth of 4.0%. Minor crops, however, depicted growth of 4.8%. Overall the crop sector witnessed a negative growth of 1.9% (Annual Plan, 2010-2011).

due to several innovations that were attempted to bring changes in the name of 'agricultural revolution' in country³⁹. The sources of Government admit a low performance of agriculture sector in spite of huge slogans of adopting modern agriculture.

During the outgoing year 2010-11, the overall performance of agriculture sector exhibited a weaker growth mainly due to negative growth of major crops and forestry. Against the growth target of 3.8 percent, and previous year's performance of 0.6 percent, agriculture is estimated to grow by 1.2 percent. Major crops, accounting for 31.1 percent of agricultural value added, registered a negative growth of 4.0 percent for second year in a row mainly because of decrease in production of rice and cotton by 29.9 and 11.3 percent, respectively. Minor crops accounting for 10.9 percent of overall agriculture value addition, grew by 4.8 percent as against negative growth of last two years (Government of Pakistan, 2011: 15).

The traditional agriculture was blamed to be the largest factor for this underdevelopment but the facts speak otherwise. Farm mechanization is one of the packages of green revolution that means the use of mechanical technology in the varied farming operations like sowing, harvesting, threshing, leveling and watering. The farm mechanical technology includes technologies like: chemical (plant protection measures), hydrological (tubewells) and mechanical (tractors, threshers, bulldozers, etc.) (Rabbani, 2006: 543). The total cultivable land in country is about 79.61 million hectares but the current under cultivation land is only 20.43 million hectares which means a major portion of land is still not used for cultivation (ibid: 538).

³⁹ Agricultural growth in Pakistan may be divided into four phases. Phase 1 lasted up to 1960 and was a period of agricultural neglect resulting in low annual growth of about 1.5 percent. Between 1960 to 1965, this trend was reversed and the growth rate improved 3.9 percent peaking between 1964-1970 at 7.78 percent. This was phase 3 or the period of 'Green Revolution'. In phase 4, i.e. between 1970 and 1977, growth declined to 1.67 percent due to a number of exogenous and policy related features (Saeed, 2007: 37-38).

Mismanagement in water for irrigation has made agriculture suffer a lot⁴⁰. 'Pakistan is located in semi arid region of the world where annual precipitation is very low' (Cheema & Farooq, 2007: 21) that demands adoption of an effective strategy to manage the water reserves of Pakistan. Pakistan claims to be possessing one of largest irrigation mechanism called as Indus Basin Irrigation System (IBIS) in the world that lacks its effectiveness due to which there is an acute dearth of irrigational water (Rabbani, 2006: 526). There is inequitable distribution of water due to mismanagement in government departments which leads to ineffective utilization of water (ibid: 538). Presently, the available water resources only meet 40 percent of the total requirements. As a result of Indus Water Treaty in 1960, Pakistan was constrained to the rights of waters of three rivers i.e. Indus, Jhelum and Chenab (Cheema & Farooq, 2007: 119).

Pakistan's agricultural performance is dependent upon availability of irrigation water. Against the normal surface water availability at canal heads of 103.5 Million Acre Feet (MAF), the overall (both for Kharif as well as Rabi) water availability has been less in the range of 2.5 percent (2005-06) to 20.6 percent (2004-05). Relatively speaking, Kharif season 2010 faced more shortage of water than any other Kharif season since 2003-04. During the current fiscal year (2010-11), the availability of water as a basic input for Kharif 2010 (for the crops such as rice, sugarcane and cotton) has been 20 percent less than the normal supplies and 21 percent less than last year's Kharif season. The water availability during Rabi season (for major crop such as wheat), is, however, estimated at 34.6 MAF, which is 5.0 percent less than the normal availability, and 38 percent more than last year's Rabi crop (Government of Pakistan, 2011: 15-16).

⁴⁰ Agriculture is largely dependent on artificial means of irrigation. Of the total cultivated area, about 82% or around 17.58 million hectares is irrigated, while crop production in the remaining 3.96 million hectares depends mainly upon rainfall. The Irrigation Canal Command Area (CCA) has been grouped into classes on the basis of the nature and severity of its limitations water logging, salinity, sodicity and texture. At present about one-fifth of the cultivated land in CCA is affected by water logging and salinity to varying degrees. An additional area of 2.8 million hectares suffers from sodicity. Notwithstanding huge investments, the water table was 0 to 1.5 m under 2.2 million hectares of irrigated land, 1.5 to 3 m under 6 million hectares and 0 to 3 m under 8 million hectares. Thus Pakistan needs to overhaul its entire drainage and reclamation strategy reducing its cost and making it efficient (Annual Plan, 2010-2011).

Absentee landlord is an big issue in agriculture. These owners of cultivable land neither live in villages nor till their lands. Resultantly, the land remains uncultivated and uncropped and later on becomes subject to water logging and salinity (Cheema & Farooq, 2007: 135; Rabbani, 2006: 526). The modern intensive agriculture stresses upon the use of organic fertilizers to raise productivity of crops while the agricultural source claim the adverse effects of the same. Fertilizers like any other products could potentially pose pollution hazard. It needs to be acknowledged at the outset that all agricultural practices, including fertilizers have an interactions with environment which raise concerns but for a developing country like Pakistan stake in the game are very high' (ibid: 147). The use of pesticides is also considered to be at the heart of modern scientific farming practices. These pesticides are considered to be essentially important to raise the productivity and efficiency of agriculture but 'the environmental hazards are also a reality including pesticide movement through air, particle and droplets, vapors, poisoning water, harmful effects of non-target plants and animals, direct human exposure to it and effects from residue, and effects on surface' (ibid: 159-60).

Effective land utilization remains a challenge in Pakistan further inducing low performance in agriculture domain. Among the wide range of problems 'small lands holdings, water logging, soil salinity and sodicity, soil erosion, land erosion, flooding, shortage of irrigational water and economic constraints' (ibid: 115-16, Rabbani, 2006: 526, 537-38) constitute the challenges of effective land utilization. The over excessive use of mechanized agriculture is directly affecting the loss in soil fertility, soil compaction, loss of natural micronutrients, etc.

Soil fertility is continuously depleting due to mining of the essential plant nutrients from the soils under intensive cultivation (Government of Pakistan, 2011: 22)

Pakistan is a forest deficient country with only 4.01 million hectares of forest that is equivalent to about 5 percent of total land area. It is probably due to the Pakistan's

forest Policy suffering from lack of proper reforms and maintaining the status quo (Cheema & Farooq, 2007: 76-78).

The area of natural forests and state-owned plantations declined at a rate of 27,000 ha/year (Government of Pakistan, 2011: 27)

Regarding the adoption of plant protection measures, the scientists themselves recommend to discourage over excessive commercial use of pesticides in order to remove the environmental, soil and human hazards (Rabbani, 2006: 157-163). Inadequate and underdeveloped means of 'farm-to-market' transportation are also a big hurdle in agriculture domain (Bhatti, 2007: 835). The farmers have to wait for long periods of time to market their product and thus get the financial rewards from their labor. There is acute shortage of storage capacity in the public sector to effectively store and process the new product due to which there are always huge risks of damage involved (ibid: 835). The flood of 2010 reflected some devastating figures of loss of improperly stored wheat and rice.

A belated but encouraging step taken by government of Pakistan to support the agriculture and livestock sector is reflected in the 'National Environmental Policy' to recommend remedies for promoting organic farming, preventing soil degradation and improving degraded lands, enhancing integrated pest management and discouraging indiscriminate use of agrochemicals, encouraging ecologically compatible cropping systems (Government of Pakistan, 2005: 13-14). Yet the credible information regarding the implementation of the policy through innovative initiative remains in dark.

The farm machinery is a remarkable feature of commercialization in domain of agrarian communities in the current world. Mechanization of agriculture is considered to be an essential feature of today's farming practices. It is associated with saving various factors like labor, time, energy, and resources in addition to rise of yield per acre. This

phenomenon is often pleaded to justify the increasing population pressure over the limited natural resources. The social aspects of modern agriculture are mostly ignored while talking about the commercialization of agri-products. Modern equipment in agriculture rapidly replaces laborers and thus creates a jobless army of agri-workers. The jobless workers are forced to migrate to the adjacent cities in search of jobs where as the urban areas have also seized to respond to this bulk of jobless agriculturists who are normally unskilled. Public sector cognizance though aware of this dilemma while exclaiming:

The agriculture sector is being rapidly mechanized and requires technical skill. Resultantly, the unskilled workers of this sector are becoming unemployed. Moreover the labor laws are not applicable to this sector, therefore, the agriculture labor force remains deprived of the benefits available under various welfare legislations to their counterparts in the industrial establishments (Government of Pakistan, 2010b: 6).

The relationship between poverty and agriculture is of prime importance because the incidence of poverty is a vital factor affecting the decision making of farming community. The mechanization process in Pakistan is largely impeded due to lack of financial resources. In a way, highly mechanized agriculture is only possible for the wealthy and corporate farmers acting as rural elites or the big landlords. Small farmers face several challenges, such as high transaction costs in accessing inputs, credit and marketing facilities. Specifically, it is difficult for them to access high-value crops even though they are labor intensive and more suited for their size. This is because of highly volatile prices and high market risks associated with high-value agricultural commodities (IFAD, 2011: vii). This poverty factor is redressed by the middlemen community known as *Adhati*.

The rise of *Adhati*⁴¹ in the local markets is deplorable because this community approaches the farmers in the beginning of sowing season and offer credit facilities. They also assure farmers of providing monetary sources to purchase pesticides and fertilizers. Resultantly, at the time of harvest most of the financial benefits go to them instead farmers who usually return with handful of grains that barely fulfills their families' nutritional needs. The respective provincial governments along with district administration and police department despite knowing what's happening in the surroundings do not take interest to address this problem and free the farmer community from the exploitation of these *Adhatis* who act as middlemen between government and the farmers. This middleman stratum buys the crops from farmers on very cheap rates and sells it to the government on their negotiated rates. Their political links with politicians, district administration, and police department make them inevitable in their respective districts. So in name of commercialization and mechanization, it is not the farmer who reaps the returns rather it is the middleman who robs the government and the farmers and earns millions in a single deal.

2.9 Indigenous Knowledge and its relation with Sustainable Rural Development

The fruits of modern farming cannot be denied but as stated again and again that rural people need to be involved in a locally evolved and integrated strategy for sustainable rural development as people. It would be a shallow cry if claims are made in respect of Pakistan for being completely transformed in modern agricultural era. The nation's case study mentioned above clearly speaks of the fact that can easily be inferred that Pakistani agriculture is still predominantly traditional and indigenous though many painstaking have been done to completely transform agriculture. The situation is even more alarming as farming practices are neither fully traditional nor modern further leading to a social chaos. This situation can be improved if indigenous knowledge is given its due recognition and blends the modern farming methods according to the

⁴¹ Commission Agent

social needs and requirements of farmer. In addition, on social, cultural and economic side, indigenous practices can play equally important role and thus contribute to rural development efforts. This whole process should not be as Walker and Daniels (1997 cited in Dubois, 1998) have described:

Government agencies seem to exhibit the '3-I Model' that is to 'inform' (the public), 'invite' (comments) and to 'ignore' (opinions) (Dubois, 1998).

To give the indigenous knowledge its due status in the development model for Pakistan there is a need to conduct a substantial fact finding to determine how development is perceived by the local rural communities, what should be the course of action to revitalize indigenous knowledge according to current day's challenges, what should be the priorities, and to ascertain that how local traditions could help boost the acceleration of development that meets nation's requirements to compete in global scenario. Mr. Sartaj Aziz⁴² was the leading name who spoke in favor of a suitable model of rural development for Pakistan in his book titled 'Rural Development: Learning from China' published in 1978. He in fact urged:

Need for thorough socio-economic research in Pakistan to determine the model under which the rural population could be organized to help themselves (Aziz, 2009: 61).

The majority of people living in rural areas prefer their traditional life and world views about their livelihoods. The case of Pakistan is a bit different where government's agriculture departments, research organizations, and research personnel in order to

⁴² Mr. Aziz had a distinguished career as a civil servant in Pakistan in the Ministry of Finance and National Planning Commission. He also served Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD). He started his political career as Minister for Food and Agriculture (1984-88), Minister for Finance and Economic Affairs (1990-93) and (1997-1998). He also served as Minister of Foreign Affairs from August 1998 to October 1999 while being a senator from 1985 to 1999 (till the government was toppled by military coup led by Musharraf). Currently, he is the chancellor of the Beacon house National University. He has authored six books on economy, rural development, agricultural policies and privatization.

promote modern farming started criticizing indigenous farming methods and portrayed it as something carrier of low vision on development, and as something that does not respond to new challenges particularly the population pressure. The vision of agriculture related policies has been focused on condemning traditional methods. These policies kept their emphasis on adoption of modern farming while terming it the single remedy to compete with modern world. The notions of sustainable community organization, participation in development works, and thus earning a feeling of empowerment were only given a lip service and did not happen (the coming discussion on development works in village shall elaborate this lacuna in detail). Instead, the local communities were deliberately pushed in a 'bog' to believe that agriculture was underdeveloped due to their laggard and fatalistic attitudes and cultural stagnation that resisted change. Of course there is a moral concern that over centuries, these local populations effectively demonstrated their culturally unique methodologies to deal with their natural habitats like agriculture, forestry, livestock management as well as discovering and refining effective socio-cultural systems. All that required is to acknowledge the indigenous knowledge and its importance and worth according to its beholders as Aziz has also suggested. By doing so, Pakistan shall be devising and adopting a sustainable rural development strategy that shall be in full accordance with the indigenous notions and norms and would also match the modern development. Moreover, there could be an establishment of research institution that could further thrash the indigenous knowledge along with suggestions to revitalize them in order to bring the traditional methods best suited and adapted to respond to challenges of modern world. This research attempts to raise a moral concern that since winning independence, Pakistan tried non-local western model of economic growth, foreign models of local government (as in case of devolution of power), alien agricultural technologies, etc. But situation now demands that indigenous knowledge and its orientations be acknowledged and put into practice after revitalization for expecting sustainability and thus making 'people centered development' possible.

Summary

Development is not a compulsion, rather it is to be realm of choices and options as preferred by the inhabitants of society. It is to be in line with the selection of preferences picked out by people. The historical array of development discourse is evident in various configurations and contours propounded by various schools of development paradigm. Seeing the direction of development challenge as desired by the society and as perceived by the development academia is different. The current day demand particularly in countries like Pakistan, development has to be a combination of both material and non-material progress. While material advancement in terms of raised standard of living and better opportunities in life becomes among the primary objectives of development, non-material development in terms of change in value orientations, attitudes, and patterns of behavior are no less significant. Under such circumstances, development does not involve acceptance of only technology and mechanical means for speedy progress, but also requires institutional norms of efficiency and ethics of responsibility to make it brighter. It is at this stage that role of social research in terms of gathering social facts and data, predicting and controlling social behavior becomes more important. Moreover, people living in rural areas are not concerned with economic motives and incentives alone. They have emotional attachment and bonds with traditional values and are not easily accessible to change. Value orientations, attitudes, traditionalism thus become the factors which come in their way to accept change according to the preferences of local communities.

Development experience especially rural development in Pakistan has been reviewed critically in this chapter. The main thrust of development in Pakistan was found to be hugely dependent on non-local foreign models as discussed in early parts of the chapter. Not only the heavy reliance over non-local planners and advisory groups, many complex factors were responsible for the misconceptions about development paradox in Pakistan. The diversions and refusal of reflecting vision of founder of the nation turned

out to be first denial to get path of sustainable development in Pakistan which resulted in the underdevelopment especially the rural-urban disparity among other vast developmental disparities faced by Pakistani nation. The continual toppling of civil governments by Military regimes and vested interests of civil bureaucracy weakened the infant nation to seek sustainability on development's display panel. The overwhelming reliance over economic bound planning ended in ignorance of non-economic factors that not only created encumbrances and interferences in adjunction of economic with non-economic aspects of development planning. The inconsistency in implementation of five-year developmental plans uncovers the story of lack of governmental commitment to make the development dream of nation to be a reality.

The deliberate undermining of indigenous ideology and institutions were looked down and equated with biased terms of 'traditionalism', 'fatalism', and 'backwardness'. The local government system that had its roots in British Raj was again restored by the military establishments to favor their non-democratic ambitions of prolonging their reigns. The 'basic democracies' of General Ayub Khan, 'Local governments' by General Zia and 'Devolution of Power' by General Musharraf were the vehicles of military regimes to create a support structure within local populations. All three experiments were a failure to devolve planning and implementation at lowest tiers. These 'innovations' turned out to be responding to the needs of politicians, strong civil bureaucracy, and thus enhancing provincial and federal governments' clutch over masses. As regards the rural development, Pakistani nation experienced several developmental interventions but none of them contributed effectively to bring self-reliance, local empowerment, and sustainability. Many of these development programs were merely a movement rather than a systematic community development program. These innovations were launched with all the enthusiasm and zeal but it lacked a fundamental pre-requisite namely scientific approach well supported through some action research and evaluation. Among these innovations were V-Aid program and Basic Democracies. These programs were highly monopolized by military and civil

bureaucracies' interests. Rural Works Program, IRDP and SAP I and II programs were manipulated by the civil bureaucratic structures due to which the rural masses and local populations could not be benefitted. People Works Program by Bhutto, People's Program I and II by Benazir Bhutto, Tameer-e-Watan Program I and II by Nawaz Sharif were examples of political manipulations and served the party politics that further raised a sense of deprivations among the masses.

The mainstay of national economy that was agriculture was deliberately ignored by all governments by oversimplifying the agriculture development to be merely a matter of mechanization and intensification while adjourning other socio-cultural complexities that were to be incorporated and given due importance and place in policy framing process. This resulted in mass level rural-urban migration and thus overburdening cities employment avenues as well as creating an army of unemployment laborers. Seeing the situation on ground, one can conclude that the deliberate ignorance of these bare-realities gradually made the situation worse and worse. The unmoved gestures of development agencies and planners to recognize the worth of indigenous knowledge and practices still pose many questions as to how long Pakistani nation has to wait to find herself along routes of self-reliance and sustainability. The inability of policy makers and implementing departments are still unaffected by the growing trends of revisiting the community's centuries old heritage to see what possible helps could be sought from these indigenous practices for sustainable development. Whereas, on the other hand, international scholarship over indigenous knowledge systems and practices is increasing with the passage of time that brings in arguments in favor of revitalizing IK to witness development in real terms.

It seems that the contents of these development interventions were based on fundamental assumptions that before planning a development program, the policy maker does not need to have a thorough knowledge and understanding of the environment and the clientele with which he is going to be concerned. Implicit on this

assumption is also the idea that even if the communities are closely related geographically, they are apt to show differences in social, political and economic structure and functions. In light of this, there is an urgency of need to recognize these differences and understand that there should be a uniform policy for development at national level but the intervention strategies and implementation plans to launch development should be according to the local community's socio-cultural fabric as well as sensitive towards political, historical, geographic and economic factors.

CHAPTER THREE

PROFILE OF THE RESEARCH LOCALE

3.1 Rise of Culture: Indigenous Roots

Beginnings of civilization in Pakistan started with farming village communities in Baluchistan by the 8th millennium BCE at Mehrgarh. These blossomed through the ages and emerged around 2500 BCE as the full-fledged Indus Civilization, which lasted more than a millennium. With the enigmatic decline of this civilization came the invasions from the northwest of nomadic Aryan tribes, who settled and developed the Vedic civilization. During this period, social stratification settled into four rigid castes and a racist concept of human inferiority by birth developed, led by the priestly class of Brahmins. Reformist movements by Buddha (537 BCE) and Mahavira (510 BCE) countered this ideology with partial success. Hindu kingdoms flourished thereafter.

Western influence in Pakistan came with the Achaemenid Empire, when Cyrus conquered Northern Pakistan in 558 BCE, followed by Darius adding Makran and Sindh to this Iranian Empire. The conflict between the Persians and the Greeks had its impact: Alexander of Macedon invaded Pakistan in 326 BCE, a catalyst in the process of cultural fusion of East and West in Pakistan, creating a Graeco-Buddhist culture throughout the country, with the city of Taxila serving as the best example. Architecture, sculpture and the arts flourished at a sophisticated level in the Gandhara culture that absorbed this and other influences.

3.2 Pakistan: Land and People

Pakistan with an area of 796,095 square kilometers is bordered by Iran and Afghanistan on the west, China on the north, India on the east and the Arabian Sea on the south. The land is geographically diverse with varying climatic conditions and wide ranging temperatures. The northern part of the country constitutes three of the highest mountain ranges: The Himalayas, the Hindu Kush and the Karakoram. Another prominent physical feature is river Indus, transverse the entire length of the country and supports the country's complex irrigation system, which is the largest in the world. Arid land consists of the Thar and Cholistan deserts in Sindh and south of Punjab respectively and sparsely populated Baluchistan Plateau in the southwest. The country is a federation of four major provinces, Baluchistan, The North West Frontier Province (NWFP), the Punjab and Sindh. In addition, there is the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), the Federally Administered Northern Areas (FANA), Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJK) and the Islamabad Capital Territory (ICT).

Figure 1: Map of Pakistan



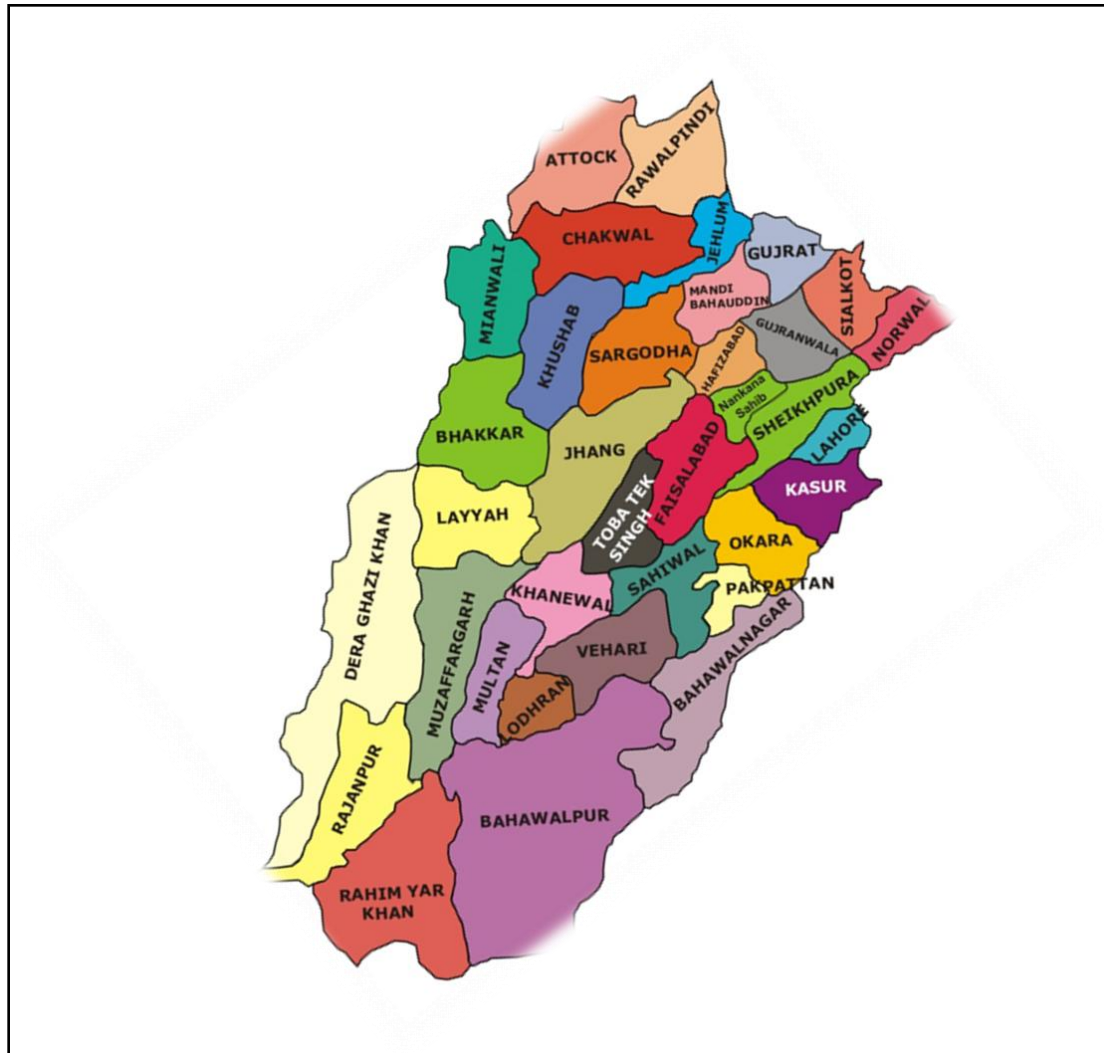
3.3 The Punjab

The word '*Punjab*' for the first time was mentioned in '*Tarikh-e-Sher Shah*' (1580) which mentioned the construction of Fort by a fellow named '*Sher Khan of Punjab*'. Again the name is mentioned in '*Ain-e-Akbari*' part 1 written by Abul Fazal who also mentions that the territory of Punjab was divided into two provinces of Lahore and Multan. Similarly in

the second volume of *'Ain-e-Akbari'* title of a chapter contains the word *'Punjab'* in it. Also the Mughal King Jahangir mentioned the word *'Punjab'* in his book *'Tuzk-i-Janhageeri'* (Quraishee, 1973: 183).

But Archeologists have traced the signs of human habitation to times long before that of Mughals arrival. The upper basin of Indus and the Baluchistan Plateau hosted one of the earliest human civilizations known as the Indus valley civilization. The earliest signs of life human activity date as far back as 7000 B.P. The Indus valley civilization grew from small village and settlements to highly refined urban life. At its height, around 3000 B.C., it boasted the splendid cities of Harappa (Near present Day Sahiwal district in West Punjab) and Mohenjo Daro in the lower Indus valley. The story of the decline, whose reasons are still not completely explained, of civilization is also told through the remains of these cities.

Figure 2: Map of the Punjab



(Punjab's) location and extensive riverine system were the two main influencing factors in the making of Punjab's history. The province derived its name from its five major rivers-the 'Punjab' means the 'land of the five rivers'. It had been the cradle of many civilizations, such as the Harrapan and Ghandharan, which adorn its past. The Punjab is home to many of India's major religions including, Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam, and Sikhism. In the eleventh century, the Punjab was included in the Ghaznavid Muslim Empire and continued to a part of different Indo-Muslim empires till the decline of the last Muslim Empire-the Mughals-in the eighteenth century. Punjab was an important province of Mughal India. Besides Agra, Lahore was one of the capitals built by the Mughals,

and two Mughal emperors, Jahangir and Shahjahan, were very fond of it (Saif, 2010: 11).

3.4 District Sheikhpura

The district⁴³ of Sheikhpura derives its name from its headquarters town, which was named after the Emperor Jahangir who founded it and called by nickname of '*sheikhu*' by his father, Akbar the great in reverence to a saint living in the vicinity who had blessed the young prince. In those days, the surroundings of Sheikhpura abound in wild life and emperor used to go there for hunting. Sheikhpura district was constituted in the year 1919 primarily to reduce the extensive boundaries and to remove the administrative difficulties caused by the unwillingness of Gujranwala district as then constituted. It was enlarged later by the contribution received from Sialkot, Lahore Faisalabad districts. According to Punjab Development Statistics 2005, total population of Sheikhpura district is 2.8 million out of which 1.3 million is male population and 1.5 million are females. Density of population in the district is 754 persons per square

⁴³ On the whole district, the period between the decline of the Mughal Empire after the death of Aurangzeb and the rise of the Sikh confederacies (roughly the first half of the 18th century) was one of the utter confusion and anarchy. The successive shocks of invasion from the north-west and the devastation caused again and again by the invading armies of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali almost completely ruined the prosperity of the tract. The *Bhattis* (a sub-caste of Rajputs) struggled for some time to maintain their independence against the Sikh and offered a guerilla resistance to Ranjit Singh's troops for some years. In 1799 when Ranjit Singh entered the tract with a large army, the *Bhattis* offered a determined resistance and though defeated in the field they entrenched themselves in the fortified towns of *Jalalpur* and *Pindi Bhattian*. These were, however, taken by storm in 1801 A.D. Most of the *Bhatti* leaders were killed, the survivors who fled for protection to the *Sials* of Jhang were outlawed and their possession was confiscated. When the power of six was broken in the second Sikh war and Punjab was annexed by the British in 1849, they returned and were restored to the most of their old possessions. British sub-divided the newly acquired province and whole of the upper portion of the *Rachna Doab* from Jammu to Jhang boundary and from *Chenab* to *Ravi* including the present Gujranwala district and that of Sialkot district was formed into one district. The temporary headquarters were first at Sheikhpura and later for a short time at *Wazirabad* (current a tehsil of Gujranwala district). In 1851-52 this wide jurisdiction was broken up and two districts were formed having their headquarters at Sialkot and Gujranwala, the Gujranwala district as arranged extending from *Chenab* to *Ravi* and comprising the four tehsils of Gujranwala, Ramnagar, Hafizabad, and Sheikhpura. At the close of regular settlement in 1856, several of the Sheikhpura tehsil was transferred to Lahore district and the tehsil was abolished. In 1892, Hafizabad tehsil was split into two, *Khanqah Dogran* being formed into a separate tehsil.

Kilometre. District Sheikhpura is spread over an area of 3,280 square kilometers (Government of the Punjab, 2011b). The district comprises following four tehsils (sub-district):

1. Sheikhpura (51 Union Councils)
2. Ferozewala (21 Union Councils)
3. Muridke (21 Union Councils)
4. Sharaqpur (08 Union Councils)
5. Safdarabad (11 Union Councils)

3.4.1 Geology of the District

The area is a part of Rachna Doab and consists of some recent sediment brought by spill channel from Chenab River. There are some old channel remnants and old basins filled up with clay materials. It is probably of late Pleistocene age derived from mixed calcareous, sedimentary and metamorphic rocks of lower Himalayas. The only mineral products of the district are *Kankar* and *Kallar*. The small particles of *Kankar* may be burnt into line. These are features of all *Bar* lands and are found on the surface or a little below it. *Kallar* is found on mounds which are the sites of old ruined habitations and is used for the manufacture of crude saltpeter.

3.4.2 Flora

The Bar jungle has almost disappeared owing to colonization and extension of canal irrigation. *Karil* (*Capparis aphylla*) is commonly met with but no-where bigger than shrub. *Jund* (*Prosopis spincigera*) a much prized tree for its firewood and charcoal is becoming a rarity. *Van* (*Salvadera abeoides*) which has also become rare is kept for its shade. *Shisham* (*Dulbergia sissoo*), *Kikar* (*Acacia arbica*) along canal banks have developed into fine big trees. There is no locality without a rich growth of trees mainly

Piple (*Ficus religiosa*), *Bohar* (*Ficus indica*), eucalyptus, popular and *Sharin* (*Albizzia lebbek*). The *Degh* valley has never been favorable to the growth of trees. *Kikar* (*Acacia arbica*) alone flourishes here. *Lana* (*Suda ruiteesa*) and *Lani* (*Salsola fostida*) shrubs on which camels and goats are fed, grow on *Kallrathi* waste land. Among grasses, a local *Khabbal* is the commonest grass in the valley.

3.4.3 Fauna

There is very little of wild life in the district. Wild boar is met with in the riverine tract. Jackals and hares play havoc with crops. Waterfowls are found everywhere in the *degh* valley, particularly after good rains. Black partridges are found along the Ravi and gray ones all over the districts. Falcon, eagle, quail, starling, jungle pigeon, Russian sparrow, all doves, all ducks and egrets, king fisher, all snipes, parrot, local sparrow, crow are also found in the district but the number is successively reducing due to liberal policy of shotgun licenses and expanding agriculture.

3.4.4 Nalahs (Streams)

The *Degh* is a hill stream taking its rise near *Jasrota* in Jammu. In passing through Sialkot district, it gets divided into two branches. Its activities within the limits of Sheikhpura district have been much restricted by the *Rayya* branch of the Upper Chenab canal and its distributaries. Its water supply is no longer collected, as was done in pre canal days. A large area higher up the course of the stream is subjected to *Doaba* (submersion under water) by which standing crops are submerged. The moisture is too much and continues too long to enable tillage to be done for the Rabi crops except on some elevated spots which emerge from the water early enough. In fact, the *degh* does more harm than good to the tract as a whole. The main *degh* passes by *Kala Shah Kaku*, *Kot Pindi Das*, and *Hadiala* (various local towns in district). The *Bhed* and *Lila* are minor streams of local formation from the overflows of the *degh nalah* and surface drainage. Both unite

and fall into the main *degh* before its junction *Nikki degh* (small stream). Underground water resources are adequate in the district. The sub-soil is considered suitable for agricultural purposes.

3.4.5 Flood

The following areas may be enlisted in the category of vulnerable points in case of flood in the *Ravi* river:

1. Villages between Ravi and BRB link;
2. Villages between Ravi and Lahore Sharaqpur road;
3. Mangtawala and Syedwala area.

3.4.6 Climate and Soil Conditions

The climate of the district is subject to extreme variations. From the middle of December to the middle of March, the air is very damp or cold and light to moderate rain falls at intervals. The winter season begins from the month of November and continues till March. January is the coldest month with a mean minimum temperature of 5 degree centigrade. The season of the winter rains is followed by a spell of very pleasant weather. In April, the temperature rises and the two successive months are very hot months with day temperature usually ranging from 39 to 41 degree centigrade. Dust storms occur occasionally during the hot season relieving temporarily the intensity of heat. Towards the end of June Monsoon conditions appear and during the following two and a half months, spells of rainy weather alternate with intervals of sultry oppressive weather. The average rainfall in the district is about 635 mm. The upland or the Bar in the North West, in the natural condition, is a level prairie thickly dotted over with a stunted under-growth of bush jungle. The Bar Soil is popularly known as *Missie*. The low land along the river Ravi has light loam. The central portion which is the Deg

Valley has stiff soil. Stiff soil is either *Rohi* or *Kallarathi* depending on the salt (*kallar*) contents.

3.4.7 Rivers and Streams

The river Ravi which forms the southern boundary of the district enters the district from Narowal district at *Chak Zafarwal Dattan* in the southeast and leaves it at *Jhalar Lundi* in the extreme southwest. Its course, however, is winding and at places it disappears for short intervals. It is meandering the river with an incised character and it flows in a sinuous course throughout from *Kot Naina* (a village), tehsil Shakargarh of district Narowal (at this point river Ravi enters Pakistani territory). *Degh nalah* joins it below Sharaqpur. Its banks for the most part low and flood water overflows these on either side. The Ravi silt much valued as a fertilizer, but soil along the course is light loam and fairly productive. The whole of the southern length of the district is fringed by the Ravi River.

3.4.8 Industry

Sheikhupura district has undergone rapid industrialization. In the early sixties, this district had limited number of rice husking mills, ice factories and cotton ginning mills. However, the situation rapidly changed and a large number of industries have sprung up on Lahore-Sheikhupura road, Lahore-Muridke road and Sheikhupura-Faisalabad road.

The Government of Pakistan has also planned to establish special industrial zones alongside the Lahore-Islamabad section of Pakistan motorway including one at its intersection at Sheikhupura. At present, there is no industry estate in the district. There are about 650 cottage and small/medium/large scale industrial units operating in the district. These comprise rayon and polyester fiber, woolen textile, rice husking, flour mills, cotton textiles spinning and weaving tanneries, heavy engineering,

pharmaceutical, fertilizers, paper and board, assembling of motorcycles and cycles, sugar and *Ghee* (edible oil) mills, ice and cold storage, foundries, steel re-rolling, jute products, steel pipes, glass products, ice cream, chrome pigment, electrical goods, poultry farms, agricultural implements, ceramics, petroleum products, and extraction of rich brand oil.

3.4.9 Agriculture

Major crops and fruit of district Sheikhpura are sugarcane, wheat, rice and guava in addition to a variety of vegetables grown in the district. There are 23 flour mills, 93 rice mills, 4 fruit juices, 4 solvent extraction units and 15 vegetable *ghee* (cooking oil) units already operating in the district. In view of the availability of various raw-materials and existing industries, there exist little additional scope for flour mills and rice husking units. However, there exist good prospects for fructose from rice bran, rice husk briquettes, corn oil, furfural from maize cobs, fruit juice, pickles, squashes and vegetables dehydration units.

As per Livestock and Dairy Development Department, the population of goat, cattle, sheep and buffaloes was 59, 104, 27 and 208,000 respectively. As regards poultry, there are 724 broiler, 125 layer and 20 breeding poultry farms having rearing capacity of 19845,000, 534,000 and 900,000 birds per annum respectively. The annual availability of hides and skins is estimated at 278,000 pieces. There are 28 tanneries, 1 processing unit of milk, one ice cream unit, 11 leather products units and 5 leather shoes units already operating in the district.

3.5 The Village

The village selected for research was '*Sacha Soda*' also spelled as '*Sacha Sauda*' (in government records) or '*Sachcha Sauda*' (in Sikh scriptures) situated in tehsil and district

of Sheikhpura. The village is also known with another alternative name that 'Farooqabad village.' The naming of village as Farooqabad is because of adjacent town in the same name 'Farooqabad'⁴⁴. Historically, the village is named as *Sacha Soda* that carries many oral and written stories about name of village. the name of village is combination of two Punjabi words: 'Sacha' literally means 'pure', (also as 'perfect' or 'everlasting') and 'Soda' means 'a deal' or a 'bargain'. *Soda* in Punjabi language stands for a deal that is economic or something that brings material benefits. The historical legend of naming of village is associated with founder of Sikhism religion *Baba*⁴⁵ Guru Nanak. Not for Sikhs of Punjab only, Guru Nanak is a spiritual and respectable figure among Muslims and Hindus in South Asia. Guru Nanak was born in *Nankana Sahib*⁴⁶ that was a nearby village in those times. Guru upon entering his youth was asked by his father to look for some business so that economic problems of the family may be eradicated. His father gave him the whole savings of his life (twenty rupees) so that he could go to search any business and invest the money. Guru obeyed his father's commandments and started his journey to find out a suitable opportunity for doing the same. During his wanderings, he came across a deserted place where he met a group of five 'malangs' or 'sadhus' (Saints) who under a tree were starving there⁴⁷. Guru stayed with them for few days and later on realized another view that he never knew before in his life. He compared himself and the worries of saints who were concerned about hunger of poor and needy. There, he also learned that world and its sordid pursuits are only for time being as the real and pure is imminent. He came to understand that God is the ultimate reality and to God should all actions and deeds be directed. The short stay

⁴⁴ The local name of Farooqabad town was previously *Chorkana* or *Chuharkana* but government of the Punjab changed it in 1980s. Old Sikh *Yatrees* (pilgrims) still use to call it *Chorkana*.

⁴⁵ The word '*baba*' is highly respectful title for an enlightened, pious, irradiated person who sacrificed his personal gain and loss notion over non-material objects that are God, manhood, self-purification, etc.,. This word generally denotes age, knowledge, righteousness of a person. It is also commonly used as a term of address for old men.

⁴⁶ The Government of Punjab has recently upgraded the status of *Nankana Sahib* to independent district level.

⁴⁷ The remains of tree have disappeared with passage of time, but at the nominated place, a grand Gurudwara (temple) was erected that still exists there and people belonging to Sikh religion visit the place with religious fervor.

with those saints touched his heart and made him deliberate about joining them to take up the pure agenda of truthfulness and social cohesion for universal brotherhood of humanity. It was so because he himself was a pious and kind hearted person. Deep inside, he was already searching the same reality and companionship which before this experience never seemed possible. The holy assemblage made him determine to conjoin path of thralldom to God. He spent the whole savings that were given to him by his father after the directions of those saints. At the same place, he started distributing food to the hungry and poor. As he spent all of his finances, returned to his native village and told his father about what he did.

According to the legend his father asked:

*Nanka kaira soda ker kay aya ain
Kithay gai paisay tay kaira soda kita ay*

Translation:

Oh Nanak what did you do with the money
What was the deal in which you spent the savings of my whole life

Nanak replied:

*Soda aisa kita ay jaira kadi khota na hau ga
Soda mera, Sacha Soda ay
Merian tay bhokhian nu raja dita ay
Rab sachay nu razi kerna si*

Translation:

The Deal that I did was the pure one
The deal was the pure deal
I helped the helpless and fed the hungry
Now I would make God happy

His father was worried about what he did but Guru was calm as the deal quenched his inner thirst. The worries of Guru's father mounted when he thought about future of the family. Guru's sister upon hearing the whole story offered compensation to her father

and similarly, the Muslim ruler of area came to Guru's place and gave more than what Guru spent while serving the saints and the poor. Later on, people started gathering around the place of those saints and gradually turned into a small locality. People afterwards built a relic of that memorable event in shape of a *gurudwara* (temple) built by Maharaja Ranjit Singh on the pattern of a fortress⁴⁸. This small locality is now a big village still known as *Sacha Soda*.

3.5.1 Geography and Demographic Features of the Village

The village comes in Sheikhpura⁴⁹ district and is bounded on the East by Farooqabad city, on the West by another village *Pindor* and on the North by a village *Padianwala* and on the South West by *Manga* and *Dera Gujran* villages. (*Dera Gujran* is an off- shoot of *Sacha Soda*). *Sacha Soda* is one of the largest villages (with regards to agricultural land) in the whole region.

Out of total 9389 acres of land, different *quams*⁵⁰ were holding their agricultural land. Among the dominant castes, *Gujars* hold 60 percent of total land of the village; *Rajputs* have 20 percent, *Jats* and *Dogars* are having 9 and 8 percent respectively. *Arians* are mostly doing the business and jobs in the cities therefore only 2 percent of the land is under control of this group. Whereas, only 1 percent of land is held by people who are either from some occupational group or lived somewhere else. The total population of village is 3413 comprising 289 households (according to survey of population welfare office, *Sacha Soda*).

⁴⁸ The *Gurudwara* remained closed for any kind of religious activities after the partition but later in April 1993, religious rituals were allowed by the Government of Pakistan. Sikhs in huge numbers visit these places to observe their religious rites.

⁴⁹ The district is bounded on the North by Gujranwala and Hafizabad districts, on the West by Faisalabad, on the South by Lahore Districts and Amritsar (district of India), on the East by Sialkot district. Its Southern boundary is formed by river Ravi.

⁵⁰ Caste

Islam is main faith of the village with a percentage of 98 whereas Christians and the *Quadianis* were 1 percent respectively. Majority of the Muslims belong to the *Ahle Sunnah* Sect where as 7 percent were the *Ahle Tasiah* Muslims.

Out of total 289 households, 32 percent are tenants and 20 percent are the land owners. Government servants and daily wages laborers constituted the second highest quartile that was 18 and 15 percent respectively. 12 percent belong to the various occupational groups; only two percent are the shopkeepers. 1 percent of the village population is also engaged in the transport sector.

3.6 Social Organization of *Sacha Soda*

The social organization of village is based on three important factors that are: *Qaum* bond, numerical superiority, and possession of agricultural land. The details are in the following:

3.6.1 *Qaum* (Caste)

The whole population of village is divided into various *qaums* (caste) groups that are deemed to be the source of intimate relationships and further alliance building⁵¹. In the cultural setup of the Punjab, *qaum*⁵² is thought to be strongest binder that is often preferred in establishing group alliances and adherence of people with one another as Kolenda (1985) opined that 'caste has prevailed in India for centuries. Members of each

⁵¹ Caste is the purest type of social stratification in which mobility is severely constrained. The term Caste has been commonly used to describe any system in which the different strata are rigidly fixed (Marger, 2002: 147). In the Indian case, strata are divided not by physical distinctions between groups but by people's social descent (Beteille, 1969).

⁵² Caste is the purest type of social stratification in which mobility is severely constrained. The term Caste has been commonly used to describe any system in which the different strata are rigidly fixed (Marger, 2002: 147). In the Indian case, strata are divided not by physical distinctions between groups but by people's social descent (Beteille, 1969).

caste are guided in their social lives by a set of regulations that pertain to marriage, work, recreation, and most other social spheres.'

The main reasons of a *quam's* vitality in the social life of village are several. First, it is because of some cultural ties that Muslims shared with other religions before partition. Hinduism was the single most dominant religion of India before Islam. It was later on because of Islam and the missionary efforts of early Muslims that people started embracing Islam. Islam was welcomed by the down trodden segments of society including the out castes, untouchables, poor, and previously excluded social classes. Though majority of masses observed a change of religion but caste based bias prevailed among Muslim too. In Islam, there is no rigid institutionalization of caste, tribe, language, creed, color, group or political affiliation. Islam only confers ethnic identities to be a source of social recognition among people not as cause of somebody's superiority or inferiority as revealed in the Holy Scripture. In spite of being converted to Islam, people still practice the same rigidity of caste based social life as it was typically common among Hindus. According to caste hierarchy, different groups within same caste affiliate with one another to serve various functions in their social and cultural life. These functions include social and economic protection and safety nets, getting numerical support in disputes over land, cattle, property, and other valuables, seeking future marriage based relatives, cause of help in household issues (settlement of family level disputes, help in economic crisis, and, various other social and religious rituals) and agricultural chores like *wangar* (communal labor) that means calling for more helping hands from the caste brethren during sowing, weeding, irrigating, harvesting, and marketing of various crops.

Social status is strongly tied to caste bond because various castes in village have their own criteria of classification of other castes being equal to them or even lower in social status with that of their own. Caste based groups prefer to be operative while remaining in their caste unless there is a matter that demands them to cross the threshold of their

own caste. These matters may include the village level dispute, a matter of contention with neighboring village, village annual fair, political issue of various tiers (like: local, provincial or national), tehsil and district level issues in agriculture, irrigation, revenue or law departments, or something that relates to police or district administration. The caste structure of village comprises Martial race, scheduled castes, and *Kammi* (landless marginal and occupational groups). Among martial races of village, three *qaums* including *Rajputs*, *Gujars*, and *Jats* are on top of social hierarchy who are also called *Zamindar* castes. All dominant castes like Rajputs, Gujars and Jats are also further divided into sub-castes⁵³ called *gotra* in village. A brief detail of three of them given below:

3.6.2 Zamindar (Landlords)

The term *Zamindar*⁵⁴ is derived from Persian language compound which means ‘keeper’ or ‘holder of land’. The term began to be used more and more often from Akbar’s time onward for any person with any hereditary claim to a direct share in the peasant produce (Habib, 1984: 176). The Zamindar class of village consisted three castes including; *Rajputs*, *Gujars* and *Jats*.

Rajput(s) claimed to be descending from royal families of the past even before entrance of Islam in India. A sense of superiority and pride is strongly observed among them. It is highly endogamous group and prefers to marry even within the same family. In a way, they prefer cousin marriages over rest of caste bonds. Going out even in the same caste for marriages especially for daughters is a source of social jeering and familial shames among them. They belong to the *Kshatriya* class of Hindu caste system. *Rajputs* also observe their *gotras* (sub castes) among themselves but *gotra* is not as important as

⁵³ The four *varnas* were actually overlaid by virtually thousands of distinct sub-castes (*jatis*) in different regions and communities (Mayer, 1955).

⁵⁴ Martial Race literally means a landholder

among *Gujars* and *Jats*. *Rajputs* are generally land lovers but do not possess fame of being good farmers. A *Rajput* in the cultural life of Punjab is famous for his anger and getting indulged in disputes over lands, and litigations. *Rajputs* use the title of '*Rana*'⁵⁵ for their distinction from other castes.

Gujar(s) claim to be descendents of warring tribes of ancient Germanic hordes. They claim to be descending from Brahman and *Kshatriya* classes of Hinduism. This tribe upon entering South Asia from Hindukush ranges inhabited in a large geographical spread starting from Khyber Pakhtoonkhwa (former North Frontier West Province of Pakistan) up to the barren deserts of Rajasthan province (India). This group is further divided into sub-castes (*gotra*). *Gujars* seek pride in claiming to be subdivided into more than hundred sub-castes. Within itself, the caste practices its unique style of superiority. *Sholay* though small in number but claim to be descendents of a sub group among *Gujars* that carried the symbol of holy fire in warring conquests. They are socially known to be arrogant, aggressive, and autonomous. *Chechi* claim to be mass of *gujars*. They are large in numbers and usually claim the political seats during elections. *Gorsi* is the second highest majority among *Gujars*. They are known to be most polished and polite among *gujars*. They are fond of educating their children and prefer the government jobs. *Kasana* is another dominant sub-caste among *Gujars* and possess political interests and usually take pride in running men's rooms and socialize with other power groups in neighboring villages to enjoy more social recognition. All *Gujars* within the village follow the same trend of calling each other Germans as they think of themselves being descendants of wandering tribes of Germania entering South Asia with the Aryans. This caste is fairly endogamous but not as rigid as *Rajputs*. *Gujars* have also a reverence for agricultural land but they are famous as cattle raisers and popularly known as cattle lovers. Literacy rates among them as compared to *Rajputs* and *Jats* is low. They prefer

⁵⁵ The title of *Rana* was and still used in ancient India to denote somebody to royal heir. Influential *Ranas* are found in the districts of Sheikhpura, Faisalabad, Okara, Sahiwal, Gujranwala and Bahawalpur of the Punjab province in Pakistan whereas they are abundantly found in Rajasthan province of India.

their agriculture and animal husbandry chores as well as have a high tendency of going abroad for jobs especially in Saudi Arabia and Dubai. The *Gujars* are known by title of '*Chaudhry*'⁵⁶ to denote their influence.

Jat(s) qaum claims to be the largest landowning among other *Rajput* and *Gujar* castes in the Punjab. This seems to be true when the land records of village were consulted. The same trend prevails in whole of the Punjab province where *Jats* outnumber the previous two *quams* on the basis of population and possession of agricultural lands. They are known to be the *Zamindar* caste. Like *Gujars*, *Jats* are also subdivided into *gotras*. Their division among *gotras* is stronger than *gujars* as now their sub castes have turned out to be independent castes. The main *gotras* of *Jats* in village are *Viraks*, *Cheema*, *Chatta*, *Tarar*, and *Hanjras*. This group is though endogamous but not in strict sense as it has been observed among *Rajputs*. They even prefer ties and marital alliances with *Jats* but they do not strictly follow the cousin bonds. Marriage among them is ideal if done within *Jats* with no restrictions over same *gotra*. This group comprises progressive farmers and also fond of educating their children especially sons in urban centers like Lahore, Faisalabad, and Islamabad (the capital). The *Jats* also use the title of '*Chaudhry*' for their recognition as surnames.

There are several proverbs common referred in daily life that reveal many important features and traits of these influential castes of village.

- a) *Ranay ameer hon tay qatal karday*
Gujar ameer hon tay doja wiya kerday
Tey jat ameer hon tay thaan kharid lainaday aa

⁵⁶ The surname '*Chaudhry*' refers to a person with influence and powerful. So an influential person in a village is called as '*Chaudhry*'. The basis of being influential is the possession of land, hailing from a martial race of the Punjab. A *Chaudhry* is supposed to be well versed in politics, running a men's room, and resourceful by being known in police and district administration, among the judiciary and politicians of all levels. It is basically his support structure that makes him influential and in bargaining position.

Translation:

The elders of the village use to laugh over a common proverbial (mentioned above) among the people of village that if a *Rajput* gets rich, he would simply kill or take part in politics, if a *Gujar* gets rich, he would go for second marriage and if a *Jat* gets rich then he would buy agricultural land. Of course, this jovial statement has been coined by these *qaums* against each other. The people of village are found to believe this and other alike proverbs as most of the times these prove to be true to a large extent.

b) *Jat jaia raath nai jay theday na*

Translation:

A jat is a masculine if honors his words.

c) *Totia munn motiya*
Us gali naa jaa
Us gali day Jat buray
Lainday phayiaan pa

Translation:

Oh my beloved parrot
Stop! Visiting the vicinities of Jats
Jats are nasty
They are habitual and fond of muddling

d) *Cheemay tay Chathay*
Khaan weilay kallaay
Larn waylay kaithay

Translation:

Cheemas and *Chatthas* (both *Cheema* and *Chattha* are subcastes of Jats)
Are apart when they are in peace
Are together when they are in danger

e) *Rana hod dmagh tay udabh honday aa*

Translation:

Rajputs are always hot tempered. They are usually stubborn and do not accept once they announce something and take a decision

f) *Gujar naloo ujad changi*
Ujad naloo ujaad
Jay kitay gujar wakho
Unu diyo maar

Translation:

Gujars are so dangerous that even devastation is better. Even if you are completely demolished, grade yourself luckiest. Upon seeing a *gujar*, better to kill him on the spot.

3.6.3 Sufaid Posh (White Collar)

The second quartile of village known as *Sufaid Posh*⁵⁷ constitutes other castes that are not in majority but get hold of small landholdings. Among these were *Khokhar, Pathan, Dogar, Bhatti, Syed, Arian, Qureshi, Wahga, Maan, Awan, and Kharal*. *Arain* caste claims to be originated from Arab origin⁵⁸. They are in minority and mostly are engaged in small scale agriculture as well as business activities. They are famous to be progressive farmers and ensure to get best out of their efforts in whatever they do. People from high quartiles (*Rajputs, Gujars* and *Jats*) do not equate *Arian* with them. This is so because they think of *Arians* as cunning and conspiracist community. Their status can be understood from the common proverbial '*Arain! Kam Tain*' that means this *quam* is your friend and ally till the time they have a vested interest or hidden objective to follow you. Another proverbial revealing the characteristics of this *quam* are as under:

⁵⁷ 'Scheduled caste' literally means white collars

⁵⁸ Another worth mentioning landowning caste is *Awan* that again claims to be of Arab origin. The elders of this *quam* refer themselves to be hailing from the lineage of Ali (son in law of Prophet Mohammad PBUH and also the fourth distinguished Caliph in Muslim reign in Arab after the demise of Holy Prophet Mohammad (PBUH)).

Jadoon ra'ain maaldar ho jaway tay shaher chala janda ay

Translation:

When *Arian* gets rich, he escapes to city to enjoy social respect. In village, people do not give them respect because of this caste's typical feature of strictly motivated by their self interests.

The *Sufaid Posh* category is formed on the basis of possession of agricultural land. In fact, relatively people from all four categories mentioned above whose land holding is small comes in this class. In a way, this classification makes up the middle class of village population. This group is formed by farmers having their land less than 12.5 acres.

3.6.4 *Mazaray* (Tenants)

*Mazaray*⁵⁹ are also known as *Hari* that also carry the same meanings. The third classification is of people who either do not have land or possess merely one to two acres of agricultural land. They normally cultivate their lands as well as provide their services to work for big landlords. For their survival, they depend on big landholders of village. This group is in a kind of patron-client relationship with the big landholders. They provide their services and labor while working in their fields or other domestic chores for their patrons and in return, they get reward in shape of share from the harvest and protection from social hazards. *Mazara* is like a closed tie of his patron and depends entirely on his patron. Therefore, the patron enjoys an indispensable position for his *mazara*. During time of conflicts, these *mazaray* provide the numerical strength to their patrons. A justest *mazara* is considered to be somebody who is ever ready to sacrifice his life for his patron. Commonly observed these *mazaray* in case of a complaint against their patron come forth to take the blame and face litigations, police torture, physical abuse from the opponents of their patrons especially in issues over land, election, social

⁵⁹ Tenants and sharecroppers: *Mazara* (singular) and *Mazaray* (plural)

prestige, etc.,. In return, the patrons provide them reward in kind and cash especially if a loyal *mazara* is in prison to save his patron. These kinds of sacrifices elevate the position of a particular *mazara* in the eyes of his patron as well as before his fellow men. The social status of a patron is also enhanced by the number of people who are ready to sacrifice their life for him.

The mechanization process affected this class in a major way. As mentioned earlier, that this class possess on an average, one to two acres of agricultural land. This class used to work additionally for the big landlords to supplement their subsistence. The respondents from this class are of the view that mechanization of agriculture only benefited big landlords who afforded to indulge in modern agricultural farming. Whereas this class lived on subsistence level agriculture and due to lack of economic resources they could not afford to use modern methods. Respondents told that this modern farming affected tenants as well as the *kammis* of village. The *kammis* had to migrate to urban areas in search of job whereas the tenants due to their stakes have to live in village. This was done in order to maintain their livelihoods. But the tenant class responded to modern farming in a way that most of their family members also migrated to urban areas and few of them went abroad for even better earnings. The major response from the members of this was as under:

Statement:

Mushkil tay bot wa phair vi Zamin nu chad kay nai ja sakday, kio kay is naal sada rizaq jura hoyo ay. Munday zaraiyat kerna nai chanday kio kay iday wich amadani nai tay bachay nai tarz tay zindagi guzarna chanday wa. Shahraan wich vi kam nai labda, munday nashiaan wich pai gai aa. Her roz nai musebat hai. Sarkar nu tay sada khiyaal nai. Nawain zaher tay spray wastay saday kol paisay nai.

Translation:

In spite of so many difficulties, we cannot leave our land unattended. It is so because we earn our livelihood from here. Our youngsters do not

want to continue this profession. The young say that there are no returns and direct economic benefits from agriculture. When our sons go to cities even they cannot find jobs there as a result they get used to drug addiction. Each day in our life there is a challenge awaiting us. The government does not care about our problems. We are asked to do modern farming for which we run short of resources.

Statement:

Adhati mundi wich baithay aa. Sano lutan da paj laya hoa ay. Adhatian day munchi saday kolon pakkay kaghaz tay anghotha lawa lainday aa tay paisay dainday aa beejan, zairaan tay spray wastay. Jadon wadi andi aa tay munchi aa kay sir tay khalo janday aa. Sab tu pehlay tay anaa da hisaab kerna painda ay phair jo bachda wa oho baqi saal handaida wa

Translation:

The commission agents in the markets rob us under various excuses. Their touts first take sign on blank papers from us then give us money to buy improved seeds, pesticides and other sprays. During the harvesting season these agents come to us and watch us closely. They demand immediately returns for what they had given to us. After giving them their share, we only bring the leftover that we consume for rest of the year

3.6.5 Kammi (Occupational Groups)

The third classification is of *Kammi*⁶⁰ groups (occupational castes). This group provides its services to rest of the classes in village for their subsistence. There is a great variant of people serving in diverse occupations in village. The occupational groups include: *Nai* (barber); *Luhar* (blacksmith); *Mochi* (cobbler); *Tarkhan* (carpenters); *Chimbay* or *Gorkan* (gravedigger); *Jolaha* (weaver); *Dhobi* (washer man); *Kumhar* (pot maker); *Mirasi* (jester); *Bhaand* (comic); *Dastaango* or *Qissakhawan* (folklore teller); *Naqqaal* or *gawayyia* (singer); *Chora* (sweeper); *Chowkidar* (watchman); *Chamaar* (low caste people dealing in leather); *Qasai* (butcher); *Mistri* or *Raj* (mason); *Darzi* (tailor); *Rangsaaz*

⁶⁰ Occupational and marginal groups

(painter); *Saees* (horseman); *Tobay* (well diggers); *Taili* (person dealing in oil trade); and, *Mussali* (servant of men's room).

This group is totally dependent on high castes of village for their survival. This group is usually very low in social prestige. It is usually observed that this group lacks any unity among themselves. For their survival they join different influential groups of village. Their patron families provide them place to live, economic assignments, and usually arrange their marriages too. Teasing a *kammi* of any influential group in village is usually taken as an insult to the head of group. Similarly, the *kammis* cannot decide to cast a vote, visiting neighboring village to attend familial ceremony or providing any kind of labor to anybody else in village without prior permission from their patrons. This group enjoys more elevated status if anybody out of them had served a particular group over generations. *Kammi* of an influential landlord is respected by his children too because in such case he or she has been working for their parents. In such case, status and respect is rendered to the family of *kammi* as well.

Head of *Gujar* group recalled that:

My kammis also served my father and grandfather so I cannot say no to them. I am supposed to give them whatever they ask for. I am to be with them in time of need, marriage of their daughters etc.

This is done in recognition of services they had been providing to my elders of family. This elevated status was observed especially among the *nai*, *mirasi*, *tarkhan*, and *lohar*. The preferential treatment with four of them is because they are in day to day contact with their patrons as they perform the most important jobs among their other fellow *kammis*. A *Nai* is to be present daily at the *dera* (men's room) for a shave or a haircut. The same goes true for other family members of patron. *Mirasi* is the person to keep the lineages record of patron's family as well as is the person to socially propagandize fame of patron family among other villagers in order to maintain the good name and

esteem. *Tarkhan* is somebody who looks after the woodworks of patron family especially during marriages while preparing the furniture. He is also responsible for fixing the plough, wooden cart, fodder carts of cattle called *Khurli*. Lastly, a *lohar* is an essential one who makes sure his presence for all steelworks of family. These *kammis* provide their services to their patrons round the year and get grain, place to live, and protection from other sources of exploitation while living in village as well as economic support from their patrons. The harvesting season and marriage of children especially sons is the time when these *kammis* get rewards in recognition of the services, they had provided over years to patron family and its elders. It is usually observed that the *kammis* within their groups of fellow men take pride in telling others about the social respect, power and influence, commercial and political links of their patrons. Thus in a way, they also enjoy respect among their fellow men.

This traditional system has loosened its roots because of the mechanization of agriculture in rural areas. It is so because people are more concerned about the economic benefits. The mechanization of agriculture has made people hire agricultural machinery and thus these traditional *kammis* are becoming out of jobs. This thing has further pushed *kammis* to look for job and started migrating to adjacent urban centers in hope to get job. This class has been directly affected by modern farming methods because previously the patron was looking after them and their families in response to their services all over the year. But now with gradually changing scenario, this laborer class is pressed negatively and becoming daily wage laborers in cities. Whereas, the situation of labor opportunities in urban areas is also becoming hard as due to the energy crisis there are no job opportunities available to feed the army of this landless class. The stagnant economic situation has ever worsened the conditions to meet their both ends. The middleclass farmers in village who usually involve this *kammi* class during the sowing and harvesting season now prefer getting the job done through modern equipment due to which this class is turning into jobless.

An evaluation of modern farming practices made by this class is stated in following:

Ay sari paisay di daur wa, lokan nay machinaan khareed laiyaan tay asi loki bay-roozgar ho gai. Paisay di daur nay lokan day dil phair ditay tay oho deed, lihaz, piyar, wadian di sharam khatam ho gai. Saday bachay roti nu tars gait ay ameeran ti tijorian bhar gaiyaan wa. Khotay day sir tay taj wa tay pagan walay dar dar day thaiday kha rai aa.

Translation:

It is all about race of money. Wealthy farmers had bought machines and we have been become jobless. People have left mutual respect for one another. Social norms like respect, love, honoring elders is entirely vanished. We and our children remain hungry most of the time due to joblessness. The wealthy landlords have made millions out of their resources in agriculture but we got nothing. It is like crowning a donkey whereas the respectable are ruined and socially excluded.

3.6.6 *Tabbar* and *Kunba* (Family and Kinship)

The culture of Punjab and its value-system prioritizes family and kinship group in terms of its intimacy. The immediate family called *tabbar*⁶¹ (nuclear family) is the most revered social bond. Most of the families in village are nuclear but live as extended families. The reason for this is because of they are living in home of their great grand fathers. *Tabbar* provides the initial recognition to its off springs. *Kunba*⁶² is a local term for joint extended family units (details mentioned in chapter 8). Traditionally, extended families are considered to be potential rivals over the issues of agricultural land but still render strength to its members. The most cooperated tasks performed by *tabbar* as well as *kunba* are marriages, social status among village *biraderi* (brethren) and influence inter or intra-*qaum* affairs. This intimate alliance is operational to maintain familial respect especially during any dispute with any other family within or outside village. The village community is male dominated and respect of family is enhanced due to the

⁶¹ Family

⁶² Clan

number of male members in *tabbar* and *kunba*. Birth of a son is always celebrated by family members as if the *waris* (heir) has arrived. Even a single male child in family is ideally not accepted because of the mindset of people. Two brothers symbolize strength for family in difficult time. The bond of two brothers is thought of watching each other's back in hard times. Several proverbial expressions signify the importance of males in family. Such as:

Ek putar di maa ani hondi ay
Du putraan di maa kaani
Tay tin putraan di maa sajakhi hondi aa

Translation:

Mother of single male child is blind
Mother of two male children means, the mother has only one eye
Mother of three sons is with both eyes

3.6.7 Friendship and Traditional Hospitality

The land of Punjab is traditionally known for the openness and friendly ties that overall composes the recognition of Punjabis. Friendship bond is highly revered in Punjab. People associate a great social value to the friends. A friend is someone who can claim anything from a friend without fear of being refused. This bond is the one that is always sanctified by the people in general. People are always ready to pay any cost to save and protect their friendships. The friendship bond is also taken a token of social acceptance and thus approval of a certain family in a society. People are known for their friendships and friendly bonds existing in their area. The strong friendship bond is a kind of bad news for the rivals of the family because in such case the opponents know that they will not fighting with their rivals rather with a bond including family friends who will always be ready to go to any extent for their friendship. The myth about the friendship is somewhat a very unique one because the culture of Punjab witnessed a strong extended family system in which the informal friendships were meant to be among the

family members. It was only rare to feel need for making friendships but in spite of this if somebody is a friend to someone else then it means that friend is not an alien to the family. Rather a friend is a person whose opinion is always honored and preferred. People are very much concerned about their family friends and try to be present during all happy and sad moments. Similarly, community holds pride in its traditions and people whose open-mindedness and jovial personalities have become proverbial also hold their unique tradition of hospitality high in their estimation as well as in their values of life. A guest in village is always welcomed and taken as a blessing to the family. The fame of Punjab being hospitable enhances an affiliation and brotherly feelings for bringing people closer. People have faith that the more you love the more it multiplies and you receive back many more times the kindness that you extend.

The hospitality is still very much observable from the behavior of respondents though it has become a difficult show because of the very instable economic conditions of the farming community. However, in village it still remains at the top with the words '*gee ayan nu*' (you are cordially welcome; my heart feelings are for you) to greet a '*Parohna*' (guest). Upon the arrival of a guest in the family, does not matter how late it was, the females of the host family are found ready to serve the guest with open arms and smiling gestures. Especially, if a guest arrives from remote region, he is entertained and given proper time and attention by the host family so that the guest feels comfortable and at ease. It was often observed that a villager especially a guest is often respected by the whole village community to be a guest of whole village. This thing goes very obvious especially when a married daughter visits her '*Paika*' (paternal family). Married daughters in the family are warmly welcomed and are given all comforts, similarly the grand children always receive affection and it is made sure that their all aspirations are fulfilled to the best of family's status. In the same way, upon departure, guests are sent off with honor and not empty handed, but with gifts for rest of family members. Like all other traits of Punjabis their hospitality is also guileless, rare and intense. It is a ubiquitous theme of Punjabi folk lore. When the crow, sitting atop the roof, crows, or

dough when it is being kneaded bubbles, folk songs tell us that these are auspicious omens which convey that a guest is on his way. There are several other sayings which speak of the pleasures that are derived by looking after visitors.

3.6.8 Dwelling Patterns

In villages, houses are usually *Katcha* (Unpaved, made of mud bricks), but in Sacha Soda, houses are mostly *Pakka* (Paved/cemented). *Sarkanda* (a local bush) and wood locally procurable are used for the construction of doors and windows. A moderate *Zamindar's* house consists of one big furnished room called *Baithak* (drawing room) and other rooms for domestic use. In front of the rooms, there is a Verandah and a vast courtyard. A shelter is built at the side of the courtyard to keep cattle. In several cases separate shelters are prepared. Poultry is kept in mud *Darbas* (cage) during the night. The houses of poor persons usually lack furniture and decoration, yet their best attempt is to decorate at least their *Baithak* with few chairs and a cot. The drawing rooms of a rich *Zamindar* or *Jhagirdar* (big land lord) is equipped with fine beds, tables, chairs, sofa sets, radio or cassette player and framed pictures of their ancestors.

3.6.9 Dress Patterns

The urban population commonly wears *Shalwar, Kameez* (local trousers and shirts). Cotton clothes are worn in summer and woolen ones in winter. Gloves, stocking, sweaters and wrappers are used in winter. The poor agricultural community wears thick cotton clothes in the winter. Their working dress is *Kurta* (long shirt up to knees) and *Tehmand* (long piece of cloth wrapped on naval to cover lower part of body). Even those who are fond of western cloths use local dress at home in leisure.

The festival dress of women and men is of superior quality. Fancy silk clothes are mainly used by women with ornaments such as finger rings, bangles, necklaces and hair clips.

The rural population is accustomed to long clothes and like bright colors. Ninety percent of the rural population wears *Jutti* called *Khussa* and *Chappals* (traditional footwear). Women in urban areas usually wear *chaddar* (piece of unstitched cloth to cover whole body) and less common is *burqa* (traditionally stitched gown) so as to observe *pardah* (veil). In rural areas, the majority of women use *chaddars* or other head covers for this purpose.

3.6.10 Food Practices

The staple food is the wheat and rice. The people usually take meal thrice a day, viz *Chhahwela* (breakfast), *Bhattiwela* (lunch) and *Rat-Di-Roti* (dinner). The farmers and those who help them in their work have a light meal as soon as they rise in the morning called *Chhahwela*. They then go to the work and their wives or their children bring them a good breakfast of homemade cakes, Butter and milk at mid day when they have done three to four hours work known as *Bhattiwela*. They eat their food in the open and take a rest, start work again early or late in the afternoon as necessity requires and return home at dusk. They then eat the heaviest meal of the day, take milk and retire early. The *Huqqa* (hubble-bubble) is restored by those who smoke at all hours of the day. Tea has become extremely popular now both in urban as well as in rural areas.

3.6.11 Betrothals and Marriages

Early marriage was in practice in the past but the government has prohibited it by framing a law but usually the marriages take place at the age of 18 years in village. It is still customary to marry girls in one's own qaum but mostly preference is given to marry within *kunba*. In case of girls, cousin marriages are thought to be the best. Sometimes people have to wait for a long when they do not find suitable matches for their girls. Giving girls within *kunba* is because of social perception that the daughter would remain within same family as it is taken as an issue of family's honor. It is also due to the fear of

becoming weak before the in-laws of daughter if they are from outside family. The respondents refer many cases of marriage failures, disputes over marriages, and decrease in social respect with reference to out-of-family and out-of-caste marriages. In adjacent town of Farooqabad, some families have become more conscious of education and career of their off springs. Therefore, they delay marriages of their children till the time they complete their education and get established after getting jobs. For boys, cousin match is preferable but if in case of non availability of suitable match, marriage outside *kunba* but within caste is a second good option. Major preference for a boy's marriage is his secure job which in case of cousin marriage is even compromised to some extent due to many other assurances like girl after marriage is likely to remain within family and in some cases within same household. In such case, '*Dulha*' (groom) remains accountable before family elders if he becomes careless from performing his roles and responsibilities or beats his wife or kids, etc,. Families mostly opt for marrying their daughters so that the 'responsibility of daughters is done' within the life span of parents called '*farz ada ho gaya*'. Social setup of village suggests that parents are always concerned because of the fear that if they die earlier then daughter would be at the mercy of their sons who may or may not take care of their sisters as they would have been taken care of by their parents. This is especially favored if an elder son is already married which enlarges the risks of vulnerability of daughters. In such cases, parents think that their son would put his children first as well as the cultural teasing relationship between '*nand-bhabi*'⁶³ is also another cause of arranging marriages of daughters on priority.

⁶³ *Nand* is husband's sister and *bhabi* is brother's wife. Traditionally this relationship is conflicting. It is so because the sister-brother relation in Punjabi culture is very close and frank. Sisters are always possessive about brother in same way as mothers do. The son's wife indirectly means that this love and intimacy with son or brother is shared after marriage. In case of brother or son giving more time or care to his wife is termed as '*zan-mureed*' (wife's servant) which is socially disliked and ridiculed not only in local community but also throughout in Punjab.

The marriage ceremony is preceded by an engagement or betrothal called '*Mangni*', which is a promise to marry a particular girl to a particular boy. It is solemnized by an exchange of gifts. Festivities are held in both families and on appointed date for the marriage of the groom's party, the number of which depends upon the social position, go in the procession to the house of '*Dulhan's*' (bride) parents which is decorated for the occasion. *Nikkah* performed by village *Mullah* who recites the Holy verses and explains the philosophy of marriage system and make the parties certain vows and contract (*Nikkah Nama*) is signed in the presence of the assembled. After *nikkah* ceremony, entertainments are served. The groom's party is sent off with dowry for the girl and rich presents to the groom and his parents. The bride is taken away and is received with befitting ceremony and honor in the house of groom. On second or third day after marriage, the bride comes to the house of her parents for '*Maklawā*' (revisit of bride in parental family after marriage) and after a day or two she again goes to the house of her husband.

Marriages are pleasure time for families that involve various rituals like *Salaami*⁶⁴, *Neondra or Gath*⁶⁵, *Weilaan*⁶⁶, *Laag*⁶⁷, *Maale*⁶⁸, *Nanikishek*⁶⁹, etc. Each family in village

⁶⁴ *Salaami* is a reciprocal practice was demonstrated during the marriage ceremonies where relatives and family friends used to pay a token money to the Bride and Bridegroom. The money is paid in cash that indirectly compensate the expenditures of marriage. This money was though not a loan but could be termed as 'obligatory family fund' or 'obligatory society fund'. This token money is circulatory in nature.

⁶⁵ *Gath or Neondra* is a formal marriage invitation. Close relatives and family friends pay cash money to the *kammi* who communicates the invitation. This is also an obligatory form of societal fund observed on occasions of marriage, birth or any other happy social event that involves gatherings. If *kammi* of invitee family is not honored accordingly that leads to mean shunning of respect of patron family.

⁶⁶ *Weilaan* is money given to *kammis* of family when the marriage procession is about to depart towards bride's house. This rite is also a symbol of involving the poor in their patron's times of pleasure and happiness.

⁶⁷ *Laag* is a form of reciprocity in which token money was offered to the sister of bride during marriage ceremony. This is practices after recitation of *nikkah* when the bridegroom is asked to visit the family to meet females of family to symbolically show that groom is now a family member. This money is presented to bride's younger sister for her loss in case of her sister's departure from family. Arguing on the amount of *laag* is always a source of public ridicule and social dislike.

⁶⁸ *Maale* is a formal get together during marriages. It happens a day before marriage in which only blood relatives participate. Failure to attend *Maale* is disliked by the people because of its social value attached to this ceremony.

maintains their book to update record of token money presented to them from friends and relatives on events mentioned above. This record book is named *Bahi Khaata*. Proper maintenance of *Bahi Khaata* is each family's responsibility because the gifts given during marriages are obligatory to be returned.

3.6.12 Deaths

Deaths are hideously mourned in families and work is suspended for many days. Death institutions also rest on many social and religiously oriented practices including *Qul* or *Soem*⁷⁰, *Nowan*⁷¹, *Sawa Mehina or Chehlum*⁷², and *Barsi*⁷³. In Sacha Soda, a deceased person is somebody who is though dead but still holds a position among the family members. The deceased is remembered through his past deeds and best actions in favor of society and family, etc. The deceased person's sayings and actions are often referred before the youngsters as a specimen to follow. Visiting the graves of deceased on Thursdays and Fridays is very common. The graves of dead ancestors are cleaned and

⁶⁹ *Nanikishek* is another kind of matrimonial economic affair that concerns only maternal family of the bride or groom. The relatives from maternal side bring valuables for bride. This event was basically done by the maternal side of the bride to lessen the economic burdens of the mother of bride because of traditionally acknowledged and very intimate relationship of a sister and brother even after their marriages.

⁷⁰ Death no doubt relates to sad feelings where someone is departed from the family and rest of the family is in emotional set back and mental stress. *Qul* is practiced after on third day of death. Elders of the village tell that in old times when the means of communication were not developed and swift as compared to current day, it was difficult for the relatives and friends to attend the funeral rituals of a deceased person therefore the society made a cultural arrangement for the people not being able to come and attend the funeral procession. The economic importance of same event was the food distribution to the visitors coming for condolence including poor of village.

⁷¹ It is observed on the ninth day after death, where almost the same practices are repeated while still providing an opportunity to absentees to compensate in order to come and participate in the event to console the aggrieved family and send the decessed gift of Holy verses followed by food distribution.

⁷² This is the fortieth day after death which again rejoins the family and close kin as well as an opportunity for the relatives who had not been able to participate to come and console the aggrieved family. Important thing related to this event was if somebody fails to come in any of the three events, he or she is disliked and sometimes the case even leads to social ostracism.

⁷³ It is the annual anniversary of the deceased where the relatives gather to send the deceased gift of holy verses and thus remembering him or her in good faith. This is important event practices each year after death in which food items are served to the relatives and poor segments of the society for benisons.

decorated with colorful *chaddars* (printed sheets) with holy verses written on them, fragrance, and flowers are arranged on two *eid* days (two religious festivals of Muslims). This is done in order to remember the dead members of family.

Death of parents is taken as a big blow for the off springs. It is always termed as '*saeen tur gai*' (the custodians have passed). Siblings mostly remember their parents at all stages of life. The absence of parents is severely felt in case of first marriage, *eid*, or any other major event after their death. These occasions are usually observed in remembrance with sobs and sighs especially in case of daughter who normally recall parental warmth and affection throughout their lives. This is socially thought to be irreparable loss for the children. The intimacy of parental relationship and bond is culturally expressed as under:

1. *Maawan Thandian Chaawaan*

Translation: Mothers are like deep-shadows

2. *Husan, Jawani, Ma-Pay, Tino rang nai labhnay*

Translation: Three colors do not come back. These are beauty, youth and parents

Similarly, death of a brother especially young brother is deeply mourned and culturally termed as '*baanh tut gai ay*' (an arm has been broken). The presence of a brother is symbolized as of an arm. Great Sufi poet Waris Shah has referred to the strengths of brotherhood in following terms:

3. *Aakh ranjhiya paa ki bani teray dees apna chad sudhaar nahi
Veera ambri jaya ja nahi sanoon naal firaag day maar nahi
Ay baandian tay asi veer teray koi aur vichaar vichaar nahi
Bakhsh ay gunah tu pabiaan nu, kon jamiya jo gunahgaar nahi*

*Bhaiyaan baaj na majlisaan sohndiaan nay atay bhaiyaan baaj bhar nahi
Bhai maran tay pondian paj bahaan, binaa bhaiyaan paray parewaar
nahi
Lakh oot hai kol wasnidiaan di, bhaiyaan gayaan jeedi har nahi
Bhai dhaanwaday tay bhai usaarday nay, bhaiyaan baaj baanhaan baily
yaar nahi
Taala mandaan diyan lakh khushamadaan nay tay gareeb day koi vi yaar
nahi
Ekal baanyaan nu lok marday nay bahaan waliaan nu koi saar nahi
Waris Shah binaa bhaiyaan day sanoo jeewnaa zara darkaar nahi*

Translation:

Tell Ranjha! What did you get in your heart; don't leave your motherland
to go elsewhere
Oh brother born of my mother's womb! Don't go; don't let us die with
pang of your departure
They are your sisters-in-law, we the brothers you have, don't think of
anything else
Forgive this blunder done to you by your sisters-in-law; nobody is born
innocent of sins
Without brothers, gatherings aren't delighted and without them, no
season is spring
Arms become broken when brothers die, without brothers, families and
homes are ruined
Shelters are there for those who live in homes with brothers, without
them it's a complete defeat and disaster
Brothers though fight but brothers hold too, without them nobody is
friend
Rich enjoy flattering but poor lack even friends
One-armed is killed by folks, but no fear to the one with both arms
Waris Shah without brothers, I don't even wish to live

3.6.13 Daily routines

The introduction of canal irrigation has robbed the farmer of the leisure which was available before. He is now keener to know how to bring every inch of his land under cultivation. Amazements are, therefore, no part of his daily routine now. At noon, when work is suspended, or in the evening when the day's work is finished, the people gather

under a shady tree, or in cold weather round the fire called *Takia* in the night where they talk and enjoy themselves. The usual topics of conversation are the crops, rains, market and some current news. The women folk sing old local songs on *Dholki* (traditional drum) on the occasion of marriage ceremonies.

Famous Sufi poet Waris Shah⁷⁴ is famous for his legendary relic known as *Heer Ranjha*. The people are very fond of Sufi poetry therefore a sweet reciter of romantic love stories like *Heer Ranjha* (a famous love story) or *Mirza Sahiban* (another indigenous love story) attracts the people. People believe that the poet has used the imagery of both characters *Heer* and *Ranjha* to denote the spiritual inspirations.

*Yaran assan noon aan sawal kita, Qissa Heer da nawan banaiye ji
Ais prem di jhok da sabh qissa jebh sohni naal sunaaiye ji
Naal ajab bahar de sheir keh ke Ranjhe Heer da mail milaaiye ji
Yaran naal majlisan vich beh ke maza Heer de Ishaq da paiye ji*

Translation:

Friends and people ask me that why don't you write on Heer?
People ask me to rewrite this epic and recite it again with new zeal
I am expected to rejoin both *heer* and *ranjha* through my poetic
expression
Once I do this, people in their social gatherings enjoy talking about the
passionate love of *heer*

*Awal Hamd Khuda Wird Kije, Ishaq Kita so jag da mool mian
Pehle aap rub ne Ishaq Kita, Mashuq hai Nabi Rasul Mian
Ishaq peer faqeer da martaba hai, marz Ishaq da bhala ranjul mian
Khule tinhan de bagh qaloob ander, jinhan kita hai Ishaq qabool mian
Dui Naat Rasul Maqbool wali, jende haq nazool lolaak kita
Wali kar ke martaba wadda ditta, sabh khalq de aib thin paak kita*

⁷⁴ Waris Shah (1706 – 1798) was a Punjabi Sufi poet, best-known for his seminal work *Heer Ranjha*, based on the traditional folk tale of *Heer* and her lover *Ranjha*. *Heer* is considered one of the quintessential works of classical Punjabi literature. The story of Heer was also put to paper by several other writers, including Damodar Daas, Mukbal, and Ahmed Gujjar, but Waris Shah's version is by far the most popular today. Waris Shah was born in a reputed Syed family in the village of Jandiala Sher Khan, Sheikhpura District, Pakistan Punjab in or around 1706.

*Sarwar hoye ke olian anbian da, agge Haq de Aap noon khaak kita
Kare ummati ummati roz e mehshar, Khushi chad ke jiu gham naak kita*

Translation:

First praise to Allah Almighty

It is he himself who loved first, the beloved is Mohammad (PBUH), the last messenger

Love is the faith and displace of saints, and those who lost senses after a plunge into it

Those who embrace love are the ones with their hearts like fragrant paradise

Praises to Mohammad (PBUH) who was sent to earth with eternal verities
He was elevated to the level of a friend and beloved, he was purified and sanctified from the impurities of sins and guilt as contained by other people

He was graced to be a lord to rest of prophet hood

He shall be the one who would beg for pardon and forgiveness for his believers

He for his followers left happiness and saddened his heart.

3.6.14 Fairs and Festivals

Muslim Fairs: The annual *Urs* (Festival) of Muslim saints in village including Saen Rang Ali, Baba Mastan Shah, and Shah Shardah are celebrated with *sufi* and religious fervor. Two Islamic religious festivals of *Eid-ul-Fitr* and *Eid-ul-Azha* are also celebrated with great religious zeal.

Sikhism's Fairs: Every year Sikhs visit Gurudwara Sacha Soda to celebrate memories of Guru Nanak coming here (details have been described). They perform their religious activities and distribute food. They also visit gurudwara *Sach Khand*⁷⁵ within village.

Christian Fairs: Christians every year celebrate their Christmas day, New Year and Easter Festivals. Besides, there is a sacred place i.e. Merriam Abad in Khanqah Dogran, where a

⁷⁵ A religious temple of Sikh where a local myth tells that Nanak changed Soil into *Khand* (Sugar) due to his God gifted powers

myth is also associated that Merriam (Marry, mother of Jesus Christ PBUH) took rest there, so from all over Pakistan, Christian community visits that place. Even processions come on bicycles from Karachi.

Apart from local festivals of village, there is, however, a season which custom has set apart for holiday. This is the *Baisakhi* festival which is held on the first day of the month of *Baisakh*⁷⁶. Fairs are held on that day at every big village and the youth from the neighboring villages come in batches with drums beating, dancing in rings *Bhangra*⁷⁷ or *Lodi*⁷⁸ expressing hopes of a bumper crop. Among the religious establishments of Muslims, the biggest is the shrines of Haji Dewan at Khanqah Dogran. He lived in the time of Akbar the Great. A fair is held on the first *Sawan*⁷⁹. The shrine of the saint Hazrat Abul Khair Naulakh Hazari was the nucleus of the old *abaadi* (settlement) at Shahkot. A big fair is held on the 11th of Chet⁸⁰ every year, which is largely attended. Saint Nau Bahar Shah, who lived about half a century ago had shrines built to his memory at Sheikhpura, Fateh Rehan and Chakrali in the Ferozewala tehsil. He lived a *majzoob's* life (absorbed in meditation) always kept silent and never accepting shade or shelter. He lived at Fateh Rehan for about 25 years and then went to Chakrali in 1921 where he died. A fair is held on the last Thursday in the month of *Jeth*⁸¹.

The annual *Urs* of Hazrat Sher Mohammad, a saint of great stature is held at Sharakpur. The annual fair of great Punjabi Sufi poet Warris Shah held at Jandiala Sher Khan. Nankana sahib is the most important of the Sikhs' place the *Janam Asthan* (birth place) Gurudwara, being very sacred to the Sikhs. More than five hundred years ago, Baba Lakshmi Chand a son of Guru Nanak, erected a *Katcha Samadhi*⁸² at his place. It was

⁷⁶ Also termed as *Vaisakh* that is second month of Punjabi calendar starting from April 14th to May 14th

⁷⁷ Famous folk dance of Punjab

⁷⁸ A traditional dance performed by males in a ring

⁷⁹ Fifth month of Punjabi calendar starting from July 16th to August 15th

⁸⁰ First month of Punjabi calendar starting from March 14th to April 13th

⁸¹ Third month of Punjabi calendar starting from May 15th to June 14th

⁸² Unpaved memorial

after 150 years that Dewan Kaura Mal constructed a *Pakka*⁸³ Gurudwara in place of Samadhi. The Gurudwara is the scene of pilgrimage by thousands of Sikhs from India at the time of the fair which is held on the 21st of February every year.

3.6.15 Games and Sports

Among popular games played in the village is Cricket. People also play traditional games including, *Kabaddi*, *Pir-Kaudi*, and *Saunchi* in which one player of the party is chased by a player of the opposing party till he is beaten or returns to his place successfully after beating the chaser. Games popular among children are *Khhidu-Khundi*⁸⁴ resembling hockey, *Gulli-Danda*⁸⁵ or *Tip Cat*⁸⁶, and *Shah-Shatapu*⁸⁷. *Chon-Chupai*⁸⁸ is especially played on moonlit nights. *Bala*⁸⁹ *Kanchey*⁹⁰, *Patang bazi*⁹¹ and *Kabotar bazi*⁹² (pigeon keeping) are also common games observed in the village, *Gara Rali*⁹³ is also occasionally played among children and its initiative is given by old females of the family, especially when there is a draught like situation. In this game, children play with mud bullets that are thrown to each other to make partners muddy. By doing so, they indirectly pray to God for rain. Occasionally, *Khusti* (Wrestling), *Naiza Bazi* (Tent pegging) and Volley-ball are also played in the village. Bed time stories during nights are commonly enjoyed by the kids as well as youngsters who are also present to listen to those ones. The stories told by grandmothers are usually fairies, local freedom fighters and their bravery, and some religious tales.

⁸³ Paved or cemented

⁸⁴ Traditional game, carrying a traditional ball and a Stick and resembles modern day hockey

⁸⁵ Traditional game that resembles stick and spindle

⁸⁶ Traditional game, in which one player strikes the spindle and has to be carried to the spot where it falls by his opponent on his back

⁸⁷ Traditional game that resembles Hop Scotch

⁸⁸ Traditional game that resembles Hide and Seek

⁸⁹ Traditional game that resembles base ball

⁹⁰ Traditional game played with little crystal balls

⁹¹ Kite flying

⁹² Pigeon flying

⁹³ Traditional game played during drought situations

3.7 Political setup

Political structure of village comprises national and provincial level politics as well as the three tiers of local politics and administration. Village is connected through the seat of national assembly NA 134 whereas the provincial level seat is PP 169. During the elections, national and provincial level politics is very active. The power groups of village become very charged during elections. They mobilize the masses not only in village but also in neighboring villages. The heads of power groups act as intermediaries between national and provincial level politicians and the village community. These heads invite contesting candidates in the village for public address and watch the interests of these politicians to make sure that their supported candidate manages to win from the area. Usually these efforts are used to promote their candidates which also become a cause of raising conflicts in village life (details are following in next section). Regarding local level politics, these political groups overtly participate to make sure that their candidates manage to win. As regards, the local level politics, Union Council (UC) of village is operational as well as the village is also represented in the tehsil and district councils. This is so that *Nazim* (chairman, literally means a Director) of UC represents the village in District council and *naib nazim* (vice chairman) of UC represents village in tehsil council.

3.7.1 *Dera* and *Deraydar* (Men's room and its Functionary)

Politics in village is run through the '*Dera*⁹⁴ (men's room). In the social life of village *dera* plays a pivotal role. It performs several social, economic, religious and political activities. It is most crucial institution in village that has to be essentially run by an influential and big landlord of the village. The *deraydar*⁹⁵ plays many important functions in village life ranging from provision of socio-economic support to its allies

⁹⁴ Men's room: *Dera* (singular) & *Deras* (plural)

⁹⁵ Head of Dera

both within and outside village. The membership of *dera* is voluntary but in most of cases, it was observed that people prefer joining of any *dera* while considering and prioritizing their caste affiliations. Upon asking about prerequisites of a *dera*, villagers responded that:

*Apna maray ga ve tay chawain sutay ga
Begana tay begana hi Honda ay
Khon tay pani ek nai ho sakday
Ek sangana tay doja birla*

Translation:

Your caste fellows are your confidants, even if they are your opponents they will not act nasty to damage you whereas out caste is after all an out caste. You expect anything from them. They can go to any extreme to damage you. There is always a difference between blood (caste) and water (opponents). Blood is always thick and sticks whereas water is thin. Caste is what you share your blood with your caste men.

It is therefore the caste bond in which people of village have their blind trust. *Dera* is the most active and vibrant part in political life of village. Beside it also performs several other important functions. Like, the intra caste disputes are also heard in order to settle down the issues so that *izzat*⁹⁶ of group is not put at stake. The collective labor is also discussed inhere which is an important event in village's agriculture chores especially during the sowing and harvesting season. Among likely related issues are Job related issues and upcoming marriage event, probably visit of a *peer*⁹⁷, *urs*⁹⁸ of village's saint, horse and cattle market, inter village sports or disputes over irrigation water between village men are fervently pondered.

The important institution of *dera* has undergone many changes over the years. The traditional role of a *deraydar* was more like a supporter. The head was mostly an

⁹⁶ Prestige

⁹⁷ Spiritual guide or a descendant of a *sufi*

⁹⁸ Fair

educated person having political links with politicians as well as a social admiration among the police officials of nearby police station. The traditional *dera* owner was more like a lineage head being responsible to represent his group people before district administration like law, revenue, agriculture and irrigation departments. People gave him social approval and obeyed his instructions up to the mark because of *deraydar's* ligature. The traditional leadership required the leaders to be generous and democratic in nature. The leaders usually had big landholdings but they were directional instead of coercive. Traditional *dera* was most commonly place for village people who used to come and socialize. The traditional *dera* itself demanded economic resources for its continuous running and maintenance therefore only economically well off land owners were right people to run it.

The modern trends of violent politics and manipulation of political affiliations to maximize group's interests have also influenced the traditional role of *deraydars*. These *deraydars* also know their indispensable role in village social and political life therefore they are fully aware how to negotiate their interests with other stakeholders to raise their personal gains. The modern *deraydar* is oft times concerned with his personal goals and motives. This new change of role of *deraydars* is discussed in detail in coming chapters regarding cultural response to development projects in village and experiencing 'devolution of power' at grass roots.

3.7.2 Dhara of Village (Electoral Alliance)

The *dhara*⁹⁹ is especially operational when political affairs are on the anvil. *Dhara* is constituted by its members who join a specific *dera* in village. The support structure, political links and numerical superiority characterizes the influence of *dhara*. As mentioned above that social life of village revolves around caste bond. Similarly, it is

⁹⁹ Electoral Alliance: *Dhara* (singular), and *Dharas* (plural)

also discussed that *Zamindar* castes are influential and enjoy social prestige in village therefore these castes also play the power game in village. Three out of five *dharas* of village are run by Rajputs, Gujars and Jats respectively. Two groups that are Dogar group and Rai group operate in village through their representatives. These groups operate in the neighboring areas but possess district to province level influence due to their heads directly involved in provincial politics. These power groups are in acute rivalry against one another. This rivalry has claimed many precious human lives without an ending. The influence of a *dhara* depends on three crucial factors including: first, political support structure in tehsil and district administration along with provincial and national level politicians; second, numerical strength that brings a *dhara* and its leader in bargaining position with politicians, police and other government offices at district level. This strength is even double when a *dhara* employs *gundas*¹⁰⁰ to create a terror among opponents; and third, possession of agricultural land. Out of these armed guards, few of them always accompany the *deraydar*. Some of them always remain in the latent side to be used in dire need. In return, these *gundas* are given protection from police. It makes absolutely no difference to talk about the source of agricultural land. What matters in real is ownership of land which symbolizes that head of *dhara* is in a position to bestow favors upon his group allies. To sum up the political structure of villages, comprise thrice of components including *dera*, *deraydar* and the *dhara*.

In the below, a brief glimpses of heads of these powerful *deras* are discussed in order to better understand the dynamics that are responsible to bring a potential head of *dera* in bargaining position in village life and elements outside village. Whereas, the role of influence displayed by *deras* in social life of village especially to understand the manipulative strategies adopted by *dharas* to benefit their members while excluding non-allied people from development initiatives launched in village are discussed in next chapter.

¹⁰⁰ Criminals or bandits

Rana Group:

Mr. Rana is head of Rana Group in village. His forefathers migrated from East Punjab during partition. Mr. Rana's grandfather was well known due to his generous nature. Father of Mr. Rana was ambitious for power and influence yet lacked resources to realize his dreams true. Mr. Rana kept the dream of his father and joined Rai group that was already famous for its political mightiness. Mr. Rana managed to get nearer to the head of Rai group. After winning the trust of head of Rai group, he managed to get snatch lands of poor people, communal land and government assets in village. This pilferage was initially welcomed by Rai group but later when Mr. Rana snatched land of another acquaintance of Mr. Rai in village, Mr. Rai disapproved this act. This thing created differences in Mr. Rana and Mr. Rai. Mr. Rai due to his numerous rivalries was killed in an ambush. Now, situation turned into the favor of Mr. Rana who later on hired criminals and initiated his *dera* where he started providing shelter to outlaws. Mr. Rana later on built intimate relations with police by greasing their palms and also invited politicians at his *dera* for fetes. His political links went on getting stronger and introduced him deep in the fabrics of local politics as well as the district administration and police. His nexus with power holders made him assume the same role in the village that later on started diffusing in neighboring villages. He is now known to be most powerful local elite in whole of district.

Gujar Group:

Mr. Chaudhry is head of Gujar group in village. He was a land clerk before partition in the revenue department. It was his profession that he knew the dynamics of manipulation of land purchases and transfers plus about the abandoned or unclaimed lands. He acted as a land clerk after partition too. While misusing his office, he started tampering the land records and allotted

abandoned lands to his relatives. As a result of this misuse of public office, he now enjoys the largest landlord of the areas while holding approximately 14400 acres of agricultural land in various locations of district. Out of his total land, 1250 acres are only in *Sacha Soda*. His strong position eventually emplaced him to give livelihood opportunities to not only poor of the village but also other adjacent villages. He established a men's room where he started interacting with politicians and district bureaucracy to enhance his linkages and influence. He employed people for his numerical strength and also enjoys the trust of gujars of whole district as a godfather.

Jat Group:

Mr. Jat is heading Jat group in *Sacha Soda*. Mr Jat's family migrated from neighboring district of Gujranwala. His major source of fame is '*Wadda Jawari*' (great gambler). He patronizes the local underground gambling hordes. Mr. Jat went into serious clashes over an issue of 25 acres of agricultural land with Rana and Dogar group in village. Mr. Jat's *dera* is nuisance for Rana Group as Ranas think of Mr. Jat as somebody who clearly threatens their influence. Mr. Jat being backed by national level politicians of the Sheikhpura and Gujranwala districts has managed to stay protected against the hand of law. Mr. Jat also reciprocates the generosity displayed by the politicians by accepting and abiding by the order of these political power holders.

Two groups i.e., Rai and Dogar are not from *Sacha Soda* but are represented through their allies who watch the interests of their respective groups. In the following, brief introduction of both groups' leaders is given to understand the external power sources influencing the village political and social life.

Rai Group:

Mr. Rai's lovesomeness to power led him to join Dogar group that was a traditionally known power group in the district. Mr. Rai while serving Dogar group as a right hand of the head of Dogar group learned the local politics and its protocols. He managed to build his personal relations with rest of the group allies in rest of the districts of the province. Mr. Rai upon getting sufficiently known in power holding factions of district left Dogar group and managed his own group. Mr. Rai later on killed in a bloody clash in Lahore city. Mr. Rai had serious frictions with Rana group in village due to which there were hideous fights between both groups. The murder of Mr. Rai in fact fueled the fire of hatred among power factions in village and district.

Dogar Group:

Dogar group once used to be most famous power group of not only district but also in central Punjab. The head of Dogar group has become a legend in the rural circles of district. He is portrayed as a voice of the poor in the area. There are many legends about the strength of his character that speak of his generous and charitable personality. Mr. Dogar effectively managed his fame and contested provincial assembly's election and won. Mr. Dogar was killed by waylaying contract killers. The killing of Mr. Dogar was levied on Rana and Rai group due to already existing hostilities among them. Mr. Dogar was replaced by his younger brother who also followed the lines of his elder brother. Though the new leader stayed away from directly indulging into politics but administrated the *dera*. The men's room of Dogars is a kind of community court where the successor gives his verdicts about matters related to local politics including village *Sacha Soda*. The representative of Dogar group in village is watchful in monitoring the activities and engagements of Rana group especially due to their quondam clashes. Upon various issues of land possession and union council affairs, both groups have

practically demonstrated humiliations, kidnapping, abduction of girls, and physical molestation of opponents.

3.8 Agriculture practices and related occupations

Cultivation is main occupation of the people. Skilled labor and professional classes such as carpenters, blacksmiths, weavers, masons and *hakims* (herbalist) help in the work of agriculture directly or indirectly. The farmer is known for his hardihood. He rises early in the morning, drives the cattle to fields and ploughs, weeds and work there. He takes his breakfast at nine and again goes to work in the fields and works till twelve. From twelve to three, he generally takes rest. In the evening, he returns home and takes meal and then goes to rest. The women folk in village lead a very busy life. They do household work and also work in the fields. Children look after the cattle and herds of sheep. The main crops during *Rabi* are wheat and Gram and in *Kharif* are rice, cotton and sugar cane, In addition to these main crops, there are subsidiary crops known as *Zaid Rabi* and *Zaid Kharif* and *Dobari*.

Farmers usually raise two local breeds of buffaloes; these are *nili-ravi* and *kundi* known as best milk producing animals. In addition, other local breeds are also common including the *Sahiwal*, and *Red Sindhi*. Among sheep, local breeds of *Lati*, *Lohi*, *Kajli* and *Kachhi* are mostly preferred by the village community. The local breeds of goats included *Beetal*, *Teddy*, and *Kamori*. *Kamori* is known to be the best of its kind as it is best milk producer and its meat is more delicious as compared to other breeds. *Kamori* also captures a high place in daily gossips as this breed is to known to be only getting fed on fodder of best quality. Mixed or smirched fodder is not eaten by *Kamori*. Farmers refer to this thing as:

‘Nasal phair nasal hi hondi ay, kamori mer jao gi per gand kadi nai khao gi’

Translation:

It is the lineage even observed in animals. *Kamori* will never eat anything dirty with smudges rather it would prefer to die instead of compromising.

The majority of small ruminant flock owners are small scale farmers and sometimes even the landless. Farmers most prefer mixed flocks of both sheep and goats but separate flocks of both can also be seen. The farmers mostly prefer local breeds of poultry for domestic consumptions especially eggs of local breeds. Almost all households keep flocks of five to ten birds with a cock. These birds are scavengers living on crop residues and kitchen waste and are confined in traditional cages during night. The local breed included *Desi*, *Lyallpur Silver*, *Black*, and *Aseel*. Cockerels and old hens are usually eaten or sold. Raising poultry is traditionally women's work that not only provides eggs and meats for family consumptions and also for guests.

3.8.1 Main Problems faced by Farmers shifted to Mechanized Farming

Most of the Farmers are small scale landholders therefore prefer traditionally-oriented production. Their traditional farming orientation does not match with commercial level production. It is always a gap that exists between small scale farmers and those who afford to use modern farming practices and make huge profits out of it due to their big landholdings and wealth. The small scale farmers have been producing traditionally since long. Naturally, they try to find markets for them only when the changing or changed market structure requires entirely different produce.

In the below, problems faced by those commercial farmers who left their traditional farming practices in spite of their small landholdings to comply with the challenges posed to them by local market are discussed briefly:

The soil requirements have been rendered sick due to accumulation of deposits of salt due to canal irrigation and application of marginally fit or unfit tube well water. Growing crops without application of proper soil rectifier affects the growth and ultimate crop yields. This thing has put all man-hours in total vain. The direct effect of mechanized agriculture destroyed the fertility of soils.

The time of sowing is normally not complied with due to the non-availability of mechanical sowing equipment. During sowing season acute shortage of sewing machines causes delayed sowing spells which directly affect the crop yield per acre.

Healthy and viable seeds are one of the basic requirements of modern farming practices where as the seed supply situation in village was observed to be very precarious. Seeds of all crops are not available in time as well as the seeds are usually priced so high due to which situation for the farmers who have shifted to modern farming practices face huge problems. Sugarcane is one of the major crops of the village and farmers do not have cash available to buy the quality seeds. Consequently, farmers who cannot use seeds of good quality have to pay in the form of reduced yields per acre.

Synthetic fertilizer is another important factor that determines crop yield in modern production process. Fertilizer responsive varieties are the basis of high yielding technology developed in Pakistan. The on ground situation observed and pointed out by farmers is its acute shortages during time of application. Similarly, the low quality fertilizers are also connected issues that badly affect the modern practices adopted by farmers in the village. Usually the short of cash to purchase good quality fertilizers, push farmers to borrow money from middlemen in local markets or using low quality fertilizers. Both situations turn out to be disastrous for them.

Weed controls that constitute another vital domain of modern farming is also a serious problem for farmers because to control weed one has to have financial resources to use

chemical weedicides. Failures to use them bring farmers under a stress that is to compromise the crop yields.

The main source of irrigation in this district is through canals and their distributaries and minor water courses. The other source of irrigation includes tube-wells and lift wells, etc. There are two main sources of irrigation in the village consisting of Upper *Chenab* canal also known as *Gogera* branch and privately owned tube wells. The availability of irrigation water has become another challenge for the farming community of village as most of the water available from tube well is reported not to be fit for irrigation whereas the canal water is not sufficiently available. Crops without proper irrigation of fields do not bring the expected results per acre and thus create more frustration among the farmers.

Harvesting has become a highly mechanized business for the farmers. Non-availability of harvesters creates reduction in crops yield per acre because of failure in timely harvest of crops. The farmers who have shifted to modern farming have to wait long for the privately owned mechanical equipment for their harvest. The availability of government owned equipment is highly problematic for many reasons like number of equipments do not match the number of demands. This equipment is usually available at tehsil level instead of Union Council level. The influential landlords make sure that they hire equipment on priority for them and their group allies. Similarly, most of the government machinery is non operational due to non-maintenance. This issue normally brings serious delays in harvest which further affects crop production and yield per acre.

In addition to all of these problems, the typical problem of small scale farmers regarding marketing of their comparatively small quantities of crop produce confound their problem in many ways like they lack proper storage of their yields due to which the grains get damaged. The biggest buyer of their crops is the government but the same issue is also faced by government departments and the whole damage has to be borne

by farming community. This lack compels small farmers to sell their products to middlemen in the local markets who are fully cognizant of the compulsions of farmers therefore they buy the produce from them on their self-negotiated rates. The price instability in local markets has really disturbed the farmers because in many cases even their investments made on a specific crop are not secured. At various places in Sheikhpura district, periodic (weekly) markets are held which serve as assembly points that are linked with large secondary markets or urban wholesale markets. Some big landholders and landlords with large marketable surpluses bypass the rural periodic markets. It is therefore most of the small scale farmers remain main users of local markets for both selling their produce to meet cash requirements mostly negotiated on low side. It is therefore the itinerant merchants obtain small farmer's produce at cheaper rates and resell it at remunerative prices in the secondary or urban wholesale markets.

Government's failure to protect small farmers from this economic determinism has pushed the subsistence level farming community to the walls where many of them are again shifting themselves to their traditional modes of agriculture. Similarly, the local markets are of exploitative nature because mal-practices like under-weighting, dubious sale and weighting practices are freely used against the interests of farmer-sellers. At the end of the day, bargaining power of farmers has become weaker as the market has turned into a buyer market. Whereas, the local market authorities instead of controlling these mal-practices ignore deliberately due to their own vested interests in it. The next chapter also throws light on the village's experience with three main agricultural development projects launched by government in the area. In addition, village's experience with the most recent experiment of 'devolution of power' has also been studied. The recent devolution of power was an attempt that promised uplifting of rural populations with decentralization at the local level.

Summary

Sacha Soda is located in a region with rich historical worth. The district has its long citable history containing *Sufi* poets, spiritual figures, freedom fighters, and birthplace of Baba Guru Nanak. Sacha Soda is a traditional village of the district with diversities in terms of various *quams* residing in village as well as diversified political affiliations of power groups within village. Overall, village portrays a rich cultural heritage of the Punjab with its family and caste institutions being the most powerful and inevitable in village's social life. In spite of social conflicts among factions of village, it still portrays traditional patterns of life in effect especially in social, economic, religious and cultural modes of life. The involvement of people in cultural activities like festivals, social participation in births, deaths, etc still prevails. The *kammi* class though in transition but still depends on their client-families for their livelihoods. People of village are generally very friendly and hospitable. They care for their allies as well as are welcoming to outside people as it happened during my stay within the village and a German researcher Mr. Odho Schneider who visited village to conduct a research on the effectiveness of agro-based therapy of schizophrenic patients in Sacha Soda. We both were always invited in ceremonies and functions by all segments of village without any hesitation.

The traditional leadership of village that provided local level solutions regarding social issues has been tempered with the rise of interest groups that manipulated the development process that structurally suited them most. This selective suitability of development interventions were not democratic in nature and proved to be only responding to those who were in position to influence the process through their political links, numerical strength of *dera*, molestation through local administration including district bureaucracy especially police department. The agriculture department along with its extension services as well as irrigation department also paid no heed to the problems of small scale farmers of village that constituted the ninety percent of farmer

community in village due to which the development process went into vain and created social chaos. The farmers who in competition shifted on modern farming methods were compelled to restart their traditional practices because the development especially modern mechanized farming did not suite them. This leads to formation of a social perception among farmers that government only plans to benefit politically powerful and wealthy farmers who by all means fabricate the development process to suit them and their power groups in village.

CHAPTER FOUR

VILLAGE DEVELOPMENT PROCESS: *NAUKAR-SHAHI APPROACH*

4.1 Introduction

The existing literature reveals that mechanization of agriculture in Pakistan heavily relies on huge capitalistic investments that are only possible for big and wealthy landlords (A brief survey of Pakistani agriculture has already been discussed in Chapter 2). This case speaks of the traditional Naukar-Shahi¹⁰¹ approach on behalf of government. Water for irrigation that act as a backbone for agriculture development is problematical due to which independent research agencies has feared for some dire consequences in future. Pakistan is already a water deficient country due to lack of adequate storage capacity, sedimentation of reservoirs, and drought prone conditions.¹⁰²

Seepage has also caused a loss of 65 million acre feet (MAF) of water. Population growth, depleting on-line storages, large escapes of uncontrolled flood flows into sea cause shortage (Rabbani, 2006: 580).

The present drought like situation in Pakistan demands immediate attention of government to take a serious note as summarized in WWF's study conducted by Richard

¹⁰¹ Top-down Approach

¹⁰² Pakistan's irrigation system largely depends on Indus River System (IRS) that includes *Terbela* and *Mangla* Dam. In addition to these dams there were *Warsik*, *Simli* and other 18 smaller water projects. The IRS includes 19 barrages, 12 inter-river links on different sites and 38000 canals. The Indus River System (IRS) is capable of receiving 105 MAF water out of which 45% falls in the sea. The IRS is badly affected by the uncertain and extreme weather from Punjab to Baluchistan. There are approximately 107,000 water courses in Pakistan (Punjab: 55000; Sindh: 40000; KPK: 10000; and Baluchistan: 2000). Most of these water courses have become 10% to 60% less efficient. According to the reports of World Water analysts, Pakistan needs 30 to 40% more water courses to meet its requirements but the major problem is as how to feed water in these water courses. The World Bank and former governments of Pakistan were of the view that 1.5 MAF water could be made available for these water courses by repairing and re-vamping the other canals and water courses. But this project could not be completed for lack of funds and determination.

Garsi Tank. Study says that it is an indication of dangers likely to emanate in the near future. The quantity of water, we are using will quickly exhaust the water resources and within 25 years, 33% of population will have to fight for its survival due to water shortage.

The situation is much more serious that has been told by the government authorities. The scarcity of water which has already affected the Rabi crops is likely to affect the Kharif crops. Indus River System Authority (IRSA) explains that the same time last year the temperature at Skardu, a city in a snow-clad northern area was 10 degrees Celsius changed to 14 degrees Celsius that is 20% less the previous years' record. This means a lesser amount of water. Flow of water in river has already decreased below zero benchmark which is unprecedented given the record available with IRSA. If the situation remains the same, the government will have to no option except to choose between high water-demanding Kharif crops like sugarcane and rice and wheat in Rabi. Either it will have to ban sowing of sugarcane or ban its three main Kharif rival crops in the wake of persisting water shortage in the country during the cultivation season of 2000-01 (Rabbani, 2006: 582).

Overall, the water crisis has touched elusive state of affairs in agriculture domain but Punjab being the most populous and predominantly with agricultural economy is worse hit by the shortages. The damages are estimated to 1.5 billion dollars only in agriculture and livestock sectors. Losses due to water shortages in Rabi crops are now exceeding 30 billion dollars. The wheat production has gone down by 3.6 million tons (Rabbani, 2006: 583). Not only water crisis is negatively affecting agriculture rather it is now creating clashes between two big provinces of Pakistan that are Punjab and Sindh. Situation for Punjabi agriculture has entered a certain exigency that is vivid through a statement:

Punjab has been so badly pressed especially by IRSA that it has not even been allowed to use water of its allocated share. IRSA further slashed water share of Punjab and Sindh by 25% (Rabbani, 2006: 584).

Along with water crisis, the canal irrigation has given rise to certain threats for agriculture and snatched general welfare from farming communities of Punjab that include water logging and salinity. It is estimated that adverse effects of water logging are attributed to poor aeration and saline soil which leads to low productivity of agricultural land. About 1.55 million hectares of the country is affected by water logging (Cheema & Farooq, 2007: 115). In the same way, problem of salinity and sodicity is of great concern as it badly affects land productivity. In Pakistan, 5.33 million hectares of agricultural land is facing severe problems of salinity and sodicity (ibid: 115). Meager water resources of irrigation demand effective land leveling and effectual rain water harvesting due to micro-level unevenness of field results in different percolation of water (rate and amount). Build up of salts is also due to extra crop coverage to meet the food requirements of increasing population over years to provide cushion to support the increasing population pressure (ibid: 135).

4.2 Background of projects

Sacha Soda with its most of the population is agricultural based village having a total of 9389 acres of agricultural land. It is one of largest villages of the area. Its fame is mostly because of its historical importance due to the grand *gurudwara* (Sikh temple) as well as the power groups and political influence created by them on the whole area. The Grandness of village is also because of its geographic location as it is situated on main Lahore-Sargodha highway, moreover National motorway (M-3 that is Peshawar to Lahore) is passing through nearby. It is also famous for the local agricultural market in adjacent town of Farooqabad at a distance of just two kilometers. This market is the only place of sale and purchase of agriculture goods in this whole region. District agriculture market is away whereas rests of the markets are located outside district's jurisdiction. Many important links roads¹⁰³ also ascend its geographic importance. Sacha

¹⁰³ Links roads include Sacha Soda-Jatli section, Sacha Soda-Hafizabad branch road, and Sacha Soda-Nankana Sahib's link road.

Soda experienced the launching of three major agriculture-cum-rural development projects in the near past. In addition, the village has also witnessed devolution of power launched by federal government in order to devolve power to local tiers. Sacha Soda unlike other villages of region has a full-fledged Union Council to look after its development affairs at local level. This chapter deals with qualitative results of those three projects and effects of the projects on social life of the village. Devolution of power is also discussed in chapter 8 in detail to appraise the worth of new initiative that promised empowerment of local communities within their vicinage.

Majority of people living in village depend for their livelihood on agriculture. Farmers are progressive minded and keen to raise their productivity as they do believe that by doing so they would raise their life standards as well as bring more material comfort to their families and children. Their agriculture practices cushioned their subsistence over generations very successfully. Problems in agriculture sector in Sacha Soda were three fold. These were first, for the last few decades, agriculture domain throughout Punjab underwent drastic changes due to which the lands lost its fertility rapidly to an alarming situation. The issues of water logging and salinity are common features of canal based agriculture. The situation was more complex by the fact that the village is situated on the banks of two major canals called Qadirabad-Baloki Link (QB Link) and Upper Chenab Canal. It is due to passage of both canals that water logging became a huge problem for the farmers because of lowered fertility of lands. Second, the situation was stultified due to acute dearth of irrigation water necessary for maximum yield per acre. Inefficiency on the part of agriculture and irrigation departments multiplied the extent of problems faced by farmers. Consequently, it resulted in water loses and decrease in water pressure at the tails of water courses due to which farmers at the tail of a particular water course suffered the most. Huge decrease in output per acre was reported by farmers to the staff of agriculture and irrigation departments. Third, over whelming reliance of farmers over new seeds also required the immediate attention of agriculture and its extension departments. Moreover, these problems were not only

faced by the farmers of Sacha Soda only rather it was an overall area of concern for all of farming community of the Punjab province.

4.2.1 Agronomic Research Project (ARP)

Ayub Agriculture Research Institute based in Faisalabad under Agriculture department established its Adaptive Research Project as a result of its mal-functioning and manipulation in district Sialkot where district management seized the land of agriculture department which itself speaks of unaccountable attitude of district bureaucracy¹⁰⁴. The task of the development of agriculture sector is to increase, agricultural production and consequently to raise the living standards of farming masses. The proposed project envisages increased production through appropriate research and its application in the form of improved agronomic practices by the farmers. The main objectives of ARP included conducting researches on high yielding varieties of various crops to improve the farming practices through introducing improved seeds. Its purpose was to conduct experiments to evolve developed and high yielding varieties of different crops. Rice crop was given more attention as the socio-ecological conditions of Sacha Soda were best for different varieties of rice. The focus of the research undertaken by ARP was on increased agricultural production. The project authorities were organizing researches on

¹⁰⁴ This scheme was firstly established in '*Sahowali*' in district Sialkot. It started functioning in June, 1984 and about 25 acres of land was transferred to it from the pulses research station in *Sahowali* that was already operational there. Since then, the station operated in that area. The problem started, sometimes in March, 1989 when *tehsildar* Sialkot started collecting particulars of the land, it was smelt that the Deputy Commissioner wanted to acquire the land for some other institution. The Ayub Agricultural Research Institute Faisalabad was informed to take some remedial measures. The Deputy Commissioner Sialkot was also sounded on the issue. Seeing no response of the District Administration, the Secretary of Agriculture department was also requested for intervention. The Secretary Agriculture wrote to the Deputy Commissioner Sialkot cautioning him about the instructions of the Chief Secretary, Punjab, regarding acquisition of Agricultural land. All the measures proved to be fruitless and area was transferred to the 'Sialkot Development Trust' for the establishment of a Public School under the Chief Minister's directive. The Secretary, Agriculture submitted a summary to Chief Minister of the Punjab pleading to stop this intrusion but all efforts were turned down. The Agronomist of the Agronomic Research Station was ordered to shift the station to Farooqabad (District & Tehsil Sheikhpura) as the place fell in the same agro-climatic and cropping pattern zone. After a lot of filtration the request was acceded by the Agriculture department. Resultantly, the station and project was shifted to Sacha Soda in 1990.

improving seed qualities, so that, the traditional reliance of old seeds is effectively controlled. Researchers at ARP were engaged in experiments to develop the new seeds, healthier and resistant against diseases, different herbs, and pests. Agriculture department allotted 117 acres of land for research chores in following areas:

1. Maximization of Seed qualities
2. Fodder research
3. Pulses research
4. Fishery research
5. Research on Honey bees

4.2.2 Second Scarp Transition Project (SSTP)

Government of the Punjab after long anticipation planned to launch various projects to provide immediate relief to rural areas to tackle problems faced by agriculture sector. The prime objective of these projects was to invest on agriculture to make it responsive to fulfill nutritional needs of fast growing nation. To handle the water logging and salinity, government of the Punjab in collaboration with World Bank launched two Mega projects in succession to each other. These were First Scarp and Second Scarp. First Scarp worked on installation of heavy tube wells owned by Water and Power Development Authority (WAPDA). First Scarp installed two types of tubewells in which first type was sucking water from underground and pouring it in canals to lower the underground water table. Second type was bored on main water channels to substitute dearth of irrigation water from the upper Chenab canal. This project was launched in decade of 60s and worked for thirty years. By the time, these heavy duty tubewells became old enough to work properly government of the Punjab commenced the second phase of Scarp. It started in decade of 90s. The second phase addressed most of the procedural weaknesses during Scarp-I and technical lessons learnt in Scarp-I were incorporated in new scheme. The repair, look after and maintenance of tubewells

remained a gigantic issue during the life cycle of Scarp-I. This weakness in the project greatly hampered the progress because in such a case, the beneficiaries had to wait long for repair or replacement of machinery.

During phase two, Scarp-II introduced the concept of Private Tube Wells (PTWs) and announced financial assistance to farmers who were willing to take initiatives to install PTWs in their lands. Financial assistance was also announced for the farmers who intended to take over old Scarp-I tube wells. Among the fringe benefits announced by Scarp-II was subsidy money worth Rs. 32000 for tube wells having capacity of 1 cusec. Rs. 26000 were promised to be given to farmers against tube wells that had capacity to suck half cusec of water from underground. The change of policy in Scarp-II by project authorities did not work out as expected because in initial stages. Because, farmers who were attracted to participate in project through subsidy money were found to be teasing rest of fellows in providing irrigation water from tube wells. This refusal was often made to the opponents due to which complaints started among farmers and project authorities were blamed to boost the friction among farmers and thus raising clashes in the rural communities. Resultantly, authorities had to suspend the project and replace the methodology with a new one called Community Tube Wells (CTWs).

Having failed in initial stages, project authorities claimed that all procedural lacunas have been targeted effectively. Scarp-II was labeled to be very innovative as it conceived a new strategy to overcome water logging, salinity and shortages and losses of irrigation water through new methodology of introducing CTWs. It was supposed that new tube well scheme shall run through farmer organizations¹⁰⁵ (FOs) to jointly own CTW. Farmers were asked to register their organizations in respective project offices. Upon

¹⁰⁵ The criteria set for establishment of a farmer organization focused three important aspects. These were: first to make sure that potential members are willing to work together in an organization; second, the potential members were supposed to neighboring farmers having their lands adjacent; third, the organization properly choose its office bearers for smooth running of affairs and maintain a joint account for the financial affairs involved in CTW administration.

approval of application for CTW, the project financed Rs. 32000 in joint account of FO. The initial scrutiny, installation of CTW, and site selection were among the responsibilities of officials of concerned FO under supervision of Social Organizers employed by project authorities to monitor the transparency of procedure. The *Chorkana* scheme of Scarp-II was to ensure the timely installation of CTW in project area to overcome water logging and salinity problems. Phase second of Scarp-II monitored handing over of 703 government owned tube wells to farmer organizations which was supposed to bring a revolution in agriculture sector. The site selection for installation of CTWs¹⁰⁶ was important as it was feared that it might give rise to any other differences among the farming community at later stages that was why project field staff was especially asked to monitor the installation of tube wells at appropriate places. For this, social organizers who constituted the field staff of project were selected from the same localities in order to make sure that field staff is already aware of such kind of issues involved.

4.2.3 Water Management Project (WMP)

As stated earlier that water shortages faced by farmers during irrigation was planned to be controlled through integrated program of water management. Government also launched this program in sponsorship of World Bank initially in five districts of central Punjab¹⁰⁷. To monitor the functioning of the project, five area teams¹⁰⁸ were appointed. The main stress of project was its conviction that large part of water shortage is due to its poor management and faulty system of canals and its distributaries. The project

¹⁰⁶ Site selection was done under two points agenda; first, the desired place where CTW was going to be installed should have no other tube well within 500 feet or any canal; second, installation should strictly be on Government owned water channel to make sure all the member have equal chances to avail irrigation water in terms of the site being ideally approachable for all members of organization. This was done to get assurance that previous gaps are removed in a meaningful manner. The mutual differences and clashes do not disqualify any member to get irrigation water.

¹⁰⁷ These Five districts were: Gujranwala; Hafizabad; Sheikhpura, Faisalabad; and, Jhang.

¹⁰⁸ Area teams were based in five regions namely; Nankana Sahib; Sheikhpura city; Shukheki; Sangla Hill; and Pindi Bhattian.

office was based in Lahore city that was provincial capital. The strategy of promoting effective water management was advised through farmer organizations (FOs in WMP were different from organizations registered in Scarp-II).

The project approach was focused on water courses referred to be the prime source of water losses. It suggested that all subsequent water course need to be paved so that seepage of water is controlled. Among other suggestions were removing unnecessary bends of water courses through proper lining; cutting of trees grown on banks of water distributaries; eradication of mud from water courses; stopping water theft; repairing old water channels; digging new water courses where necessary; and, installing new water pumps near water courses. The idea of FO was based to gather all water users of a water course in an organization. The water users were advised to form an organization to jointly operate with project officials to monitor pavement of respective water channels. The members of FO were supposed to provide the labor whereas the project contributed the construction material required for pavement. The provision of construction material was claimed back in easy installments¹⁰⁹ from each FO. The project authorities provided all technical consultation to the water user organizations to ensure quality and standardization of deliverables. There were three other services that were promised to be made available for the farmers to support the process of mechanization of agriculture. Among these were educating farmers about land levelling; model plotting; and provision of agricultural equipment on cheap rents.

¹⁰⁹ WMP during the construction or repair of specific water course supervised the whole process. The sixty percent of total expenses were sponsored by project where as water user organization was supposed to arrange remaining forty percent that included labor for the repair or reconstruction. The expenses made were to be reimbursed to WMP in a criteria perceived by project authorities. Thirty percent of total expenses were meant to be reimbursed to WMP immediately once the job was done. Remainder of thirty percent was claimed back in ten installments payable after every six months.

4.2.4 Running of Projects in Sacha Soda

After having a brief purview of projects in village, it was prognosticated that main hurdles faced by farmer in village shall be addressed meaningfully. All of the projects featured huge financial aids, technical expertise requested from donor agencies like World Bank, and huge deployment of project staff from agriculture and irrigation departments was made to coin a success story in agricultural development. It was anticipated that by the cessation of two out of three projects that were SSTP and WMP, a revolution in agriculture domain shall follow. Among expected outcome of the project were effective utilization of water resources supplemented by CTWs; control of wastage of irrigation water and water theft; and, improved cropping practices assimilated by farmers of the project area thus considerably adding to the improved agricultural statistics.

The practical running of projects' affairs was not as desired and calculated by project officials. The reasons were very obvious. Though quantitative physical surveys were conducted that led project officials about certain deliverables that included:

1. The total number of tube wells installed;
2. Total number of farmers declared as beneficiaries;
3. Number of tube wells handed over to farmer organizations successfully;
4. Total acres of land getting water for irrigation;
5. The statistically calculated area getting rid of water logging and salinity problems;
6. Number of water courses getting paved;
7. Number of water courses getting repaired;
8. Amount of water saved from getting wasted;
9. Practical running of farmer organizations;
10. Number of actually existing farmer organizations;

11. Number of farmer organizations successfully repaying the installments;
12. Number of water courses fit for swift flow of irrigation water after eradication of silt;
13. Demonstration of land leveling to farmers;
14. Model plotting to be replicated by farming community in village; and,
15. Provision of modern agricultural equipment on low rents.

All such heavily funded projects lacked pre-project social impact assessments (SIA) to feed project authorities well before about its possible results after its commencement. The possible social and cultural impediments were not anticipated. Similarly, project's estimations lacked a summary of class analysis that was directly related to the adoption of project offerings. The social set up and role of potential factors were ignored in preparation of project and never included at any stage in the project cycles. Most of all, the inevitable role of power groups and their likely interference was overlooked that later on hijacked the projects and influenced the project affairs by using their means of power that included threats of *tauni* (physical molestation) posed to staff, the famous *chahpani* (bribery), and *aqrabaparwari* (nepotism).

The projects were though socially required but seriously lacked an integrated approach to involve communities especially farmers to achieve all physical targets of project as well as bestowing a sense of ownership upon beneficiaries. A thorough survey of project related documents and review of project focused literature confirmed that personnel of agriculture and irrigation departments along with the finance and planning departments prepared the feasibility of projects on the basis of an overall assessment of agriculture related problems while sitting in provincial capital. The scale of problems was anticipated on the basis of secondary evidences included outdated assessments of agriculture department along with its research agencies, irrigation department, National Engineering Services (NES-PAK) and Agriculture University in Faisalabad. The provincial level bureaucracy did not feel the importance of conducting any pre-project social study

or any kind of social assessment to provide an objective appraisal of project-client relationship. This loophole proved to be disastrous for the running of projects later as these progressed along its course.

In the following project focused results are discussed with a view to provide an in depth picture of back drop:

4.2.5 Functioning of ARP in Sacha Soda

ARP was specifically based in Sacha Soda and it aimed to provide consultations to farming community on improved farming practices. The researchers at ARP claimed to adopt various methodologies to improve the qualities of old seeds to enhance the productivity level of seeds later on. The experiments were done in laboratory controlled environment (at Faisalabad) to claim improvements done in seed taxonomy. ARP proclaimed that after laboratory experiments, improved seeds were sown by the agronomists in model farms of ARP for obtaining its practical results after use. This cultivation practice was said to be beneficial because of two main reasons that were reported by the staff. First reason was to study the behavior of new seeds in natural environment to study its resistance against pests and weeds. Second reason was to obtain large amount of seeds after experimentation for further tests and sharing of its results with Ayub Agriculture Research Institute at Faisalabad. During this experimentation procedure, the new seed was not introduced within farming community till it was certified by the respective agency at Faisalabad. After getting retested and verified from relevant agency, ARP recommended farmers to adopt new and improved seeds. Predominantly, ARP was a research project that primarily focused on experimentation but in spite of its claims it did not have any laboratory for experimentation. The seeds were brought from Faisalabad with the promise that sooner the laboratory of ARP would start its functioning in village but this thing did not get actualized.

Before the functioning of ARP, there was only one extension agent appointed by the local district council to demonstrate model plotting and results of improved seeds along with synthetic fertilizers and pesticides. The services of extension agent with no facilities of research as well as lack of finances proved to be a futile exercise of district council. Since the ARP entered in Sacha Soda, initially farmers did not take notice as they thought that it will be the waste of time to get indulged with ARP's experimentations. The middle class farmers not being in contact with ARP did not get benefits. The initial adopters of ARP and its recommendations were the wealthy and influential farmers. With the passage of time, these small scale level farmers also decided to consult ARP but by that time the extensive involvement of ARP staff with village community was also feared by the agriculture department as if something similar to what happened to project in *Sahowali* is going to be repeated. In addition to this fear, few mistakes were committed by staff of ARP due to which the whole project went into entire bedlam. Few cases are referred for more clear understanding:

Case 1

Staff of ARP developed friendly ties with various power groups of village which withheld sharing of improved cropping practices with rest of the village farmers. This thing created doubts in minds of rest of farming community of the village as they thought that the staff is deliberately debarring them to get benefits of the project. An influential member of staff overtly started benefiting Gujar group in village which fueled rest of other groups to manipulate project into their favor. This development did not stop here rather power factions of village also stepped forward to bestow the same upon their group allies. The small scale farmers were ousted from the beneficiary list that eventually raised cases of breaking in to get seeds or simply to damage ARP assets.

Case 2

Another incidence of similar nature was reported when Rana group demanded Chief Agronomist of research station to visit their *dera* of Rana group for a cup of tea. During the meeting, it was revealed over the in-charge of ARP that Rana group wants to get consultation for cultivation and plotting in field as well as provision of improved seeds to them. The in-charge upon returning to his office was strongly advised by the lower staff to cooperate with Rana group as failure in doing so would mean violence, torture, kidnapping of staff and aversive environment to work in Sacha Soda. This advice was exactly acted upon by chief agronomist to avoid any possible damage to property or assets of project as well as protection of staff within the village. This specimen was also quoted by many other people who reported that powerful manage to get what they wanted whereas poor and powerless had nowhere to go.

Case 3

The representative of Dogar group after getting refused from ARP for new seeds himself went to office and broke the locks of go-downs and asked his men to loot whatever they wanted. This event actually added episodes of violence actually happening due to which ARP staff was horrified. Most of staff was from the same village except the chief agronomist sealed their lips to report this event to higher authorities under the fear that they might be asked to shift the office to some other location. This was done because in case of shifting to another location the staff would be out of their homes and away from their families.

4.2.6 Field Operations of SSTP in village

As stated earlier that SSTP was to compensate and redress acute dearth of irrigation water with CTWs and bring down cases of water theft. The field operations of SSTP in

village were conducted by a social organizer from same village. He was already aware of the influence and manipulative strategies of powerful influential groups of village. As a matter of fact, farmers were enthusiastic about what SSTP was going to offer. It was hoped that water sucked through these communally owned tube wells shall make up the shortage. It was also trusted that all sources of non-participation on behalf of local community have been tackled strategically. The project officials thought high of its social acceptance in the village. The last thing authorities did was to appoint the social organizer from Sacha Soda to curb any kind of objection from the village population.

The start of project was a bit slow as it took so much time to complete the requirements of CTWs that included seeking formal approval of farmers to work together in FO. The establishment of FO and its registration was also time taking and painful process due to further inquiries and verification and site visiting added by inviting verifications from relevant banks for account details. This process was somehow manipulated by influential farmers and landlords of village through a fruitful use of their links in public offices and local banks. On other hand, the lay men had to wait for weeks to get their paper work completed and done to meet prerequisites set by project authorities. This gradual and slow pace of farmers made them frustrated as they were continuously visiting Sheikhpura city in various public offices while leaving behind their agriculture and other domestic affairs. Another reason for initial frustration was that project commenced its operations in sowing seasons of rice which severely hampered the willingness of farmers as it was a time when farming community refrains from visiting close relatives and attending social ceremonies. The small scale farmers' problems were also not responded in the project prerequisites. These farmers who were already having contradictions with their fellow farmers over many issues like water theft, trespassing agricultural fields, demolishing unpaved water courses to stop opponents from irrigating their fields. The already tense situation of village became tenser due to SSTP because, it provided another battle field for these opponents farmers to show their superiority over

one another. These small farmers on account of problems from their neighboring farmers refused to participate in the FO under the belief that their opponents may not install a CTW without their approval.

The landlords and power groups used various means to influence the project's pace in village that ranged from violence to job loss. The social organizer hailing from same place, already knew the failure of ARP and its controversial results was forced to accept what was told to him by these local power elites. Therefore, it was better to co-operate with powerful factions as no security was given to the social organizers to deal with this. It was so because these influential land owners had already links with higher authorities of the project so from all aspects they were dominating the project. Even this trend was shifted down to the group allies of these power holders who also started pressure tactics to horrify the members of their respective FOs. These group allies managed to get water free of cost, more than quantity already specified and got water even out of their turn. The influential landlord not only manipulated the project in their favor rather they also tried to create hurdles in way of their opponent groups so that they could not get benefits for their group allies. The whole story led to a commencement of an unending competition of becoming more influential among these pressure groups in the village.

On the other hand, quantitatively speaking the tube wells contributed to fix the water logging issue by installing CTWs. On a qualitative scale, the water was sold to the rest of other farmers. Privately owned tube wells were shown as CTWs in project documents. In many cases, subsidy money was not spent on installation of CTWs. In few cases, social organizer was found demanding *chahpani* from poor farmers to approve their application. In extreme cases, social organizers were beaten, transferred and lost their jobs under influence created by the power groups while blaming a particular social organizer favoring a certain group in village.

Following cases depict the manipulative strategies adopted by power groups that impeded progress of project in *Chorkana* scheme.

Case 4

The concepts of *mukhalif* (opponent) and *mukhalifat* (opposition) were throughout featuring the small farmers' class who were not willing to cooperate with their opponents in SSTP to pay off their old score. Two of my respondents did the same in which they cooperated in initial stage of paper work completion but at the time of installation of CTW after subsidy money's transfer into FO's account sabotaged whole attempt by starting delaying tactics. The situation was interpreted as *jor da tor* (tit for tat) by respondents.

Case 5

When SSTP was about to start in Sacha Soda, the physical survey was conducted. The purpose of survey was to record the number of already operational PTW working in the village. The objective was to black-list those PTW owners. The project started its operations in the area after the four months of survey. The PTWs which were installed after the cessation of the physical survey and before the start of the project had no record. This weakness in the project was exploited by those owners and they claimed money from project official showing their PTW as a CTW. Younger brother of head of Rana group called social organizer of SSTP and asked to approve the case of a CTW owned by a fake FO that was revealed afterwards upon project official. In spite of facts clearly speaking of malign intentions from Rana group, the case was approved.

Case 6

The installation of CTW in ward 9 was deliberately delayed by the social organizer. Upon thrashing out grounds, *chahpani* was claimed by social organizers from applicants. The social organizers also built their own networks to raise their incomes within project under the faith that everybody in project was manipulating it for maximization of his benefits. These social organizers also used political powers of influential landlords to get a shield against the project's check and balance mechanisms. The demands of *chahpani* were so common that by the end of second year of SSTP, most of the social organizers were reported to be indulged.

4.2.7 WMP and its performance in Village

Canal irrigation system is a good source of irrigation in the areas where average precipitation rate is low or below low. In arid and semi arid zones, canal irrigation has brought revolutionary results. The modern irrigation system was innovated in British reign. Since its inception, the canal irrigation though increased productivity but also raised water logging problem. Water logging issues proved to be the worst nightmare for the farming communities in rural Punjab due to canal irrigation. Not only water logging, but also lack of effective water management strategies has doubled the scale of problem. The project was initiated with an aim to address the shortages of water for irrigation through devising useful management for controlling water loses, water thefts, and land leveling so that average time irrigating one acre is brought down to the lowest possible.

Lack of project's assessment to study farmer's issues and disputes before launch of such gigantic project was very much required. WMP also faced a similar issue that it merely included physical surveys to assess the total acreage that was meant to be benefitted.

The number of water courses to be paved and volume of water to be saved from wastage was well calculated. The farmer's interclass and intra-class analysis was ignored. This weakness turned out to be disastrous for the success of project as well as providing overt benefits to farmers.

The performance of WMP in village was not impressive since its beginning. The upper class was constituted by influential landlords along with their village allies was real beneficiaries. This influence of power elites was even visible outside the village in neighboring areas. On other hand, farmers with small land holdings did not successfully participate in project especially the three components in which model plotting, land leveling, and getting equipment on low rents. As regarded the formation of FOs, it was noticed that the first phase in which FOs were to be identified and registered was completed by ninety percent. The second phase that included execution of pavement of water courses was highly problematic because farmers having their agriculture lands in neighborhood were not willing to cooperate because of the old enmities among them. For most of water users, it was paying back time to their opponents. These mutual conflicts acted as a poison for the social success of project in qualitative terms that was supposed to uplift farmers' prosperity through WMP. Few cases are cited in the following to follow the trend among farmers for non-cooperation as well as exploitative maneuvers of powerful factions in village:

Case 7

As stated in chapter 3 that power groups in village were fighting with one another over increasing their influence and numerical strength in village. The idea of manipulating projects was very clear that these influential landlords wanted to make more and more out of the opportunities of mechanization of agriculture. The influential power brokers also bestowed favors upon their group allies in order to strengthen their links. It was also to increase memberships of their *dera* which was an indicator of their political

power especially in elections to negotiate favors from politicians and political parties. The power politics of village gave rise to a struggle over resources among these groups to reap more and more from a particular development activity.

Virak and Rana group due to their previous tensions displayed their show of power in WMP's operations. A group ally of Virak group was enthusiastic about repair works of his respective water course. Resultantly, he organized other neighboring farmers to register an FO so that WMP could be requested for the reconstruction of water course. The application received in WMP's field office was turned down due to certain objections. It was later on revealed that Rana group approached their favorites in project office and made every possible effort to detain the application.

In another case, an ally of Dogar group got approved the application for his water course from WMP. The fabrication done by this respective FO was another face of local politics. Farmers at the tail of water course were not belonging to Dogar group due to which the repair works were deliberately stopped. Upon approaching WMP to register a complaint against this intentional malevolence, complainant farmers were asked to report the case in writing. The case was kept pending as WMP officials were not willing to get opposition especially with local factions as this threatened the achievement of physical targets of project in future course of action.

Case 8

Small scale farmers were told by project officials to contact WMP to hire modern agricultural equipment. The idea was to promote mechanized farming practices in order to improve farming practices to avail the facilities provided under the project. Farmers usually reported non-availability of machinery despite the claims stated by project officials. Another shortcoming was recorded that was about retaining of machinery by influential power holders out of their turn which made small farmers wait for longer

period of time even missing the sowing or harvesting season. In case of small farmers, it was seen that lots of them were remorseful of their decisions for adopting modern machinery due to the bumpy procedures followed by project officials. '67 percent of farmers withdrew their support which was extended to WMP'¹¹⁰ was acknowledged by project authorities in their internal reporting system.

Case 9

Area manager of *Chorkana scheme* of WMP was transferred to Hafizabad region because of the pressure of Gujar group on higher authorities in Lahore. It was so because the official refused to accept commandments of Gujar group. Upon arriving in Hafizabad, the official was asked to report in head office in Lahore where he was suspended under charges of demanding bribery and using on-purpose delaying tactics of disposing cases of certain water courses. The power group intentionally made hurdles for speedy disposal of cases and through its provincial representative in the Punjab assembly pressurized the project authorities to transfer the official. The official was suspended for months without pay under the mold of local power group.

Case 10

The project segments that included demonstrating model plots and enhancing land leveling practices were never prioritized. Throughout the project area, demonstrations were made at only six places. This was a diversion from the plan of project though farmers were only informed verbally about land leveling but not specific measurements were ever briefed to farmers. Farmer community was of the view that the land leveling had already been among their agricultural practices so nothing new was added in their knowledge and practices. Farmers referred the traditional and indigenous practices of

¹¹⁰ Activity Report based on Social Audit conducted by internal monitoring team of phase 2

tibba making (dune making). This indigenous act was a complete social arrangement against the many issues. The *tibba* was made due to continual eradication of soil from the field bed and dumping it on side walk through. This soil eradication was done with a purpose to level the field bed so that irrigation time could be saved and making the flow of water swifter. During this activity, farmers especially remained conscious about lowering level of field bed than the water course level. Traditionally, it was thought that the lowering of field level as that of water course effectively saves time and flow is made swifter. On the other hand, the dune made through soil usually served various purposes. First, these traditional dunes were a sheltering point during flood times as these were fifty to seventy feet high; second, different tree were grown on the dunes that later on provided shadow for the cattle; third, the dunes that were near village settlement were favorite place of village elders especially during summer where they used to gather and chat. Fourth; trees grown on the dunes were also source of fire material, domestic furniture especially dowry of daughter. The dunes near village settlement were especially taken care of because of huge number of people visiting to enjoy and socialize there. The land leveling concept adopted by WMP was altogether different from social institution of *tibba* that did not merely serve agriculture purpose rather it also performed multiple social functions as discussed earlier.

Farmers usually responded that the project staff did not actually know about their society. It is therefore the social activities in rural areas are mostly deciphered as backward or primitive. WMP only advocated the values of land leveling from agriculture point of view whereas they did not collect sufficient information about them to see whether there existed any similar activity in village before the project. The villagers viewed that their indigenous arrangement was much more compatible as compared to a mere agriculture focused practice in WMP. It is not just that the planners have always something to tell the village communities rather they have to be ready to listen to the village community to learn from them if the purpose of projects is to win social approval

and community participation for the success of planned changes on behalf of the project staff.

4.2.8 Commentary on Progress of Projects in Village

All of the projects were based on rural development by bringing certain changes in traditional practices of farmers but these operated by adopting conventional development orientation that put rural community merely on receiving ends. The cultural knowledge and compatibility with rural life were lacked that later on affected the progress of projects in village. The lack of pre-project social appraisal or social impact assessment greatly hampered the progress. The project staff was not trained to interact with farmers in their localities rather after a preliminary visit in village, community was asked to contact the respective offices of projects for further details and operational plans.

The role of *dhara* politics was overlooked and oversimplified that proved to be amongst the main hurdles due to which the participation of small farmers was strangled. The power groups largely exploited the projects and their offerings into their favor. The projects thus became source of their power display that excluded large components of farmers out of the beneficiary list. Only power groups along with their allies were served on priority basis. The power politics of village also influenced progress of projects because various power groups endeavored to make most of benefits out of the projects' offerings. These groups also sought to debar their village and area opponents in order to attract other non-members to join them to avail projects' packages.

The role of project officials was non-participatory because of minimal contacts with the targeted communities. The project officials mostly developed their friendly ties with power factions to avoid any possible damage to them in form of transfer, job loss or suspension, physical molestation or any other coercive practices undertaken by factions.

The project officials were largely concentrating on achieving the physical targets set by the projects' respective plans. The lack of stress on qualitative results made projects non-responsive to the needs of major part of community. The absence of effective check and balance mechanism and managerial monitoring was also among the vaults to slow down the pace of projects. The projects were based on estimations provided to authorities by other research agencies and department instead of some bench mark surveys to clearly manifest factual position. Deficiency of verified information later on stifled meeting of even physical targets with allocated budgetary allocations. Over staffing remained a financial threat for sustainability throughout project's life cycle especially held true for SSTP and WMP. The influence of local administration, provincial level bureaucracy and politicians dampened successful completion of physical targets as well as meeting the farmers' expectations.

There were numerous cases of farmers who decided to participate in project under the faith that they could bring any possible difference in their lives but they even suffered more in social and economic terms. By leaving their traditional practices, farmers were expecting some miraculous results in their livelihoods but the devastating situation not only ruined the hopes of farmers but also brought them down from their previous socio-economic status. This dismal scenario made many farmers to go back to traditional farming practices and many others who were considering for making a shift decided not to take risks especially after the experience of their fellow farmers.

There were major manipulative strategies which proved to be earmarks of projects. Among these were: threats of coercive means were molestation, job loss or suspension, *chahpani*, *aqrabaparwari*, etc. Overall, these projects did not serve any physical comfort in the lives of intended beneficiaries rather remained a battle field for the exploitative agents who won most of project offering where as leaving behind the opponents and small scale farmers.

Despite many written complaints from farming communities in project field offices and even the headquarters were ignored and put in process of procrastination. The bureaucratic mind of planners preferred to maintain the status quo because of their own interests regarding building political relationships with local politicians and their provincial or national level protagonists. The relationship built with these power holders was reciprocated on mutual vested interest basis. The bureaucracy also needed the support of these politicians for better placements in important national or provincial departments or ministries. This placement later on multiplied influence and institutional power of these ambitious bureaucrats which made them inevitable in government business. This political binding was meant to be strengthened by all legal or illegal means because it entirely favored all stakeholders.

The local power factions specifically the *deraydars* (headmen or elders) were powerful in their local set up due to their political links with national and provincial level politicians, *taluqs* (links) in district administration especially police, their *dera* and *dhara's* numerical strength powered by the supporters from within local community along with their patronage to local criminals brought them in wholly independent position where they made every effort to raise their political status in the area. These faction heads made full use of their links to enhance their advantages from all projects in village. The successful reaping of the projects' offerings was then handed over to rest of *dhara* members who followed the same lines.

4.3 Devolution of Power: A Local Empowerment and Decentralization Pledge

On March 23, 2000, the Federal Government announced a bold Devolution Plan with elected district governments serving as the focal point for local governance and development (Asian Development Bank: 2004). A more detailed devolution proposal was presented in May, 2000 for public comments and debate. Finally, the government on August 14, 2000 approved Local Government Plan 2000 (Government of Pakistan:

2000). The Devolution Plan aimed at decentralizing the government structure and service management, enhancing the efficiency and effectiveness of key public services by bringing their management closer to the people, creating potential for much greater beneficiary participation and monitoring, and better responsiveness to needs and stronger accountability to the public (World Bank: 2004).

The then president of Pakistan (Mr. Musharraf) unveiled his government's 'Local Government Plan' intended to build genuine democratic institutions and empower the people at the grassroots. Chaudhry and Chaudhry (2011) stated that:

Empowerment of the people through the introduction of district governments commonly referred to as devolution of power has undoubtedly been the most significant and sensitive initiative of the present regime. Significant in the sense that it brought about the biggest restructuring of the public sector organizations in Pakistan through a paradigm shift in favor of the directly elected local government institutions. It is sensitive, as this initiative has perhaps triggered more controversies than any other policy of Musharraf government. Indeed, the Local Government plan presents a great opportunity for decentralizing the Government structure and service management by enhancing the efficiency and effectiveness of key public services (Chaudhry & Chaudhry, 2011).

The main objectives were political devolution, administrative decentralization, and the redistribution of resources to local governments. In Musharraf's words:

The basic issue is to empower the impoverished and make the people the master of their own destiny. We want to introduce essence of democracy and not sham democracy, which promotes the privileged. Devolution will bring far-reaching consequences and will change [the] fate of the country.

Chaudhry and Chaudhry (2011) further describe that:

In the devolution plan, following justifications have been given as the basis for the Local Government structure: non-use, misuse, and abuse of political and administrative system which led to institutional crisis resulting in collapse of political and administrative systems; corruption in political and administrative system; political system has been hijacked by political families, as it has not functioned under the political parties; administrative set-up was control-oriented rather than service-oriented. The government this time around has indeed changed Pakistan's decades' old colonial system of running political and administrative affairs based on a colonial ethos of control rather than service by devolving powers at the local level. Pakistan did witness local bodies' elections in the past but each time, unstable national political system amongst other factors led to its collapse. Under the devolution plan, Local Government elections were held in five phases covering all districts of the four Provinces from December 2000 to June 2001.

With its focus on individual rights and freedom, the principle of devolution of power was of an important liberal value as it promised local populations to get hold over what they thought of development. It included local planning, strategizing their developmental priorities and launching it in their desired and preferred manner. The task of 'devolution of power' was assigned to National Reconstruction Bureau (NRB).¹¹¹ The NRB proposed devolution of power to three local tiers, these were, District, Tehsil, and Union Council.

The idea of local government was not new in Pakistan as the historical evidences¹¹² suggest that local government concept has been featuring Indian sub continent since

¹¹¹ NRB collected information, conducted workshops and seminars, and evolved a new structure with some revolutionary changes. The major emphasis of the policy makers and planners was on: devolution of power; reduction of influence of the bureaucrats; improvement of police departments and an end to misuse of power by the police force and functionaries; guarantee of participation of the people in the decision making process; guarantee of civil provisions (services) to the common man.

¹¹² Local Government is not new to Pakistan or South Asian perspective rather it dates back to pre-Mughal times. The ancient rulers basically established this system to control the masses and devise an organized system of revenue collection. The British reached India in 1609 with commercial objectives. The East India Company established the institution of local government in the year 1688, when it setup a municipal committee in Madras. In 1765, the Company virtually gained both the rights of collecting revenues, and running the civil administration. At that time, the company introduced a modern system in urban areas of

Mughal reign. Later, British colonial rule also retained it with bringing major alterations and making it according to the requirements that suited British rule.¹¹³ Since partition, various military setups used this important institution for their vested interests (details have already been discussed in chapter 1 & 2). The innovation of Musharraf reign was in theory a promise ensuring local empowerment of people through decentralization but in practice it also turned out to be vehicle of enhancing military-bureaucracy's rule over masses of Pakistan. It was not different from the previous local governments (Basic Democracies by Ayub Khan and Local Governments in Zia period) that were experienced in Pakistan after partition.

Bengal, Bihar and Orissa since its activities were restricted to these towns. As a part of their administrative policy for both revenue and civil affairs, the British tried to maintain the *Punchayat* system, particularly the villages' assemblies. As the system in various part of the subcontinent was highly diversified, a uniform system of local government institutions could not be introduced. So, the British has to accept different systems of local government in various regions of India. The British followed the Mughals' strategy of not disturbing the existing system too much, especially in rural areas, where they ruled indirectly.

¹¹³ The historical record shows that the most significant phase in the development of local government in India began with Lord Ripon's resolution of 18 May 1882. Ripon realized that the following political and social changes had developed as a result of western education: the emergence of western educated class familiar with democratic norms; the emergence of demand for democratic institutions to grant basic rights to Indians; the emergence of political parties and socio-cultural organizations; the emergence of a class in cities eager to participate in political institutions. In response to Lord Ripon's resolution, the Punjab District Board Act was passed in October, 1883 in 1904, Lord Curzon, a staunch believer in centralization, set aside all the local institutions in the name of administrative efficiency. On 20 August 1917, a policy decision was made by the British government to ensure the participation of Indians in all branches of Administration. The government of India took certain crucial and significant decisions for the development of local self-government. In this respect, the following suggestions were made:

- a) People should be trained to manage their local affairs through local government.
- b) Substantial elected majorities should prevail in both municipal and rural boards.
- c) Chairman of local bodies should be elected, although non-officials can be appointed where necessary.
- d) Franchise rule should be liberalized.
- e) Nominations should be retained only to ensure representation of minorities and
- f) *Punchayat* should not be integrated with District Boards; instead, a corporate village life should develop in the length and breadth of the entire country.

Under the Montagu Chelmsford Reforms of 1919, the local government was transferred to the Provinces through an Act passed in 1920 with the hope of speedy local development through the involvement of the local population. With the advent of provincial autonomy under the Government of India Act of 1935, popular ministers succeeded in the provinces and brought an increased measure of self government.

Local Government plan focused on five fundamental objectives. It included devolution of political power; decentralization of authority; de-concentration of management functions; diffusion of the power-authority nexus; and distribution of resources. Essentially, the new system is aimed at creating an enabling environment in which not only the people participate in the community welfare but also own their decisions and become the masters of their own destiny. This system as a matter of fact, functions within the provincial framework and without any interference from the centre.

The two main features of local government ordinance were treated as the hallmarks of devolution of power stated by National Reconstruction Bureau. Among these were the empowerment of people and decentralization of authority to the local tiers. Before launch of this mega developmental shift, to bring more transparency, all previous political parties were banned to nominate their candidates (the same move was done by Zia in 1985 national and provincial level elections). The aim of empowerment of people was planned to be actualized through a head of district, tehsil and union councils through an elected public representative to whom all public offices at district level were made accountable. The head of district government was formally declared as a head of all public offices. This shift embraced heavy criticism on behalf of technocrats and even bureaucracy (which was evident due to the fear of loss of power and authority).

The head of District, tehsil or union council was termed as *Nazim* and the deputy was termed as *naib Nazim*. The vision of decentralization was devolved to district *Nazim* under his jurisdiction. Twelve departments called group of offices by LGO 2001, devolved to the district government are as follows:

1. District coordination: Coordination, human resource management and civil defense;
2. Agriculture: Extension, livestock, farm/water management, soil conservation, soil fertility and forests;

3. Community Development: Community organization, labor, social welfare, sports, culture, cooperative and registration;
4. Education: Primary and secondary schools, colleges, technical education and special education;
5. Finance and planning: Finance and budget, planning and development, accounts, enterprise and investment promotion;
6. Health: Public health, basic and rural health, child and women health, population welfare, district and tehsil hospitals;
7. Information technology: Development, promotion and database;
8. Law: Legal advice and drafting;
9. Literacy: Literacy campaigns, continuing education and vocational education;
10. Executive magistracy;
11. Revenue: Land revenue and estate and excise and taxation; and
12. Work and services: Spatial planning and development, districts roads, and building, energy and transport.

4.4 Devolution in Sacha Soda and Main Hurdles

In my personal view, national level picture is often reflected at the local level. If corruption and injustice prevails at higher level same is diffused to the local level automatically.

4.4.1 Caste Based Politics

The local government elections¹¹⁴ really mobilized the public especially the politicians in order to bring forth the candidates of their own choice (mostly their sons and

¹¹⁴ The elections in 2005 were eye witnessed by me in three different places; firstly, Lahore (as invited by an NGO who was monitoring the electoral process), Secondly, Sheikhpura district level and thirdly, village Sacha Soda. In fact the city represents typical Punjabi culture that surrounds by the caste and determined by the local power holders in line with the national level politicians.

nephews) who were supposed to strengthen the influence of these already powerful politicians. The prevailing myth among the power holders was:

It is foolish to vacate any position for your opponents. If you want to survive then fix your opponents so that they may not be able to raise their heads even in hundred years.

Although this view might be understood as a proverbial while reading but when it was actually operationalized in the village life, it brought horrible results and consequences for the village life. As mentioned in lines, above that the village local power holders were very much concerned about supporting their candidates to come in the scenes as the elected candidates later on add strength and indispensability in the village life. According to the view of the general public, the local level elections are always very violent and bloody. It is because the public overtly support and oppose their candidates. This support and opposition is very much evident in their daily life. In village, one has to clearly distinguish the *dhara* with which one affiliates, otherwise, the issues of a person's group affiliation remains in question. Local level elections were also bone of contention because one could see divisions even in the *biraderi* and extended families. The local level power holders very artistically used the mutual misunderstanding of village community for their purposes. It was essential for the villagers that with whatever *dera* they were affiliated, they had to accept its supported candidate in oncoming elections.

The major force that decided supported candidate was the person from one's own caste or the caste with which there were relations based on reciprocity basis. It was observed that during national and provincial elections, the two most powerful groups of village (Ranas and Gujars) worked for success of their respective candidates. For instance Ranas canvassed for candidate who was from Rajput origin and manipulated elections in strengthening the position of their candidate in village. Similarly, Gujars worked for the candidate from their caste and also managed to get the desired results. The exercise of

both groups was successful as they got their candidates won from village. The strategy opted by candidates contesting election for National Assembly or Provincial Assembly was also to a greater extent taking benefits from existing sense of affiliations among villagers and thus molding into their favor. Many villagers also knew that it was always difficult to meet their candidates after winning elections for their problems but it was again a psychological satisfaction that lied with villagers as somebody from their own caste was occupying seat. The same caste bond was very much functional during 2005 local elections as Dogars worked for their candidate throughout district to get their candidates elected. The case was different in local elections as electoral votes for positions of district *Nazim* and *Naib Nazim* were casted by elected members of local bodies but it was taken as a matter of prestige as one's own candidate was elected. Therefore, Dogars worked for promotion of their candidate as district *Naib Nazim*. The Ranas were very active during elections for the seat of district *Nazim* as Mr. Rana Waheed (younger brother of Rana Group's head) was successful in winning elections of UC. As a token of District Nazim's support, Rana group reciprocated and voted for him. The Rana group manipulated the local elections as they managed their candidate to get elected as *Nazim* and their supported candidate on the seat of *Naib Nazim* in the Union Council of Sacha Soda.

Similarly, Virak group was also active in local level elections as they worked for the Tehsil level and remained successful in electing both their supported candidates on the premier seats of Tehsil from their own caste. The sitting *Nazim* for Tehsil Sheikhpura and the *Naib Nazim* were from same caste group as that of Viraks. In fact, it was important to note that the situation in village was not only replicated at union, Tehsil, and district councils but also at National and Provincial assemblies. The villagers compared a case within the village and outside the village in a very interesting way by stating that '*Kam Howey na Howey, Member Saada Ay*'¹¹⁵. It was imperative for the

¹¹⁵ We are not concerned with the developmental work, we are happy that person from our caste is occupying the seat.

villagers that somebody whom they knew personally was representing them and may be approached for help in time of need especially during any inter caste conflict within the village.

The villagers reported that no considerable developmental work was carried out at the Union Council level. The villagers had accepted that nobody after election fulfills the promises often made during the elections under many excuses. The community viewed that it was always the influential land owners who demanded support from the lay men in the village as recognition of their services during the daily life. The question that why the villagers usually casted their votes after their *deraydars* was simply because villagers easily approached them during their problems and thus used their influence in fixing their issues. The *deraydars* on the other hand, acted as middlemen between the contesting candidate during elections and voter community to cash their vested interests.

In the lines to follow, I have worked out few important case studies that highlight the main hurdles that were hindering smooth pace of newly evolved concept of district government. While describing the case studies, it may seem beyond the scope of local bodies and its issues in the village but for sure having an indirect effect on working of this new system to benefit lay men residing in the village.

4.4.2 Disharmonized Pace of District Assemblies

The seats for the women representation in the new system were thirty three percent of the total seats. The purpose of doing the same was to empower women at local level by participating in the local decision making process. It is observed that the women representatives usually remain absent from the sessions as their role was only to help winning the women seats. These female candidates usually refrained from attending the session, unless, there was something very important and crucial going on in the session

like no confidence or budgetary session. Another hurdle observed in the district assembly session, that it introduced various committees¹¹⁶ whose functions were to make sure the smooth sailing of different chapters under the district assembly's jurisdiction. The idea of all proposed committees was to make sure that the business of the district government was progressing in progressive way and direction. The situation on ground was desperate as majority of the committees after being formulated have not met once whereas the Zila Monitoring committees (ZMCs) were not finalized. If one looks at the functions of ZMCs, clear understanding is received that the functions are very much important and they play as back bone in the new devolution setup. The vested interests of groups occupying seats in district assembly clashed with various committees and its functions due to constitution of those committees were delayed. The interest groups attempted to make sure that required quorum for the business of committee remains incomplete so that no work progress could be made. I tried my utmost to see the names of 'Farm Produce Market Committee' but I was told that it was confidential. I also talked to the personnel from local government department who were also emphasizing that developmental work was not done according to the requirements as laid down in the law but in such pressure scenario one had to keep silent to save the bread and butter of his kids and family.

¹¹⁶ These committees included:

- a) Elect committees of the Zila Council for monitoring the performance of the District Government;
- b) Ensure the Monitoring Committees of the Zila Council perform their functions in a non-intrusive manner without interfering in the day to day working of the relevant offices of the District Government and do not assume a command and control role;
- c) Review the Monitoring Committees' quarterly reports on the performance of the District Government;
- d) Elect an Ethics Committee (Code of Conduct Committee) which shall be responsible for enforcing the code of ethics for regulating the conduct of the members of the *Zila* Council;
- e) Elect an *Insaaf* Committee which shall facilitate access of the people to the Member Inspection Team of the High Court for redressing their grievances;
- f) Elect a Sports and Culture Committee which shall promote sports and cultural events in the district and youth participation in healthy pursuits;
- g) Elect the members of the *Zila* Council for representation in the District Public Safety Commission;
- h) Elect a *Zila* Accounts Committee;
- i) Constitute Farm Produce Market Committee under the relevant law;

4.4.3 Citizen Community Boards (CCBs)

The new Local Government System also provided for setting up of Citizen Community Boards¹¹⁷ (CCBs) in every local area to boost participatory development. The purpose was energizing the community for development and improvement in service delivery through voluntary, proactive and self help initiatives and to take up the welfare of the handicapped, destitute, widows and families in extreme poverty. CCBs were conceived to be vehicles of promoting participatory development among the public in the local areas through groups of non elected citizens may, through voluntary, proactive and self help initiatives under the new system. On the basis of empirical information¹¹⁸, it can be said with confidence that this was the most affected area where the whole devolution concept was made dysfunctional.

In reality, the process of registering CCBs was too long and technical as any other government business. There were only five percent examples where the CCBs were given developmental funds regarding their submitted projects. The CCBs were not in the priorities of the any district government that I visited during my stay in district and Tehsil administration. Another gloomy facet of the picture is evident from the case below:

Mr. Bhatti belonged to the Rana group established a CCB showing the required members for the registration and submitted a developmental project to department of Works and Services. The project was to construct a road that promised to be the pain

¹¹⁷ A CCB may raise funds through voluntary contributions, gifts, donations, grants and endowments for its declared purposes without compromising the larger interest of the community. It may also receive project-based cost sharing support from any local government. A CCB will be a non-profit organization and its income and assets are allowed to be used solely for the attainment of its objectives and no portion of the income is to be paid by way of dividend, profit or bonus to any of its members or contributors. The accounts of the Board will be subjected to audit. In case of dissolution or de-registration of a CCB, its assets will pass on to the local government which contributed towards creation of these assets or funds and it will continue to be used for community welfare.

¹¹⁸ During meetings with officials of Federal Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development (MoLG&RD), National Commission for Human Development (NCHD), Devolution Trust for Community Empowerment, Akhtar Hamid Khan Center for Rural Development and Municipal Administration (AHKCRD&MD), and through the practices of the official facilitating the process of registering the CCBs.

reliever of the villagers. Mr. Lal approached Mr. Rana who helped him forward his application and budget proposal form. Mr. Lal was the voter and an ally of Rana group did not know about developing project proposal. Mr. Rana assured him to resolve all problems. He asked Mr. Lal to accompany in the morning to Sheikhpura where they met the Executive District Officer (EDO) of works and services department for help. Being a supporter of ruler party, the EDO cooperated with Rana group. Once the project was approved and implemented, it was discovered that the road only benefited Mr. Lal's family. Mr. Lal simply fabricated the project by mentioning names of his extended family as the founder members under the guise of alleged CCB.

4.4.4 Bottom Up Planning and Ownership Incentive System

According to the new System, the development expenditure from Local Fund should not be less than twenty five percent¹¹⁹ of the Funds. The development budget according to this system was to be prioritized in accordance with the bottom-up planning system and not less than twenty five percent of the total development budget be reserved for the schemes initiated and identified by the Citizen Community Boards. Under the new System, CCBs¹²⁰ may receive from a local government matching grants up to eighty percent of the budgeted amount of an approved development scheme by depositing its share of the cost of the Scheme.

¹¹⁹ Note: (* The words 'Fifty Percent' substituted through amendment in LGO, 2001 by the respective provincial governments.)

¹²⁰ There were many examples where the provisos of the prescribed law were severely damaged. For example, the district assemblies of districts of Attock and Gujrat which are famous for the most powerful figures of PML (Q) residing there did not allocate anything for the CCBs. Soon after the elections in the 2005, I happen to attend a series of training workshops organized by NCHD under their capacity development program that works in close coordination with city and district governments. During the lecture there was an interesting question raised by one of the staff of NCHD about the discrepancies that lie in the budgets of districts of Attock and Gujrat. The Resource person from DCTE said that '*he is sure that when both of the districts ensure to implement the LGO 2001 in letter and spirit that would be the day when one can say the LGO 2001 is fully implemented in Pakistan*'.

The process specified for the CCBs for making developmental projects and thus participating considerably in the development of their area was made so difficult and lengthy that the people usually lost their commitment level in pursuing the funds for the concerned departments. The lack of proper training about administering the registration, proposal process really made the idea beyond one's access. In some places, though NCHD was reported to imparting the training to the CCBs' officials as per their statement but I saw that all promises of NCHD as mere statements for the sake of creating their nuisance value among the government and its donors with no concrete difference made on ground. I happened to attend the training workshop of the trainers known as the District Program Coordinator (DPC) and District Program Manager (DPM) to conduct the training in their respective districts. The whole training component for the DPCs and DPMs were not comprehensive and was so lengthy that the staff itself started criticizing that under these conditions, how can the villagers who do not know the technicalities may empower themselves to meet the requirements to apply for the funds.

The promise of bottom-up planning and ownership incentive was proved to be just a statement of words. The few genuine CCBs in village Sacha Soda were also curious in knowing how to complete the requirements for the developmental projects. The CCBs were keen to submit their portion in the proposed project budget that is twenty percent of the total amount requested from the government. The new district governments proclaim that through CCBs, a community can submit their respective development project at any time but in reality the projects submission date is the month of March of each financial year. The projects submitted earlier were delayed until month of March.

Youth Welfare Organization, Sacha Soda was one of the CCBs that submitted a project proposal. This organization basically comprised retired people from education and health departments along with young people as field force. The respective CCB was aiming to start a medical dispensary in the village. The project was submitted to Sacha

Soda Union Council which was refused on basis of shortage of funds. After getting refusal from UC's office, same was submitted to Tehsil Council where project was again rejected under the justification that once a project submitted and getting refused at any level may not be resubmitted for funding at another level. This treatment also violated the provisions provided under the law that clearly stated '*Funds for CCBs are available with each Local Government at District, Tehsil/Town and Union level. CCBs are free to approach all sources of funding.*'

4.4.5 Endangered Theme of Participatory Development

The approach¹²¹ of Participatory development though an attractive promise made by the devolution plan believes in four building blocks, those are: organization; resource mobilization; linkages and networking; and capacity building as emphasized by one official from Devolution Trust for Community Empowerment (DTCE). In real, the basic core of participatory development seriously lacked in Sacha Soda as no spade work what so ever was done in the village to organize scattered community to start development process to improve the living conditions of village people. Officials were neither visiting village nor it was reported by villagers about any official visiting the village or contacting villagers. Not to speak of lay men residing in village, even the UC's newly elected staff was unable to organize the community to commence basic and most needed development work in village that included the pavement of streets, arrangements of light polls in the streets (that also served as a gift to the cattle thieves), getting the sanction of a girls high school, making the basic health unit operational, to provide a

¹²¹ The methodology suggested by DTCE was the basic realization of the need to organize scattered community to raise among them a need for collective work for the general welfare and betterment of facilities in any community. There was an understanding during the applications of '*Bottom-Up developmental approach*' that organized groups can better identify the developmental needs of any specific community. It was believed that the village communities were already organized therefore only lip services was dedicated to this important factor.

new link road for villagers in order to have a swift communication between the farm and market, etc.

4.4.6 Union Council to Control villagers and opponents

While having conversations with the staff of UC, none of them was found to be having a basic understanding of the devolution plan and its spirit. For majority of staff, elections were a kind of continuation of the old BD system introduced by Ayub Khan. The villagers' view was not even different as those of staff of UC. The most interesting thing that came into notice was the influential groups forming their own election panels¹²² in which candidates were nominated from all considerable allies of a specific group so that representation of each considerable group within one *Dhara* is ensured.

The picture on ground was portrayed that only *Nazim* and *Naib Nazim* were influential in matters related to UC and rests of members were only supposed to nod their heads in agreement. While handling with the official procedures, *Nazim* and *Naib Nazim* often remained absent from the village because of their essential presence in the District and Tehsil assembly sessions. The decisions of the council were held mostly at the *Dera* of Ranas because of Mr. Rana being the *Nazim*. The code of conduct required the sessions and meetings to be recorded for the sake of record maintenance which was not maintained under the belief that somebody in the evening would prepare the minutes of the meetings. The UC did not encourage the establishment of CCBs in the village because of the fear of other influential groups coming in the picture and thus establishing their role in the pursuits of the council. Besides, the UC was supposed to

¹²² It was done so because of the following requirements laid down in the election procedures. There shall be a Union Council (UC) in each Union comprising thirteen following members elected directly:

- i. Six Muslim members, elected to general seats, including two reserved for women;
- ii. Four members, elected to seats reserved for peasants and workers, including two reserved for women;
- iii. One member elected to a seat reserved for minority communities; and
- iv. Union Nazim and Naib Union Nazim elected as joint candidates:

establish the monitoring committees to look into the matter of UC which was deliberately delayed because of having the confident and reliable members of these bodies with the elected staff in order to reduce the very much possible opposition and resistance from the general public. Sacha Soda's Union Council was supposed to elect an *Insaaf* (justice) Committee responsible for the selection of the panel of Conciliators of *Musalihat Anjuman* (mediation committee) for out of court amicable settlement of disputes. These important bodies were formulated in order to suppress the voices that could have risen against interests of Ranas in the village.

The night when the results for UC were being announced, there was a sense of dissatisfaction among most of the voters because of controversial results. Majority of the voters started whispering that results were rigged because on polling day, there were bandits of Rana group rooming in the village with threatening and warning messages for villagers. On the same day during polling, there was a dispute due to which polling was stopped for an hour as the presiding officer asked all polling agents of contesting panels to vacate polling station because of the pressure being built on the election staff by the polling agents.

4.4.7 Fabrication of Union Council's Administrative Powers and Functions

All UCs under the devolution plan were required to make sure that the following functions¹²³ were being done in time and its required spirit:

¹²³ To collect and maintain statistical information for socio-economic surveys;

- i. To consolidate village and neighborhood development needs and prioritize them into union-wide development proposals with the approval of the Union Council (UC) and make recommendations thereof to the District Government or Tehsil Municipal Administration, as the case may be;
- ii. To identify deficiencies in the delivery of services and make recommendations for improvement thereof to the Tehsil Municipal Administration;
- iii. To register births, deaths and marriages and issue certificates;

The picture in real was desperate, because till august 2006 majority of the official work was still to be done. Only birth incidences were recorded as it was previously happened in same office. The current and previous office failed to maintain the record and conduct activities under its powers. While having a look on the proposed functions of a UC, it could be easily inferred that proposed functions of UC were not acted upon. In fact, the voters in particular and villagers in general were ignorant of functions and powers of UC because nobody told them about it. Although complete details of the voters were present in office, but it was also available with all influential groups at their *Deras* where after election, the voters were asked to take vows of casting votes for their

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- iv. To make proposals to the Union Council (UC) for levy of rates and fees specified in the Second Schedule of Local Government Ordinance, 2001 and to collect such rates and fees within the Union;
 - v. To establish and maintain libraries;
 - vi. To organize inter-Village or Neighborhood sports tournaments, fairs, shows and other cultural and recreational activities;
 - vii. To disseminate information on matters of public interest;
 - viii. To improve and maintain public open spaces, public gardens and playgrounds;
 - ix. To provide and maintain public sources of drinking water, including wells, water pumps, tanks, ponds and other works for the supply of water;
 - x. To maintain the lighting of streets, public ways and public places through mutual agreement with the Tehsil Municipal Administration;
 - xi. To arrange facilities for the handicapped, destitute and poor;
 - xii. To provide protection against stray animals and animal trespass, and to establish cattle pounds;
 - xiii. To regulate grazing areas;
 - xiv. To assist the relevant authorities in disasters and natural calamities, and assist in relief activities, including de-silting of canals;
 - xv. To co-operate with the public, private or voluntary organizations, engaged in activities similar to those of the Union;
 - xvi. To execute the projects of the approved Union Annual Development Plan by contracting out to the private sector in the manner as may be prescribed and to obtain support of the Tehsil Municipal Administration or District Government for such execution; and
 - xvii. To assist the Village Councils or, as the case may be, Neighborhood Councils in the Union to execute development projects.
 - xviii. To assist the relevant authorities in disasters and natural calamities, and assist in relief activities, including de-silting of canals;
 - xix. To co-operate with the public, private or voluntary organizations, engaged in activities similar to those of the Union;
 - xx. To execute the projects of the approved Union Annual Development Plan by contracting out to the private sector in the manner as may be prescribed and to obtain support of the Tehsil Municipal Administration or District Government for such execution; and
 - xxi. To assist the Village Councils or, as the case may be, Neighborhood Councils in the Union to execute development projects.

groups. In extreme cases, the vows were not believed by the respective groups as the results of the election presented a different story.

The secretary of UC was supposed to carry out all major activities with the advice of *Nazim* but he was of the view that when *Nazim* would ask to do things only then he could do something. The important work tasks were incomplete which included the genuine desire of the youth to develop a public library where they can sit and consult each other for their studies. Not to speak of establishing a library, space for the same was not even allocated. UC was also supposed to cooperate with the voluntary organization which was taken as only a pastime that if the members were available only then they gave time to the staff of these concerning organizations. For instance, Sacha Soda village was famous for cricket clubs because of the high fervor of youth in the game. UC was continually requested to allocate some money to develop the play ground of village but each time it was announced that there was shortage of funds which caused problems in developmental work.

People were of the view that excuse may be true with somebody somewhere else but with sitting *Nazim* and *Naib Nazim* it was not true as *Nazim* belonged to Rana group which was the most influential group in village. In addition, he was in the good books of city administration especially *Nazim* as well as had good terms with sitting MNA who was from his own caste. It was in view of villagers that *Nazim* was making them understand that Rana group was indispensable in village. They added further that voters especially those who did not vote him would remain same throughout the turn. According to head of Gujar group, this situation would not lead to good sign because of fact that whosoever would win next elections would only be benefiting his group not the whole of village. He said that tradition set by Ranas would ruin integrity of the village.

4.4.8 Business Conduct of the Union Council

First session of UC after its election and on commencement of first session of every year the Union *Nazim* was supposed to address the UC and inform Council about his plans and programs for New Year and performance of the Union Administration during the preceding year. In addition, UC was supposed to regulate its business in accordance with the by-laws made by it. The UC was required to meet at least once in every month. All decisions of the UC were meant to be taken by resolutions passed by a simple majority of its total membership. All meetings of UC were to be presided over by Union *Nazim* and, in his absence, by the *Naib Union Nazim* or, in absence of both Union *Nazim* and *Naib Union Nazim* or where a motion for recall of Union *Nazim* or *Naib Union Nazim* has been moved, by a member elected by the UC from amongst its members present in the meeting. The quorum of the meetings of UC was mandatory to be fifty-one percent of its total membership. The meetings of UC shall be open to public, unless UC, by a resolution, decides to hold any meeting in camera. The minutes of the meetings of UC shall be recorded and maintained by an official authorized by UC.

The instructions for code of business of UC were feasible and democratic in nature. But these were made impossible because the political life of not only Sacha Soda but also other villages in neighborhood were also erected along the same lines. The meetings of UC were supposed to be open to the residents of village but mostly informal sessions were conducted at Ranas' *Dera* which was not a place where anybody could dare to come except *Dera* members. The session usually lacked attendance of women members which was compensated by taking the signatures on plain paper sheet next morning under the belief that they were from same panel, and also there was no point in disturbing the females in the evenings especially when they were supposed to be busy in household chores.

4.4.9 Manipulation of Devolution Plan by the Influential

The startling thing in devolution plan was that it increased the influence of power holders to a large extent. On other hand, the federal government introduced minimum educational qualifications (i.e. graduation) for the candidates who were contesting national assembly elections. The conviction for doing same was that these old politicians are corrupt and looted assets of country therefore there should be a yardstick which could help in debarring them to join the new assembly. The candidates who were disqualified in the new criteria made their minds to indulge in the newly evolved district government system in which power and authority was more than that of MNAs or MPAs while preparing their sons and nephews ready for new 'graduate assembly'. These two reasons enabled the elders of families going after district or tehsil elections and their youngsters for national or provincial assemblies.

Before I talk about Sacha Soda, an example is worthy of quote from Kharian tehsil as represented by the opponents group as one sitting and occupying the district assembly and the other in tehsil. The case¹²⁴ presents a gloomy picture of no work done in Tehsil because of the opponents. Even one road was witnessed by me that was classical picture of conflict between opponents' parties. The said road was under jurisdiction of Tehsil Kharian of Gujrat district. There was an issue of a road construction under consideration of Tehsil administration who expressed their helplessness as having no

¹²⁴ The road mentioned was important from defense point of view that linked the road from Sargodha to Azad Jammu and Kashmir. Not being the main road from Sargodha to Sarai Alamghir (Gujrat district), this road was mainly used in the war times when most of the heavy war equipment was deemed to move to the close border areas. The road also provided a link to the surrounding villages to Lala Musa city of Gujrat district. Due to bad and demolished patch of more than ten kilometers, the road became a best looting spot for criminal groups that occupied road from 6pm in the evening till 7am in the morning. Similarly in case of medical emergencies, so many precious human lives were lost due to this bone of contention. The last end of road which was in the Gujrat Tehsil was constructed while leaving that portion of the road which came under jurisdiction of Tehsil Kharian.

developmental budgets. The district *Nazim* wanted voters of Tehsil learn a lesson from it and to refrain from voting their opponents party in next elections. In this mess, rural masses were facing lot of problems.

In village Sacha Soda, where conflict was deeply rooted in the cultural life of people is also wide with a number of similarly examples as cited above. As link road from Sacha Soda to Phularwaan (a town at a distance of 15 kilometers) was also a bone of contention between power groups of the village. The road was not maintained after it was once constructed. Regarding the local transport, people and general public were really concerned about the road as it became notorious for looting even in day times. Due to badly damaged road, it was impossible for public vehicles and other local transport to move swiftly due to which it was so easy for local bandits and other wanted criminals to loot and plunder there. The evidences led to loss of many lives, raping passenger women, kidnapping young girls who traveled from there, etc. Though road was just a link road that linked Farooqabad city to Sangla Hills (another town at a distance of 28 Kilometers). The presence of main Sargodha Lahore road and railway track from Faisalabad to Sheikhpura really made the road comparatively unimportant as town of Sangla Hills was accessible by train and said road became a mere link road connecting villages to the agricultural market of Farooqabad city. The transport load was also lessened therefore the road was even desolated and deserted in day times. There was only one Police check post in Sacha Soda village where the patrolling police was supposed to search criminals and other matters. From the check post up to Sangla Hills, there was no single check post or Police station therefore the area served as a paradise of bandits where there was no concept of law, only the local *Deraydars* along with their bandits ruled the area and made decisions that suited them and their groups.

4.4.10 Union Monitoring Committees (UMC)

Devolution plan devised the establishment of the monitoring committees to look into the functions of the government at all tiers. For a long period of time the UMCs were not enacted as per the fears of the council about the role of the monitoring committees. There was a strong sense of feeling among the people of the village that the monitoring committees were to stop doing anything illegal in the village. It took them so long to understand that the functions of UMCs were only to look into matters of UC with a consultative role to play while based on three principles of Mutual respect and patience, participation and mutual cooperation. The positive role of UMCs in the law was to ensure accountability. The provincial district offices were often threatened about bad consequences in order of disobedience of any order. The Executive District Officer (EDO) of works and services department was mostly threatened because his office was supposed to look into the roads and related matters. EDO education was also threatened to transfer teachers in the school of Sacha Soda by the *Dera* allies of Rana group.

The powerful *Nazims* from all three tiers were successful in horrifying the provincial government officials in doing and taking up things in accordance with their directives. One of the EDOs in Sheikhpura was harassed by stating that your provincial government will take two days to reach the district and ask about case whereas in district you will be a past story in just two hours. This statement seemed to me as more than true as I during the last eleven years' contact with the village and power groups have witnessed. Mostly, I found people especially the government officials to avoid developing controversies with district, Tehsil or the union councils because of the factor that they were working in government set up that introduced the devolution plan. It

was often recommended by government officials to accept demands of the newly evolved devolution system to save one's own skin.

Summary

Development is enhancing people's options to have better control over their lives to progress ahead without posing a threat to natural resources. This is especially to ensure that natural resources continue to provide upcoming generations means of sustainable survival. Development is not what was once termed by mere standards of economic growth. It is put people first by making them recipients of progress. It is to enhance efficiency of human society for insured progress. It is only possible with the effective participation of communities in their own decision making. Sustainable development has to employ local resources so that outside dependence is avoided. The communities and people have a better understanding of their problems and solutions. They have an understanding of resources to be utilized for proper trouble shooting without endangering social fabrics or natural cycles. People at grass root level can best utilize their natural and human resource to plan, implement, and thus eradicate their problems. With minimal support from government and development agencies along with their actors they can bring long term remedies for their livelihood issues. Critics have also questioned the meaning of development implied in modernization theory (Frank, 1967; Todaro, 1985; Neubeck & Glasberg, 1996:284).

In past, development process was only concerned with the growth related indicators without a mention of how much damage and exploitative harvest of natural resources was done. International scholastic view on development and its ultimate meanings particularly its strict economic interpretation has been questioned:

During the 1950s and 1960s many third world countries achieved growth targets identified by United Nations, suggesting that they were indeed

evolving. Yet the standard of living for most people in these nations did not improve (Seers, 1969; Neubeck & Glasberg, 1996:284)

Similarly, Neubeck and Glasberg add:

This contradiction between the growth of wealth production and the stagnation of poverty called into question the conventional meaning of development. It showed that development existed for some people but not others in these nations. Moreover, such inequality could be found in the 'developed' nations of the West as well. How, then, do we measure development? (Neubeck & Glasberg, 1996:284)

According to Alkire and Deneulin, the perception of development is a matter of multidimensional conceptions which needs attention for more clarity and vividness.

The word 'development' has as many meanings as there are listeners. For some, development means more material prosperity: owning money, land and a house. For others, development concerns liberation from oppression. Some see development as a new word for neo-colonialism, and despise it. For still others, development is a holistic project of personal social and spiritual progress. In many contexts we speak of the 'development' of a child or the 'development' of new software as if development completes something as yet unfinished. But this too is simplistic, for in certain ways 'developing' countries are more mature than 'developed'. So the term is ambiguous and value laden. This textbook aims to present a people-centered meaning of development which is relevant to all countries, and to show its implications for development practice in many areas (Alkire & Deneulin, 2009).

Still many development experts visualize the term according to their vision as it is accepted in statement listed below:

Regardless of any particular normative framework, many would view 'development' as a multi-dimensional and multi-sectoral process, involving social, economic and political change aimed at improving people's lives (Cowen & Shenton, 1996; Preston, 1996; Rist, 1997).

As regards the village, the government departments viewed 'development' that meant number of tractors, threshing machines, harvesters, installation of tubewells, increase in yield per acre, bags of synthetic fertilizers used, amount of pesticides sprayed per acre, and total sum of profit earned out of produce sale, etc. During this process, care for the damage of rural ecology, air pollution due to fumigations, underground water contamination, conservation of natural resources including forest regions, soil compaction, land erosion, soil erosion, etc were only given a lip service. The agriculture extension staff interpreted refusals from farming communities to adopt modern technology in terms of the conservatism, fatalistic attitudes, and laggard behavior. The farmers who could not use these modern techniques were graded as anti-development and reported to be lacking interest in national development. The reasons expressed for non-adoption were elaborated to be illiteracy, resistant personalities, and unwillingness to change. Farmers of such background were thought to be a burden over regional and national economies.

On the other hand, the social damages of development process were also ignored or termed as only for time being. It was thought that when the economic prosperity would enter the society, it would further help in creating awareness about such issues. All this turned out to be a far dream because social and cultural factors given meager important and these resulted in putting all the development efforts in a halt. Side by side, the indigenous notions were only labeled as backwardness and primitive as if consulting cultural mind would result in complete disaster. It though happened to be a disaster but not by a use of it rather because of its ignorance. Development models, experts, agencies, and respective governments do not care for cultural norms because no such planning phase emphasized its utility or criticalness. Thus people were not made a part of development rather they were told to be sitting and watching for the results promised by development activity. This thing without making people participate in this whole exercise made people lose their confidence over their livelihoods therefore they started demanding more from the development agencies. This process was manipulated

by the people who were influential, powerful, politically active and wealthy made benefits for them and their allies. The segments of society that lacked resources especially financial or having insufficient resources to adopt mechanization were never made a part of this development initiative. This thing created a sense of hatred among the people and even multiplied the incidences of conflict and violence within rural areas. Because people in rural areas have a strong faith that development practice must not be uneven if it has to be accepted by all strata of society. When such doubts arise in people's mind, then there starts an unending story of failures in development process, bumpy success stories from communities and usually one group becomes actively reaping the offerings made by development agencies.

It is also observed that development agencies are unaware of the historical factors that often engage experts and local community into a blame game with former complaining non-cooperation from certain groups of society and the later doubting their opponents to be direct beneficiaries. Rural societies that are already fragmented into various groups based upon different castes, economic classes, power faction have to be dealt accordingly. Most of the anthropologists like Doorman (1991) have already pointed out such weaknesses in the planning phase of agriculture related project launched by agencies or governments. The lack of employing 'anthropological approach' ensue lack of participation, mistrust, rise of conflict within local communities. The designated 'anthropological approach' effectively targets these sorts of issues well before time any project is launched in a community.

A collaborative approach adopted by development experts and agencies could simply raise the probabilities of winning cooperation, earning community's trust, enhancing social participation and creating a sense of ownership among the recipients of such activities. It simply means winning people is development. People want to get hold of their lots at all costs. They always doubt those who attempt to transgress their vicinities without their prior permission or intruding over the shoulders of some non-

representative coercive elements in the locality. Development launched through such ways is always rootless and issueless in succeeding stages that merely benefits few while disregarding the rest of society.

The new devolution plan was aimed to bring the devolution of power from concentrated sources to local level and sources. The second aim of the plan was to bring decentralization in especially four fields; those were Administrative, Fiscal, Authority, and Political power. Based on the field information and thorough interaction with key informants among the villagers, policy makers and devolution launching agencies I am of the view that this important and democratic in nature idea was not dealt professionally. The International Crisis Group¹²⁵ (ICG), in a report released in March this year, strongly criticized Islamabad's efforts at political devolution. The report said that:

The devolution plan had served to strengthen the military rule of President Musharraf when compared to Ayub Khan's Basic Democracy Scheme in 1960s and Zia-ul-Haq's Local Bodies scheme in 1980s. Government policies had undermined established political parties and drained authority from the provinces, while doing little to devolve power, improve service delivery, reduce corruption or establish accountability at the local level, said the ICG review (ICG 2004).

The report further comments:

Devolution is not working in its true sense, centralization is there, and it needs to devolve power so that people could get benefit at the grassroots level. The officials of federal ministry of Local Government and Rural Development are critical of various points of political, institutional and administrative devolution besides fiscal decentralization for local governments. The decentralization and devolution of power to local bodies have been issues of contention in Pakistan since they were introduced in 1999 under the Musharraf's radical reform agenda to promote good governance in the country. Critics of devolution plans,

¹²⁵ ICG, (2004), Devolution in Pakistan: Reform or Regression, ICG Asia Report N°77, Islamabad, Brussels, 22nd March 2004

however, have expressed concerns, saying decentralization had not empowered people; rather it had helped to legitimize the power of unelected military governments. The devolution program, as a whole is good. But, it is not going to deliver unless local bodies have the decision making power to use funds and undertake development schemes (ibid).

I happened to attend the views of speakers at a Round-Table. The round-table came up with the following observations¹²⁶:

It was held that provincial government would become weaker since much of its power would be given to district governments. Devolution of power means transfer of powers from Center to provinces and further to lower tiers, but depriving the provinces of whatever they have runs against the existing federal system. Or, is it that we are moving towards a unitary form of government? If it is so, the government should do it openly and initiate a debate on this crucial issue. It was noted that party-based political system and elections provide the best order of checks and balances. Non-party system, on the contrary, creates divisions along tribal, ethnic and linguistic lines. A viable system of checks and balances cannot be evolved through bureaucratic machinations or game of numbers. The formation of about 20 monitoring committees may complicate a problem rather than solve it as they would be at loggerheads with each other.

The administrative tussle is feared to ensue also in exercise of the mayor's powers. While a mayor may want to have a 2/3rd majority of the district assembly to remove a police chief, the latter would try to have 1/3+1 members of the assembly with him to abort any move for his removal. It seems that the plan falls short of dealing with such issues properly. Huge resources would be required to run elections for the winning elections of *Nazims*. In earlier understanding the elections were meant to be Party-less elections that would have further enhanced the role of money and mafia in body politic. Keeping in view that the Senate and the National Assembly are proposed to have a role in approving the election and removal of mayors as well as district assemblies, the

¹²⁶ 'The Proposed Plan for Local Government at the District Level and Devolution of Power' organized by Institute of Policy Studies (IPS) in Islamabad on July 6, 2000.

question arises as to whether local government be a concurrent subject in the Constitution. The elections in 2005 were claimed party-less but severe influence was recorded during the election in which the major political parties were overtly favoring the candidates as their own on both the electronic and print media. While there was a dire need for women's emancipation and protection of their rights, the proposal for 50% women's representation at the Union level certainly lacks touch with ground realities. The question, then, is why women's representation is 20% at the district level? And what would be their representation at the provincial and federal levels? It appears that the plan rests on wishful thinking, unsubstantiated expectations and illusions. For instance, it says, people would pay taxes happily and rather give donations to the kitty. Such notions can be termed only as 'over-simplification of a complex issue'.

CHAPTER FIVE

ZARAAT IN SACHA SODA

5.1 Introduction

Zaraat (Agriculture) is the mainstay of people of Sacha Soda. Most of the people's mode of agriculture is traditional because of three main reasons. First, people have verifiable local experience with their local breeds of crops. Second, farmers are more confident about their land properties and in depth understanding of interrelationship between land and seeds. Third, small scale farming community experienced three main developmental experiments in village that totally turned out to be favoring wealthy and big land lords. The outcomes of these developmental projects proved that small scale farmers in village shifted their mode of farming to their traditional practices. The mechanization of agriculture has been process of perpetual shifts of priorities from government's point of view. Mere emphasis has remained on employing modern farming methods including modern pesticides, weedicides, fungicides, high yielding varieties (HVYs), and technology comprising tractors, threshers. The deficiency of irrigation water was compensated through installation of tube wells that was intended to mitigate the rising scale of problems because of water logging, salinity and sodicity in water. The mechanization of agriculture also seen many related issues of mismanagement in policy implications, policy shifts due to instable political governments, vested preferences of military rules, rise of middleman, local markets overwhelmed by local influential landlords and capitalist progressive farmers, lack of channels protecting small scale agriculture, modern farming beyond financial enduring of small farmers, and damages to agriculture domain due to modern technology especially pollution (underground water and air), soil compaction, land and soil erosion,

unavailability of modern techniques in local markets, lack of expertise on modern agriculture.

In spite of state level promotion of innovated agricultural techniques and practices, the agriculture in Sacha Soda remained traditional as regarded the small farmers. Problems stated above affected farmers directly or indirectly deciding to refrain from getting into modern agriculture. The example of sugarcane growers was big reason for creating a sense of aversion among farmers and further creating doubts among small farmers in village. The sugar mill association upon their influence on national and provincial governments restricted the sugar cane growers to sell their sugarcane to specific sugar mills. The sugar mill owners that largely constituted the parliamentarians affectively implemented this rule that entirely favored their industrialist stakes. Even the traditional *gur* (traditional product made of sugarcane juice used as a substitute of sugar) and *shakkar* (brown sugar) making was banned in villages by declaring the same act as an offence. Hundreds of complaints were registered against the farmers who were blamed to be making *gur* or *shakkar* at their own. On other side, the sugarcane was claimed by sugar mills that kept farmers waiting for offloading their product at the seasonal local purchase centers established by sugar mills. These farmers reported damages caused to their crop especially the weight due to days' long delay. The sale of product was even paid to farmers after almost one year. Farmers had to stop growing sugarcane to avoid this bully of sugar mill owners. A similar issue was also faced by rice growers who had to wait for their money after selling their crops to the rice mill owners. These mill owners consciously who held paying off farmers' money till their deals were done in business deal abroad or with government. Farmers were on verge of indisposition because they were continuously asked for money by local money lenders who provided capital for their crops as well as mill owners who delayed the payments. The circumstances discussed above were compelling farmers either to sell their crops directly to middlemen in local markets or making deals at their own on low rates. In a

nutshell, farming community was in loss whereas wealthy farmers, big landlords, and capitalist middlemen made most of the gains out of agriculture business.

Saif (2010) rightly observed that 'economic structures were not altered, rather, new exploiting forces, in the form of an indigeneous bourgeoisie, were added to the institution of a feudal class, in the name of industrial development.' Similarly, like the colonial state, the post-colonial state used land settlement policies for the fulfilment of military needs and maintained the rural bases of military recruitment patterns.

5.2 Zar, Zamin and Zaraat

Village's social life elaborates three sources of potential contentions among people. These three are closely tied in village's local scenario which interrelates them. The concept of *Izzat* (honor and social prestige) is closely tied with three of them. According to local belief, for sustainable livelihood, these three factors have to be protected effectively and one has to make sure that these three are in perfect equation and benignity.

5.2.1 Zar (Money)

It is the base of all material comforts that enhances options in one's life for improvements, betterments and raising social status. It is also thought to be source of social prestige. A poetic expression reveals the reality:

Kammi tay kangaal kameenay
Ay gal mool na bhaway
Dhi choray di syed mangay
Tay oo dainda sharmaway

Translation:

Kammis and poor are the low status,

For them it is not customary to demand prestige and respect,
Daughters of poor are not married among rich, but if so is the case,
Poor remain disrespectful for rest of their lives.

The importance of economic resources is evident through another proverb commonly stated is:

Daam banaye kaam

Translation:

Money makes the mare go

5.2.2 Zamin (Land)

Zamin is another crucial factor in village social life as it is the sole livelihood source. Agriculture and land are closely knit and land size has become an important issue for the village people in terms of prosperity and social prestige. It is due to Islamic rights bestowed onto females of family to inherit land and other possessions of family. *Jahaiz* (dowry) is institutional among farming families because marriages gifts and dowry is perceived to be substitute of land. The customary practice of withdrawing the right to inherit family land by daughters and sisters is socially desired way. This is taken as a token of love expressed by sisters and daughters in respects of their families and acknowledging that the family land is already meager to support their paternal families. Even any girl asking for her right to inherit land is socially disliked and leads to litigations between families of bride and groom. This also ends in cessation of terms between both families. The Islamic law of inheritance has already affected size of land holdings due to which small landholdings have become insufficient for survival in face of number of problems (discussed above) faced by farmers in village.

Agricultural land being the only source of livelihood of farmers in village is vital because it serves purposes of meeting subsistence requirements. The land is not only a mean of

survival rather it also serves to create a stratum of social quartiles where few influential and big landlords become agents of exploitative forces to maintain their influence and power over rest of population in village. The same exploitation has traditionally been maintained to ensure that rural masses are controlled by their local patrons. This serves the purpose of holding strict control over masses on part of wealthy and powerful person without realization of need of bringing reforms to ease the people. Historically, the colonial legacy holders i.e., the military and civil bureaucracy have even strengthened this local tier of social exploitation and inequality at villages' level. Accordingly, Lubna Saif summarizes:

The penetrating process of military into the seminal sources of society's authority, the control and possession of agricultural land, proceeded in the post-colonial period, which resulted in a strong alliance with the landed interests. This alliance, joined by religious factions, became a barrier in adopting any anti-zamindari legislation (Saif, 2010: 115).

5.2.3 Zaraat (Agriculture)

Agriculture is a profession as well as a passion and mater of identity and recognition for farmers in rural areas. Purchasing agricultural land is always a matter of social envy. It certainly raises the family status in rural areas of Punjab. It is not only the basic mean of sustenance rather it is also source of providing other material comforts, like marriages of siblings and off springs, educating youngsters in family, contributing in extended family matters and dealing with health issues. Each farming family is concerned to raise their agricultural yield in order to get more money so that financial liabilities of family are met effectively with honor. Connected with agriculture, purchase of healthy cattle of good breeds is also a matter of prestige for each respective family and village people. Farmers are always found of discussing among themselves best breed of buffaloes, oxen, bulls, and other livestock. This passion is normally on peak during the local level fairs and festivals.

The squeezing economic conditions have made agriculture a matter of investing more economic resources to get more profit. Farmers with small landholdings are in befuddled circumstances as farmers are bound to rejoin their traditional practices of agriculture. The subsistence level farming undertaken by most of the farmers of village find it difficult to meet expenses required for current day's commercial agriculture.

Respondents in village state the situation as below:

Sarkar nu pata hai kay harian day naal kairay mislay wa per unha nu ta farq nai paida kio kay unha day ghar saray mazay ponch jaanday wa. Kinay loki apnian majborian nu ron. Hun tay ay hi hai kay chup ker kay apni khan jogi paida ker laeye. Bohata ay hai kay kissay nu ap waich lao.

Translation:

The government is well aware of our main problems regarding agriculture but the public offices do not seem to help us because they enjoy all pleasures in their lives. Government and its functionaries are not concerned with what happens to poor strata especially the subsistence level farmers. Mostly, small farmers prefer growing for their domestic needs. The surplus is mostly sold at our own to local buyers.

The government resources especially research agencies are well aware of the economic compulsion that hinder farmers to adopt modern farming. Many of these agriculture based research agencies are also conducting experimentation on traditional practices so that farmers find it easier to adopt. National Agriculture Research Council (NARC) is well aware of problem faced by small growers regarding mechanization of agriculture. NARC acknowledges that 'moisture and fertilizer application are the limiting factors for obtaining potential yields. But the rising cost of chemical fertilizers and its timely availability has made it beyond the purchasing power of small farmers. Therefore, cost effective alternatives (traditional agriculture) are required' (NARC, 2011). NARC conducted various experiments including Farooqabad city where the initial results were encouraging in saving the consumption of chemical fertilizers up to 50 percent.

Study for the improvement of plant nutrition using bio-fertilizers (a mixture of Rhizobium, PGPR (plant growth promoting Rhizobacteria) and PSB (Phosphorous Solubilizing Bacteria) microbial cultures was conducted at different locations to evaluate effect on the productivity of chickpea. Use of a mixture of microbes increased growth and yields of crops i.e. Rhizobium increases nodulation/N₂ fixation in legume and thus their growth and yield, the PGR stimulate growth and thus yield of crops; and PSB increases Putilization (through solubilization of applied/and or inherent soil P) and thus increases crop growth and yield. This study was conducted to quantify the effect of three selected groups of microbes and their integrated effects on nodulation, growth and yield of chickpea and lentil crops (NARC, 2011).

NARC further comments:

Mix use of PGPR and PSB microbial cultures has increased biomass and grain yield of wheat. Rhizobia live inside legume root in symbiotic relationship where their benefits are more assured. On the other hand, association of beneficial bacteria with cereal roots is non-symbiotic where their benefits are not as assured as Rhizobium-legume association. Various groups of bacteria benefit cereal plants also in a variety of ways e.g. supply of atmospheric N, stimulation of plant growth, solubilization and supply of P (PSB), antagonisms of pathogens, etc. laboratory isolated different groups of beneficial microbes from rhizosphere of wheat, rice and maize. In initial testing and evaluation, several of these microbial isolates have proved to very effective in increasing biomass and grain yield of wheat, rice and maize. These microbes are now being tested at the farm level (ibid).

The acute shortfall of electricity is also affecting irrigation of the crops. As stated earlier, Sacha Soda is located in a region where shortages of irrigation water and water logging issues were resolved through installation of tube wells (details are mentioned in chapter 4). The current electricity shortfall has made agriculture a nightmare for farming families especially small farmers. The problem is twofold as on one side, there is a shortage in canal water supplies, and on other side, there is no power to run tubewells. NARC has also referred to same problem.

The energy use in agriculture is of prime importance as almost 50 percent of water use in agriculture is now contributed by pumped groundwater. The rise in electric tariff and rise in prices of diesel fuel are affecting the profitability of irrigated agriculture adversely (ibid).

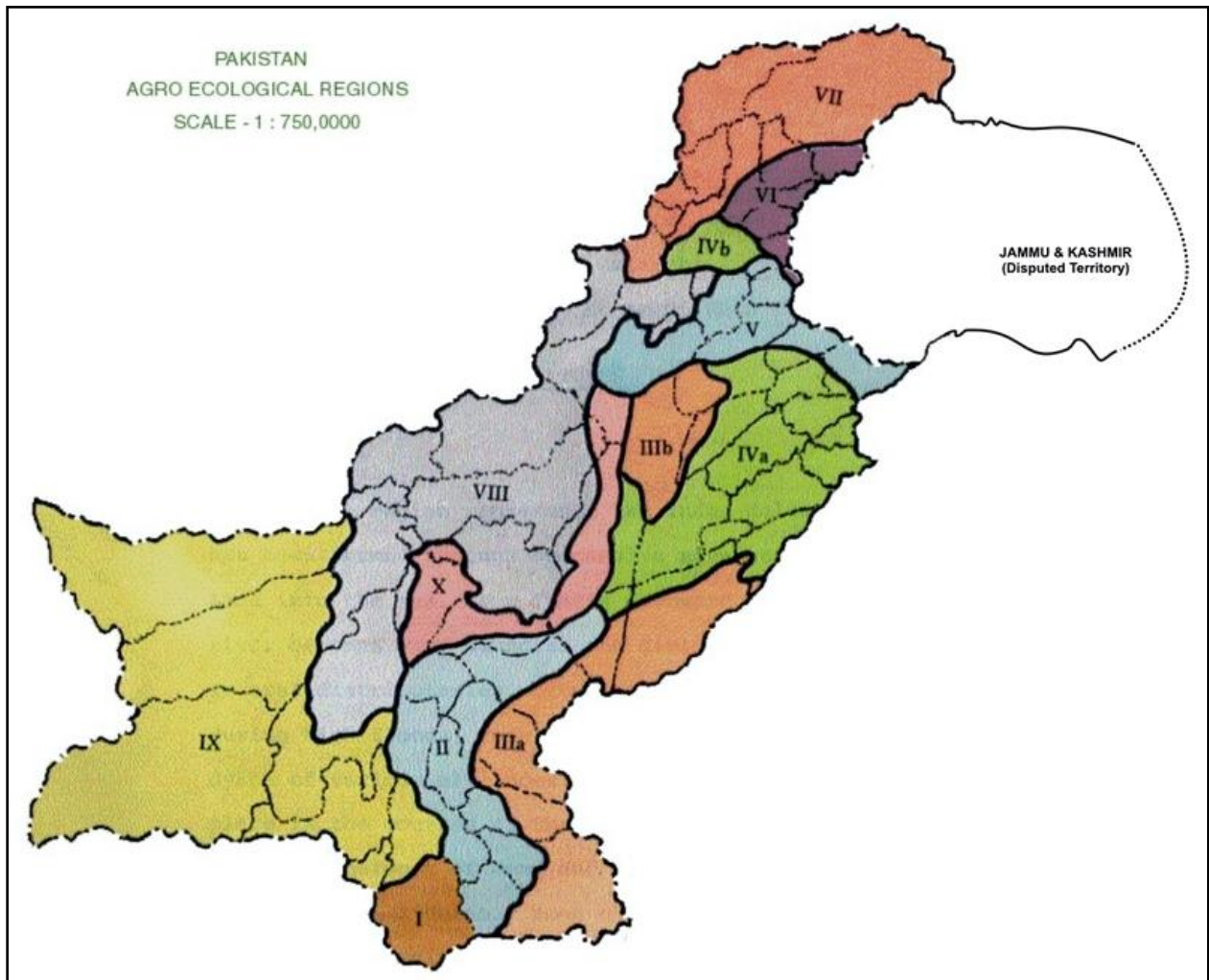
The alternate energy resources to support agriculture domain are very much required by the small scale farmers. NARC has worked out the feasibility for alternative energy resources to cope with current shortfall for electricity.

According to an estimate, raw material available in the country for production of bio-gas is around 443 million tons per annum. About 10 million m³ of bio-gas can be produced if 50 percent of the animal waste is used for this purpose (ibid).

5.3 Agro-ecological Regions

Water is becoming scarce not only in arid and drought prone areas but also in regions where rainfall is abundant. Pakistan is facing the effect of global changes particularly during the last few years, there has been shortfall in the water supplied through the Indus basin irrigation system for crop production. In Pakistan, more than 90 percent of food production is obtained from the irrigated agriculture that is about 22mha. The per capita water availability was 5650 m³ in 1951, which has decreased to 1200 in 2002 and is projected to further decrease to 800 m³ by 2025. Irrigation has become a primary tool to increase and stabilize agricultural production to feed ever increasing population. The agricultural production is directly related to the availability and effective use of water as a major input. The scope of further irrigated area development to meet food requirements in the coming years is severely constrained by decreasing water resources and growing competition among agricultural, industrial and domestic sectors (NARC, 2011).

Figure 3: Pakistan Agro-ecological Regions



Source: Pakistan Agricultural Research Council

The details of Agro-ecological Zones are as under¹²⁷:

1. Indus Delta
2. Southern Irrigated Plain
3. Sandy Desert (a&b)
4. Northern Irrigated Plain (a & b)
5. Barani Lands

¹²⁷ Pakistan Agricultural Research Council, Government of Pakistan, 2011. URL: <http://www.parc.gov.pk/agroeco.jpg>

6. Wet Mountains
7. Northern Dry Mountains
8. Western Dry Mountains
9. Dry Western Plateau
10. Sulaiman Piedmont

5.4 Cropping Pattern of Sacha Soda

The main crops during Rabi are wheat and Gram and in Kharif are rice, cotton and sugar cane.¹²⁸ In addition to these main crops, there are subsidiary crops known as *Zaid Rabi* and *Zaid Kharif* and *Dobari*. Cotton is sown preferably in succession to wheat, the soil is softer and the stubble stalks are easier to eradicate than in a field sown with *Chari* which sends its roots deeper and because of being sown thick, takes more of nutrition from the earth. Cane flourishes best on the *Wadhi*¹²⁹ of *Senji*¹³⁰. The leaves dropped serve as manure and the ample watering applied, keeps the soil softer. *Chari* is sown preferably in succession to *Toria*. Maize is sown in succession to Cane or Cotton. It fails in succession to wheat as it is attacked by ants. Gram cultivation is preferred in succession to *Chari* as the moisture of the last watering is available for sowing. Salt in the leaves of Gram helps all crops sown in succession to it. *Senji* is sown in cotton fields to recoup the soil. Rice land is fit for no other crop. Wheat and Gram are a popular mixture in the Bar villages. Well areas in the *Khadir* generally and specially fertile Neain (near the *adadi*) areas are everywhere subjected to double and even to triple cropping.

¹²⁸ There are two principal crop seasons in Pakistan, namely the "Kharif", the sowing season of which begins in April – June and harvesting during October – December, and the "Rabi", which begins in October – December and ends in April – May. Rice, sugarcane, cotton are major "Kharif" crops while wheat, gram, lentil (masoor), tobacco, rapeseed, barley and mustard are "Rabi" crops. Major crops, such as, wheat, rice, cotton and sugarcane account for 82% of the value added in the major crops. The value added in major crops accounts for 32.8% of the value added in overall agriculture. Thus, the four major crops (wheat, rice, cotton, and sugarcane), on average, contribute 33.1% to the value added in overall agriculture and 7.1% to GDP. The minor crops account for 11.1% of the value added in overall agriculture. Livestock contributes 53.2% to agricultural value added – much more than the combined contribution of major and minor crops (Annual Plan, 2010-11).

¹²⁹ Harvest

¹³⁰ A Kind of a shrub

Chari and *Gowara* are very commonly mixed in bar tracks for fodder, and elsewhere *Chari* and *Bajra* are mixed as a fodder crop.

5.4.1 Kanak (Wheat)

Wheat is the main staple food item of the village's population and largest grain crop of Sacha Soda. There are of course three kinds of wheat cultivars, the long duration, the medium and short duration varieties called *Agaitri*, *gabli* and *paachaitri* respectively. The wheat yields usually start declining after 20th November sowing at the rate of 20 kg per day. Though cotton is not grown on regular interval but farmers for their domestic need grow cotton crop. After harvest of cotton buds, the half of crop residual is burnt in fields for raising fertility and remaining half is used for domestic consumption. The same is done with rice crop residue called *parrali* that is also used for soil fertility, fodder for cattle, and to be used in construction purposes. The same are dumped by the farmers in huge heaps for future use.

The farmers' local practices include growing of wheat *agaitri* if cotton or rice is timely harvested. If rice or cotton crops were *paachaitri* then farmers instead of delaying their cultivation prefer growing wheat in standing crop of rice or cotton provided if there is no evidence of weeds. In case of weeds, farmers usually delay growing wheat to first clear fields from weeds that reduce the productivity of crop yield per acre. In Sacha Soda, a sizable area is brought under seasonal legumes like the chickpeas and lentils due to being a source of additional finances for farmers through its sale. Sacha Soda's land considerably lack organic matter as per the statement of ARP staff with the conclusion that situation is growing worse with passage of time. Therefore, farmers adopt the crop rotation so that soil fertility is maintained which is even attempted to elevate through green manure/farm yard manure. Farmers report enhanced water absorbing capacity of soil due to effectively and timely crop rotation. *Guara* and *Jantar* are good crops for green manuring. *Guara* has produced good results in irrigated areas whereas *Jantar* is

recommended for saline soils and after rice. *Arhar* reported by the farming community is best during the low raining or drought like situation.

Normally, wheat crop is irrigated for 5-6 times during the whole wheat season. The first irrigation is administered at tilling stage. Farmers prefer delaying first irrigation after seeding because of preceding rice crop due to which the soil already retains moisture. So wheat growing practices held by farmers in Sacha Soda demonstrate that first irrigation is delayed up to fifteen to twenty five days. Weeds can significantly reduce wheat yield due to which farmers adopt crop rotation as it can reduce growth of weeds. Farmers for better control use bar-harrow and traditional weeding done manually. Traditional weed control practices include repetition of the weeding practices after fifteen days. This weeding according to grower helps interacting with crop to observe the physical changes as well as the diseases including pest, weed, and bird attacks.

5.4.2 Chaawal (Rice)

*Basmati*¹³¹ *chaawal* is told to be king of rice varieties. Among all the other varieties of rice, none have the distinctive long grains or the subtle aroma for which this grain is considered so special. This also justifies the premium this rice commands against all other rice varieties of the world. The name *basmati* originated from a Sanskrit word *Bass*, which means smell. This rice has special features, which make it naturally long grain, fragrant and delicious in taste. It is harvested by hand with delicate care, aged to perfection and then processed. The result is an extra long, pearly white, delicate grain with an irresistible aroma and delectable taste bringing alive an age of *nawabs*¹³² (nabob) and emperors, glittering courts and legendary chefs. The legend says that this rice was meant to be consumed by *maharajas* (kings), *maharanis* (queens), princes and royal families. This unique rice is just one crop a year grown only in northern India and

¹³¹ An Indigenous variety of rice

¹³² A political title for a governor in India during the Mogul empire

Pakistani Punjab. Among various varieties of rice grown in Sacha Soda, Super Kernel is long grain rice with a slender kernel, four to five times longer than its width. The grains are separate, light and fluffy when cooked, and mostly used for recipes such as *biryani* (indigenous dish of rice), which require rice of a distinct shape and texture. *Basmati* Rice 385, is dry and separate when cooked, resulting in long, thin grains, since the long grain increases only in length when cooked.

5.4.3 *Ganna* (Sugarcane)

Ganna is a deep-rooted crop and proper land preparation plays an important role in the development of cane root system, and achieving optimal growth of the crop. Land is prepared by deep ploughing at least after every two years. Farmers apply their personally owned and managed pit of cow dung that is well-rotten a month prior to land preparation. Few farmers also use press-mud from the sugar industry that is another excellent source of organic matter and nutrients. To avoid water damage to seed cane, farmers place it at least 3 to 4 inches above the final water furrow or middle. In soils with poor internal drainage, the seed cane is usually placed even higher above the final water furrow. Farmers prefer keeping the seed cane above the area to avoid damage to cane stands. Farmers prefer 10-12 irrigations against the recommended 16-20 irrigations because of low-availability of irrigation water and high pricing of tube well water. Farmers quit irrigating their crops at least a month before the proposed date of harvest. Harvesting of *agaitri* (early varieties) are commenced during November, where as *gabli* (mid season varieties) during December and *paachaitri* (late varieties) during January.

Roughly, the farmers use one fourth of chemical fertilizer against the sugarcane crop requirements due to its non-availability as well as high cost of the same. Normally, the farmers use small quantity of chemical fertilizers which according to them saves money as well as avoid the negative effects of the same on the crop. To reduce termite attack,

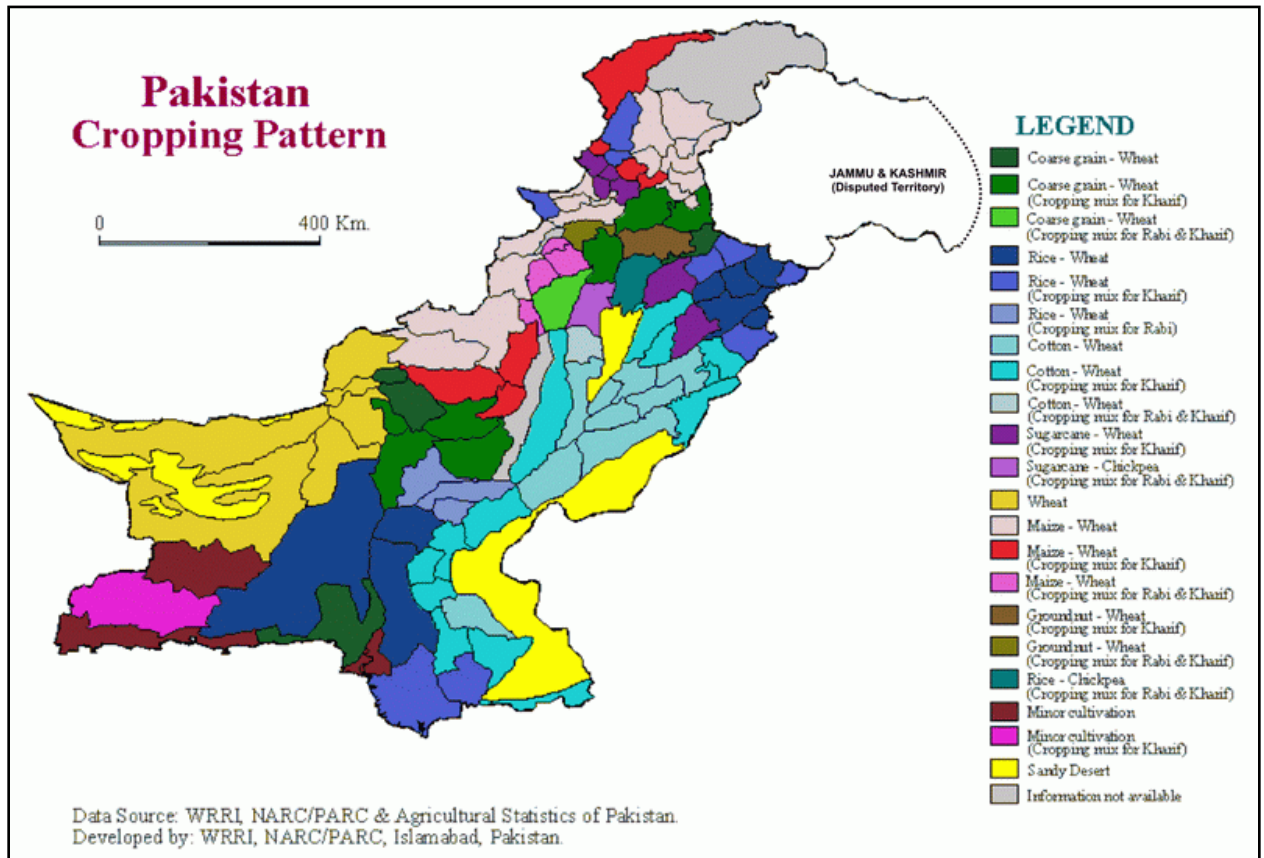
farmyard manure is used when it gets fully rotten. Farmers also prefer using biological measures to treat pest or insect attack to make it cost effective as well as to avoid the observed health hazard on skin and eyes. Harvesting is done when the crop has fully matured and ripened. *Agaitri* varieties are the first to be harvested. When the stem is close to the surface, farmers ensure close vigilance in order to cut the maximum portion of the stem, which is valuable both for its weight and sugar content. The harvested cane should be immediately hauled to the mill because delays affect weight and sucrose losses in produce. To meet this target, farmers use various means of transportation ranging from using their traditional ox-drawn carts, trolleys and loaders for this purpose. It is always ensured that the transport sources are arranged well before time.

5.4.4 Channa (Gram)

Gram is a major Rabi pulse crop and grown in areas after rain and floods. It is a short duration crop and can be also grown between September and November. The best time for sowing is the second week of October. It is well suited under dry tracks because of being a leguminous crop. This crop requires winter climate weather condition and gets affected due to frost. In normal condition the gram matures within four months or a little later. After reaching maturity stage the gram plant cannot stand heavy rains or hail storm. Normally requires rainy conditions for cultivation but also results good in less irrigated areas. It tolerates acidity but is sensitive to salinity and alkalinity. It has the ability to stick to 60-80 percent of its nitrogen requirement and excessive nitrogen fertilizer may delay maturity. In normal condition the gram matures within four months or a little later. The gram has considerable constrains in its growth process. It is most of the time affected by destructive diseases causing heavy losses to the poor farmers. The destructive disease is the fungi, bacteria, viruses and nematodes. Blight disease is most destructive disease. These diseases attracted the attention of the government late after the production was cut down to a drastic level and it had to import a bulk quantity from abroad and incur a large amount of foreign exchange.

Due to its sensitivity, farmers usually avoid its cultivation in areas affected by diseases for a period of two to three years. Normally the disease attack is treated by improving the green manure amount and a more effective water drainage practice. For this crop, usually farmers prefer deep sowing to make it more resistant against the disease attack. In case of disease attack, farmers vigilantly uproot affected plants and burn it away from the field. Gram cultivation is sometime done along with wheat and barley, etc. This crop is a major source of livelihood for majority of farmers in village. More than seventy percent of farmers prefer using their local breeds of the crops that are treated domestically as a family chore. Farmers told that usually the local markets are eager to purchase cash and staple crops due to which the government especially the agriculture department does not recommend the commercial level cultivation of gram. Poor families in village were found to be eagerly using gram because of its low prices.

Figure 4: Pakistan's Cropping Pattern



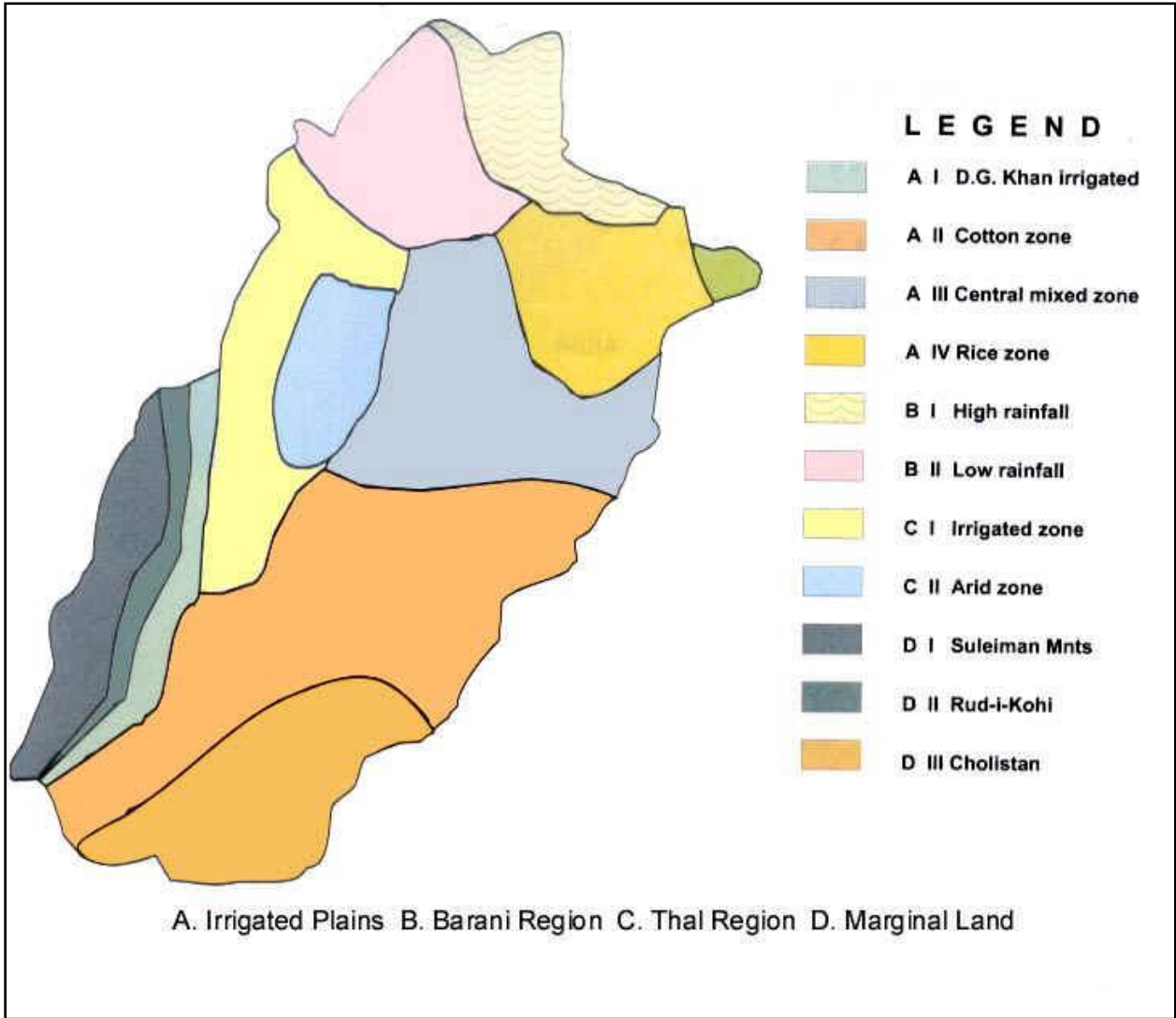
Source: National Agricultural Research Council¹³³

The map shown above reveals that Sheikhupura district lies in the main wheat-rice zone of Punjab. As it has already been discussed that central Punjab is a mixed cropping zone. The districts of Narowal, Sialkot, Gujranwala, Lahore and Sheikhupura along Indian border are rice prone known for producing the best rice varieties including the world fame *basmati* in the world whereas Districts like Sargodha, Faisalabad, Toba Tek Singh, Jhang, Okara and Sahiwal are known for producing good varieties of sugar cane. There are two main sources for the villagers to irrigate their lands, i.e.

1. Upper Chenab Canal (*Gogera* Branch).
2. Tube Wells.

¹³³ WRRRI, National Agricultural Research Council/ Pakistan Agricultural Research Council
<http://www.parc.gov.pk/cr2.gif>

Figure 5: Crop Zoning of the Punjab



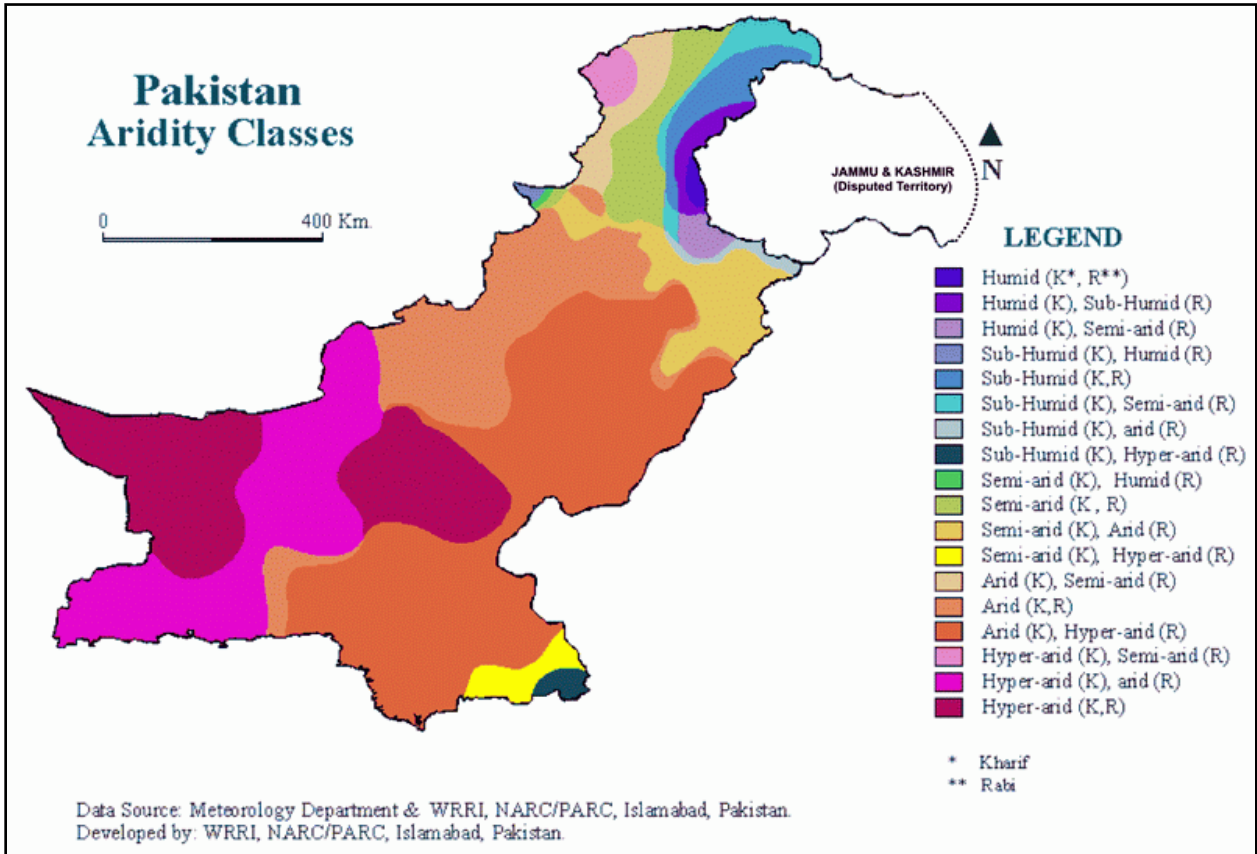
Source: Pakistan Agricultural Research Council¹³⁴

The district Sheikhupura lies in the zone III and IV that contains features of predominantly rice prone zone along with central mixed zone leading to mixed cropping patterns.

¹³⁴ National Master Agricultural Research Plan, Pakistan Agricultural Research Council
<http://www.parc.gov.pk/Maps/AgroEcoPunjab.jpg>

5.5 Aridity Classification of District

Figure 6: Pakistan Aridity Classes



Source: Pakistan Agricultural Research Council

As per the Aridity classification of Pakistan¹³⁵, the district lies between the semi arid to arid zone regions which means that it contains semi arid properties during Kharif season and arid properties during Rabi season. The situation leads to conclusion of acute water shortfall throughout for agriculture. It is therefore the canal irrigation sources prove to be insufficient. The deficiency is made up from ground water sources with the help of three

¹³⁵ Most of Pakistan is classified as arid to semi-arid because rainfall is not sufficient to grow agricultural crops, forest, fruit plants and pastures. About 68% of the geographical area has annual rainfall of 250 mm, whereas about 24% has annual rainfall of 251 to 500 mm. Only 8% has annual rainfall exceeding 500 mm. Thus supplemental water is required for profitable agricultural production, either from irrigation or through water harvesting (Annual Plan, 2010-11).

types of tube well including community tubewells, private tubewells and government owned tubewells. The first two categories fulfill the irrigation requirements during the cropping seasons. Whereas the government owned tubewell worked for water logging and salinity. The WAPDA owned tubewells are no more operational. There is one exception of government owned tubewells that are installed in government owned research projects especially in Sacha Soda. Various projects of Punjab agriculture department as well as National Agriculture Research Council are operational in Sacha Soda and Farooqabad region.

5.6 Land Tenure System

Land tenure system refers the “right of use or right of ownership of land.” Land Tenure is a system that contains information about the land and its consumption patterns. It includes: people who owns the land; who cultivates the land; what is the nature of contract; and the nature of responsibilities of Government. The traditional land tenure system was replaced by British *raj* through its land settlement policy which later on became major instrument of colonial capitalism in the Punjab. Through this policy British reign effectively managed to erect a system that totally favoured vested interests of colonial rule.

In the absence of any traces of established leadership, structuring a reliable rural administration was a great challenge for the early British administrators of Punjab. This was achieved by redesigning the Punjabi rural structures and creating a tribal social organization in tribes (castes) became the basis of the authority (Gilmartin, 1988). To safeguard their colonial interests, the British introduced a system, which generated the worst kind of feudal exploitation of the Muslim peasants (Sayeed, 1980). Humza Alavi’s works on concept of property in land is also a landmark that describes the land tenure policy of British while describing that this new system dispossessed Punjabi peasants (Alavi, 1980). In this way ‘traditional self-sufficient village communities were replaced by

*zails*¹³⁶ headed by *zaildars* who were politically and economically dependent on the British authority (Sayeed, 1980). In 1872, the Punjab government established the *zaildari* system on a formal basis, laying down the duties and remuneration of the *zaildars* (Ibid). The *zaildars* and their assistants, the *ala-lamberdars*, were described by the colonial rulers as the channel of communication or the missing link (Saunders, 1873). Khalid bin Sayeed referred that whatever authority the village community had exercised was disintegrating under the British and gravitating toward the *zaildar*. The *zaildari* system replaced the village communities as a self-sufficient political and economic unit with a political organization based upon extended kinship ties, or tribes (Tupper, 1880). *Biradries* in rural Punjab were treated as tribes by the British administrators who emphasized the importance of tribes and the importance of extensive supra-village, kinship ties, based on tribal affinity, in establishing the secular bonds holding the punjabi village society together (Gilmartin, 1981).

5.6.1 Zamindari System (Landlordism)

In the pre-British period, the landlords of Bengal were intermediaries and functioned as revenue collectors. The British rulers conferred ownership rights on them on the analogy of the land-ownership system in their own country. Large owners in West Pakistan had achieved their position in several ways. Many large estates were awarded by the British to their supporters in their struggle for power. The former Sind had no well-established village communities or landlords of the kind found in the former Punjab and North-West Frontier Province. The country consisted largely of extensive desert

¹³⁶ The settlement was a set of arrangements with a two-fold purpose: first, the assessment of the land revenue; and second, the framing of a record of rights. Under this set of arrangements, districts in the Punjab were divided into administrative units called *zails* (circles), varying in size from ten to forty villages, with the intention of incorporating tribal organization into their administration by concentrating particular *biradries* in particular *zails* along the lines of tribal kinship residence rule. Each *zail* was headed by a *zaildar* appointed by the British administrators and very often the existing traditions of lineage or *biradri* leadership were ignored to create a class of tribal leaders who represented British authority in *zails*. (Source: *Proceedings of the Lieutenant Governor, February 29th 1872, Punjab Board of Revenue, file 61/142*).

areas with uncertain crop yields due to insufficiency and irregularity of rainfall. People did not want to hold such land in full ownership, which would make them liable for land revenue (Government of Pakistan, 2006).

Land tenure system locally called *Zamindari nizam* in village was of two types including state landlords and private landlords.

5.6.2 Jagirdar (State Landlordism)

Under this system, land which is owned by the state is distributed for sake of agriculture under prescribed criteria. These lands are also called “Crown Lands”¹³⁷. These pieces of lands were distributed to various people on lease basis. This leasing of land varied from 99 years to 999 years. State owned lands are offered for the sake of cultivation to private owners. In return, the renters pay a specific amount of money for the use of land. In such deals, the lands cannot be transferred to anyone else except the person who takes over the land from government. The state owned lands are only transferable with the permission of government but cannot be utilized for any other purposive except agriculture.

5.6.3 Private Land Lords

Privately owned lands in village were of two types. First type was big landlords who owned their lands either through inheritance or by purchase. Their land is cultivated by the tenants. These tenants are being exploited and are living in adverse condition.

¹³⁷ The rural elite of Punjab were rewarded, or its response to the government, in its proposals to the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, in the form of the distribution of urban and rural seats. The allocation of five seats to the big *Zamindars* also indicated the government’s desire to strengthen the influence of its proven loyal elite in order to control the rural population and its presence in the council was meant to keep the liberal educated urban representatives in control.

Second type comprised small landlords who are the sole users of their land. Both types have their full land ownership rights as regards sale, sub-letting or transfer of land.

5.6.4 Raiyatwari Tenure

It is a system inherited from colonial rule of British under which land is held directly from the State on a tenancy basis but with security fully guaranteed in practice. The occupant is free to give up any land and avoid his liability for land revenue. The ownership rights of commons or *shamilat* vests in the State and not in the village communities. The occupant enjoys heritable and transferable rights, which places him practically on the same footing as an owner.

Private ownership functioning with tenancy is necessarily a social evil, but in village concentration of land ownership in a few hands has been accompanied by absentee landlordism. Some landlords live in towns, leaving the management of their lands to local agents, who have little interest in the tenants or the improvement of land. Landlords enjoy high economic and social status, and with their influence in politics and administration are able to exploit the tenants in various ways, thereby obstructing and delaying the process by which tenants can raise their economic and social status. The tenant usually has little means of redress since so far as he is concerned the officials are a part of the system which the landlords control. The landlord is largely interested in the collection of his dues, whether legally recognized or not, and the preservation of his power over his tenants, whom he is disposed to treat as his subjects, as signified by the term *raiyat*.

5.6.5 Mahalwari System

This system is also called *Numberdari* System. This system was introduced in Punjab and Khyber Pakhtoonkhwa (former NWFP) by the British. Under this system, people in a

village are owners of their small landholdings. They are jointly responsible for the payment of the Government. Payment is made through the *Village Numberdar*. A *numberdar* is an official of revenue department who is responsible for collecting *mamla* (land tax) from fellow farmers to be submitted to revenue department at each district level. Revenue department was supposed to elect *numberdars* from within the farming community to further act as a vehicle of collecting land tax. In recognition of this service, revenue department allocated 12.5 acres of land to *numberdars* upon which the hereditary rights of *numberdars* and his family were acknowledged. Upon death of a *numberdar*, the same and seat of *numberdar* was transferred to the eldest son of a deceased *numberdar*.

5.6.6 Mazaray (Tenant Proprietorship)

Peasant proprietors were the ones who owned comparatively small landholdings. They cultivated themselves with the help of the members of their families or hired workers. The system is known as '*Bhaichara*' or '*Pattidari*' that comprise members who descend from same ancestor. The peasant proprietors are the owner of small units of land. They cultivated it with the help of their families. They are solely responsible for the payment to the Government. They deposit their revenue through *Numberdar*. The peasants are usually in very poor condition and barely meet their subsistence requirements. The current conditions of peasants are rooted in history that merely suited British *raj*.

Speaking to the Agricultural Conference at Simla, 1926, Lord Irwin pointed out that over 71 percent of the population of India are entirely dependent on agriculture for their livelihood. This great mass of peasantry lives and works in conditions of most horrible poverty and savage exploitation. It has already been related above how in certain provinces, the English created a class of wealthy native landlords, the zamindars (Fox, 2008: 43)

Large portion of farming community in Sacha Soda were tenants who owned small landholdings and indulged in subsistence level agricultural practices. Tenants are of two

categories: occupancy tenants and tenants-at-will called *Haris* or *Mazaray*. The former are in the course of being eliminated by a process of upgrading and the latter are gradually acquiring security of tenure.

5.7 Defects of Land Tenure System

Pakistan inherited Land Tenure System from British rule. British rulers awarded these *Jagirs* and big estates to their loyal servants¹³⁸. This is the main reason that it is defective and creating social economic and political problems. Land tenure system is meant to divide the agricultural land into efficient and manageable agricultural field for more output per acre. The land tenure system largely influenced under the British system was meant to suit the geo-political and economic requisites. With a minimal of British officers in India, the British had to create pockets of their interests for support. The lands were used as a mean for creating a like-minded group of agricultural elites having effective control over rural masses and thus holding the local situation of masses to a status quo to control the probable uprising. The *jagirdars* especially in Sindh and South Punjab especially served Colonial purpose.

5.7.1 Unequal distribution of Land

The land distribution of 9389 acres of land in Sacha Soda also speaks of wide disparities. The power groups (discussed in chapter 3) hold eighty percent of land. Gujar group ranks highest regarding possession of agricultural land. The head of this group holds 14400 acres of agricultural land out of which 1250 acres are in village. Apart from head

¹³⁸ The landed elite created by *raj* was quickly eliminated in eastern Punjab (India) soon after independence by the anti-*Zamindari* legislation, the absorption of the princely states, and the rise to political dominance of the Jat peasantry. However, in western Punjab (Pakistan) it suffered no such loss as till 1959, the *jagirs* the system of *beggar* (labor rent or corvee), and the princely states were not abolished. Despite the land reforms of Ayub Khan and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the landed elite managed to retain its colonial legacy of protecting military interests at the cost of democratic institutions (Saif, 2010: 25).

of Gujar group, rest of the group holds 2134 acres. The Rana group comes second having control over 750 acres of land where as the rest of group allies hold 1365 acres in the village. Virak group holds 375 acres of land and group allies hold 1400 acres. Rai group and its allies have 633 acres of land as well as Dogar group has a total of 569 acres under their possession. The land under control of these power groups is 8476 acres of land that makes percentage of 90.3 whereas the remainder of 9.7 percent is held by other agricultural communities included small farmers, peasants and *mazaray*.

5.7.2 Political Problems

The powerful landlords in village have got hold over large landholdings due to fights, manipulation of land records, deliberate tempering in land records soon after partition. Their influence and political relations make them important in village life. These power groups along with their heads act as a middlemen during elections for the politicians on caste basis. It is thus the local power politics is patronised by provincial and national level politicians because of their interests of winning elections. This chain of political interests thus is closely knitted to safeguard one another's vested interests. The district administration and police department though knowing the manipulation strategies of these power groups remain silent and consciously ignorant of what happens under their typical excuses. Therefore, people avoid police to save their lives and property. For example, revenue department knew the tactics adopted by head of Gujar group for enhancing his lands but no action was initiated as the head of Gujar group was an ex-official of same department and largely showered his blessings to department staff who in returned concealed the facts to protect Mr. Chaudhry.

5.7.3 Interest of Landlords

The influential groups having their stakes have managed to retain most of agricultural land in order to increase their power and influence in village setting. These landlords

manipulated *qaum* bond in order to gather people from their caste around them to gain indispensable position in village's social life. The heads of five influential groups along with their mates in village controlled large acreage of land. These landlords are in a position to offer employment opportunities to many farm laborers therefore their role in village agricultural sector is very important. Many small landholders as well as peasants and tenants also join the power groups in hope that they will also be beneficiaries under the auspiciousness of these big landlords. Majority of the group allies are also small cultivators who due to their dependence over the power groups in village adopt farm mechanization because of their group influence.

5.7.4 Deficiency of Credit

Shortage of capital is a widespread constraint among subsistence level farmers of village. Traditional subsistence cultivators invest little capital in their farms simply because they cannot afford buying expensive modern farming methods. In this regard, the role of middlemen¹³⁹ in nearby local markets was very much manipulating in the sense that these provided fertilizers, pesticides and weedicides on installments that is

¹³⁹ Middlemen are individuals/business concerns who perform various marketing functions involved in the purchase and sale of goods as these move from producers to consumers. They are classified as commission agents, brokers, wholesalers and retailers. The middlemen play the role of an institution between producers and consumers. But in Pakistan it is perceived that the role of middlemen is a bit exploitative and detrimental to the interest of farmers. Farmers sell their produce to middlemen at cheaper rates mainly because they do not have direct access to markets. It is the middlemen who control market prices. Agricultural production mainly comprises small-scale operations. In most cases, direct marketing by individual producers becomes impossible due to small marketable surplus. Consumers can not contact growers directly as crops scattered over a vast landmass, are inaccessible due to poor condition of farm-to-market roads and inadequate transportation system. The poor transportation system also makes marketing of perishable/horticultural commodities difficult for the farmers. In such a situation, the middlemen come forward, provide their services and often play an exploitative role. Most of the growers are small farmers who do not have the means to fund their day-to-day needs. In most cases, they borrow money from the middlemen to run the affairs of their farms and consequently sell their produce to them at cheaper rates.

Source: Small growers at the mercy of middlemen by Dr Muhammad Ashfaq and Arif Raza
<http://www.pakissan.com/english/issues/small.growers.at.the.mercy.of.middlemen.shtml>
accessed on January 22nd 2012

payable after harvest of crop which even multiply economic burdens of farmers because they in this way lessen their profit margin to spend in their other family, brethren and social commitments. Traditional farming has historically demonstrated its capability to respond positively in favor of small growers and farmers regarding their problems related to agriculture. Besides, the short term desired outcomes of indigenous farming methods on quality of food and environment, farmers also feel empowered to decide at their own to increase their profit ratios as well as reducing their expenditures. Farmers have their faith that their traditional farming practices are not only about economic aspects but also about conservation of environment, sensible energy use, agricultural traditions, farming communities, traditional seeds, soil and water conservation and management of livestock sustainably.

The majority of peasants and tenants in village due to their small landholdings lack economic resources to make their agricultural chores profitable. The small size of their holdings makes the use of modern equipment infeasible in economic terms. These small proprietors lack resources which they usually compensate through taking loans from the middlemen in local markets for their crops. The large part of profit from each crop largely goes to these middlemen whereas these small cultivators are left with amount of yield barely meeting their subsistence requirements. These middlemen or local moneylenders called *adhathi* (chapter 2) is also a historical phenomenon that made the economic transactions with small farmers on heavy interests based conditions.

The chief aim of the English in building railways in India was to connect by a thousand threads of steel the interior of peasant India to the capitalist market and its needs, particularly to the needs of English industry. Forced to cultivate for the market, to produce technical crops, he was no longer to produce food. He began to need more and more money, not only to pay his water taxes, his increasing land tax, his rent, but in order to buy food for himself and his family, food which he formerly produced himself. The need for money led him to money-lender (Fox, 2008: 23).

In countries of capitalistic agriculture, the production of valuable technical crops leads to the enrichment of at least a section of the peasantry. In the colonial conditions, it can only mean further enslavement and pauperization (Ibid: 23). The power of money-lender in the Indian village is openly admitted by the English themselves in colonial reign by stating 'the Indian peasant never even sees the product of his own labor'. This is irony of fate that still the traditional money-lender exist in local markets offering small farmers for financial helps and thus getting most of the financial share of sale of produce.

The moment his (peasant) harvest is gathered it goes to the money-lender, who then makes him an advance until the next harvest (ibid: 45).

Ashfaq and Raza comment on the negative role of middlemen in agriculture domain in following words:

The middlemen sometimes secure up to 50 per cent or even more by exploiting extreme conditions in the market. Farmers cannot sell their produce directly to processors, factories and markets due to strong network of middlemen. If farmers take their produce directly to markets, they have to face many problems due to close links of middlemen with brokers, commission agents, transporters and market committees. Commission agents refuse to buy produce from the farmers due to self-created low demand (Ashfaq & Raza, 2011)

To end this exploitative practice that is largely harming the small growers at the local levels, Ashfaq and Raza suggest that:

Since middlemen have established networks in the market, they rule the market. The government should play its role as a watch dog in the market so that forces of demand and supply can act freely in determination of prices (Ashfaq & Raza, 2011).

Similarly, Lakhia adds in words below:

Government's silence over intrusion of the middlemen in wheat trade is enigmatic and puzzling. No doubt, the entry of commission agents in

wheat trade is not a new phenomenon, they had been operating with impunity in the past also, but not at such a huge scale. They have virtually monopolized the market, ousting the real stakeholders out of arena. The middlemen, known for minting money on the toil of others, have upset government's plans to offer growers reasonable return for using costly inputs and hard labor to produce the commodity (Lakhiar, 2011).

5.8 Aftermath of Farm Mechanization in Sacha Soda

The succeeding section covers a discussion about main problems faced by village community after mechanization of agriculture domain.

5.8.1 Displacement of Labour

The uneven farm mechanization badly affected the peasants and tenants in village but also generally created pressing situation for rest of farmers even belonging to power groups. It is because the power groups though give social and moral support in matters outside village like protection from police, district administration and sometimes securing jobs from politicians. But overall in agriculture domain, farmers have to manage their affairs themselves. It is also understood and accepted by group allies not to demand favors in agriculture as group head is responsible for providing funds for purchase of modern equipments or pay the rentals. It was only during the developmental projects launched in area where the group heads benefitted their group allies. On the other hand, due to their sound financial position, these landlords started preferring modern equipment due to which people depending on them in agriculture were out of work. These off-farm laborers due to use of modern equipment had no other choice to leave village and become daily wages laborers in adjacent town of Farooqabad, or migrating to big urban center like Sheikhpura, Faisalabad, Gujranwala or Lahore in search of jobs.

In case of small growers, it has become mandatory to engage few members of family in agriculture whereas sending youngsters to urban center especially cities mentioned above that are known to be industrial cities in Punjab for jobs. The situation for seasonal migrants in urban centers is even becoming worse because of acute shortfalls of electricity due to which job opportunities are becoming narrower. The recent decision of government in terms of fixing the minimum wages up to approximately Rs. 7000 made it harder for the industrialists to pay for the salaries of these industrial workers in order to maintain the cost-benefit ratios. This new development has created a gulf in job opportunities and gave rise to large level protests on behalf of industrial workers in big urban centers. Almost these protests have become common feature of urban life in the Punjab especially in Faisalabad city that is called 'Manchester' of Pakistan.

Another aspect of land settlement policy was the colonization of the wasteland and creation of land canal colonies. To meet the needs of the Indian army, it was necessary to bring into cultivation the vast arid areas of western Punjab. For this purpose, a huge network of irrigation canals was constructed which converted the wastelands of western *doabs* into canal colonies and introduced commercial agriculture in Punjab. In their pursuit to consolidate their political position, the British used land distribution to fulfill military requirements, and maintain an extractive system which could finance their administrative system (Saif, 2010: 30). Ian Talbot notes that 'the creation of the canal colonies was closely linked with the other major development of the late nineteenth century, the Punjab emergence as the leading recruitment centre of the Indian Army (Talbot, 1988).

5.8.2 Small Land Holdings

The landholdings of small farmers are not economically feasible to imply modern machinery because in such case the investments overrun returns. It has already been highlighted that there is a growing concern of high pricing of chemical technologies used

in agriculture due to which small growers cannot afford using modern agriculture methods. It is also among the reasons that are making these farmers preferring their traditional methods once again. The respondents were of the view that modern agriculture technology only helps people with large landholdings. The large farm size has to be supplemented with appropriate financial resources to gain more yield per acre and thus increasing the profit-investment margin. The base line information from village testifies that small growers and farmers are in no position to tune to modern farming. The recent experience of modern farming practices have turned out to be disastrous for the small farmers therefore a great majority has either shifted back or is shifting to their traditional practices.

5.8.3 Adverse effect of Chemicals

It was commented by an official during a focus group discussion, that agro-chemical companies due to their huge investments always use print and electronic media to set in motion campaigns to advertise their products. The international industries in Pakistan bring small growers in a competition that is interest based and also influence farmers through their local dealers in local markets for selling their products along with various gift schemes as well as other incentives. These local dealers try to supply medicines on loan basis often claimed back during harvesting season. The farmers usually are convinced to take the loans which usually turn out to be difficult to be repaid because of various social and financial liabilities on them. The agreement among farmers during focus group discussion was upon the failure of government departments especially agriculture to educate farmers adverse aftermath of these sprays and synthetic seeds on agricultural land's physical properties as well as health hazards caused by the modern technologies.

It was found during research that agencies of agricultural research advocated the benefits and effectiveness of new and foreign techniques and methods. According to

the farmers, these modern methods are told to be only beneficial in order to reap benefits from agriculture sector. Modern practices were reported to be only feasible mean of improving agricultural produce for bringing economic prosperity and upgrading farmers' general welfare in rural areas. Farmers reported that wide disperse of High Yielding Varieties of Crops accompany with continually increased doses of (often imported) chemical fertilizers and pesticides. It is also reported that wherever new crop varieties have spread, inter-cropping patterns, time-honored crop-rotations, and many vital facets of local and traditional agriculture have been severely undermined (not by choice, rather, it has been forcibly adopted by farmers through compulsion imposed through various means like: government policies, selective price incentives and subsidies). This problem was also shared during meetings with staff of a Government of the Punjab's funded project. The field staff of agriculture department and various agriculture development projects are usually against the traditional methods. This biasness is usually due to their training provided to them by their project superior staff and scientists posing modern agriculture to be the only remedy.

On the other side, internal reports produced by national level agriculture research agencies unveiled a dissimilar story in which many traditional practices and methods were revisited and re-experimented to seek attentions of the farming community's (cases of NARC have already been cited in early part of this chapter). This trend is often observed now because the mechanized agriculture has largely proved to be beneficial for big and wealthy landlords. Few projects undertaken by agriculture agencies in Farooqabad gave room to involve certain traditional methods in their projects due to appropriateness and economic feasibility for small growers. However, village community is largely in favor of encouragement of traditional methods due to its cost-effectiveness.

5.8.4 Environmental Hazards

Staff of agriculture department during Informal meetings and conversations uncover that intensive commercialization had a very negative effect on environment on agriculture. The pesticides use led to enormous levels of chemical buildup in our environment including water, livestock, soil, air and even in human bodies. A number of sources in agriculture department spoke of the short-term effects of Fertilizers on crop productivity whereas a long-term devastating and negative results for environment where they remain for long periods of time even years after leaching and running off, contaminating water bodies and ground water. The use of non-local and crossbreed seeds and encouragement of crop monoculture have given rise to dangerous threats to indigenous and local crop varieties. A Senior respondent shared that 'we have taken the wrong road of destroying our natural resources like soil, water, in order to cope with the increasing population pressure on agriculture sector. He further added that:

Ay hari khudkhasian ker rahay aa, lokan nu kam nai milda, pindaan di surathaal bighar gai ay. Zairaan jairian sarkari millan wich bandian wa unha da faida nai hoyo. Inha zairan da ulta nuqsaan pani tay hawa wich hoyo. Lokaan nay kai qisaman di bemaarian paal layaan nay

Translation:

The effects already show - farmers committing suicide in growing numbers with every passing year; the horrendous effects of pesticide sprays (endosulphan) by some government-owned plantation projects few years ago; the pesticide-contaminated bottled water and aerated beverages are only some instances.

A genuine query was raised that during mechanization of agriculture process in the Punjab, that why a majority of small growers and tenants could not take up the modern methods and mechanized farming in spite of heavily funded projects launched by Government in co-action with international agencies working on agriculture development. Instead, the village people showed their concern that in spite of bringing people into the picture, the international companies selling agri-products are given all

liberties to influence public policy as regards matters regarding prices and profit margins without fulfilling promise of providing good standard medicines in time to practically contribute for agriculture sustainability.

Another view regarding modern pesticides and fertilizers was also shared by respondents in village. They said to make farmers ready to accept attractive offers, companies dealing in modern sprays adopted different methods of attracting farmers through gift schemes, etc. The comparison made by respondents was that precondition of promised high yield was need for massive doses of synthetic fertilizers and agro-chemicals which were too expensive and environmentally destructive, both at production as well as consumption stages. One respondent quoted a research which highlighted that:

Zairaan mitee day keerian jidan ganduyee nu vi marday aa. Inha di waja naal her saal bohti sundian fasl tay aandian wa. Inha di waja naal bandian tay maal di sehtaan vi vighardian nay. Jairian zairaan spray day baad mitee wich jazab nai hondian oho bohata nuqsaan kerdian wa. Khadaan day istaamal tu baad her saal bohati istaamal kernian paidian wa. Inha khaadan di waja naal mitee di paidawari taqat vi thur jandi aa.

Translation

Chemical fertilizers poison micro-and macro-organism in soil, these cause diseases and pests in plants and indirectly affecting the health of the farm animals and human beings. Any chemical fertilizer not absorbed by plants may increase the percentage of particular chemical in the soil and may eventually make the soil infertile. Chemical fertilizers particularly nitrogen and phosphorous caused leaching of nutrients from the soil, so they decreased the soil fertility in the longer run.

He also quoted his discussion with one agricultural scientist that if a chemical fertilizer was used once, it had to be used every year in order to maintain a high yield. If chemical fertilizers were not used in consequent years, production goes down even below the original yield.

5.8.5 Focused Group Discussion on Farm Mechanization

In order to know the specific issues and problems regarding the farm mechanization, the agriculture department staff conducted a community meeting in the village. I was asked to participate in the farmers' session by one of key respondents in Adaptive Research Farm in Sacha Soda run by the Agriculture department. To make it result oriented, different farmers from all economic strata of the village were requested to participate. The group activity commenced with a general comments regarding the farmers' views on modern farming methods. I was asked to act as a group facilitator.

Mr. Kamran Afzal (Group Coordinator): We know that Pakistan is basically a third world country with its economy based on agriculture. It means that development in agriculture sector directly affects the process of rural development and also plays an important role in the overall development of country from three main angles. First, to make country food sufficient, second, to make food item available nationwide on cheaper rates that is affordable to all segments of society. Third, better growth would also mean improvements in national exports regarding agricultural commodities that would help us as a nation to earn from exports and thus increase the national earnings.

Mr. Haji Asghar (Farm Agronomist): I also want to share few important things to carry forward the discussion that food security and surplus of crop produce in order to compete in international markets regarding national exports, we need to understand the essentiality of full utilization of agricultural resources like enhancing yield per acre of agricultural land, efficient use of irrigation water, shunning of traditional methods of farming, putting in use the best seed varieties. In this regard, we must know that cost of production of various crops is not competitive which is largely because of low productivity mainly due to inefficient farming methods. We must comprehend that if Pakistan has to survive in face of current day challenges of globalization and free international market, there is undeniable need to adopt the modernization of

agriculture domain in our rural areas. The need of 'transfer of technology' is now a requisite which means transfer of modern, cost effective, and efficient technology to the farming system.

Mr. Asif Jat (The extension agent): There is need to apprehend comprehensively that plant protection measures also help farmers to increase their per acre yield as these measures help controlling the pest attacks as well as other diseases that largely damage the crops. I can quote the year 2003 and 2004, when government imported 33.2 thousand tones of pesticides for crop protection. Efficient use of pesticides and other disease controlling measures, we can also enhance the agricultural produce per acre which would directly benefit the farmers and indirectly the nation.

Mr. Jawwad Ghumman (small farmer): I agree with all of the things that have been shared today. I just want to ask from my learned fellows that, is there specific technology or a machinery that suites the small farmers and their farming practices? To the best of my knowledge, I have not learnt about any such machine which is as you said modern, cost effective and efficient at the same time.

Mr. Haji Asghar: You are right, but government is running various schemes for small farmer to get full benefits from mechanized farming. For instance, agricultural credit scheme under various national banks of the country, micro-credit schemes, on-farm drainage system run by farmer organizations in various districts of the province and also construction of new irrigation canals.

Mr. Farukh (small farmer): I respect what you said but I could not see a single canal in our district. Can I add something more? Please name some newly constructed canals in whole of Punjab that are operational on ground not in papers (laughter follows).

Mr. Qureshi (small farmer): I am talking on behalf of my village brethren that we know few of the farmers who took agricultural loans and then continuously followed by the recovery officers of the banks and talking to the poor farmers in an insulting way. The

staff not only insults rather they threaten the poor farmers for withholding of their lands through litigations.

Mr. Khalid Bajwa (Tenant): Most of the farmers who adopted modern farming finally left their modern farming practices because of the shortages of pesticide in the local markets thus making farmers to grope in search of pesticide in neighboring districts. The local suppliers hide their supplies for making an artificial shortage thus providing for themselves chances to increase the price rates. I am concerned about the legal measure taken against those culprits.

Mr. Rana Iqbal (a progressive farmer): first of all, I appreciate that you have at least contact us in our village for knowing our problems. Please do not get offended as we the village people are not against you but these are our routine concerns due to which my village fellows are getting emotional. But as a matter of fact, the government schemes that are termed as support schemes are mainly benefitting those who do not need them at all. I mean to say the rich and wealthy farmers already have the economic cushion to bear the expenses where as they use their links and political resources to make more benefits from these schemes. I am sure that you (government official) would agree with me as I am not blaming but telling you the truth.

Mr. Kamran Afzal: Your point is well taken. Me and my colleagues accept this shortcoming but this is also beyond our control as we are also government officials and have to accept what is told to us on part of our superiors. If we are asked to serve their friends first, it is our compulsion to obey failing to which would result in bad consequences for us. We do have some specimens before us in which few of our colleagues paid the price of resisting before the superiors.

Researcher: With respect, is there any solution to this problem due to which small and subsistence level farmers suffer the most. Can't we as a community do something to stop this manipulation? I mean government claims that she is putting all efforts for

agricultural and rural development but on the other hand, grass root communities complain that they do not receive what is promised to them during the elections.

Mr. Zaigham (local school teacher and a small farmer): I was reading somewhere that up to the year 1960, there was no formal agricultural policy. The main thrust of the planning was to bring industrialization in the country to create jobs in order to provide employment to people and also reducing the poverty. In my view, there is no harm, if we accept that our efforts turned out to be failure. By doing so, we as a nation would have a room to revisit our faults and constitute new and socially acceptable plan for agriculture development especially from the point of view of majority of the farmers who are most small and subsistence level producers.

Mr. Haji Asghar: There have been several times, when the government tried to implement land reforms so that feudalism is effectively eradicated from country. But it was always refused and resisted by the influential land lords mostly the feudal that used their political influences to stop all such efforts taken by any government what so ever. In such case, all of these are united and act contrary to the national interests.

Mr. Asal Din (shop keeper and a small farmer): in my view, the farm mechanization is only suitable for the big landowners who have big landholdings and sufficient financial resources to adopt modern farming. Small farmers are not against the modern farming but we want something that is according to our financial status. I think most of the farmers sitting in this session would agree that most of the damage is done by the new entry that we call *thakaydars* (contractor cum farmers). These are basically the ones who are not farmers rather they get lands on lease from governments and invest millions on their crops and largely capture the local markets. While doing so, they influence the commission agents accept what they command to them. We small farmers do not have any say in matter so local markets. These influential money lenders decide what to do and most of us (small farmers) have to accept what they decide.

Mr. Sher Mohammad (progressive farmer): The mechanized farming also displaces labor from farms and thus increases the unemployment rate. You can see the employment opportunities in cities. The industries are being closed and labor is mostly starving and becoming criminals and largely indulged in street crimes.

Mr. Kamran Afzal: It is basically why we are sitting with you to record the community's response regarding their resistance against mechanized farming.

Mr. Nazir Virak (progressive farmer): As regards my view on mechanized farming, I think farm mechanization is mainly capital intensive and has a big-farmer bias means only rich and big farmers can afford to buy.

Researcher: I have recently come to knowledge about the farmers who call themselves commercial farmers that they capture the local market and contact the farmers to sell their wheat to them at the rate that is fixed by the government but sell the wheat to the government at their self-negotiated prices by creating an artificial shortage.

Mr. Haji Asghar: This is true to a large extent, these middlemen in local markets are basically influential and backed by politicians because most of them are their relatives, family friends or hailing from their local support groups due to which they not only compel farmer to sell the wheat only to them and on the other hand blackmail the government to accept their terms.

Mr. Asif Jat: We cannot deny at the same time the good side of modern farming. For example, it allowed multiple cropping which was not possible under traditional system. It also enhances the efficiency by transfer of technology from animate sources to inanimate sources. It also helps in saving the land growing for animal power that is used for tilling and other purposes.

Mr. Rana Iqbal: Oh my dear, you must know that growing fodder for animals is not exclusively for the bullocks rather we do have our for example domestic animals like buffaloes and cows for which we need to grow the fodder but mostly the crop residue is

servicing the same purpose. So our land tracts are not exclusively growing fodder for animal only. Similarly, I do not agree that multiple cropping was only made possible due to modern farming. We know that multiple cropping practices have traditionally been our routine practices like growing seasonal vegetables and lentils.

Mr. Tariq Iqbal (progressive farmer): We must accept that agriculture development is not merely adoption of modern technology in farming system rather it is also about improving the rural infrastructure like construction of new roads, repair works of damaged road due to which our time is wasted, similarly, the electric supply is also seriously hampering the management of tube well operated through electricity. All of my fellow would agree that most of the tube well owners who installed their tube wells after investing lots of money have to shift our tube wells from electricity to the power generators run by diesel. But after doing so, you can see the instability of diesel prices has once again created another challenge for the small farmers to bear the ever increasing diesel prices. Agriculture for small farmers has simply become a nightmare.

Mr. Kamran Afzal: This is absolutely true that in developed countries of the world the situation and social conditions for mechanization of agriculture is different from third world countries like Pakistan. I think the best suitable strategy regarding mechanization of agriculture is first to collect reliable data to actually know the extent of problem. The said data would help government and agriculture department to plan in a realistic manner to suggest the best suited mechanical technology for Pakistan.

Mr. Rana Iqbal: I also want to add that the areas where there is surplus labor like our district, the best suited agriculture can be the best use of good quality seeds, with more reliance over green fertilizers and best water managements schemes to get increased yield per acre. But areas like Baluchistan where regions are not densely populated, labor saving technologies could be a good remedy to cope with shortage of labor as well as increasing yield per acre.

Mr. Yaqoob (small farmer): There is not harm in consulting the traditional farming practices that are in harmony with the socio-economic and environmental factors. In order to remove the criticism, the government and agriculture department engage agriculture agencies to suggest means to revitalize the traditional methods to match with the current and modern requirements. I am suggesting this because our traditional methods are not merely farming practices for us but it is also a source of identity. Total negation of traditional methods would also create resentment among the farmers as the village community saw and observed during the developmental schemes in the village.

Researcher: In my humble view, mostly farmers are complainants of the adverse effect of commercial agriculture more than the modern farming methods.

Mr. Tariq Iqbal: This is quite true. I see commercial agriculture as a result of urban business approach. We see that commercial agriculture is not about the subsistence rather it is to earn huge profits from using most modern inputs and technology. The purpose of these urban based farmers is to increase their farm productivity through using latest technology. This type of farming is only feasible for the wealthy business oriented people.

Mr. Haji Asghar: Commercial agriculture is surely a '*sarmaya dar*' (Capitalistic) approach which is the result of changed thinking about agriculture like doing agriculture as an industry. It also uses modern cultivating and harvesting methods, encourages better distribution of land, and investing huge finances. But as a matter of fact, most prerequisites required for commercial agriculture are absent in the country therefore most of the progressive farmers also lack ability to turn their farming practices into commercial activity.

5.8.6 Focused Group Discussion on Support Prices and Taxation

The second part of the previous activity was conducted after fortnight in the same place where farmers were invited to speak up and share their problems regarding Agricultural support prices and taxation system. The researcher along with farmer community from not only the village but also from neighboring villages participated in the discussion.

Mr. Haji Asghar: We know that government is concerned about the growth and development of agricultural sector in the country as well as more tuned towards the general welfare of the farmers. The government's decisions to stabilize the agricultural prices at some reasonable level are very imperative because these support prices are usually fixed by keeping in mind its acceptance from both the farmers and the consumers. It is now our moral duty to pay the taxes timely to ensure the continuance of same support extended on part of government for agricultural development.

Mr. Asif Jat: The Agricultural price policies are essential because these provide incentives for the farmers to increase their agricultural production per acre so that they could earn more and indirectly enhance the national production which is necessary for the food security of country as well as to improve the foreign trade that brings for Pakistan, foreign exchange.

Mr. Naimat Ali (small farmer): I am poor farmer therefore I cannot afford the new methods. What you have said makes sense but let me tell you another side of the story about which I am entirely sure that you all already know it. The reason why I am telling you is because it is a killing factor for poor farmers but the government is not taking notice of that. This is for sure that government purchases all major crops from us at a fixed rate. But the process of purchase is usually delayed, I do not know why due to which small farmers are bound to sell the crops to the local commission agent. It is so because we have many other businesses to do for which we direly need money, for example, marriage of daughter, or education of our kids, other social commitments. We do not have proper storage facility due to which we have to sell our crop produce to

these local commission agents in local markets. These local commission agents later on sell the crop to the government on their terms. These middlemen take from us and pass it on government without their hard work. They only have the monetary resources which they use efficiently and make millions. On the other hand, poor farmers are only left with what they have produced. Often you may have observed that these commission agents exploit the situation especially when they know that government's purchasing is slow and a fear of crop damage is unavoidable. These people fully take benefit from the situation.

Mr. Kamran Afzal: The prices of agricultural commodities play a vital role in resource allocation and improving farm incomes. The open market prices during the immediate post-harvest times are generally depressed. This is also true particularly if there is a good crop and better yield per acre in a particular year.

Mr. Rana Iqbal: I also agree that poor farmers and also many progressive farmers lack proper storage facility in their village due to which they have to sell their crops in open markets especially if the government's purchasing is delayed or slow due to any reason what so ever.

Mr. Asif Jat: But this is a fact that these support prices are government's good gesture in order to reduce the income disparities and also to help the farmers to maintain their minimum living standard.

Mr. Tariq Iqbal: This is true but if implemented with the aim to benefit the farmers. You all know that farmer community as well as the agriculture department and over all government is well aware but they seem ineffective before these powerful interest groups. For us this specimen is enough to say and conclude that if the government is not doing anything to stop these local market usurpers, it means government in a way is encouraging these people.

Researcher: I have learnt through various governmental and private sources that most of the farmers in Punjab are living below the subsistence level yet there are many who are earning well. What possible reasons can be associated with this phenomenon?

Mr. Haji Asghar: This is true and because of the big landowners or feudal in Punjab. These influential people saved their big landholding from land reforms by using various pressure tactics therefore these feudal are no doubt earning handsome and making profits.

Mr. Kamran Afzal: There is another reason that many influential people like these feudal have set up their orchards and fruit gardens in order to make more profits from their agriculture.

Mr. Rana Iqbal: Also those who are indulged in growing vegetable are making reasonable profits. In case of small growers and subsistence level farmers, they do not go after such orchards and vegetable growing because these farmers due to their small landholding cannot afford to compromise their staple crops. Their small landholdings do not allow them to think of anything else. It is therefore their compulsion to stick to their traditional methods and crops.

Researcher: The evidence of Green revolution technologies have increased the income of large number of farmers that is why there are people in Pakistan who claim to increase the taxes upon the farmers in order to widen the tax-paying net. According to a recent survey, I have come to know that only two percent of people out of national population pays their taxes regularly. These regular tax payers are normally the government servants who have to pay their taxes whether willingly or unwillingly.

Ms. Asif Jat: This is due to the commercial growers due to which critics ask government to increase the tax ratio on the agricultural sector.

Mr. Haji Asghar: we must know that many industrialists in Punjab have purchased agricultural lands to legalize their black money earned from elsewhere but showing to the government as income from their agricultural chores.

Mr. Khalid: There are reported cases of many corrupt government officials who have bought agricultural lands or they have obtained government owned lands from leases and now declaring their graft money as their agricultural income.

Researcher: Does this mean that this money is usually not earned from agriculture rather only a mean to protect the black money?

Mr. Kamran Afzal: Of course this is true. A number of agriculturists have also entered into trade and industry. The exemption of agricultural profit enables these people to evade their income tax by showing their incomes from industry and other commercial means as income generated from agricultural sector. These government statistics only talk about the ratio of income not the actual sources. When these critics see the profit margins, they also ask government to increase the tax net which is in a way an exploitation of real farmers.

Mr. Haji Asghar: The exclusion of agricultural income from the purview of income tax enables those pseudo agriculturalists that would otherwise be liable for paying the taxes to avoid their tax by showing their income as being generated from agriculture.

Researcher: There was news in the paper that the new motorway that is being constructed from Faisalabad to Multan (a city of Prime Minister) is largely being manipulated for earning millions. The people who are living nearby the proposed motorway plan are building markets and shops on both sides of motorway. This is done to earn more from the government by claiming that motorway is damaging their commercial activity whereas the compensation paid for the agriculture is much low.

Mr. Kamran Afzal: The agriculture sector cannot bear the burden of extra taxation because most of the people in rural areas are small farmers who are already under enormous tensions because of their direct and indirect tax structure.

Mr. Nazir Virak: There are already too many taxes and levies on the agriculture sector therefore we cannot bear the extra burden of more taxes.

Mr. Yaqoob: I can cite examples from pre-independence times, when farmers usually grew for their domestic and only earned very minimal economic profits. They normally left their land uncultivated due to the fear of paying *Mamla* (land tax) and *Abiana* (water tax) to the British government.

Mr. Khalid: It will be the same that the yield from levying extra taxes will be too small.

Mr. Asal Din: I just want to say that government has to improve the credit facility to the small farmers but this loan must be interest free and repaid in easy installments. If the small farmers are facilitated, they can no doubt perform well not only for themselves and for the country as well.

5.9 Farmers' Experience with Modern Technology

In below, I have tried to examine reported effects of modern methods of farming with the natural resources like soil, nutrients, etc.

5.9.1 Reduction in Soil Fertility

Farmers refer that use of fertilizers for few initial years enhanced the fertility. It was observed later on that soil's natural fertility level was reduced. Whereas this factor raised a situation in which there was a constant demand for more and more synthetic fertilizers for gaining profits out of the sown crops. Farmers cited that constant use of

artificial fertilizer, together with a lack of crop rotation, reduces the soil's fertility year by year due to which land is facing physical problems as it is losing its fertility and thus becoming barren. Farmers opine that increasing pressure of population laid stress on the natural resources for producing more, second, the inclination towards commercialization of crops boosted the utilization of chemical technology for increasing fertility of the land, pesticides and weedicides are reported to effect land's fertility. It is therefore, the farmers thus caught in a web where they had to rely heavily on the artificial sources of increasing soil fertility.

5.9.2 Incompatible Fertilizers and Supply

Farmers state that agriculture department especially the extension staff advocates for the HYVs for more yield on the average. They further added that new seed varieties require huge amount of water for irrigation which is not provided to them from canal department. The tubewells an alternative source of irrigation are also becoming an economic liability. The private tube well operators due to high price of fuels are increasing their rentals for irrigation water which at times become impossible for the farmers. Similarly, the synthetic fertilizers also raise the demand for water for irrigation. Farmers told that in Farooqabad town, this deficiency of irrigation water is made up through use of waste water from domestic units that are again a bigger source of health hazards. The respondents also threw light on the negative effects of artificial fertilizers upon the fertility of land. Most of the small growers came up with quotes of their previous ten years' experience with gradual decline in yield per acre. A connected and significant concern was also shared by respondents in words described below:

Her vairi khadaan wan savanian pani paidian wa. Her baar market tay agencian nevi dewaiyaan lay andian wa. Supply apni marzi naal tay daam vi apni marzi day laindian nay. Dewaiyaan walina companian sarkari idaararian day logaan nu paisay laandian tay una di dewaiyaan vikwandian nay.

Translation

Each year the local markets and supply agencies bring new products with instable supply to meet the demand. The fertilizers, pesticide producing companies bribe the staff of agriculture department so that their products are recommended for sale.

5.9.3 Nitrate run-off

As per the direction of extension staff, nitrate¹⁴⁰ is used which is contained in the fertilizers. After use, half of the nitrate in artificial fertilizer used on crops was dissolved by rain. The dissolved nitrate runs off the fields to contaminate water courses. Farmers' community referred that they had witnessed a change in the taste of drinking water due to which they felt that water is not satisfying the thirst. It was rather found to be more toxic for the skins of both human and animals. Another problem was the water being less effective during cloth wash and also changing the hair color of the people and causing baldness among the people. The farmers told that the agriculture department conducted the experiments on several samples of water taken from all corners of Sacha Soda and nearby villages. The laboratory results also confirm the negative results on farmers.

5.9.4 Soil Erosion

The agriculture department pleaded for deep tilling as it was thought that deep plough always enhances the yield. The farmers shared that while going after the recommendations, they observed that recommended yield was not achieved which was shared with the staff who visited village only occasionally but staff kept on telling farmers that something else might have gone wrong instead of finding real reasons and

¹⁴⁰ Nitrate: A salt of nitric acid. Potassium nitrate or sodium nitrate used as fertilizers produces nitrates that, if in overabundance, can leach out of the soil into crops and into water supplies or adjacent streams.

testing that why newly referred methodology did not produce its anticipated results. The agriculture department proclaimed that repeated deep ploughing was used to turn over the ground, heavy rains can carry away topsoil and leave ground useless for cultivation. The farmer community felt aggrieved when they started going after recommendations of agriculture department. It was reported that:

What else we had in our hands. The pressing economic burdens misguided us to go and change our farming methods under the advices given by agricultural extension staff in the mere hopes of economic gains but there was even a deficiency in the previous one. Nobody from the government came to see the agony.

5.9.5 Soil Compaction

This was a hidden problem that remained out of notice for so many years but sudden discovery of this problem created a bewildered set of responses on behalf of farmer community. The areas that were heavily and intensively farmed usually saw a series of problems of Soil Compaction due to damage to the soil structure. Whereas, conventional tillage involved a tractor passing over land six to seven times, and wheeling covered up to 90 per cent of a field. Even a single tractor pass can compress the surface enough to reduce porosity of soil by 70 per cent, increasing surface run-off and, therefore, water erosion. In worst cases, surface run-off approached 100 percent and irrigation water did not penetrate the surface. It was observed by the farmers that animal drawn plough was disappeared largely because of tractors; even individual owners provided services due to which farmers opted for mechanical traction. The villagers cite their practical observations while tilling fields that wheels of this heavy machine pressing soil hard. Later on, upon irrigation, water cannot be absorbed in land rather it only gets evaporated under sun.

5.9.6 Threats to Indigenous Seeds, Animal Breeds and other Species

The elders of village told that various local breeds of animals including horses, cows, buffaloes, goats and chicken were completely replaced by the new breeds that were not native. Many native animal breeds are extinct out of which farmers cited various forms of wild life especially jackals and snakes that were totally vanished from scene. The same holds true for many indigenous plant varieties which have disappeared.

5.9.7 Habitat Destruction

The wild animals and plants which were once a common sight around farms are deprived of their natural habitat and dying out. Mostly, the animals were seen in concrete shades without exposure to their natural habitat. It was also observed during interaction with owners of the goat or buffalo farms where these animals had no chances of remaining in natural environment. Similarly, milk producing animals were treated with machines. The owners were also concerned that though modern milk blowing practices have saved much time but it is not natural due to which damages are commonly seen in a shape of physical hurts among animals.

5.9.8 Contaminated Food

The farmers also cited food items' contamination and its residual effects after the crop harvest. Both plant and animal products were told to leave the farm contaminated with the chemicals that were used to produce it. A lot of diseases were now reported to be the result of chemicals in agriculture. For example, the DDT which has been proved for cancer causing, damage to liver, nerve, brain, extremely persistent, toxic to wildlife. Another example of contamination is Aldrin/Dieldrin/Endrin that is allegedly causing cancer suspect, birth defects, very persistent, and toxic to wildlife. Similarly, the use of chemical pesticides was also known to eliminate the natural enemies of crop pest. In

same way, different food items were found to be containing remnants of chemicals being used on them. For instance, Potatoes are tested to be carriers of DDT. Onions carried toxic effects of DDT. Cucumber carry Methamidophos, Endosulfan, similarly, cauliflowers were the carriers of Methamidophos, Endosulfan, etc.

5.9.9 Destruction of Traditional Knowledge Systems and Cultural Traditions

Farmers and other followers of rural indigenous knowledge and traditions (both agricultural and non-agricultural) were invariably connected to agriculture and agricultural systems. The new technologies undermined the confidence of traditional farmers in their own abilities and in value of their traditional knowledge. It disintegrated farming communities, impoverished social life of millions of farmers and raised social alienation. The same technologies under promise of bringing prosperity to farming community brought intermingled effects of rural-urban migration, rural depopulation and loss of socio-ecological balance, etc.

5.9.10 Control of Agriculture Inputs and Food Distribution Channel

The role of middlemen was also very much visible in rural Punjab since advent of modern agricultural techniques. It is beyond doubt that running business of agro-chemicals is a matter of putting millions of Rupees which these middlemen without any practical experience in agriculture invested to gain three times more benefits. These middlemen employed agricultural graduates and engaged them in selling products of their companies for profit margin. The marketing staff was only concerned about selling products and thus making profit without any concerns what so ever for farmer community. I found quite a few marketing staff while celebrating that they sold medicines to farmers without any prior experience of dealing with a specific disease of the crops. It can safely be concluded that supply and trading in agricultural inputs and produce is in hands of a few large corporations. This threatens food security, reducing

leverage and importance of first and the last part of supply chain of farmer and consumer.

5.9.11 Threat to Individual Farmers

In first instance, the mechanization and chemical technology of agriculture was not a matter of small scale farmers. The later experience of small farmers also proved that only rich farmers can adopt improved and modern technologies. The farmers reported that economically they were not in a position to buy and adopt expensive sprays and fertilizers. In other specimens, small scale farmers had to take loans to adopt new methods of farming which later on did not match with their socio-economic conditions. Thus instead of poverty level going down rose with increased dependence on costly external farm inputs and credit which proved to be infeasible and unsustainable. The adoption of new technologies changed life styles of farmers without fulfilling promises of prosperity and sustainability in life of rural population in the Punjab.

5.9.12 Non Suitability of Modern Agricultural Machinery

This understanding was acknowledged thoroughly in my field that farmers of the village had good understandings of agriculture practices but they were always robbed off by the *Lambi Zaban*¹⁴¹ (allegedly the marketing staff of agricultural products' selling companies), who promised incredible results and dreams coming true. '*It never happened in sixty years of my life*' said one respondent. He quoted that few years back when there was large hue and cry for promotion of Combine harvesters¹⁴² (a composite agricultural unit serving many purposes from sowing seeding, harvesting crop, threshing

¹⁴¹ literally means 'big mouth'

¹⁴² Combine: (crop science) A self-propelled or tractor-drawn machine which cuts, threshes, and cleans the standing crop which moving across the field. It is adapted to harvesting all the small grains, soybeans, grain sorghums, peanuts, beans, etc. In some areas, the crop is cut and placed in windrows by a swather (windrower), and a combine with a pickup attachment gathers the grain and threshes it at a later date.

grain, bagging yields, substituting for hundred farm laborers, etc). The machine was failed because of undeniable reason which *Sahib Log*¹⁴³ did not accept. He analyzed and gave four main reasons for the failure of combined harvester in the area:

Firstly, that mostly people are having small tracts of land meeting only their subsistence. The machine was not successful in small farms because of rent and fuel it consumed during the service. It merely lowered the share of profit to farmers and actually went to owner of combined harvester.

Secondly, that during threshing, wheat seeds were badly damaged due to which they were not able to serve purpose of next season crop's seeds.

Thirdly, the stalk of crop that was also an asset for farmers because of two reasons, i.e., fodder for cattle and burning in fields as fertilizer because stalk was severely damages through machine use that instead of its being turned in straw, it was damaged in a powder form that did not serve both purposes.

Fourthly, the social cost of employing mechanical technology that push workers out of jobs and further make them migrate to cities for employments.

He cited an example of adjacent district of Hafizabad where combined harvester was successful because it was a city of big land owners and feudal having two to three thousand of acres of land on an average. *'The machine was for big land holdings'* said Mr. A.D but officials of agricultural department refused to accept. They kept on blaming us as somebody resistant of new technologies and thus change. *'You do the justice which is wrong and who is right'* he left the decision on me.

¹⁴³ Literally means "high Official". Here it refer to officials of Agriculture department

5.10 Modern Methods and Water Pollution: A Case Study

This section deals with discussion of modern methods and its impact on most crucial resource for life that is water. According to a survey in Pakistan, water resources are becoming insufficient as per population ratio. It is felt that in coming days, water shortage would severely affect nation due to many elements like dearth in volume of water coming from India because of construction of many small and big dams there. The increasing population size is another threat that concerns water shortage. Decrease in annual precipitation could be termed another reason. The water resources getting polluted is an undeniable factor for water shortfall. This section deals in details with water shortage as per result of water pollution, health issues rose due to pollution, breakage of irrigation system, environmental threats and economic compulsion of people in village.

5.10.1 Water Pollution as a threat to Indigenous Resources

The issue of pollution was the one widely accepted by agriculture staff, marketing officers of agro-based multi-national companies and farmers of village at the same time. The detailed talk with laboratory staff of Ayub Agricultural Research Institute during a research visit in Sacha Soda provided an opportunity to interact with them. The principal investigator was a soil scientist who briefed in detail about hazards of pollution to soil and underneath available water resources. He was of view that Pakistan is a country with ample water resources but effective water management concept is almost absent. Though, he shared that Government of Pakistan framed a Water Policy upon which implementation was not effective. Due to which, he feared that in coming few years, there will be a huge crisis for fresh water that is an essential necessity for human life. In addition, he also expressed that overwhelming use of chemicals in agriculture and domestic sector has even complicated problem as underground water resources are getting polluted due to which water is becoming unfit for human consumption as well as

for agricultural purposes. Having discussed this, there is a need to see how Pakistani legislation defines pollution. The Pakistan Environmental Protection Act 1997 defines Pollution as:

The contamination of air, land or water by the discharge or emission or effluents or wastes or air pollutants or noise or other matter which either directly or indirectly or in combination with other discharges or substances alters unfavorably the chemical, physical, biological, radiational, thermal or radiological or aesthetic properties of the air, land or water or which may, or is likely to make the air, land or water unclean, noxious or impure or injurious, disagreeable or detrimental to the health, safety, welfare or property of persons or harmful to biodiversity (Government of Pakistan, 1997).

The government of Pakistan enacted National Water Policy (NWP), approved recently by the Federal Government aims to provide safe drinking water for all, along with hygienic sanitation for urban and rural populations. In accordance with NWP, government had decided to form a National Water Council (NWC) to take decisions on water-related issues and inter-provincial conflicts. At provincial level, Provincial Water Regulatory Commissions (PWRC) are aimed to set up to handle all water-related provincial matters, including domestic water and sanitation. One of the key roles of NWP and PWRCs was to provide advice and support to lower levels of government to help them in the improved delivery of water and sanitation services. Similarly, National Environment Policy¹⁴⁴ approved in 2005 also recognizes importance of safe drinking water in following words:

The NEP also address the issues of clean drinking water and gave certain recommendations in order to provide sustainable access to safe water supply and effectively manage and conserve the country's water resources. The recommendations are to:

1. Develop a legal and policy framework for promotion of safe drinking water in Pakistan.
2. Increase coverage of water supply and water treatment facilities.
3. Establish a water quality monitoring and surveillance system.

¹⁴⁴ GoP, 2005, National Environment Policy, Ministry of Environment.

4. Make installation of water treatment plants as an integral component of all drinking water supply schemes. .
5. Promote low-cost water treatment technologies at the community and household levels (Government of Pakistan, 2005).

On other hand, there exists a full-fledged National Drinking Water Policy (NDWP) that provides a framework for addressing key issues and challenges facing Pakistan in provision of safe drinking water to people (Government of Pakistan, 2002). The overall goal of NDWP is;

1. To ensure safe drinking water to the entire population at an affordable cost in an equitable, efficient and sustainable manner.
2. To ensure reduction in the incidence of mortality and morbidity caused by water borne diseases.

In spite of this much policy level intellectual efforts, reflection of the same documentation was not observed in village and even in district of Sheikhpura. I made my efforts to meet personnel of Provincial Water Regulatory Commission but nobody in district office knew about them. The concepts defined in policy documents were also not known even unfamiliar to most of villagers but they were well aware of health issues faced within population and nearby villages. Many of farmers also shared their health issues especially during rice and wheat season. They also came up with brief cases faced by them during last two years. The pollution idea is further reinforced by the glimpse given by a study conducted by WWF (2007) in which it is clearly expressed that:

Deterioration in water quality and contamination of lakes, rivers and groundwater aquifers has resulted in increased waterborne diseases and other health impacts. Per capita water availability in Pakistan has decreased from 5,000 cubic meters per annum in 1951 to 1,100 (WWF, 2007).

The WWF report also shares few national and international experimentation teams visiting various places of Faisalabad and Sheikhpura districts to conduct Water tests. The report reveals results from those experiments also favoring the pollution of water resources at an incredible rate. WWF expresses that another source of water pollution is increased rate of use of chemicals in agricultural practices without any restriction. Another study also supports same notion while commenting that:

About 5.6 million tonnes of fertilizer and 70 thousand tonnes of pesticides are consumed in the country every year (2003). Pesticide use is increasing annually at a rate of about 6%. Pesticides, mostly insecticides, sprayed on the crops mix with the irrigation water, which it leaches through the soil and enter groundwater aquifers. In 107 samples of groundwater collected from various locations in the country between 1988 and 2000, 31 samples were found to have contamination of pesticides beyond FAO/WHO safety limits. A pilot project was undertaken in 1990-91 in Samundari, Faisalabad District over an area of 1,000 km², to look into the extent of groundwater contamination by agrochemicals. In an analysis of 10 groundwater samples drawn from a depth of 10-15 m, seven were contaminated with one or more pesticides (PCRWR, 2005).

The report also discussed increased use of agricultural products used in name of increased yield, productivity and thus increased profit margin. The report further stated that:

As there has been a four-fold increase in the use of pesticide use in the country since 1990, the contamination levels are likely to have increased significantly. It is estimated that 40 million residents depend on irrigation water for their domestic use, especially in areas where the groundwater is brackish. The associated health risks are grave, as bacteriological contamination of irrigation water often exceeds WHO limits even for irrigation (ibid).

The above mentioned excerpts clearly reveal that there is an alarming condition of water getting polluted in country. I also conducted a brief survey of the diseases in village that were related to pollution factors in water. There was a clear majority of villagers understanding relationship of water pollutants in form of chemicals used in

agricultural activities. The health monitoring teams also reported during a visit in village about water pollution factor and its relatedness with various diseases. Another study conducted recently by the PCRWR (2005) also favors the above mentioned information in following words:

A recent study of 11 cities of Punjab shows an excess of arsenic and fluoride concentrations in the water supply systems of six cities; Multan, Bahawalpur, Sheikhpura, Kasur, Gujranwala, and Lahore. Alarmingly, over 2 million people in these cities are drinking unsafe water, some with a high arsenic concentration (ibid).

Though the respondents in village in addition to staff of agricultural department were not aware of definition given above by prescribed legislation discussed in lines above but were complaining various changes being occurred due to the water underground and different health hazards faced by them and their families. A Study conducted in 2006 also supports the water resources getting polluted at incredible rates. In this regard, lines below also highlight:

There is also some evidence of high fluoride or arsenic content locally in Punjab. A number of locations have also been contaminated by industrial wastewater discharges. The stress on water resources of the country is from multiple sources. Rapid urbanization, increased industrial activity and dependence of the agricultural sector on chemicals and fertilizers have led to water pollution. Deterioration in water quality and contamination of lakes, rivers and groundwater aquifers has, therefore, resulted in increased water borne diseases and negative impacts on human health (Pak-SCEA, 2006).

5.10.2 Water Pollution and Health related Issues in the Village

The detailed discussion with doctor in Population Welfare Project located in village also highlighted few interesting and worth noticing information about increased effects of pollution as health hazards on lives of villagers.

In this regard, I will quote few of most common health problems like Typhoid fever which is a bacterial infection of the intestinal tract and bloodstream as discussed by doctor within village. The doctor further explained that germs of Typhoid fever are passed in human excreta. The risks of villagers getting affected are raised considerably when they take food which is somehow treated by person who is infected or by drinking water that has been contaminated by sewage containing bacteria. The doctor further told that upon entering patient's body, the germ starts multiplying them and spread from intestines towards bloodstream.

I will cite another example of Scabies being caused by polluted water in Sacha Soda. Regarding details of disease, doctor expressed that Scabies is a contagious skin infection that spreads rapidly in overcrowded conditions. The principal sign of disease is a pimple-like rash that is most commonly found on hands, between fingers, skin folds on wrist, elbow or knee, etc. The patient complains itching in body which gets more intense at night times. The doctor further added that personal hygiene is an important preventive measure and access to adequate water supply is important to control it.

Third example was of Ringworm which is normally mild disease of skin or nails usually caused by a fungus. Doctors also recommend personal hygiene, supported by availability of adequate quantities of water are important preventive measures.

Most commonly found disease was of Malnutrition which was faced to a larger extent. Despite huge investments on the behalf of the government, it still remains a major issue. The situation of malnutrition was not different in the village as well. The doctor also threw light on the issue and said that this issue has direct links with supply of water, sanitation facilities and hygiene. The common problem caused by malnutrition is diarrhea. The doctor was of view that malnutrition is mainly reason of poverty due to which parents could not provide dietary requirements to their children, similarly, ignorance and low education was another big reason attached to it.

Pakistan Strategic Country Environmental Assessment report conducted in 2006 brings its findings that are in perfect consistence with the data gathered from the field. The views of the report are mentioned below:

The links between water quality and health risks are well established. Inadequate quantity and quality of potable water and poor sanitation facilities and practices are associated with a host of illnesses such as diarrhoea, typhoid, intestinal worms and hepatitis. It is estimated that more than 1.6 million DALYs (Disability Adjusted Life Years) are lost annually as a result of death and disease due to diarrhoea, and almost 900,000 as a result of typhoid. Diarrhoeal and typhoid mortality in children accounts for the bulk of the losses, reflecting the vulnerability of children to these diseases. From a policy perspective the more informative estimate is presented in the Figure below, which summarizes the costs of water related mortality and morbidity. The total health costs are estimated at Rs 114 billion, or approximately 1.81 percent of GDP. The high proportions of costs due to premature child deaths, followed by the mortality impacts of typhoid in the older population are striking (Pak-SCEA, 2006).

Having discussed the worth noticing facts and figures, same report also cites another study conducted by UNICEF in the following lines:

20-40% of the hospital beds in Pakistan are occupied by patients suffering from water-related diseases, such as typhoid, cholera, dysentery and hepatitis, which are responsible for one third of all deaths (ibid).

This discussion above is also supported by a relevant reference based on scientific experimentations conducted by Blumenthal and Dr. Peasey (2002). Both scholars are of view as described below:

The review of epidemiological studies of wastewater and excreta use in agriculture shows that there are significant risks of gastro-intestinal infections to consumers of crops, farm workers and their families and nearby populations exposed to untreated wastewater or excreta. Studies

show that wastewater or excreta treatment prior to reuse can reduce these risks, and provide some indication of the extent of wastewater treatment needed to protect exposed populations against risks from helminth, bacterial and viral infections. However, there are methodological problems with many of the studies, and the results need to be interpreted with caution (Blumenthal & Peasey, 2002).

Despite the fact that pollution factors are creating considerable threats to human health as well as posing dangers to the physical properties of land, multinational companies and its staff were continuously found pleading for their products under pledge of huge profit margin. The notable thing in this entire scenario was that educated people were also not paying attention towards this important issue. Whereas, I am of the view that families with limited options and being caught in poverty web were bound to take risks as they wanted to break nexus of their economic deprivation at all costs. Similarly, lack of awareness was found to be another leading reason for the villagers being so ignorant from threats they were collectively posing to their motherly environment. Whereas, role of multinational companies staff was also very commercial because most of them were graduates of Agriculture Universities of country who were knowingly hiding facts as they were preferring their personal gains and wanted to secure their job. It was observed that most of farmers had close friendly relations with marketing staff of those companies due to which they started believing statements of representative of companies.

5.10.3 Water Pollution in Irrigation and Drainage System

Pakistan still being the country with largest irrigation set up is now facing numerous problems due to the mismanagement in the irrigation system like water theft, overwhelming influence of the local influential and politicians due to which the culprits are always given a free hand to do whatever suited them. This statement is also verified by the view of Pakistan Environmental Protection Agency in its report:

An unsustainable approach has provoked a considerable environmental damage resulting in depletion of phreatic water in certain places, water logging and increased salinity of soil and a higher level of pollution of water resources. The Social and Economic consequences are yet to be fully estimated while institutional strengthening is another area of concern. The irrigation system has been established without proper drainage leading to soil deterioration (Government of Pakistan, 2005:40).

There is a grave situation that demands the in-depth study to gauge the level of health and environmental threat to the people. The lines above clearly reveal an acknowledgement on the behalf of the government. I just want to make the point that if there is a situation at the policy level then the real impact the grass roots could easily be understood. Similarly, the quality of irrigation water plays a vital role in irrigated agriculture. Qualitative and quantitative status of different salts present in water is desirable for rating water quality. State of Environment (2005) also throws light on the same issue by telling that the salts present in the irrigation water are saline, sodic and saline-sodic in nature. A study conducted by WAPDA records the following observation:

The drainage effluents carried by all drains, rivers and drain and rivers mixed was within useable limits due to TDS and SAR. In Punjab, all drain were carrying saline and sodic waters due to high values of TDS and RSC or SAR and all of them also had high values for COD and BOD (WAPDA, 2004).

I will now throw light on deterioration of irrigation system as reported by respondents of village. The study mentioned above was conducted in all major reservoirs of province within which two main canals of village were also included. I want to point out Upper Chenab canal from which irrigation water was supplied to the village. The citation above and views of villagers go in line with each other revealing case of pollution affecting lives of villagers and thus rural economy in longer run.

The village is located in Sheikhpura district which is known to be industrial district of the Punjab facing another problem of heavy industrial pollution as well. The sugar and

textile units located in district were also a source of pollution in country side in the sense that industrial drains are usually passed through villages. These drains are damaging lands regarding its fertility, creating odor to surrounding areas while also adding to breathing problems. This very fact is also known to government as revealed in lines below:

Only a marginal number of industries furnish environmental assessment – 91% of multinational and 5% of national industries. The national quality standards specifying permissible limits of wastewater are seldom adhered to. The contamination of shallow groundwater near the industrial plants has been an area of concern as groundwater pollution is often permanent and it may take 100s or even 1000s of years for pollutants such as toxic metals from the tanneries to be flushed out of contaminated aquifer (Government of Pakistan, 2005:41).

Hardly, this fact was known to a single person whom I met during my field work and stay in village. When discussed with few respondents, a different opinion was emerged out of debate. The respondents told that this was their fault to allow companies with agricultural products to ruin natural resources. It was a deficiency on part of government that oversimplified things. Whereas, when countrymen wished to preserve culture and its products they were termed as fatalists or conservatives. In this regard, World Bank Assessment Report (2005) quotes UNICEF's findings that pose inside picture of water pollution in the Punjab. World Bank states:

UNICEF has also conducted studies and concluded that the population of Punjab in the main cities is exposed to high arsenic concentrations (World Bank, 2005)

A similar study by Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) on quality of sub-soil water in 14 districts of Punjab revealed that

85% of samples tested were unfit for human consumption. Alarmingly, over two million people are drinking unsafe water, some with high arsenic concentration (World Bank, 2005).

The citation given above reveals the picture of fourteen major districts in province of Punjab is not water safe. The water in sample districts was found unfit for human consumption. Similarly, Pakistan Council of Research in Water Resources in 2005 gave its findings on basis of scientific study as:

A recent study of eleven cities of Punjab shows an excess of arsenic and fluoride concentrations in water supply systems of six cities; Multan, Bahawalpur, Sheikhpura, Kasur, Gujranwala, and Lahore (PCRWR, 2005).

The village Sacha Soda was also included in sample of study where water sample showed high concentration of arsenic and fluorides in water supply systems. During stay, when I was completing my discussions on the water pollutants, I also felt that villagers were becoming more interested in knowing about issue in real. The health staff of model project of population welfare in village managed one day activity to give information to villagers on health related issues whereas staff of agriculture department was reported to be stuck in some other internal activity within department.

5.10.4 Safe Water Drainage, Environmental Threats and Economic Compulsions

The respondents from village also raised issues of very basic nature like:

1. What would happen when continued damages created by chemical wastes were tolerated?
2. What would be result of damage to agricultural land?
3. What health hazards would occur, if same scenario is allowed for another five years span?
4. Who is responsible for this act of negligence?

One respondent from village was more concerned about on-coming effects over health of people living in area. He said that merely poor and less sensitized villagers cannot be held responsible rather government functionaries are more involved in this crisis. He came up with an idea that *“can we call this an act of being loyal to the nation”*. He pointed out main problems of water logging and salinity in addition to effects of industrial drains coming out of industrial units. He recalled that senior villagers thought of industrial wastes as only being source of odor in surrounding but as soon as people saw a number of dead birds and animals near banks of industrial drains, people had to take notice of same. Despite requesting Union Council officials to do something about it but the staff was also not sensitized therefore nothing in concrete was observed.

Another dominant view expressed by people of village was that village is located nearer to Farooqabad city and there were few groups of small farmers who were used to grow seasonal vegetables on their plots were reportedly using municipal wastewater for irrigation purposes. The immediate responses recorded were that the vegetables lacked taste, and get expired sooner as compared to vegetables grown on lands without irrigation from municipal wastewater. This finding is consistent with findings of Andrew et al., (2007) who state that:

Land application has been a popular option for disposing of municipal wastewater and sewage sludge worldwide for more than a century. Reports from countries such as China suggested that large-scale irrigation of crops with mostly untreated municipal and industrial wastewaters could be harmful to crops and cause injuries to humans because of poorly controlled discharge of toxic and hazardous constituents in the wastes (Andrew et al., 2007:ii).

The respondent also added that small scale industry was installed in Farooqabad city which comprised manufacturers of fireworks, electronic appliances, cloth dyers, soap manufacturers, etc. The population of city along with small industrial units of city used only one main drain of city which is later on used by those commercial growers of vegetables. The same concern was raised during a talk with agronomist of the Adaptive

Research Farming Institute in village who commented that according to scientific findings during land application, if input pollutants equal to pollutants output then there will not be a net accumulation of pollutants in soil but if this balance is disturbed with input pollutants increasing output pollutants then rate of accumulation of pollutants could be observed. If this balance is maintained then land can retain its future use along with its fertility and less effects reaching to food chain. But situation in locations marked by the respondents was not favoring the hypothesis propounded by Agronomist. There was no concept of input-output balance and what was observed turned to be opposite in case of commercially oriented farmers with no know-how of environmental and human health hazards. They were only concerned about their profit margins. The reasons, they gave for growing vegetables within as well as nearby the city were to make sure that city people have easy access to these vegetable. The fact is that these commercial farmers do it to ensure that transportation charges and city taxes are saved. They were of view that they were serving people through supply of cheap food items. It was observed that there was no arrangement of sensitization about environmental hazards especially in a small city like other big cities of Lahore, Faisalabad or Sheikhpura. This was an issue which was observed that people mostly stuck with their livelihood challenges cannot take up at their own unless responsible functionaries decide to take up the issue. This finding was also consistent with WHO (2007) which commented as follows:

The food chain has undergone considerable and rapid changes over the last 50 years, becoming highly sophisticated and international. Although the safety of food has dramatically improved overall, progress is uneven and food-borne outbreaks from microbial contamination, chemicals and toxins are common in many countries (WHO, 2007: XI).

Andrew and his colleagues worked on various via through which the land pollutants were exposed. I was also interested to study the main via through which water resources were being contaminated. Andrew and his colleague are of view that:

To derive the numerical limits for pollutant input in land application, the process starts with establishing the acceptable daily human intake (ADI) for a pollutant. It then quantitatively back tracks the pollutant transport through various environmental exposure routes to arrive at an acceptable pollutant concentration for the receiving soil. Human exposures to pollutants released by the land application may take place through seven pathways, namely, waste → soil → plant → human, waste → soil → human, waste → soil → plant → animal → human, waste → soil → animal → human, waste → soil → airborne particulate → human, waste → soil → surface runoff → surface water → human, waste → soil → vadose zone → groundwater → human, and waste → soil → atmosphere → human (WHO, 2007:iv)

Another challenge was underground contamination of water due to main water supply passing near the main drain of wastewater. The reference given above clearly applies various via of effects of pollution reaching to humans in which according to my observation regarding water pollution was “*waste → soil → vadose zone → groundwater → human*”. This was also a reason known for contaminating water sources due to urban runoff due to which rain water from city streets and adjacent domestic or commercial properties used to carry pollutants of various kinds into sewer systems and receiving waters. At the same time, I personally feel that this kind of water treatment was not possible for small scale farmers who were not even aware of this type of health threats posed to them without being warned.

Summary

Sacha Soda is a traditional village of Punjab where traditional land tenure system is operational. In Punjab's culture three concepts are unique and exert its vitality. These are *zar*, *zamin* and *zaraat*. People fall in various categories regarding their possession of agricultural land. Monetary resources are essential for meeting the requirements of their subsistence level agriculture. Agriculture is becoming a profitable profession for landlords and wealthy farmers who by default have the prerequisites to make this chore profitable. Economic resources are necessary for meeting the basic needs of life. *Zamin*

being the source of livelihood is always a bone of contention among rural population. It is therefore important to understand that after partition why people used all means to get hold of land by hook or by crook. The big landlords in village are the colonial legacy holders to hold their influence and thus become vehicles of social control. This influence and inevitable is effectively manipulated by the politicians in building their local level electoral alliances to win elections. Various power holders in village canvass votes for their recommended candidates from their group allies as well as using coercive techniques against non-allies. These landlords are also big stakeholders in maintaining their local influence while effectively using their links with district bureaucracy and police department duly operationalized through their local numerical strength. The power holders due to their grip over agriculture land and being wealthy manage their agriculture chores and successfully transformed their agriculture into capitalist mode.

Sheikhupura district lies in the main wheat-rice zone of Punjab. Central Punjab is a mixed cropping zone and district Sheikhupura is in the zone III and IV that contains features of predominantly rice prone zone along with central mixed zone leading to mixed cropping patterns. The district lies between the semi arid to arid zone regions which means that it contains semi arid properties during Kharif season and arid properties during Rabi season. Agriculture is not only a profession rather it is a social recognition for the people. Wheat, rice, sugarcane are the main crop grown in village. People with more land under their possession always embrace prestige and social acceptance. Agriculture since the time of British has been used as a tool for tax collection and canal colonies have been especially planned to provide a continuous source of recruitment in royal armies of Britain. The colonial *numberdar* still exists to watch the interests of state by collecting the land tax from farmers and passing it to the revenue department. Being in contact with district officials, these *numberdars exert a traditional* influence over fellow farmers. The emphasis over mechanized agriculture has widely become unfeasible for the majority of subsistence level farmers because of lacking economic resources and uneven process of mechanization that included bad

effects of fertilizers, chemical technology, and modern equipment being inconsistent with small tracts of lands. The environmental hazards created by modern technology have also proved to be rejected by the farmers especially when they refrain from using recommended doses of agriculture department. There are good signs of research being done in field of indigenous agriculture and crop varieties in order to make agriculture chores favoring small growers. NARC being a federal level research council is trying to evolve strategies to suit local agro-ecological conditions of various zones in country. Provision of sufficient irrigation water is essential for healthy crop and thus contributing the food and nutritional requirement of nation. NARC has realized that water shortages are badly effecting the agriculture produce therefore experiments inspired from indigenous methods are conducted to overcome irrigation problem by focusing efficaciously on management of water during irrigation.

Land Tenure System in Sacha Soda contains various features as it is erected on *Zamindari* approach of British reign. It contained big *Zamindars* as well as private landholders. The traditional *raiyatwari* tenure is also operational in which state owned lands were controlled by local power holders which also enhance their influence and numerical strength. Most of the big landholders other than power holders have become absentee landlord due to which the land is not appropriately managed and later becomes a source of conflict among the rest of power factions in area. Traditional *mahalwari* system is also maintained by the revenue department by keeping ten *numberdars* to operate on behalf of department to collect *mamla* (land tax). These *numberdars* are second influential class in village among the small landholders because of their links in district administration. However, few power holders already managed to retain this position also as it is seen in case of Gujar group which add more influence to the power holders or *deraydars*. The real community in village is *mazaray* who own small land holdings. They are majority in number and many of them are ardent allies of power faction or *dhara* in village in order to become influential and also reaping benefits of various projects launched for agriculture development. Usually their

economic conditions are not stable and remain most of the time under pressure to meet their requirements and ever increasing prices of seeds, chemical and mechanical technology and water from tube wells. Majority of them rely on local moneylender called *adhathi* who is local and economically prosperous broker in agriculture domain. These *adhathi* people provide monetary resources to these small growers and after harvest claim most of the monetary benefits from sale and thus lending money for the next season. In this whole exercise, these small peasant proprietors remain merely meeting their bread and butter. The land tenure system that is very much remnant of old British rule still exist with only exception of rise of *deraydar* and his *dhara* that has won its position through effectual use of manipulative strategies including coercion and molestation.

The land tenure system features unequal distribution of land compounded by political problems created by politicians, vested interests of landlords, and credit deficiency. The experience of farm mechanization in Sacha Soda has contributed to displacement of labor previously employed as farm labor, non responsive to small landholders, adverse effects of modern agriculture methods especially on environment and human health. Small growers complain about reductions in soil fertility, non-compatibility of fertilizers and uneven supply of same, nitrate run off, soil compaction due to mechanical traction, indigenous seeds, local breeds of cattle getting disappeared, habitat destruction, contaminated food, and thus destruction of traditional knowledge system and values. These are the main reason due to which agriculture in Sacha Soda is again under transition in which this time farmers are shifting their modern farming to their previously practiced traditional farming methods that at least contain resources locally produced and managed. The above all is the economic feasibility to retain profit margins for the small farmers and the indigenous methods that pose non-threatening gesture toward the pollution and other environmental hazards particularly human and animal life.

CHAPTER SIX

DESI ZARAAT IN SACHA SODA

6.1 Introduction

Pakistani agriculture is facing two main issues regarding modern agriculture practices that hinder national progress to seek national level self reliance. These two problems are destabilizing potentially the agricultural development in the country despite the efforts made by the public sector to achieve self sufficiency and sustainability. These two are related to the agriculture sector of rural areas. Out of them, first is the small farm size, lack of access to irrigation water and related factors of production and second is the high level of prevailing rural poverty due to which modern farming methods have merely turned out to be feasible for big and wealthy landowners. On the other hand, the total ignorance of spirit of traditional agriculture and its practices has created alienation due to which farmers are wholly concerned about their profit margins and material gains. The champions of agriculture development in country only plead for raising on-farm employment that can promote the expansion of rural non-agricultural sector to witness good and long lasting effects on reducing rural poverty and bringing social stability.

The obliviousness of agriculture department from traditional spirit of agriculture has turned out to be bringing negative impacts on agriculture. The small scale farmers have been among the non-beneficiaries in this agricultural developmental process undertaken by the governments both at federal and provincial level. The agriculture department at district level is merely indulged in repetition of policies at national and provincial level. The department has a very superficial relationship with the farmer community and got less to demonstrate in their agricultural practices. Their entire focus

is on bringing farmers toward adoption of modern farming methods without appraising the social, economic, and environmental hazards that may cause damages for subsistence level and small farmers. There is hardly any scientific study that focuses on the problems faced by the small farmers. The public literature produced is speaking for efforts and financial allocations made for modern farming. Utmost strive is for influencing farmers to leave their traditional practices and making them a part of commercial growers. The current state of affairs in agriculture sector demands adoption of an efficient and sustainable growth strategy as a prerequisite to look for rural growth; to address high and rising unemployment issues; to reduce the poverty incidences; and to create social stability in rural areas. The promoters of agriculture development acknowledge the need of framing a policy to maintain a comprehensive and multidimensional approach for agricultural development yet they relate every non-local technique and mind set to be the only solution. The integrated vision of agricultural development lacks indigenous perceptions of development and has a biased attitude toward local populations. The economic compulsions due to which the farmers have to see the cost-benefit ratios in their crops are normally interpreted as laggard behavior of them. They are treated as a group who retards the process of agricultural development instead of accelerating it.

The situation on ground in village Sacha Soda portrays a different picture in which farmers can be grouped into three categories regarding their response towards modern farming practices. Firstly, the wealthy, influential and big landlords having all the possible reasons to adopt modern methods and earn large monetary returns; second, group of farmers who adopted modern farming but later shunned because of their weak economic conditions to sustain modern farming; and, thirdly, those who decided not to risk with their existing farming practices and to avoid any potential threat because of their weak economic status. USAID observes that 'Agricultural growth in Pakistan has been well below potential over the past several years despite an unusually favorable set of physical resources, including vast irrigated areas. In consequence, rural incomes are

growing little, if at all, and poverty reduction has virtually halted' (USAID, 2009: 7). The sources further state:

The agricultural GDP growth rate in Pakistan was only 1.5 percent in 2007, significantly lower than the population growth rate (Pakistan National Income Statistics 2008). This very low rate was due to temporary factors, including unfavorable weather conditions. The 1989-90 to 2004-05 average growth rate was 2.3 percent (Pakistan National Income Statistics 2007). Immediately following that period, the growth rate was about 3 percent at a rate that can be expected from smallholder-induced improvements in cultivation practices, growth in the rural labor force, and small changes in cropping intensity (USAID, 2009: 7).

Independent sources acknowledge that agriculture in Pakistan has vast prospects for development and extension. In this regard, the World Bank rectifies that 'Pakistan has unusually favorable climate and irrigation assets, which compare favorably with those found in the best-endowed areas in India. However, current yields in Pakistan are well below yields achieved in those areas' (World Bank 2007). Agriculture development in the country has not been an issue of reliance over traditional methods rather it is the wrong priorities of public policies that has given the small scale farmers an ouster from the mainstream of agriculture development.

Traditional agriculture and its due revitalization has been a focus of this research to further advocate due consideration of bringing small scale agriculture a part and parcel of public policy in Pakistan. The current chapter describes the nature of traditional farming methods with the perspective to see its compatibility with farmers' socio-economic status. Chapter 5 explained the agriculture in the village in which the negative effects of modern farming practices affected small scale farming. The chapter also included a detailed case study of water pollution created due to modern farming practices. This chapter has in fact attempted to hash out indigenous farming as a system most suitable for the small scale farmers. Moreover, the properties of indigenous agriculture has been explicated to show that indigenous agriculture as a set of practices

is a matter of social prestige and recognition, economically feasibility for small income farmers and its reliance over locally available natural and human resources and its co-existing relationship with natural habitat.

6.2 'Desi' and 'Walayati' Dichotomy

The word '*desi*' is used to denote 'indigenous' in Punjabi language. This word has connotation to represent anything that is locally evolved or has got a unique local use. The opposite of this word is *walayati* which is derived from the word *walayati* used to denote anything which is non-local. South Asia remained British colony therefore this word represents origination of a particular idea or a product with roots in Britain. The word *walayati* in colonial times served a social bias to refer to social status. People of the village still use this word to state something that is foreign. This term is especially used by people who are interested to go to *walayati* (Britain) for education or getting a job or doing business. Respondents in village report that during pre-partition time anything related to British colonial rule was related to *walayati* and on the contrary local products and ideas were equated with the word '*desi*'. With the passage of time and especially during the freedom movements to win independence from the British, local people used to prefer to use '*Desi*' things and avoid '*Walayati*' products. Anything termed as *Desi* made local people conceive that *desi* products are local and very much their indigenous property that also serves to protect local proprietorship as well as identity. In addition, Knowledge is '*ilm*' in Punjabi language. The idea of *desi ilm* comprises the locally evolved techniques or the local usages of any technology especially when modifications have been made in any technology.

In village Sacha Soda in particular and generally in Punjab, one can find folks still preferring local products. This is usually done with two forms of responses on behalf of the village population. Firstly, there are people who favor things locally evolved. Secondly, there are people who obviously opt to choose things that are non-threatening

to people's cultural identity. This category of people is generally found to be equally ready to espouse the foreign technology especially new mobile phones', auto mobiles, refrigerators, and television sets. Certainly, both strands had their own self-justificatory grounds for doing so. The first age wise senior group of people believed that their local products are locally available and made up of local resources therefore its availability is always ensured without any supply shortages. On the contrary, any non-local product made and finished elsewhere can only be available with huge monetary sources. It is therefore, people think that non-local products wreak dependence and unsure supply that could lead to its suspension at any time. The other group was convinced that quality of non-local items is better than that of a *Desi* thing then the non-local item could easily be preferred. The people hailing from this group were not ready to waste their financial resources merely to make sure that they are practicing adherence to their own local products. The aim of describing local perception on *Desi* and *Walayati* things and products is to bifurcate that how people perceive about various local and non-local items in their daily usage. A significant observation made during the study confirms that in general these two groups are concerned about their local culture, life patterns, folklores, practices of forefathers that serve to preserve their identity

Similarly, there was another group in village who believed that if there is a necessity to adopt the non-local things or technology then it must be made local. To elaborate the making of non local items *desi* is basically rooted in the belief that adoption of any idea or technology if deemed essential and imperative has to be according to the local needs and value system. The adoption shall not endanger the existing social order. The respondents express their views that they are not against anything which is non-local but beneficial. They stress that their point of contention is mere copying foreign technology and total ignorance of local system and resources. Similarly, they reveal their concerns over things in which their local practices and values are termed as out-dated and wear out. They thought that obsolescence occur due to lack of up-gradation and

revitalization. If local practices are revitalized then these can also be refined to match the current needs of hour.

6.3 *Desi Zaraat in Sacha Soda*

Chapter five has discussed in detail *Desi Zaraat*¹⁴⁵ practices in village with a focus on the after math of modern agriculture and its experience. The chapter included cropping pattern, land tenure system in village, major hurdles faced by village farmers in agriculture domain, and effects of farm mechanization upon them. Farmers' experience with modern technology has been given special attention to understand that why this experience went problematic and controversial in village. The farmers' experience included social, economic, environmental and administrative problems due to which modern farming overtly turned out to be beneficial for big landlords, whereas, small scale farmers who imitated adoption of modern farming technique largely remained ousted from earning benefits of modern methods. Third group of farmers was the one who decided not to adopt mechanized farming methods. The farming community who adopted modern farming methods over the last ten years has been found withdrawing from modern methods and shifting back to their traditional agriculture.

Agriculture has been more than a profession for the farmers in Sacha Soda. The fabric of life of people in village is associated with their agriculture and related activities. *Desi Zaraat* shades their various aspects of social life including social, cultural, economic and environmental. The current chapter explains various aspects of indigenous agriculture as well as the perception and views of farmers about indigenous agriculture methods and techniques with respect to the social, economic and environmental compatibility. The succeeding section comprises three vital and integrated aspects of indigenous agriculture in order to infer the importance of it in village's life.

¹⁴⁵ Indigenous Agriculture

6.3.1 Social Face of Indigenous Agriculture

The social aspects of indigenous agriculture are traditional *wangar* system (communal labor), *seipi* system (patron-client relationship) and *Mazaray–Zamindar* relationship (tenancy). These feature the social aspects of indigenous agriculture in which agriculture acts more than a profession in village. These three relationships speak of how people have made agriculture responding to various classes and caste groups residing in Sacha Soda.

6.3.2 Wangar System (Communal Labor)

The traditional *wangar* system is erected upon the notion of ‘mutual social help’ or ‘mutual social assistance’. This system practices communal labor undertaken by the farmers on mainly two bases. First, communal labor is requested from all clan members within village and secondly, fellow and neighboring farmers are also expected to join this exercise. The reason of clan members’ help is because of the primary support group as the caste bond is foundation of social hierarchy in village. The neighboring farmers also feel obligatory to involve and provide their assistance. This assistance is based on the correlation of mutual interests and benefits. Neighboring farmers are usually the first to help their fellows in agriculture chores. The farmer who intends to request for communal labor has to announce *wangar* few days prior to his plan. This communal labor is reciprocated by the host farmer to all members respectively who share his work. A slight difference in current *wangar* system as compared with its previous mode was absence of drummers who used to be present during communal labor to encourage and provide a motivation for work by beating the traditional beats of folk songs. The food and refreshments were expected to be offered by the hosting tenant. The females were required to cook the food for all males working in the fields. On the other hand, kids engaged themselves to fetch drinking water and provide other minor services. Adult

males divide themselves in small parties to work in a way that two groups are engaged in work and other two teams just wait for their turn, this is done with the objective to provide a respite to already working people. The *Wangar* is also organized during the post-harvest period that is generally considered to be a critical time because of the fright of any natural and environment peril like flood or an unexpected rainfall that could further damage crop produce after harvest. The post-harvest chores include threshing, bagging of crop and carrying crop produce for sale in local markets.

The *wangar* is also held in domestic chores like if someone plans to construct a new house, or intends to repair old or damaged house due to heavy rains or to add more rooms for increasing accommodation within the house. The idea behind the communal *wangar* is reciprocating the work on mutual help basis. This system is of benefaction for village people because in doing so they can add helping hands in personal and domestic chores and thus they create a bond of people tied together on basis of their mutual interdependence in the village. The respondents opine that this shared labor is a source of unity among people regarding the mutually tied social needs. It carries a sense of affiliation among fellow farmers because of sharing burdens. A kind of same *wangar* is also observed in events like marriages especially girl's marriage and other related issues where people gather to forget internal conflicts and join their hands for the village's collective cause. Mostly people remember that a girl's marriage is a joint issue for whole village as girls are thought to be daughters of whole village due to which everybody feels responsibility to assist the family. People use to work jointly in such social events and participate in the ceremony. Respondents state that in spite of commercial agricultural practices adopted by people, mutual cooperation over issues like marriages of daughters, raising funds for mosque, attending death incidences or resolving any issue related to whole village are still of collective importance and people extend their cooperation to village community. Respondents view that village is their home and there is always an evidence of unity over issues related to village. They effectively understand that any damage to village could result in devastating effects for whole of

the population in village. So as regards village's integrity and good fame, they are united without any hesitation.

6.3.3 Kammi or Seipi System

The occupational groups residing in village are skilled in their traditional occupations and provide their services to their client groups throughout the year. In return, they are provided a residence on behalf of their patron family as well as a share in crop produce. The nature of their share in crop produce depends on the nature of their contribution and services extended to patron family. A particular occupational group or a family provides services to a certain number of patron families and receive their remuneration in form of kind and cash (Chapter three has discussed about the classifications of *kammi* class of village). In spite of commercial agriculture and severe economic compulsions, this traditional system has largely retained its traditional functioning. Farmers who opt for modern farming methods hardly manage their economic commitments as regards expenditures and costs required for crops. Therefore, the services hired by patron families are paid in monetary terms immediately after hire of services or after the sale of agriculture produce. It is so because patron family does not want to lower the maund of agriculture yield which in fact lowers their profit ratio during sale. It is also because of the share directly going to *mazaray* in case of share cropping (discussed in chapter three). As discussed in chapter three, that this traditional patron-client relationship is of social importance for farmers in village. The *kammi* of a particular family also share the respect and prestige of his or her patron family in village. Any harm or damage to a particular *kammi* family is taken as a symbol of social ridicule and shame for the patron family. This is so because a *kammi* family comes directly under the responsibility of patron family who is obliged to provide patronage, shelter and other valuables to these dependent families to maintain their respect in village. There is a question of respect and status that is endangered if these dependents families are not protected effectively.

It is therefore important for a *kammi* family to provide their sincere and best services in return.

The traditional occupational groups are typically from poor stratum of village population who thus are protected by their patron families. There is a feeling of social security among the *kammi* groups of village due to this traditional system. The respondents hailing from this traditional occupational group were of the view that they are mostly given respect on behalf of their patron families as well as protection in time of need. It is also because that they are social responsibility of their patrons. There was a very interesting finding, during the study, when it was observed that a *kammi's* status is always on the rise due to the number of years a *kammi* serves his patron family. Similarly, if a *kammi* hired by grandfather or father of a patron, in each case, a *kammi* is always given respect failing to which causes lowering of respect of patron family due to miscarrying the deeds of family's elders.

Of course the modern agricultural practices have shunned this traditional social institution as these services are taken as mere economic liability. There were few cases cited by respondents in which farmers turning onto modern methods have been found abandoning their *kammis*. Though it is also worth noticing that even though farmers shifted onto modern methods have to retain their ties with their occupational group because of the services they keep on providing to their patron family as well as to avoid the social disapproval on part of village people. The shunning of traditional *kammi* class was found true among the people who migrated to adjacent urban centers.

This traditional social arrangement is a kind of fraternal bond that unites the prosperous person and the poor. This system worked for centuries due to its utility based features that favored both the hiring and hired families as expressed by village community.

6.3.4 *Mazaray* of Village

As discussed in chapter three, they are also known to be '*hari*'. People in this class are either having one to two acres of agricultural land or possess no land to till for their livelihood. It is therefore they opt for lending their services to farmers as tenants to meet their ends. It is revealed in chapter three that there is also a social contract between the patron family as well as their *mazara*. This traditional set up of labor relation is another utility based social arrangement which is operational and prove to be useful for both parties (patron and client) involved. The traditional relationship is not a mere livelihood placement rather this relationship is also lucidly vivid in other facets of social life in village. Apart from the mutual interest based relationship in agriculture domain, the number of tenants provides strength to social status of patron in village's social life. This strength is essential in deciding the inevitability of patron-family in various social functions of village like group strength through increasing numerical superiority, electoral practices, and voicing during punchayat sessions.

This traditional relationship is affected due to the mechanization of agriculture in rural areas in the Punjab province. This is most badly affected group due to modern farming methods because the small cultivators have to quit their traditional bondage due to expensive commercial agriculture. This is largely because of fact that small cultivators cannot afford to share their agriculture produce with their tenants. As a consequence, these *haris* have to rely upon either the *deraydars* as individual laborers in their agricultural lands or to migrate to urban areas for seeking employment opportunities as daily wages laborers. This class is mostly affected due to mechanization phase in Punjab. The most important thing observed in their case is that since they have been migrating to urban centers for employments, the recent energy crisis has brought a multiplier effect upon them due to the low productivity of factories in industrial zones of Sheikhpura, Gujranwala, Lahore, and Faisalabad. These districts have largely accommodated the rural-urban migrants and provided employment opportunities but

now the situation is desperate and hampering of industrial zone has brought adverse effect upon this class which is clutched socially and economically. A number of suicides and high rate of crimes have been reported in national dailies on account of growing unemployment in cities. This traditional setup successfully lasted for centuries in which these marginal sections of community were employed and well adjusted in rural life of Punjab. The respondents in this regard state that:

In our agriculture system of man to land relationship, small farmers constitute a major part. No agriculture development is there without raising their socio-economic status. Very little work has been done except pleading and preaching for the small farmers. Small farmers need culturally suitable technologies that are in ample accordance with socio-economic and environmental realities. The technologies required must be less demanding and save inputs and capital and which are generally less labor intensive to help benefit the small land holders for increasing production and income. On the other hand, the big landlords have to employ labor intensive techniques to help controlling the rural unemployment and thus rural poverty. In addition, the government has to carefully allot public lands to deserving tenants to help them become self sufficient and get involved in positive chores instead of becoming a burden over resources or clan members.

The statement of farmers unveils that instead of employing a one point agenda for agriculture development, there is a need to initiate a comprehensive program for agriculture development that has space for all types of land tenancy and various agricultural classes. In this scenario, lessons learnt from indigenous knowledge and agricultural practices can be of guidance and would thus ensure positive aftermath as regards people's receptivity towards their traditional system. This would further increase social acceptance, relieve the farming community to start believing that they are part of planning process and recipients of governmental initiatives. The farmers of the village frequently comment that government only frame policies to suite their allies and favorites. The poor segments are always ignored in planning and allocation of funds towards redressal of their issues and problems.

People from *mazara* class give preference to people who care for them and help them feeding their families which in traditional system is done by their patrons due to which a patron enjoys indispensable status among his tenants in village. He is like a 'godfather' to them and is in a position to influence their personal family decisions even. The patron who is there for his tenants for support in problems and issues like settling down a family dispute, tackling threats or potential damages from opponents or arranging for daughter's marriage. In return, the patron is highly regarded and even can expect his tenants to sacrifice anything for him. Respondents from this class believe that development is not to exclude people from mainstream of society rather making them the ultimate recipients of benefits out of development activities.

6.4 *Desi Zaraat Practices*

According to independent sources 'agriculture in Pakistan is suffering general stagnation due to specific management problems which are further aggravated by peculiar agro-climatic conditions that are not conducive to normal plant growth' (Cheema & Farooq, 2007: 23). During review of literature on agriculture related issues, it was felt that 'due recognition of social and cultural aspects' is missing rather interpreted in terms of fatalistic behavior on behalf of small farmers. These farmers are held responsible for the low productivity at national level. It was also felt during the meeting with the staff of agriculture department in the district as well as meeting with the officials of various agriculture research agencies. The research staff of Arid Agriculture University in Rawalpindi district as well as University of Agriculture in Faisalabad district was also advocating the adoption of modern methods. According to their view, only modern methods could bring agriculture development in Pakistan especially the Punjab. When the respondents from these agriculture specialized organizations were asked to define development, the response obtained was 'high productivity of production per acre'. When the researcher inquired about the possibilities of revitalizing indigenous system of agriculture to be a potential remedy to ensure sustainability, the response was

twofold. The first response received from scientists was the 'fear of low production per acre and thus less profit margins for the farming community.' The second response was 'there is a need to further conduct experiments to revitalize indigenous agriculture practices'. The most important question that was to see the evaluation of adoption of modern technology and its relation with growing prices and becoming out of reach from the small farmers was not replied satisfactorily.

The problems faced by the farming community in village have been discussed in detail in chapter five. In the current chapter, few of indigenous practices are discussed to highlight the economic feasibility and environmental viability. Moreover, these practices carry the emotional part of social attachment which makes the people feel that they are following the path of their forefathers. According to the local notion, it was the continuous push on part of agriculture department's staff that people in villages started running after commercial agriculture. The local view was against the adoption of modern technologies because according to them:

'sada desi nizaam khas ker zaraat, paidaar wa tay is wich kissi banday tay mahool da vi nuqsaan nai hai. Saday lai dharti tay mah wangoon aa tay asi mah nu kidan nuqsaan dayye'

Translation

Ours indigenous system particularly agriculture is sustainable because it is not based on exploitative harvest of social or natural resources. We regard land as our mother and how come we damage our mother.

Problems of small farmers in Sacha Soda regarding adopting modern agricultural practices are mainly due to sense of alienation and lack of economic resources. It is therefore they cannot adopt the improved crop production technology campaigned by government of the Punjab. These are the small farmers who suffer most for lapses in production techniques and are heavily penalized due to the non availability of modern technologies in case if they had chosen for modern farming due to lapses in supply-demand chain. The small farmers are familiar with new technology as they see it being

adopted by big landlords and commercial farmers in village obtaining high yields per acre from their lands. Similarly, health hazards and meager economic resources to buy high cost inputs involved in the package of technology. In the same way, they do not have access to supplementary irrigation facilities. Their soils have been rendered sick because of shallow irrigation and accumulation of salts in the top layer. They cannot apply gypsum to rectify their soils. Good seeds and fertilizers are not available to them. Often they cannot hire the tractor services to cultivate their land and have timely planting their crops. Sometimes they are too busy elsewhere on their part-time jobs to earn living for their family and so on. It is simply not possible for them to follow all essential steps in the production process according to the recommendations of experts. Consequently, they cannot compete with the wealthy farmers as regards their per acre yield. On the other hand, the resourceful landholders in the farming community have almost maximized their production and poor farmers cannot muster recourses to carry out all the essentials of improved production technology. The village community expressed their concerns that government policy on agriculture development acts ghostly in favor of small farmers because they feel that agriculture department particularly its extension staff is biased towards small farmers. The small farmers are largely termed to be laggards to accept the social change and embrace technologically advanced methods.

6.4.1 Soil and Fertility

The scientific sources state that 'sustainable agriculture is not possible without the involvement of man whose activities practically provide directions to the salinity or sodicity problems (Cheema & Farooq, 2007: 136). Agricultural soils can sustain productivity if properly managed like in old irrigated areas of old Egypt, Iraq and China (ibid: 136). The agricultural soil in the Punjab is facing diverse nature problems including soil salinity, sodicity, water logging, poor drainage, over irrigation due to floods, or monsoon season canals which continue to flow and farmers are bound to take their turn

thus resulting in over irrigation further resulting in raised underground water table. Similarly, fertility of soil can affect the production per acre in both positive and negative ways.'

The inorganic fertilizers like any other products could potentially pose pollution hazard. It needs to be acknowledged at the outset that all agricultural practices including the use of chemical fertilizers have an interaction with the environment. Undoubtedly, this can raise concerns, but for a developing country like Pakistan, the stakes in the game are very high (Cheema & Farooq, 2007: 146)

Small farmers in Sacha Soda use to leave their agriculture fields uncultivated for one season to allow the soil to regain its natural fertility without using inorganic fertilizers. There are two reasons explained by the farmers for not using them. The first is lack of economic resources to buy expensive fertilizers that further reduce the profit margin of farmers. The second is the health hazards faced by village population (which have been discussed in chapter five). In fact, whole of farming community including big landlords and small cultivators thoroughly use organic fertilizers. But big landlords also go after using the inorganic fertilizers for increasing the soil fertility for more yields per acre. The indigenous practices comprise using poultry manure, crop residues, animal wastes and farm yard manure. According to the local perception held by village community is as under:

Naweian beejan di waja naal desi Zaraat wich tabdeeli aye ay. Zamin di paidawari salaheyat wadawwan wastay harian nu majbori day tehat masnoyi khadaan istamaal kernian paindian wa.

Translation

The introduction of improved varieties into a traditional farming system tends to create a situation where the nutrient demands of crop outstrip the natural ability of the ecosystem to replenish its organic resources.

The village people compare new chemical fertilizers with their indigenous fertilizing techniques that are usually done through using cow and buffalo dung. People view that

the modern practices of agriculture demand farmers to indulge in using modern fertilizers for enhancing crop produce. In the same manner, different companies dealing in agro-products through its marketing staff keep on insisting growers to adopt products of their companies. Farmers stress that modern technologies though bring improved outcomes but this case usually hold true in case of wealthy farmers who afford investing monetary resources in their agriculture chores whereas subsistence level farmers are generally stuck in vicious circle of becoming more dependent on use of these expensive technologies that are financially unsuitable for them. On the contrary, farmers report that cow dung is organic fertilizer and is easily available to all farming families. The usage of animal dung is highly valued as it permits farmers to continual use without any hazard to their crops and land's fertility. The villagers count for farmyard manure as most commonly used among farmers as their traditional practice. It is described that traditional methods like livestock dung, bedding, straw and stalk used to feed animals prove to be good source of manure. This is a method in which '*Goya*' or '*Gobber*'¹⁴⁶ is stored for a period of four to six months after which it is transported to fields just before sowing season to be used as manure after soft tilling. The dung is mixed thoroughly in soil and after this field was left for few days before sowing. The droppings of sheep and goats are also used in process but are not common as people mostly domesticate cows and buffalos with only two or three goats in their households. Farmers report that their indigenous practice is highly cost effective without demanding extra investment on inorganic fertilizers to raise soil fertility.

The villager population practices its local recycling method through cow dung in their agriculture practices. The farmers classify the usefulness of cow dung being a major source of fuel as '*Paathi*' (cow dung patties) for cooking; The same serve as fertilizer for composting to make it even more powerful; it is also used as a source of heat because cow-dung is naturally hot and its compost makes farmers' homes hotter; among other

¹⁴⁶ Cow or Buffalo dung

usages it is used as a natural purifier because of its natural antiseptic qualities; and as a source of floor coating after getting mixed with water and mud to enhance absorption rate of water. It also serves as mud brick additive to improve resistance to disintegration; as Skin tonic to be mixed with crushed '*Neem*' leaves smeared on skin which is good for boils and heat rashes; It also prevents muddy puddles resulting from spilt water; and as Smoke producer for smoldering cow patties to keep away mosquitoes. The small farmers usually opt for a balanced farming to enable themselves to sustain medium yields over a long period of time with minimal chemical inputs. A huge quantity of crop residues like wheat straw, cotton stems, sugarcane trash/tops and rice husks are available but due to economic necessities such as use of wheat straw and cotton stems as animal fodder, rice husk to be used in poultry farming, these crop residues evidence a reduced use of them as fertilizer. The use of animal and poultry waste is applied as traditional manure to enhance soil fertility.

6.4.2 Pest Control and Bird Attack

Interestingly, people of the Sacha Soda are also aware of damages of pests for crop in fields. A traditional '*Hakeem*'¹⁴⁷ in the village presented his views on pest management by quoting some herbal practices. He said that '*Neem*'¹⁴⁸ leaves are applied to paddy fields before puddling and transplantation to prevent all kinds of diseases and insects. Leaves of several species are applied to paddy fields before transplanting. The leaves of *Neem* are basically carriers of pesticide properties in addition to being rich in nitrogen. Besides, people traditionally apply wood ash on foliage of crops, e.g., chilli¹⁴⁹, onion¹⁵⁰ and tobacco¹⁵¹ to prevent 'Powdery mildew' and insects such as 'thirp' and 'Aphids'. Wood ash particles act as a mechanical hindrance to insect pests and also help in by

¹⁴⁷ Herbalist

¹⁴⁸ *Azadirachta indica*

¹⁴⁹ *Capsicum annum*

¹⁵⁰ *Allium cepa*

¹⁵¹ *Nicotiana tabacum*

desiccating the fungal spores and insect eggs. Similarly, another traditional strategy to control the pest problem in sugarcane is through using onion juice during sowing to check 'ants' and 'White flies'. The method is very easy as it only needs coating sugarcane cuttings with onion juice. The small bags of smashed onions are placed at the various points of irrigation in fields to allow spread of irrigation water to whole of the field after getting mixed with onion juice to block and stop the pest attack.

Similarly, farmers used the scarce crows to protect the bird attack on crops. The farmers used to tie colorful pieces of cloth or ribbons on wooden clubs and placed them in fields as various spots. Sometimes they also tie kite papers to serve the same purpose with wooden club. The farmers reveal the reasons for tying the kite paper as it makes much noise to keep the birds at a distance. In order to scare the birds, farmers use colorful images of humans. The same practices is also reported to be helpful in scaring the mischievous youth and thieves during night time while imitating images of farmers working in fields and orchards. Mostly, this idea was used in orchards because of fear of somebody stealing fruits from the orchards. The farmers who were having fruit orchards were very vulnerable especially during the times of fruits getting ready and ripened. It was actually a matter of whole one year's hard work therefore they farmers used to sleep in their orchards along with their watch dogs and the images of human statues. The same technique was very helpful in protecting orchards against predators who were largely the mischievous youth of village who used to loot onto farmers during night times.

The farmers also use indigenous controlling mechanisms regarding the pest attack in paddy fields. 'Aphids' which is a common pest for paddy crop is treated with mixtures of asaphoetida and cattle urine or another method is to spray a mixture of garlic, chilli and asaphoetida in water over a paddy crop. For control of rates and rodents, the farmers leave a dead snake to decompose on borders of a paddy field, immediately after harvest to clean up paddy field from insects. Among many other practices, these are widely

used by farmers as these measures are very economical and feasible for them. The case mentioned above describes local methodologies of pest control in which cost required is minimal as compared to modern methods. Only a small number of farmers who think that the pests cannot be controlled through these traditional practices as these are result of synthetic technologies, therefore these can only be controlled through modern pesticides. On other hand, current research negates this belief which was previously practiced by scientists and practitioners.

As regards termite control, local practices also include know-how of the traditional methods of controlling termites in main cropping season like wheat, etc. Farmers explain that there were no sprays in traditional farming like today's modern treatments for fixing termites that invade crops and further result in horrible damages to same. Regarding so, farmers use to seek help from saline soil called '*Kaller*'¹⁵². The rise in underground water level basically turns soil into barren and uncultivable piece of land while leaving a white layer of saline deposit back onto surface. The *Kaller* in area is reported to be caused by canal system. The farmers used to collect white deposits of saline soil and used to mix it in water along with salt that is commonly used for edible purposes. The solution prepared after mixing of both the deposits from affected soil is sprinkled onto affected crop especially wheat and barley to treat termites. This method is a very cheap as per cost and effective regarding its results and commonly practiced by the farmers in whole area.

6.4.3 Seed Preservation and Storage

The experiences shared by the community regarding preservation of seeds revealed that it is mainly job of females of households in which youngsters including males and females assisted. This activity is also vital because of the reason for sparing good seeds

¹⁵² A White layer being caste over the surface of land due to shortage of Water

for next crop season. Important considerations are to make sure that seeds are healthy and well preserved before next sowing. Villagers said that usually this activity is done on Thursdays or Fridays (commonly perceived as auspicious days among the Muslims). The villagers responded that soon after harvest, when crop produce are to be sold in city market, males are used to be busy in contacting the '*Adhati*'¹⁵³ to sell crops yields, therefore it is mainly done by females of household. This work was as important as selling crop in city because you cannot just put seeds in one corner of house and wait for bugs, ants and other pests to come and destroy your next crop.

Mostly, females use to gather in the courtyard of house with two of them un-bagging the seeds and spreading them on the cloth sheets of some dark color as the dark color is thought to absorb more sun light and helped in quick drying of seeds. Two or three of females spray water boiled with *neem* leaves on the seeds earlier in the morning, because seeds are required to be exposed in sun on same day to get dry. Upon sunset, females rush to put seeds into *baardana* (bags) again and tie them until repeating same exercise in following days. The same exercise is repeated again to make sure that seeds had received sufficient sun and are dry. On last day, females sort seeds to get assurance that no pebbles or stones are left to get mixed in seeds. The seed bags are sealed with a cloth and stitched with a rope with help of big needles called '*Sooa*'. The bags are then placed in traditionally built seed store (an essential portion of each household). The seed store is usually erected on four pillars of about two and half feet high built with mud and mud bricks. The roof is built by the wooden twigs paved by the mud. There is a small window in the seed store facing the main corridor of the house, so that it may remain under observation. The window is supported by a shade so that during rain, water may not flow into it. During the rain, seed stores and granaries are main places to be inspected to make sure that seeds and grains are safe and no dampness had

¹⁵³ Commission agent

approached into it. The window of seed store is kept opened for some time after rain so that fresh air controls stinking and damaging of seeds.

Another example of vegetable seed preservation is quoted which is also considered to be females' work. The females are traditionally accustomed to preserve seeds of gourds like bitter gourd, bottle gourd, pumpkin, etc in cow dung cakes. In this method, seeds are exposed in sun to get dry. After that females use to make fresh cow dung cakes and put seeds into them. The seeds are then saved in dung cakes and are further placed on walls of animal court yard till next sowing season. This method is very effective in preserving seeds as dung contains antiseptic effects that further helps to preserve seeds. The leaves of *neem* are also used by females to preserve seeds. Similarly, vegetable and pulses' seeds are traditionally saved in a glass bottle along with *neem* leaves. Sometimes, seeds are kept in glass bottles along with ash obtained from firing cow dung and wood. Both methods are commonly used by females to preserve seeds of the vegetables and pulses for next on-coming sowing season of same vegetables or pulses. One similar technique is immersing seeds in kerosene oil before sowing for better germination. The juice of *neem* leaves is also used for treatment of the seeds of sorghum for keeping stray animals away.

The data from the village supported that most food is preserved through thermal processing and drying. According to the local definition of Preservation 'any act when added to a food tends to prevent or retard its deterioration is called preservation.' The general regulations include common salt, sugars, vinegar, spices and substances that are mixed in food by direct exposure to product of wood smoke. The presence of these materials in foods needs not be disclosed as preservatives, although natural preservatives may have the same general action as chemical preservatives. Benzoic acid occurs naturally in cranberries; therefore these may be easily preserved in their native form. Benzoic acid and its salt and derivatives are a family of widely used preservatives. The sodium salt is more soluble in water than acid and for this reason the former finds

preference in use. These are commonly used in preserving margarine, pickles, tomato ketchup and fruit. Sugar is used for sweetness in food or drinks. When the concentration of sugar is high enough such as in fruits, syrups, sweetened condensed milk and honey, it acts as a preservative. This preservation effect is due to two reasons; firstly, it reduces the water activity of food to a point where microbial growth cannot occur and secondly, it raises the osmotic pressure and thus causing plasmolysis. A small amount of common salt is added to foods to improve not only flavor but also to enhance keeping quality. More than 16% salt solution would help to keep the product preserved by producing high osmotic pressure which will prevent microbial growth. The effectiveness of salt as a preservative can be enhanced by reducing pH of the food and storage at a low temperature. Common salt is used in curing of meat, fish, cheese and fruits used for pickles. This is reported as the oldest and cheapest method of food preservation. In drying process, moisture is removed either by natural means to a stage of product that it can be kept for longer time without appreciable deterioration. The following advantages of drying told by the farmer community; firstly it is a cheap and simple method of food preservation; secondly, the dried products are concentrated forms of foods; thirdly, dried foods require less storage space as compared to any other form of preserved food; and, the cost of transportation and distribution of dried food items is lesser than fresh foods items.

Drying in the village is done through natural means through sun drying. Sun drying is the process where the items are exposed to the sun. This process is still used for the preservation of various food and crop items. The process is done in a dry-yard which is kept free from dust, flies and bees. Usually this method is applied to the preservation of next season crop and fruits. This exercise is done when there is plenty of sun and practically with no rain during the drying season. The fruits are washed, peeled, prepared as desired (slices, quarter, etc) and placed on flat-bottom wooden trays inside a shed. The prepared fruits are treated with sulphur dioxide so as to maintain their good natural color and avoid spoilage by micro-organisms. Sulphur is burned in an enclosed

bin or room. This is done in a small room by burning a known quantity of sulphur in a pan placed on the floor. The trays filled with fruits are stacked in this room. Wooden trays of 3 into 2 inches with sides about 2 inches high with flat bottoms are convenient for handling the fruits. Fruits with thick skins like peaches are treated to crack the skin or remove the peel to facilitate drying. After sulphuring, 4 to 8 pounds of sulphur per ton of fruit trays is placed in the sun with occasional turning of the fruits till it is well dried. The dried fruit is then stacked in boxes or bins to equalize moisture. This process is known as sweating. After this product is packed and stored in a room that is free from insect and rodents and already being fumigated. In general, Bananas, dates, and apricots were processed through this traditional method.

6.4.4 Soil Tillage and Management

The Community threw light on benefits of soft tilling especially before crop sowing season. The idea was under discussion among one group of people arguing with extension agent of agronomic research projects' office situated in the village who used to visit village once a month. The villagers compared modern tillage with indigenous practices and gave the reference of traditional tilling which was totally local and cultural in its approach. According to native view, tilling is mostly done by a pair of oxen rarely using a bull or horse. The traditional cattle love especially a pair of oxen is graded as a symbol of status and pride among fellow farmers. The farmers mostly use their oxen for tilling despite the fact that this local method is time consuming. It is reported that animal traction is soft without going deep in to soil. The respondents commented on a campaign launched by agriculture department to boost mechanical tillage while stating '*Ghera Hal, Ziada Phal*'¹⁵⁴ but after sometime, the department and staff changed their statement. After shunning previous slogan, new message favoring soft tilling was floated and the reason explained by the agriculture department and its staff was that 'deep

¹⁵⁴ The deeper you till, more grains and yield you would get

tillage is too dangerous as it was reported to damage the soil's micro-nutrients that further becomes a source of lowered soil fertility.

Small farmers who use their traditional methods believe in positive effects of soft tillage. The village people still use many of traditional soil management practices as these are reported to be cost effective. In addition, those practices can easily be carried out at local level with no damaging effects on soil fertility. As regards indigenous soil management practices, Villagers believe to conserve the '*Watar*'¹⁵⁵ in soil as regards their traditional soil management practices especially when sowing is due. This practice is reported to bring best results in crop produce. Farmers also quote another effective example of using local shrubs namely '*Adhashishi*'¹⁵⁶ to raise soil fertility. Villagers after each harvest put stalk in their fields to serve two objectives. First is to use the stored stalk as fodder for their cattle. Second objective of doing so is to burn stalk in the fields which is reported to be raising the soil fertility for next crop. Traditionally, village farmers use to cultivate half of their lands while leaving remaining half untouched. This was done to allow the uncultivated fields to regain its natural fertility and bring good results during next crop produce. The farmers thus used their fields for alternative cropping seasons that were also reported to be best for regaining fertility of land. According to villagers' view, the modern agriculture is based in using the land in intensive farming due to which this traditional practice is largely abandoned by the farmers as they want to bring each and every inch of their land under cultivation in order to increase their crop produce and thus profits.

¹⁵⁵ Moisture in the soil

¹⁵⁶ *Xanthium strumarium*

6.4.5 Flood Control and Land Erosion

Traditional methods of controlling threats of floods as well as land erosion¹⁵⁷ include growing of trees on banks of canals passing nearby the village of Sacha Soda. This traditional practice is held by the village people in collaboration with staff of irrigation department in order to strengthen banks of canals to prevent its possible damage. The villagers feel themselves under threat of possible damage to the canals and thus loss of crops and precious human lives as well. Villagers cite the damage in the QB link canal¹⁵⁸ (Qadirabad Baloki Link) due to most of the village crops was severely affected. The water from the canal ruined the crops and entered village during night time when people were mostly sleeping in their homes. Resultantly, there was massive loss of agricultural crop as well as human valuables. The flood could not be controlled for ten days and also affected adjacent areas. During that devastation, people from all affected villages initiated rehabilitative remedies at their own. To avoid any such demolition village people from Sacha Soda especially took care of the plantation of trees. They also add that the same plantation further add scenic beauty to their vicinity. Farmer community also uses banks of their local water courses and edges of their fields for planting trees to protect water losses from their fields during irrigation. The villagers criticize Punjab Government's project of Water Management Program (WMP) that asked farmers to cut their trees from nearby water courses while putting the excuses of water dearth for farmers during their irrigation turns. They opine that WMP's staff pleaded for reconstructing main water distributaries while telling farmers that water losses may be checked through that whereas the actual on-ground result was opposite. The exercise of cutting tree from banks of canals especially water distributaries weakened the banks and caused huge losses of irrigation water. Respondents out of village community explicate that they were stuck between two public departments with

¹⁵⁷ Erosion: The wearing or washing away of soil through the movement of water, wind, glaciers, or animals. http://www.ebfarm.com/Organic/Glossary.aspx#C_glossary

¹⁵⁸ A huge canal

different recommendations. On one side irrigation department pleaded for growing more and more tree to protect the threats of floods and any other potential source of damage to the canal banks. On the opposite side, WMP project through its staff campaigned for cutting tree by labeling these trees to be consuming the water for themselves and thus causing shortages of water during peak irrigation seasons. Farmers held the government responsible for this short sightedness thus creating a chaos among the farmers. Generally, farmers supported idea of plantation because of the five main reasons:

1. Firstly, deforestation increases dangers regarding land erosion; village community explains this notion while citing the worse conditions of conventional roads on both banks of canals;
2. Secondly, respondents view that deforestation leads to land erosion due to which canal side roads are badly damaged;
3. Thirdly, a traditional hallmark of villages featured forest area and thus added to scenic beauty of the countryside which is normally lacking in cities;
4. Fourthly, the cutting of trees negatively affects eco system. It also snatches the natural beauty of the habitat and add to pollution issue in village; and,
5. Lastly, due to deforestation, the trees provide a natural defense to cater possible water losses from main canal and controlling floods.

6.4.6 Livestock Management

Cattle constitute an important feature of rural life. People have generally favorable inclination toward livestock due to many functions performed by domestic cattle in villagers' lives. These functions range from tillage to milcher animals for the nutritional requirement of people of village. Village population treats their livestock management through their traditional practices. Some of the important and commonly held practices are as under:

Simple indigestion is caused by atony of the rumen, characterized clinically by constipation or diarrhea. Among its causes are dietary abnormalities of minor degree including indigestible roughages (straw bedding) fed during draft period or over heated and frosted feeds, over feeding of grains and concentrates. Less water and salt intake particularly during summer, lack of physical exercise and sudden change in fodder. The symptoms include reduction in appetite and then drop in milk production. There is also mild depression and dullness. The farmers in such cases mix anise, onion seeds, mustard, ginger, common salt and black salt together and give dose rate of 60 gram per day.

It is skin eruption in the form of elevated, flat topped edematous swelling due to ingestion, inhalation or skin contact of certain substances called allergens. The signs of disease are sudden appearance of swelling of various diameters on various parts of body. There is also swelling on lips, eye lids, conjunctive and ears. Sometimes animal feels itching over these swelling and rub its body against some objects. Apart from these signs animal also suffer with loss of appetite. They also show uneasiness and discomfort. The treatments include the mixture of magnesium sulphate, ammonium chloride and Potassium nitrate and given orally to the animal.

In sub-tropical region like village Sacha Soda, snakes are responsible for heavy losses of both of animals and human life. In animals, dogs are mostly killed by snake bites. Sheep, goats, cattle and horses come next in frequency. The reason for this, appear to be that hunting dogs most often disturb snakes and that grazing herbivorous animals moving only slowly over the tract, disturb snake less. Two types of signs are commonly seen. In case of cobra species, the animal shows excitement first then gets normal and again nervous signs followed by depression signs and then death. Local reaction and pain in fatal cases are minimal. In case of vipers similar signs appear but there is severe local pain and considerable swelling at the site of bite. The first aid treatment includes

immediate insertion of crystals of Potassium permanganate into the wound and bleeding from wound is allowed in order to let the venom excrete from body of the animal.

Wounds are commonly observed among the animals as a break of continuity of tissue of the body. Among wounds, the punctured and contused wounds are common among animals. Punctured wounds are inflicted with a pointed instrument. These wounds are certainly most dangerous for animal. The contused wounds are those accompanied by much bruising of the surrounding tissue as in case of blow from heavy articles, kicks, road accidents. In such cases, bleeding from wound is less, but the blood may be extravasated into the surrounded tissue. The treatment included clipping away the hair with help of scissors with precaution of avoiding the cut hair fall into wound. The surfaced is cleaned by gentle application of a piece of cotton wool soaked in some antiseptic solution and covering the wound in order to prevent contamination and infection by flies. Before covering an antiseptic solution ointment is applied over the wound, for example, tincture iodine or spirit is used to kill germs of wound. The wound is cleaned and dressed daily so that the progress of healing can be observed.

The farmers believe that a poison is any substance in solid, liquid or gaseous form when applied to the body outwardly or inwardly can destroy life by its own inherent qualities. Village community report that causes of poisoning among animal is commonly due to the development and general use of synthetic insecticides or pesticides on the crops. The symptoms include toxic effects produced by these pesticides increase excitability and irritability followed by muscles tremors, weaknesses and paralysis. Vomiting and complete anorexia occurs constantly. The farmers think that there a difficulty in answering the question that what should be done if an animal appears to have been poisoned. Though, the farmers think that it is always wise to adopt the general principles of treatment applicable to all sorts of poisoning. The recommendations include preventing more poison being taken by all animals and getting removed from

contacting the dangerous poison substances. Another recommendation is to prevent absorption in skin or in stomach. Skin application dips are asked to wash off at once by warm soapy water. The stomach should be cleared by giving an emetic to the dogs, cats and by using a stomach tube for horses and cattle to introduce large quantities of a demulcent fluid such as rice gruel, barley water or even warm water only. These fluids dilute the poison and tend to soothe the irritated or inflamed areas. To stop absorption in horses, black tea is also used regarding the vegetable poison. In cattle and buffalos, when a rapidly acting poison is taken, the immediate operating rumen and removing the ingested poison by hand becomes urgent. To neutralize the effect of poison taken and control effect of irritant, demulcents are used like rice gruel, barley water, olive and castor oil. Similarly, an oily purgative will often clear away un-absorbed material from the intestine and prevent further absorption. The administration of common salt in food or water induces the thirst of animals and assists elimination of absorbed poison by the kidneys of an animal.

6.4.7 Growing Importance of IKS in Agriculture

Agriculture development in a developing country like Pakistan is 'at bureaucratic stage of policy formulation.' (Cheema & Farooq, 2007: 78). Similarly, 'national development policies are conceived and planned by public servants rather than public representatives' (ibid: 78). This is concluded on the basis of feed back received from primary data collected through interactions with village population, agriculture extension staff, staff of district offices of agriculture, rural development, and revenue. In addition, intensive interviews were conducted with agriculture research and development agencies at Sacha Soda, Faisalabad, Rawalpindi and Islamabad. The history of agriculture development initiatives in Pakistan reveals that policy framing process in Pakistan was mostly done by non-representative policy makers and severely lacked the true needs of target populations. As a result, these rural development focused policies

failed to make any considerable difference in the lives of rural population. The same acknowledgement is evident from statement given below:

Apart from vested interests and corruption, the policies are aimed at protecting the institutional interests of the department of the organization as an end in itself, with the welfare of the people and sustainability of the resource taking a lower or zero priority (Cheema & Farooq, 2007: 78).

Another innovation of 'corporate farming scheme'¹⁵⁹ is also being introduced in Pakistan by the government though it is yet not implemented but there is a growing consensus among various advocates of agriculture development in country. This single-stranded vision on agriculture development is also feared by small scale farmers to be something that is machinated against interests of them. The village population, even agriculture extension staff views that introduction of corporate farming shall go against contrary to the interests of small scale farmers. It will thus push them into obnoxious web of poverty and loan stricken farming families. The gravity of issues is also evident from lines below:

People criticize and argue that it may be a conspiracy against Pakistan through which multinational companies would be able to overshadow the image of independence of our state and history of East India Company may be repeated (Cheema & Farooq, 2007: 94).

As discussed repeatedly, people's association with traditional and indigenous practices is not only a matter of people's faith rather it is a matter of local heritage with which village people have their deepest feelings of being attached to their forefathers. It is

¹⁵⁹ It is a type of farming through which different national and international companies, trusts and business institutions take a particular land area on lease or contract keeping the right of ownership with the actual owners, with the purpose to produce a specific crop which can meet their demand of raw material. The company then markets the produce in processed form. According to the settled agreement, the landowner stands as a shareholder; the profit of the produce is also shared with him. In Pakistan, this experience will not be absolutely new, different food processing companies has their own fruit gardens e.g. Mitchels, Shezan. This innovation is not a new scheme in past such suggestions had been presented by different governments but probably could not be implemented because big land lords gained by the facilities earlier which are now being presented in the name of corporate farming.

thus a matter of their honor and prestige to keep up their cultural heritage. Village majority's belief in cost effectiveness and environmental friendliness of traditional methods is the main reason of favorable trend towards Indigenous farming. In this connection, I harmonize with Ker (1995) who is of the view:

The possibility that the critical problem in locale is that although smallholder farming systems changed and adapting to increasing population pressures challenges, in most areas they were not changing fast enough. The cultivator's response to declining soil fertility often appears to be to attempt to enlarge the cultivated area, even though a shortage of fallow land may mean that the fallow period must be shortened. The result is that soil fertility is further reduced and the vegetative cover on the soil surface is degraded, allowing erosion to accelerate so that soil fertility declines progressively and erosion damage increases. Destruction of forests or woodlands is often part of this process, which is unsustainable. Eventually, the soil productivity may decline to a low level, or even to near zero. If this happens, the cultivator may try to respond in a number of ways: first, by changing the cropping system to increase the proportion of crops such as cassava that tolerate low soil fertility. If this fails to produce the necessary subsistence food, eventually the traditional shifting cultivator's path may be followed and the worn-out land abandoned and more fertile land elsewhere selected (Ker, 1995).

The research field depicts a similar scenario regarding soil degradation being an engineering factor for decline of IKS related agricultural practices. The respondents opine that during the decade of fifties, forest areas were almost common to all villages. These forests served as a pasture for their livestock as well as a big source of medicinal plants and herbs. It was therefore village people use to look after their collective forest range due to its benefits to whole of village community. The forests also used to be like a fence especially during the floods. Similarly, another reason shared by village people was the indulgence of influential landowners who always remain in struggle for more resources and were habitually damaging canals to get more water for their crops. To serve their personal interests they not only put human lives and cattle of villagers under

danger. It was further added that community trees in farms of farmers and community forest thus helped against this irruption.

Another reason associated with use of chemicals and modern techniques is the trend set by wealthy farmers and their oft-times comparison with old cropping patterns in terms of more economic returns. The majority of farmers in a desire of getting more grains had shifting their agriculture practices from traditional to modern. According to responses received from the village community that referred reduction in soil fertility level due to which farmers had to look for other alternative options among which the use of intensive chemicals and modern techniques was only best option. Ker (1995) further comments:

Alternatively, if the cultivator cannot find more fertile land, the farming practices may be intensified by increasing the use of manures and fertilizers, by growing additional crops on the same land, and practicing simple soil conservation and other techniques that conserve and build up soil fertility. At present, the main responses of most cultivators seem to lie in the former directions, and the rate of change toward intensification appears to be too slow to provide the needs of the increasing populations (Ker, 1995).

During the research, officials of agriculture department in Sheikhpura district were also contacted. The main purpose was to know attitude of officials towards Indigenous Farming Methods. My exclusive meetings with officials included meetings with laboratory staff, extension workers at various Integrated Research Sites (IRS) and government owned agriculture farms. The agriculture department officials were contacted to reveal farmers' attitudinal responses towards agriculture domain and farming practices. The staff of agriculture department views that majority of farmers in district still use their traditional farming methods. Rationality associated with this trend is because of the reasons like; firstly, Non availability of farm machinery; secondly, Non affordability of agricultural techniques; thirdly, Manipulation of subsidized farm machinery; and fourthly, Non compatibility of new methods; fifthly, Insignificant

contribution of Extension staff. In this regard, Keupper's work (2003) is relevant who favors organic farming methods to be most suitable and symbiotic. He defines organic agriculture as:

An ecological production management system that promotes and enhances biodiversity, biological cycles and soil biological activity. It is based on minimal use of off-farm inputs and on management practices that restore, maintain and enhance ecological harmony (Kuepper, 2003: 2)

During interactions with staff of agriculture department, it was found that the staff is also confused due to different results about traditional farming practices. For bringing more transparency in my argument, I discuss few of experiments conducted by agriculture department in 'Barani (rain fed) Village Development Project' and their results. The project was launched by government of the Punjab to advocate modern farming techniques but majority of farmers refrained from shifting to modern practices farming. The same project later on included conducting experiments on traditional farming to build a case regarding the advantages of traditional methods.

Case 1: Evaluation of various moisture conservation practices through green manuring and tillage

The objective of the experiment was to evaluate the integrated effect of tillage and green manuring on moisture conservation and wheat production. Experiment was carried out at different Integrated Research Sites (IRS). Fields were ploughed before sowing, followed by seedbed preparation. The legume crops were sown in third week of June and incorporated into the soil with rotavator in the third week of August followed by sowing of wheat. At all IRSs, different types of green manures¹⁶⁰ that were used increased the grain yield of wheat. Overall grain yield increased due to green manuring from 10 to 41 percent over farmers' practice with various green manures. At another

¹⁶⁰ Green manure: (crop science, gardening) A crop planted with the intention of turning it under for use as organic matter. <http://www.cahe.nmsu.edu/news/aggloss.html>

IRS, green manuring produced highest yields of wheat at two sites each. On overall basis, up to 50 percent increase in wheat grain yield was observed. The IRS staff supported further experimentation of the same in this regard.

Case 2: Integrated use of gypsum and green manuring for wheat production under rain-fed conditions

The experiment was planned to evaluate the possibility of using gypsum and green manuring for moisture conservation. Two experiments were conducted at two IRS. The ECe and pH of the soil was normal. Moldboard¹⁶¹ was applied; gypsum was broadcast at the rate of one and two tons/acre on the soil before onset of monsoon and mixed with shallow cultivation. In another block, these doses were integrated with green manuring with cowpeas in *Kharif* and cowpeas were seeded in the third week of June, followed by sowing of wheat in October. Application of gypsum alone and with green manure at all the sites produced very encouraging results. Wheat grain yield increase over control was observed from 16 to 34% at IRS one and up to 16% in IRS two. The yield increased with increasing dose of gypsum.

Case 3: Role of green manuring in amelioration of salinity effects on wheat at IRS

The soil of IRS one was saline and ground water¹⁶² was also highly saline. No source of fit water was available. The objective of this experiment was to investigate the role of green manuring to ameliorate salinity effects on wheat crop. *Sesbania*¹⁶³ and moth¹⁶⁴ was tried as green manure at four sites. Sowing was done with first rainfall of monsoon in July. Moth failed to germinate due to very high salinity. Sowing of wheat was carried out in the same fields in November. In a model plot, sesbania was able to produce

¹⁶¹ Wedge formed by the curved part of a steel plow blade that turns the furrow

¹⁶² Groundwater: Water within the earth that supplies wells and springs.
<http://www.cahe.nmsu.edu/news/aggloss.html>

¹⁶³ Any of various plants of the genus *Sesbania* having pinnate leaves and large showy pea-like flowers.

¹⁶⁴ Typically crepuscular or nocturnal insect having a stout body and feathery or hair like antennae.

wheat grain yield almost equal to control (*Kharif* fallow) despite higher salinity than control (7.24 as compared to 5.5). However at higher salinity levels (i.e. 16.9 and 11.1 dS/m) in two other plots, less positive impact on grain yield was observed.

Case 4: Role of sesbania in providing fodder during *Kharif* and improving wheat yield in Rabi

Previous years' experience showed that there was free grazing of goats at IRS one in the *Kharif* season. Keeping this factor in view, it was decided to conduct an experiment to use the sesbania as fodder in *Kharif* and observe the effect on succeeding wheat crop. Four experiments were conducted and the sowing of sesbania was done with the first rainfall of monsoon in July. After attaining sufficient biomass, sesbania was cut and used as fodder for goats. The sowing of wheat was done in these plots in beginning of November. At one plot, the growing of sesbania as fodder showed a slight increase in the yield but at other plots it did not show positive results.

6.5 Socio-economic Hurdles in Attempt to Revitalize Indigenous Agriculture

The approach and outlook towards agriculture and marketing of food has seen a quantum change over the last few decades. Whereas earlier, seasons and climate of an area determined what would be grown and when, today it is the market that determines what it wants and what should be grown. The focus is now more on quantity and outer quality (appearance) rather than intrinsic or nutritional quality, also called vitality. Pesticides and other chemical residues in food and an overall reduced quality of food have led to a marked increase in various diseases, mainly various forms of cancer and reduced bodily immunity.

The respondents in agriculture department told that extensive commercialization of agriculture also had a very negative effect on environment. The use of pesticides has led

to enormous levels of chemical buildup in our environment including soil, water, air, animals and even in our own bodies. Respondents also add that fertilizers have a short-term effect on productivity but a longer-term negative effect on the environment where they remain for years after leaching and running off, contaminating ground water and water bodies. The use of hybrid seeds and the practice of monoculture have led to a severe threat to local and indigenous varieties, whose germplasm can be lost forever. 'In the name of growing more to feed the earth, we took the wrong road of less sustainability' emphasized by a senior villager during an informal chat. He further added that:

The effects already show - farmers committing suicide in growing numbers with every passing year; the horrendous effects of pesticide sprays (endosulphan) by some government-owned plantation projects few years ago; the pesticide-contaminated bottled water and aerated beverages are only some instances.

In this whole process of mechanization of agriculture in the Punjab, there raised a genuine query that why a considerable number of farmers could not adopt the modern technology in spite of huge efforts being made by the government in collaboration with international donor agencies. Instead, the respondents replied that international companies selling modern fertilizers, pesticides and weedicides are left at their own will to decide their profit margin without fulfilling promise of sustainability in agriculture.

Despite efforts being made for increased productivity, farmers practically everywhere have witnessed a wrong omen in their efforts to get economic prosperity and thus sustainability. Farmers are usually found in the peak sowing season with a reply that the real beneficiaries of mechanization strategy are the agro-chemical companies, seed companies responsible for farmers' troubles. This is exactly where traditional or newly coined term 'organic farming' appears on the scene. Traditional or organic farming has capability to respond positively in favor of small farmers and their agriculture related problems. Besides, immediate and desired effects, traditional farming has on environment and quality of food, it also greatly contributes farmers to become

independent and self-determining in their agricultural practices and reducing expenditures while providing a cushion for more profit ratio.

Traditional farming is not about only farming with natural methods rather it is also about environment, agricultural traditions, traditional seeds, animal welfare, farming communities, sensible energy use, and soil and water conservation. During a focus group discussion, it was commented by an official that agro-chemical companies due to their huge budgets manage to launch national level media campaigns to sell their product. These agro-chemical industries in country are putting farmers into an interest based competition where local dealers of products contacted farmers with various incentives. They also promise to provide medicines on loan basis which after harvest is always difficult to because of manifold economic burdens on an average farmer family in village. The consensus of discussion group was that agriculture department and its allied research organizations have failed to tell the farmers about negative impacts of these chemicals.

It was found during study that agricultural research institutes largely believed in the effectiveness of modern methods that were merely non-local and evolved elsewhere. Modern agricultural practices were almost synonymous with enlightened agriculture and often graded as the only possible way of agricultural development that can further bring economic prosperity and overall welfare of farmers in rural areas. The spread of HYVs (High Yielding Varieties of Crops) grown with ever-increasing doses of (often imported) chemical fertilizers and pesticides. Wherever, new crop varieties have spread, time-honored crop-rotations, inter-cropping patterns and other important features of traditional agriculture have been harshly uprooted (this choice, however, has not been made willingly by most farmers, rather it has been forced on them by a package of government policies, subsidies and selective price incentives). This behavior was also marked while meeting with staff of a huge funded project launched by Government of the Punjab. The field staff was observed with often exaggerated and biased remarks

passed on the traditional methods of agriculture. Though, survey of reports produced by project technical staff uncovered a different story in which a number of traditional methods were encouraged in order to obtain the farming community's attention or at times where the modern techniques proved to be beneficial for only large scale farmers. The same project later on altered itself with giving room to involve certain traditional methods in the project due to their friendly compatibility with small plots of farmers and physical features of the land. One important findings of project was failure of small dams in project locale because of its negative effect to raise water logging in area. Behind scene, responsible factors were the official policies which support modern agricultural methods and also the belief that traditional agriculture is backward and not being able of bringing desired results as set forth in agricultural planning.

6.6 Improving Agriculture Sector and Indigenous Farming Practices

During study, the researcher interacted with agricultural scientists for seeking their views on the possibilities on revitalizing indigenous farming practices. Consequently, a focused group discussion (FGD)¹⁶⁵ was arranged to meet this objective.

Researcher: Agriculture development in an effective way to meet country's nutritional requirements is a dream of all governments in Pakistan. Can we expect our indigenous farming practices to bring some contribution in this domain.

Dr. Ghulam Jilani (Soil Scientist): Surely, the traditional methods if combined with the modern methods can help country to reduce overwhelming reliance over synthetic fertilizers as well as pesticides. This will not only make the agriculture cost effective and can help reduce the hazards.

¹⁶⁵ The FGD was attended by officials of National Agriculture Research Council (NARC), Pakistan Agriculture Research Council (PARC), researchers from various departments of PMAS-Arid Agriculture University in Rawalpindi, University of Agriculture in Faisalabad, and Akhter Hameed Khan Center for Rural Development and Municipal Administration.

Researcher: How could we operationalize this thing what you have shared?

Dr. Ghulam Jilani: The relevant stakeholders can do this by emphasizing crop rotation, employing traditional soil fertility practices, and traditional biological control techniques.

Researcher: What is the challenge for sustainable agriculture to make a better use of indigenous methods?

Mr. Arshad Nawaz Chaudhry (Soil Conservationist): There is a need to conduct more scientific researches to come up with scientific interpretations of our traditional methods that have been termed as merely traditional and held in a haphazard manner. There is a need to understand that how traditional methods made best use of locally available resources (human and natural) in past. This could also be done in commencing pilot phasing regarding traditional methods in various parts of the country as also confirmed in case of NARC's experiments.

Researcher: What should be done to conserve farm biodiversity?

Dr. Saad Imran Malik (Plant Breeder): Governments (Federal and Provincial) especially the agriculture departments of all provinces can do a lot to achieve this target. The policies that boast advocacy to maintain biodiversity are imperative. There is a need to make a joint collaborative effort that could bring the farmers and scientists work together can help reduce the gaps as well as seeking scientific explanations from farmers' traditional methods.

Dr. Mehmood ul Hassan (Plant Geneticist): This could also be done if we could do something about eliminating the policy statements that encourage mono-cropping instead of crop rotation and discouraging overuse of agrochemicals.

Researcher: What immediate initiatives are required to revitalize indigenous farming practices?

Dr. Ghulam Jilani: This could easily be done through recognizing and respecting the views of farming community that have long been treated as unscientific. In fact, in my career, I came across many examples when these local farmers astonished me with their knowledge about their farming practices. Though the farmers do not know about the scientific explanations of their practices but they do exactly what is recommended and environmentally feasible. They know about the crop behavior, exact time of pest attack, and inter-relation with their traditional practices to control them.

Dr. Abdul Razzaq (Agronomist): Probably, this could also be done, if an inventory is prepared to record the traditional farming practices and conducting laboratory experimentations to seek scientific explanations for all of them. The agriculture departments as well as federal level research councils can suggest government to promote those practices that prove to be environmentally and economically feasible.

Dr. Saad Imran Malik: I would like to comment that diversity of crops grown in an area is a source of economic and ecological security as well as cultural inheritance. I have seen in many villages that farmers though are asked to use the recommended varieties of crops but they still use their traditional varieties for their better flavor, nutritional value, and higher local market price.

Mr. Saeed Akber Zahid (Agricultural Economist): Being an agricultural economist, I have observed that farmers grow their traditional varieties as an insurance against the failure of the modern varieties.

Mr. Arshad Chaudhry (Extension Agent): I come from agriculture extension. I suggest that gradual phasing out of agrochemicals is also needed. I am suggesting because I have seen that farmers in general are disappointed with the use of agrochemicals especially the ones which are too costly for them. I am also suggesting this because I have seen farmers complaining the reduction in soil fertility through use of these agrochemicals. Side by side, the continual use of agrochemical also make the pest more and more resistant to these chemicals due to which farmers find themselves caught into a web of continuously using these costly chemicals which they cannot afford due to their poor economic situation as faced by most of the small farmers.

Dr. Abid Riaz (Plant Pathologist): My academic background in Plant Pathology allows me to say that chemical fertilizers and pesticides are proving to be destructive to the ecosystem. I suggest that chemical fertilizers and pesticides should only be used after proper training and awareness given to the farmer community. Failure in providing training and awareness to the farmers usually results in bringing adverse effects on crops and thus ecosystem as well. Sometime these pesticides in many incidences also prove to be toxic for human health.

Mr. Saeed Akber Zahid: I would also suggest that if the government seriously takes steps in implementing the land reforms, the results would be very encouraging to favor small farmers to improve their economic status and this could further help in removing the poverty in rural areas.

Mr. Mohammad Nauman (Agricultural Economist): Indigenous practices encourage participation on behalf of rural population in general and farmers in particular. The

problem with mechanization of our agriculture is that we need to improve the quality as well as the quantity of our crops in order to address the nutritional values as well as feeding the bulk of population. So an integrated approach is required which is missing in modern farming as it only helped in improving the quality of crops but did not do anything on improving the nutritional values of the crops. This is why, there is still a discrepancy among farmers between use of modern varieties for commercial and indigenous varieties for domestic consumption.

Researcher: You all may agree that population pressure is ever increasing in Pakistan due to which fertile agricultural lands are now transformed and used for non-agricultural purposes. Is there any need to take some serious steps to discourage this trend?

Mr. Sajjad Hussain (Environmental Anthropologist): I agree with this statement. There is an urgent need for an effective legislation that discourages the use of most fertile lands for non-agricultural purposes. I have my firm belief that this trend has also intensified the mechanization of agriculture indirectly.

Researcher: How could we make best use of Islamic financing to help the poor and small farmers to improve their agricultural practices?

Mr. Aftab Ahmed Chaudhry (Agricultural Anthropologist): The Islamic practice of Qarz-e-Hassan could be helpful in improving the financial conditions of small farmers. As you all know that this Islamic concept is basically 'loans without profits' which can effectively help farmers to take innovative decisions in improving their agricultural practices and thus coping with the financial hurdles faced by small growers.

Mr. Imran Afzal Chaudhry (Human Right Activist): The Islamic practice of Musharika could also be of great help in this regard. This practice denotes a joint venture by which

the investor advances funds which mingle with the client's funds to produce a participation in equity. While the providers of funds are entitled to participate in management, they may necessarily be required to do so. Through this practice, profits are shared in direct proportion to the contributions while loss is borne by each partner strictly in proportion to respective capital contribution.

Mr. Khurram Irshad (Ethnographer): Government can put 'Islamic model of interest free credit system' into practice that can help farmers to cope with shortage of funds in their agriculture practices. For agriculture, being the largest sector and needy to improve application of this credit system in Pakistan appears indispensable. The bereaved and most deserving to start with are the small farmers because they constitute the largest proportion in agriculture sector therefore any step to improve their economic status can directly affect to raise the agriculture productivity and thus help reducing the incidences of rural poverty.

Mr. Saeed Akber Zahid: While recognizing the risks to agriculture production, governments usually have a range of policy options for stabilizing farm income. The government has taken substantial measures to increase agricultural produce and to stabilize the farmers' income by arranging supply of inputs at subsidized rates. But it has been observed that mostly influential and big landholders are real beneficiaries of this governmental initiative. There is a need to reform this domain to benefit most of the small growers who most deserve to take full advantage of this governmental facility. The 'crop insurance' has been experienced in Pakistan at various stages which is now felt to be the need of hour to help farmers to take initiatives to take bold steps to re-innovate their agricultural practices.

Dr. Haider Zaman (Development Economist): Agriculture development is not only about encouraging the scientific agriculture rather it is more than that. Being a Development Economist, I would suggest that the governments both federal and provincial have to

look into various domains related to agriculture development. These are steps to regulate the wholesale markets to save growers from the exploitation on behalf of commission agents, and other markets functionaries, steps for a network of storages at focal points in the producing areas, improving the farm-to-market road nexus, innovating the existing marketing information system, provision of marketing credit, and farmers' organizations to safeguard the farmers especially the small growers who lack information and support structure to watch their interests.

Having inferred from the discussion mentioned above, it can be safely said that the problem of agriculture development is not the reliance of farmer's over their traditional practices rather it is more than that. What I observed during working on the agriculture is that agriculture has wrongly been equated with mechanization only. There are many other adjacent fields that are given less importance by the policy makers in their efforts to plan agriculture development in the country. The data available on agriculture merely speak of use of fertilizers, pesticides, tractors, threshers, etc. The organizations dealing with data collection on agriculture present data on mechanization to be single factor that could help in raising the agriculture produce and reducing rural poverty. This is not to say that these domains are not important or mandatory but ignoring the low education especially training through extension staff to the farmers is not even discussed in the reports generated by the government. The problems of storages facilities, provision of farm-to-market access, role of middlemen or commission agents that usually rob the benefits from government as well as the farmers is never pondered upon.

On the basis of views of my respondents in field, I see that the potential of Pakistan's agriculture is much more than its existing status but the marketing inefficiencies like lack of market intelligence, insufficient infrastructure, exaggerated role of middlemen, adulteration, hoarding and profiteering, excessive rates of various services, collusion amongst traders to suppress prices, and mismanagement of input and output markets

are the main shortfalls which leave a small amount of marketable surplus. Meager marketable surplus of small farmers together with their financial position makes it difficult for them to withhold the produce for better prices. Similarly, the distance from markets generally influences farmer's decision to sell their produce locally at comparatively low prices.

The role of middlemen in local markets is very complex and demands more concentration because he is the one who provides many services to farmers and on the other hand he is considered as one of the major exploiter of the small farmers especially. The farmers report that middleman usually gets very high margins but their share is generally justified by considering provision of additional services and risks which usually they undertake at each stage of marketing. This thing plausibly does not seem to be exploitative but the farmers who have to give major share of their profits to these middlemen are only left with meager profit margin that hardly meets their survival requirements. The failure of agriculture department to make any reasonable difference in the lives of small farmers is the important reason due to which small farmers have to go to middlemen for help and thus they are caught into a web of exploitation due to which they do not get what they really deserve.

The encouragement of indigenous farming practices can thus be helpful in rescuing the small farmers from the exploitation held against them on behalf of agriculture department, middlemen in the local markets, and agrochemical companies. I think that indigenous agriculture is a philosophy based on human goals and on understanding the long-term impact of our activities on the environment and on other species. The question why we need sustainable agriculture is due to the growing population rate. We can use the ideology of sustainable agriculture through revitalizing indigenous farming practices in order to make the society independent in terms of integrated, resource-conserving, and equitable farming systems. These traditional sustainable agriculture practices also contribute to reduce environmental degradation, maintain agricultural

productivity, promote economic viability in both the short and long terms and maintain stable rural communities and quality of life.

6.7 Problems faced by Small Farmer Community regarding Modern Agriculture

The situation on ground is very alarming as the dream of sustainable agriculture to be a vehicle of rural development in Pakistan in general and Punjab in particular seems to remain unfulfilled. Ahmed Fraz Khan (2011) stated:

According to some studies, the number of people living below the poverty line has increased from 47 million in 2008 to 72 million – a jump of over 50 per cent— almost in direct proportion to inflation. All economists agree that the government cannot deal with the monster of inflation without improving supply (production) side. In Punjab, as in Pakistan, almost other production sectors (like large-scale manufacturing) are sinking. Given energy position hardly leaves any hope for their early revival. It leaves the country and the Punjab with only one sector i.e. agriculture. But it is still to appear on the official policy radar, at least according to its potential. The sector is in disarray both at planning and execution level. Major part of budget is being spent on non-development expenditures because the provincial department has become an employment exchange for successive governments. Its current strength is at an unbelievable 35,000 people. Punjab has a total 25,000 villages. Most of the extension experts believe that one agriculture officer can easily cover five villages (Khan, 2011a).

Khan further adds:

Agriculture in Punjab has underperformed over the last three years. Cotton production has fallen 10 per cent, rice 6.7, gram 30 and pulses by 24 per cent. But all these statistics have failed to shake the provincial government out of slumber. Cotton production, which stood at 8.8 million bales in 2008, has dropped to 7.8 million bales. Gram production has come down from 658,000 tons to 460,000 tons. Pulses have witnessed a fall from 830,000 tons to 625,000 tons. Similarly, rice output dipped from 3.7 million tons to 3.4 million tons and maize is down from 2.67 million tons to 2.65 million tons in the last three years. The country's population has increased 8.7 per cent, or by 12.60 million, during these

years. In Punjab alone, population increased by eight million. But major crops have seen their production falling by varying degrees. The ever widening gap between demand and supply is causing price hike. The cumulative impact of inflation comes to around a backbreaking 57 per cent (ibid, 2011a).

The less favorable attitude towards developing agriculture and improving small growers' socio-economic status is evident from the citation below:

In the last few months, the Urea price had hit an unbearable Rs. 1600 per bag. Though the company price is still Rs. 1250 per bag, the receding writ of government enables everyone to make money at the cost of others. Despite this sheer black marketing of Urea, not even one dealer has been proceeded against by the Punjab government. Another example illustrates how non-serious the department and the government are dealing with the sector. A new wheat variety was introduced in the province in 2007. This particular variety now covers around 40 per cent of wheat area in the province. But within three years of its operation, the variety has become susceptible to all kinds of bacterial attack. Most of the discolored wheat that the province produced this year was result of rust attack on this wheat variety. The farmers allege that the variety was not properly tested before offering it for the sale; it was released prematurely. The Punjab government is tight lipped on the issue and has still not moved to study the varietal character, find loopholes, fix responsibility and punish the guilty. The farmers blame that it is departmental employees who promoted the seed. The government has not moved so far. It is also because these 35,000 employees have created huge overlapping in the system and devised a system where buck does not stop. Given the acreage (around seven million acres) that this variety has gained in the last three years, the farmers and the government would be in real trouble to replace the seed on these fields next year. Where would the government arrange fresh seed for it? If it does not and farmers use the same variety as seed, crop on this area would be in a greater risk. The Punjab government needs to get its act together. Agriculture is now assumed added significance because that even planning part is now being devolved to provinces after the 18th Amendment. The Punjab has to replace federal planning and truly play the role of national food basket. If it continues flounder on basics, it would be increasingly hard for it to help the country achieve food security (ibid, 2011a).

In another article Ahmed Fraz Khan also states:

For the last three years, the actual budgetary spending has never crossed 60 per cent of the allocations. It means, actually, the sector gets only Rs1 billion each year; it indicates the commitment of the provincial government. With this meager money, it can hardly meet the level of expectations raised by the 18th Amendment. That is precisely the point that continues to haunt the farmers. Can the Punjab government reverse the spending trend in 2012, the farmers are not convinced. Second, the farmers fear crop cycle failure during this year. They feel that the country has started the year on a wrong foot. The cane crop¹⁶⁶ is sprinting towards marketing failure and wheat¹⁶⁷ would be the next one. Both crops, if they fail as much as the farmers fear, can take the entire crop cycle down next year. If farmers do not get money from one crop, their investment would naturally drop on the next one. The fertilizer crisis has already taken a toll on wheat this year. Punjab is still lagging 600,000 acres behind its target, which it would, most probably, miss this year because temperatures have already dropped in the country to a level that make germination impossible. Third fear factor is prices of inputs, especially fertilizer. In the last one year, urea prices have doubled and that of DAP increased by more than 50 per cent. It has already reflected in their off-take; urea consumption in Rabi has dropped by more than 15 per cent so far and DAP by 40 per cent (Khan, 2011b).

The price hike of basics used in modern farming and its link with the government policy also makes it unfavorable for the farmers to keep their pace with the modern farming as Khan (2011b) refers:

¹⁶⁶ The cane crop, which is hugely healthy, has seen delayed start of the crushing season and price sliding. The millers, fully aware of the crop size, are making up to 25 per cent deductions in price on excuses like quality. If crop is short, the millers never mention the quality issue. But now, they are doing so with full fiscal ferocity. On the other hand, farm temperatures have dropped much below the zero degree, injuring the crop from within. Both these factors are hurting the farmers. Cane has overlapping harvesting and sowing activity; on the one hand, it is harvested, and on the other, sown. If farmers don't get proper returns, the sowing would immediately suffer.

¹⁶⁷ The wheat failure is also feared, not because of production but procurement, as is the case with cane. The country is currently holding close to ten million tons of wheat, with a clogged debt of around Rs. 300 billion. Servicing this debt is costing the country around Rs. 6 billion per month. The State Bank has warned everyone that they would get as much loan as they retire. Thus, money would severely be in short supply when the government needs it the most four months down the line. The federation has increased wheat price by more than 10 percent, correspondingly raising the inventory keeping cost. If these factors lead to a price crash, the farmers would be in for a big trouble.

The new increase in gas prices, effective from January 1, would further increase urea prices, taking them out of farmers' fiscal reach. To make the matter worse, the government, instead of controlling ever-increasing fertilizer prices, is contributing to their increase. Taxation, increasing gas prices, failure to print prices on bags and failure to move its machinery for regulating prices are a few examples of government unwillingness or inability to keep prices in check. The fourth factor is the federal attitude. After lobbying the sector in provincial lap through the 18th Amendment, it seems to have abandoned even those decisions it can take. Like, export of agriculture commodities and imports of inputs. The country is still holding huge wheat stocks because it failed to export wheat due to federal fears and delayed decisions. Its import of fertilizer got dangerously delayed because the federation took time to get fully convinced (ibid, 2011b).

The citations above clearly reveal the mechanization of agriculture is merely an official statement proclaimed by the government whereas the situation on ground is averse and counteracts the governmental desire to witness agriculture developmental through modern means. The facts clearly speak in favor of understanding why farmers who once shifted their farming practices to modern methods are now rejoining their traditional and indigenous agriculture. Mohammad Hussain Khan (2011) states:

The levy of general sales tax and withdrawal of subsidies as part of next year's budget has not gone down well with farmers. The government had imposed 17 per cent GST on farm produce and inputs in March this year that was reduced to 16 per cent in the budgetary proposals 2011-12. Growers said it has a direct bearing on cost of production. Farmers fear GST would badly hit agricultural productivity as big landholdings are few and 90 per cent are subsistence farmers. Under new taxation regime the bulk of the growers would find it hard to cultivate crops like wheat, which doesn't give fair returns owing to questionable writ of the food department. For instance the government, according to farmers, hasn't increased the rate of 100kg bag of wheat to be procured by the food department. By and large, the growers do not get the wheat support price of Rs. 950 for per 40kg. Small growers say they should not be subjected to heavy indirect taxation. They can't absorb sudden rise of taxes in one-go. The withdrawal of subsidies on inputs, according to estimates of Sindh Abadgar Board (SAB), would account for losses of Rs245billion to the country's agriculture sector. With increasing cost, the farmers would avoid applying enough inputs considered essential for

increasing productivity as the prices would go beyond their reach (Khan, 2011).

The farm mechanization is becoming problematic for the small farmers as they are largely unemployed due to farm machinery. Mohammad Bashir Chaudhry writes on same issues in following:

Farm workers are being displaced due to mechanization of large land-holdings. These unemployed or under-employed poor people move to cities and create social problems. Enough steps are not being taken to hold them in rural areas by providing them jobs with productive and income-generating activities. The farmers and rural workers are thus left at the mercy of informal lenders and middlemen to exploit. There is an urgent need for specialized banks/DFIs for facilitating credit flow to small farmers-cum-handicraftsmen for development of agriculture as well as cottage and village industries, handicrafts and other rural crafts. Rural development can be promoted by financing of agro-based micro-industries, small industries and agro-infrastructure. Loans by the commercial or microfinance banks are at high commercial rates and unsuitable for small farmers and unemployed rural workers (Chaudhry, 2011).

He further reemphasizes that growing of food grains or cash crops and working of rural cottage industries or handicrafts is closely interlinked. A typical farmer with small land holding may be concurrently involved in all these activities for survival and welfare of his family. All members of the family contribute in this endeavor. However, their efforts are often frustrated when they are unable to get fair price for their produce, owing to machination of shrewd middlemen. The lending and loan recovery practices of the financiers in rural areas should be fair, equitable and non-exploitative. This is essential for economic revival, public welfare and self-sufficiency in food.

Summary

In initial days of my research, I was under belief that Indigenous farming practices and its related properties would have been totally lost and must have become a story of past

decades particularly after modern farming technologies in country. The research work was frequently attacked by people favoring modern technologies and Mechanization and Chemicalization of agriculture. For some time, during meetings with professionals at the policy level, I felt that people use to stare me with a weird look. I was treated to be anti-development and an advocate of old traditional methods. When I went into discussion with staff of various agriculture development agencies about validity of indigenous methods of subsistence that were still under use of majority of small scale farmers, the initial response was against indigenous practices. The traditional practices were told to be out dated and obsolete.

I used to communicate research objectives to these professionals that I was not trying to put people on a reverse track rather my aim was to highlight and record indigenous methods under use by farmers and its associated socio-cultural and geo-political justifications. Another motive of doing this research was the drive that many notable countries have started revisiting their indigenous practices that are making best efforts to revitalize their cultural heritage. Many organizations are working on Indigenous farming and its capability of being sustainable because of its friendly interaction with environmental and cultural realities of specific regions. The whole exercise was not an easy one, I must say because all the times, when I used to meet agriculture staff, an idea of small scale farmers' reliance on Indigenous farming was denied abruptly. The reason for denial was obvious with the cited examples of existence of tractors, mechanical threshers and High Yielding Varieties (HYVs) along with prevalence of pesticide and artificial fertilizers. Large emphasis was on indigenous practices' lack of compatibility with current day challenges. The advent of mechanical tools in farming practices and commercialization of agriculture only allowed wealthy farmers to adopt them and get benefit from use of modern methods. Whereas, innovation process of new technologies gave rise to emergence of new power pockets in rural areas. The newly emerged groups were middlemen who occupied local markets of rural Punjab having control over mechanical tools, running agro-chemical agencies, selling improved seeds and providing

loans to small scale farmers. These middlemen with passage of time have become so stronger that even government is helpless to take action against them in order to protect small farmers from economic exploitation.

To give the indigenous knowledge its due status in the development model for Pakistan, there is a need to conduct a substantial fact finding to determine how development is perceived by the local rural communities, what should be the course of action to revitalize indigenous knowledge according to current day's challenges, what should be the priorities, and to ascertain that how local traditions could help boost the acceleration of development that meets nation's requirements to compete in global scenario. In this regard, Mr. Sartaj Aziz¹⁶⁸ is the leading name who spoke in favor of a suitable model of rural development for Pakistan in his book titled "Rural Development: Learning from China" published in 1978. He in fact urges:

Need for thorough socio-economic research in Pakistan to determine the model under which the rural population could be organized to help themselves (Aziz, 2009: 61).

Initially, the modern development theory based upon notion of economic growth along with its paradigms has in a way tried to put the indigenous people and their practices on gradual redundancy. The advocacy of development experts has been in favor of adopting the foreign notions in the name of growth and development that is only measured through explanations provided from economic perspective. The ultimate beneficiary of the development ought to be the community and the recipients should be

¹⁶⁸ Mr. Aziz had a distinguished career as a civil servant in Pakistan in the Ministry of Finance and National Planning Commission. He also served Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD). He started his political career as Minister for Food and Agriculture (1984-88), Minister for Finance and Economic Affairs (1990-93) and (1997-1998). He also served as Minister of Foreign Affairs from August 1998 to October 1999 while being a senator from 1985 to 1999 (till the government was toppled by military coup led by Musharraf). Currently, he is the chancellor of the Beacon House National University. He has authored six books on economy, rural development, agricultural policies and privatization.

the people. It is usually observed in cases of most of the third world developing nations that the population and community who should be at the deciding end are merely expected to be at receiving end to merely nod its approval. 'Full recognition of local knowledge systems is central to the issue of sustainable and equitable development. Until recently, they have been viewed as 'backward,' 'static,' and a 'hindrance' to modernization. This negative view has been fostered by a tradition of Western science' (Hill, 1994). Recognition and reinforcement of local knowledge systems can be the basis for an alternative development model (Appleton, Fernandez, Hill, & Quiroz, 1995).

As a matter of fact, majority of people living in rural areas prefer their traditional life modes and world views about their livelihoods. The case of Pakistan is bit different where government's agriculture departments, research organizations, and research personnel in order to promote modern farming started criticizing indigenous farming methods and portrayed it as something carrier of low vision on development, and as something that does not respond to new challenges particularly the population pressure. The vision of agriculture related policies has been focused on condemning traditional methods. These policies kept their emphasis on adoption of modern farming while terming it the single remedy to compete with modern world.

The notions of sustainable community organization, participation in development works, and thus earning a feeling of empowerment were only given a lip service and did not happen (see chapter 4). Instead, the local communities were deliberately pushed in a 'bog' to believe that agriculture was underdeveloped due to their laggard and fatalistic attitudes and cultural stagnation that resisted change. Of course, there is a moral concern that over centuries, these local populations effectively demonstrated their culturally unique methodologies to deal with their natural habitats like agriculture, forestry, livestock management as well as discovering and refining effective socio-cultural systems. All that required is to acknowledge the indigenous knowledge and its importance and worth according to its beholders as Aziz has also suggested. By doing so,

Pakistan shall be devising and adopting a sustainable rural development strategy that shall be in full accordance with the indigenous notions and norms and would also match the modern development. Moreover, there could be an establishment of research institution that could further thrash the indigenous knowledge along with suggestions to revitalize them in order to bring the traditional methods best suited and adapted to respond to challenges of modern world. This research attempts to raise a moral concern that since winning independence, Pakistan tried non-local western model of economic growth, foreign models of local government (as in case of devolution of power), alien agricultural technologies, etc. But situation now demands that indigenous knowledge and its orientations be acknowledged and put into practice after revitalization for expecting sustainability and thus making development people centered.

CHAPTER SEVEN

INDIGENOUS DEVELOPMENT PARADIGM:

PAIDAAR TARAQQI

7.1 Introduction

The term '*Taraqqi*' in both Urdu and Punjabi languages substitutes 'development' that denotes the relationship between *abaadi* (population), and *wasaael* (resources). *Taraqqi* is a concept perceived by community of Sacha Soda as a continuous process in which people have definite roles and responsibilities towards long term survival mechanism of society while using the available resources (social and natural). *Taraqqi* is not a mere set of practices to make best use of resources by the community rather it is composite whole that binds *Basti* (Community), with its *wasaael* in a reciprocal relation that continues to progress due to a benignity. People of village think that development is possible through sustainable reaping of resources instead of its commercial harvest. *Taraqqi* requires community not people in the sense that people may have their individual objectives and motives due to which they may indulge in an exploitative mode which further poses threats for progressive survival of community. *Basti* is a more refined concept that speaks of people inhabiting a certain locality. The purpose is not just survival rather it is to develop the resources and putting a cultural value on them not only in terms of human aspects of life but also non-human environmental factors too.

The folk society of Sacha Soda believes that both human and natural resources are valuable for progressive life. The relationship of community with its resources is like something that is personal and intimate. People in terms of building a human-

environment friendly relationship, bring a person near to nature to create a symbolic bond of unity. This bond as its details shall be discussed in later parts of the chapter is when a farming family starts engaging their off springs in various work chores in fields. This also allows observing how elders work by youngsters. It is strengthened when off springs are encouraged to grow their plants that become responsibility for off springs to take care of their plants in order to see who takes best care of plants. The same kind of relation is also observed when the household's cattle are assigned among kids to see who cares more. Both exercises help bringing children nearer to non-human but living parts of their community. Cutting of a tree to be used as a fuel or slaughtering the goats or sheep from household's cattle during *Eid-ul-Azha* is normally observed with sobs. But cutting of tree grown by father or grandfather is usually mourned in the same way as if somebody within family has died. The slaughter of animals especially during religious festival of *eid* is preferred to be held in absence of the symbolic owner of animal.

This symbolic bonding is common to majority of farming families. This normal family based ritual indirectly helps children to come nearer to their plants or domestic cattle that later allows them to understand the changes in them while maturing. Often a jovial laughter is passed when a kid is told to be even younger than a farm tree or buffalo. A farming family always grows their own trees in their fields to serve many important functions including fuel requirements, manufacturing of furniture, and a potential source of money in time of need. Similarly, this symbolic relation is also strengthened due to domestic pets including pigeons, quails, kittens, puppies, and lambs.

Basti or *Pindthan* in local language denotes 'something that is capable of sustaining itself'. It contains human part (population) as well as land (non-human part), forest, and livestock. Thus, in a broader sense, *basti* includes living part (*abaadi*) and non-living part

(*wasaael*). Village population conceives '*paidariat*'¹⁶⁹ (sustainability) to be a feature of progressive life that further means to ensure that a resource is likely to be available in future for new generations.

This current chapter intends to throw light on the concept of *taraqqi* operationalized through interplay of three interconnected terms of *basti*, *shirkat* (participation) and *paidariat*.

7.2 Basti or Pindthan (The Community)

The villagers view *abaadi* as a living unit comprised of people having their needs dependent on one another. The word *basti* communicates the sense of people gathered to live together in mutual cooperation. Community for the villagers is inclusive of the domestic unit along with *wasaael* including agriculture land particularly communal land called *shamilat*. It also includes local flora and fauna with which people have a utility based relation. Respondents in village shared their views on community in words below:

Abaadkaran nay is zamin nu abaad kita jadon nehraan banian tay bailay khatam hoay. Lookan nu zaminan milian tay unha nay apnay khuttam tay kunbay apnian zamina tay wasaey. Zamindar di shan hai wai-beiji. Zamin maah hai tay maah di izzat day wastay kuch banda kuch vi ker sakda ay.

Translation:

The settlers inhabited this land. Because before that it was a huge forest area, people after getting their lands preferred to live by their lands while bringing their extended families and relatives. A landholder's respect is due to his familial land which is like mother because it feeds them. Like mother, a landowner can go to any extent to save it.

The villagers cited example of Mecca city that grew around a water spring. People inhabited the place due to availability of water. The same pattern was repeated in canal

¹⁶⁹ '*Paidariat*' is derived from word '*paidaar*' that denotes anything that is deep rooted and able to sustain in hazards. It is like roots of a tree that deep down underneath soil manage to seek its nutritional required fertility for survival.

colonies of Punjab where people established their communities due to the agricultural land that was main source of their livelihood. According to villagers, community is the teacher that establishes means of socialization in which people learn methods of survival. Community comprises agents of socialization like *wadkay* or *sianay* (visionary elders) as a big source of learning methods of livelihood. Social institutions of *Tabbar* (nuclear family), *kunba* (extended family) and *biraderi* (brethren/caste) also play important role in socialization of youth.

The institutions like *parya* and *punchayat* at community level organize indigenous knowledge and practices. Normally, a matter related to village level is heard in *parya* in which elders dispose cases in the light of evidences from known history of village as well as expert opinion of specialists in relative fields like *alims* (religious specialists), *peers* (spiritual guides), *hakeem* (herbalist), *wadkay* or *sianay* (visionary elder who also act as opinion leaders), etc. The *parya* is an appropriate forum where youth observe their elders dealing with various matters related to village. *Parya* is a democratic forum where people are given equal chances to speak and participate in various village issues. A matter concerning two or more villages is dealt at *punchayat* in which the jury comprises opinion leaders from all member villages so that equal representation is ensured. The decisions of both *parya* and *punchayat* have to be accepted by people because of the members of both forums due to their respect and good fame. Failure to comply with decisions of both bodies results in social dislike and disapproval of non-complying parties in the area. It is rarely heard that somebody denied accepting the decisions of both levels of these bodies even the influential landlord have to come and witness the proceedings if they are summoned. Both *parya* and *punchayat* are informal social organizations that ensure disposal of issues related to villages at local level. Both bodies possess effective control and implementation mechanism in favor of its decisions.

Third important feature of *basti* is the local experts or specialists in various fields like agriculture, livestock management, herbalists who are specialist of herbs and trees to give advice on medicinal as well as commercial values, and experts from various other guilds. The presence of experts in a *punchayat* largely depends of the nature of issue under consideration of jury of *punchayat*. For example if a case of theft is under consideration of *panya* or *punchayat*, then village elders would surely call *khoji* (traditional foot print reader). These foot print readers are known for their adept skills of chasing the right directions of escape of criminals after incidence. So far as the second half of *basti* is concerned, *wasaael* constitute the resources necessary to sustain human life. It includes agricultural land, water sources, forest area, communal land and livestock.

7.3 Taraqqi (Development)

To conceptualize the term '*taraqqi*', a senior respondent summed up that '*taraqqi bunyadi tur tey wasaael day khatmay day naal, wasaael dey barhaway da naa ay*' (development is basically to utilize resources to ensure its best use without fearing its exhaustion). People of village think that collective efforts can bring positive results and can also help community organize for a joint social cause. Village community is more concerned about their surrounding circumstances in terms of social cohesiveness. The population is segregated in various caste groups which are united at *panya* level. Matters related to village are dealt by seeking social consensus which is the only mean to plan or launch any intervention.

People compare their experience with previous developmental efforts in village and state that development should not be something that puts people in negative competition. This negative competition was experienced by people during running of ARP, SSTP, WMP and Devolution of Power (chapter 4). People view that the projects had weaknesses in its implementation phases. Moreover, the project staff was not trained

to cope with the potential hurdles. Many hindrances were oversimplified or ignored by staff and planners which later on turned devastating. Village community thought that these weaknesses were manipulated by influential landlords to increase their hegemonic control over people. According to them, projects were not democratic in functioning therefore people who did not have any link or support from village power factions were excluded from beneficiaries list. It was due to this pressure that turned people to join these factions just to take benefits from project offerings.

Taraqqi is independence from externalities not an addiction. The beneficiaries have to take their independent decisions in order to exert better and effective control over their livelihoods and available resources at community level. According to local notion, development in terms of mechanical technology as experienced by village farmers has even worsened the situation and led to many problems in village. Firstly, it created an army of unemployed laborers; secondly, it compelled people to migrate to adjacent towns and especially to neighboring districts in search of jobs; thirdly, it caused a trend in favor of international migration especially in Gujranwala district; fourthly, the cities currently experiencing pressed economic crisis were not able to provide work opportunities to all migrants.

The bulk of unemployed laborers were frustrated and their idleness raised incidences of conflict and violence within households as well as in village's social life. The negative impacts were more over the middleclass of village that lost its interests in work diligently. Villagers referred to rise in cases of adultery, drinking, theft, money and cell phone snatching. Upon further probing, respondents replied that it is the village youth that is indulged in such criminal acts. Few cases of elopement and consequent fights were also cited. Elders of village responded that unplanned and overwhelming shout for mechanization instead of helping rural people resulted in problems.

Majority of villagers who experienced farm mechanization are again shifting back to their traditional farming practices. The case of economic factors was main reason due to which farmers thought to reap more benefits and the same resulted in the rejoin of traditional practices. The modern agriculture methods became economically infeasible for the subsistence level farmers to keep their pace with it. The process of mechanization only suited wealthy and big landlords who had resources to join commercial agriculture. Their economic cushion provided them a shelter to transform their agriculture chores into a profitable business activity. A core group of key informants of village were comparing their experience with previous projects in which planners and project officials were under influence of powerful factions of village. This core group was critical of '*naukar-shahi*' approach (top-down) adopted by development experts and agencies. Whereas, the core group opined that instead of launching a real grass root development opportunity, the bureaucratic styled development approach only favored power holders of village. It simply excluded the laymen from development process. The local strategy adopted by lay men was that they also decided to join the factions run by power groups of village to be a part of this exercise.

The core group of villagers insisted upon the local skills to be employed as featuring village level development process while utilizing the local resources. These resources whether they are natural or human have to be locally available so that traditional independence of rural areas is reinstated. This thing could in turn also result positive in favor of controlling overwhelming rural-urban migration. Respondents shared that for long lasting effects of development initiatives, masses have to be the first to receive the benefits. Villagers were critical of public offices because they thought that a layman cannot consult them at his own will. There is no mechanism to assist layman in these departments. Political influence has turned the delivery system to be weak to address a common man's needs. The core group also added their views on why the system in Pakistan stopped responding to the need of people of Pakistan. The views included instability of political office and inefficient delivery system to reply to social needs of

people. It is due to which the social institution of family, caste and personal support networks are still influential and operational. People have more faith in their local patron who though exerts power but also helps in cases especially related to dealing with police and other important district offices like agriculture, irrigation, revenue, rural development, community development, education and health.

Baba Waris (an elder from core group) commented that *basti* serves two purposes. Firstly, it responds to the individual needs of persons and secondly it serves the collective social needs of community. Baba Waris divided village community into five classes according to their role and functions in social change process and community work in village. Development is evidently a process of increasing the efficiency of social institutions to respond fruitfully to folks' needs. The classifications propounded by Baba Waris are as under:

1. *Jantey Nahin* (a group of people who have no access to information. They are simply ignorant);
2. *Jantey Hain, Maantey Nahin* (a group of people who possess knowledge and know how to take initiatives but they do not take risk and therefore refrain from accepting change);
3. *Maantey Hain, Amal Nahin Kertey* (group of people who know worth of collective efforts for development but they do not become a part of development practice);
4. *Amal Kertey Hain, Kayam Nahin Rehtey* (a group of people who do accept change and practice but they do not assume the change on sustainable basis); and,
5. *Amal Kertey Hain, Kayam Rehtey Hain* (a group of people who accept and practice change on sustainable basis).

Unlike conventional styles of development, indigenous development notion is erected upon the sustainable utilization of both *abaadi* and *wasaael*. The top-down approach and its immediate opposite bottom-up approaches are directly exclusive of its opponent. The indigenous styled development approach is inclusive of encouragement of self reliance over available human and natural resources. The *basti* approach is the best carrier of indigenous development. It makes a usage of working for the people through people and by the people. The resources are best utilized without the commercial harvest of natural resources. People of village cite examples of *shamilat* (communal land) to be best source of animal pasture during fodder dearth. It also served a source of fire material and provided certain medicinal plants and herbs to the village community. The disappearance of communal lands due to seize of power groups and manipulations of other influential factors (discussed in ARP history in chapter four), the community lost its traditional source of animal pasture, fuel source and medicinal plants. The deforestation of forest also affected the aesthetics, medical as well as environmental resources of village.

7.4 *Desi Taraqqi (tasawwar aur muzmiraat)*¹⁷⁰

To discuss and know views of villagers on *Desi Taraqqi*¹⁷¹, the village's elders were grouped and a focused group activity was arranged. Few senior respondents were of view that development in agriculture domain has been favoring large scale agriculture chores. Big landlords have been among major beneficiaries of development practice. This statement of Mr. Alam Din is also reinforced by Fox in statement that:

Indian peasantry, robbed and ruined by the imperialist state and native landlord and money-lender, has to suffer the exploitation of the priesthood. It is one of the favorable tricks of English writers on India, to put the whole responsibility for the terrible position of the Indian masses, whose condition they are unable to deny, onto the masses themselves,

¹⁷⁰ Perception and internalities

¹⁷¹ Indigenous Development

by sneering references to their backward customs which make them spend every year relatively large sums on marriage and funeral ceremonies, as well as on the temple feasts. But they forget to add that the greater portion of this money goes into the pockets of the priests and for unkeep of the temples, the former also being very important landowners and money-lenders (Fox, 2008: 47).

I started sharing concepts of development approaches with a purpose to know which approach was more close to indigenous view and practices. Villagers termed 'top down approach' as remnant of the British rule which ensured firm control of rulers and administrators over the masses. The colonial machinery enacted rules that favored the royal interests on the other hand the general masses were in abject poverty and deprivation. Indigenous population though practiced a variety of their religious faiths but there were hardly any news of ethnic or religion centered conflicts, feuds or killings. These hatreds were created by British to manipulate their oppression and dominion over indigenous population of sub continent. Killings in Amritsar¹⁷² and Banaras were cited for reference. The issues of Urdu-Hindi language controversy¹⁷³ were referred.

The stirring up of pogroms of Hindus against Mussalmans, or vice versa, has become a complete art with the British. Whenever possible, religious pogroms are used to break the unity of the Hindu-Moslem masses. Mysterious groups of vagabonds, armed and controlled by mysterious societies of whom no one has previously heard, cause the most hideous

¹⁷² The Jallianwala Bagh massacre also known as the Amritsar massacre, took place in the Jallianwala Bagh public garden in the northern Indian city of Amritsar, and was ordered by Brigadier-General Reginald E.H. Dyer. On Sunday 13 April 1919 (which happened to be Baisakhi—one of Punjab's largest religious festivals), fifty British Indian Army soldiers commanded by Dyer began shooting at an unarmed gathering of men, women, and children without warning. Dyer marched his fifty riflemen to a raised bank and ordered them to kneel and fire. Dyer ordered soldiers to reload their rifles several times and they were ordered to shoot to kill. Official Government of India sources estimated the fatalities at 379, with 1,100 wounded. Civil Surgeon Dr Williams DeeMeddy indicated that there were 1,526 casualties. The casualty number quoted by the Indian National Congress was more than 1,500, with approximately 1,000 killed. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jallianwala_Bagh_massacre (accessed on October 28th 2011)

¹⁷³ In 1837, the British East India company replaced Persian with local vernacular in various provinces as the official and court language. However, in North India, Urdu in Persian script instead of Hindi in Devanagari script was chosen to replace Persian. The most immediate reason for the controversy is believed to be the contradictory language policy in North India in the 1860s. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/HindiUrdu_controversy (accessed on October 28th 2011)

massacres. Such, for example, were the pogroms of May-June, 1932, in Bombay, occurring just after the dock strike had created a great solidarity between workers of both faiths. Unknown pogromists, arrested in May, were at once released on nominal bail by the English magistrates and continued their bloody work (Fox, 2008: 53).

The villagers commented that though all blames can never be levied on British rule but the fact is that British could have evolved a system that promoted ample harmony among the local populations. It was stressed that Colonial rule only dealt with things that favored reinforcement of their rule and rest was ignored and untouched by them. The economic exploitation of Muslim farmers by the Hindu money-lenders was never investigated and resultantly no state level policy followed to end up this social inequality. The landlords and their coercive methods of social control were deliberately allowed in the faith to press the large level uprising of peasants. Similarly, the crown lands were distributed by British themselves which directly served the purpose of colonial rule's stability in region.

Imperialism maintains in being for its own ends the feudal system which fosters these outbreaks, and never fails to make most of them when they occur (Fox, 2008: 54).

Chaudhry Nazar: I was employed in the British Army and fought the Second World War. I witnessed lot of people unwillingly getting recruited in British Army as there was no other employment available. I remember, there was drought in the area due to which there was no food available in village. People started fighting over loaves of bread. British being the rulers were responsible to make alternate arrangement for providing relief to the people but all in vain because of the great resistance faced by them in the Punjab region. The cartridges that were given to us were polluted with the fats of pig and cow which were refused by the Hindu and Muslim soldiers. The corporeal punishments were horrible and I still have goose bumps over my body when I remember the agony of those poor soldiers. It was therefore a common fashion among the people

that they were used to refuse to abide by the rules and laws introduced by the English setup.

Chaudhry Mohammad Sharif: I was seventeen years old when Pakistan came into being. There was great unrest in Jalandhar (India) in those days when my family thought to migrate to Pakistan for a peace. My father's property and agriculture land was in Jalandhar and Kapurthala state. When I compare the traditional farming methods before partition with modern methods, I can safely say that indigenous agriculture was more compatible as compared to modern. The main reason is that agriculture was more than a profession. It was a pride and life style having norms which involved people in agriculture related activities. There was no concept of somebody remaining or sitting idle and jobless particularly those in agriculture. Unfortunately I see now the youngsters just wasting their time while watching movies and fighting over non issues. I easily remember the incoming of both labor and land saving technologies in village life. The technologies did well but the idea of Human saving or profession saving was put to adjournment. The tractors made workers unemployed with no alternate placement.

Chaudhry Beer Din: The *Wangar* system was basically supposed to involve all of the village community in the agriculture which was main source of livelihood in those days. My family dealt in trade of Mangoes in Hoshiarpur (India). Our *seipis* (*kammis* from occupational groups) were also accustomed to give us hand in transporting the mangoes to city market for sale. In return they were compensated with sacks of wheat according to their share. Mr. Jana reinforced the statements of Chaudhry Beer Din at his turn. The pressing situation of agriculture has virtually made difficult for land owners to keep on supporting their *kammis*. This traditional institution is completely disturbed. We know the cultural worth of *Seipi* system but hardly find a way to keep on supporting our *kammis*. We are ashamed of not being able to continue the spirit of our elders that was based upon cooperation and mutual help.

Mr. Ramzan hailed from a traditional occupational group called *Mistri or Raj* (mason). His family occupied traditional occupation of *Mistri* (mason) in the village. For the last fifteen years, he quitted his traditional family occupation as he added that there was no work in the village if he had associated with the mason-ship. He recalled the old *Seipi* system, a source of socio-economic support for the occupational castes in the Punjab. He thought that social life in village is not same as he used to observe when he was young. He said that wealth was never thought to be a source of nobility and honesty among people. He said in General Zia ul Haq's reign, when there was a huge cry for jobs in the gulf countries. The village youth rushed to abroad for hunt jobs and earning. Though people earned money from there and sent it to their parents and families back in country but eventual race of money and assets badly damaged cultural norms and mutual respect for fellow people. Everybody was indulged into comparing him with others in terms of material gains, property, automobiles, etc. The youngsters lost respect for their culture and started going to gulf either through legal or illegal means that further brought shame for country as a whole. The youngsters from occupational groups also wanted to go there because they started feeling ashamed of their centuries old family occupations. They also wanted to earn money to build their houses comparable to wealthier class of village, buy cars to show off and contest elections to upraise their social status. This thing was very attractive initially but when this labor class started coming back from gulf along with their monetary resources, power holders did not accept them as their equal. Due to which inter-caste and inter-class conflicts increased and cases of fights went sky high. According to him '*money played its bloodiest role in segregating the once united and respected village life.*' People from comparatively lower quartiles of society started moving into cities so as to change their castes and raise their social hierarchy. The occupational groups were disintegrated and were to migrate into cities to look for jobs. The crime rates were increased in cities and society overall lost mutual trust and love for people. He summed up his words that '*modern trends gave less and ruined a lot.*' The traditional *Seipi* system was maintained on the grounds of mutual help and concept of interdependence. The occupational

groups were attached with farming families in village and provided services to their pattern families. In return, occupational groups were their share from crop produce twice a year. It was the responsibility of head of *kammi* family to provide services to farmers. This service was not compulsion rather obligatory as reward of their skilled work. The farmers also provided land to their *kammis* to build their houses as majority of occupational class was land less people. He concluded that though there were problems in the *Seipi* system but overall benefits were more.

Mehr Yousaf: I come from the soil. I was born here and as you know this land was famous for *Dulla Bhatti* (a famous freedom fighter) therefore this area remained mostly under the heavy deployment of British army. The people were against British because colonial forces ruled over folks through a minority of people who were pro-British. These local advocates of British rule were even more brutal as compared to British because they were watch dogs of *raj* and allowed every inhuman activity against the people to establish their loyalty to them. I saw my father and grandfather remembering the Mughal times as the feuds in village were nominal. Hardly there were any cases of theft, looting and murders in the area. People used to relate themselves with others and believed in joint handling of village affairs. He said that traditional social action was marked with social consensus due to which the diverse social classes and castes coexisted in harmony. He referred to current unrest in social life of village and whole nation to be the result of mere copying of western culture without realization that compatibility with local norms and values is prime factor that has to be prioritized in adopting any technology.

Chaudhry Noor Mohammad: I was in the lap of my mother when my family migrated from Jalandhar (India). My mother used to tell me that after partition when there was nothing available to eat and even the people in the new place were against us as they used to call us *Abaadkar* (settlers). This term was mostly taken as a symbol of disgust among the people who migrated from areas of Hindu majority during partition. Later on,

when the village life came back to normal we got assimilated in the new set up of life. In those days, my parent used to tell us about the peaceful life once they had in India but when I compare my childhood with the one now, I become afraid of what is happening in the surroundings. There were no pressure groups in my childhood because a sense of care was even prevailing after this whole partition thing. The early unrest, I would say was because of the society suddenly undergoing unexpected change due to which people were afraid of new emigrants entering their villages. Now a day, this traditional brotherhood is almost disappeared from our lives and we are only material beings thinking only to benefit ourselves. These powerful factions in village have pushed people to walls. People are compelled to accept what these factions direct because of avoiding direct confrontation with them and their powerful allies. These factions are brokers of national and provincial level politicians as they manage to canvass and cast votes for them. In return, these *dharas* win favor from their national and provincial level patrons. These faction leaders are responsible for creating violence and tarnishing the traditional harmony in village.

Baba Waris: He recalled from his past life. He commented that early mode of life was inclusive of both sustainable and community based approaches. He gave reasons for this understanding that people used to have limited resources therefore each resource was valued in social and economic terms. If anybody voluntarily provided his services to his neighbors, the same was returned with even more brotherly feelings. People used to feel the pain of others while thinking that they may also need the same support some day from others. This feeling of social interdependence made them prefer helping others. Similarly, the economic orientation was no so strict therefore people took special care of their limited resource base that was available within the family and village brethren. A common proverb that was cited by people was '*paisa tay kanjran kol vi bohat Honda ay*' (money could never be source of respect as whores and pimps have more money).

Baba Naimat Ali: The argument in favor of traditional life can be qualified as the whole idea was engendering the social participation in various activities at village level. For example; if there was a marriage, all village people were supposed to participate in ceremony in which duties were assigned to people of village. These activities included taking care of bullocks of guests, arranging food for them, giving them company, arranging for guests' night stay, and cooking foods. While doing so the host family was facilitated regarding sharing of their work load. Similarly, most of the activities were ensured to be undertaken at village level so that participation from all concerned is made certain. Similarly, all actions regarding community were decided through social consensus and promoted joint action and intervention. The opinion leaders and elders of community used to gather and mobilize resources to fix the issue. For example, *Chowkidara* (collective surveillance mechanism) during the night times against cattle theft and other crimes was jointly operated by community in which village people provided all necessary funds collected from within the community on self-help basis. Another example relates to animal breeding maintained by community itself. All community members contributed financially to sustain the activities on permanent basis. All such activities involved local resources both human and economic to benefit the whole of community.

Wajahat Shah: We have been hearing about concept of 'welfare state' over the last few decades. My contention is that if we study the indigenous patterns of life and traditional perception of development, we can find easily that it was more than welfare. To me, welfare is doing something for the ones who cannot participate in economic chores. The modern world implies this concept through imposing taxes on working class which are collected and consumed on welfare of those who are poor and needy especially disabled, aged, children and women. On the contrary, the idea of getting retired in traditional rural life was absent because the elders remained a source of socialization of children and youth. Their valuable consultations in agriculture and related activities were highly valued due to their life based experience in the same. The village

community involved all people regardless of their age, gender and occupation to undertake various activities on participatory basis. All people worked in a comprehensive style and were paid off in light of their traditionally decided shares. I would say that the concepts of participation, and community based work was very much ingredient of our past cultural life.

Chaudhry Yaqoob: All people have contributed their valuable views. I just want to add one point that the indigenous *Punchayat* (villages' council) may be taken as an instance of the social participation of village community in all important issues. Similarly, participation is also promoted by Islam as all social events are based upon a concept of *ijtamaiyat* (collectivism). For example, marriages, deaths, fairs, prayers, and performing *Hajj* are examples of collective action and involving community in social activities. Our traditional system especially *punchayat* was a village governing body to manage village affairs on consensus basis.

Altaf Bhatti: Though I am not old enough to add my experiences like other discussants on participation, social cohesiveness and social bonding. I would only say that somewhere I read about that *paidaar taraqqi* (sustainable development) is something to utilize a resource without destroying the base. This is to make sure that resources are consumed while ensuring availability of the resource in future. While listening to the valuable comments, I can safely say that the indigenous system was democratic in its nature. Indigenous activities were very much product of the community's experience with their community based resources. These resources were managed socially as per the knowledge and skills of community on sustainable basis.

Taraqqi is not a blind and unquestioned following of west rather it has to be in place to satisfy the aspirations of *takmeel* (self-fulfillment) among the communities. A jovial comment recorded by village elders in fact poses many queries to answer why village people and thus people of Punjab have to leave their indigenous notions and set of

practices on development. A respondent from *mirasi* class shared a local song depicting modern development and its effects on local population. This song also reveals the construction of reality as regards the social worth of modern development.

*Ghaghray vi gai, Phulkarian ve giyyan
Kanaan vich kukro tay waliaan ve gaiyyan
Reshmi Dopatay, doraay jalian ve gaiyyan
Khund ve gai tay khund walian ve gaiyyan
Chal paye walaiyati banay
Ki bano duniya da*

*Sir utay matka khuhee day pani da
Taab kaira jhalaay teri jawaani da
Jairay pasaay jawan dhum galaan paidian
Ni adi naal teri pajaibaan khaindiaan
Wadiay majajanay majaj bhul gai
Giddian di rani fashionaa vich rul gai
Sundi engraisi ganaay*

*Munday ve vecharaay kairi galoon ghat nay
Her vailay chaarday muchaan nu vat nay
Mukia siyapa vaniyyan zaminaa da
Muchaan utay zor wadian shauqinaan da
Bapu sawaray khaitaan vich nakkay morda
Munda parhay college vich, dakka nai torda
Changian parhaiyyan, tora phaira mitroo
Vas to vassawa utay dera mitroo
Ya thaikay ya thanay*

*Hello hello, thank you karan nadian
Aa gaiyaan walayato engrais wadian
I don't like the Punjabi-hindi nu
Sharam nai andi sano galaan daindi nu
Her boli sikho, sikhni ve chahedi
Ghar paki vaikh ka,y katchi nai chai-di
Disco devaani nagainz kad ni
Loki vaikhday tera tamasha aj ni
Tun rang raliyyan manay*

*Nashian nay pat-tay Punjabi gabroo
Ghar-kan hadiyaan wajaan damroo*

*Bolday engraizi nu Punjabi bhul gai
Lassi day pissay, chahaan tay dhul gai
Siyaastan nay maar-ti jawaani chahr di
Jhil-mil akh kitay hor lar gai
Wada karain emaan, ki bharosa kal da
Bura nai manayee da kissay di gal da
Keh gai nay lok sianay
Ki bano duniya da*

Translation:

Local dressings have been abandoned
Local jewelry has been shunned
Local silk and dress patterns have been abrogated
Veil system and its observers have been vanished
Western styles and products are being followed
What would be the future of Punjab?

(Oh girl) While carrying a pitcher of water on your head
Who is to bear the shine and bite of your beauty?
(Once you turned modern), you face the music when you go anywhere
Because half of you are western and the other half is *desi*
You show attitude, but left your origin
You were symbol of your folk style
Not when you hear the English songs

Boys are even not behind in this race
All the time, they think of themselves different from others
They have left concerns for tilling their lands
They only are concerned about their mustaches
Their fathers are left alone to work in fields
These boys study in college, they don't like to do their forefather's occupation
Studying in cities is not a study; they only roam here and there (wasting their time)
Their awareness has led them to nowhere but a police station

The girls using English expressions
Behave as if they had come from England
While disliking local languages
They only know using slangs of English language
There is no harm in learning foreign languages
But to leave your own is not commendable
(Oh girl) you are fond of disco-techs

People take you as a mere fun
You are unaware and just happy with your leisure

Drugs have ruined the youth of Punjab, Families have been ruined
Only fond of speaking English, while leaving your own behind
They have become shameful of their traditions
Politics and conflict in rural life have ruined youth
(To tell you the truth) This is all a dream, not a reality
(Oh people) don't get offended with my words
As it has also been advised by the visionary people that 'not to get offended
when one gives you piece of advice'

7.5 Desi Ilm and Taraqqi

Baba Waris was a visionary person in village known to be a *Sufi* possessing *Desi Ilm*¹⁷⁴. He was equally respected by all walks of life in village. He quitted his family when he was in his twenties and went to Lahore in search of a job. He described his life that he used to work near the shrine of famous *Sufi* saint 'Hazrat Mian Mir' in a locality *Bhagwanpura* in Lahore. He described himself to be among the lineage of *malamati sufis*.¹⁷⁵ He classified *hikmat* (philosophy) to constitute among the highest and noble form of knowledge. He identified himself to be one of the disciples of Fazal Shah.¹⁷⁶

According to him:

*Phalsapha he asal wich hikmat hai. Hikmat dian do shakhan nay, pheli nazriati
assass tay doji amlu assass. Pheli wich ma-badud-tabiati, riiziaat, tay amlu assass
wich aj day nai tay jaded ilm shamil wa*

Translation:

Hikmat is identified with the theoretical philosophical sciences comprising: metaphysics, mathematics, natural science, and, logic and with the practical philosophical sciences comprising: ethics, economics, and politics.

¹⁷⁴ *Desi Ilm* is the local language alternate for Indigenous Knowledge

¹⁷⁵ Malamati sufi are people who self condemn themselves in order to seek self purification.

¹⁷⁶ Fazal Shah was a renowned *sufi* in Lahore city, hailing from a traditional town of kamaalia in district of Toba Tek Singh. Fazal Shah though not formally literate but he was famous among the intellectuals of Pakistan especially Lahore. Famous Intellectuals Ishfaq Ahmed, and Mumtaaz Mufti were his close mates. Mr. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was the leading name among his disciples. Dozens of books have been written on ideologies of Fazal Shah.

According to him *desi ilm* (indigenous knowledge) carries both of the foundations of philosophy that is theoretical and practical. In the below a dialogue on *desi ilm* and *taraqqi* is quoted:

Researcher: Babi ji, what is *ilm*?

Baba Waris: It is recognition of *al-insaan* (the human).

Researcher: Is there any difference between *insaan* (human) and *al-insaan*

Baba Waris: *Insaan* lives at level of animal who only eats, drinks and reproduces whereas *al-insaan* is basically a *momin* (true believer) who is a source of peace not only for himself and for rest of the world

Researcher: Baba Ji, is there real practitioners of *desi ilm* present in our society?

Baba Waris: Real practitioners are now minimal, as material values are preferred everywhere. Yet, people with live conscience may fall into this category. But if we see from *Sufi* aspect, people believing in sayings of famous *Sufi* poets and mysticism can be termed as practitioners of *desi ilm*. *Sufi* intellectuals like Waris Shah in Sheikhpura, Bhullay Shah in Qasoor, Shah Hussain in Lahore, Baba Farid in Pakpattan, Khawaja Farid in Kotmithan, Sultan Bahoo in Shorkot, Mian Mohammad Bakhsh in Mirpur (Azad Jammu and Kashmir) can be used as hallmarks of *desi ilm*.

Researcher: Who is a *Roshan Zamir* (live-conscience)?

Baba Waris: People who think that they are not free beings like animals to do whatever they wish. Animal does not mean the birds or beasts, rather the ones who act after their material choices.

Researcher: What is concept of *des* and *desi*?

Baba Waris: *Des* is the place of origin. When things are interpreted in terms of their origin, we can say we deal with their origination or base.

Researcher: Baba ji, what are main features of *desi ilm*?

Baba Waris: It is basically to understand the *saakht* (structure) and *fail* (function) of anything. Things which exist today are basically the images of basic human needs and their functions are what suit the humans' needs and requirements. The particular structures are basically the desired placement of ingredients that serve those needs and requirements in socially desired respect.

Researcher: Do you think, things are socially structured to favors man's basic needs and their functions are desired expressions that suite human survival?

Baba Waris: See! Things are structured culturally to fulfill specific needs. For example, an axe is combination of a blade and handle. Blade is there to cut things into smaller units to make them easy to use. Like when you cut a tree, you cut it into small pieces to use wood for your *balan* (fire material), or to make chairs or tables out of it. Nature has given us raw material which we transform according to our needs. So axe is culturally designed to serve the particular need. The structures are basically reflections of how you want to make use of raw material endowed by nature. Similarly, the specific structure suites the specific functions therefore artifacts have particular structures to fulfill your specific needs.

Researcher: Do you think, man is capable of molding things according to his needs?

Baba Waris: Can't you see planes flying in sky. Nature did not give planes in its current structure to us. It is only that man's desires that; to fly, to cover long distances, to better control air, he joined various items from nature to fulfill his desire. If you compare the structures, these also speak of a conscious attempt in which a man keeps on refining his tools and techniques to bring more refinement in his inventions to better suite his needs that are contained in his mind.

Researcher: Baba ji, can *desi ilm* be applied to modern demands of agriculture-vs-population equation?

Baba Waris: Why not? If *desi ilm* is revitalized as we humans did in case of planes and other *ejaadaat* (inventions). If you see the inventions, these are not just

inventions rather these are continuous refinements made by human beings. As I said desire is in mind, if there is willingness, human can evolve new methods to make *desi ilm* responding to current challenges.

Researcher: Do you think there is some logical link between *desi ilm* and modern science?

Baba Waris: As I said in beginning, *hikmat* has two manifestations. First, it provides a basis that contains a scheme of basic rules and principles to understand how things operate. Second, it provides a set of principles or an insight to understand internal functioning of things. The only reason that I see in *hikmat* or current sciences is that it should allow a man to be able to make good decisions if not best. The prime objective of *ilm* as I said is *marifat* (recognition of ultimate reality) therefore it is the *marifat* that allows a man to take good decisions (while distinguishing between good, worse and worst) that suite welfare of humanity.

Researcher: Baba ji, do you think that with experimentation, *desi ilm* can be revitalized to respond to current challenges of world

Baba Waris: You answered your own question. With practice, things seek perfection. Experimentation can bring excellence.

Researcher: What is the main emphasis of *desi ilm*?

Baba Waris: It is to bring recognition of things in material world. It is to distinguish between good and evil. It is to tell us what is desired and what is undesired. Its main stress is to create sublimity between man and his environment. It is to decide that natural resources are owned by whole humanity not just a particular generation who has all rights to use resources after their choice. Unless this balance is sought, no effort can be *paidaar*.

Researcher: It seems that you link *desi ilm* and Islam in this perspective?

Baba Waris: Apart from Islam being a religion, it is also a *hikmat*. If you study Islam, you will learn that after Holy Prophet (PBUH), Muslim scholars sought

excellence in knowledge that was contributed by Greek philosophers. You will learn that during the reign of caliph Mamoon ur Rashid, thousands of books brought from Greece were translated into Arabic. Muslim scholars furthered the basis of knowledge that was laid down by the Greek scholars. So I mean to say is knowledge is not property of any human race, it is owned by all humanity. The Muslims ruled the world when they kept researching things in social and natural world. When they stopped research, they lost their prosperity and became dependent on other nations. If Muslims rejoin science and enhance research chores, they can regain their previous scholastic majesty. Rather, they will be in a position to gift humanity additions for global *Falah* (human welfare). With *ilmi istedaadkar* (scholastic achievements), Muslim can effectively pay off the debts upon them to contribute for *falah-i-insaaniat* (Welfare of humanity).

Researcher: How can we revitalize *desi ilm*?

Baba Waris: If commercial values are waved off and man's *falah* (welfare) is focused. Commercial values merely bring negative competition among people and other stakeholders. It is just to put people and global welfare in the *tarjeehi umoor* (priority targets). Competition can be encouraged in research for medical advancements, exploration of hidden sides of world, evolving best strategies for soil and land conservations, protecting environment, and helping the poor and needy to save them from extremities of *tashkeel-i-mafadaat* (market economy), etc.

Researcher: Can we take liberty to say *desi ilm* can be boasted through a spread of *sufi* inspirations and preaching?

Baba Waris: What you do think, *sufi* path is all about? It is to create a sense among man that he is not the sole proprietor of the universe. All species have right to survive and live according to their natural requirements. Man is never given free hand to do whatever he wishes to. All main religions believe that man is accountable not before Almighty, but also before the up-coming generations for his deeds. People with ambitions of looting resources are never preferred over the ones who dedicated their lives to invent things and to benefit humanity. I would say that best *sufis* are the

scientists and researchers who are always in search of new discoveries, and inventions. They are the real benefactors of humanity. I have a strong faith that those are real *sufis*.

Researcher: How can we benefit our communities with *desi ilm*?

Baba Waris: Allow researchers to come up with new findings with emphasis to detect compatibility with existing norms and *taraqqiati zarooriat* (developmental needs) of people. Invest in education, but focus on developing research minds in your education institutions.

Researchers: How could we make best use of both human and natural resources?

Baba Waris: By detaching capitalistic ethos from survival needs. By adopting a *falah* approach (welfare) towards both human and natural resources. Never focus special packages for various strata of society. Adopt uniformity in practices that address all diversities of society (economic classes, rural-urban, gender differences, etc.) as a general rule for all times.

Researcher: How can we convince people to adopt *desi ilm*?

Baba Waris: They don't need to be convinced; rather the negative competition of market economy has already done the work. You have seen while working in village that people want to live in peace rather competition. Give peace to people and nature and win the same in return. *Jadidiat* (modernization) has bestowed onto us nothing but restlessness and running after things that are not meant to benefit majority of the folks. *Taraqqi* is not something to benefit a specific group of people. If it is to be called *taraqqi*, it has to be universal in its approach. It should involve all fabrics of society.

The interaction with Baba Waris during the study was more than an experience. To conclude what went wrong with the modern development practices in society. Baba Waris referred to a common proverbial that speaks and depicts the unevenness of development practices in area. He concluded by saying '*pind wasiya nahi tay uchakkay pehlay*' (the looters were pre-existent before the settlement of village). The political

instability and vested interest groups since after the partition high jacked the development practices and made it impossible for rest of the people to participate and get benefitted. This trend was because the resources were not in competitive ratio with target population. Minimal resources created a competition among people. In this strive, only those who manipulated the delivery system by any means were the real beneficiaries.

7.6 *Marsahil* of Practicing Indigenous Development (ID)

In the lines below, I tried to describe the stages (*marahil*) of development as perceived by village people as well as dynamics of how community once responded to communal tasks along with relevant cases and practices.

7.6.1 First Stage: *Sooch Bichar* (Conceptualizing)

Indigenous Development (ID) advocates strong conceptualizing of the term 'development' as it believes that development indicators and needs could be different because of diverse natured challenges faced by communities. As a result of which the needs' prioritization list could be different for different communities. ID believes that development model on macro level must be containing all feed backs from local communities so that common and especially the unique developmental needs are also reflected in the development policy.

7.6.2 Second Stage: *Shinaakhat* (Identification and Homogenizing)

This stage is a multi cluster stage that comprises the following:

1. Consultation on needs and aspirations;
2. Identification of developmental needs;

3. Prioritization of developmental needs; and,
4. Seeking communal consensus on exclusive classification of needs.

This stage is participatory in its nature and requires people to participate in the process so that consultation may lead to some concrete conclusion and results. Usually done in an informal way, the community exchanges ideas and views on required necessities and what additional is required. This is used to happen in communal meetings, like marriages, village council sessions, in planning to fight against any natural disaster, etc. The long continued discussion facilitates step wise clear demarcation between what is really required i.e. Need and what is beneficial but not crucial for survival. Once this has been done, the community itself develops a priorities list and again shared among the community members. The purpose of doing so is to get wider acceptance from community members and to attach a community's ownership feelings towards solution of issues.

7.6.3 Third Stage: *Farahmiyee Wasaael aur Intizaam* (Resource Management)

1. Resources Identification;
2. Resource Categorization; and,
3. Resource Allocation and Mobilization.

Comprising of three factors mentioned above, the importance of resources is authentic and mutually agreed to fix problems within community. The community through an informal chat ponders upon prerequisites for problems' shooting and solution. The resources required for an issue are discussed by community members and further process of identifying the resources is also held. It is done to identify location where the required resources are available. Once the resources are indicated location wise, then comes the stage where there is a discussion about categorization of resources (but this only happens when few of required resources are not available within community). This

is called the categorization of resources to see whether problems or issues can be fixed with help of internal resources or some external resources are required (if so then, finding the locations of desired resources and its social cost to be borne by members of community). The community again peeps into possibility of mobilization of resources regarding locally available resources. On the other hand, snow ball method is adopted to find out how to access the available external resources.

7.6.4 Fourth Stage: *Tajaweez* (Interventions)

1. Planning an Intervention leading to Public Participation; and,
2. Identification of Good Practices.

The planning phase contains the social consensus over nature, time and pattern of intervention that is been planned by community members for solution of issue. While going to do so, village experts usually give examples of good practices so that non-renewable resources (time and labor) are saved from waste. Another purpose of discussing and quoting good practices leads to selection of best suited methodology to solve targeted items with sustainability approach. The overwhelming stress on sustainable solutions is because of fact and reality that resources are meager and may not be available for next time therefore best utility of same is to be ensured to root out the issues on permanent basis.

7.6.5 Fifth Stage: *Amali Jama aur Nigraani* (Implementation and Monitoring)

1. Implementation of Intervention;
2. Benefits Acquisition; and,
3. Lessons Learnt.

Most vital is 'implementation stage' where envisaged intervention is allowed to be executed by community members through joint and mutual consultations. This is done in presence of community elders because during this phase chances of misunderstandings are high, therefore, village nobles and community make sure that they are there to witness process when an intervention is being executed. If planned intervention requires various implementation phases, then relevant experts of each phase are also supposed to be there or at least remain available on first call. For example; building a house is diverse natured works that admits many faculties in itself. Like for digging the foundations of house, only a supervisor and labor is required, whereas during construction of walls, labor under supervision of a qualified mason is required. If furnishing of doors and cupboards is at hand, services of a carpenter are needed, similarly an electrician deals in his areas of expertise so does the sanitary person. This phase involves all actors of this phase while bringing overseer under the monitoring of experienced community people.

7.6.6 Sixth Stage: *Takhmina aur Jaiza* (Evaluation and Updating IMD)

1. Learning of Best Practices.

The final stage is operated at community's experience level and thought processes of villagers in which it helps villagers in comparing things and terming them as good, or better and bad or worst. It is to see that limited resources may not diminish. This stage is operationalized soon after the execution of intervention so that product, process and effect of the new intervention are evaluated in terms of its economic, environmental and cultural value. The stage is also a future reference for all such kind of activities. Purpose of this exercise is to increase and update knowledge repertoire with previous and current activities. These specific activities are thus evaluated and labeled as good or best practices by the village people with respect to their utility.

7.7 Shirkat (Participation)

As described earlier that villagers believe that community is an integrated component of development without which no development step could sustain for a longer period of time. According to villagers, they view that development cannot be achieved without dealing with community participation at main five levels these were:

1. *Tehreek* (Community mobilization);
2. *Tanzeem* (Community organization);
3. *Shamuliat* (Community participation);
4. *Mukhtariat* (Community empowerment); and in the final stage,
5. *Taraqqi* (Community development).

7.7.1 Tanzeem (Community Organization)

Community Organization¹⁷⁷ depends on two important aspects in the village that are as under:

7.7.1.1 Qayyadat (Leadership Training)

Leadership training is must as to decide who would be acting as a guide or a leader in the specific developmental task. For example, the communities in case of a dispute always look for people within the community having an understanding of political issues, having know-how of law and order, knowledge of dealing with police and other law enforcing departments. Similarly, a desirable person is one who gives workable

¹⁷⁷ Community organizing: involves organizing or strengthening community-level individuals, groups and/or organizations. Community organizing may occur around a specific purpose or may be part of a broader community development process.
http://www.hcpartnership.org/Publications/Field_Guides/Mobilize/htmlDocs/glossary.htm

ideas to deal with problem and thus helping community in finding solutions. Successful Community Empowerment¹⁷⁸ requires a number of factors, such as strong, skilled, indigenous leadership; a stable organization in terms of membership and funding; a clear sense of target that includes a long-term stake in community; and an overall strategy that allows an organization to build on its defeats and its successes. People also recognize that these attributes do not emerge overnight rather evolve through a process of effective and dynamic leadership development, building of organizational capacity, education, experience and consciousness rising. Successful community empowerment efforts depend on indigenous leadership development and organizational capacity building.

7.7.1.2 *Istadaad-e-Kaar* (Capacity Building)

The people of village believe that all people and their respective communities possess a definite capacity and no one in community is without capacity. The important factor to realize is that central to theme of capacity building is always community members. People believe that progressive communities comprise open and progressive people and family units. The creation of progressive and responsive social environments always encourages progressive sustainable development. This involves capacity to do this as well as dynamic leadership, a feasible plan, motivation for objectives and community and support of community members. Capacity in simple terms is the way to do what is required and important for survival as perceived by members. Most often, capacity is referred to as including the following components:

1. Members who want to participate;

¹⁷⁸ Community empowerment: a process by which groups of individuals, organizations, and communities are enabled and share "power" to collectively analyze problems, propose solutions, mobilize and manage resources and act effectively to transform their lives and their environments. http://www.hcpartnership.org/Publications/Field_Guides/Mobilize/htmlDocs/glossary.htm

2. Technical skills, skillful knowledge and operational abilities;
3. Caliber to identify, locate and access opportunities;
4. Commitment to carry out initiatives;
5. Provision of Infrastructure, support networks and physical resources;
6. Leadership and the desire for participation; and,
7. Financial resources.

Community's capacity building relies on the factors that guarantee sustainability. It is important to notice that without such capacity (mentioned above), the process cannot benefit village as a whole. The importance of capacity building of community members is also evident from views of villagers on the same as:

Istadaad-e-Kaar oho rujhan wa jaira khud-mukhtariat wastay lazim aa. Ahay lokaan, pindthan tay baarlay anaasir nu mila kay masael day hel tay khas taur tay adam-masaawat tay samaji-ikhraaj day khaatamay wastay lazim hai

Translation:

Capacity building is an approach to development that builds self reliance and independence. Capacity building increases the range of people, communities and external agencies who are able to address problems and in particular, problems that arise out of social inequity and social exclusion.

A Case of Community Organization

The respondents are well aware of concept of community organization whose local term is 'Keth'. Mr. A.J one of my respondents reported that in first look, the community may seem scattered because of fact that social values and belief system is something that is shaped sometime before and need not be reassured again and again. It is simply because people always interpret behaviors and its reactions in light of those once socially agreed notions about social deeds and pursuits. The community is already divided into 'Qaum' (caste), 'Kunba' (extended family) for settlement of social affairs. Mr. A.J was critical of development agencies who failed to recognize this element. He

also commented that rural society is facing factionalism and disintegration because of new lines of divisions created by modern life. He suggested further that previously people were aware of group dynamics and knew that how a particular group can be approached in case of making them recognize issues and their remedies.

In case of any incidence worth noticing by community as a whole, villagers used to gather in the *Keth* to elaborate an issue in detail and finding and agreeing on the solution. Similarly, if some case occurred that involved some legal background then matter was referred to the *Punchayat* for perusal. He also equated the old patterns of dealing with the newer ones and opined that these *Keths* were organized on same lines as development agencies conduct their focused group discussion activity. He stressed that if we compare the effect and results of both exercises, *keths* were more successful because this activity was not taken merely an activity rather it was a matter of one's words which was supposed to be honored by the utterer.

7.7.2 Shamuliat (Community Participation)

It can be concluded that traditional methods were integrated in nature as participation of community members raised a sense of ownership. So, it is a general rule that help is extended to those who strive to help themselves. During three developmental projects launched in village, it was seen that all projects tried to involve beneficiaries at each stage of projects. On other hand, participation means that the poor people are involved in identifying the problems they face, determining ways to overcome them, suggesting operational plans to achieve goals, and implementing the solutions. The remedies devised and administered by the people in need are more likely to prove successful than those ones which are imposed from outside.

A Case of Community Participation

Importance of water is undeniable and scarcity of water resources is becoming a global issue. It is simple to understand that water resources are not managed effectively then it becomes a matter of conflict. It is therefore, people in a community find ways to manage water resources especially irrigation water by mutual cooperation and understanding. In short, water management both requires and invites the community level commitment. Community based natural resource management and specifically water management has to play a critical part in solving water scarcity problems. Local water management permits a democratizing, decentralization of decision and accountability. It empowers people especially resource poor and otherwise disadvantaged to take part in the decisions that define their own futures. This thing also encourages integration of local and traditional knowledge with innovative ideas to promote just and efficient supply of water resources and its management. In these ways, water degradation and shortage can be transformed into sustainable sufficiency.

An old and rather obvious response to water shortage is to recycle dirty water after it is used which means reusing of treated 'gray water' after bathing, laundering, and cooking. In some places, recycling wastewater carries approval of local tradition. The respondents told that community level solution for scarcity of water resources is traditionally fixed by their elders. The traditional management included water from canals to drain the village pond once a month. Village pond usually contained waste water from households. Draining of water from village pond was not contaminated because it was a regular activity to manage it at village level. The waste water coming from households was mostly used for washing or cleaning, therefore it was not harmful for human health. The villagers mutually managed to look after their village's pond which was also used for animal wash therefore it was a collective responsibility to make sure that water in pond is properly cleaned so that animal health is not endangered. The number of ponds used to vary from two to four respectively depending on size of

population of village. The current purpose of village pond is also vital in village life. The pond water after proper cleansing is also used irrigation purposes because of huge water demand particularly in rice season. As this activity concerns all residing in a village therefore maintenance is also done on regular basis on the part of an informal committee constituted by village elders. The informal committee manages its role in proper maintenance of water pond and all villagers are assigned duties on rotation basis.

7.7.3 Mukhtariat (Community Empowerment)

From participation grows empowerment. Community believes that people who truly participate in their own development are actually empowered. The respondents report that they feel empowered when they freely make decision for their own community. Similarly, they feel at ease to gather and think over their issues and later on agreeing upon a common solution for the problem through consensus. The core group of elders in village on indigenous knowledge concluded that:

Mukhtariat udon hi mumkin wa jadon pindathan tay loki ralmil kay kamaan di loor samajhday hon. Tay pindthan da her banda kathian mil kay samesia da upaa soochay

Translation:

Empowerment is a state of affairs that is only achievable when the community and its members are aware of need to undertake collective efforts and community's agreement and willingness to take some concrete steps to fix their common problems faced by community.

The village community discusses in detail about the resources required in a particular issue and also ascertains that whether these resources are available in village or not. Once they agree upon the existence of problem and probable solution to solve issue, there comes a debate of who would be involved in process and how. The initial attempts to solve community problems give the members a sense of belongingness and

members try to put their best efforts towards remedial measures. Once members get succeeded in their efforts, the confidence level of community is raised to a considerable level due to which members start thinking that they can also work at their local level to overcome their problems. One of my key respondents replied that if community members are aware of developmental issues of community and are effectively mobilized towards solutions and remedies only then community could be made more conscious regarding the challenges faced by them. It was further added by the key informant that once community is mobilized only then one can hope for participation on a mass level that leads to community organization which raises participation on behalf of community members. The local view convincingly believes that participation is the key to sustainability. Another local view also describes:

Mukhtariat da koi faida nai jadon tikar ghareeb log tay bay-sahara lokaan nu qanooni tahafuz na hasil howay. Qanooni tahafuz wastay sarkari sata tay sarkar di wabastagi tay azm zaroori wa khas ker moacharay da nichla tabqa. Sarkar nu chaheda wa kay ghareeban nu faisla-sazi vich shareek hon.

Translation:

This argument shared by community in the perspective of community empowerment by an old lawyer residing in village who stressed on 'political empowerment'. This point of view was elaborated in detail that empowerment is of no critical importance unless poor or the disempowered (often synonymous) are protected under the law. Empowerment would be operational when it is protected by the government which needs commitment of government with community cause and lower strata of society to involve them in mainstream of development and decision making process.

On the basis of local view, it can be said that community participation is merely a process unless protected to make it permanent and a societal norm later on. On the same lines, other views on community empowerment within village support the notion of their traditional practices of community based interventions. The indigenous vision on empowerment was discussed in a functional perspective by the community elders by stating their past examples. They opine that any individual or community as one unit would feel empowered when they are having all resources available within their native

community regarding any desired intervention. The resources mentioned by them included all infra-structural and human resources including the technical craftsmanship available in community or nearby. This process would be more strengthened when the community agrees upon a desired ladder of discussion, agreeing on a solution, building a consensus, identifying the resources and putting best effort to execute. This perspective seemed more relevant to me when it was related to few past experiences of the village community. Community of Sacha Soda believed in decentralization of resources, democratic leadership and participation in execution, monitoring and evaluation can empower community in terms of making their decisions. Village people believe that control over planning and implementing their decisions means a lot to them. Their self-determination in this regard makes them feel as active participants and raise a sense of responsibility to improve their village.

7.7.3.1 Local Perception of Community Empowerment

According to the respondents 'Community empowerment' is enabling the community worth of making decisions according to demands of their situation. The respondents simply describe two indicators for embracing community empowerment. According to my respondents following two factors can make them feel more secure and independent regarding taking decisions about the village:

1. *Moaashi Mawaaqay* (Economic Opportunity)
2. *Access to Ijtamayee Insaaf* (Social Justice)

Firstly, I was told that human being is a material being in the first instance therefore people are more concerned with the satisfaction of physical needs. The term 'empower' also qualifies that if somebody has to become empowered then means of survival need to be properly utilized and managed. Without appropriate empowerment, one cannot develop his own self, ideas, notions about the world, relations and issues, etc. This was

also emphasized that in the traditional agriculture, the villages were almost independent units in which all classes of village knew their roles and responsibilities (traditional roles of *kammi class* and patron-client relationship). This clear demarcation also made people socially accountable accordingly.

Social justice in terms of local councils including *keth*, *parya*, *punchayat* to be most appropriate forums to control the internal integrity of villages at local level. These local institutions maintain a peace within community. A conflict between two individuals or two factions is settled with a view to maintain and bring order in village life. Villagers are well aware of the importance of their traditional councils worthy of settling down their mutual disagreements at village level.

7.7.4 Taraqqi (Community Development)

The concept of 'development' often carries with it an assumption of growth and expansion. The Community Development¹⁷⁹ process takes charge of the conditions and factors that influence a community and changes the quality of life of its members. Community development is a tool for managing change. Community development is about community building as such, with the process as important as the results. One of the primary challenges of community development is to balance the need for long-term solutions with the day-to-day realities that require immediate decision and short-term action. People say '*waqt di tabdeeli*' to denote that survival issues are diverse and these

¹⁷⁹ Community development: a process of identifying community leaders, organizing groups or building on existing groups and training these groups and individuals to assess their needs and resources; prioritizing a list of problems that can be addressed; planning a project or an activity; obtaining resources to implement the plan; taking action; and evaluating their impact using the lessons learned to begin the cycle again. Community development takes into account, and is influenced by, the external environment including macroeconomic and political realities and global trends. http://www.hcpartnership.org/Publications/Field_Guides/Mobilize/htmlDocs/glossary.htm

do change with the passage of time. Therefore *taraqqi* has to be according to changing scenario with reference to time and space dimension locally called '*zaman-o-makaan*'.

According to local view, a community is the one that shares common life styles and issues. Keeping in mind, definition given by respondents, a '*Mustahqam*' (stable and self sustaining) community is a social entity. It is a man evolved strategy for '*Baqa*' (survival) and practices to bring a certain level of excellence in human social life. For majority of respondents, concept of the community is different from caste bond which is beyond geographical boundaries and serves different purposes (social, economic and political). I would describe both functions in detail. In first place caste is a bond commonly found dominant in rural life of Punjab province in which people use to categorize themselves against some remote but common ancestors or place of hailing. Caste is a social and cultural phenomenon that plays important role in life above level of village but this does not mean that in village matters the caste influence is totally absent. What I mean to say is that caste is a triumph card that is often used by people for reference in bit higher issues that might be at tehsil, district or even higher levels of provincial or national matters. In second place, community is a phenomenon that is functional at village level where people have to cooperate with one another in order to solve and fix common *Baqa* issues.

Development is a complex whole that is mostly concerned with the community at grass root levels. For example, issues of transportation facilities from farm to market or establishment of medical dispensary or a primary school for girls or boys, etc. The importance of community development is easily understood while living in rural areas when one has to bear the harsh realities of irrigation water dearth or theft, low performance of extension services, law and order issues, water supply, street pavement, and soil conservation. These are the common nature of problems witnessed by the rural masses. People call *taraqqi* has to be a *muqaami-taraqqi* that has to be managed and administered locally.

The important issue to seek the level of sustainable development is always through the effective mobilization of target community. This is the process where community is organized around a common developmental issue. The community organization process requires that the target population as a whole recognizes the issues as a common problem that further needs redressal. Once the community is organized, there come issues of participation in the collective efforts identified by community members. The villagers were familiar with the concept of sustainable development whose success path was identified by them in an eight stepped process narrated as under:

1. Community Mobilization;
2. Community Organization through identification of developmental needs;
3. Community Participation through a prevailing sense of communal ownership;
4. Planning and Implementation through the community;
5. Community Monitoring;
6. Community Development as a process in which members follow achieving common goals;
7. Community Evaluation for future intervention;
8. Community Empowerment; and,
9. Sustainable Development.

Respondents cite examples of indigenous farming practices in which they use to work jointly in *wangar*. Another combined effort is *Chowkidara* (night-patrolling), when villagers use to watch for their property and cattle. This effort is also conceived by the villagers as a defense mechanism against cattle theft.

Summary

Taraqqi is composite process in which the community comprising its members and locality is to be engaged in reciprocal and mutual-cooperation mechanism. As it was discussed in the beginning of the chapter that *basti* or *pindthan* is a combination of two integral components including *abaadi* and *wasaael* which have to be in interdependent relationship in order to see the dream of *taraqqi* coming true. The village people in light of their traditional farming methods and recent experience with modern development initiatives launched in village clearly demarcate differences in both. They understood development in terms of their traditional practices. They were also aware of the social and economic costs of modern farming practices and understand why they were failed in coping with modern agriculture.

The current chapter was an attempt to interrelate the concepts of *basti*, *taraqqi* and *shirkat* to understand the roots for *desi taraqqi* especially carrying seeds of *paidariat*. Respondents gathered in core group activity clearly demonstrated that regarding *paidaar taraqqi*, there are five classes of people. The sustainable development process has to involve people at various levels to make *taraqqi* responding to social needs and making the folks, real benefactors. *Desi taraqqi* believes in *Shamuliat* of all strata within community. It heavily relies upon involvement of people to create social consensus to seek sustainability in development focused activities. The indigenous development perspective highlights the English land tenure system that only benefited the British Raj as well as the crown landlords. The bureaucratic style development called 'top-down' approach is usually imposed on people. Villagers' views were against any practice that made them in process as silent observers. Main features of indigenous notion development were as under:

1. Development practices should not be against the religious and ethnic bonds of target populations;

2. Indigenous Development does not grade agriculture as a mere profession, rather it is life style which has to be understood in order to bring structural changes to make development practices sustainable;
3. Indigenous development carries seeds of moving towards target achievements through building social consensus and creating a social sense of partnership among people;
4. Development initiatives launched in target communities other than commenced by local people have to be equally incorporating various lines of social diversity in communities to control the sense of deprivation;
5. The traditional sense of volunteerism can help control the negative trend of economic competition as well as rendering services to community for creation of social cohesion;
6. Making development practices comprehensive enough to involve all fabrics of community can ensure better understanding of development initiatives as well as ownership feeling among local community as in case of *chowkidara*;
7. Tradition lies in ageing population. Indigenous development believes in making amply utility of collective experience of ageing people that once practiced and sought expert insights in development chores;
8. Indigenous development in rural regions is erected upon *ijtamaiyat* that is join efforts of community at all levels;
9. *Paidaar taraqqi* is possible in places where *basti* or *pindthan* including both aspects of *abaadi* and *wasaael* are sensibly utilized while avoiding the capitalistic ethos which are observed in case of modern farming methods; and,
10. The modern farming method suited wealthy people with their big landholdings whereas traditional *kammi* class and subsistence level farmers were severely damaged. The former has to look for alternative employments opportunities in urban towns. Whereas, the subsistence level farmers attempted to shift their agricultural practices to modern methods but upon failure in continual use, the same was not possible. It was so because the economic resources, health

hazards, manipulation of local influential, and shortfalls in supply of modern technologies.

Core group was consisting of *sianaay* (village visionary elders) who characterized *desi taraqqi* to be under taking community work under various steps. These step contained: first, conceptualizing the development target to decide the nature of work (to see who should be involved, and how). The second stage identification and homogenizing of developmental needs to ensure that *taraqqi* is to benefit not to harm. At this stage, it is made sure community consultation is done properly regarding developmental needs and if required prioritization of these needs (which intervention should precede and which succeed) has been done followed by a social consensus. The third stage is identification of resources and establishes its possible availability either inside or outside community. Fourth level is about the community's proposal about the envisaged intervention while ensuring participation of all relevant community stakeholders and modalities to be taken care of. Fifth level is practical implementation of intervention planned through social participation followed by last level, that is, evaluation of lessons learnt and its classification according to its outcomes as *kaamyabi* (including either good or best practices) or *nakaami* (failure).

The most vital ingredient of *desi taraqqi* is participation. The small scale society of village allows people in building their face to face relationship with rest of village brethren. So villagers commented that undertaking various activities at village level were never possible without seeking social approval either directly or indirectly by rest of population. *Shirkat* or community participation cannot be dreamed of unless providing a common cause to village people to act jointly. The community has to be mobilized first to show its willingness to cooperate. The community development process as perceived by village people is possible when they felt empowered to take decisions to identify their developmental needs and finding remedies and solutions. The *desi taraqqi* is thus reflected through the expression of community jointly organizing

itself to take decisions and later on implementing them. The villagers by doing so had a sense of ownership which makes sure that whether an intervention is sustainable to be further replicated in future.

My exclusive sitting with a local *sufi* Baba Waris was an attempt to further go in depth of *desi ilm* and its link with *paidaar taraqqi*. According to this local visionary *sufi*, there is a difference between a man and *al-insaan* (the man). *Al-insaan* is the one who acts beneficial in respect of whole *khalq*.¹⁸⁰ *Al-insaan* is a person who lives above the level of basic needs and drives that are necessary for human survival. Real practitioners of *desi ilm* though are decreasing in number but still exist. The lower sections of people in Sacha Soda comprising the *kammi* class and subsistence level farmers were found to be consulting the indigenous knowledge and practices. He insisted to adopt a *khair* approach towards utilizing natural phenomena. This approach holds a man responsible for becoming a source of peace not only for manhood but also for nature. This means that man is accountable for all his deeds not only before almighty on the Day of Judgment but also before the up-coming new generations. It is also a man's future responsibility to leave this world worth living for his off springs. This *khair* approach disallows a man to be exploitative towards the human and natural resources. It strictly prohibits *karobari* (business) approach towards any of them. For example: *mazdur ki mazdori passena sukhnay say pehlay ada karo* is usually cited statement of Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) which states that 'pay the laborer that you hire for your work, before his perspiration is dried up'. The community replies that this approach is the real zest of welfare and *khair* which might be a source of social justice. This *khair* approach is also mandatory towards *huqooq-e-haiwanaat* that is animal rights. It is both moral as

¹⁸⁰ *Khaliq* is an Islamic concept which tells that everything is solely created by Almighty Allah. This concept educates that humanity is not the focal point of universe. All species have inherent right to survive whether they fall in plant or animal kingdom. This also constitutes an obligatory right of man towards protection and management of natural phenomena. For example: to observe ablutions, even excessive use of water is dislike in Islam.

well as religious responsibility towards giving good treatment to animals. Few examples are cited for better understanding like according to religious tradition, the amount of honey left in a honeycomb should be enough to feed honeybees and in winter it is praiseworthy to leave more honey than enough to feed the bees of a honeycomb. The *khair* approach regulated animal rights regarding riding and carrying loads. Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) said that 'there is no beast of burden that does not pray to God every morning so that Lord may bestow it an owner who would give it enough forage and water and would not overload it.' The prophet of Islam told, 'ride animals as much as it is necessary for your needs and do not use animals as your sedan chairs.' Ali Ibne Abu Talib (AS) instructs his agents 'do not ride an animal as much as it can no longer bear your load, and be fair to animals. If an animal is exhausted, it must take some rest. The local tradition reinforced by the teachings of Islam is also sensitive regarding the floral rights. The community is sensitive about their plants and trees because both their social and religious traditions favor protection of plants species. There are social and economic benefits associated with trees due to which people put a value on their trees (discussed earlier). Similarly, cutting of shadow trees and fruit trees is disliked in Islam. The former provides shelter to travelers and farmers in their fields and also become a source of building nests to many birds due to which their unnecessary cutting is prohibited. Similarly, the fruit trees are source of feeding humans and birds due to which they are supposed to be saved from harmful usage. Plants trees is termed to be *sadqa-i-jaaria* which means the blessing of Almighty keep reaching the man until the tree is benefitting humanity. Even the use of wood obtained from the tree in some other chore like furniture, cupboard, etc., remains to be a source of blessing for the grower even he is dead.

Desi ilm helps in understanding the structure and functions of *basti* which is a combination of population and resources. It facilitates in developing a perceptivity to translate how population is organized socially as well as with the natural resources that provide means of survival for humanity. The resources consisted soil, water, forest,

livestock, etc. *Desi ilm* is also a cultural science in which community level survival methods and strategies are described. These methods and culturally evolved strategies best suited the demands of a population. It is also refined with the passage of time as culture itself adjusts with change phenomena to keep supporting the livelihoods. *Desi ilm* and its approach is deeply rooted in man's friendly relationship towards nature which only needs to be revitalized to be able to suite the modern standards. Baba Waris told that it is only because the people after dreams promised by modern farming methods shifted to modern agriculture and left their traditional modes. But the uneven development paradigm and social exclusion made majority of subsistence level farmers to again quit modern farming and return to their traditional farming.

Desi taraqqi carries seeds of *shirkat* which promotes community participation at all levels to ensure sustainability of local level initiatives and interventions. According to village people, *shirkat* rests upon five pillars. Community is mobilized when majority of population registers an issue worth important to be dealt at village level. The *Tehreek* factor is vital to mobilize community for collective actions. Any felt need may instigate the process of community organization. The *Tanzeem* allows villagers to identify relevant stakeholders in any proposed intervention at community level. After the community being mobilized and organized, third level is where community and relevant stakeholders are asked to participate so that the intervention is implemented as per recommendations or aspirations of community members.

The organization of community is vehicle for promoting leadership opportunities and enhancement of local capacity to undertake development chores. The community develops and maintains a sense of *Mukhtariat* to get the assurance that they are active partners. *Mukhtariat* brings sense of ownership among members of community in a way that they become concerned about their village and its surroundings. Empowerment depends upon two principles as shared by village community that first it should encourage utilization of local resources and secondly *ijtamayee insaaf* (social justice)

which is an indicator of provision of opportunities with equitable rights to people in village. It is strengthened further with fact that empowerment is a source of removing feelings of social deprivation among various castes and strata of village population. The *taraqqi* according to villagers is possible when they have liberty to decide the process and nature of interventions. Similarly, it is enhanced when community makes an effective use of available human and natural resources at local level for ensuring sustainability.

CHAPTER EIGHT

DESI SIYAASAT AND SIYAASI IDARAY

8.1 Introduction

*Desi Siyaasat*¹⁸¹ and *Siyasi Idaray*¹⁸² are closely knit together. The word '*siyaasat*' is derived from an Arabic word '*siyasa*' that literally means 'the art of government' (Rosenthal, 1988: 113). At village level, the art of management of local affairs is held through two ways. First is the traditional institution including '*parya*' (intra-village council) and '*punchayat*' (inter-villages council). Second, is the modern local government institutions¹⁸³ called local government bodies¹⁸⁴ governed by provincial government. The cultural institutions of *parya* and *punchayat* operate at local level and remain to be effective regarding its social acceptance and participatory decision making mechanism. Both of these institutions comprise a traditional head called '*surpunch*' (head) and a jury consisting of members from village community called *Wadkay* whose wisdom and statesmanship is beyond question. The main concerns of both institutions are; to restore the peace in case of conflict or dispute; to investigate the disputed incidence; to reach to a socially acceptable decision; effective implementation of decisions; and, a mechanism to curb the non-complying parties.

¹⁸¹ Indigenous Politics

¹⁸² Political Institutions

¹⁸³ The history of local government in Pakistan reveals that three of them have been innovated by military establishment to suite their vested interests. Among these interests were prolongations of military establishment, adoption of legal frameworks to provide cover to legalize military coup, and bringing alternative political set ups to provide public support to military-fed politicians.

¹⁸⁴ Chapter one and two throw light on three types of experiments done by government of Pakistan that include Basic Democracies of Ayub Khan, Local Bodies of Zia ul Haq and City Government under Devolution of Power in Musharraf reign.

These local institutions' and their functions ensure *Shamuliat* or *shirkat* (community participation) and *sharakat* (cooperation) through *Keth*¹⁸⁵ (gathering). *Keth* is the social gathering that makes sure that a decision under trial of any of these institutions is heard, witnessed and participated by village community in order to seek assurance that a particular case is decided with participation of all segments of population. This is done to guarantee the implementation of eventual decision. The esteem of both institutions is deeply embedded into its status and authority to implement its decisions. Once the decision is made, whole of village is responsible to ascertain the execution of its verdicts. The participation of people in proceedings of both institutions symbolize the social approval of these institutions as well as people's firm belief of seeking right decisions made by these local arbitrary councils without waste of time and money no loss of time and wastage of monetary resources. These two councils operate at local level therefore it is approachable by all segments of village society. These councils provide a democratic right to disputing parties to speak in their defense and present their point of view with freedom. The heads of *parya* and *punchayat* and members of its juries are normally enjoying good repute in the village and the area respectively. It is therefore people have their trust in these councils and they expect judicious judgments on part of both bodies. The traditionally cited fact findings of these councils establish its objectivity and neutrality of jurists. These councils' decisions largely win social approval and trust of local people because decisions are made after giving proper time to parties involved to present their view. *Keth* is also term for kinship based gathering which is a social arrangement to settle down the contentions and confrontations among family or clan members. This term denotes a 'social gathering' of families (joint and joint extended) and *quam* issues at intra-village level. Normally, families and caste related issues are preferred to be dealt at family level through *keth*. This is so because families and *qaums* usually opt to resolve their internal differences at their intimate level instead of putting it before whole village population due to issues of *izzat* (prestige) and *ghairat* (honor).

¹⁸⁵ The term '*keth*' is a colloquial expression whereas written as '*aketh*'.

On other hand, *Dhara* is a political faction of village community to deal with the electoral process. *Dhara* is a larger social group that constitutes majority of village population. As mentioned in chapter three that village population is typically divided into three categories that are *Zamindars*¹⁸⁶, *Sufaid Posh*¹⁸⁷ and *kammi class*¹⁸⁸. *Dhara* is composed of all of the three divisions of village population in order to show unity during electoral process. Since the rise of power politics in Sacha Soda, the village *dhara* is also influenced by powerful *deraydars*. These *deraydars* due to their local influence due to manage to maintain their status while remaining in higher quartile of village. First, their large tracts of agricultural land which indirectly ensures provision of work to many families of *mazaray* and *kammi class* makes them economic benefactor for these classes. Second, their *talua* (social relations) with politicians, civil bureaucracy, police and other district departments establish their inevitability in village issues. Third, they also act as a *rassagir* (patronage provided to local criminals) that makes them powerful and resourceful in manipulating *dhara* politics during elections. This position brings them into a bargaining position with politicians and other stakeholders to gain fringe benefits not only for them but also for their *dhara* supporters. The *dhara* is a basically a show of numerical strength that is symbolically used to express a group's firm political and social position in village to further negotiate gains for itself and later on for the village. These indigenous politics and political institutions exerted a societal control and ascendance to run the affairs in light of traditional wisdom associated with these cultural institutions. People have their trust in these democratic councils where everyone has the faith to express his opinion as well as sureness for free and fair trial.

¹⁸⁶ Rajputs, Gujars and Jats

¹⁸⁷ *Khokhar, Pathan, Dogar, Bhatti, Syed, Arian, Qureshi, Wahga, Maan, Awan, and Kharal*

¹⁸⁸ *Nai* (barber); *Luhar* (blacksmith); *Mochi* (cobbler); *Tarkhan* (carpenters); *Chimbay* or *Gorkan* (gravedigger); *Jolaha* (weaver); *Dhobi* (washer man); *Kumhar* (pot maker); *Mirasi* (jester); *Bhaand* (comic); *Dastaango* or *Qissakhawan* (folklore teller); *Naqqaal* or *gawayyia* (singer); *Chora* (sweeper); *Chowkidar* (watchman); *Chamaar* (low caste people dealing in leather); *Qasai* (butcher); *Mistri* or *Raj* (mason); *Darzi* (tailor); *Rangsaaz* (painter); *Saees* (horseman); *Tobay* (well diggers); *Taili* (person dealing in oil trade); and, *Mussali* (servant of men's room).

8.2 Panchayat System: A Case of Indigenous Political Institution and Local Government

'*Panchayat* system in Punjab is as old as history of civilization in Indo-Pak' (Shahid, 2011:115). Shahid has quoted Surainder Nath Benerji who states '*Panchayat* system is as old as our mountains (ibid: 115). In Pakistan majority of the population resides in rural areas and their specific life styles has helped to evolve a typical system of local government that is vehicular to ensure the social participation and thus community empowerment in rural areas. This indigenous institution due to its cultural importance and deep roots in rural masses even convinced later Muslim rule in South Asia to retain this system (ibid: 115). Muslims allowed the local *panchayat raj* to prevail and remain to be effective in management of local affairs at local level in order to reduce over emphasized dependence of local vacinities on cetral government. The fall of Dehli throne to British empire in order to ensure their preponderance over local people embraced a mass level change in form of government and administrative strategies to extend British influence over united India. At the same time, *panchayat* system was falsified to favour colonial interests (ibid: 115). It was the conscious effort on behalf of British colonial set up that attempted to give this important cultural insitution a legal status due to which *panchayat* system in stead of becoming more effective and efficient turned out to falderal and applesauce (ibid: 115). In a way, *panchayat* system was manipulated to favor colonial interests due to which it lost its centurries old worth and usefulness. The changed status of *panchayat* became opaque for local populations and they preferred their caste bonds for dependence and reliance for their affairs.

The concept of the local government institution is very old in the sub-continent. The Aryans were the first to introduce this system when they invaded the sub-continent. The local government system prevailed more extensively in India than in any other part of the world. For thousands of years, the Indian way of life was agriculture, with the village as center of social life and a dominant political institution. The central feature of village government was the *Panchayat*, constituted for both administrative and judicial

purposes. The term *Punchayat* was generally used to denote a meeting of selected council representing whole community. The name '*Punch*' may possibly indicate that this council had five members. The members of *Punchayat* were appointed and they remained in office at the will of King. They were socially recognized, trusted and respected among the people. Taxes were collected by *Punchayat* and paid to central government for a village as a whole. Villages were independent in their internal affairs. Maintenance of law and order, settlement of disputes, village security, adjudication and supervision of common property, and social services were responsibilities within the purview of *Punchayat*.

Mughals came to India in the sixteenth century and established their rule, like most of the foreign invaders. They were basically urban people and introduced urban local government in urban areas. Although there were no well-organized, corporate local bodies in Mughal India, a system for their regulation did exist. The local administration in pre-British India was called 'Area Administration'. The office of the '*Kotwal*' evolved as a keystone of the municipal organization. The '*Kotwal*' was appointed under the '*Sanad*' or status. His primary responsibilities were to uphold law and order, and to maintain a body of horses, a city guard and an army of spies to accomplish his duties. The sources of public funds comprised contribution from individual members, donation from the King, profits from public works, fines and penalties. However, Mughal Emperor Akbar gave unprecedented importance to *Zamindar* class (the landed aristocracy). The '*Zamindars*' were leaders of their clans and tribes in old settled villages; they were introduced by the State for revenue collection and the maintenance of the law and order. When the Mughal regime was in decline, the *Punchayat* type almost disappeared from the urban areas and greatly decayed in villages. After Mughals, Sikhs became a supreme power in the Punjab. But their rule mainly rested on the dictum of 'Might is Right'. During Ranjit Singh's regime, the empire was consolidated and the *Punchayat* system was revived. The administration of civil and criminal justice was vested in the *Punchayat* composed of elders or '*Sardars*'. The new Sikh regime restored to village

communities their ancestral rights. However, stable government did reign and the *Punchayat* system suffered a serious setback. The situation remained disturbed till Britain annexed Punjab in 1849. After taking complete control, Britain took steps to modernize the traditional local government system.

Punchayat was the sole representative body in village in which all castes residing were represented on equal basis. It was shared by the villagers that there was a concept of *Parya* (Village council) and *Punchayat* (villages' council) to manage issues at local level. The mandate of former was to look into the matters of a specific village to ensure maintenance of law and order situation. The later was functional on a much broader level in which almost ten or more village were represented to make their voice at a large scale. The members of *Punchayat* were the heads of their respective village's *Parya*. The *Punchayat* also included religious scholars and neutral members from other castes too. Both bodies were highly respected and known for justice providing and peace keeping. Being a member of *parya* or *Punchayat* was a symbol of one's honor and good fame among the village brethren. This was graded into a high social status in which people from sound family background and vast experience of life were elected unanimously by the people. The members of *Punchayat* were supposed to represent their village people and their views on matters under hearing of it. The decisions made by both *Punchayat* were highly dignified by the villagers. The head of *Punchayat* was assisted by a group of neutral people called '*Wadkay*' or '*Wadey*' (visionary elders). The decision making process is also democratic in nature where the head made decisions after hearing both parties and further consulting all members especially the jury. Traditionally, head of *punchayat* was elected by village people on basis of a candidate's respect, honor, wisdom and high caste.

Punchayat system comprised three sub divisions including; *punchayat* council; *parya* (village council); and *punchayat* court or local arbitration court. The *punchayat* does not allow any lawyers to plead the case instead the aggrieved party directly defends their

case as well as the accused party is also supposed to defend their position in a very open public debating situation. Traditionally, *punchayat* performed various activities that including *Lazmi faraiz* (mandatory functions) and *Ikhtiari faraiz* (optional matters).

Lazmi Faraiz include:

1. To maintain village owned pathways;
2. To conduct *Chowkidara* (community level surveillance);
3. To hold seasonal fairs and festivals;
4. To organize village sports;
5. To manage village pond and *Shamilat* (communal) land;
6. To oversee village pastures; and,
7. To mutually work in emergent situations like fire, flood, etc.

The *Ikhtiari Faraiz* are described in the below:

1. To encourage plantation;
2. To take steps for land fertility;
3. To watch livestock management;
4. To monitor land and soil erosion;
5. To boost village level welfare initiatives;
6. To ensure maintenance of water courses, mud eradication and land leveling;
and,
7. To learn and practice best practices for natural resource management.

Punchayat performed a traditional role of monitoring all village level affairs to guarantee that unjust activities are prohibited. This was done in order to make sure that village people are well protected against exploitation and social exclusion. The members of *punchayat* council were responsible for remaining watchful regarding village issues.

The *punchayati* system was a true representative of rural masses. This body also contributed for creating political awareness and democratic approaches among the villagers. This local level arbitrary council ensured that its decisions and verdicts are implemented in letter and spirit. This local level organization was also responsible for initiating village bound development chores while stressing utilization of locally available resources and local human resources. The village respondents reported that *punchayat* system was effectual in maintaining the law and order situation at local level.

The current state of affairs reveals that both councils are active at local level. Regarding the internal security situation of the area, the police department usually seeks help from local *parya* of village to investigate the issues and complaints registered in police station.

One of my respondents from Local Government department commented that government did not made efforts to strength this local institution. The government replaced this traditional system with Basic Democracies in Ayub Khan Era and similar attempts were made by his successive governments in the name of Local Government Ordinance and Devolution of Power in later years. The lust for creating social control over masses into their favor especially the non-representative political leaders nurtured by bureaucratic and military set ups deliberately brought this non-representative system that pushed local populations away from their right of *Lok raj* (self-rule). Village people shared that:

Punchayati nizam nu jaan buj kay kharaab kita gaya. Sab tu pehlay sarkari lokaan nay jaynaan nay sara nizaam hi badal dita. Pindthan wich waday zamindaraan nay apni marzi kerni shoro ker diti tay qauman day rolay nay ve punchayati nizaam nu taba kita si

Translation:

Punchayat system was demolished by bureaucracy to favor their vested interests. This system after getting weakened was manipulated by big landlords and the inter-caste conflicts further sabotaged the effectiveness of *punchayat*.

The traditional *parya* or *punchayat* was mostly represented by all factions of village population. Normally the dominant caste of the area usually managed to win the win the elections of *parya* or *punchayat*. The process of election of head of *parya* or *punchayat* was usually monitored by all sections of village or villages' population. The election of the head required the candidate to be from a respected family and enjoying a good personal repute in the area. As added by Gardezi:

The numerical strength of a caste within the village population played a pivotal role in election of surpunch (head of punchayat). The caste bond was effective in maintaining the role of local influence exerted by head of punchayat (Gardezi, 1983: 24).

The researcher also interacted with staff of local government departments during a seminar in Islamabad. The main gist of seminar was to see the effect of local government in China and India and its comparison with Pakistan. The participant were told that local government bodies in China are given legal cover. The bureaucracy is accountable before the public representatives and rural population is politically dynamic. Before the launch of commune system in China, the government had reduced the income disparities among segments of rural population in China due to which the commune system proved to be effective instead in Pakistan the large disparity of income always created unequal gap of income due to which the rich always managed to influence and remained to be major beneficiary. Chinese leadership continuously worked to create an awareness of rights and politically motivation among the farming communities where as no such initiative was commenced or encourages at state level. This development due to lack of patronage at state level was creating hurdles for all such innovations aimed at targetting rural areas. Though government launched major interventions in rural areas in the name of rural development but no such move was made that intended to politically aware people about the necessity of involving rural folks similarly they merely tended to be passive recipients. The exclusion of rural

population in development programs created doubts among rural people due to which mass level distrust debarred participation on behalf of people in rural areas.

If the national priorities regarding rural development are evaluated in detail, one comes to conclude that there is nothing in the name of rural development that effectively focuses rural population. Only few influential landlords and politically mobilized factions among rural people have been in beneficiary list. The federal government remained advocate of rural development and forseeing rural reforms in provinces whereas the most relevant provincial governments never prioritized these reforms to be implemented in real spirits. In the same way, policy framed for social justice was never implemented due to the vested interests of provincial governments and bureaucracy (Shahid, 2011: 122).

8.2.1 A Case of *Punchayat* Proceedings

Mr. Lal Mohammad is an old school teacher residing the village recalled from his experience that in older days the villages were independent unit. He reported a case told by his grandfather regarding the indigenous wisdom of *punchayat* people. Mr. Din Mohmmad was grandfather of Lal Mohammad who was a respected figure in the village because he was a literate person. A person being educated was respected due to a few literate people in village. Din Mohmmad was often called in *Punchayat* sessions to investigate the disputes. There was once a case of theft under the hearing of the *Punchayat*. Two males along with a female came to the village's head (*numberdar*) and told that last night they were going to their village while passing near Sacha Soda's boundary. They were robbed of their money and jewelry of the female. The village head listened to the case and asked them that what they now wanted. The complainants said that it was in the boundary of Sacha Soda, so there is a probability that the dacoits might be from the village. The *numberdar* asked them to go to his home for rest and called the *Punchayat* session in evening. He called all young males to gather during session of *Punchayat*. Later in the evening the case was presented before village elders among whom Din Mohmmad was also present. They village elders including Din Mohmmad listened to case carefully and agreed with the view of complainants that it is

very much possible that dacoits might be from Sacha Soda. Din Mohammad advised the *numberdar* to visit the place where the act of dacoity had happened. Resultantly, all nobles of village accompanied *numberdar* and visited the place to anticipate and gather evidences from crime scene. There was a discussion among village community as to how to locate the criminals. The case was also feared to lingering on in case of missing evidences therefore the '*Khoji*' (traditional foot print reader) was called upon.

The *Khoji* inspected the crime scene and confirmed that foot prints were heading towards village. While being at the scene, village people started following the *Khoji* to see where foot prints were leading. The *khoji* reported that foot prints were missing in village center. The evidence confirmed that who so ever was involved in crime entered village. There were questions that still demanded to be clarified. Among these were: whether the culprit was from village or just entered in village and moved elsewhere. The missing foot prints confused the jury of *punchayat* to reach to a conclusion. Meanwhile, *numberdar* called all young males to gather in session-yard to further thrash the issue. When all young men gathered, *numberdar* elaborated that it was a matter of village's prestige as the travelers were robbed within village premises. The *numberdar* announced that if the culprit is from village, he must come forward to confess voluntarily but nobody stood and replied. Mr. Din Mohammad requested the *numberdar* to calculate the time required to go to crime scene from village center and coming back. The *numberdar* asked a group of youngsters to bring required information. After twenty minutes, Din Mohammad broke the silence while asking a general question that '*if somebody knew whether the group would have reached the place or not*'. Replying to this query, *numberdar's* own son replied that 'no uncle they must have reached there in twenty minutes, so they must be coming back'. The group came back after twenty minutes. Din Mohammad announced during session that he has identified the culprit while nominating finger at *numberdar's* son that he is responsible. He further explained his conviction that when he asked about the time required to reach the crime scene, it was almost twenty minutes after the group was departed and came back after

a wait of twenty more minutes. This meant that the group took forty minutes to come back. He concluded that it is very simple that if somebody runs to the place and comes back he would only need twenty minutes instead of forty minutes. There was silence in *punchayat's* courtyard because it was confirmed. Punchayat summoned complainants to tell them about the person responsible for dacoity. The criminal was handed over to complainants to redress their grievance. Seeing the justice, complainants replied that we forgive the person if he is ready to give back the valuables. The delinquent stood up and confessed that he is responsible and assured the jury that he will not do this again in the future and returned looted articles.

Lal Mohammad further added that '*Desi Ilm*' (indigenous knowledge) though is not scientific in strict terms of forensic tests in laboratory or DNA reports but it has its own parameters of relating cause to effect. It is as conscientious as any other knowledge is. He said that the only difference is that use of our folk wisdom has lost its roots. People do not seem to use it any more otherwise this knowledge only needs to be modernized with current day's challenges.

8.2.2 A Case of *Parya* Functioning

This village level body comprised all adult males of village. The session of *parya* was usually summoned by *parya* head to listen to a particular case. The involvement of *parya* was vivid in several affairs like internal disputes between various castes residing in village; settlement of a contradiction over land between two parties; matters of water theft; issues arising out of problematic attitude of *patwari zamin* (land clerk); old and prolonged litigations in civil courts; organizing village annual sport or cattle fair; annual *urs* (festival) of any local *Sufi* saint; and resolving acute marital differences especially to look into chronic divorce prone cases. The *parya* head along with local elders is supposed to hear a case in presence of both disputing parties and general public of village to witness fairness of trial so that decisions made by *parya* are not challenged at

any level. Most of cases at village level are dealt internally in order to reach to a decision (mutually agreed by whole community) to resolve the issues at grass roots. Most of cases especially marriage failures are preferred to be dealt locally in order to save the honor of '*pind di dhi*' (village's daughter). Disputes over land, water theft, and property are prone to be dealt before formal civil courts because usually in these cases both parties attempt to make their opponents lick the dust and putting them in an economically disastrous situation. This prolonged litigation between the *Fareeqain* (opposing parties) is done to take revenge from *Mukhalifs* (opponents).

8.2.3 Role of *Keth* in *Qaum* Matters

The term *quam* is also denoted as '*Zaat*' or '*Biraderi*' by village population. The caste system has strong roots in rural society of Sacha Soda. The *Biraderi* possessing numerical majority has dominant role in all aspects like religious, social, economic and political. *Qaum* is always led by an influential individual, selected or elected as a result of decisions made by elders of a *quam*. In short, caste system is prominent and dominant in almost all matters concerning political life of people of village. In village, leadership role was played by dominant castes like Rajputs, Gujars and Jats. Various aspects of social life in village display a race of dominance over issues of numerical strength, economic and political power, ritual status, and occupation by these powerful castes.

People commonly have prefixed names such as *Chaudhry* as a sign of power and respect of their family. These prefixes represented pseudo urge of being superior. Generally, people of Sacha Soda are hardworking, traditional and very conscious about their social respect called *Izzat*. They have a strong desire to change their living conditions, but due to illiteracy they did not have sufficient knowledge to do so. Class stratification is operational at village level. Castes have deep and effective role in the establishment of lineage pattern. The power factions and its head usually a *deraydar* also belonged to

higher-ranking caste. In village, high caste was symbol of status and synonymous to power because of its wealth, land and numerical strength.

Caste bound alliance is called *Biraderi* in village. The *Biraderi* system plays an important role regarding power institution and as well as political set up. The persons who are attached or belonged to these influential caste groups are powerful and exert strong and significant influence in local level decision making process. This influence was largely based in the numerical strength of fellow caste men. The respondents view that *Biraderi* system is successful, if people are united and sincere. It is the best mean to organize the rural community because still majority of people in village like any other village of the area attach importance and indispensability to their caste bond.

Biraderi is a concept of social support usually revolving around people from same caste from within and outside village. This bond is a source of moral and material support for villagers in special times of needs, like drought, disputes, or other disasters. This bond is influential because of numerous functions performed by caste bond. The reason given in favor of *quam* by respondents is its 'welfare approach' for the inhabitants in dire time of need. *Biraderi* bond is kind of local support mechanism of people. *Qaum* is a cultural arrangement to provide a local support network to people to undertake various socio-economic chores in village life. As discussed earlier that *keth* is of prime importance and social utility especially to settle down disputes and resolve social disagreements over various socio-economic issues among members of extended families' and caste.

8.2.4 Role of *Keth* in Extended Family Issues

*Keth*¹⁸⁹ in general terms denotes 'crowd of people' being gathered for some common purpose. Using definition of the word *Keth* that signifies a group of people hailing from

¹⁸⁹ Group of People gathered for settling a specific purpose. In Punjabi language group of people gathered for a witnessing a foot ball match, or performing a religious activity may be called a *Keth*.

same *Kunba* (extended family) and sometimes it also refers to the people hailing from same caste group within village. *Keth* also serves as a 'lineage council' to decide disputes among members of same extended families. The importance of *Keth* is more significant when it has to decide between the *Shareeks* (parallel cousins) who are potentially a threat for a specific family in village due to their claim over same property and other familial assets being inherited from same grandparents. *Keth* also serves as a mediation council to settle down disputes and other related issues among same *biraderi* (caste men) within village. The importance of the *Keth* is triple time higher in villages where people from different castes and extended families reside. To watch and safeguard, interests of extended families and caste issues, the functions of *Keth* are well defined and understood by villagers. The idea behind *Keth* is to bring weightage to one's stance or point of view. The normal village life is where everyone is busy in dealing daily routines regarding agriculture and other business chores. However, there are some occasions especially during controversies and difference of opinions, where the involvement of *qaum* and *kunba* has to be ensured to resolve the issue. The reason why *Keth* is so important is simply because of the understanding that 'there are many issues that cannot be shared with other outsiders as they relate to the *Kunba's* honor and prestige of caste fellowmen to avoid rumors and disrespect'. The decision is made on the basis of group consensus on participatory grounds. The mandate of *Keth* is that decisions made are necessarily accepted by both parties.

Case 1

Mr. Waseem and Mr. Allah Ditta are real brothers. Mr. Waseem ran a shop in Farooqabad city whereas his brother Allah Ditta was employed in Police department. Waseem lived in village along with his wife and kids. Allah Ditta was based in Lahore. The issue of familial land was a bone of contention between both brothers. Allah Ditta

blamed his brother and deceased father to be biased upon inherited family land. The fight got more severe due to which a family *Keth* was called in. The elders of *Keth* listened to both parties before giving its verdict. Allah Ditta was particularly blaming his brother regarding a piece of land adjacent to the main road. He thought that his deceased father deliberately gave the whole piece of land to his brother because he took his family to Lahore and his father did not like this decision. Therefore, his father did injustice and gave whole land to his brother. The *Keth* decided to divide the disputed land equally between both brothers. The *Keth* while keeping in view the high market price of disputed land asked Allah Ditta to compensate his brother by giving an extra piece of land within village. Allah Ditta accepted the decision and matter was resolved amicably.

Case 2

Mr. Waqar and Mr. Wali hailed from Jat caste lived in Sacha Soda. Both were small farmers with no other source of income. Both of them had a fight over an alleged case of water theft. Wali accused Waqar for stealing water from his turn due to which his crop was not irrigated properly. Waqar refused this blame but Wali was not satisfied with the excuse. The conflict was placed before Mr. Tariq Virak (head of Jat group in Sacha Soda) for solution. Wali told that he noticed the low pressure during irrigating his fields through his '*Nakka*'¹⁹⁰. He noticed a hole in water course due to which water entered in Waqar's fields. Wali blamed Waqar that he deliberately did this as he did twice earlier. Waqar refused that he did not notice because he was having his meals. The *Keth* that was headed by Mr. Virak decided to compensate Wali from Waqar's turn. The reason given to Waqar was that he was not listening to Wali. Waqar was also told to be careful in future because of his previous repute.

¹⁹⁰ Entry point of irrigation water in the fields

8.2.5 Traditional *Dhara* and Leadership

Dhara is a social grouping of village people for electoral purposes. The membership of *Dhara* is beyond the family and caste matters. Usually, *dhara* deals with the electoral process. The *dhara* is most commonly functional in the days of National or Local bodies' elections. During elections, contesting candidates usually contact heads of the *dhara*s for having a support in elections. The support of *dhara* leader means that all allies of a particular *dhara*s shall cast votes for same candidate. Usually, *dhara* leader is wealthy and influential due to which he is confident in contacting the politicians for having favors for *dhara* members in terms of jobs, loans, settling down police and judicial issues.

I came to knowledge that the *dhara*'s formation was need based. Mostly, common considerations of joining a *dhara* include easy access to contact the leader and asking him for favors. Respondents commented that it is very useful for villagers as most of them were illiterate and fearful of dealing with government officials. It was the *dhara* leader who represented his allies and watched their interests. The traditional importance of *dhara* also faded away with emergence of powerful *deraydars* who also grouped people for their vested interests around them. The *dhara* leader was usually an educated person coming from a respected family. The leader was traditionally an educated person of village usually a prosperous farmers or doing some government job or running his business. It was a voluntary activity undertaken by people for the sake of their village brethren. Usually the *dhara* leader's work place was crowded with people from village for various matters like finding some good lawyer regarding a case in court, getting admission of youngsters in city colleges or schools, consulting doctors in hospitals, etc.

On the other hand, role of *dera* (men's room) and *deraydar* was different. These are people who are now dominant in the village life and related issues. These people earned

money by hook or crook, earned their political influence after establishing unlawful inevitability with politicians, district and provincial bureaucracy and police department. Most of them are having a criminal back ground in case of Sacha Soda. These people only served the matters of those who were their likeminded. They managed to influence the elections, development projects, etc.

The properties of indigenous political organization and leadership that were traits of the village's life as reported by the people of the village are described in this chapter. The traditional leadership required the leaders to be generous and democratic in nature. The leaders usually had big land holdings but they were not feudal. They usually ran the *dera* as a common place for the village people used to come and socialize. The *dera* itself demanded economic resources for its continuous running and maintenance therefore only the economically well off land owners were the right people to run the same. Education was not common in old days due to many factors like non-availability of schools in or nearby villages, lack of economic resources to bear expenses of educating the children. Usually people preferred their children to seek the religious education that was almost available in all villages of the areas. It is probably due to which the people still have high deference and regards for the *Madrasahs* (religious education institutions). It was also therefore that the economically well off people usually preferred their children to get education and thus build their social status even outside the village.

The traditional leader was educated and had access to out-world was believed to be guiding the village people in case if they required. Traditionally, the literacy was not common by today's modern standards among people therefore, in those circumstances mentioned above, there was a need for a person having a knowhow of dealing and guiding lay men in village in their daily chores. Similarly, the same person was supposed to be knowledgeable in order to understand legal procedures of the courts, *Patwar* (office of land clerk), *Thana* (police station), etc. Interestingly, the role of such person

was advisory not a dictator. The villagers were confident of their leader to voice their concerns before government and other public departments. Similarly, *dera* was available for village people during various ceremonies to treat huge number of guests. The place was open on behalf of a *deraydar* for guests who were treated as village guests. The traditional respect of a *deraydar* was deeply embedded because he was supposed to negotiate with police officials to save villagers from threats. He often consolidated village consultations and acted as a mediator in village feuds between or among the muddling parties, etc. It was since the British rule when these traditional leaders were used for sake of increasing the control over masses when the traditional and respected role of traditional leaders was badly demolished and turned into a villain's outlook. The village people and the staff of district administration commented that British *raj* basically fabricated this cultural institution into their favor in order to increase the colonial rule and to deal with possible uprising of the masses against the *raj*.

The traditional leadership was deliberately influenced by the colonial rule in order to make them more responsive to the political needs and ambitions of *Raj*. The traditional leadership of Punjab that was rooted in various factors of religious, social and economic importance later on became the advocates of British rule.

In the backward districts of western Punjab like Muzzafargarh, Multan, Sahiwal, Shahpur and Jhang, many families of loyal pirs were converted into major landowners under the Land Alienation Act of 1900, by obtaining the status of agricultural tribes whose land could not be alienated (Singh, 1901).

The newly transformed agricultural tribes supported by British rule were given full patronage on behalf of colonial administration to protect them and later on use them for strengthening of their influence in United India

By declaring them agricultural tribes, the British, not only provided protection to these hereditary custodians, but also made them zaildars, honorary magistrates, and district board members (Sayeed, 1980: 7).

The later years of British colonial rule witnessed the legislation under which all such measures were provided a legal cover so that the rule's interests are protected to the level of satisfaction.

Through the Punjab Laws Act of 1872, the government was able to bring estates of the chieftains within the jurisdiction of the Court of Wards, which gave deputy commissioners control over the affairs of these estates¹⁹¹ (Courts of Wards, 1935: 29-34).

Another set of reforms were introduced to further subjugate the traditional leadership and transform it into a full parasite to serve the interests of British rule. This intrigue and machination proved to be devastating as it did destroyed the indigenous political institutions of Punjab. Thus in name of these reforms, land of Punjab was deprived of its indigenous political wisdom and indigenous means of local management.

In Punjab, the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms provided an excellent opportunity to all the partners of colonial control, which strengthened their bonds of alliance. The division of seats in the Legislative Council on the basis of urban and rural constituencies, provision of vote to officially appointed lambardars, and ex-sepoy, consolidated the bargaining power of rural elite in favor of raj, and rejected the process of nationalism (Saif, 2010: 24).

Chapter five also threw light on the Land tenure system of Punjab that includes the laissez passer under which indigenous agricultural lands were intentionally used to erect an alternate batch of leaders who in their local disguise favored the British stakes and thus soaked the indigenous and representative political figures of the land. One step forward, after the independence, the bureaucracy in Pakistani Punjab which was carrier

¹⁹¹ Section 4 (3) of the Punjab Court of Ward Act, II of 1903; Rules of General Procedure under Section 54 of the Punjab Courts of Wards Act, II of 1903.

of British legacy made their best efforts to keep their domination over the democratic and indigenous institutions through same politicians and landed aristocracy fed in British lap. This trend was even worsened due to the Military and civil bureaucracy's romance.

The landed elite created by the Raj was quickly eliminated in eastern (Indian) Punjab soon after independence by the anti-zamindari legislation, the absorption of the princely states, and the rise to political dominance of the jat peasantry. However, in western (Pakistani) Punjab it suffered no such loss (Major, 1991: 53) as till 1959, the jagirs, the system of begar (labor rent or corvee), and the princely states were not abolished.

Under the 1919 Reforms, Punjab was deprived of a constitutional government, and was maintained as a non-regulation province. There was no Executive Council or High Court and it did not have any effective representation in the Imperial Council, either. Immediately after its annexation, the province was placed under the authoritarian form of administration by Lord Dalhousie's hand-picked British officers, which came to be known as the Punjab School of Administration, having a paternalistic attitude towards the province (Major, 1996: 127-33). Dalhousie exercised personal control over the Punjab administration; it was a 'military way of government' carried out by executive orders (Stokes, 1959: 268). Under the Board of Administration were seven commissioners, 'to exercise a stricter supervision and control over the deputy commissioners'¹⁹² (Government of the Punjab, 1871). The deputy commissioner was the head of the district, the collector of the land revenue and also the district magistrate, who exercised his authority and collected revenue largely with the assistance of officially appointed *zaildars* and *lamberdars*. All authority, whether executive revenue or judicial, was concentrated in the hands of the deputy commissioner, who was a 'government' for the majority of the people (Blunt, 1937: 14).

¹⁹² 1871, Selected Circular Order of the Board of Administration in the General and Political Departments, Lahore, Government Printing Punjab, PA.

Thorburn called him ‘a little king within his own domain, subject to loosely defined limitations’ (Thorburn, 1971: 165).

8.3 Village Core Group’s Suggestions to Revitalize the Indigenous Panchayat System

During my stay in village, the core group which was formed for more in-depth postulations to get in depth understanding of traditional *Panchayat* system. The core group was also consulted and requested to give their views on how that traditional political institutions could be revived and revitalized to an extent where it could become instrumental to address prerequisites of rural development. The history of revitalization of this traditional political institution that successfully managed the social and political issues at local level in Pakistan speaks of a lame excuse on behalf of government¹⁹³ in past. Core group highlighted the traditional role of this important institution of people right to self-rule.

¹⁹³ Though the government of Punjab on August 7th 1972 constituted a committee under the chairmanship of Mr. Mir Nasim Mehmood to propose and recommend amendments in the Local Government System (Shahid, 2011: 254). The prime focus was to make the local government system responsive to social needs and requirements regarding sustainable rural development. Another important task given to the committee was to suggest means and ways to ensure social participation. The committee worked for the revival of local government system in Punjab and came up with three point agenda as described in the following:

1. Committee thought that purpose of establishing local government institutions can only be beneficial if the government establishes the whole system in whole of the province.
2. Each village through local government system can expect mass level participation of people in rural areas so that development programs launched by the government involve vast majority of rural population.
3. Local government Institutions should be given amply financial and administrative powers to manage its development program and plans according to felt needs of the people in rural areas.

The committee after formulating the recommendations forwarded them to all four provinces for their comments as regarded its proper implementation. A subcommittee was also formed to monitor and critically evaluate the comments received from provincial governments. It was envisaged that after getting the comments from provincial governments, the same would be incorporated in the master plan for further finalization and thence its formal launch and implementation. Since then, master plan became a victim of conscious adjournments and never put into effect. It is how the land and people of Pakistan were stripped of its indigenous heritage that carried true seeds of representing people and their local management strategies.

The main points raised by Core group were as under:

Chaudhry Mohammad Din: The proposed structure of Panchayat shall recognize and validate the existing *Parya*. The *parya* shall be transformed into *dehaat-panchayat* (village council). The total population shall be liable to be selected as members of this body. The total number of members shall be left upon the will of village people (total population of village can also be a yardstick to decide total members). The selection of members shall be through a consultative process. I am against the voting method to be involved in this local surface organization. I have seen and observed throughout my life that whenever you go after such things while involving the election procedures, evidences and incidences of conflict go sky high. Groups that are influential in village become active in securing the positions for themselves to further strengthen their power and influence. When I was a child, I used to live with my parents in Kapurthala state (Indian Punjab). My village was in Jalandhar district (Indian Punjab) as well as in state of Kapurthala (half of land was in Jalandhar and remaining half was in Kapurthala). The village community elected its *surpunch*. The name upon which whole village community was unanimously agreed was the one who was very generous and kind to his village fellows. His *dera* was always populated with needy and poor. The nominee was keen to help anybody who approached him. So first, the selection of *surpunch* shall be through a '*mashawarati amal*' (consultative process) so that this position shall not become a bone of contention among the power groups of village. Rather, the head is supposed to be a real representative of the village community. This is so because in that case he shall become a '*numainda*' (representative of village community). He will then be serving village collective issues instead of raising conflicts in village as is evident in current day local level politics. As it happened in case of previous development projects in village as well as in launch of devolution in Sacha Soda. Therefore, the selection of head of *Panchayat* shall be through '*Itfaq-e-Rai*' (social consensus) of whole of village population. According to current situation, a village level development fund can also be

generated in which each family of village can contribute to boast '*Apni Madad Ap*' approach (Self-help). This collection can be consumed in undertaking village level small initiatives. The head of village council due to his good fame and transparent past will also be very careful in using the financial resources collected through mobilizing village people. The village council shall be very effective to conceive and plan development initiatives at village level.

Researcher: Do you think that the village can generate huge amounts of money that might be required in some big projects in village?

Chaudhry Mohammad Din: I know only one thing that, if in case, village community is convinced that certain interventions are necessary for the village. They will surely be mobilized to gather and put their best efforts to complete such tasks. I can give you two examples. First, the construction of village mosque where all people used to contribute to bear the financial liabilities. Second, the construction of *janazagah* (a place where funeral related activities are performed before the burial). All people contributed in both projects and you see at village level, money worth one million was collected within village. The Village people contributed and built the structure of *janazagah* without borrowing money from any external source. I am sure that all such initiatives that relates to whole of village population shall always be owned by people. By doing so, a sense of collective ownership also arises among the community members.

Chaudhry Yaqoob: As regards financial resources, the district administration or the provincial government can also contribute up to some limit. Let's say money exceeding one million shall also be contributed by the government as I think that we pay certain taxes to government so it is our right to best utilize those resources that are issued in our name. Similarly, I also believe that the national and provincial level politicians are also given development funds by the government which is for public. I think public funds are right of people and these should also be spent on people.

Researcher: In that case, village people would again complain that development fund was not spent appropriately.

Chaudhry Mohammad Din: I think regarding public funds, two things should be given special attention. First, to see that the money is not spent in some project already started by the village community that means that duplication of funds should be controlled. Second, the public funds should also be closely monitored by the community through its *punchayat* as well as the government to ensure the transparency of funds utilization.

Rana Iqbal: I would say that in such matters, the role of *surpunch* is more important. It is essential that the government should listen to him because he will speak on behalf of whole of population. There should be some place or platform, where the village people could gather to make their voice public regarding their developmental issues and ask the government to help financially and technically for undertaking projects in village like construction of link roads within village, maintenance of girls or boys school, village library or dispensary or sports ground, etc.

Chaudhry Sharif: I would say that these installations described by Rana Iqbal are possessions of provincial government so regarding its repair and maintenance, the respective government shall be involved and play its role. But as regards initiatives, initiated by village community, shall never be dependent on any kind of aid from external sources. We have never seen any mosque in any village or city where government pays even a penny for its construction. It is totally a social responsibility and people with open heart give donations. We pay remuneration to the *imam* (person who recites holy verses and leads during prayers), arrange money for repairs, even laborers take half of their wages during working for mosque, rich people are always willing to

invest their money in mosque related aspects like beautification of mosque, water tanks, installing fans, air coolers, air conditioners, or paying the recurring utility bills.

Researcher: So what could be the proposed functions of *dehaat-punchayat*?

Mansha Jan: Traditionally *dehaat-punchayat* was effective in maintaining the internal peace and security at village level against matters like thefts, inter-caste conflicts, and land feuds. In this regard, revitalized *dehaat-punchayat* can play an important role in resuming this traditional peace keeping task.

Chaudhry Sharif: *Dehaat-punchayat* can also be helpful in undertaking activities related to economic prosperity of village like repair works of water courses, and adjoining banks of upper *Chenab* canal, repairs of unpaved village's link roads (that are not owned by National Highway Authority). Village people through a functional *dehaat-punchayat* can also become a part of social development process of village like mobilizing educated girls and boys to help in educating poor families of village, managing free medical dispensary, and arranging sports festival or plantation campaign.

Zaigham Ali Jawwad: I am sure that village level development under the local *punchayat* can never be an issue for the village community. The village community can launch and organize many fund raisers by itself like holding a sports event while involving other villages, approaching the notables of village, accessing educated people of village who are non-residents but live in nearby districts, inviting some *fallahi anjumans* (welfare organizations) to contribute. A major share of funds can be generated from within the village if a certain amount is made fixed and payable by all families of village.

Chaudhry Beer Din: Zaigham has rightly referred to these *fallahi anjumans*. Whereas, we are aware the positive role played by organizations like fountain house¹⁹⁴ in our village. These organizations can be helpful in establishing the support networks for village people in big cities like Lahore to channelize the voice of villagers before government.

Mr. Ramzan: *Dehaat-punchayat* can also bridge the gap between the village and the government along with relevant departments which have never been in direct contact with the people of village. The politicians and power groups mostly detached these departments from people in order to retain their indispensability between public and government. This traditional institution can help in removing the role of middlemen who mostly hijack the process of development into their group's favor.

Mehr Yousaf: The conventional *dehaat-punchayat* also performed the role of 'arbitrary court' to resolve the disputes and contentions. The *parya* shall have few arbitration powers that should further be connected to inter-villages' council what shall be called as *markazi punchayat*. This *markazi punchayat* shall be comprised of let's say five to ten neighboring villages. This will help in resolving issues particularly that have not been solved at village level. In that case *markazi punchayat* can influence neighboring villages to become a part for conflict resolution. It is so because that these villagers have their close blood relatives residing in neighboring villages so their blood ties can also be used for mediation and thus settlement of issues.

Chaudhry Sharif: The in-charge of *markazi punchayat* can be selected upon the same criterion but on rotation basis unless if any village surrenders its turn in respect of some

¹⁹⁴ A Lahore based organization that works for the rehabilitation of neurotic and psychotic disorders. The government of Punjab allotted two square of agricultural land to this organization for their agro-based therapies. The founder of this organization Dr. Rashid Ahmed Chaudhry was a much respected and well known personality throughout Pakistan. The organization for its operation most hired manpower from the village in order to involve village community in their agro-based therapeutic techniques as well as providing job opportunities to few of village people. Through Rana Group snatched eight acres of agricultural land allotted to organization by the government.

other village or a notable personality. This shall be encouraged so that this honorary position shall not become a source of serving one's own self interests. This position shall be honorary and based upon mutual agreement of villages' citizenry.

Researcher: What should be the tenure and structure of office of *markazi punchayat* and how it would operate?

Chaudhry Mohammad Din: The in-charge of *markazi punchayat* shall be selected for a period of three years. The in-charge shall be assisted by a jury of elders selected from all member villages. Each village shall nominate five elders from village so that the representation of each village in *markazi punchayat* is made equal. This jury shall be selected for five years and jury membership shall not be based on votes rather it should be based on the good name, wisdom and honesty possessed by a potential member in his respective village.

Researcher: What should be the main functions of *markazi punchayat*?

Rana Iqbal: The functions of *markazi punchayat* are almost the same as performed by the Union Councils but the social respect and prestige of *punchayat* is more because, it is a traditional political and institution that ensured self government by people of the Punjab. Unlike the union council that rose conflict and factionalism in village life, *punchayat* works while winning people's trust and ownership. *Markazi punchayat* can perform various activities. Particularly, it can enhance the mutual cooperation in various development activities among villages and can bring people together in a more democratic way.

Chaudhry Yaqoob: Traditionally, *punchayat* was responsible for the management of communal land of the village that was useful in various dimensions as it served to be a big source of medicinal plants for the villagers. It was also a mean of animal pasture

during the fodder shortages and source of wood to be used in collective efforts like manufacturing of windows, doors and other necessities for village mosque, school, and graveyards.

Mansha Jan: Conventional *punchayat* also maintained the records of births and deaths in village. It also updated village bound statistics like total numbers of orphans, widows, poor and needy, patients, etc. It can also resume its traditional role to help the federal level organizations like NADRA¹⁹⁵, FBS¹⁹⁶, NIPS¹⁹⁷, PCO¹⁹⁸ and Agriculture Census Organization. These national level agencies can provide training to the members to maintain data according to the current standards.

Mr. Ramzan: It can also be helpful in enhancing youth development program including sports, education, festivals, holding local livestock markets, local markets for purchase of agricultural goods, and establishing communal labor networks for mutual help in the area.

Chaudhry Beer Din: This body has to establish a collective surveillance system to maintain law and order situation while adopting the community policing approach. Our area where the cases of cattle theft, water theft and acts of dacoity are common, community policing at village level can be very effective. This important task can free the people of villages from fear of thefts.

Arshad Dogar: Villages' development committee can be established under *markazi punchayat*. These development committees can over see the maintenance and repair of link roads, water courses, forest area under its constituency. The proposed committees can play an effective role in plantation of trees on village's link roads as well.

¹⁹⁵ National Database and Registration Authority

¹⁹⁶ Federal Bureau of Statistics

¹⁹⁷ National Institute of Population Studies

¹⁹⁸ Public Census Organization

Zaigham Ali Jawwad: The *markazi punchayat* can also encourage females in villages to come forth to play their effective role in teaching various domestic skills to young girls like stitching clothes, embroidery, pickles, homemade jams and squashes and management of domestic poultry.

Chaudhry Naimat: Silting of inter-village water channels is a big hurdle that impedes the proper irrigation of fields. This important task can also be monitored by the *markazi punchayat*. Similarly, the village drains can also be maintained by this body for better sanitation facilities in villages.

Malik Ali: As you people know, I am serving police department so I would contribute regarding the peace and security situation in villages. I think that *markazi punchayat* in association with the home department of Punjab government can establish a rural policing mechanism to monitor the internal law and order situation in the area. It is essential because the police department cannot solely oversee the villages' affairs due to insufficient number of police personnel. The local policing mechanisms at local village level will be very effective in controlling these local level outlaws. The local community level policing mechanism shall be supervised by local police superintendent and *markazi punchayat* in consultation with the police department at district level so that this local level arrangement is legalized and thus recognized as a statutory body for peace maintenance.

Researcher: What should be the administrative responsibilities of *markazi punchayat*?

Chaudhry Mohammad Din: If government recognizes the effectiveness of this local institution then certain things need to be done in favor of making this local body more efficacious to address basic issues at local level with the help of local resources and man power. Government has to link this villages' council with the established districts offices

of social welfare, local government, health, education, agriculture, revenue, trade and industry, works, population welfare so that this cultural institution is revitalized according to the modern standards to play its role in district development as well. The government is also supposed to be paying heed to the voices and demands coming through these local channels so that these local institutions represent villagers at district and provincial level to further contribute in rural development of local areas.

Chaudhry Sharif: The provincial government ought to make sure that no plan is implemented in any area without taking prior consent of the local populations. This is imperative in order to ensure that the views of recipient population are incorporated. Through this, new development programs shall not disturb any segment of population or endanger any of existing resources in rural areas. The development has to be focused upon the concept of *khair* as previously added by Baba Waris. The development shall only be sustainable if it focuses and addresses needs of all strata in village. If development aims to bring material comforts in the lives of people then they ought to be the centre development activity.

Chaudhry Mohammad Din: The British who came in United India had their political and economic interests due to which they tried their level best to constitute institutions that favored and protected the colonial stakes. The traditional institutions were contrived to serve British interests. It was required that after winning independence, the infant state of Pakistan would have strived to revive their indigenous institutions in order to make them responding to social needs and developmental requirements of rural areas. On the contrary, state forces maintained the status quo and thus Pakistan which was created for liberating Muslim from exploitation could not embrace what was promised to them.

8.4 Panchayati System: An Appraisal

The core group discussion depicts the local view of *panchayati* system in line with the concept of Gandhian doctrine of 'Swaraj' (self rule) as discussed by Yadav (2009).¹⁹⁹ People of village gave their views on traditional local government body that is *panchayati* system to be the true representative of local populations at local level which is erected upon the principles of self-help, self governance, and social empowerment of the local people. The scope wise difference between modern 'devolution' and traditional '*panchayat*' is that former functioned and connected District with tehsil and later on with Union Council. The Union Council is a forum of villages (generally a union council comprises a set of five to six villages). The devolution thus created a nexus of federation acting through provinces while making provincial governments accept what suited federal government politically. This link made federal governments influential to affect the election results (as it happened in two election held under devolution plan). Then the provincial governments and its apparatus of civil bureaucracy who feared loss in their power and control at district level in case if political opponents of provincial government managed to get elected. The districts thus shifted their influence upon lower tiers of tehsil and union councils. The developmental funds of opponent political offices at district, tehsil and union council were delayed and hampered due to political opposition.

The devolution plan thus created layers and layers of bureaucratic control over people which seriously cramped the development work and thus empowerment of people at

¹⁹⁹ The concept of '*swaraj*' is not a totally new doctrine originating from Gandhi's idea. In the early Indian Political thought, the concept of Swaraj or self rule connected with the nation of '*swarajya*' referred to a particular more of securing self-determination for all sections of the society. Though there is difference of opinions about '*swaraj*' among modern scholar terming it to be 'national independence'. Gandhi restored the older meaning of '*swaraj*'. his concept offers guidance in transforming what he called the 'nominal' democracy of the modern western type into a truer of fuller democracy, which he referred as to '*Purna Swaraj*' or complete or integral democracy.

local level. It is therefore decentralization operated in negative side that further enhanced centralization. Previous local government other than devolution operated through three tiers of district council to provincial and then national assembly. The devolution instead created five tiers including union council, tehsil council, and district assembly, provincial and national assemblies.

The traditional *punchayat* operated at purely local level. The tiers of *punchayati* system were reported to be *Keth*, *Parya*, and *Punchayat*. *Keth* is the lineage and caste council dealing with the intra lineage and caste issues. *Parya* is the village council that includes all brethrens residing in village to create harmony, peace and brotherhood among the village people who are already segregated in various castes and lineages. It is intermediary body that creates cooperation in all activities undertaken at village level from politics to basic livelihoods. The third and upper tier of local and traditional people based local administration is *punchayat* that is inter-villages council to deal with entire issues that are developmental works, political participation and mobilization, social and cultural activities, and local judicial affairs.

A recent study conducted by Shahrukh Rafi Khan, Foqia Sadiq Khan and Aasim Sajjad Akhtar (2007) also referred to the effectiveness of the local *punchayati* system in their extensive Pakistan based study on Devolution plan in several districts of Pakistan. They are of the view about devolution that:

The community, police and courts figured most prominently in dispute resolution and the new dispute resolution mechanisms instituted by local government were not so far being approached. Only four respondents reported having actually approached the new local body institutions (devolution apparatus) set up to dispense justice. Of these, three approached the nazim and only one approached the musalihat anjuman. Similarly, only five respondents approached the union council. Of the 42 who went to the community, 36 were satisfied and said they would approach the community again, with fairness and expense prominent among reasons for this decision (Khan, Khan, & Akhtar, 2007: 198).

They further raise the importance of *punchayat* by stating:

Those who went to the *punchayat*, generally had to make between one to three visits to various dispute related meetings (ibid: 198).

They conclude that ‘again there was a very high level of satisfaction expressed with justice provided by the *punchayat*’. They inquired their sample of 118 respondents about their preferred forum of conflict resolution. 79 out of 118 respondents told that they would continue to use the *punchayat* in the future. ‘Fairness (31.5 percent), speed (30.6 percent), and expense (26 percent) were the reasons cited for this confidence in the traditional system of justice’ (Ibid: 198).

In the below, I would discuss the devolution case in Sacha Soda and its procedural effects to see whether it targeted shooting social problems at local grass roots or not. This intensive case study also strengthens the case in favor of revitalization of indigenous political institution as well as giving the people their right to self-rule at local levels.

8.5 Devolution: A Case of Modern Local Government

Chapter one and two discussed the historical background of local government system and its experience in Pakistan. The historical facts suggest that all local government experiments were done by the military governments to win public support for their military coups while by-passing the democratic institutions and popular political leadership. Throughout the world the devolution experience has come up with variety of effects out of them mostly presented favorable outcomes for local populations for the recipient populations²⁰⁰.

²⁰⁰ For example; Tendler, (1997), studied success stories in Ceara district of Brazil, Rehman (1999) did work on Bangladesh experience, Sharan (1999) worked on Indian Local Government System, Manor (1999), Blair

On 12 October 1999, Pakistan was taken over by a Military Government that viewed the devolution of power to the grass roots level as its key political initiative to move the country from a 'sham' to a 'real' democracy (Khan, Khan, & Akhtar, 2007: 1).

The advocacy of devolution has also been favored by classical theorist Adam Smith in work. He pleaded in favor of public works of a local nature should be maintained by local revenue, by local government because the benefits are derived at the local level (Smith, 1976: 689). Major issue with the local government system in Pakistan is worth noticing that no constitutional cover has ever been provided for the sustainability of local government system. It is therefore that local government system has remained a matter of inconsistent policies adopted by various government set ups merely to favor their own political interests as well as hidden political moves and drives. The absence of legal constitutional cover to safe guard the local government system has also been supported by various independent sources as well like Banuri, Ahmad, and Afzal (1995) and World Bank (1998). Side by side different studies also exist on the dynamics of local government system in the world. Palekar (2009) has surveyed the effective role of local government systems in the world as well as the influence of central government on local government system.²⁰¹

(1999), Bardhan (2002), Angell, Lowden, & Thorp (2001), Habibi, et al., (2003), Ranis & Stewart (1994), Siles (2003), Leiten (1996), Bajpal (1997).

²⁰¹ Palekar (2009: 76-80) states that local government system in England is the result of long historical evolution. At the beginning of 19th century, there was a veritable chaos of local areas, authorities and jurisdiction. The central government exercise legislative control over the local bodies. It made laws to create new local areas or abolish old one. The powers exercised by the local bodies were conferred on them by parliament which used to withdraw, reduce or increase those powers. In fact, legislative control is the most fundamental form of central control over local bodies. Palekar (2009: 292-294) discussed that theoretically local public entities in Japan enjoy a large measure of autonomy. But in practice, the position is different. The tendency to tighten the control of the national government over the local bodies is growing. Besides, the growing dependence of the local bodies on the national government for finances has reduced their autonomy considerably. As regards the local government system in France, Palekar (322-323) states that the main features of local government in France are centralization and uniformity. The local bodies are neither autonomous nor self-governing. The central government at Paris exercises tight control over them. The units of local government are only convenient administrative divisions and sub-divisions.

Chapter four threw light on the devolution experience of the village. As it has been stated at occasions that local government system in Pakistan witnessed three major experiments in Pakistan out of which devolution was the most recent. Historically, these local government institutions headed by the government were mere attempts to increase influence over people. Before I comment on devolution, I would quote few important citations that evaluate the role of local governments in India before partition and ever partition.

The essence of new devolution system revolved around political, administrative and fiscal decentralization leading to more efficient delivery of education, healthcare, sanitation and law enforcement. The donor study (world bank) found several successes and challenges after examining the local government system working in all four provinces of country. According to my understanding, there was a positive evidence of change in country under local government system as citizens gained more opportunities to voice their needs and concerns to elected representatives. However, effective citizen monitoring of service providers continued to remain a challenge. The International Crisis Group (ICG), in a report strongly criticized Islamabad's efforts at political devolution. The report said that:

The devolution plan had served to strengthen the military rule of President Musharraf when compared to Ayub Khan's Basic Democracy Scheme in 1960s and Zia-ul-Haq's Local Bodies scheme in 1980s. Government policies had undermined established political parties and drained authority from the provinces, while doing little to devolve power, improve service delivery, reduce corruption or establish accountability at the local level, said the ICG review (ICG, 2004).

The report further comments:

Devolution is not working in its true sense, centralization is there, and it needs to devolve power so that people could get benefit at the grassroots level. The officials of federal ministry of Local Government and Rural Development are critical of various points of political, institutional

and administrative devolution besides fiscal decentralization for local governments. The decentralization and devolution of power to local bodies have been issues of contention in Pakistan since they were introduced in 1999 under the Musharraf's radical reform agenda to promote good governance in the country. Critics of devolution plans, however, have expressed concerns, saying decentralization had not empowered people; rather it had helped to legitimize the power of unelected military governments. The devolution program, as a whole is good. But, it is not going to deliver unless local bodies have the decision making power to use funds and undertake development schemes (ibid: 2004).

I happened to attend the views of speakers at a Round-Table²⁰². The round-table came up with the following observations:

It was held that provincial government would become weaker since much of its power would be given to district governments. Devolution of power means transfer of powers from Center to provinces and further to lower tiers, but depriving the provinces of whatever they have runs against the existing federal system. Or, is it that we are moving towards a unitary form of government? If it is so, the government should do it openly and initiate a debate on this crucial issue. It was noted that party-based political system and elections provide the best order of checks and balances. Non-party system, on the contrary, creates divisions along tribal, ethnic and linguistic lines. A viable system of checks and balances cannot be evolved through bureaucratic machinations or game of numbers. The formation of about 20 monitoring committees may complicate a problem rather than solve it as they would be at loggerheads with each other.

After going through the said devolution plan one could realize positive and participatory approaches involved in the whole attempt of enacting the LGO 2001. In early days, devolution plan convinced so many people but later on since the plan was implemented the failures were sky high according to one of my respondents in Akhter Hamid Khan Center of Rural Development and Municipal Administration, in Islamabad. The Director Research of the center was of the view that:

²⁰² "The Proposed Plan for Local Government at the District Level and Devolution of Power" organized by Institute of Policy Studies (IPS) in Islamabad on July 6, 2000.

One can only try to develop plan close to reality and true picture but the loopholes are always pointed out when the specific plan or program is implemented and the required feedback is received.

My intention of discussing the field results with those of documents produced by advocates of devolution of power was basically to highlight the views of respondents (villagers) who were actively involved in whole process. My conviction was to emphasize the true spirit of participatory development described in the lines above in which I believed that the true sentiments and results of any development plan, project or program could only be the actors and intended audience of the program.

First of all, my conviction is based on views gathered through in-depth interviews with the staff of NRB, NCHD, DTCE, AHKCRD&MD and finally the Federal Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development in Islamabad.

Second, reasons given for devolution plan were articulated in the terms that in previous local governments, district bureaucracy was made accountable to the non-elected members in district councils. Whereas the statement was not factual as the reality on ground spoke of a different story that showed that members of previous local government were also elected through a complete electoral process and members of previous local governments were also somehow contributing to the infra-structural development of country.

Third, after the launch of devolution plan, the slogan raised by innovators and policy makers were that centuries old system of bureaucracy has been abolished while giving the decision making power into the hands of true public representatives elected in the election under the National Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP). My conviction is that most of political parties and majority of public in Pakistan rejected the results of new system as major ruling party was blamed of rigging the election results before elections held. The government failed to appoint a permanent election commission to hold free

and fair elections as a temporary chairman of the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP) was appointed to conduct and oversee the task. There were talks on the media about the controversial status of temporary arrangement being responsible for holding national level activity without having access to a neutral and objective environment. There were claims before the elections about the clean sweep of ruling party which came to be true to a greater extent.

Fourth, breaking up of old bureaucracy was though a blessing because of the fact that previous district commission was not only the administrative head of all district offices as well as the district magistrate. But devolution plan did not fix the case of magistracy whose proof was the recent decision of government to appoint the price magistrates at district level because of high incidences of black marketing and sky high prices without any proper check and balance.

Fifth, lay men in all local government system were not reflected anywhere. There has been a tradition that lay men tried to find some nearest people or spokesmen of the politicians to fix their problems. The situation now was even worse because (local level politics especially in the villages which was already full of inter class conflicts) the elected members only benefited people from their own *Dhara* while ignoring others.

Sixth, it was said that elected government and the provincial administration have been integrated at district and Tehsil levels while abolishing the division and local level provincial administration has been made accountable to elected officials at local level. The fact on ground was revealing a different story that the previous district offices were supervised at provincial level was now in a state of confusion as provincial government expected officials to look after provincial priorities, whereas, the district government asked for accommodating its own vested political interests. I met EDO education in his office where he was compiling the lists of teachers to be appointed on contract as

desired by the provincial government. He reported that he was under so much mental pressure as he also received an alternate list from the district and Tehsil assembly.

Seventh, it was claimed regarding the fiscal decentralization that no new tax had been imposed. The situation on ground was different because the districts and Tehsil still relied primarily on provincial and federal funds for the budgetary issues. In some places, it was observed that district governments imposed road taxes on the heavy vehicles upon entering the cities. It was because of the heavy reliance of all city districts on the provinces and federal governments that the new system saw conflicting situations with the provinces and federal government as the two also influenced its internal affairs.

Eighth, clash over the command and authority between the new system and provinces still remains and poses unsolvable riddle before the innovators and advocates of the devolution plan. There was criticism over the less or no heed towards smooth integration of city governments with the provincial and federal governments.

Ninth, the change in electoral process of district governments even led to more serious clashes. Many methodological and procedural issues were raised by the actors of new system themselves. The increased reliance over the committees of diverse purposes had complicated official business of all tiers.

Tenth, even there were loopholes in future status of the newly evolved district governments because no considerable legal protection was allocated in the constitution of Pakistan to this new system.

Eleventh, there was another discrepancy in devolution as the police and irrigation department still remained under control of provincial establishments. It was off and on stated that changes were being introduced in new phase of devolution plan to fix this issue but concerns of when and how were still in question.

Many methodological issues were brought on board due to which transparent status of devolution plan went under serious doubts and required serious measures to be adopted to resolve the problems. The further comments were that:

A particular service that was decided at the provincial level by bureaucrats but after devolution it is decided by the district-level bureaucracy. Similarly a service that was under the purview of provincial level elected representatives before devolution, and has been transferred to the district-level elected representative post-devolution. Note that these instances only involve a change in the decision-making level but not in the accountability (bureaucratic or elected) of the decision maker.

This shortcoming required to question the exact quality of changes that were being observed at the end of the day. Similarly, a particular service that was decided at the district level by bureaucrats but after devolution, while it was still decided at district-level (i.e. there was no level change in decision-making), the decision making authority was now an elected district representative and hence the accountability of this service had a more direct link with voting public. The situation again demanded that whether voting public had been aware of how to make their representatives accountable for the methodological shortcomings and procedural problems faced thereafter.

Twelfth and finally, the devolution must not be assumed as complete devolution of power. Decision making power from the federal and provincial levels to the district level maintained a distinction in the devolved items. While regarding the previous provincial issues to still provincial issues include police and irrigation departments' (examples have just been quoted for reference in the lines above). Few other relevant examples were education at the university level, administration of teaching hospitals (Health department), agricultural research and development (Agriculture department), supervision of foreign funded projects (Planning and Development department) and regulation of medical standards (Health department) have remained at the provincial level despite the devolution of other activities in these departments. In addition to this,

the most important example was salary and allowance expenditures of all district department employees. Since most employees in administrative departments remained provincial employees, the district could not create or reduce posts or adjust their salary structure and therefore, a large fraction of the district budget was fixed.

The matters of province to district include activities such as those pertaining to primary health care and management of district and Tehsil hospitals (Health department), assessment and collection of land taxes, and agricultural income tax (Revenue department), agricultural extension and farm water management (Agriculture department), planning and design of district roads and buildings (Communication and Works department) are now devolved to the district governments from the province. The question arises that since I described in the analysis above that running of the district was still dependent on the funds provided to district by provincial and federal government again put the two in a directing position to district government. This situation led to the conclusion that devolution was not made rather the control of provinces and federal government had increased. I would also like to quote the example of district Muzafargarh's Nazim registering his protest for the deliberate blockade of all developmental budgets from the provincial government for the mere reason of not belonging and supporting the major ruling party in province of Punjab and Federal government.

The devolution from province to Tehsil included services provided by Local Government and Rural Development department, Housing, Urban Development and Public Health Engineering department were devolved from the Provincial to the Tehsil level. The devolution of these departments ensured that the provision of municipal services was now the sole functional responsibility of Tehsil Municipal Administration. There was still a question of majority of tehsils not being economically well off to take all the new responsibilities at their own. I would like to cite the example of Tehsil administration of Kharian of Gujrat district in political clash with the district government posing serious

questions of deliberate stoppage of all developmental activities in Tehsil and thus making people suffer due to political and personalized reasons.

Besides, with reference to the new devolution plan which is sadly high-jacked by the power elites rising from the local level to up to the federal level. The new devolution plan also failed to distinguish the role of *Nazims* and district governments in changing the lives of rural people while addressing the right and genuine issues. Unfortunately, the devolution plan was also developed somewhere else and without studying the feasibility of the plan, it was merely launched to create another power tier in the country. It is again problematic that certain defect in the plan happened to create big hurdle for ideal launch of the innovation.

First, the devolution system was also a part of a centrally controlled and supervised national administration patterned after the colonial administration.

Second, most of the reforms proposed in the existing devolution plan do not challenge the colonial pattern of administration which is predicted on the facts of central control and leaving the feudal forces undisturbed. The existing district government plan is also deemed to be the brain child of Musharraf's reign and people think that it would also be vanished with a change in the government set up.

Third, there was no public participation or public accountability at any level of district's or tehsil's administration to date. The District Coordinating Officer (DCO, former Deputy Commissioner), and the provincial offices were only answerable to their direct superiors not the public whom they were supposed to serve.

Fourth, by making district a basic unit of administration, the present structure portrayed the same colonial pattern of isolating itself from the overwhelming majority of population.

Fifth, there was still a functional authority in the hands of DCO who represented the province and central government. The favorite Nazims of the government though enjoyed power and authority but the districts where the Nazims were from the opposition, the case was different.

Sixth, opposition of the existing privileged bureaucracy had been instrumental in subverting programs which tend to reduce central bureaucratic control and promote real decentralization.

Seventh, It could be said in real sense that no local government system till to date was elected in fair electoral process. Therefore, unfair means of getting selected also debarred system functionaries to remain apart from public in development process.

As regards devolution in Sacha Soda, the power holders and their factions very successfully anticipated the new devolution plan and manipulated it in their benefits. Mostly, before the devolution plan, the scene was a bit different. The power holders were powerful in terms of their links with the National and Provincial level politicians, district administration and police department. Whereas devolution enabled them to occupy a public place where they absorbed themselves in the district, Tehsil and union level politics. The devolution thus provided them a platform to institutionalize their power through government recognized local government bodies. On the other hand the general public is now under various tiers of rulers and a process of social inequality and injustice goes more severe. The power holders while holding the new chain of offices with legal authorities to influence people's lives more adversely has become instrument to break the already declining cultural solidarity among the rural populations. The power holders have thus found new channels of paying off old scores with their opponents under the umbrella of LGO 2001. In the current scene, one can say that devolution plan have considerably divided the rural populations and strengthened the

conflict element in the lives of people living in the villages. The manipulation of LGO 2001 in the hands of local power holders has even put them in a more effective place where they can overtly negotiate the governments and bureaucracy to bestow upon them benefits in order to get back their vested interests. I can safely conclude that the status of power holders which was previously non-conventional and mostly manipulative through bringing favors to the government and its representatives is now institutionalized. The power holders now occupy the lower positions at the level of union, Tehsil and district with legal powers and access to financial resources has even complicated the life in rural areas with more evidences of violence and disputes.

If the case of local government system is studied in historical perspective few important scholastic works can be of prime importance to connect the current local government system of Pakistan with historical forces that influenced this system in one way or the other. Importantly, Richard W. Gable as cited by Inayatullah (1972) commented on the negative functions that have been produced by the local government in the South Asian scenario especially in India and Pakistan. He states further:

Traditional local government in the sub continent was either destroyed or allowed to decay by the British colonial rulers (Inayatullah, 1972).

Inayatullah further quoted the scholastic contribution of Gable who also worked on the local government system in British India due to mal-functions performed by local government institution in British India. He says:

Local government declined in British India and district administration was established and strengthened (ibid: 1972).

It was replaced by an administrative pattern designed to aid and abet colonial rule. So long as the basic objective of collection of revenue and economic exploitation was met, the administrative machinery was considered efficient. To this end, the British strengthened district administration in the sub-continent because it was the best means of ruling imperial India through a handful of men. The British officers in each district became

absolute rulers with unlimited powers and control over revenue, police and judicial functions. The attitude of the British government has been captured in the following statement regarding the colonizers view of local government. Harold F. Alderfer (1964) referred that colonial power incubated the provincial administrative structure in the disguise of merely to increase their colonial powers and control over the people. He states that colonial powers therefore deliberately undermined the local leadership which was a genuine and culturally accepted phenomenon. He is of the view:

As a general rule, colonizing powers upon gaining sovereign rights in foreign places have concentrated upon establishing national and top provincial administration to carry out their political, economic and social objectives. They have either neglected the local field, being satisfied to accept local leadership if found to be cooperative, or have half-heartedly tried to remake local institutions in their own image. As a result, these colonial governments, even when ultimately independent and manned by native officials and personnel, tend to be centralized in the national colonial and provincial capitals (Alderfer, 1964).

Gable as cited by Inayatullah (1972) states:

Not only was the colonial administration authoritarian and centralized but it was also not interested in getting nearer to the people. Unfamiliar and cumbersome procedures were introduced by the British district officers when they took to dealing with revenue and criminal cases instead of the village officials. This made it almost impossible for a poor rural citizen to get justice (Inayatullah, 1972).

He adds further:

In short, the years of colonial rule in the subcontinent were marked by the complete suffocation of local government because from this time onward a villager could never be sure of success of bad cases made the new arrangement very popular particularly with those seeking injustice". All administrative activity became crystallized at the district level, where the Queen's representative could exercise central control (ibid: 1972).

Malik says that it was in the interest of the newly established government to remain influential over the rural subjects for a more controlled population in newly born Pakistan. He describes that:

After the British left the sub-continent, an independent Pakistani nation failed to smash the inherited pattern of colonial administration. If anything, the district officer began to acquire even greater power in the new nation. Each new government program was placed in the hands of the district officer for implementation. From the rehabilitation of refugees to census taking the district officer of newly independent Pakistan became the British Colonial officer incarnate (Malik, 1966).

Given this orientation, the new district administration could hardly be expected to encourage local government any more than its former colonial counterpart. In fact, a respondent from district administration suggested that 'the semi-colonial district administration opposed the development of local government in Pakistan.'

Having studied the historical connections with local government system, the past experiments of local bodies as well as the most recent largely turned out to be serving the purpose of increasing federal and provincial governments' influence and injecting more bureaucratic grip over the so-called devolved district offices.

As a matter of fact, Devolution was another face of bureaucratic and undemocratic hegemony that in fact enhanced the grip of federation over provinces and lower tiers. Through this system, the regional power pockets got more strengthened and institutionalised. The power groups thus clutched the masses into their political wish lists. In this regard, LaPorte Jr., also verified that:

1. The government of Pakistan has not provided 'constitutional protection to mitigate the risk of arbitrary dismissal of local government.' Central and provincial local government ordinances do not substitute for an amendment (or amendments) to the constitution to give a constitutional base for local government.

2. Appropriate revenue-sharing arrangements to align better-agreed expenditure assignments and financial capacity have not been made and await decisions taken at the national and provincial levels.
3. Administrative capacity in line with agreed functions at all levels of government does not appear to have been strengthened. Some would argue that eliminating the office of deputy commissioner has weakened administrative capacity.

The additional point should be made that is not in the World Bank's definition of devolution and that is control of public personnel at the local level. The appointment of both generalist administrators (district coordination officers, executive district officers, and deputy district officers) and specialists (engineers, teachers, medical doctors, and technical personnel) in line agencies who work at the district and sub-district levels still remains in the hands of both central and provincial officials. As a result of the above, the new local government system is, at best, a limited decentralization of political power, administrative authority, management functions, power-authority nexus, and resources to the district level. The new local government system does not attain the 'five fundamentals' that were proposed for it in the Local Government Plan 2000 (LaPorte Jr., 2004: 167-168).

Shahrukh Rafi Khan, Foqia Sadiq Khan, and Aasim Sajjad Akhtar (2007: 8) in their classical work gave a very radical suggestion that is broad civil service reform and elimination of layers and layers of administrative bureaucracy which ofcourse makes sense but I seriously doubt that any government would be brave and bold enough to undertake any such major structural readjustments to validate local government system in Pakistan to address the developmental issues of grass root population especially rural areas.

Andrew R. Wilder (2004) talked about the local governments' experience in Pakistan while focusing Ayub Khan's Basic Democracies in the 1960s, General Zia's Local Bodies in the 1980s and Musharraf's Devolution of Power in 2000. The aim of most recent

experiment was to devolve certain functions of the state to the district level. Wilder says:

The stated objective has no doubt some merit that was to help strengthen and improve service delivery and accountability of government departments by giving some decision-making authority to district level officials. In history, local government elections has also helped Ayub Khan and Zia legitimize their military regimes by deflecting criticism that national elections were not being held. They also helped to shift the attention of politicians to local issues, leaving national issues to be dealt with by the military. Furthermore, they had the effect of creating a grassroots political constituency dependent on the military for its survival as no local government system has survived long once party-based national politics have been restored (Wilder, 2004: 104).

Similarly, scholastic views on fabrication of local government system also describe how devolution that was merely to favor Musharraf's politically vested interests was given indispensability:

In the April 2002 referendum campaign, the recently elected local government officials were pressured to campaign in their districts on behalf of a 'yes' vote. It was made clear to them that the continuation of the local government system was contingent on Musharraf's tenure as president being extended because only he would be in a position to defend the devolution scheme and the powers it gave local officials at the expense of the newly elected parliamentarians (Abbas, 2002; Ansari, 2002).

In addition, Wilder forecasted that:

The inevitable tensions that will emerge at the district level between local government politicians and institutions, and newly elected members of the provincial and national assemblies, will undoubtedly provide the military opportunities to play divide and rule politics (Wilder, 2004: 105).

National daily *The News* in an article by Babar Dogar described the financial morass at the district level in words below:

To maintain its authority, the bureaucracy has made district governments dependent on the provincial government by centralizing the financial system. Under the financial system, handed down to the districts as part of the devolution plan, [the] District Local Fund was created. All the taxes and revenues were credited to this account. The districts could use this account, but the bureaucracy red-tape created hurdles. As a result, the [district] Local Fund was abolished and replaced with the District Account and all the funds in the District Local Fund were transferred to [the district account]. Now the districts cannot utilize the revenues collected by them. Although the new system has increased their revenues, their cash balance has not increased. The banks are under instructions not to show the revenues of the districts as their cash balance unless an [sic] advice is received from the provincial finance department... the spirit of devolution of power demanded that financial powers were devolved to the officers at the district level. However, no change has been made in the Delegation of Financial Power Rules... the federal government never transferred due amount to the provinces for onward transfer to the districts. When the funds reached the province, a substantial portion was kept by the [provincial] Finance Department, and the residue was transferred to the [provincial] Local Government and Rural Development Department (Dogar, 2002).

Similarly, *Asia Times* reported that:

Local level governance is the subject that should be dealt with by the provincial governments. But the federal government never allowed the provinces the autonomy promised to them in the country's constitution (Rizvi, 2000).

Rizvi also quoted the observation of Human Rights Commission of Pakistan that rejected the devolution plan by stating that 'the military rulers have no mandate to take such steps.'

Summary

This chapter threw light on the indigenous political institution along with its tiers and compared it with most recent devolution plan that was envisaged to devolve power and

authority to local levels so that the developmental needs and problems are handled at a local and approachable level. I discussed the features of devolution in Sacha Soda in addition; I also threw light on the fate of this new system at Tehsil, district, province and national level. I can safely conclude the idea of devolution required complete professionalism with a view to change public's fate by giving powers in their hands. Rather the latent and actual purpose was too manipulated by the power groups that exist at all levels of Pakistani life. Similarly due to the vested interests of military the system also seemed to be fruitless in bringing the aspired results.

The indigenous political institution operational in village Sacha Soda is *Punchayat* along with its tiers. The *punchayati* system comprised *Punchayat* (inter-villages' council), *Parya* (intra-village council) and *Keth* (extended family and caste council). The overall functions of three of these organizations are to maintain the peace and security within its jurisdiction. It also monitors the developmental works as well as the social welfare initiatives undertaken within local communities. It is a genuine political body that truly represents that local interests usually headed by a village elder whose integrity and respect is beyond doubts. The head of punchayat occupies a respectable position among the village people with no political or economic stakes. The head's position to implement the decisions is not coercive rather it is like a visionary elder who is equally respectable for people.

Unlike India, *punchayati system* is not formally recognized in Pakistan despite one attempt to reinstate this indigenous political institution. Yet, at village level, the *punchayati* system is still operational and equally respected by all strata of the rural community due to its speedy trials as well as its effectiveness in ensuring redressal of injustice and discrimination held against the aggrieved parties. It is also effective because it operates at local level while ensuring its easy access by all walks of life. This indigenous political body runs its affairs through democratic means with freedom of expression and also ensures the social participation on behalf of village community due

to which the implementation of its decisions are largely successful and brings long lasting effects in village's social life.

Devolution Plan was one of the most dramatic, historically connected and revolutionary in its laboratory tests. The plan genuinely meant to empower the people at grass roots but when put in practice certain major defects and faults were found and deprived the people of its fruits and benefits. Overall, the devolution took place from provinces to districts but the same exercise was required from federal to provincial level as well. The new system created a government in each district investing in its most functions, which were previously performed by the provincial government. But in real the government of every provincial department was replicated in the districts whose result was not only extra cost but also duplication of work and overlapping authority which all combined inevitably cause delays, corruption and harassment to the public. The system introduced in the name of good governance and devolution has given only further impetus to expanding governments in defiance of the rule, by now universally acknowledged 'the smaller the government, the better'. A district now has thirteen or more departments, each headed by an official of the same rank, called Executive District Officer (EDO) and pay as a Deputy Commissioners they have displaced.

Local government elections were contested on non-political basis and later on *Nazims* joined political parties. District and *Tehsil Nazims* aspired to become candidates for other public positions. Moreover, they concentrated on allocation of maximum development fund and ignoring other areas of the district. No mechanism was provided for Conflict Management which was one of the most important aspects of Good Governance. The ultimate aim and objective of good governance was to create a conflict free satisfied society and in case if conflicts aroused, there had to be a perfect system of conflict management. The Local Government Ordinance 2001 provided for only the District *Mushawarat* (consultative) committee, which was a forum for the *Tehsil Nazim* and *Zila Nazim* to meet every month and resolve the disputes. The disputes aroused

between union councils, Tehsil councils, within local government, within District *Nazim* and District Coordination Officer, but no other effective or permanent forum was available for the resolution of such disputes. In short, devolution plan was good with regards to the idea but when implemented was manipulated by the already in power groups. The same political families at the districts level contested elections and thus found another office for social exploitation.

CHAPTER NINE

SYNTHESES OF *DESI ILM* AND *TARAQQI*

9.1 Introduction

The chapter seven threw light on the community's perception of *taraqqi* (development) that discussed about the views of local population which were categorized as relationship between the local ideas of *abaadi* (population) and *wasaael* (resources) for village community. *Taraqqi* is not a mere set of practices to make best use of resources by the community rather it is composite whole that binds *Basti* (Community), with its *wasaael* in a reciprocal relation that continues to progress due to a benignity. The population of Sacha Soda believed that resources have to be utilized befittingly so that resources are kept available for future requirements. The sustainable development for people means 'any purposeful achievement of people that benefits them as a whole.' Chapter six talked about the indigenous agriculture, chapter seven as discussed above talked about the perception of development whereas chapter eight discussed the indigenous political institution of *punchayat* that played a central role in the social, economic and political life of people. Despite the fact, development planning both at federal and provincial level in Pakistan remained largely top-down and highly centralized. The limitation of these bureaucratic styled development efforts in Sacha Soda (as discussed in chapter 4) proved to be dividing the community into power factions based upon caste bond in which the local power holders largely benefited their group allies to multiply their vested interests. These vested interests predominantly surrounded personal gains, heightened conflict in village's social life marked with physical molestations, kidnaps, ousting from land possession, and murders. Apart from the *dera* politics and power play in village, the *punchayat* remained a carrier of people's trust due to its democratic and participative nature.

The top-down approach in village did not come up to the expectations of general public rather farmers started avoiding these bones of contentions in general. A small pocket of farmers in particular preferred to join the *dera* politics for personal benefits. The project authorities of three main agricultural interventions (ARP, SSTP and WMP) were highly influenced by the local power factions due to their political networking with politicians, provincial and district bureaucracy and police department. The most recent experience of 'devolution of power' that was conceived to be nationwide intervention for fiscal, administrative and political decentralization to empower local populations. The de-concentration of management functions and diffusion of the power-authority nexus also featured this new intervention. The practical experience of devolution in Sacha Soda revealed intensification of political factions and untrained local government staff ceased to respond to developmental needs of general public. The power groups along with their allies in this intervention remained the entire beneficiaries while pushing the local population from reaping the fruits of devolution as promised in master document called 'Local Government Ordinance 2000 and its Amendment in 2001'.

The development experience in Pakistan has traditionally been characterized as uneven and responding to those only who managed to influence the process through 'support structures'. Chapter two presented a historical review of hurdles and failures of major developmental innovations launched in Pakistan since independence. The chapter also described the weaknesses in the development planning in which the ultimate recipients of development i.e. masses were least priority. Chapter one mentioned Nisbet (1969) and Williams (1985) referred by Routledge Encyclopedia to state that development's definition strictly remained carrier of 'economic perspective' especially after World War II which was exactly the same time when Pakistan came into being. The initial experience of V-AID project and consequently attempting to launch development through various development projects and interventions (discussed in chapter two) speak of the same truth.

The current chapter throws light on the main reasons for disturbed process of development in the village. It attempts to explain the failures of development projects in the light of scholastic contributions as well as it elaborates the importance of indigenous knowledge and practices according to the respondents' views.

9.2 Neo Colonial Model of Development

Pakistan got independence from the British *raj* in 1947. The dream of winning a separate country for the Muslims of South Asia was to practice the democratic nature of Islamic principles of *Falah* (welfare). This was to make Muslims of newly born country owners of their own fate. The non representative institutions that were carrier of colonial legacy were not reformed to play their expected role rather the colonial brain was very much existent among main power players that included Army, Bureaucracy and non-democratic behaviors of political parties. These actors instead of enacting constitutions for the newly independent country to reflect the true wishes and whims of people of Pakistan spent their utmost efforts to maximize their group interests and personal gains. They thus snatched the true spirit of liberty from the nation and deliberately allowed non democratic forces to come in power and put the country in a worse situation. The vision of founder of the nation was abandoned and country was completely transformed into a client-state of US. Judith Justice (1987) viewed the whole process as:

Following the Second World War, as the colonial period ended and new independent nations emerged through the Third World, large scale economic assistance from developed countries to developing or Third World countries became an important part of international diplomacy (Justice, 1987).

Many scholars including Escobar (1985) studied the post World War II changes during 1945 to 1955 and became convinced to talk about the misfortune of 'underdeveloped world'. The Harvard Advisory Group (HAG) worked for the preparation of first five year

plan under an agreement with the then government of Pakistan. The first five year plan was truly reflective of the development agenda as laid down by US President Harry Truman's 1949 inauguration speech 'to extend and intensify the longstanding Westernization project' (Gasper, 2004: 32). Sachs (1992a: 3-4) also verified the 'hidden agenda of development which was not less than Westernization of the World.' The *naukar-shahi*²⁰³ approach in all projects in village Sacha Soda amply failed to register true developmental needs and aspirations of people and thus resulted in devising development programs in which people were only at receiving end. People were not made center of development activity rather they were just supposed to be nodding in acceptance what was planned for them. In fact, the historical evidences of development practices discussed in chapter four revealed that it lacked the spirit of involving indigenous practices of people to boost community participation in the village.

This lacking was probably resulted because of the emphasis laid by the intelligentsia prioritizing economic indicators in first instance to be focal point for development. A review of wide range theories and approaches on Development also speak of the evidence of putting ferocious stress on economic development in first place. Todaro and Smith (2003) reveal that 'every approach (on economic development) has its strengths and weaknesses.' They further state:

The fact that there exists such controversy- be it ideological, theoretical or empirical-is what makes the study of economic development both challenging and exciting. Even more than other fields of economics, development economics has no universally accepted doctrine or paradigm. Instead, we have a continually evolving pattern of insights and understandings that together provide the basis for examining the possibilities of contemporary development of the diverse nations of Africa, Asia and Latin America (Todaro & Smith, 2003: 166).

²⁰³ Bureaucracy

The survey of literature unveils that traditionally the role of agriculture in economic development has been graded as passive and supportive. The argument is strengthened through the scholastic stand point of Todaro and Smith in their words:

Based on the historical experience of Western countries, economic development was seen as requiring a rapid structural transformation of the economy from one predominantly focused on agricultural activities to a more complex modern industrial and service society. As a result, agriculture's primary role was to provide sufficient low-priced food and manpower to the expanding industrial economy, which was thought to be the dynamic 'leading sector' in any overall strategy of economic development (Todaro & Smith, 2003: 453).

Todaro and Smith cite the global figures of 2.5 billion people living in developing world grind out a meager and often inadequate existence in agricultural pursuits. They describe that over 3 billion people lived in rural areas in 2001.

People living in the countryside comprise considerably more than half population of such diverse Latin American and Asian nations as Bolivia, Guatemala, India, Indonesia, Myanmar, Ecuador, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, the Phillipines, and China. Their basic concern is survival. Many hundreds of millions of people have been bypassed by whatever economic progress has been attained (ibid: 2003: 452).

People in rural areas in third world countries constitute the larger fraction of population but of more importance is the fact that world's poorest people are also located in rural areas and are engaged primarily in subsistence agriculture as also agreed by Todaro and Smith. The problem of rural people is even more complicated when they are mostly termed as 'fatalists' who are not ready to get indulged in competitions with their contemporaries in their locality, society, nation or even internationally. Their position is roughly interpreted as 'resisting change' without seeing the socio-economic and cultural factors that affect their receptivity to change. The survival preference of subsistence level farming communities seem to be irrational unless ample comprehension of the precarious nature of subsistence living and importance of avoiding risks is done. The lack

of social participation on part of local populations will remain a riddle until fears of these subsistence level community are dealt with dignity, seriousness and unplayfulness.

If development is to take place and become self-sustaining, it will have to include the rural areas in general and the agricultural sector in particular (ibid: 2003: 452-453).

The Indian Indigenous fabric was almost changed under the British era. The rural life patterns were influenced by colonial setup. The traditional self-sufficient villages were brought under colonial rule which merely operated to serve as servants and ended up in tax nets imposed by British rule. Accordingly, Gunnar Myrdal identified three major interrelated forces that molded the traditional pattern of land ownership into its present fragmented condition: firstly, the intervention of European rule; secondly, the progressive introduction of monetized transactions and the rise in power of the moneylenders; and thirdly, the rapidly growth of Asian populations (Myrdal, 1968: 1033-1052). The traditional Asian agrarian structure before European colonization was organized around the village. Local chiefs, and peasant families each provided goods and services-produce and labor from peasants to the chief in return for protection, rights to use community land, and the provision of public services, decisions on the allocation, disposition, and use of the village's most valuable resource land, belonged to the tribe or community, either as a body or through its chief (Todaro & Smith, 2003: 467). The colonial rule in fact transformed rural fabric and indigenous institutions to benefit colonial imperialist policy and vested interests of extending British Raj.

The Case Study of Pakistan after independence vividly expresses that attempts made by the then governments by putting development planning track totally reliant upon American Aid and consultations of Harvard Advisory Group (HAG). Even though, failure in implementation of five year development plans hampered the development pace in country and thus country did not see the road to self reliance and internal integrity of

people (see chapter two). Agriculture being the corner stone of national economy was deliberately ignored in the name of putting more resources for industrial growth and bearing the influx of unemployed labor force. The reasons were the then strict economic oriented definitions of development that mostly emphasized industrialization and ousted human factor until the 'human development approach' adopted by United Nations in decade of 1990s did so. Michael Kaufman (1997) in this regard rightly observed:

The failings of the capitalist market model, all too evident in the underdevelopment of most of the Third World and in what we might think of as the overdevelopment of the First World, has stimulated an interest in finding forms of development that actually reach the majority of the population. Advocates of capitalist development thought that structural economic crises, the endemic social problems, and the political instability of so many Third World countries could be conquered through technological and economic solutions that would boost growth and development. Their solutions were diverse, including large state investment, import substitution, the encouragement of small business, and the enactment of so-called free-market policies. The aim was to promote growth and profit-making that would spread in the fashion of nineteenth and twentieth-century capitalism in Europe and the colonial settler states of the US, Canada and Australia. As has been analyzed exhaustively over the past 30 years, the model has not met its expectations, although certain nodes of growth do exist (Kaufman, 1997: 4).

The Development Planning done in this regard lacked local representation and true developmental needs of recipients of development. The non representative bureaucracy and policy makers largely looked toward American aid both financial and technical to be serving the purpose. A number of development scholars and political scientists have also centered their researches upon the role of bureaucracy in development in Pakistan. Among these scholars, citable works are done by Professor Ralph Braibanti²⁰⁴ (1966),

²⁰⁴ Ralph Braibanti (1966) wrote extensively on the role of bureaucracy in Pakistan. He argues that in the social context of Pakistan, bureaucracy occupies an inordinately strong position relative to other political organs; and that it is inevitable, even desirable.

Milton J. Esman²⁰⁵ (1963), Bernard E. Brown²⁰⁶ (1962), Eisenstadt²⁰⁷ (1964), Nieuwenhuijze²⁰⁸ (1969), Henry Frank Goodnow²⁰⁹ (unknown), and S. C. Dube²¹⁰ (1967). The initial military and civil bureaucracy did not allow the public representatives perform their role and resultantly a state of ad-hocism was flourished. The need for participation and involvement of rural population in development process is often ignored in the entire development history in Pakistan. The real people are represented through bureaucratically controlled pseudo participative groups and institutions that result in both negative or passive participation and social indifference. The external bureaucratic agent of change is expected to involve people to identify the influence centers in villages and to bring them to support the modernization efforts. The development agencies mostly populated by the public servants who are well versed in government's typical top-down approach never seem to understand the need of social participation on behalf of recipient and targetted populations. In theory, development and mass uplift of rural population occupies a central place in all efforts for

²⁰⁵ Milton J. Esman (1963) also acknowledged the dominant power position of the bureaucracy in developing areas and advocates its further strengthening. He advocated the elimination of any external controls over the bureaucratic behavior as they tend to undermine its operational effectiveness. He further assumes that since bureaucracies themselves are a part of national culture changes induced within and through the bureaucracy impinge on the basic values of the society itself.

²⁰⁶ Bernard E. Brown (1962) also advocated the strengthening of executive branch for the task of achieving development and suggests the provision of built in check and balances for the control of bureaucracy eliminating any need for external political controls.

²⁰⁷ Eisenstadt (1964) referred to the attempts of the political elite and bureaucracy to direct and control all social developments of the country. Concept of "agents of change" holds a central place in literature on social change and modernization. The agent is perceived as an art of the bureaucratic structures established for development. He is an innovator or carrier of innovative ideas. He may be an expert, a social worker. But his function is to gain acceptance and confidence of the people to persuade them to accept new ideas, methods, and techniques to involve them in the process of change.

²⁰⁸ Nieuwenhuijze (1969) referred to this emphasis on a bureaucratic change agent and the assumption of a subject object dichotomy between agent on one hand and society, community or group on the other.

²⁰⁹ Henry Frank Goodnow (unknown) from his experience in Pakistan and on the basis of his study of the civil Services in Pakistan concludes that the higher bureaucracy exerts such predominant influence as to make the climate unfavorable for the development of democratic institutions.

²¹⁰ Dube (1967) has observed that Historically in Indo-Pakistan subcontinent bureaucracy has been an instrument of political suppression and control and exploitation. Police, magistracy, revenue and irrigation department have been symbols of political control and economic exploitation of the rural masses.

modernization and development in predominantly agricultural and rural countries like Pakistan. Ever since the inception of Pakistan, policy makers and planners though have devoted considerable attention and resources by promising certain changes followed as a result of their plans. Among these were: to mobilize rural people for development and modernization; to create an awareness and urge for change and improvement; to foster a spirit of cooperation; to remove the antipathy and distrust of public functionaries; and to prepare them for accepting and adopting new ideas, methods and techniques in the fields of agriculture, health, education, etc. What was lacking in these attempts was articulation of real aspirations as agreed by Grenier:

Rural development planners often did their work without community consultation. When they included consultation, they used quantitative surveys and did not communicate the results back to the people who had shared their knowledge. The consequences were often impractical, ineffective, and culturally unacceptable management decisions (Grenier, 1998: 41).

I am of the view that the past programs and approaches to rural development efforts in Pakistan were basically inspired from the Western models. They were the constructs of certain Western writers in the field of comparative politics and development administration (as in case of HAG's intervention in Pakistan, discussed in chapters 1 & 2). Those non-local models have been put into practice to suit political exigencies of the past bureaucratic regimes in Pakistan. Since the development needs, goals and objectives of rural people were to be gauged by the so called enlightened bureaucrats. All major rural development experiments in Pakistan (discussed in chapter two) visualized political participation and political control of the development process as detrimental to process of change. The obvious recourse was to establish new bureaucratic structures for rural development. The existing instrument of local government was disregarded, made ineffective and in some cases completely demolished. Different types of village aid, and community development organizations were set up. Under the Basic Democracies system of Ayub Khan, Local Government

System of Zia ul Haq and Devolution Plan of Musharraf government, an attempt was made to reshape the local government institutions for rural development and mass involvement in that process but complete domination and control of these institutions by the bureaucracy at district, provincial and national levels, local power holders that were the result of British colonial era did not bring the desired response.

I am of the view that seeing the result of development effort in Pakistan, it can be concluded that conceptual framework regarding development was theoretically unsound. It did not take into account lessons learnt from failure of these efforts, cultural scenario and socio-political environment of Pakistan. The underlying assumptions of all these conceptual frameworks take only a perfunctory view of the society. The crux of developmental approaches described in lines above help to conclude that these models could only be feasible in the environments and geographical settings where these were actually developed and tested. I am of the view that best use of those models could have been if these were taken as a reference to revitalize indigenous model of development while focusing Pakistani context. This main thing lacked in all of development efforts and planning due to which none turned up with desired results. I contend that roots of development are very much present in society, all one needs to do is to realize the actualities of needs and find out best possible solutions to match need of rural population. Unfortunately, development models and approaches are non representative, bureaucratically managed and conceived, and imposed on rural people without anticipating propensity of its adoption.

I have discussed in detail in previous chapters (6, 7, & 8) that development is not and can never be merely economic in its scope. There seems to be a weakness on the part of policy makers in Pakistan who lack ability to bargain for an indigenous development model that is well rooted in local culture. The policy makers are not moved to pay attention on the social costs that local society would have to pay in case if the whole development exercise goes wrong or failed. This shortfall is also discussed by many

scholars from both Western and Eastern world that development is a complex whole of practices that requires a complete transition in dealing with rural infra structure and social institutions.

Academia agrees and recognizes that development can never be equated with a rise in GNP or other economic indicators. Rather desired outcome of a developmental activity can ideally be the one that brings a sign of visible ownership on the part of recipient community. The target of any development action should not be creating a lag among various segments of society rather it should be shooting of problems faced by community without a threat of compelling people leave their cultural identity, or becoming an alien to their own cultural and intellectual heritage. Human Development Report²¹¹ (2011) emphasizes the cruciality of adopting a ‘human factor’ in development in societies and further pleads the indispensability of certain prerequisites by stating:

Human development, which is about expanding people’s choices, builds on shared natural resources. Promoting human development requires addressing sustainability—locally, nationally and globally—and this can and should be done in ways that are equitable and empowering (UNDP, 2011: 1).

The report revisits the human development approach as:

Human development is the expansion of people’s freedoms and capabilities to lead lives that they value and have reason to value. It is about expanding choices. Freedoms and capabilities are a more expansive notion than basic needs. Many ends are necessary for a “good life,” ends that can be intrinsically as well as instrumentally valuable—we may value biodiversity, for example, or natural beauty, independently of its contribution to our living standards. Disadvantaged people are a central focus of human development. This includes people in the future who will suffer the most severe consequences of the risks arising from our activities today (ibid: 1).

²¹¹ Also available at <http://hdr.undp.org/en/humandev/>

The alarming status of human development is exposed to reality through a comparative analysis of Pakistan's performance on Human Development Index Rankings done in 2011 which reports Pakistan to be occupying 145th position out of a total of 187 countries of the world. The regional analysis of performance regarding South Asian countries (Bangladesh: 146, Bhutan: 141, India: 134, Nepal: 157, Maldives: 109, Pakistan: 145 and Sri Lanka: 97) is even more thought provocative. The gloomy performance of Pakistan thus grades it amongst the 'low human development' performing countries of the world. In the same connection, Planning Commission of Pakistan acknowledges the bad effects of governance on growth indicators. The annual plan prepared by planning commission (2010-2011) reveals:

The decline in growth has largely emanated from agriculture and industry sectors. Significant decline in output was observed in major crops, large scale manufacturing, construction, electricity, gas and financial sectors. Fiscal position remained under stress and inflation surged to 15% on account of spiraling food and energy prices (PC, 2010: iii).

I am intended to point out incomprehensiveness in Pakistan's rural development approach that should underscore the importance of internal stimuli, indigenous initiative, political participation, and development of popularly elected and autonomous local political institutions as vehicles for rural development. Special emphasis has to be given to role of mass political participation at rural level for creating an urge for improvement and development, for raising levels of expectation of masses, and for providing popularly controlled and autonomous rural institutions for realizing aspirations and expectations for sustainable development. As against the imposition of new and cumbersome bureaucratic structures for the track of rural development, I argue for strengthening the IKS institutions at the administrative level for sustainable rural development. The new strategy for rural development in Pakistan must therefore be comprehensive and based on the needs and aspirations of the rural people. It must recognize importance of indigenous stimuli for modernization and development. It

should assign a key role to progress of political participation in creating an inner urge for development.

9.3 Agriculture Development and Indigenous Knowledge

Rural Development without agriculture development is inconceivable. Agriculture development is not merely a set of technological innovations employed for high yield per acre. To me, agriculture development is more than technological advancement. It should include an attitudinal change towards achieving sustainable rural development. This attitude should have to work for bringing about economic, social and political changes by creating structures, institutions and influencing behavioral pattern of public officials as well as rural people. For economic development, it is necessary that there should be a balance development of agricultural as well as industrial sectors. As Pakistan is predominantly agricultural, therefore, there is a need to evolve structures and institutions which facilitate the task of developing people who are involved in agricultural production. To realize this objective, administrative machinery of agriculture department and research staff of agriculture development agencies have to be made effective and responsive to meet the ground realities and true aspirations of rural people.

The same element was found true during the discussion with village people as the respondents commented that in order to create an attitudinal change for development in agriculture domain, there is a need to improve educational, medical, and recreational facilities on the same lines as those are provided to urban population so that growing reliance over urban areas is lessened. Similarly, social and political reforms in rural areas are also vital in terms of making local institutions like *punchayati* system more effective to address local needs. The respondents from Sacha Soda also urge that uniform criteria adopted for agriculture and industry create problem and unnecessary burden over local farming community. This burden puts them in competition for more economic returns

and this tendency also involves heavy investments for farming system which is normally done through borrowing heavy loans from local money lenders on huge profit ratios. To increase pace of agricultural development while relying on indigenous knowledge and practices, the respondents gave following suggestions:

1. Organizing the farmers involved in small scale or subsistence agriculture to adopt the cooperative farming. The pattern of cooperative farming should be in line with traditional communal labor system i.e. *wangar* (discussed in chapter 6) as well as adopting non-exploitative indigenous agriculture practices which are locally evolved and are according to the cultural build up of village.
2. Agriculture research agencies should be encouraged to start experimentations on revitalizing the indigenous farming practices so that these are updated and enabled to respond to current day demands while keeping in view the population pressure as well as the economic status of small farmers.
3. Extension staff should adopt and practice informal and informative supportive role so that help and assistance is made available to all farmers especially small growers who cannot risk their crops because of already meager margin of profits and huge social responsibilities. The extension staff shall bring the results of indigenous farming after revitalization back to community.
4. The agriculture department shall work for the promotions of best land-use practices, natural resource management, integrated pest management, organic sources of fertility raise, sustainable livelihoods, managing water demand for irrigation, integrated animal husbandry, and social forestry.

5. Irrigation department has to see that the land under cultivation is provided with needed water. For this purpose closest collaboration will be required among the functionaries of these departments.

6. Adequate marketing and storage facilities should be provided at local village level. This could be done by government in order to stop interferences of middlemen who usually reap major profits out of farmers' labor.

What the village farming community tried to stress is 'friendly and advisory role of administrative staff of agriculture and irrigation department' rather than directive and manipulative. The behavior of agriculture department needs to be changed and made more sympathetic and result oriented as aspired by villagers. The bureaucratic attitude of both agriculture and irrigation departments feature indifference and detachment from problems of farming community as they do not interact with farmers for answering their genuine queries. Perhaps, this attitude was asked be changed by respondents, where the farmers may feel as ease to engage themselves into demonstrating the worth of their traditional farming practices to the agriculture scientists to revitalize their farming chores according to current day requirements. Village people are confident that the traditional farming practices are best suited to socio-economic status of small cultivators because of its cost effectiveness therefore they ask the agriculture department to acknowledge their local cultivation practices to ensure participation on behalf of farmers. The contemporary intellectualism at international level after considerable research feedback and practical examples has shifted their tilt in favor of human capital and nations' specific initiatives. Chapter five and six highlighted 'agriculture face' of the village Sacha Soda that largely comprised the farming community that can be termed as 'peasants' as referred by Eric Wolf (see chapter one). Chapter six discussed the traditional practices of small farmers who either did not adopt the modern farming or they reverted to their traditional farming after getting economic

losses due to non-affordability of expensive modern farming techniques or failure in getting access to government subsidized schemes. Their less participation in modern farming is because of many reasons. Few of the important grounds are as under:

1. Their preference towards their traditional practices with which they are at ease;
2. Their non-affordability regarding expensive modern farming methods;
3. Lack of their access to government schemes aimed at subsidizing farmers;
4. Manipulation of government schemes due to involvement of politically influential and wealthy farmers;
5. Their inability to keep using the modern farming due to ever increasing prices of modern farming methods; and,
6. Non-feasibility in using modern farming due to their small landholdings.

This behavior (usually termed as anti-development by the agriculture staff in Sacha Soda) if seen from standpoint of Eric Wolf makes a sense because he thought of peasants as the ones with the primal focus on their subsistence due to which their attitude towards commercial and intensive agriculture is differing from the ones who are wealthy and influential to affords the costs of modern farming. In my view, their traditional setup is the best survival strategy adopted by them that does not pose any potential threats to their current socio-economic status. While securing their typical life standard, they are contended as they cannot take the risk to put their existing life standard after the one that is hard to achieve. In addition, as reinforced by Moore (2009) that peasants do have their survival mechanism that matches their socio-economic status. This is naturally true when examined by understanding the individual preferences of a person or a group of people regarding their choices of adopting a particular profession or choosing a particular subject as a major in studies. Seeing the modern notion on development and its relation with agriculture, it can be apprehended easily that they are producing for their families and small profit margins. The only criticism is because they are not buying the products of Multinational companies (which

of course is loss, from the view of these multinational companies) and are not ready to become a mere beast of burden and robbed of their other socio-cultural activities. In fact, the modern farming has put a pressure on farmers to get indulged in an unending race of competing with fellow farmers. Similarly, the fact is very much known to this class that commercial agriculture is not feasible for them for obvious reasons mentioned below:

1. The damage to soil texture, cropping pattern, health hazards are too obvious which cannot be ignored;
2. The expensive technology can only be afforded by the wealthy and big landlords, so what is the point in making a futile effort;
3. The government's subsidized schemes only benefit politically influential and wealthy, so it is needless to waste the precious time;
4. The black marketing of sprays, good seeds during peak seasons means gambling with futures of families;
5. The small land size reduces the profit-margin ratio due to which modern farming is not practicable;
6. Modern farming increases dependency on cities especially for purchase of seeds and other sprays; and,
7. The shortages of urea and other fertilizers in peak season create double dependency upon the suppliers (double dependency means first going to city for purchase and second in case of supply shortage running after the black marketers who mostly are from the same firm or company).

The village community thinks that 'development' in real sense can only be actualized if done at their local level without bringing more commitments to their life. They also think that development cannot be only in terms of money rather it has to include non-economic aspects like strengthening family's ties, material satisfaction with life, bringing peace and controlling crimes (which are high in rural areas and even not reported in the

police due to mass distrust in police personnel). Village people think that government or the policy makers cannot blame rural people for the national plight as they fail to provide other prerequisites necessary for development. Village people think that they are already developed, whereas the mere sarcasm against rural areas is because city people want us to do their work too. The respondents replied that the big landlords and wealthy farmers have historically been successful in producing a 'surplus' in their agricultural produce due to their big landholdings as well as their status as economically well-off. This surplus was thought to be enhancing the power of these landholders. It was also the surplus that made people depend on them especially during rainy days. Now with the advent of the modern farming, these already powerful landowners easily switched their production to mechanical mode which even raised their financial position within village. The notion of Marxist anthropology proves itself in the social picture of the village that these big landowners managed to reap the benefits of modern agriculture and similarly due to their links with politicians, district bureaucracy and police departments also manipulate the developmental projects that aim to benefit the masses in the area. The works of Moore (cite din chapter one) also testify that capitalistic mode of production is a system which makes a rich person richer and later on even richest. Due to his easy access or what Moore termed as 'control of means of production' by using 'money' (or other similar attractions) or even threats (as in case of Sacha Soda), these influential manifold their hold over the people and localities. In my view, these local powerful thus become a small device of the large body of 'social exploitation' in which the masses remain befuddled. Chapter five and six contain information on small farmers who had to migrate unwillingly to urban centers in search of jobs after becoming unemployed due to farm mechanization. Eric Wolf cited by Moore (cited in chapter one) is right to state that when the capitalist control the mean of production, the results are in favor of them because they thus accumulate wealth (in case of Sacha Soda, 'Power' as well). Similarly, this control also affects the established and traditional labor pattern as it happened in case of rural-urban migration of occupational castes from Sacha Soda to nearest cities. The later on adoption of

'combine harvesters' by the wealthy landowners also led to reorganization of production functions as it was seen in case of 'breaking of traditional *Seipi* system'. The respondents expressed that the powerful and wealthy managed to make millions out of thousands but small farmers like tenants were severely bitten by the modern farming practices.

At times, people were observed saying that 'there is no problem regarding development in Pakistan, if the government and public departments adopt 'good governance' to create job opportunities for people and shunning policies that directly affect the poor and lower middle class of society instead of corruption, nepotism, favoritism, and political discrimination held against non-voters. In this regard, Human Development Report (2010) comments:

Development thinking has changed considerably over time: starting with the idea that capital investment equals growth and development, moving on successively to the role of human capital, the role of markets and policies, the role of institutions and more recently the role of individual and group empowerment and country ownership (UNDP, 2010: 19).

Another connected idea with rural development particularly agriculture is the concept of participation of people in development practices which are according to view of village community is absent in modern farming practices due to the bias showed to them by agriculture staff. Modern farming techniques especially the labor saving technologies like tractors, threshers, and combine harvesters exclude labor from farm to be looking for some other jobs for supporting their livelihoods. These unemployed farmers have to migrate to adjacent urban centers for employment and thus they become unskilled laborers in cities. The current pressing economic crisis faced by the farmers has even worsened the situation for these migrants. The energy crisis has severely stricken industrial sector in cities, due to which these laborers could not find jobs and other resources to support themselves and their families. The ideal agriculture development model in this current state of affairs might be the one that is responsive to

address the growing unemployment issues among the farm laborers as it has been a traditional feature of traditional farming system. The statement below verifies the argument that is based upon views and observations extracted through interactions with farming community of Sacha Soda.

Experience demonstrates that urban centers and commercial agriculture are ill prepared to absorb the vast number of poor people (especially small scale farmers) in the countryside (Bailey, 2000).

According to local community, the participation depends on three phases. First, ensuring 'participation in decision-making' process through which priorities are perceived and prioritized by the local people. This form of participation is not only limited to political behavior rather it also includes execution of all village bound initiatives at village level especially those that concern village's overall welfare like *Chowkidara* (community surveillance), management of *wangar* (communal labor), *Seipi* system (traditional patron-client relationship) and functioning of local *punchayats* (village councils). This participation is also related to local market issues regarding sale and purchase of crops (staple and cash) and good variety of crop seeds.

Second type of participation is 'implementation'. The goal of participation is fulfilled if implementation phase successfully involves engagement of people in all socio-economic activities held in village. In local context, it means that villagers should participate in village related issues in same way as they do in their personal affairs. It also means that they should participate in implementation of their local initiatives. The central idea seems to ensure people's participation that ascertains right of people to express their views and fears overtly and expecting their views be heard with sincerity and gravity. While doing so, they also demand guaranteeing of shunning of initiatives that threaten the social integrity of village people. I gather from their views that village people understand the relation of progress with increased participation. This view was also confirmed when three main developmental projects were launched in village (three of

developmental projects are discussed in detail in chapter 4). Though the projects were largely manipulated by influential people and their group allies but in initial phase the projects witnessed participation on behalf of whole village community.

The third type of participation is 'empowerment' which is aftermath of participation at first two stages. The decisions made by people themselves effectively raise participation in implementing those decisions and later on bestows upon village and thus a community, a sense of empowerment. This empowerment brings hopes and satisfaction to people that they are in-charge of their livelihoods without fears of anything being imposed onto them without their consent. Similarly, manning of all such development bound enterprises are expected to practice their own decisions and also to acquire new skills and attitudes that are in line with their local belief system and practices. UNDP (2010) rectifies this local notion on participation in lines below:

Empowerment is closely associated with participation: the possibility for all people, including poor and marginalized people, to have their voices heard and to participate meaningfully in shaping debates that affect their lives. This notion has broad resonance, especially among civil society (UNDP, 2010: 115).

On other hand, there is a need to understand that rural society in Pakistan is highly diverse. People possess diverse backgrounds as well as economic preferences. The problems faced in rural areas and its development and agriculture is due to the agriculture and rural development policy that severely lacks 'universal approach' that is aimed to include all segments of population in the beneficiaries list. As it is emphasized, that agriculture and rural development policy have historically been products of non-participative and bureaucratic planning therefore most of rural masses never embraced results of development. People never witnessed constructive role of the government in their daily problems and issues related to agriculture, rural infra structure, local level planning and implementation. These services have largely been centralized and monopolized by a group of influential locals having their links with politicians, district

administration including police, staff of development agencies in federal and provincial planning departments. The rural people in majority do not have access to these stakeholders even they cannot dream of having such access to make their voice on board.

It is a reality that majority of the agriculture domain is constituted by small farmers who just live up to their subsistence level. It is unfortunate that modern agriculture and its mechanized techniques do not have space for these small growers. Therefore, in agriculture development process these small farmers have left behind and they feel ignored on behalf of stakeholders involved in agriculture development process. The development staff especially the agriculture research agencies seem ignorant of the grass root needs of these small farmers. All major interventions centralizing agriculture development process are single-handedly promoting mechanized agriculture to be single solution to achieve sustainability. Lefebvre (1992) in this regard says that 'Industrial (modern) agriculture leads to the concentration of wealth and decision-making in a few corporate and individual hands, thus hindering the efficient allocation of resources as prices become controlled through corporate collusion and the prevailing subsidy programs of a few industrialized agricultural exporters' (Lefebvre, 1992).

There is an agreement among farmers that they are not represented in almost all government initiatives regarding agriculture. It is therefore, these farmers are left at their own to make their living out of their traditional system of production. On the other hand, there is a growing agreement at international level to support small scale agriculture because this domain could be a good source of providing employment to rural populations especially a populous country like Pakistan. Devising interventions aimed at welfare of small scale agriculture could thus raise independent living for these farmers. In this connection, Oxfam GB advocates:

Smallholder agriculture provides considerably more employment and food staples in less developed countries than do larger commercial farms (Oxfam GB, 2000).

Moreover, Grinspun, (2003) also contends that:

Small-scale farmers who produce basic grains are critical to the domestic food supply and hence to food security. They contribute to social and biological diversity (through, for example multiple cropping systems) and thus to sustainable development (Grinspun, 2003: 49).

These scholars also see interrelationship of small scale agriculture with sustainability and thus empowerment due to farmers' equitable opportunities and decentralized landownership. Grinspun (2003) advocates that social organization of small-scale farming may promote empowerments and community responsibility through equitable opportunities and decentralized landownership. For both scholars, small scale farming is often the social basis for community organization and for locally based development initiatives, required for rural diversification and other community goals. Ritchie et al., (1999:3) also describe:

Small scale farms are economically more efficient than large scale operations in terms of resource utilization and productivity (for example out per unit area) (Ritchie, et al., 1999).

Spending in small scale agriculture and developing small scale farmers would contribute in controlling the rural-urban migration. It could also help not to overburden the hazards regarding already pressed economic situation in cities. I have already described in chapter six and seven that due to absence of patronage for small scale agriculture, particularly in a situation where government is not playing its role for protecting small farmers due to which these farmers have to move to urban centers in search of jobs. Keeping in view the overall current challenges of economic stagnation of country, the cities are also unable to provide work opportunities and jobs to millions of migrants.

Whereas, recognizing the small scale agriculture would facilitate in controlling this trend and would contribute in providing jobs to these people at their local levels.

Small scale farming and local small scale, value-added enterprises are the only foreseeable alternatives to prevent massive migration from the countryside to peri-urban slums and the consequent social and economic burden this process imposes on underdeveloped countries (Grinspun, 2003: 49).

Therefore, Ricardo Grinspun (2003) has strongly argued that:

Despite its importance, small scale agriculture is seriously endangered by current neo-liberal policies, and the implications for rural poverty, food security, and urban migration are far-reaching (ibid: 49).

On other hand, modern agriculture has put pressure on the farmer community from two ends. The first is from within their own farmers' community to compete. The second is the criticism over small farmers from government and advocates of modern farming blaming the former not complying with national nutritional requirements. Whereas this is a fact, that modern and commercial farming has caught the farmer community into a very expensive nexus of practices that do not simply match their socio-economic problems and at the same time affordable by majority of small scale and subsistence level farmers. Some of them who apply for the agri-credits from *Zarai Tarraqiati*²¹² Bank of Pakistan complain 'red-tapism' in disposal of their applications. Those who go after local money-lenders report that in such case, they are caught in high debts which later on become impossible to be repaid. In this realm of affairs, they feel satisfied with their traditional system of production that doesnot pose threat to farmers for mortgages. Shrybman says that 'industrial agriculture has tied the fate of farmland to that of fossil fuels thus further threatening the sustainability of food production' as well as 'growing health costs from food altered diets based on animal fats and processed foods, and from foods polluted with agro-chemicals.' Furthermore 'monocultures and the increased

²¹² Agricultural Development

reliance on biotechnology also threaten biodiversity' (Shrybman, 1999: 46). Grinspun has made a similar quote that 'agribusiness (modern farming) also create new costs that do not exist in sustainable, small scale agriculture, such as loss of biodiversity' (Grinspun, 2003: 51).

It can be concluded that rural development programs that focus rural restructuring bring forth a situation for small scale farmers to lose power gradually and thus control over their livelihoods and finally their lives. In this scenario, only those survive who manage to manipulate the situation while making lawful as well as unlawful intrigues. The big landowners due to their local influence, stable economic status and political clout remain largely successful to reap benefits from all such modern opportunities. This realm of affairs holds true in case of wealthy and powerful landlords who are major shareholders and benefactors of modern and mechanized farming methods. To sum up, Fox's work is most relevant who revisited 'the Colonial Policy of British Imperialism' and concluded that:

The English destroyed the old Indian feudal landed system, expropriated the old landlords, but far from liberating the peasantry from feudalism, as agrarian revolutions carried through in capitalistic countries have liberated them, or at worst turned them into wage laborers working on a landlord's estate, they bound the Indian peasantry to an even more worse serfdom, at the same time crushing down a great number of the old landlords to the same positions (Fox, 2008: 15-16).

A thorough survey of all previous five years plans gives the impression that the government of Pakistan showed its commitment to develop the rural areas by increasing fiscal investments aimed at the welfare of farming communities especially the small scale farmers in agricultural sector but what the real picture is totally speaking against the commitments. The small farmers in the village stated overtly that:

If government cannot do anything in concrete to solve the farmers' economic problems then at least the government through its functionaries should stop criticizing us for low productivity and stagnant agriculture of the country.

Instead of claims made by the government, the same colonial spirit seems to continue in which rural areas are ignored and just thought to be accepting what is instructed to them and keep paying the taxes. While seeing the statement of small farmers, M. Jackson (2000, discussed in chapter 1) has rightly termed them (subsistence level farmers) 'fourth worlders' who are 'not at home in the nation state' because they face 'social exclusion' at policy level on behalf of government and its development agencies as in words of Rapport and Overing (chapter one). The attitude is exactly the same as reported by Rapport and Overing to narrate that these people are treated as laggards and a 'threat to nation' as they fail to comply with national requirements.

9.4 Rural Development and Indigenous Knowledge

Chapter seven discussed in detail about perception of development that revealed that development meant 'understanding a relationship between *abaadi* and *wasaael*.' For, people believed that sustainable development can be achieved if population is in accordance with available resources (both national and human). They were of the view that without resources, a population cannot sustain longer. The spiritual angle of this relationship was even deeper as it appeared from outlook. People thought to reinvest in their natural resources so that these resources continue to exist for the next generations. Chapter seven discussed that '*Taraqqi* is not a mere set of practices to make best use of resources by the community rather it is composite whole that binds *Basti* (Community), with its *wasaael* in a reciprocal relation that continues to progress due to a benignity.' People of village thought that development is only possible through sustainable reaping of resources instead of its commercial harvest. Similarly, development required community not people in the sense that community has to collectively think in terms of joint pursuits that benefit village community. For doing so, respondents believed that putting a cultural value to resources can best serve to protect both natural and human resources from exploitation and depletion.

The village community of Sacha Soda visualized basic core function of Rural Development which is 'socio-economic development of rural communities'. The Operationalization done by village people to elaborate their perception of development was done in three phases. The first phase in which changes to bring improvements in the economic status are stressed by people. The second phase in which improved economic status further uplifts the social status of people and the final stage where a behavioral change is observed. People in Sacha Soda believed that development is more than a mere 'economic function'. It is also associated with 'social uplift' along with a 'behavioral change.' This behavioral change allows people to accept and attach a spiritual value to 'population' and its 'resources' (both natural and human). Without understanding this relationship between population and its resources, the term 'development' cannot be understood. Failing to inculcate this relationship (of population with its resources) further retards to realize the spiritual value of sustainability of resources. So it is interesting to know that people perceive 'community' as a combination of two parts comprising 'living' (population) and 'non-living' (resources). According to this view, non living part that is 'resources' is an integrated part of community and possesses equal right to exist for the next generations.

The explanation described above is unique in terms of its approach. Local view on development held by people of Sacha Soda brings population in an alignment with its available resources. This view explains that population cannot exist without its resources. This is so because people want to make sure that their available resources exist at village level not only for them but also for their next generations. Respondents think that resources available at village level can only guarantee sustainable survival of 'community' as survival cannot be based upon non local factors. Therefore, development has to be in accordance with in local resources so that chances of its availability are guaranteed. Dr. Mahbub ul Haq after analyzing the development policies

of Pakistan opined that if poor are socially excluded and politically marginalized, no development model will work. Haq suggests that:

Real answer lies in changing the very model of development, from traditional economic growth to human development, where people become the real agents and beneficiaries of economic growth rather than remain an abstract residual of inhuman development process (Haq, 1976: 19).

It is important to understand that 'development' as a term is not something that strictly denotes that meanings of quantitative change or earning of material gains in quantifiable terms rather it has to admit both qualitative as well as quantitative aspects. Unlike early thinking on development in terms of economic progress and growth, development has to really think of more than this, that is, in terms of quality like social and environmental factors as well. A. N. Panda (2009) has also conferred this angle in his approach while deliberating that 'development stands for some qualitative change.' This view has been seconded by A. K. Singh (1994), Bhupinder Singh (1994: 51) and Sudesh Kumar Sharma (1998: 428). These scholars have also added to development's focus to be harnessing natural and human resources in interests of a country's and its citizen's well being. Development is to be connected with well-being of individuals of society as well as overall betterment of whole society to bring about both qualitative and quantitative changes in material and non-material conditions of its members. It is also important that development process especially agriculture responds to social needs of people at grass roots failing to which crimes rates and social unrest is in the offing.

The international erudition focused upon development from various stand points seems to be now understanding and accepting this term 'development' to be carrying facets other than economic. It took almost fifty years to advocates of development to accept 'human face' of development. The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) while initiating its 'human development' approach in 1990s thus opened a discussion among development agents and practitioners (both within governments and non government

organizations) to re-orientate and revisit development and its real focus. Though the non-economic aspects of development have been a part of intellectual debate and discussions over a long period of time but UNDP strived for making this debate public and thus urging governments and civil society organizations to review their development paradigms. In this regard, Human Development Report comments:

Interest in the concept of human development is not new. Nor are the concerns of sustainability. Today's belated return to human development means reclaiming an old and established heritage rather than importing or implanting a new diversion. The roots of the concept of human development can often be traced to early periods in human history and can be found in many cultures and religions. Aristotle wrote that 'wealth is evidently not the good we are seeking, for it is merely useful and for the sake of something else'. A similar strain was reflected in the writings of the early founders of quantitative economics (William Petty, Gregory King, Francois Quesnay, Antoine Lavoisier and Joseph Lagrange) and in the works of the pioneers of political economy (Adam Smith, Robert Malthus, Karl Marx and John Stuart Mill). When Adam Smith, that apostle of free enterprise and private initiative, showed his concern that economic development should enable a person to mix freely with others without being 'ashamed to appear in public', he was expressing a concept of poverty that went beyond counting calories-a concept that integrated the poor into the mainstream of the community (UNDP, 1994: 14).

Sabina Alkire and Séverine Deneulin (2009) further cite Sen who explains 'Human Development Approach' in the following:

One of the central goals of human development is enabling people to become agents in their own lives and in their communities. As Sen argues, in development activities 'the people have to be seen ... as being actively involved – given the opportunity – in shaping their own destiny, and not just as passive recipients of the fruits of cunning development programs' (Sen, 1999: 53).

I found definition of 'human development' more relevant to native views of people in Sacha Soda. As stated in lines above that strict focus on economic ends as being the

prime objective of development was a concern of early development thinking as UNDP states:

Throughout this early period, the concept of development treated income and its growth as a means, and directed attention towards a real concern for people-in their individuality and collectivity, in their commonality and diversity. The central concern of development became the quality of people's lives-what they were capable of doing and what they actually did, the discriminations they faced, the struggles they waged and the expanding choices they enjoyed. And this covered not just economic choices but choices in every field in which they could extend control over their lives. The pursuit of material well-being was one of these choices-but it had not yet become the exclusive obsession (UNDP, 1994: 14).

Similarly, the agenda of development has been concerned with economic means, production functions, Gross National Product (GNP) and Gross Domestic Product (GDP). The social sciences in twentieth century have also been centering its research focus on same grounds as evident from lines below:

Only during the 20th century did the social sciences become increasingly concerned with economics-and economics with wealth rather than with people, with the economy rather than with the society, with the maximization of income rather than with the expansion of opportunities for people. Although the obsession with materialism may be recent, the preoccupation of economists and policy-makers with augmenting 'national treasure', in surplus trade balances, dates back at least to the mercantilists, who preferred to concentrate on material success rather than on the development of human lives. The dominant contemporary tradition of focusing exclusively on such variables as per capita gross national product or national wealth is a continuation-certainly an intensification- of the old opulence-oriented approach. And it is this low road of regarding humanity as an instrument of production-rather than the high road of acknowledging the universality of life claims-that fits well with the reputation of economics as a 'dismal science' (UNDP, 1994: 14).

The development models focalizing on economic indicators usually adopt a 'business approach' towards natural resources that are utilized at free will of nations, societies or

individuals. In same way, another connected issue with sustainable development is the ignorance of governments especially in third world from recognizing the 'informal sector' which could be of vital importance in making the dream of sustainable development a reality. Pakistan as a third world nation presents an example where highly centralized and federalized development planning has failed to represent the real feelings of people. What has been done in the name of development lacked social approval on behalf of people. Moreover, inconsistencies in development initiatives due to instability of governments and frequent shifts regarding focus of development efforts have resulted in crippled development experience. Chapter two discussed the developmental history of country in detail which further builds the case that people (who might have been real beneficiaries) were compelled to accept what was offered to them as development without their consent and true participation. Development was termed as synonymous to what only government-owned-apparatus planned and launched. The results of such bureaucratic styled development had no roots in communities therefore all those developmental efforts are now part of history with no sustainability whatsoever. The uneven and bouncy projects in fact benefitted the influential people at local level while leaving majority of people unattended.

There is a need to understand that development has to be handled, perceived, managed and acted upon by the people as per their needs and local preferences. The government has to acknowledge the local population's needs and should give leverage so that people feel at ease about clearly articulating the same. This is so because people are the real asset of any nation therefore they have to be prioritized instead of non-representative planning done by bureaucracy. A true essence of development was stated by an anchor of TV show²¹³ telecasted on December 15, 2011 that commented:

At Development ladder, Pakistan as a nation is still standing in the year 1958. All main institutions including railways, steel mills, national

²¹³ Talk show 'Cross Fire' was telecasted by Dunya TV hosted by Ms. Mehr Bokhari on December 15, 2011 time: 2000 hrs. URL: <http://dunyanews.tv/>

fertilizer corporation, national highway authority, energy sector (electricity and natural gas), industries, and national airlines have been ruined. Internal peace and security situation have ceased to respond to the national needs. These institutions now present the picture of pre-partition (Extracts from a TV Show).

The human development approach and sustainable rural development (i.e. prime focus of this research chore) are in perfect alignment with each other. Both reinforce each other instead of opposing. In this regard Human Development Reports of (1994 and 2010) accentuate:

There is no tension between human development and sustainable development. Both are based on the universalism of life claims (UNDP, 1994: 19, and UNDP, 2010: 18).

In the following, I would be elaborating native people's view on development as an approach for launching a sustainable process of development which suite small farmers in rural areas. The mentioned below are the ideas that were received from the feedback of the respondents and were verified from them after recording relevant cases from them.

1. Native perspective on *taraqqi* recognizes the importance of people's willingness to participate. It pleads to practice activities according to the way local people prefer and desire. Traditional notion on *taraqqi* calls for organized activities that are related to community members by thoroughly putting people first. It focuses on people and operates while bringing community members together in collective tasks concerning whole of community. Community members also feel at ease while working in their local setups and open to share their views and suggestions for further improvements in products and process of *taraqqi*.
2. The developmental needs are perceived by community itself through effective social participation that results in a more meaningful way to create a sense of

ownership among people. Traditional development paradigm offers people something with which they can relate themselves. The products thus produced are declared as community assets because these are exclusively evolved from people at local levels. Therefore, participation of community members also validates products in terms of its acceptance and social approval.

3. Community of Sacha Soda views that undertaking community actions create an environment to set the goals and directions of development process through social participation and mutual agreement. By putting people owners of their fates can help removing stress from development experts and agencies as well. While doing so, government can play an intermediary role to make it a norm for future development initiatives and policy.
4. Local perception recognizes development as a complex whole instead of just relying on enhancing merely economic scores. Indigenous development practices are in accordance with ethical, social, cultural and environmental facets of development which are properly taken care of. The respondents replied that though their traditional cropping pattern cannot match with modern farming methods as regards crop produce but small farmers cannot bear financial liabilities of modern farming. Similarly, traditional life mode is less formal and complicated due to which their life is freer to value their relations and friends for providing strength to their human relations.
5. Indigenous development practices rely upon the local resources (human and natural) whose supply is ensured within village or nearby areas due to which their practices longed for centuries. Therefore, traditional villages were independent regarding their agriculture and livelihoods. By its very nature, IK is unique to the place where it is evolved therefore it is natural that Indigenous practices are rooted in the local culture. Similarly, Indigenous methods are also

dependent upon the consumption of resources from within the society which is indispensably a feature of sustainability.

6. Indigenous development requires management of development activities under the local leadership. The local leadership is crucial for administration of matters of collective importance. People having faith in their own leaders can best be convinced to get together for a collective cause. It is so because the local leadership resides within the vicinity. Community believes that due to leaders' own interests, they cannot allow something that is not suitable for lives. Similarly, village people believe that their local leaders can easily be accessed. People can approach them whenever they need to do so. It is unlike the officials in district or provincial headquarters where these officials are difficult to come in direct contact with local people. One direct observation provided validity to this finding when a villager was noticed, when he was trying to meet district head of health department to report the discriminatory behavior of health personnel in tehsil hospital.
7. The village people think that development can only be sustained if the recipients are consulted at each step of planning and implementation of development initiatives. If done so, a sense of ownership can be ensured that will be of great help for sustaining the impact within community for longer periods of time.
8. A proper understanding of local people is required to gauge their preferences. It can simply be done, if external development staff and practitioners build a nexus of professional networking with local communities. This could also be helpful in order to understand local setup and possible barriers that could impede the way to commence any development work at village level.

People in Sacha Soda view that since independence development paradigm's unevenness has aggravated the prevailing discontent among marginalized subsistence level farmers as also rectified by Government of India (2008: 8). This is so because the development paradigm as conceived by the policy makers has always been imposed on them. The development initiatives like ARP, SSTP, WMP and especially 'Devolution of Power' remained insensitive to local needs and concerns causing social unrest and indifference among rural communities. These development efforts only benefitted wealthy and powerful person and their factions. The economic depression among the small scale farmers is thus causing a 'fertile' ground for rise of mass level lawlessness.

In this connection, public-private partnership can be of many practical solutions to create a winning combination in order to effectively involve local communities into development process. This is a fact that, politically and economically instable government along with its state-guided apparatus cannot address the diverse needs of people living in rural areas. It is therefore, imperative to involve local communities in planning and administration of change for sustainable rural development. It would be a realistic thinking on behalf of federal and provincial governments to really launch decentralization in which rural inhabitants are reflected through democratic and true representatives of rural population. Dalal-Clayton, David Dent, and Olivier Dubois (2003) possess same views:

The loads that governments impose on themselves in attempting to plan, implement and administer land use soon exceed their administrative and logistic capabilities, and outstrip both the abilities of their professionals to supply natural resources information and their own capacity (Dalal-Clayton, Dent, & Dubois, 2003: 89).

The lack of participatory planning and implementation make recipient populations vulnerable in the sense that they become mere recipients without having cushion to object or comment on the process or the nature of interventions being offered to them. They are thus underrepresented in decisions that solely concern their daily lives. In

addition, they are also bypassed by local influential persons who seize their way to express their views. The development agencies and its staff do not seem to be listening and paying heed to the view of this underrepresented small scale farmer class. They thus are made stranger and aliens while in their own vicinities.

The supposed beneficiaries of development have little opportunity to articulate their needs in terms of development, technology or information. Nor do they have the opportunity to contribute their own local knowledge (ibid, 2003: 89).

Many development agencies' contribution that proclaims sensitivity toward working with local community through local consultative process is not more than a mere verbal statement. Such projects that serve a mere lip-service towards the locals are hard to sustain its result especially after cessation of those projects²¹⁴. There are successful examples that ensured that governments have taken it upon themselves to manage top-down systems of control that are insufficient, vulnerable to corruption, and local examples of successful development based on participation of the local community (For example: Dalal-Clayton and Dent, 1993; Guijit and Hinchcliffe, 1998; Kievelitz, 1995; Pretty et al. 1995; Harding et el. 1996). The strategies for sustainable development set by Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development's (OECD) Development Assistance Committee (DAC) are in this regard important for considering any sustainable development initiative that should feature:

People centered approach; comprehensive and integrated approach; country led and nationally owned; high level government commitment and influential lead institutions; effective participation; comprehensive and reliable data; linking national and local levels; consensus on long term vision; building on existing processes and strategies; develop and build on existing capacity; targeted with clear budgetary priorities and incorporate monitoring, and learning and improvements (OECD-DAC, 2001).

²¹⁴ Example of scholastic works done by Bunch (1983), Reij (1988), Pretty and Shah (1994), Kerr (1994), Pretty (1995), Guijit (1991), and Narayan (1993) are worth quoting.

In addition, there are many examples²¹⁵ where community level involvement have been advocated and promoted in order to plead for suitability and viability of prioritizing sustainable development through community led initiatives. Having contending for 'community coming first' does not mean that government or other relevant development agencies have got nothing to say in these development initiatives. Rather the point to be made clear is that, all development innovations must be done in joint collaborative efforts undertaken mutually by government and its development agencies as well as the community. As in Sacha Soda, local influential groups are found to dislike all those projects that deal with the potential beneficiaries directly without having their stakes in them. It is therefore reported that such community-based-initiatives are largely discouraged by these vested interest groups.

The newly independent Pakistani establishment maintained the colonial status quo and thus indigenous knowledge based institutions and practices in agriculture, development and political affairs were not restored. These indigenous practices were instead termed as 'obsolete traditional practices'. The early development focused literature produced in Pakistan, especially, the five years developmental plans were repleted with such expressions and comments that looked down on indigenous knowledge based practices (quotations of Rabbani (2006) and Bhatti (2007) already discussed in chapter one). The then establishment was trained in colonial era [for reference, please see in chapter one: Talbani (2010), Eisenstadt's view cited by Talbani, Tarar (2010), Derrida cited by Tarrar, and Rahman (2010)] proved to be carriers of colonial mind and reflected same in

²¹⁵ Some of the important examples are as under:

1. *Agencies working on Sustainable Development*: UNEP, The World Bank, UNDP, OECD, UN Division for Sustainable Development (DSD), Dow Jones Sustainability Group, World Resources Institute;
2. *Countries*: USA, Finland, UK; and,
3. *Counties, Municipal, Local Area and Community-based*: Lancashire County Council, UK; City of San Jose, California; Hamilton-Wentworth, Ontario, Canada; Sunrift Center for Sustainable Communities, Minnesota, USA; Sustainable St. Louis, USA; Integrative Strategies Forum, Washington DC, USA; Sustainable Northern Ireland Program, Northern Ireland.

development planning of country. The developmental work initially envisaged by American advisory group namely HAG was conducted with American aid which eventually made the policy makers totally dependent on foreign intellectualism as well as financial resources [also see Ashish Nandy's statement referred by Lieten (2004) cited in chapter one] confirming that early development thinking was very much inspired by ideas from West that were given preference over indigenous intellectuals and set of practices.

Another problem regarding early effort for development of Pakistan portrayed that development was strictly equated with 'economic growth' and rapid 'industrialization' of the country under the faith that the same shall be instrumental in raising the GNP and GDP. Similarly, the capitalistic mode of production also captured the agriculture domain of Pakistan under the slogan of 'green revolution' while promising high yields per acre through crop intensification, mono-cropping, high percentage of pesticides, weedicides, fungicides, and inorganic and synthetic fertilisers that made agriculture totally beneficial for the wealthy and big landlords. The small cultivators and growers especially the subsistence level farmers were ousted in deliberate attempt of making agriculture shift from traditional mode to capitalistic mode. This attempt of rapid mechanization made by the government counter-acted because of the economic issues and problems that prevailed among the farmers due to which majority did not adopt the new technologies. Even in case of those who tried to adopt could not keep their pace with the challenges of mechanized agriculture due to the hold of wealthy and influential landlords, heads of power factions, manipulation of power groups in government subsidized interventions, rise of middlemen in local markets (details already have been described in chapter 6). The same preference over 'traditional development paradigm' is still advocated by high-ups in planning sector in Pakistan (see, the newly published works of Mr. Naqvi, 2010²¹⁶). These development biases could have easily be dealt by

²¹⁶ Mr. Naqvi holds a PhD from Harvard University in 1966. He has been involved with policy-making in Pakistan. He was chairman of the Strategy Committee for Pakistan's eight five year plan. The referred

applying the 'cultural relativism' approach. Even the need for applying this approach stands still. The development experience of both the country and village Sacha Soda speak of same story in which policy makers at national level and development projects' official and practitioners thought about 'local preferences' of people at grass roots. This obligation of society to look after the psychological needs of people was rightly pleaded by renowned British anthropologist Malinowski. The situation on ground reveals an opposite situation where one group in society (powerful and resourceful) is devising for the other group (local and rural people) without knowing or trying to know about needs and desire for change among the folks. Similarly, involving people in development process like in cases of ARP, SSTP and WMP projects in Sacha Soda with making an equal distribution of projects' offerings to people resulted in failure of three of interventions at village level. In stead of bringing fruitful results for general public of village, these projects became means of increasing hegemonic control over village people on behalf of the power groups of the village. The project staff who thought that 'people do not know what is best for them' was because of their preconcieved ideas of 'fatalism' and 'conservatism' about village population in the same way as Lieten (2004) termed 'development' as 'an institutionalized way of exercising power that is meant to destroy local knowledge and autonomy' (see chapter one). This is what 'colonization of minds' as mentioned by Lieten is all about. Lieten rightly observes that 'identifying the interests of people and communities is looked over in postmodernist theory most often in 'development-aid' practice.

9.5 Indigenous Political Institution and Indigenous Knowledge

The succeeding discussion in this section will throw light over the damage casted to the indigenous society of Undivided India due to colonial rule. Nicholas B. Dirks (2004) prepared a background paper for Human Development Report in 2004 for United

works is a result of his recent research done in collaboration with Higher Education Commission of Pakistan.

Nations Development Program (UNDP) to throw light on the colonial and post colonial histories that defined colonization as:

Colonialism is a general term signifying domination and hegemony, classically in the form of political rule and economic control on the part of a European state over territories and peoples outside Europe (Dirks, 2004: 2).

Globalization is Colonization by a new name. Whereas in past, powerful countries invaded territories and dispossessed people of their resources by brute force; in the present, international lending agencies pressure poor countries to open their markets to foreign competition. Whereas in the past, raw materials and slave labor were extracted from colonies, nowadays economic empires expect the poor to buy their products (Korten, 1995). In many instances, as in the case of Haiti (Aristide, 2000), countries became poor precisely because of a history of colonization, oppression, and dependency (Korten, 1995). Forceful contact with colonizers not only depleted environmental resources but also tarnished social traditions of native groups. In the case of Indigenous Australians this resulted in economic deprivation, psychosocial problems and health outcomes comparable to so-called third world countries (Dudgeon, Garvey, & Pickett, 2000). In all cases, power inequality is at the heart of poverty. Gender inequality, discrimination against disabled people, economic bondage; they all reflect the distinct domination of powerful or culturally privileged people over weaker but not indefensible people. Malik (1966) says it was in the interest of the newly established government to remain influential over the rural subjects for a more controlled population in newly born Pakistan. He describes that:

After the British left the sub-continent, an independent Pakistani nation failed to smash the inherited pattern of colonial administration. If anything, the district officer began to acquire even greater power in the new nation. Each new government program was placed in the hands of the district officer for implementation. From the rehabilitation of refugees to census taking the district officer of newly independent Pakistan became the British Colonial officer incarnate (Malik, 1966).

The historical facts backed by evidences prove that the indigenous structure of politics, land tenure, revenue, and agriculture was severely damaged by colonial power and reign. Like all major institutions, political institutions and its indigenous apparatus were deshaped and blemished to benefit colonial interests. After winning independence, the status quo was maintained by major stakeholders that were military, civil bureaucracy and rural elites to multiply their vested interests. In doing so instead of erecting country's development on independent lines, the state was made a client state of USA by totally ignoring indigenous paradigms of agriculture, political leadership and development practices. In same connection, Talbot said 'the autocratic traditions attendant on the early period of British rule thus persisted within them well beyond the high noon of Empire (Talbot, 1990: 55). Similarly, Lubna Saif states:

The provinces forming Pakistan inherited a tradition of bureaucratic authoritarianism. The hallmarks of this tradition were paternalism, wide discretionary powers, personalization of authority and the supremacy of executive over representative institutions. Political institutions were deliberately kept weak to patronage the local rural elite. This not only retarded political institutionalization, but also placed insurmountable deterrents in the way of future socio-economic reforms, by creating a structure for dominant, feudal and political interests (Saif, 2010: xvii-xviii).

Historically, more than 80 percent of the population of the Punjab was engaged in agriculture. 'There was a relatively high level of urbanization in Mughal India. Cities emerged as important trading and manufacturing centers, but suffered a major reverse in the Punjab, following the decline of Mughal rule, especially under its successor Sikh state' (Habib, 1984: 434-51). 'This process was completed in the British period, when towns lost their status as commerical and cultural centres, and the focus of the state shifted to the rural Punjab, particularly the arid, western parts of the Punjab, which became the main recruiting region for the British Indian Army. Agricultural Colonization of western Punjab was linked to the recruitment of the Indian Army in the aftermath of the 1857 Revolt' (Saif, 2010: 11). It was therefore the agriculture sector was deliberately

kept underdeveloped because of putting a pressure over Punjab's population to look for alternative sources of livelihoods.

Before colonial establishment in the Punjab, the traditional agriculture sector comprised 'two types of *zamindars*' (Hassan, 1969: 17-31). Those two types were intermediary *zamindars* and primary *zamindars*. Intermediary type was responsible for the collection of taxes and possessed a right to certain share of the produce of land which they did not cultivate themselves. On other hand, primary type was comprised of peasants of *zamindari* and *raiyyati* village who had proprietary rights to cultivate the land themselves or with the help of hired labor (Moudie, 1908: 58). 'In Punjab, *zamindari* and *raiyyati* villages were more familiar, and the class of autonomous chieftains found in other Mughal provinces was absent. In *Zamindari* villages, *zamindars* were responsible for collection of revenue, while in *raiyyati* villages, the peasant community enjoyed a relative degree of autonomy from the *zamindar*' (Alavi, 1980: 367-368). The revenue was collected by *muqaddams* (the village headman) and according to Gardezi '*muqaddam* was a more permanent figure in the social structure of the village...he often cultivated his own land and was directly responsible for the collection of the revenue from the villagers' (1983: 24). Moudie (1908: 61) acknowledged that '*raiyyati* villages were coparcenaries, the lands and wells being divided amongst cultivators, who enjoyed hereditary occupancy rights and paid the revenue themselves, counted as primary *zamindars*'. Saif adds that 'during the Sikh rule and its successor, the British Raj, the *muqaddam* was replaced by the *chauhuary* and the *lambardar*; though *functionary* remained the same, the new structural changes completely altered its function, particularly during the British Raj, when the *lambardar* – a paid local agent of the Raj – replaced the traditional institutions of the 'headman' (Saif, 2010: 12). In this regard, the 'Land Administrative Manual' prepared by J. M. Moudie (1908) an early British administrator states:

The affairs of the brotherhood were formally managed by an informal village council or punchayat. But this body was too numerous and loosely constructed to fittingly represent the community in its dealings with the government officials. A few of its leading members were, therefore, selected as headman or lambardars, and the appointment of headmen naturally came to be confined to particular families. From a revenue point of view the most important function of the headmen is to collect the revenue from the coparceners and pay it into the treasury. The social position assigned to the lambardars and the action of our courts stripped the punchayat of its influence, and practically it has ceased to exist (Moudie, 1908: 62).

The government of India conducted a census in 1921 which revealed that 55 percent of the population comprised Muslims who were mainly settled in the north-western dry areas, consisting of the arid and marginal zones. It was because of backward economy of Muslim Punjab that the Western Punjab (Pakistan) was compelled to act as 'Sword Arm of the Raj'. As reinforced by Ali in lines below:

Agricultural colonization of the western Punjab, which was considered by the British administrators as their proud achievement, aimed at the transformation of a backward economy into a more developed one, turned out to be a classic case of 'colonial development', rather underdevelopment (Ali, 1988: 237-344).

Saif says that 'agricultural colonization linked to the recruitment of the Indian Army, brought rapid and extensive economic growth at the cost of underdevelopment of the province. Consequently, the Punjab underwent a dramatic change, and took a shape, which was essential for the promotion of colonial capitalism. Colonial capitalism completely distorted the pre-colonial structures and introduced the worst kind of feudalism in the disguise of agricultural reforms and economic development (Saif, 2010: 15-16). Mustafa Kamal Pasha explains that Punjab's rise as the 'Sword Arm of the British Raj' and 'colonial capitalism are inseparable. The character of economic structure developed under colonial capitalism in India, including in the Punjab, has three features. First, 'the institution of private property in land'. Second, 'the growth of merchant capital in Punjab'. And third, 'the establishment of a cash nexus as the primary form of

surplus extraction by the colonial state' (Pasha, 1998: 108). Talbot expressed that 'this economic structure resulted in marginalization of the peasantry and concentration of land in a few hands which ultimately pushed the peasants into the colonial army' (Talbot, 1988: 41). It is therefore 'subordinating development goals to its political and military imperatives, the colonial state promoted the social elite, members of which became the major beneficiaries of the agricultural colonization (Ali, 1988: 237-239).

The cooperation between the large landowners and British colonial administration (backed by the British Raj) comprised a class of local chiefs who served the colonial interests received rewards in shape of big tracts of lands (gifted by the British administration) in an acknowledgement of the duties and services provided to colonial rulers.

Colonial administrative policies in the 1860s and early 1870s generated this class of Punjabi chieftains, which not only dominated the political and economic life of the province in the years of Raj, but also continued to play the most important role in the creation of the post-colonial state of Pakistan (Saif, 2010: 23).

The on-purpose demolition of traditional leadership from the Punjab by the British created a vacuum at local villages' level which was filled in by the British Raj by creating the tribal leader (caste) through 'tribal social organization' in which tribes became the basis of authority as also agreed by David Gilmartin in his work on 'Empire and Islam' (Gilmartin, 1988: 18). This newly established landed aristocracy based upon the tribal organization supported by British rule became a vehicle of extending British goals in Punjab. David Page opined that 'the government of Punjab very heavily relied on this landowning class' as regarded their vest interests of military objectives. The relationship between British administration and the newly established landed leadership served two main purposes of 'first, administrative and second, military' (Page, 1987: 49).

Most of the British administration traced this development to the turbulent history of the Punjab, and claimed that Indian Army was built on

the 'military prowess' and martial values of the people of the Punjab (Macmunn, 1979).

Ian Talbot observed the influence of this purposeful fabrication done under British rule as a disaster that even threatened the nourishment of democratic values ever after the creation of Pakistan. He notes that:

The strongest alliance between the colonial state and the leading landowners existed in Punjab bastion. The long term influence of the British reliance on the collaboration of local rural intermediaries not only jeopardized the achievement of Pakistan but also threatened its post-colonial democratic development (Talbot, 1990: 61).

9.5.1 Social Organization of Indigenous Political Institution

My exclusive paper titled 'Power Brokers in a Punjabi Village: A Case Study of Power Manifestation' (2010)²¹⁷ discusses in detail about the social organization of indigenous political institution that comprises:

1. *Punchayat* (inter villages' council) or *Parya* (intra village council) in settling respective matters.
2. *Keth* (lineage and intra caste Council) to deal with extended families and caste issues.
3. *Dhara* (political faction) for electoral process.

The post-colonial state of affairs prove that the indigenous political institution of *Punchayat* that has also been maintained by Mughal emperors was dynamic local body institution that operated to supervise and monitor the grass root and local level affairs

²¹⁷ This article was published in Pakistan Journal of History and Culture July-Dec 2010, No.2, Vol: XXXI. The Journal is regularly published by National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research (Centre of Excellence), Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, Pakistan. Website: www.nihcr.edu.pk

without its dependence over the then urban centers or seat of power in provinces or capital of Delhi. *Punchayat* is mainly the apex organization to manage political, social, economic and developmental affairs. It operates as a inter-villages' council. Similarly, *parya* is functional to look into the village level affairs and arbitrates among various castes living in same village. And, finally *keth* that is to give its verdicts in issues related to extended families and issues among the same caste people within the village. In this sense, *Dhara* is basically a gathering of people for electoral objectives.

The most damaging effect of colonialism was the purposeful disablement of local political institution that created a gulf due to which the local leadership was undermined. The local population lost its voice and thus rights to express and differ. The local political institution of *punchayat* and *muqaddams* (the village headman) became ineffective to represent the village at higher tiers of indigenous political system. As it is stated earlier that, colonial rule replaced the indigenous leadership of *muqaddams* with the *chaudhary* and the *lambardars*²¹⁸. This new set up was merely serving interests of British raj instead of providing local leadership to rural populations.

Rather a new phenomenon happened due to the high influx of migration during partition which rose another dichotomy of *muqami* (local) and *mohajir* (immigrant) or *abaadkar* (settler). This dichotomy also created rift in rural population which was not even addressed by the establishment of newly born Pakistan. This dichotomy created crisis of identity among people who were already divided in various ethnic groups and adhere to various religious sects witnessed another line of division created by *muqami-mohajir* dichotomy. This element added a new dimension conflict in social life of rural Punjab. The institution of traditional leadership was withered away and replaced by newly form of leadership that was more like a middleman. This new form was not independent as it was in case of traditional leadership. The new form centered on enhancing numerical strength and getting benefits for the members of respective

²¹⁸ The terms of *Numberdar* and *Lambardar* are synonymous in local Punjabi language

interest groups. This phenomenon was deepened during the 'Basic Democracies' introduced by Ayub Khan. The traditional institution transcended into a purposeful manipulative organization of people trying to take a lead in winning the number game and power play.

In such situation, the revival of indigenous political institution can be helpful in creating harmony among various basis of diversities within Punjab. Though, this indigenous institution is operational at masses level but the argument is that it could have been of great benefits in reducing conflicts and doubts among people especially the post-independence development of *muqami-mohajir* dichotomy. The lack of same, resulted in more devastating manner of rise of power-brokers called *deraydars* who were not traditional leaders rather they just filled in the gap that was created due to the absence of traditional leadership. A leader in a typical Punjabi village is not a mere political figure rather he is more than that. He performs in various social events like social, economic, religious, and cultural activities. On the other hand, *deraydar* turned out to be an influential person with political interests. The *deraydar* only operated as a middleman between the state owned apparatus, politicians and the masses. This new power-broker at local level intended to raise his influence as much as he could to strengthen his negotiating status with politicians and other provincial and district offices in order to win favor for him and his group allies. This trend was supported by his most often unlawful manipulation of resources like snatching lands from opponents, encroaching government owned lands, communal lands and unclaimed lands, intriguing of developmental work held at local levels, messing up with opponents in legal pursuits and court procedures. This *deraydar* also used his traditional *dera* (a feature of Punjabi culture) to provide a space for assemblage to his group allies in order to show his power to his opponents and laymen in village and adjacent villages to show his influence to political parties and politicians.

This is not to say that traditional political institution totally lost its importance rather it still exists informally and is of social value for the village to date. As discussed earlier in chapter 8, people still have reverence and trust in their local *punchayati* system which is a democratic body of providing justice to aggrieved parties as well as other events concerning social-economic importance. Chapter 8 discussed in detail the functions performed by various tiers of local *punchayati* system that includes *punchayat*, *pariya* and *keth*. Having discussed features of this local and indigenous institution in previous chapter, and keeping in view failure of three major experiments regarding local government, it can be concluded that people at local levels would appreciate the revival of their traditional system of self-government through their indigenous institutions.

The village possessed a cultural structure of leadership which was totally different from urban life. Decisions were made according to their local social, economic and political problems in *Deraydar*. There were different views about *Deras* in village which were mostly as a primary institution in the land, animal, water and family disputes. Generally in Pakistan, formal *Deraydari* system does not exist but it is still operational existing in local communities and areas. About the traditional view of *Deraydari*, elder people of the village reported that it was a very old traditional institution, which was descending from their forefathers. Whenever people had a problem they approached their *deraydar* (a socially respectful person from upper quartile) traditionally took care of matters. The *deraydar* was a traditional leader as indicated by Menon (2008) cited in Bhargava and Acharya's edited works (2008) have commented that 'traditional authority exists because of historical and cultural reasons.' It was just like an assembly in which people participated in discussion on problems and attempts to resolve the same. Respondents told in old days when somebody was called a *deraydar* that meant a person with ample social approval. The traditional *deraydar* was a person upon whom people had their trust and belief that he would help them in time of need and protect them from police or other form of exploitation. This person was traditionally respected and possessed worth of making decisions and the people loved to honor the decisions.

The traditional leadership required the leaders to be generous and democratic in nature. The leaders usually had big land holdings but they were not feudal. They usually ran the *dera* as a common place for village people who used to come and socialize there. The *dera* itself demanded economic resources for its continuous running and maintenance therefore only the economically well off land managed to run the same. The traditional leader was usually educated and having access to the out world was believed to be guiding the others in case if they required. In older times the literacy was not common among the people therefore, in those circumstances mentioned above, there was a need for a person having know how of learning and being capable of guiding lay men in village and in their daily chores. Similarly, the same person was supposed to be knowledgeable in order to understand legal procedures of the courts, *Patwar* (office of land clerk), *Thana* (police station), etc. Interestingly, the role of such person was advisory not a dictator telling style. The villagers were confident to nominate him as their spokesman in matters of collective importance. The same person's *dera* was the available for the people in case during ceremonies, if large number of guests would have arrived. The place was open on behalf of the *deraydar* for the guests who were treated as the village guest.

The traditional respect of *deraydar* was deeply embedded because he was supposed to negotiate with the police to save the villagers from the threats, often consolidating the village consultations, acting as mediator in the village feuds between or among the muddling parties, etc. It was since the British rule when the traditional leaders were replaced and new setup was used for the sake of increasing the control over the masses. This resulted in lowered social respect for colonial representatives at villages' level. More interestingly Lyon (2002) in his doctoral thesis observed and noted that:

I often wondered why anyone would be willing to work for a rural landlord. In general they do not pay generously. They can be remarkably demanding of other people's time. They frequently use harsh and

insulting language. I understood why the Afghan migrants might want any opportunity for a chance to earn some food but I could not understand why villagers continue to provide *corvée* labour for landlords, nor why anyone would willingly accept to be a home servant for a rural landlord. The liaising that landlords do between villagers and the state seemed an important but inadequate explanation. Surely other employers might also be persuaded to carry out these functions. I had seen in Lahore employers who protected their servants from the police and who helped them make sense of legal documents, so I knew that these services might be provided elsewhere. When I discovered that landlords were significantly subsidizing villagers' food supplies, in many cases in exchange for what amounted to a few weeks labor, I began to understand a little better (Lyon, 2002).

The modern dynamics of *deraydari* is totally different, new generation is unaware of this cultural institution whereas most of the youngsters did not know real utility of *deraydar*. They just think that he is somebody with a traditional acceptance due to his position to settle down the problems in village. The main reason of this ignorance is that they did not have any experience of dealing directly with him. Some of them even reported that they would prefer to go in police station as compared to *deraydar*. The current form of *deraydari* that exists in village is not the one people used to know and respect. Respondents insisted that new form of *deraydari* system is new to the cultural norms because new *deraydars* exploit people when they approach *deraydars* regarding their problems. Their role is more like a power broker or a middleman between national and provincial level politician to win votes and social acceptance for them.

According to the modern view on power, a *dera* owner should have the obtrusive power to impose his decision upon people as Menon (2008) has stressed while discussing the model of Robert Dahl²¹⁹ (1956). The *deraydars* expected more from the people under their influence and returned them less. The newly emerged system was based on political basis in which support is extended to the contestants of the national or

²¹⁹ According to Robert Dahl – A has power over B to the extent that A can get B to do something which B would not otherwise do. This definition involves two aspects of power; (a) power is an attribute of individual which is exercised over other individuals, and (b) power is domination over others, that is, power is used to make others do what one wants, against their own will.

provincial level politicians and in return support and other benefits are claimed. It was also the power and social influence of these newly emerged power brokers that made people join their groups. The people expected favors in response to their support to these power holders. The failure of public offices to respond to social needs of village population created a vacuum which was filled by these brokers. The small farmers were sure to get help in jobs, education, health issues, whereas *kammi* were in the hope of getting direct employment from these power brokers due to which small scale farmers as well as the occupational group had to provide their support to these influential persons in village. In referring to the Marxist orientation on exploitation Menon (2008) states:

In any society in which technological advancements have made possible the production of a surplus-when more is produced than the minimum need for survival of the population-this surplus is appropriate by or taken over by one section of the population. Exploitation occurs when the surplus produced by one section of the population is controlled by another section (Menon, 2008: 151).

I talked about manifestation of power effectuated the power holders in village through a number of means including links with provincial bureaucracy, district offices especially police, and politicians of district, provincial and national levels. Important thing that was observed during study that people were supporting these powerholders due to inevitable status for all power-authority nexus from district to national levels. It was because of absence of any support structure that is effective enough to address social needs of village people. This fact is also well known and understood by these powerholders as well. Therefore, they also use their status of being middlemen service-providers. Menon (2008) talked about orientation of Talcott Parsons who thought of political power analogue of money in economic systems. He elaborates:

This is to say, he thought of power as something that circulates in society the way money does. In this sense, just as the possession of money enables the capacity to secure economic goods and services, so the possession of power enables the capacity to secure the performance of

political obligations. Just as money circulates, so does power (Menon, 2008: 150).

To be influential in Sacha Soda, certain prerequisites were essential that included: Firstly, a potential leader should be having big land. It made no difference that how the person had achieved that land. Secondly, he should be a *deraydar* which means that he should have an open *Baithak* or *Dera* where people gather to discuss different matters of village life. Other people come to visit *Deraydar* to ask for helping various matters and problems. Thirdly, important thing was the links which a '*Deraydar*' was having with politicians of all levels, district and tehsil level administration, district and provincial bureaucracy and police department. This thing makes people believe that their *deraydar* is influential and possesses guts to benefit people who join his *Dera*.

This influence was further strengthened by the number of *Gundas* (bandits) being employed by a *deraydar* for casting terror in the minds of people in general and opponents in particular. Out of these armed guards, few of them always accompany the *deraydar*. Some of them always remain in the latent side. In return, these *Gundas* are given protection on part of their *deraydar* from police. Each *deraydar* eventually develops his pressure group in village and tries to make village people join his group on mostly caste basis and also by obliging people by providing help in their problems like water theft, crop damage by opponents, cases in police stations and litigations. As agreed by Jeff Vail:

Every entity, every pattern of power-relationships, demonstrates dependence on some type of resource for survival, maintenance and reproduction. The self-replicating nature of most such entities creates a dynamic environment of competition for scarce resources (Vail, 2004)

A *deraydar* is considered to be more influential in terms of having more *Taluks* (links) with the institutions mentioned. He thus becomes more important and establishes his '*Say*' (social worth) in the area. On other hand, these *deraydars* during elections provide support to their candidates in the constituency. The success of contesting candidate is a

source of their political strength in village. This also bestows onto them benefits on behalf of their client candidate. It is basically the crucial importance of these *deraydars* in elections and related matters due to which their position brings them in a bargaining position with these politicians. More influence a *deraydar* enjoys, more powerful he would be. For politicians, these are important as they provide numerical support during election season. Due to the vested social and political reasons, these politicians always encourage these local power holders. Kondo (1990) stated in her 'ethnography of the crafting of identity in Japan' that 'power is 'creative, coercive, and coextensive with meaning.'

In a response to revitalizing the traditional political institution of *punchayat*, village community speaks loud and clear that 'government have ignored us'. They say that people are only to cast votes for these politicians. Once they do it, these politicians forget the people and their problems until their next turn. The real leadership can only be revitalized through a revival of traditional *punchayati* system. Leadership is a trait as enunciated by many theorists and psychologists. An effective leader is said to be group focused and concerned with fulfillments of needs of members of the group. Since this leadership is labeled with meeting personal ends and goals, the role of a village power holder as leader is usually corrupted. While considering 'authority', Weber referred by Ritzer (1996) foregrounds various styles including *rational*, *traditional*, and *charismatic*. Weber's wording reveals that 'traditional authority is based on a claim by the leaders, and a belief on the part of the followers, that there is virtue in the sanctity of age-old rules and powers. The leader in such a system is not a superior but a personal master.' Reber (1985) defines Social Power²²⁰ as '*degree of control that a person or a group has over other person or groups.*' Schaefer (1983, 1998) refers to Weber who states power

²²⁰ *On Power*: Mills (1956), Fogelson & Adams (1977), Rao (2011), Delaney (2005), Marger (2002), Healey (1995), Cyrus (2000), Hughes, Kroehler, & Vander Zanden (2002), Neubeck & Glasberg (1996), Shepard & Greene (2001), Schaefer & Lamm (1998), Ritzer (1996), Menon in Bhargava & Acharya (2008), Vail (2004), Goulet & Miller (2007), Haas (1990), Robarchek & Robarchak (1998), Henslin (1995), Khan, Khan, & Akhtar (2007), and Niaz (2010).

as 'the ability to exercise one's will over others.' The Social Science Encyclopedia edited by Kuper and Kuper (1989) states that during 1950s discussions of power were dominated by the conflicting perspectives offered by 'power elite' theories. This perspective is also endorsed by Mills (1956). Weber (1978) refers to the tactics of power elites who uses power as mean of domination.

Power, in my view, is the main axis around which oppression and exploitation revolves. Power is multifaceted and ubiquitous. There is physical and psychological power, the scholastic survey on power issues unfolds that power can be of diverse and multifaceted dimensions. For example power could be economic, religious, political, and spiritual. Similarly, power relationship could be between two individuals, between two groups, two nations, among cultures, etc. Given its cardinal role in social life and social problems, I wanted to propose a working definition of power that I developed with Prilleltensky and Geoff Nelson.

Power refers to the capacity and opportunity to fulfill or obstruct personal, relational, or collective needs. We distinguish among power to strive for wellness, power to oppress, and power to resist oppression and strive for liberation. In each instance, the exercise of power can apply to self, others, and collectives; and can reflect varying degrees of awareness with respect to the impact of one's actions (Prilleltensky & Nelson).

They further opine that:

The exercise of power varies not only across contexts, but also across time. Within a particular setting or relationship, people may occupy different roles at different times, making the exercise of power a very dynamic process (ibid).

Anthropology when studies culture and human interactions becomes especially interested to study power relationship. In the same way, economic anthropology studies patron-client relationship in which power relations are of importance. Fogelson and

Adams (1977) have also commented on the relevance and appropriateness of anthropology studying power factors.

Power has been thought of by anthropologists as human influence and agency, and even as – reflecting various worldviews – situated outside humanity (Fogelson & Adams, 1977).

C. Wright Mills (1956) argued influentially that:

Social stratification and hierarchy are forcefully maintained by the ‘power elite’, those who, between themselves, mobilize the power to transcend ‘ordinary’ social environments and make decisions that pertain to the lives of people (Mills, 1956)

Somehow related concept to power brokers at small community level is ‘big man’ well searched by anthropology. Power brokers in the study locale symbolically related to big man about whom Routledge Encyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology (2005) states:

A central question concerns the means by which Big Men acquire and hold power without the traditional authority that chiefly status accords and without other institutionalized mechanisms of social control. A Big Man who underperforms or who over demands may be elbowed aside by his competitors and abandoned by his following. Thus, Big Men typically possess aggrandizing and competitive personalities, but they must also be able to accommodate other people’s demands for economic equivalence and political cooperation. Big Men must rely on skills of oratory and persuasion, leading by example or by cajolery in hopes – not always fulfilled – that others will follow (Barnard & Spencer, 2005)

As per the above citation, the concept of ‘big man’ is also studied by Lindstrom (1981) who comments that:

Big Man, however, is apt anthropological terminology because it is a direct translation of indigenous terms for leader in numerous island vernaculars (Lindstrom, 1981)

The pan appropriateness of the term 'big man' when applied to similar settings in which power relationships are studied by van Bakel, Hagesteign, and van de Velde (1986) who state:

Anthropologists have spotted, for example, Big Men in the halls of the United States Congress as well as within a number of other political organizations worldwide (van Bakel, Hagesteign, & van de Velde, 1986)

Seeing the traditional leadership patterns as stated by the village population as well as observed in various cases heard by *Punchayat*, I am of the view that the traditional leader and head of *Punchayat* was more like a 'big man' concept discussed earlier. This traditional leadership was performing a consultative role in inter-villages affairs whereas the rise of power holders that is heads of power groups in Sacha Soda can be equated with the suppression of British rule when the traditional leadership was wiped out and replaced with *Lambardar* who was merely functioning as a revenue collector from farming communities for the colonial administration. After winning independence in 1947, the government of Pakistan did not work on restoring traditional leadership in rural areas rather it retained the British heritage. In addition to *lambardars* in villages, government attempted to launch new tiers of political leadership through incessant experiments of BD members in Ayub Khan Era, District councilors in Zia's reign and members of various tiers of devolution of power at Union, Tehsil and District Assembly levels.

The traditional power was deeply embedded in society with respect and social approval therefore decision made by *punchayats* was accepted with respect. These decisions were also implemented in letter and spirit whereas new power factions are purely based upon notions of personal gains and benefits for the head and his group allies. Majority of people accept decisions made by these power holders because of the fact, that for a longer period of time, the local governments were not functional as well as the political offices at provincial and federal level were also toppled by the military

regimes due to which people had difficulties in their day to day matters. The role of power holders as middlemen and also their means of social control like providing support in district offices, dealing with police and civil bureaucracy and employment issues made them important in lives of people of village. The situation on ground is still in favor of the revival of traditional leadership if provided a chance by government in order to return the people their right of self-rule. As it is already discussed in chapter eight in the work of Sharukh Rafi Khan, Foqia Sadiq Khan, Aasim Sajjad Akhtar (2007) who verified this fact while working in various districts of Pakistan on the status of devolution launched by the government while ignoring the power structure in country.

Summary

Raymond Scupin and Christopher R. DeCorse (2009: 475) opine that ‘the overall consequences of the industrial revolution are often referred to as modernization that include the economic, social, political, and religious changes related to modern industrial and technological change.’ The important point they make is that when they say that ‘Modernization was not an overnight occurrence. It took more than four hundred years, from 1600 on, to develop in the West, and modernity remains an ongoing process’ (Ibid: 475). This allows me to think that any purposeful change takes its full course to get itself into effect.

According to the view of respondents in the village, the application of various so-called development models in Pakistan created a gulf between the policy makers as well as the ultimate recipients of development. This discrepancy thus resulted in uneven and unsmoothed pace and acceleration of development in country which merely benefited those who managed to reap its advantages. The rural sector especially agriculture was graded to be backward in approach. Farmers are taken to be someones who are merely responsible to listen and comply with the instructions. The ignorance of local factors and gradual disappearance of local population in planning and implementation of

development efforts thus created a disconnection between government's apparatus and target community.

The development specialists totally ignored the importance of local culture and traditional preferences of people about their livelihoods. Historically, we know that German scholar Max Weber while reacting to the ideas of Karl Marx argued the importance of cultural values and beliefs having a very significant influence on the development of particular technological and economic conditions in a society. Weber focused on the relationship of cultural values to economic action and behavior. What we see in real that this important relationship seems to be missing throughout in development practices of Pakistan due to the bumpy developmental process only benefited fewer who manipulate it effectively.

Weber's important works that influenced the modernization and development paradigm was *the Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1904). He seemed to understand the values that influenced the emergence of industrial capitalist society. It is the modernization theory that had its roots in nineteenth century Enlightenment ideas as espoused by Weber and other social scientists. This early paradigm later on helped to understand the neocolonialism and globalisation wave in second half of twentieth century. This understanding was effectively reflected in W. W. Rostow's²²¹ (1978) notion on modernization. The modernization theory enabled social scientists to identify various aspects of social and cultural change that accompany globalization but by 1960s modernization paradigm became under attack by number of critics who accused modernization paradox to be failing in producing technological and economic development in the third world countries.

²²¹ According to Rostow (1978) evolution from a traditional preindustrial society to a modern industrial society takes place through five general stages: traditional stage; culture-change stage; takeoff stage; self-sustained growth stage; and, high economic growth stage.

The critics of modernization and development theory especially Anthropologists object that one cannot understand or explain the evolution of society through the precise ladderlike stages as postulated by modernization theorists. This factor has been termed by Scupin and DeCorse (2009) as 'hybridity' or a complex combination of economic, social, political and cultural beliefs and values. A mere copying of western models of development and modernization cannot guarantee the ample achievement of self sustained development in non-western third countries. The diversity of social, cultural, economic, psychological factors thus puts third world countries in different scenario without whose understanding development cannot reach at grass roots. Failure to recognize the historical forces of these societies like Pakistan has resulted in anthropological literature to state that western development models cannot bring self dependency in third world countries. Anthropological literature criticizes accusation upon traditional values as obstacles to technological and economic development. Similarly, the manipulation of development practices by the wealthier has also been criticized by the anthropological studies. Anthropologists have also highlighted the ineffective terminologies of first, second and third world to describe the development and modernization argumentation.

Ignorance of local factors and particular historical forces means simply ignoring the identity of local populations. It is something that compells them to adopt something alien to their local culture and life styles. It is in other words taking away their cultural products and creating a crisis of identity for the local people. In the name of development of country, the people have seen that all governments established in Pakistan merely used them as 'electoral college.' Once the politicians and thus governments got elected they forgot the people who elected them to solve their problems at national and regional levels and provide them visionary leadership. People soon after the independence experienced failures of major development interventions therefore they lost their trust in the public sector interventions. Similarly the failure of

government to reinstate the traditional system of governance and political administration thus also gave rise to emergence of pseudo public representatives who mostly fulfilled their personal gains and helped their group allies to reap the benefits of development activity. The failure in revitalizing the indigenous system of knowledge and practices created a backlog due to which the promise of sustainable development could not be achieved as yet.

Anthropologists²²² have questioned the effectiveness of the modernization paradigm, dependency theory, and world system theory by commenting that there is no unilinear, predictable or unalterable pattern of social evolution. What we see internationally, the trend of anthropology is in favor of studying 'development from below' by focusing on the people in their local vicinities being influenced by multinational, technological and international economic and political policies that are produced by the globalization. Out of many important works done by anthropologists, Eric Wolf especially instigated to study the local level processes as well as integrating an empirical understanding of the global trends that are incorporated at the local level. In addition, the impact of globalization has also been questioned by the anthropologists to see the real effect of such interventions to local populations. The neoliberalization trends set by IFIs has also been favoring the economic elite class in developing countries like Pakistan. The literature on development theory in current day highlights new trends of colonialism called 'neocolonialism'. In the same connection, Scupin and DeCorse (2009) state:

Multinational corporations have actually intensified the problems of developing countries. They contend that these corporations create benefits for a wealthy elite and a small, upwardly mobile middle class, while the vast majority of the population remains in desperate poverty. Because the multinational corporations tend to invest in capital-intensive commodities, the majority of the population does not participate in the modernization of economy. Furthermore, the entire society becomes dependent on corporations that are based outside the region, which

²²² Keyes (2002); Wallerstein (1974, 1979, 1980 & 1986); Chirot (1986); Wolf ([1982] 1997); Huntington (1996); Hitchcock (2004 a&b); Turnbull (1983); Kehoe (1995); and Sutton (2004).

inhibits the development of self-sufficiency and a more diversified economy (Scupin & DeCorse, 2009: 639).

One of the most remarkable features of the twentieth century is globalization²²³. As a description, globalization refers to the widening and deepening of the international flows of trade, capital, technology, and information within a single a global market. Eric Hobsbawm (2008) also confirms the impact of globalization in following terms:

On the other hand, nineteenth-century Britain and the Twentieth-century US also enjoyed an asset no previous empire had, or indeed could have had, in the absence of modern economic globalization: they dominated the industrial world economy. They did so not only through the size of their productive apparatus as ‘workshops of the world’ – the US, at its peak in the 1920s and again after second world war, represented about 40 percent of global industrial output and in 2005 was still the largest, though with only 22.4 percent of ‘manufacturing value added’ – both also did so as economic models, technical and organizational pioneers and trend setters, and as the centers of the World system of financial and commodity flows, and the states whose financial and trade policies largely determined the shape of these flows (Hobsbawm, 2008: 56).

In order to advance this agenda of capitalism on a global scale, or globalization, multinational corporations have taken the lead, with multilateral organizations like the IMF, World Bank, WTO and even the UN, supporting this agenda by preparing the ground for corporations to make headway into the expanding global market. The international financial institutions (IFIs) have established an institutional framework for a process of development and free international trade. Nobel Laureate Joseph Stiglitz in his works states:

Structural adjustment programs led to a new enabling policy framework with the liberalization and opening up of economics where restrictions and government interventions have been increasingly done away with

²²³ Globalization is a complex of changes produced by the dynamics of capitalist development and this is important as well as the diffusion of cultural practices associated with this development. As a prescription, those who believe that globalization will produce the best outcome for growth and human welfare, advocate the liberalization and opening up of national and global markets in the belief that the flow of trade and information will increase welfare.

opening the doors to global capital. With IFIs and large corporations, along with of course political actors as well, determining the economic and political agenda of countries, the powers of the nation-state have been significantly eroded giving way to the influence of international institutions (Stiglitz, 2002).

As a result, the power of the state has been drastically reduced and it is less able to regulate and make policies pertinent to its own country. Now external and internal officials of the IMF, World Bank, and other donors in collaboration with Pakistani development agencies play a major role in shaping macroeconomic and social decisions that affect the basic structure of the economy and living standards of nations. Today, in Pakistan, these representatives of IFIs decide on government spending, property relations (private versus public ownership), development strategies and many other decisive aspects of social existence bypassing the electoral system. It can safely be said that these global agencies have usurped power from state of Pakistan and local governments and have deprived the state of the nation's sovereignty. Problems with the structural adjustment programs of World Bank or IMF are that their approach is too uniform for all recipient countries without taking due cognizance of particular histories, insitutions, structures and other socio-cultural factors. It is therefore these programs lack semblance of contextuality.

Almost sixty five years of Pakistan's history have been witness to its transformation from a fairly tolerant society, accepting of cultural and social difference, to one that is fearful of difference and intolerant to dissent and difference of opinion. This is so typical of development practices and conceptualization of development direction in country. The necessity to understand the factors that shaped this intolerance and deliberate pushing away of local perceptions on development and self sufficiency is firstly a colonial system that primarily geared predominantly to serve as a vehicle for administering the Raj more effectively; a ruling group comprising the landed elite who had acquired land, accessed privileges and risen to prominence under the British in exchange for loyalty to the Raj; a bureaucracy comprising of the new 'meritocracy,'

representing a class of educated Indians who had risen to socially and economically under the British and who had learned the 'rules of governance' as members of a colonial government; the army, in itself a mainstay of authoritarian rule which made use of religious rhetoric as political strategy. Faced with the challenges of a new nation that had not only won freedom from colonial rule but had also broken away from India on the grounds that as its largest though economically backward minority, the Muslims would be discriminated against in terms of access to resources within the scheme of governance proposed by the Indian National Congress. Policy makers in Pakistan were faced with multiple and inherently contradictory tasks of creating an ethos particular to the new state claiming to address communal and class inequities of the colonial system while remaining firmly entrenched in colonial methods of governance.

SUMMARY

The world today is being defined by an on-going process of economic, social and political restructuring generically referred to as 'globalization'. Both the realities and the mythologies of globalization are shaping public policy and institutions throughout the world and indigenous knowledge system is no exception. With the current offensive of imperial globalization, indigenous knowledge and practice at all levels is being altered to suit the demands of so-called global economy. And this is happening at the cost of the distortion of the indigenous practices and institutions which have been a source of identity and practical utility for the people. The globalized template of development offers little space to the local and indigenous knowledge system and practices. There are little incentives for the practitioners of traditional development practices due to its non-compatibility with commercialism. The development paradigm is increasingly becoming subject to the dictates of non-local foreign and national elites interests. Access to modern development is therefore determined by policies that complement the ever growing needs of global trade, services and capital. The social and economic reform process, as part of globalization, is based on global economic competition between nations and regions, the downsizing of the public sector, and the privatization of public institutions. As a description, globalization refers to the widening and deepening of international flows of trade, capital, technology and information within a single global market. Globalization is a complex of changes produced by the dynamics of capitalist development and this is important as well as the diffusion of cultural practices associated with this development. As a prescription, those who believe that globalization will produce the best outcome for growth and human welfare, advocate the liberalization and opening up of national and global markets in the belief that the flow of trade and information will increase welfare. In order to advance this agenda of capitalism on a global scale, or globalization, multinational corporations have taken the lead with multilateral organizations like IMF, World Bank, WTO and even the UN is supporting this agenda by preparing the ground for corporations to make headway into

the expanding global market. The international financial institutions (IFIs) have established an institutional framework for a process of development and free international trade. Structural adjustment programs led to a new 'enabling policy framework' with the liberalization and opening up of economies where restrictions and government interventions have been increasingly done away with opening the doors to global capital. With IFIs and large corporations along with of course political actors as well determining the economic and political agendas of countries, the powers of the nation-state have been significantly eroded giving way to the influence of international institutions. As a result, the power of state has been drastically reduced and it is less able to regulate and make policies pertinent to its own country. One of the criticisms that has been directed against the IMF and the World Bank sponsored structural adjustment programs is that these programs are too uniform in nature that are less sensitive towards particular histories, socio-cultural setups, local institutions, traditional and indigenous practices and perceptions. Therefore, these interventions lack contextuality. There have been countries which have restricted the role of IFIs while still being major players and beneficiaries of globalization. India and Malaysia come to mind, where both are growing global players, yet have set their own terms of negotiate with the trans-world governance agencies and have prospered as a result. What seem to play a key role in determining the country's ability to take on these IFIs is an active and political civil society and political groups (as in case of India) and strong nationalistic leadership (as in case of Malaysia). Pakistan, on the other hand has neither.

In Pakistan's context, these forces of change are being experienced in the development system at different levels with varying degrees. While it is clear that Pakistan has been quite completely dominated economically by instruments and institutions of globalization where even economic policy and measures have been devised and developed in Washington. Unlike many countries which have been swamped with cultural icons of globalization, for better or worse, that does not seem to be the case with Pakistan where exposure is limited.

If by globalization, one means the greater integration and coalescing of values, ideas and ideology, then Pakistan seems to have gone against the grain. If universal values of freedom, justice and democracy have found their acceptance globally, Pakistan has preferred to move back and forth between democracy and military dictatorship. Also, while giving in completely before global economic policies which do not work for the welfare of the people, social customs and norms also do not mimic those of the global forces. The impact and inclusion of symbols of globalization in Pakistan have been selective. In case of the economy, perhaps there has been no choice but in other cases there has been an acceptance of some new norms and a rejection of others. The waves of westernized development models and practices have a huge influence on Pakistani society and on the development movement in the country. Just as the government and other institutions of the state have lost all semblance of sovereignty on account of their dependence on the new global order, one cannot but mention numerous similar aspects of globalization as well.

A government which has been subservient and completely dependent on global capital, the IFIs, the White House and the Pentagon, is in no position to have a political, cultural or economic happens to dictate. It is unlikely for such governments such as Pakistan's to have an indigenous or nationalistic stance against globalization, in any of its guises whether political, economic or ideological. Capitulation and the ability to accede to any demands even if they go against the greater national interest is not an uncommon practice given the political economy of Pakistan. The War against Terror and the coalition formed to fight terror in which Pakistan has become the frontline state at a rather trivial price, only reinforces the view that the government (past and present) in Pakistan capitulates to rather than resists, global capital, global politics, global culture and might.

The situation on ground seems a bit different as most of rural population is either not capable of adopting the new technologies as these are expensive or they adopt them in a competition against their fellows in villages. Therefore, IKS may be brought into the mainstream of knowledge in order to establish its place within larger body of knowledge. There is still a need to discuss that revitalization of IK would be in holistic approach to cover both its economic and non-economic aspects. Applied researches are also required to explore IKS, and should be carried out with participation of communities that once practiced its unique cultural heritage.

It is worth noting that scholars especially Anthropologists (discussed in chapter one and two) have worked and analyzed failures of development that is to put into practice from just a profit maximization view point. The current debate of development practices in the Punjab also presents the case of big failures in setting the urgencies regarding a sustainable rural development especially sustainable agriculture. Similarly, whole world nations are now desperately looking for having a sustainable agriculture which lessens burdens from the ever decreasing natural resources. The development has been described as a process of change by which people who, in a certain social and ecological milieu and at a given historical movement, while seeking their liberation, transforms their structure of 'production' establish new social relationships, set up appropriate political and administrative institutions for themselves and redefine their own culture in order to achieve a better existence.

Rural Development is essential for accelerating Economic Growth, boosting agriculture and non-farm sectors productivity, expanding coverage of social, economic and community services, building capacity of rural institutions and improving rural infrastructure. Pakistan like other developing countries also faces many problems of rural development, particularly inequality of assets' ownership, physical and financial resources, vulnerability to shocks and poor governance which are root causes of under-development, low level of agricultural productivity and rural poverty. The common

problems and issues faced by different rural areas with variation in magnitude and intensity can be categorized as low education, low income, high population growth rate, poor infrastructure i.e. education, health and other institutions (school, colleges and health centers etc), poor communications i.e. telephone network, roads, transport etc., rigidity in attitude and poor organizational and managerial capabilities. Keeping in view the discussion in previous pages, there is a need for consulting society's indigenous body of knowledge and locally evolved survival practices. The indigenous knowledge and practices that were traditionally used need to be revisited, revived and revitalized and thus allowing it to be the long term remedy in terms of sustainable development.

Indigenous Knowledge and Practices held by a society are the intellectual property of the people and are the result of society's successful interaction with its environment both social and natural. Sinha (2004, discussed in chapter 2) opines that 'indigenous knowledge is something that is evolved within the society' as a survival strategy and held by the members of society from generation to generation. Therefore it is not static rather it regularly updates itself with the passage of time. Indigenous knowledge and practices evolve with the passage of time therefore it also carries the features of progressive refinement to accommodate the ever changing natural and social environments. To me these practices are based upon a deep observation and knowledge about the society's resources with which people particular to an area have dealt with effectively in terms of fashioning them to respond to the social conditions of people and society. As regards, the study of social change Beatie (2009, chapter one) expressed that a student of social change has to collection his data from 'specific social and cultural institutions' and he has to observe and study the mover time 'modifications of these through time, in the context of other co-existing social, cultural and sometimes, ecological factors.

Indigenous knowledge and practices according to respondents were perceived as a source of sustainable agriculture and instrumental to ensure community organization,

participation and empowerment of rural communities. Villagers believed that agricultural scientists, extension staff, development agencies along with their practitioners have to unlearn their biases in their view that they only can tell rural people the path to development. While going through the views of people of Sacha Soda, one can easily anticipate that it is unfair to put blame on rural communities for their slow pace of life. To have an understanding, there was a need to get acquaintance with rural life and meaning of development in indigenous perception. The discussion also established utility based approach of IKS that has a non-offending relationship with nature and its own culturally determined way of life which in turn promoted participation, integrated development in which humans were focal point. According to view of villagers, IKS clearly devises a sustainable methodology to eradicate rural poverty while making their livelihoods sustainable, operational and controlling the social exclusion of certain strata of the society.

Concerning the arguments on indigenous perception of development among people of Sacha Soda, it was found that local methods were erected on four pillars of community involvement, local resource utilization, local administration and sustainability as well as cost effectiveness. After the biases being studied, attention was turned on the development efforts of different agricultural agencies in central Punjab region. It was found that only wealthy and influential land lords benefited themselves from the projects whereas group associates of influential landowners also manipulated projects while leaving small scale farmers behind. The modern development paradigms including traditional development paradigm that was the prime inspiration of early development planning and administration only focused the 'economic growth' and expected its trickle-down effects to address the other issues of social development especially targeting the poverty. The oversimplification of development thinkers tangled the real picture of development at grass roots. The historical heritage of development in Pakistan carried the colonial patterns of social control resulted in the 'social exclusion' of the real beneficiaries of the whole attempt. The fourth major interventions unveiled

the true picture of development efforts that was in a way imposed upon people without assessing their needs and priorities. The non-participative and directive style of development agencies and staff complicated the picture on ground as they turned into the hands of power and politically influential power factions particularly their heads called as *deraydars* in the village. The projects came to be reflecting an interplay of projecting a specific group's power and status in the village as well as bestowing more benefits to their respective group allies. This bestowal of favors upon groups allies later on strengthened the bargaining status of the factions' heads. The same situation was replicated in case of 'devolution of power' introduced by the most recent military establishment. The power politics and *dhara* politics basically took away the concept of devolution. In fact, the village people felt more entrapped and enslaved due to addition of three more tiers (union, tehsil and district council) to already two existing tiers (provincial and national assembly). This system as a matter of fact, strangled people to depend upon five fora of social exploitation. In this connection, people were engaged at these fora for redressal of their social problems which actually did not occur. The devolution in fact, turned out to be another face of hegemonic control and political manoeuvring. Development if it is to put into true essence to benefit all strata of society has to be offering something to people without endangering their existing socio-economic status. As Malinowski referred the role of social institutions to be addressing the psychological and physiological needs of people and Ferraro advocated to provide a minimum protection regarding basic needs. Similarly, Lieten stressed to indentify people's needs and requirements that are often ignored in 'postmodern theory'. Probably this shortcoming can only be removed when the government along with its development agencies and its staff revisit their attitude towards the local people (See, Rabbani and Bhatti, discussed in chapter one).

I discussed and analyzed the role of newly emerged *deraydars* who manipulated the devolution plan into their favor to increase their hegemonic control over people. The aim of plan was to bring decentralization in especially four fields; those were

Administrative, Fiscal, Authority, and Political power. Based on field information and thorough interaction with key informants among the villagers, policy makers and devolution launching agencies, it was observed that this important and democratic in nature idea was not dealt appropriately. It was so that working of union council in the village Sacha Soda was hampered due to which the residents suffered and ruling *Nazim* was not concerned about people who did not vote for him as a lesson. There was a considerable discussion over devolution at tehsil and district level and their relevant problems were also discussed. There was a detailed discussion of differences that had been produced in new system as compared to old and previous local government set ups. It can safely be concluded that devolution of power was not a matter of mere legislation and employing few implementing and translating agencies to acquire desired results. There is an established fact that in rural society, the lust and hunger for power was even on increase. The conventional power holders transmitted them into *Deraydars* while adopting roles of intermediaries between public and politicians or state to hijack benefits of all developmental efforts and keep people dependent on themselves for survival even for redressing daily and nominal issues. The aim of reason built is whole scene that was going to be changed through Local Government Ordinance (LGO) had its deep roots in the culture which was not an easy task to achieve. Rather it required a soul professional approach focused on two main issues primarily, awareness and advocacy and secondly, capacity building. Whereas there was also a need to remove already in practice discrepancies from practices of new devolution plan so that any tier of government may not build its undue hold over others and thus result in termination of being beneficial for society and public.

IKS in Pakistan has to do a lot before its importance is again accepted by the government as being able to put country on mainstreams of development. All, one needs to do, is to acknowledge the contribution of centuries old Indigenous practices in development and its contribution of holding a capacity of ensuring human survival. IKS and its friendly interaction with natural phenomena is no doubt, carrier of sustainable

development whose proof is evident that previous generations only depended on Indigenous practices in various spheres of socio-economic life and technologies, therefore, they left a world worth of producing for survival of humans but today's practices harvested these natural resources in an exploitative manner due to which problems in all domains of life are seen and even getting increased day by day without proper mention of its cure. The respondents said that their elder generations left a world worth living for them but they are not leaving a place worth living for on-coming generations. Respondents effectively pointed out the low fertility of agricultural lands, disease attack in shape of pest, weeds, etc and related it with the new methods and make them responsible for current state of affairs in rural areas where people now were in an unending race of making more and more profit without keeping in mind the nature's demand from mankind in return.

So far as the agricultural practices according to Indigenous mode in Sacha Soda village were concerned, it was found that most of practices were still under practice by farmers and the community. The arguments were made on perception of *Desi* that is a local word for the term 'Indigenous'. The objective of this debate was to bring in light that there were many reasons due to which majority of the farmers still used their indigenous methods in not only agriculture domain but also in other spheres of their socio-cultural and economic life. In order to strengthen my argument, I cited few examples of indigenous knowledge based practices used by small scale farmers in other parts of province. The comparison of my research locale with other projects' areas in the Punjab and further discussion of the results in light of the modern laboratory and controlled environment to highlight that till to date, most of the farmers in village are relying upon their traditional methods of farming because they thought that traditional methods were cost effective and affordable for small scale farmers. The results of adoption of modern technology was conventionally found among big land lords, farmers with big land holdings or farmers with alternative sources of income to invest in farming to increase their yields and thus profits. As regarded the case of agricultural practices

regarding wealthy and big land lords, they preferred modern methods and had a commercial mind to increase their profit and earn millions out of thousands. On other hand, small scale farmers were more concerned about Indigenous practices which were also a matter of cultural affiliation and identity for them. It was something with which they related themselves and proudly called themselves to be sons of the soil.

Regarding case of modern agricultural practices promoting projects in village, it was found that while launching developmental projects, local socio-cultural scenario was totally ignored due to which incidences of conflict were increased in village's life. The picture mentioned that project authorities sitting in main offices were highly politicized whereas lower field staff was easily harassed by local power holders and their group members. It also unrevealed reality that lower field staff was not free from fears of being molested, or losing their jobs in case if they attempted to remain fair in the whole developmental efforts. In addition, the project officials were only concerned about the physical targets given to them but no concern was shown to clearly study that whether project offerings really approached the intended beneficiaries or not. This was point that uncovered a different story as revealed in progress reports of projects' documentations. As regards, the modern farming methods, the wealthy and big landlords were successful in adoption of these practices. Chapter one, two and nine presented a survey of scholars who rectified the fact, that commercial agriculture needs financial resources to make it a profitable chore. The wealthy and big landlords by controlling means of production thus enhanced their socio-economic status at the expense of exploiting their dependent agricultural labor. The politico-economic status thus raised the social position of influential in the village whereas the majority of people remained unbenefitted. The advocates of modern development seem to criticise the small farmers to be fatalist and holding a conservative attitude towards adopting modern farming that runs contrary to the national interests (as in their view). Scholars like Eric Wolf, Escobar, Eisenstadt, Wallerstein , Homi Bhabha, Ferraro, Raymond Scupin and DeCorse and Lieten discussed the 'socio-cultural' face of development and

attempted to highlight the plight of these small farmers who could not afford to adopt the modern farming while leaving their traditional farming practices.

The most damaging effect of colonialism was the purposeful disablement of local political institution that created a gulf due to which the local leadership was undermined. The local population lost its voice and thus rights to express, differ and suggest in what we call modern development. The local political institution of *punchayat* and *muqaddams* (the village headman) became ineffective to represent the village at higher tiers of indigenous political system. As it is stated earlier that colonial rule replaced the indigenous leadership of *muqaddams* with the *chaudhary* and the *lambardars*. This new set up was merely serving interests of British raj instead of providing local leadership to rural populations.

The lack of governmental commitment to restore the indigenous political institution (after independence in 1947) resulted in rise of local power holders in rural areas. This individual powerful figure resembled old leadership pattern in few respects but differed in rest of the aspects. The later sort of political organization was in fact a power game. The Indigenous Political Organization of village had its historical links with ancient village leadership promoted by Mughals era in sub-continent. The traditional *deraydar* was one with whom people of area associated themselves in several manners. The traditional political leadership was though influential but not exploitative to the extent to which newly emerged *deraydars* were. People were of the view that traditional leadership was authorized by the then governments to collect revenues from farmers but they also served communities in many ways like they protected their communities from outer sources of exploitation and usurpation. The people in village told that *deraydari* concept was a new one to the area which got its rise after independence and deepened when politicians commenced to exploit loopholes in legal framework. These stakeholders of power manipulated innocent people and looted their land claims and other valuables. These *deraydars* exclusively developed their oppressive strategies to maintain their

social control over rural masses. This new power class managed to develop their indispensable role in local level politics due to which politicians and other law enforcing agencies had to rely on them for support and also manipulating their vested interests. Seeing the growing influence of these power elites, poor stratum of village had to cooperate with them in order to avoid any harm to their families and relatives. The power elites established their own power groups to win a bargaining status for them and their groups. The five distinct power groups in the village in their power struggle fought with each other and thus used all legal and illegal means to increase their influence and social control.

In spite of damage Traditional Political institution of *Punchayat* was operational at mainly three levels these were inter-villages council, intra-village council, and lineage and caste council. *Punchayat* is mainly the apex organization of local management of political, social, economic and developmental affairs. It operated as a inter-villages' council. Similarly, *parya* was functional to look into the village level affairs and arbitrated among various castes living in same village. *Keth* was operational to give its verdicts in issues related to extended families and issues among the same caste people within the village whereas, *Dhara* is basically a gathering of people for electoral objectives. The cultural institutions of *parya* and *punchayat* operate at local level and remain to be effective regarding its social acceptance and participatory decision making. Both of these institutions comprise a traditional head called '*surpunch*' (head) and a jury consisting of members of village community whose wisdom and statesmanship is beyond question. The main concerns of both institutions are; to restore the peace in case of conflict or dispute; to investigate the disputed incidence; to reach to a socially acceptable decision; effective implementation of decisions; and, a mechanism to curb the non-complying parties. The heads of *parya* and *punchayat* and members of its juries are normally enjoying good repute in the village and the area respectively. It is therefore people have their trust in these councils and they expect judicious judgments on part of

both bodies. These local institutions' and their functions ensure *Shamuliat* (Community participation) and *sharakat* (cooperation) through *Keth* (gathering or assemblage).

CONCLUSION

The research was conducted in a village Sacha Soda of Sheikhpura district of the Punjab province. The current research basically undertook the objectives of studying the IKS connected with agriculture as an idea as well as a set of practices, secondly, to study the features of indigenous perception of development and its relationship with sustainability. Thirdly, to construct a case that highlights the fact that what passes for development activity in name of agricultural developmental projects is just another face of elitist and hegemonic systems of exploitation and control in rural areas and finally, to present the characteristics of IKS as viable alternatives that can be implemented for agricultural development, local empowerment and effective decentralization. The aim of study was to investigate the extent to which local population in study locale still practicing their indigenous life styles. It also included studying indigenous practices and ideas that were held by the population. The idea behind the research was realization of fact that several nations in current day world are studying their indigenous methods in various domains like agriculture, ecology, environment, etc. Due to manifold pressures, governmental policies in Pakistan also support wide scale farm mechanization due to which the impression goes stronger that uniqueness associated with culture is now on its way to get diminished. Despite the fact, study attempted to find out results of developmental efforts launched with only one perspective in view that was considerable improvement in agricultural yields.

It is well understood that knowledge is not static. It is not an end product, but rather a process that keeps undergoing change and development as societies change, grow or even regress. The knowledge that is produced in the course of human labor is deeply intertwined with the dominant concerns of the society in which it develops. An

understanding of IK is required and its role in community life from an integrated perspective that includes both social and cultural aspects of a society as well as relation between them. At the same time, it is necessary to understand and to explore potential contribution of IK towards local development. As a matter of fact, various schools of traditional and modern development and the practitioners of modernization theory worked on bringing the world to witness a more sophisticated way of life. On the contrary, the promise has not been fulfilled as we have seen that the interaction of new approach lag important and crucial element of culture. People of developing world have been influenced and made to accept western techniques and thoughts as something that can bring prosperity to their mother lands. But in fact these approaches turned out to be exploitative and serving the needs of wealthy groups and production of colonial brain.

In many parts of the current day world, people have questioned the effectiveness of western ideas and technologies and 'bottom-up' approaches to development that were not democratic in their nature. We see that people have commenced to work on their indigenous knowledge systems to develop their centuries' old repertoire to benefit their communities and nations. Almost all developed countries in world are dealing with IKS on several levels, first, as means for sustainable and self reliant development; second, as an alternate source of bringing self reliance; third, to preserve their own cultural individuality and uniqueness which has long been threatened by capitalist ethos. The present status of IK is that these forms of knowledge have been suppressed because of new innovations being introduced in local communities promising high performance, increased inefficiency, facilities and leisure in life. This finding holds true of itself when applied to policy level.

Doing a research on IKS in current day Pakistan which is already entangled with numerous geo-political problems is not an easy job. The development bureaucracy of Pakistan only interprets development only in terms of its decreasing natural resources

and the ever increasing population pressures. In such pressing situation, the advocacy for revitalization of IKS seems to be irrelevant. The development intelligentsia under the modern development practices only responds to the solutions proposed by the western research. It is important to understand the development is neither the performance regarding GNP or GDP nor it is a matter of trade and remittances. It is in fact more than that. It is also to deal with the identity and uniqueness of people of an area. Development is to benefit all corners of the society without harming the existing natural and human resources. IKS particularly the ecological management, integrated forest management, integrated pest management is now well understood by the most developed and industrialized nations of the world. We see a shift from mechanized agriculture to organic agriculture which speaks in favor of IKS and its advantages in Western world. The government of Pakistan has to rethink its developmental priorities in terms of making sure that development phase in Pakistan is reaching out to all population strata. There is a need to take ask the agricultural development and research agencies in Pakistan to revisit the IKS with a purpose to revitalize it to respond the modern day development challenges. At government level there is a need to frame a policy to ensure that indigenous cultural heritage and practices be revitalized and reused to help Pakistan to improve its national development challenges while taking help from its own knowledge system and practices. The research organizations and universities in this regard can play an important role.

GLOSSARY OF INDIGENOUS TERMS

CHAPTER ONE

Deh

Deh is the plural of *dehat* that means a 'village'. *Deh* is a territorial unit with a separate name, definite boundaries, and area precisely measured and divided into plots / *khasras* (survey numbers). Each *mouza* is a revenue estate and has a cadastral map maintained in the land revenue record. *Mouza, Deh, pind, Killi* and *Chak* are the names commonly used for it. The term *mouza / deh* is widely used in the settled areas while the term *pind* and or *killi* are used in the unsettled areas. There may be one or more settlements, *abadies, basties, dhokes, goths*, etc. in the territory of a *mouza / deh*. The *mouzas / dehs* may also have scattered inhabitation while there may be some *mouzas* without population as well.

Khushali

Prosperity

Mouza

Mouza literally means 'vicinity'. *Mouza* is a territorial unit with a separate name, definite boundaries, and area precisely measured and divided into plots / *khasras* (survey numbers). Each *mouza* is a revenue estate and has a cadastral map maintained in the land revenue record. *Mouza, Deh, pind, Killi* and *Chak* are the names commonly used for it. The term *mouza / deh* is widely used in the settled areas while the term *pind* and or *killi* are used in the unsettled areas. There may be one or more settlements, *abadies, basties, dhokes, goths*, etc. in the territory of a *mouza / deh*. The *mouzas / dehs* may also have scattered inhabitation while there may be some *mouzas* without population as well.

Taraqqi

Development

CHAPTER TWO

Adhati

Commission Agent

CHAPTER THREE

Abaadi

Settlement

Bahi Khaata

Traditional family book that keeps records of gifts and money received or given by a family

Baithak

Drawing room

Biraderi

Brethren

Bhaand

Comic

Bhattiwela

Lunch

Bhed nalah

Seasonal minor streams

Burqa

Traditionally stitched gown

Chaddar

Piece of unstitched cloth to cover whole body

Chamaar

Low caste people dealing in leather

Chappals

Traditional footwear

<i>Chaudhry</i>	The surname ' <i>Chaudhry</i> ' refers to a person with influence and powerful. So an influential person in a village is called as ' <i>Chaudhry</i> '
<i>Chhahwela</i>	Breakfast
<i>Chimbay or Gorkan</i>	Gravedigger
<i>Chora</i>	Sweeper
<i>Chowkidar</i>	Watchman
<i>Darba</i>	Traditional animal cage (plural: Darbas)
<i>Darzi</i>	Tailor
<i>Dastaango</i>	Folklore teller
<i>Degh nalah</i>	Seasonal stream
<i>Dhobi</i>	Washer man
<i>Doaba</i>	Submersion under water
<i>Dulha</i>	Groom
<i>Dulhan</i>	Bride
<i>Gawayyia</i>	Singer
<i>Gotra</i>	Sub caste
<i>Gundas</i>	Bandits or out laws (singular: <i>Gunda</i>)
<i>Gurudwara</i>	Temple
<i>Hadiala</i>	A Town in Sheikhpura district
<i>Hakim</i>	Herbalist (Plural: Hakims)
<i>Hari</i>	Tenant
<i>Huqqa</i>	Hubble-bubble
<i>Janam Asthan</i>	Birth place
<i>Jolaha</i>	Weaver
<i>Kala Shah Kaku</i>	A Town in Sheikhpura district
<i>Kallar</i>	Salt
<i>Kammi</i>	Landless marginal and occupational groups
<i>Katcha</i>	Unpaved
<i>Kot Pindi Das</i>	A Town in Sheikhpura district
<i>Khand</i>	Sugar
<i>Khussa</i>	Traditional footwear
<i>Khusti</i>	Wrestling
<i>Khurli</i>	Fodder Cart of animals
<i>Kumhar</i>	Pot maker
<i>Kunba</i>	Extended Family
<i>Kurta</i>	Long traditional shirt up to knees
<i>Lila nalah</i>	Seasonal minor streams
<i>Luhar</i>	Blacksmith
<i>Majzoob</i>	A Person who is absorbed in deep meditation
<i>Maklawa</i>	Revisit of bride in parental family after marriage
<i>Malangs</i>	Saints
<i>Mangni</i>	Engagement
<i>Mazaray</i>	Tenants (Singular: Mazara)

<i>Mirasi</i>	Jester
<i>Mistri</i>	Mason
<i>Mochi</i>	Cobbler
<i>Mullah</i>	Religious person who recites the holy verses during marriage
<i>Mussali</i>	Servant of men's room
<i>Nai</i>	Barber
<i>Naiza Bazi</i>	Tent pegging
<i>Nankana Sahib</i>	Birth place of Guru Nanak. A new neighboring district adjacent to Sheikhpura district
<i>Naqqaal</i>	Singer
<i>Nikkah Nama</i>	Marriage contract
<i>Nikki degh</i>	Small stream
<i>Paika</i>	Paternal family
<i>Pakka</i>	Paved
<i>Parohna</i>	Guest
<i>Qasai</i>	Butcher
<i>Qaum</i>	Caste
<i>Qissakhawan</i>	Folklore teller
<i>Raj</i>	Mason
<i>Rangsaaz</i>	Painter
<i>Rat-Di-Roti</i>	Dinner
<i>Sacha</i>	Pure
<i>Sadhus</i>	Saints
<i>Saees</i>	Horseman
<i>Sarkanda</i>	A traditional bush
<i>Soda</i>	Deal
<i>Sufaid Posh</i>	Scheduled castes. Literally means 'White Collars'
<i>Tabbar</i>	Nuclear family
<i>Takia</i>	A socialization place usually around a shrine
<i>Tehmand</i>	Long piece of cloth wrapped on naval to cover lower part of body
<i>Taili</i>	Person dealing in oil trade
<i>Tarkhan</i>	Carpenters
<i>Tobay</i>	Well diggers
<i>Urs</i>	Annual festival
<i>Wadda Jawari</i>	Great gambler
<i>Wangar</i>	Communal labor
<i>Waris</i>	Heir
<i>Yatrees</i>	Pilgrims
<i>Zamindar</i>	The term is derived from Persian language compound which means 'keeper' or 'holder of land'
CHAPTER FOUR	
<i>Aqrabaparwari</i>	Nepotism
<i>Biraderi</i>	Brethren

<i>Chahpani</i>	Bribery
<i>Dera</i>	Men's room
<i>Deraydars</i>	Owners of Men's room
<i>Dhara</i>	Alliance
<i>Farooqabad</i>	A Town near Sacha Soda Village
<i>Gurudwara</i>	Sikh temple
<i>Insaaf Committee</i>	Justice Committee
<i>Jor da tor</i>	Tit for tat
<i>Mukhalif</i>	Opponent
<i>Mukhalifat</i>	Opposition
<i>Musalihat Anjuman</i>	Mediation committee
<i>Naib Nazim</i>	The term for 'deputy head' of District, tehsil or Union Council in Devolution Plan
<i>Naukar-Shahi</i>	The term is used for 'bureaucracy'. Also means 'Top-down approach'
<i>Nazim</i>	The Term for 'head' of District, tehsil or union council in Devolution Plan
<i>Sacha Soda</i>	Study locale
<i>Taluqs</i>	Links
<i>Tauni</i>	Physical molestation
<i>Tibba making</i>	Dune making
<i>Wadkay</i>	Headmen or elders
<i>Zila</i>	District

CHAPTER FIVE

<i>Adhati</i>	Commission Agent
<i>Agaitri</i>	Early Sowing. The long duration wheat cultivars
<i>Beggar</i>	Labor rent or corvee
<i>Bhaichara</i>	Members who descend from same ancestor
<i>Biraderi</i>	Lineage
<i>Biryani</i>	Indigenous dish of rice
<i>Chaawal</i>	Rice
<i>Gabli</i>	The medium duration wheat cultivars
<i>Gur</i>	Traditional product made of sugarcane juice used as a substitute of sugar
<i>Jagir</i>	Inherited or gifted Land
<i>Jagirdar</i>	State Landlordism
<i>Kanak</i>	Wheat
<i>Lambi Zaban</i>	Big Mouth
<i>Mamla</i>	Land Tax
<i>maali or saan</i>	Community owned ox or bull
<i>Mahalwari System</i>	This system is also called <i>Numberdari</i> System. This system was introduced in Punjab and Khyber Pakhtoonkhwa former NWFP by the British. Under this system people in a village are of the owner of their small holdings. They are jointly responsible for the payment of the Government. Payment is made through the <i>Village Numberdar</i> . A

numberdar is an official of revenue department who is responsible for collecting *mamla* land tax from fellow farmers to be submitted to revenue department at each district level. Revenue department was supposed to elect *numberdars* from within the farming community to further act as a vehicle of collecting land tax. In recognition of this service, revenue department allocated 12.5 acres of land to *numberdars* upon which the hereditary rights of *numberdars* and his family were acknowledged. Upon death of a *numberdar*, the same and seat of *numberdar* was transferred to the eldest son of a deceased *numberdar*.

<i>Mazaray</i>	Peasant Proprietorship
<i>Nawabs</i>	Nabob
<i>Paachaitri</i>	Delayed sowing. Short duration wheat cultivars
<i>Parrali</i>	Crop residue
	Peasant proprietors were the ones who owned comparatively small landholdings. They cultivated themselves with the help of the members of their families or hired workers. The system is known as <i>bhaichara</i> or <i>pattidari</i> that comprise members who descend from same ancestor. The peasant proprietors are the owner of small units of land. They cultivated it with the help of their families. They are solely responsible for the payment to the Government. They deposit their revenue through <i>Numberdar</i> . The peasants are usually in very poor condition and barely meet their subsistence requirements.
<i>Pattidari</i>	Members who descend from same ancestor
<i>Qaum</i>	Caste
<i>Raiyat</i>	Subjects (people under control)
<i>Raiyatwari</i> Tenure	It is a system inherited from colonial rule of British under which land is held directly from the State on a tenancy basis but with security fully guaranteed in practice. The occupant is free to give up any land and avoid his liability for land revenue. The ownership rights of commons or <i>shamilat</i> vests in the State and not in the village communities. The occupant enjoys heritable and transferable rights, which places him practically on the same footing as an owner.
<i>Shakkar</i>	Brown sugar
<i>Shamilat</i>	Communal land
<i>Zails</i>	Circles
<i>Zamin</i>	Land
<i>Zamindari nizam</i>	Land tenure system
<i>Zamindars</i>	Wealthy native landlords
<i>Zar</i>	Money
<i>Zaraat</i>	Agriculture

CHAPTER SIX

<i>Abaadi</i>	Population
<i>Abaadkar</i>	Settlers
<i>Alims</i>	Religious specialists
<i>Al-insaan</i>	The true human

<i>Amali Jama aur Nigraani</i>	Implementation and Monitoring
<i>Arahati</i>	Commission Agent
<i>Baardana</i>	Bags
<i>Baba Farid</i>	Sufi saint in District Pakpattan
<i>Balan</i>	Fire wood
<i>Barani</i>	Rain fed
<i>Basti</i>	Community
<i>Bhullay Shah</i>	Sufi saint in District Qasoor
<i>Biraderi</i>	Brethren or caste
<i>Chowkidara</i>	Collective surveillance mechanism
<i>Desi</i>	Indigenous
<i>Desi Taraqqi</i>	Indigenous Development
<i>Desi Zaraat</i>	Indigenous Agriculture
<i>Dulla Bhatti</i>	A famous freedom fighter
<i>Eid-ul-Azha</i>	10 th day of Islamic Month of <i>Zil-Haj</i>
<i>Ejaadaat</i>	Inventions (Singular: <i>Ejaad</i>)
<i>Fail</i>	Function
<i>Faisalabad</i>	A District
<i>Falah</i>	Human welfare
<i>Falah-i-insaaniat</i>	Welfare of humanity
<i>Farahmiyee Wasaael aur Intizaam</i>	Resource Management
<i>Gobber</i>	Cow Dung
<i>Goya</i>	Cow Dung
<i>Gujranwala</i>	A District
<i>Hakeem</i>	Herbalist
<i>Hakeem</i>	Herbalist
<i>Hari</i>	Tenants
<i>Hazrat Mian Mir'</i>	A famous <i>Sufi</i> saint in the reign of Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan. He laid the foundation stone of Sikhism's Sacred Temple known as 'Golden Temple' in Amritsar
<i>Hikmat</i>	<i>Hikmat</i> is identified with the theoretical philosophical sciences comprising of metaphysics, mathematics, natural science, and logic and with the practical philosophical sciences comprising of ethics, economics, and politics.
<i>Ijtamaiyat</i>	Collectivism
<i>Ijtamayee Insaaf</i>	Social Justice
<i>Ilm</i>	Knowledge
<i>Ilmi istedaadkar</i>	Scholastic achievements
<i>Sooa</i>	Big needle
CHAPTER SEVEN	
<i>Baqa</i>	Survival
<i>Ejaadaat</i>	Inventions (singular: <i>Ejaad</i>)
<i>Falah</i>	Welfare
<i>Ijtamaiyat</i>	Collectivism
<i>Istadaad-e-Kaar</i>	Capacity Building

<i>Jadidiat</i>	Modernization	
<i>Kaamyabi</i>	Success	
<i>Karobari</i>	Business related	
<i>Kaller</i>	A White layer being caste over the surface of land due to shortage of	
Water		
Khawaja Farid	Sufi saint in Kotmithan Distirct Rajanpur, South Punjab	
<i>Khoji</i>	Traditional foot print reader	
<i>Kunba</i>	Extended family	
Lahore	A District and capital of Punjab province	
<i>Malamati sufis</i>	Malamati sufi are people who self condemn themselves in order to seek self purification	
<i>Marahil</i>	Stages (Singular: <i>Marhala</i>)	
<i>Marifat</i>	Recognition of ultimate reality	
<i>Mazaray</i>	Tenants	
<i>Mazaray–Zamindar</i>	relationship	Tenancy
Mian Mohammad Bakhsh	Sufi saint in Mirpur Azad Jammu and Kashmir	
<i>Mirasi</i>		
<i>Mistri</i>	Mason	
<i>Moaashi Mawaaqay</i>	Economic Opportunity	
<i>Momin</i>	True believer	
<i>Muqaami</i>	Local	
<i>Muqaami Taraqqi</i>	Local Development	
<i>Mukhtariat</i>	Community empowerment	
<i>Mustahqam</i>	Stable and sustainable	
<i>Nakaami</i>	Failure	
<i>Naukar-shahi</i>	approach	Top-down approach or bureaucratic approach
<i>Paathi</i>	Cow dung patties	
<i>Paidaar taraqqi</i>	Sustainable development	
<i>Paidariat</i>	Sustainability	
<i>Parya</i>	Village council	
<i>Peers</i>	Spiritual guides	
<i>pind wasiya nahi tay uchakkay pehlay</i>		A proverbial that means: the looters were pre-existent before the settlement of village.
<i>Pindthan</i>	Community	
<i>Punchayat</i>	Inter-villages' council	
<i>Qayyadat</i>	Leadership Training	
<i>Raj</i>	Mason	
<i>Roshan Zamir</i>	Alive-conscience	
<i>Saakht</i>	Structure	
<i>seipi</i>	system	Patron-client relationship
Shah Hussain	Sufi saint in District Lahore	
<i>Shamilat</i>	Communal land	
<i>Shamuliat</i>	Community participation	
Sheikhupura	A District of Central Punjab. District of Study.	
<i>Shinaakhat</i>	Identification and Homogenizing	
<i>Shirkat</i>	Participation	
<i>Sianay</i>	Visionary elders (Singular: <i>Siana</i>)	

<i>Sooch Bichar</i>	Conceptualizing
Sultan Bahoo	Sufi saint in Shorkot, District Jhang
<i>Tabbar</i>	Nuclear family
<i>Tajaweez</i>	Interventions
<i>Takhmina aur Jaiza</i>	Evaluation and Updating IMD
<i>Takmeel</i>	Self-fulfillment
<i>Tanzeem</i>	Community organization
<i>Taraqqi</i>	Community development
<i>Taraqqi</i>	Development both Urdu and Punjabi languages
<i>Taraqqiati zarooriyat</i>	Developmental needs
<i>Tarjeehi umoor</i>	Priority targets
Tasawwar aur muzmiraat	Perception and internalities
<i>Tashkeel-i-mafadaat</i>	Market economy
<i>Tehreek</i>	Community mobilization
<i>Wadkay</i>	Visionary elders (Singular: <i>Wadka</i>)
<i>Walayat</i>	
<i>Walayati</i>	
<i>Wangar</i> system	Communal labor
Waris Shah	Sufi saint and poet in District Sheikhpura,
<i>Wasaael</i>	Resources
<i>Watar</i>	Soil Moisture
<i>Zaman-o-makaan</i>	Space and Time Dimension
CHAPTER EIGHT	
<i>Apni Madad Ap</i>	Self-help
<i>Biraderi</i>	Caste brethren
<i>Chacha</i>	Father's younger brother
<i>Dehaat-punchayat</i>	Village council
<i>Dera</i>	Men's room
<i>Deraydar</i>	Owner of Men's room
<i>Desi Ilm</i>	Indigenous knowledge
<i>Dhara</i>	Electoral Alliance
<i>Fallahi anjumans</i>	Welfare organizations
<i>Fareeqain</i>	Opposing parties (singular: <i>Fareeq</i>)
<i>Ghairat</i>	Honor
<i>Ikhtiari faraiz</i>	Optional) matters
<i>Imam</i>	Person who recites holy verses and leads during prayers
<i>Itefaq-e-Rai</i>	Social consensus
<i>Izzat</i>	Prestige
<i>Janazagah</i>	A place where funeral related activities are performed before the burial
<i>Jurmana</i>	Fine
<i>Kammi</i>	Occupational group
<i>Keth</i>	Gathering (The term ' <i>keth</i> ' is a colloquial expression whereas written as ' <i>aketh</i> ')
<i>Khoji</i>	Traditional foot print reader
<i>Kunba</i>	Extended family

<i>Lazmi faraiz</i>	Mandatory) functions
<i>Lok raj</i>	Self-rule
<i>Madrassas</i>	Religious education institutions
<i>Markazi punchayat</i>	Central <i>Punchayat</i>
<i>Mashawarati amal</i>	Consultative process
<i>Mazaray</i>	Tenants (Singular: <i>Mazara</i>)
<i>Mukhalifs</i>	Opponents (singular: <i>Mukhalif</i>)
<i>Nakka</i>	Entry point of irrigation water in the fields
<i>Numainda</i>	Representative
<i>Parya</i>	Intra-village council
<i>Patwar</i>	Office of land clerk
<i>Patwari zamin</i>	Land clerk
<i>Pind di dhi</i>	Village's daughter
<i>Punchayat</i>	Inter-village council
<i>Quam</i>	Caste
<i>Rassagir</i>	Person patronizing local criminals
<i>Shamuliat</i>	Community participation
<i>Sharakat</i>	Cooperation
<i>Shirkat</i>	Participation
<i>Siyaasat</i>	An Arabic word derived from ' <i>siyasa</i> ' that literally means 'the art of government'
<i>Sufaid Posh</i>	Scheduled castes (literally means 'white collars').
<i>Surpunch</i>	Head of <i>Punchayat</i>
<i>Swaraj</i>	Self rule
<i>Taluq</i>	Social relations
<i>Thana</i>	Police station
<i>Zaat</i>	Caste
<i>Zamindars</i>	Landlords

CHAPTER NINE

<i>Taraqqi</i>	Development
<i>Abaadi</i>	Population
<i>Wasaael</i>	Resources
<i>Basti</i>	Community
<i>Falah</i>	Welfare
<i>Chowkidara</i>	Community surveillance
<i>Wangar</i>	Communal labor
<i>Zarai Tarraqiati</i>	Agricultural Development
<i>Muqaddam</i>	The village headman in Mughal times
<i>Punchayat</i>	Inter-villages' council
<i>Parya</i>	Intra-village council
<i>Keth</i>	Lineage and Caste Council
<i>Dhara</i>	Political faction
<i>Muqami</i>	Local
<i>Mohajir</i>	Immigrant
<i>Abaadkar</i>	Settler

Patwar
Thana
Gundas
Taluks

Office of land clerk
Police station
Bandits
Links

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Index

A

A. N. Panda.....	500, 575
<i>abaadi</i>	17, 179, 373, 374, 375, 381, 413, 414, 473, 498
<i>Abaadkar</i>	386, 555
<i>abaadkar</i> (settler)	518
<i>abadies</i>	40, 551
Abbas	468, 561
Achaemenid Empire.....	141
Adam Smith.....	82, 454, 501
Adaptive Research Farming Institute	313
<i>Adhati</i>	133, 134, 164, 338, 551, 554
<i>Aeen-e-Akbari</i>	144
Afghanistan	142
Africa.....	23, 52, 53, 54, 78, 84, 91, 476, 565, 568, 579, 580
<i>Agaitri</i>	258, 261, 554
Agenda for Development	87, 580
agricultural commodities	133, 282, 290
agricultural development.....	15, 31, 32, 33, 40, 66, 68, 77, 117, 192, 204, 289, 318, 319, 355, 486, 548
agricultural productivity.....	42, 66, 364, 367, 539
Agriculture Census Organization.....	448
Agriculture department	68, 199, 282, 300, 460
Agronomic Research Project (ARP)	16, 77, 199
AHKCRD&MD	229, 457
Ahmad Shah Abdali	146
AJK.....	142
Akbar the Great.....	179
Alavi	266, 514, 561
Albert Hirschman	93
Alderfer.....	465, 561
Alexander of Macedon.....	141
Ali i, 161, 178, 271, 289, 388, 392, 417, 445, 449, 515, 516, 561, 568	
<i>Al-insaan</i>	416, 555
Alkire & Deneulin	242
<i>Amali Jama aur Nigraani</i> (Implementation and Monitoring).....	400
America	23, 43, 44, 62, 78, 84, 91, 476, 566, 579
American Aid.....	35, 109, 110, 478
Andrew.....	312, 313
Angell, Lowden, & Thorp	454
annual growth rate	43, 106
Annual Plan, 2010-2011	128, 130
Ansari	468, 561
Anthropologists.....	47, 52, 66, 90, 97, 528, 531, 532, 539
Appleton, Fernandez, Hill, & Quiroz.....	97, 371
Applied Anthropology	44, 563, 570
Approaches	113

Arabian Sea	142
<i>Arians</i>	154, 161
Aristide.....	512
Aryan tribes.....	141
Aryans	423
Ashfaq & Raza	275
Ashish Nandy	60, 510
Asia 22, 23, 54, 78, 84, 91, 92, 105, 106, 152, 158, 245, 321, 423, 469, 475, 476, 561, 562, 563, 566, 569, 570, 571, 572, 576, 577, 578, 579	
Ayub Agriculture Research Institute	199, 206
Ayub Khan	127, 233, 245, 455, 481
Azad Jammu and Kashmir	142, 238, 393, 557
Aziz.....	25, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 109, 119, 120, 126, 127, 135, 136, 370, 371, 561

B

bacterial infection	306
Bagnash.....	42, 561
Bahawalnagar	25
Bahawalpur	25, 158, 305, 311
<i>Bahi Khaata</i>	174
Bailey.....	492, 561
<i>Baithak</i>	170, 524
Bajpal.....	454, 562
Balochistan.....	142, 144
Bangladesh.....	116, 453, 484, 576
Barani Lands.....	256
Bardhan	454, 562, 564
Barnard & Spencer	45, 46, 47, 66, 527
Basic Democracies	115, 481
Basic Democracies (1959-70).....	31
Basic Democracy System.....	115
<i>Basti</i>	17, 373, 374, 375, 473, 498, 556, 559
<i>basties</i>	40, 551
Beatie	51, 52, 53, 540
Beck.....	76, 562
Benazir Bhutto	110, 139
Bernard	480
Bhagwati	76, 562
<i>Bhaichara</i>	270, 554
Bhargava & Acharya.....	525
Bhatti	58, 109, 132, 146, 161, 229, 386, 389, 422, 509, 542, 556, 562
Bhupinder Singh.....	500
Bhutan.....	484
Bhutto government.....	127
Bhutto's reforms	127
bio-statistics	106
Biradari.....	432, 433
<i>Biraderi</i>	432, 433
Biswanger.....	31, 562

Black Death	22
Blair	453, 562
Blaser	90, 96, 97, 98, 562, 563
Blumenthal.....	307, 308
Blunt.....	440, 563
Bodley	74, 77, 563
<i>Bohar</i> (Ficus indica).....	148
Bolitho.....	34, 563
Bose & Jalal	30
Braibanti.....	479
Brazil	92, 453, 566
BRB link	149
Brian Walker	86
Britain.....	425
British.....	382, 383, 386, 424, 438, 464, 465, 466, 482, 512, 521
British Raj	56, 138, 413, 478, 514, 515, 516
Brown.....	480
Buddha (537 BCE)	141
Buddhism	145
Bureaucratic elite.....	39

C

C. W. Mills	64
Callinicos	59, 563
Canada	86, 479, 509, 574, 581
Cancer	297
Cane	257
capitalistic ethos	29, 74, 397, 414
capitalistic mode of production	46, 63, 490, 510
Case Study.....	429
Caste	224, 524
Central Superior Services (CSS) of Pakistan	58
Chagnon	76, 563
<i>Chak</i>	40, 150, 551
Chambers	66, 563
Chaudhry.... i, ii, 69, 113, 121, 123, 159, 185, 220, 221, 272, 335, 357, 359, 360, 368, 383, 384, 386, 389, 432, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 552, 563, 564	
Chaudhry & Chaudhry.....	121, 123, 220
Cheema	226
Cheema & Farooq	24, 130, 131, 132, 197, 330, 332, 333, 347, 348
Cheema, Khwaja, & Qadir	124
Chemicalization.....	369
<i>Chenab</i>	130, 146, 147, 148, 191, 198, 200, 263, 309, 445
China	23, 92, 135, 142, 312, 332, 370, 428, 477
Chirof	532, 564
Chlorothalonil	298
<i>Cholistan</i>	25, 142
civil administration.....	30, 221
civil bureaucracy	30, 38, 39, 108, 138, 252, 422, 440, 451, 480, 513, 529

client state	35, 513
closed corporate peasant community	61, 62
Cloughley	38, 564
Cohen,	35, 107, 564
Cole	76, 564
colonial administration	39, 54, 438, 462, 465, 466, 512, 516, 528
colonial government	535
colonial institutions	58
colonial legacy holders	252, 315
colonial rule	48, 56, 58, 65, 92, 222, 266, 269, 321, 383, 438, 439, 464, 465, 478, 511, 518, 535, 546, 555
colonialism	48, 55, 56, 90, 96, 242, 518, 532, 546
Colonization	512
Comilla	116
commercialization	97, 100, 132, 134, 280, 294, 353, 369
communal land	185, 375, 377, 381, 447
Communication and Works department	461
communism of development	103
Community	94, 229, 230, 404, 409
Community based natural resource management	406
Community Development	410, 412
Community Empowerment	407, 412
Community Evaluation	412
Community Mobilization	412
Community Monitoring	412
Community Organization	402, 412
Community Participation	406, 412
community tubewells	266
Comprehensive Development Framework (CDF)	102
Conflict Management	471
Conklin	98, 564
constitution of Pakistan	459
Core group	415, 441, 442
Cotton	257
Courrier	91, 564
Courts of Wards	439, 564
Cowen & Shenton	242
Cro-Magnon	21
crop production	130, 191, 255, 331
crop-rotations	279, 355
Crown Lands	268
CTW	211
cultural development	88
Cultural Materialism	64
cultural relativism	60, 511
Culture	29, 228, 549
Culture Policy of Pakistan	104, 567
Cypher & Dietz	23, 82, 83, 85
Cyrus	141, 525, 564

D

Dalal-Clayton, Dent, & Dubois.....	41, 98, 102, 103, 507
Dalal-Clayton, Swiderska, & Bass	103
Data.....	72
David Ricardo	82
DCO	462, 463
DCPA	298
DDT	297
de Certeau.....	54
de Vreede.....	89, 565
Debiel.....	36, 565
Decision Making Process.....	408
<i>Degh</i>	148, 150, 552
<i>deh</i>	40, 551
<i>dehat</i>	40, 551
Delaney	525, 565
dependency theory.....	48, 49, 532
Deputy Commissioner.....	117, 462
deputy district officers.....	467
<i>Dera</i>	154, 436, 524, 558
<i>Dera Gujran</i>	154
Deraydar	432, 438, 520, 521, 522, 524
Deraydari	520
Derrida	56, 509
<i>Desi</i>	17, 189, 321, 322, 323, 330, 381, 392, 413, 417, 418, 420, 431, 473, 544, 556, 558
<i>desi ilm</i>	321, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 416
<i>Desi Ilm</i>	431, 558
developing countries.....	35, 41, 48, 49, 88, 91, 92, 102, 532, 539
Development	113, 114, 116, 117, 120, 229, 232, 235, 245, 455, 456, 461, 499
development agenda	42, 104, 105, 476
development anthropology	45, 46, 47, 64, 66, 89
Development Anthropology.....	90
Development Assistance Committee (DAC).....	508
Development board	108
development cooperation agencies.....	102
Development initiatives.....	414
development interventions.....	41, 65, 104, 106, 114, 139, 193, 531
development paradigm.....	99, 137, 418, 505, 507, 510, 530, 536, 541
Development Planning.....	479
development policies.....	40, 91, 347, 499
development policy	47, 398, 493
Development practices	413
development process.....	28, 41, 78, 86, 101, 102, 103, 105, 113, 116, 193, 232, 241, 243, 379, 402, 413, 415, 445, 463, 480, 481, 494, 500, 505, 507, 511
development programs.....	41, 114, 138, 429, 441, 450, 476, 497, 501
development projects	32, 45, 77, 89, 101, 114, 118, 119, 183, 198, 235, 279, 437, 442, 474, 475, 511
development staff.....	74, 75, 99, 494, 506
development strategies	113, 534
development studies	45, 50, 89

Devolution.....	123, 224, 229, 238, 240, 245, 246, 455, 456, 482
devolution of power.....	19, 26, 27, 65, 73, 77, 123, 124, 136, 183, 192, 198, 220, 221, 223, 245, 372, 454, 456, 457, 460, 469, 474, 528, 542, 543
Devolution Plan.....	471
Devolution Trust for Community Empowerment.....	73, 75, 229, 232
<i>Dhara</i>	183, 233, 422, 436, 458, 517, 518, 547, 554, 558, 559
<i>Dhara</i> leader	436
<i>dhokes</i>	40, 551
Diamond.....	76, 565
Diazinon	298
Dieldrin.....	297
diminishing returns	82
District.....	115, 117, 227, 228, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 240, 246, 437, 456, 462
district administration.....	125, 134, 157, 159, 183, 184, 185, 219, 272, 276, 316, 438, 443, 463, 464, 466, 494
District Coordination Officer	472
district coordination officers.....	467
District Council	118
district governments.....	73, 123, 219, 220, 230, 231, 246, 456, 459, 461, 462, 469
District Nazim.....	472
DNA	431
<i>Dobari</i>	188, 257
Dogar.....	161, 184, 186, 187, 208, 214, 272, 422, 448, 468, 469, 565
<i>Dogars</i>	154, 187, 226
Doorman	244, 565
Dr. Gro Harlem Brundtland	87
Dr. Mahbub ul Haq.....	499
Dry Western Plateau	257
DTCE.....	232, 457
Dubai	159
Dube.....	480
Dubois	135, 507, 565
Dudgeon.....	512

E

East Pakistan	43, 109, 110, 111
ecological deterioration	100
Economic.....	409, 499, 557
economic change	87
economic development	27, 42, 44, 47, 58, 64, 74, 79, 82, 83, 84, 88, 91, 108, 110, 113, 476, 477, 485, 501, 515, 530, 531
Economic Growth.....	539
economic growth model	43
Economic Survey of Pakistan (2010-11).....	24, 33
eco-statistics	107
EDO	230, 240, 353, 458, 471
Education	437
Eighth Five-Year Plan (1993-98)	111
Eisenstadt.....	480
<i>ejaadaat</i> (inventions).....	394

El Salvador.....	31
Ellen and Harris	98
employment opportunities	23, 86, 113, 118, 273, 286, 328
Empowerment	408, 409
Endosulfan	298
Engels.....	82
environmental compatibility.....	323
environmental degradation	87, 95, 100, 363
environmental protection.....	88, 91
Environmental Protection Agency (EPA).....	310
Escobar.....	42, 45, 59, 475, 545, 566
Esman.....	480
Esteva.....	59
Ethion.....	298
ethnic rivalries.....	35
eucalyptus.....	148
evolutionism	52
Executive District Officer.....	471
executive district officers.....	467

F

<i>fail</i> (function)	394
Faisalabad	146, 150, 154, 158, 159, 199, 202, 205, 206, 239, 263, 276, 277, 292, 304, 313, 328, 330, 347, 356, 556
<i>Falah</i> (human welfare).....	396
<i>falah-i-insaaniat</i> (Welfare of humanity)	396
<i>fallahi anjumans</i> (welfare organizations).....	445
FANA	142
FAO	304
<i>Fareeqain</i> (opposing parties)	432
Farm Produce Market Committee'	228
farming community.....	16, 27, 28, 32, 133, 169, 191, 192, 199, 202, 205, 206, 207, 209, 248, 250, 259, 270, 279, 298, 323, 329, 331, 332, 333, 356, 358, 485, 487, 492, 555
Farooqabad	152, 154, 172, 197, 199, 239, 253, 266, 276, 279, 294, 312, 434, 554
Farrar & Milton	85
FATA.....	142
fatalists.....	57, 310, 477
Fedarko	76, 566
Federal Bureau of Statistics	33, 40, 448, 567
Federally Administered Northern Areas	142
Federally Administered Tribal Areas	142
Ferozewala	147, 179
Ferraro	47, 60, 542, 545, 566
Fifth Five Year Plan (1978-83)	110
First Five Year Plan (1955-60)	108
Firth.....	52, 53
floods	24, 109, 261, 332, 343, 344, 349
Fogelson & Adams	525, 527
Fogelson and Adams	64, 527
food chain	313

food crisis	22
forestry.....	24, 101, 129, 136, 371, 486
Fourth Five Year Plan (1970-75).....	110
fourth-worlders.....	54
Fox.....	270, 274, 381, 382, 383, 497, 566
<i>Francisco Sagasti</i>	91, 92
Frank	241, 480, 566
Friedman	76, 566
fungicides.....	31, 248, 510

G

Gable	464, 465
<i>gabli</i>	258, 260
Gardezi.....	36, 44, 428, 514, 566
Gardezi & Rashid.....	36, 44
Garvey.....	512
Gasper	82, 97, 476, 566
gender discrimination	35
gender disparities	107
Gender Disparity Index	107
Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM)	86
Gender-related Development Index (GDI)	86
General Musharraf.....	138
General Zia ul Haq.....	122, 126
geo-statistics	107
German Ethnology Society.....	97
Ghandhi.....	451
Gilmartin	266, 516, 567
Glenn McRae.....	90
Globalization	512
GNP	483
GNP per Capita.....	107
Godfrey	53
<i>Gogera Branch</i>	191, 263
<i>Gonzalo Alcalde</i>	91, 92
Good Governance	471
Goodnow	480
<i>goths</i>	40, 551
Goulet & Miller	525
governance	86, 93, 102, 112, 123, 219, 245, 451, 456, 471, 484, 491, 535, 537, 539, 569
Government	117, 120, 121, 123, 228, 229, 232, 234, 235, 245, 246, 455, 456, 461, 481
Government of Pakistan.....	23, 24, 25, 33, 34, 40, 75, 104, 105, 106, 112, 121, 123, 125, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 150, 154, 219, 256, 268, 301, 302, 303, 309, 310, 567, 568
Government of the Punjab	27, 33, 75, 147, 440, 568, 571
government owned tubewells	266
Grabowski, Self, & Shields.....	82
Green Revolution	42, 95, 115, 129, 369, 571
Grenier	89, 95, 97, 98, 100, 101, 481, 568
Grinspun.....	495, 496, 497, 568

Gross Domestic Product (GDP)	502
Gross National Product (GNP).....	502
Growth Strategy (1950-1970)	31
Growth Strategy' (1950-70)	113
Guatemala.....	23, 31, 477
Guijit and Hinchcliffe.....	508
<i>Gujars</i>	154, 157, 158, 159, 161, 184, 225, 422, 432
Gujranwala	146, 154, 158, 186, 202, 263, 276, 305, 311, 328, 378, 556
Gujrat	230, 238, 461
<i>Gundas</i>	524, 560
Gunnar Myrdal	478
Guru Nanak	ii, 152, 178, 179, 193, 553
Gurudwara	152, 154, 178, 179, 552, 554

H

Haas	525, 569
Habibi	454, 569
<i>Hadiala</i>	148, 552
Hafizabad	146, 154, 197, 202, 215, 300
Haider	225
Haiti.....	512
<i>Hakeem</i>	335
Hann and Hart.....	49, 50
Haq.....	245, 385, 455
Haque.....	i, 39, 40, 569
Harappa.....	144
Harden	76, 569
Harding.....	508, 569
<i>Haris</i>	271
Harvard Advisory Group.....	43, 475
Harvey A. Feit.....	90
Healey	525, 570
Health.....	460, 461
Health department	460
<i>Heer Ranjha</i>	177
Henslin	525, 570
High Yielding Varieties	279, 355, 369
Hill	97, 202, 371, 561, 570, 572, 574, 577, 578
Himalayas.....	142, 147
Hindu Kush.....	142
Hinduism	145, 156, 158
Hirschman	93, 570
Hitchcock.....	76, 532, 570
Hobsbawm	533, 570
Homi Bhabha.....	54, 545, 563
Howard	59
Hughes, Kroehler, & Vander Zanden.....	525
Hulse	45, 81, 83, 84, 86, 87, 89, 570
human cost	82

human development.....	82, 85, 86, 479, 483, 484, 500, 501, 504
Human Development Index	86, 107, 484
Human Development Report	483, 491, 501, 511, 580
human diversity	93
human health.....	31, 95, 305, 308, 313, 317, 359, 406
Human Poverty Index (HPI).....	86
Humza Alavi	266
Huntington	532, 570
Hutchinson	76, 570

I

ICG.....	245, 455
ICT	142
IFAD.....	22, 133, 135, 370, 570
IFPRI	95, 571
<i>Ijtamayee Insaaf</i>	409, 556
IK 28, 94, 549	
<i>Ikhtiar faraz</i> (optional matters).....	426
IKS	15, 28, 29, 72, 94, 347, 349, 429, 484, 539, 540, 541, 543, 548, 549, 579
<i>ilmi istedaadkar</i> (scholastic achievements)	396
ILO Convention 107.....	97
IMD	398, 401, 504, 505, 558
IMF	533, 534, 536, 581
Immanuel Wallerstein.....	49
imperialism	46, 90, 96
Inayatullah	464, 465
income inequalities.....	35
India 23, 34, 35, 37, 105, 109, 110, 121, 125, 142, 145, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 180, 221, 222, 259, 270, 271, 274, 301, 320, 342, 348, 381, 382, 384, 386, 423, 424, 428, 438, 450, 455, 464, 470, 477, 484, 507, 511, 513, 515, 535, 537, 561, 562, 563, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 578, 579, 581	
Indian National Congress	382, 535
indigenismo.....	61
indigenous agriculture	17, 316, 320, 323, 324, 331, 363, 367, 384, 473, 486
indigenous farming	27, 70, 71, 136, 274, 320, 356, 358, 363, 371, 412, 486
Indigenous Farming Methods	350
indigenous farming practices.....	70, 71, 356, 358, 363, 412, 486
indigenous initiative.....	484
indigenous institutions.....	43, 55, 57, 65, 440, 450, 478, 520
indigenous knowledge 15, 26, 29, 31, 57, 75, 76, 78, 94, 95, 104, 134, 135, 136, 139, 298, 329, 370, 371, 376, 393, 407, 416, 431, 475, 486, 509, 536, 540, 544, 549	
Indigenous Knowledge	94
Indigenous Knowledge System	15
indigenous model of development	71, 482
indigenous notions on development	74
indigenous perception of development.....	15, 541, 548
Indigenous Political Organization.....	546
indigenous traditions	57
indigenous bourgeoisie.....	250
Indus Civilization	141

Indus Delta	256
Indus River	142
industrial management	87
infant mortality	106
informal sector	503
Integrated Research Sites	350
Integrated Rural Development Program (IRDP) in 1971-78	31
inter-cropping patterns	279, 355
International Financial Organizations (IFIs)	78
International-dependence	85
inter-villages council	420, 452, 547
intra-village council	420, 470, 547
Iran	142
Iranian Empire	141
IRDP	116, 117, 139
IRDP (1972-80)	31
Irrigation department	487
IRS	350, 351, 352, 353
Islam	42, 107, 128, 145, 155, 156, 157, 389, 395, 416, 417, 516, 567, 571, 577
Islamabad	142, 455, 456, 457
Islami Jamhuri Itehad (IJI)	110
<i>Istadaad-e-Kaar</i> (Capacity Building)	403

J

<i>Jadidiat</i> (modernization)	397
<i>Jagirdar</i>	268, 554
Jahangir	144
<i>Jalalpur</i>	146
Jalalzai	23, 35, 41, 571
Jalandhar	384, 386, 442
<i>Jats</i>	154, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 184, 422, 432
Jhang	146, 202, 263, 438, 558
John	107
John Stuart Mill	82, 501
Johnson	96, 571
<i>Jund</i> (<i>Prosopis spincigera</i>)	147
Junejo Government	118
Justice	39, 409, 475, 554, 556, 571

K

<i>kaamyabi</i> (including either good or best practices)	415
<i>Kala Shah Kaku</i>	148, 552
<i>Kaller</i>	337
<i>Kallrathi</i>	148
<i>kammi class</i>	166, 193, 326, 327, 410, 414, 416, 422
<i>kammis</i>	163, 165, 166, 173, 327, 384, 386
Kapurthala	384, 442

Karachi	34, 105, 110, 111, 125, 179, 561, 564, 566, 569, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 579, 581
Karakoram.....	142
<i>Karil</i> (Capparis aphylla)	147
<i>Katchi Abadis</i>	118
Kath.....	433
Kaufman.....	479, 571
Kehoe	76, 532, 571
Kellman	76, 571
Kenya	32, 569, 576
Ker.....	349, 350
<i>Keth</i>	404, 405, 421, 432, 433, 435, 452, 470, 517, 547, 558, 559
Keyes.....	532, 571
<i>Khabbal</i>	148
Khan	36, 37, 38, 39, 67, 73, 75, 102, 122, 123, 125, 126, 127, 128, 138, 143, 177, 179, 222, 229, 271, 356, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 420, 427, 452, 454, 456, 467, 519, 528, 567, 571, 572
Khan, Khan, & Akhtar	452, 454, 525
<i>Khanqah Dogran</i>	146, 178, 179
Kharian.....	461
<i>Kharif</i>	24, 130, 188, 196, 257, 265, 315, 352, 353
<i>khasras</i>	40, 551
<i>Khoji</i>	430, 558
<i>Khushal</i> Pakistan	31
<i>khushali</i>	26
Khyber Pakhtoonkhwa	158, 269, 554
Kievelitz.....	508, 572
<i>Kikar</i> (Acacia arbica).....	147
<i>Killi</i>	40, 551
King	144
Kofi A. Anan.....	87
Kolenda	155, 572
Kondo.....	525, 572
Korten	512
<i>Kot Naina</i>	150
<i>Kot Pindi Das</i>	148, 552
Kotmithan	393, 557
Kottak.....	44, 60, 64, 73, 77, 78, 79, 572
<i>Kotwal</i>	424
<i>Kuepper</i>	351, 572
<i>Kunba</i>	404, 434, 558
Kuper and Kuper	526

L

<i>Laag</i>	173
Labor Force of Pakistan.....	25
Labor Force Survey (2010)	25
labor intensive	115, 133, 329
laggards.....	57, 332, 498
Lahore .39, 68, 143, 145, 146, 149, 150, 154, 159, 187, 197, 203, 215, 224, 239, 263, 276, 305, 311, 313, 328, 392, 393, 434, 440, 446, 522, 557, 562, 564, 566, 568, 569, 571, 572, 573, 574, 576, 577, 578, 579	

Lakhiar.....	275, 276, 572
Lal429, 431	
Lala Musa	238
Lambach.....	36, 565
<i>Lana</i> (Suda ruiteesa)	148
Land	142, 343
land cultivation	82
land degradation.....	107
land erosion	31, 131, 243, 343, 344
land settlement policies.....	250
Land Tenure System.....	16, 266, 271, 316
land utilization	131
<i>Lani</i> (<i>Salsola fostida</i>)	148
LaPorte Jr.	106, 108, 122, 466, 467, 573
late Pleistocene age	147
<i>Lazmi faraiz</i> (mandatory functions)	426
Leach.....	573
League of Nations	83
Lee.....	76, 573
Lefeber	84, 85, 86, 93, 494, 573
Leiten.....	454, 573
Lewellen	48, 49, 573
LGO	123, 230, 456, 463, 464, 543
LGO 2001	223, 230
Lieten	58, 59, 60, 61, 510, 511, 542, 545, 573
Lindstrom	64, 527, 573
livelihood	15, 22, 163, 186, 198, 241, 250, 251, 262, 270, 313, 315, 328, 376, 384
livestock sector	24, 132
Local.....	94, 117, 121, 123, 225, 229, 230, 232, 235, 245, 246, 436, 455, 456, 461, 464, 481
local community.....	26, 47, 113, 140, 172, 209, 219, 244, 414, 449, 492, 508
Local Government and Rural Development Program (1979-85).....	31
Local Government Ordinance	117, 471
local government system	19, 65, 73, 125, 138, 423, 425, 441, 453, 454, 455, 458, 463, 464, 466, 467, 468
local institutions.....	17, 59, 64, 222, 410, 421, 450, 465, 485, 537, 548
local knowledge systems.....	96, 371
Local level governance	469
local power holders.....	106, 224, 225, 316, 464, 473, 482, 525, 545, 546
Lord Curzon.....	222
Lord Ripon.....	222
low-income countries	92
Lyon.....	55, 521, 522, 573, 576, 579

M

M. Jackson.....	54, 498
<i>Maale</i>	173
Macmunn	517, 573
<i>Madrassas</i> (religious education institutions)	437
<i>Mahalwari</i> System	269, 554
Mahavira (510 BCE).....	141

Major	33, 114, 128, 129, 151, 172, 257, 364, 440, 454, 573
Malathion.....	298
Malaysia.....	537
Maldives.....	484
Malik.....	357, 358, 449, 466, 512, 573
Malinowski.....	52, 60, 511, 542
Malnutrition.....	306
<i>mamla</i>	125, 270, 316, 555
Management.....	399, 556
<i>Manga</i>	154
Mangtawala.....	149
Manor.....	453, 573
Marger.....	155, 525, 574
<i>marifat</i> (recognition of ultimate reality).....	395
Mario Blaser.....	90
<i>markazi punchayat</i>	446, 447, 449
<i>Markazi punchayat</i>	447
Martinussen.....	107, 574
Marx.....	82, 501, 530
Marxist Anthropology.....	63
maternal mortality.....	106
Max Gluckman.....	52
Max Weber.....	64, 530
Mayer.....	157, 574
Mazara	162, 552, 559
<i>Mazaray</i>	16, 162, 270, 271, 324, 328, 552, 555, 557, 559
mechanization.....	16, 25, 27, 33, 34, 72, 83, 95, 129, 133, 134, 139, 163, 166, 195, 203, 213, 244, 248, 253, 273, 276, 280, 282, 285, 286, 287, 299, 315, 317, 323, 328, 354, 360, 362, 367, 368, 378, 379, 490, 510, 548
Mechanization.....	369
mechanized agriculture.....	131, 133, 190, 279, 315, 494
Medium Term Development Framework (2005-10).....	112
Mehrgarh.....	141
Menon.....	520, 522, 523, 524, 525, 574
Messer.....	98, 574
Methamidophos.....	298
Middle East.....	84, 91
middleman.....	134, 248, 363, 518, 519, 522
<i>middlemen</i>	273, 298, 369
military dictatorship.....	538
military governments.....	39, 246, 453, 456
military way of government.....	440
Mills.....	105, 525, 526, 527, 574
Mirpur.....	393, 557
<i>Mirza Sahiban</i>	177
<i>Missie</i>	149
<i>Mistri</i>	385, 557
MNA.....	117
<i>Moaashi Mawaaqay</i>	409, 557
modernization theory.....	46, 241, 530, 549
<i>mohajir</i> (immigrant).....	518

Mohenjo Daro	144
Monica Wilson	53
Monsoon	149
Montagu-Chelmsford Report	268
Moore	61, 62, 63, 488, 490, 574
Moudie.....	514, 515, 574
<i>Mouza</i>	40, 551
Mozambique	31
MPA	117
Mughal	144, 145, 146, 221, 222, 386, 424, 513, 514, 517, 556, 559, 569
Mughal Emperor Akbar	424
Mughals	144, 424
<i>Mukhalifs</i> (opponents).....	432
<i>Mukhtariat</i> (Community empowerment)	402
Multan.....	143
Municipal Administration Ordinance 1960	115
<i>muqami</i> (local)	518
Muridke.....	147, 150
Musharaf.....	123, 462, 482
Muslim League's Agrarian Reforms	37

N

Nadir Shah.....	146
<i>naib Nazim</i>	223
<i>nakaami</i> (failure).....	415
<i>Nakka</i>	435
Nankana Sahib	152, 197, 202, 553
Naqvi	510, 574
NARC	67, 253, 254, 255, 279, 316, 356, 357, 574
Narowal.....	150, 263
Naseem	42, 43, 574
National.....	226, 229, 246, 436, 458, 463
National Agricultural Research Council	67, 263, 574
National Agriculture Research Council (NARC)	253, 356
National Assembly	246
National Commission for Human Development	73, 75, 229
National Database and Registration Authority	448
National Drinking Water Policy	303
National Economic Council	108
National Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP)	457
National Environment Policy.....	302
National Institute of Population Studies	448
National Reconstruction Bureau	73, 75, 221, 223, 567
National Water Council	302
National Water Policy	302
Nations Development Program (UNDP).....	82, 86, 512
natural resources 21, 22, 26, 41, 94, 98, 101, 133, 241, 243, 280, 293, 294, 310, 331, 373, 381, 395, 397, 416, 417, 419, 483, 498, 502, 507, 539, 544	
Nawaz Sharif	122, 139

<i>Nazim</i>	69, 181, 223, 226, 233, 236, 237, 239, 461, 543, 554
NCHD.....	229, 230, 231, 457
Neanderthal	21
<i>Neem</i>	335
Nelson	526
neo-evolutionism	52
neoliberal economics	91
Neo-marxist paradigm	46
Nepal.....	32, 484
Neubeck & Glasberg	241, 242, 525
New Growth Framework.....	112, 568
Niaz	37, 38, 124, 125, 525, 574
Nieuwenhuijze	480
<i>Nikki degh</i> (small stream).....	149
Ninth Five Year Plan (1998-2003).....	111
Nisbet.....	45, 474, 575
North & Cameron.....	84, 86, 93
North Frontier West Province	158
Northern Dry Mountains.....	257
Northern Irrigated Plain	256
NRB	457
<i>Numberdar</i>	270, 518, 554, 555
Nussbaum and Sen.....	93

O

Obeyesekere	76, 575
occupancy tenants	271
Okara.....	158, 263
open peasant community	61
Organic Farming.....	350
Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development's (OECD)	508
Ortner	76, 575
Oxfam GB	494, 495, 561, 575

P

<i>paachaitri</i>	258, 260
<i>Padianwala</i>	154
Page	516, 575, 581
Paidar Taraqqi	389
<i>paidariat</i>	375, 413
Pakistan.....	15, 28, 32, 116, 120, 121, 142, 179, 230, 245, 384, 456, 466, 479, 480, 481, 482, 484, 512, 520, 543, 548
Pakistan Agricultural Research Council	67, 256, 263, 264
Pakistan Environmental Protection Act 1997	302
Pakistan Environmental Protection Agency	308
Pakistan movement	44
Pakistan Strategic Country Environmental Assessment report.....	307
Pakistani bourgeoisie	107

Pakistani development agencies.....	534
Pakpattan	393, 556
Pak-SCEA	305, 307, 575
Palekar.....	454, 575
<i>Panchayat</i>	405, 423, 424, 425, 429, 517, 559
Pandey	19, 20, 21, 46, 66, 575
Party.....	246
<i>parya</i>	376, 377, 410, 420, 421, 425, 427, 428, 431, 442, 446, 518, 520, 547
<i>Parya</i>	517, 559
Pasha.....	515, 575
patron-client relationship	162, 324, 326, 410, 492, 526
<i>Pattidari</i>	270, 555
<i>Patwar</i> (office of land clerk).....	437, 521
<i>patwari zamin</i> (land clerk)	431
Pay and Services Commission	39
PCRWR	304, 305, 311, 575
Peasant	61, 62, 270, 555
peasant proprietors	270, 317, 555
peasant societies.....	61
Peasey	307, 308
Pentagon.....	538
People's Program	118, 119
People's Program-I (1989-90)	31
People's Program-II (1993-96)	31
People's Works Councils	117
People's Works Program.....	117
People's Works Program (1972-77)	31
Peoples' Works Program.....	117
per capita water availability.....	255
persistence of poverty	35
personal hygiene.....	306
Peru.....	31, 577
pesticides ..31, 126, 131, 132, 134, 164, 207, 243, 248, 273, 279, 280, 281, 283, 294, 297, 304, 337, 346, 353, 354, 355, 356, 359, 362, 510	
Pickett	512
<i>pind</i>	40, 397, 432, 551, 557
<i>Pindi Bhattian</i>	146, 202
<i>Pindor</i>	154
<i>Pindthan</i>	374, 375, 427, 557
<i>Piple</i> (<i>Ficus religuiosa</i>).....	148
<i>Pir</i> 180	
planning advisory board.....	108
Planning and Development department.....	460
Planning Commission	112, 114, 135, 370, 567, 568
Planning Commission of Pakistan	484
Police.....	239, 436, 437, 480
police department	134, 193, 272, 315, 427, 449, 463, 474, 524
Policy.....	246, 456
Policy makers	535
political elite.....	37, 39, 480

political empowerment.....	88, 408
political instability.....	35, 398, 479
political organization.....	16, 19, 267, 437, 546
political participation.....	452, 481, 484
political strategy.....	535
politically challenged.....	54
Politicians.....	437
Politics.....	224
pollutants.....	302, 304, 310, 311, 313, 314
<i>Pollution</i>	301, 302, 305
population growth.....	82, 83, 100, 101, 320, 540
Population Welfare Project.....	305
poverty reduction.....	22, 93, 320
Power.....	246, 456, 526
Power Brokers.....	517, 563
Preston.....	242, 575
Pretty.....	508, 576
Prilleltensky & Nelson.....	526
Prime Minister's five point developmental agendas.....	113
Prime Minister's Five Points Program (1985-88).....	31
private tubewells.....	266
private versus public ownership.....	534
Profession.....	155
Project.....	118, 120, 211
Prophet Mohammad (PBUH).....	416
Province.....	142
Provincial Bureaucracy.....	437
Provincial Water Regulatory Commissions.....	302
PTW.....	211
Public Census Organization.....	448
<i>punchayat</i>	328, 376, 377, 389, 410, 420, 421, 423, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 442, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 451, 452, 453, 470, 473, 515, 518, 520, 525, 546, 547, 558, 559
<i>punchayati</i> system.....	427, 451, 452, 470, 485, 520, 525
Punjab.....	15, 23, 27, 32, 57, 75, 111, 119, 125, 126, 128, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 152, 155, 158, 159, 167, 168, 172, 177, 179, 185, 187, 193, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 202, 212, 215, 222, 252, 260, 263, 264, 266, 267, 268, 269, 271, 277, 279, 280, 283, 291, 292, 298, 299, 305, 309, 310, 311, 314, 315, 321, 328, 330, 331, 332, 343, 351, 354, 355, 364, 365, 366, 369, 376, 382, 383, 385, 389, 391, 392, 411, 423, 424, 433, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 446, 447, 449, 461, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 539, 541, 544, 548, 554, 557, 561, 564, 567, 568, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 577, 579, 580
Punjabis.....	168, 169
PWP.....	117

Q

Qasoor.....	393, 556
<i>Qaum</i>	524
<i>Qayyadat</i> (Leadership Training).....	402
Quddus.....	21, 576
<i>Qul</i>	174
Qureshi.....	42, 161, 283, 422

R

Rabbani	58, 129, 130, 131, 132, 195, 196, 509, 542, 576
Rabi	130, 148, 188, 196, 257, 261, 265, 315, 353, 366
<i>Rachna Doab</i>	146, 147
Rahim Yar Khan	25
Rahman	57, 58, 509, 576
<i>Raiyatwari Tenure</i>	269, 555
<i>Raj</i>	385, 557
<i>Rajputs</i>	146, 154, 157, 158, 159, 161, 184, 422, 432
Ralph Dahrendorf	93
Ramnagar	146
Ramphal	91, 576
Ranis & Stewart	454
Ranjit Singh	146, 154, 424
Rao	525, 576
Rapport & Overing	54, 55
<i>Ravi</i>	146, 148, 149, 150, 154
Ravi River	150
Ravi silt	150
Regional Development Network	73
Rehman	i, 236, 453, 576
Report of the Pay and Services Commission (1959-62)	39
Research	456, 539
Resource Allocation and Mobilization	399
Resource Categorization	399
Resources Identification	399
Respondents	412, 520, 522, 544
Revenue department	270, 461, 555
Rice	257
Ringworm	306
Rist	90, 242, 577
Ritchie	495, 577
Ritzer	64, 525, 577
Rizvi	469, 577
Robarchek & Robarchak	525
Robert Dahl	522
Rosenthal	420, 577
<i>Roshan Zamir</i> (live-conscience)	393
Rowland Edgar's Report in 1953	39
Rural	94, 113, 115, 116, 117, 229, 245, 455, 456, 461, 480, 499
Rural Development	67, 73, 75, 104, 134, 135, 229, 356, 370, 457, 469, 485, 498, 539, 567, 580
Rural Support Networks	73
Rural Works Program	139
Rural Works Program (1963-71)	31, 115
rural-urban disparities	35
Russell Ackoff	93

S

S. N. Eisenstadt	48
<i>saakht</i> (structure)	394
Sabina Alkire	501
Sach Khand.....	178
Sacha Soda ii, 15, 16, 17, 61, 68, 151, 153, 154, 155, 170, 174, 178, 186, 187, 193, 197, 198, 199, 204, 206, 207, 208, 209, 211, 224, 226, 231, 232, 234, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 248, 249, 254, 257, 258, 259, 260, 266, 270, 271, 276, 282, 295, 301, 306, 311, 314, 316, 317, 319, 321, 323, 324, 331, 333, 335, 343, 345, 347, 373, 409, 416, 422, 429, 432, 435, 437, 442, 453, 463, 470, 473, 474, 476, 485, 487, 488, 490, 492, 499, 501, 505, 507, 509, 511, 524, 528, 541, 543, 544, 548, 554	
Sachs	81, 476, 577
Saeed	111, 112, 114, 128, 129, 359, 361, 577
Safdarabad	147
Sagasti	92, 99, 577
Sahiwal.....	144, 158, 188, 263, 438
Sahlins.....	76, 577
Saif	28, 31, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 41, 42, 43, 125, 127, 146, 250, 252, 271, 277, 439, 513, 514, 515, 516, 577
Salamat	41, 42, 577
Samundari	304
<i>Sanad</i>	424
Sandy Desert	256
sanitation	302, 306, 307
SAP	120
SAP-I.....	120, 121
SAP-II.....	113, 120
Saudi Arabia	159
Saunders	267, 577
Sayeed.....	266, 439, 578
Scabies	306
Schaefer	525, 578
Scupin.....	19, 20, 48, 49, 63, 64, 76, 529, 531, 532, 533, 545, 578
Scupin & DeCorse.....	19, 20, 48, 49, 64, 533
Second Five Year Plan (1960-65).....	109
Second Scarp Transition Project (SSTP).....	16, 77, 200
<i>Seipi</i> system	384, 385, 491, 492
self-governing communities.....	90
Sellama.....	59, 578
Sen	92, 93, 501, 578
Seventh Five Year Plan (1988-93)	110
Séverine Deneulin	501
Shahid	423, 429, 441, 578
<i>Shamuliat</i> (Community participation).....	402, 548
Shankar	98, 578
Sharan	453, 578
Sharaqpur.....	147, 149, 150
<i>Sharin</i> (Albizzia lebbek).....	148
Sheikhupura .15, 19, 69, 146, 147, 148, 150, 151, 152, 154, 158, 177, 179, 186, 192, 199, 202, 209, 224, 226, 230, 239, 240, 263, 264, 276, 303, 304, 305, 309, 311, 313, 315, 328, 350, 393, 548, 552, 553, 557, 558	
Shepard & Greene.....	525

<i>Sher Khan of Punjab</i>	143
<i>Shinaakhath</i> (Identification and Homogenizing)	398
Shirkat	402, 415, 557, 559
<i>Shisham</i> (<i>Dulbergia sissoo</i>)	147
Shiva	99, 578
Shorkot	393, 558
Shrybman	496, 577, 578
Sialkot	146, 148, 154, 199, 263
<i>sianaay</i> (village visionary elders)	415
Sikh	146, 151, 152, 178, 197, 424, 513, 514, 554, 573
Sikhism	178
Siles	454, 578
Sindh	25, 111, 126, 141, 142, 195, 196, 271, 367
Singh	146, 438, 500, 578, 579
Sinha	94, 540, 579
Sixth Five Year Plan (1983-88)	110
Small farmers	95, 133, 285, 329, 333, 342
small scale farmers 189, 191, 193, 207, 209, 218, 248, 255, 299, 314, 318, 320, 323, 348, 369, 492, 495, 497, 507, 523, 541, 544	
small scale societies	47, 61
Smith	82, 85, 454, 476, 477, 501, 579
Social	120, 409, 517, 556, 559
Social Action Program	120
Social Action Program-I	31
Social Action Program-II	31
social change	21, 45, 47, 51, 52, 53, 65, 89, 97, 332, 380, 480, 540
social control	315, 383, 427, 527, 529, 541, 547
social evolutionism	45, 89
social exploitation	252, 472, 490, 542
social system	52, 62
socio-biology	52
socio-economic infrastructure	40
socio-economic status	218, 320, 329, 365, 487, 488, 542, 545
socio-statistics	106
soil compaction	31, 131, 243, 248, 317
Soil Compaction	296
soil erosion	131, 243, 248, 426
<i>Sooch Bichar</i> (Conceptualizing)	398
South Korea	92
Southern Irrigated Plain	256
Sri Lanka	23, 477, 484, 576, 578
stakeholders	27, 36, 44, 75, 104, 111, 183, 219, 276, 315, 357, 396, 415, 418, 422, 494, 513, 546
State Bank of Pakistan	34
State Landlordism	268, 554
State of Environment	309
Stiglitz	533, 534, 579
Stokes	440, 579
structural change	84, 85
student-teacher ratio	107
Sudan	32

Sudesh Kumar Sharma	500
<i>Sufaid Posh</i>	16, 161, 162, 422, 553, 559
Sulaiman Piedmont	257
<i>surpunch</i>	420, 428, 442, 444, 547
survival needs	19, 62, 397
sustainable agriculture.....	332, 357, 363, 364, 539, 540
Sustainable Development	412
Sutton	76, 532, 579
Syedwala	149
synthetic fertilizers.....	25, 31, 207, 243, 281, 293, 294, 356

T

<i>Tajaweez</i> (Interventions)	400
Talbani	55, 509, 579
Talbot	37, 125, 277, 513, 516, 517, 579
Tameer-e-Watan Program	119
<i>Tameer-i-Watan</i> Program-I (1991-93)	31
<i>Tameer-i-Watan</i> Program-II (1997-98)	31
<i>Tanzeem</i> (Community organization).....	402
<i>taraqqi</i>	26, 375, 377, 389, 393, 397, 411, 413, 414, 415, 416, 418, 419, 473, 504, 557
<i>Taraqqi</i> (Community development).....	402
<i>taraqqiati zarooriat</i> (developmental needs).....	397
Tarar	55, 56, 159, 509, 579
<i>Tarikh-e-Sher Shah</i>	143
<i>tarjeehi umoor</i> (priority targets)	396
<i>tashkeel-i-mafadaat</i> (market economy)	396
Taxila	141
<i>Technology</i>	293
<i>Tehreek</i> (Community mobilization).....	402
Tehsil Municipal Administration	461
<i>Tehsil Nazim</i>	471
tenants-at-will	271
<i>Thana</i> (police station)	437, 521
Thapa	22, 579
Thar	142
Third Five Year Plan (1965-70)	109
Third World	45, 47, 48, 49, 59, 89, 91, 475, 479, 566, 569, 579
third world countries	36, 59, 66, 74, 241, 287, 477, 512, 530, 531
Thomas Malthus	82
Thorburn	441, 579
Titilola	100, 579
Toba Tek Singh	263, 392
Todaro.....	23, 81, 82, 84, 85, 241, 476, 477, 478, 579
Todaro & Smith	23, 81, 82, 84, 85, 476, 477, 478
Traditional.....	94, 464
traditional agriculture	17, 74, 129, 253, 279, 318, 323, 355, 410, 514
Traditional farming	274, 355
Traditional Knowledge	298
Traditional Leaders	438, 521

traditional <i>Punchayat</i> system	441
Traditional weed control practices	259
transnational markets	90
Transparency International	106
Tshombe	76, 580
Turkey	92
Turnbull	76, 81, 94, 532, 580, 581
Turner	59
Typhoid fever	306

U

Uganda	32
UN World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD)	89
UN's <i>Agenda 21</i>	98
UNDP	82, 86, 92, 483, 491, 493, 500, 501, 502, 504, 509, 512, 565, 580
unemployment	25, 41, 42, 107, 139, 286, 319, 329, 492
Unemployment rate	25
UNICEF	307, 310
Union Council	69, 73, 181, 191, 198, 221, 226, 227, 232, 233, 234, 235, 237, 312, 451, 554
United Kingdom	92, 120
United Nations	82, 84, 86, 87, 88, 241, 479, 512, 571, 580
United Nations (UN)	82, 87
United States	43, 44, 92, 528, 564
University of Agriculture, Faisalabad	67
University of Arid Agriculture, Rawalpindi	67
untouchables	156
<i>Urs</i>	178
<i>urs</i> (festival)	431
USAID	319, 320, 562, 580

V

vaccinations	106
Vail	524, 525, 580
<i>Van</i> (<i>Salvadera abeoides</i>)	147
van Bakel, Hagesteign and van de Velde	64
van Bakel, Hagesteign, & van de Velde	528
Vedic civilization	141
vested interest groups	30, 106, 398, 509
Village Agriculture and Industrial Development Program (V-AID)	31
Village Council	423, 429, 517, 559
vital opportunities	93

W

W. W. Rostow	48, 530
Walayati	321, 322, 558
Walker and Daniels	135

Wallerstein	532, 545, 580, 581
<i>Wangar</i>	384
<i>wangar</i> system.....	324
WAPDA.....	25, 200, 266, 309, 581
Waris Shah	ii, 175, 176, 177, 393, 558
<i>wasaael</i>	17, 373, 375, 377, 381, 413, 414, 473, 498
Washbrook.....	59, 581
Washington.....	31, 509, 537, 562, 570, 571, 573, 574, 579, 581, 582
Water Management Program (WMP).....	16, 77
water pollution	31, 301, 304, 305, 310, 314, 320
water shortage.....	24, 196, 202, 301, 406
<i>Wazirabad</i>	146
WCCD	82, 581
WCED	87, 91, 101, 581
Weber	525, 530, 571, 581
weedicides	31, 191, 248, 273, 294, 354, 510
<i>Weilaan</i>	173
Weisbrot	86, 581
Welfare Strategy (1971-1978).....	31
Western	481
Western civilization.....	54
Western Dry Mountains.....	257
western economic model.....	34
western ideology.....	74
Westernization.....	81, 476
westernized development models.....	538
Wet Mountains	257
Wheat	257
WHO.....	304, 313, 314, 581
Wilder	467, 468, 581
Williams	45, 382, 474, 581
Winegard.....	86, 581
WMP	343
Wolf	61, 62, 63, 487, 488, 490, 532, 545, 581, 582
World Bank .22, 28, 78, 84, 85, 92, 102, 108, 120, 122, 123, 195, 200, 202, 204, 220, 310, 320, 454, 467, 509, 533, 534, 536, 562, 573, 574, 579, 581, 582	
World Banks Assessment Report	310
World Commission on Culture and Development	82, 581
World Commission on Environment and Development.....	87, 101, 581
World System's Theory	49
World War II.....	45, 46, 48, 61, 83, 84, 89, 474, 475
WTO	533, 536, 577
WWF	195, 303, 304, 582
Wynn.....	21, 582

Y

Yadav.....	451, 582
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Z

Z. Bauman	54
Zaat	404
Zafarwal Dattan	150
Zaid Kharif	188, 257
Zaid Rabi	188, 257
zaidari system	267
zaidars	267, 439, 440
Zamin	16, 163, 250, 251, 314, 333, 375, 555
Zamindar	157, 159, 170, 184, 324, 375, 424, 553, 557
Zamindari nizam	268, 555
Zamindars	424
Zar	16, 250, 555
Zaraat	16, 248, 250, 252, 323, 330, 333, 555, 556
Zia385, 455	
Zila Monitoring committees (ZMCs)	228
Zila Nazim	471
zilla	73
Zimbabwe	31, 574