

Umer Khayyam

What (Not) Advances Effective Community-Driven Development?  
A Socio-economic & Politico-Cultural Analysis of the  
Pashtun Ethnic Society of FATA, Pakistan.

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A Socio-economic & Politico-Cultural Analysis of the  
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*Umer Khayyam*  
aus *Abbottabad, Pakistan*

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Dekanin/Dekan:	Prof. Dr. Martin Bosen
Vorsitzende/ Vorsitzender:	Prof. Dr. Oliver Treib
Erste Gutachterin/ Erster Gutachter:	Prof. Dr. Markus Lederer
Zweite Gutachterin/ Zweiter Gutachter:	Prof. Dr. Hanns Wienold
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## **Acronyms**

ACS	Additional Chief Secretary
APA	Assistant Political Agent
CDD	Community Driven Development
DAAD	German Academic Exchange Service
DCO	Deputy Commissioner Officer
FATA	Federally Administrative Tribal Areas
FCR	Frontier Crime Regulation
FDP	FATA Development Plan (2007-15)
FR	Frontier Region
GoP	Government of Pakistan
HEC	Higher Education of Pakistan
KPK	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
MDTF	Multi Donor Trust Fund
NGO	Non Government Organization
NPA	National Plan of Action
NWFP	North West Frontier Province
PA	Political Agent
ULB	University and City Library
WB	World Bank



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*Khayyam, Umer*

## **Abstract**

Community Driven Development (CDD) establishes a successful avenue for bottom-up oriented results based developmental approach in various societies. Diverse cultural landscapes, social system, economic conditions and political structure become panacea for executing area based developmental plans, while effectively tapping community level energies and interacting more synergistically that ultimately effects local people's lives. Subsequently, regional programs of development concern would also be remedy for socio-economic wellbeing of the world's largest tribal group of people, the Pashtun tribes, living in northwest region of Pakistan bordering Afghanistan.

This study deployed both qualitative and quantitative research methodology for scrutinizing the secondary data, besides collecting and analysing significant empirical data on Pashtun tribal society to skilfully study the ingredients of Pashtun tribal society. Based on that, this study highlighted the facilitating factors for out-side insurgence for the realization of CDD approach of FATA development. Moreover, importance of understanding the local social system for outsiders, the facilitating cultural features, satisfaction of the local stakeholders regarding developmental projects, level of actual representation in the development process, local concerns and anxiety on the consultation process is studied through primary data under the quantitative research methodology.

The transactional analysis of the culture and economic system verified the first main hypothesis that socio-economic characteristics enables the developmental efforts under CDD approach, if properly understood and accordingly followed, leading further to community participation (tangible and intangible) for programme outcomes, self-reliance and sustainability. This contradicts the myth perceived, and documented so far about the Pashtun socio-cultural system as a heterogeneous attribute, where liberty and modern social development finds no space. This study, moreover, proved the inefficiency of the existing political system that remains as a symbol of local representation, however, resulted in mal-development, thus hatred and rejected by the actual local stakeholders. The study ended up with the solid manoeuvres to understand the Pashtun socio-economic system, and politico-cultural structure and an applied framework to deploy the CDD approach for lasting FATA development.

## **Deutsche Zusammenfassung**

Eine gemeindegesteuerte Entwicklung (Community Driven Development (CDD)) bereitet einen erfolgreichen Weg für einen bottom-up, ergebnisbasierten Entwicklungsansatz in verschiedenen Gesellschaften. Die Berücksichtigung von diversen Kulturlandschaften, dem Sozialsystem, von ökonomischen Bedingungen und der politischen Struktur bei der Entwicklung von Entwicklungsplänen ist hierbei essentiell. Hier wird das Leben der lokalen Bevölkerung durch eine effizientere Nutzung der vorhandenen Kapazitäten auf Gemeindeebene sowie verstärkt synergetischer Interaktion beeinflusst.

Entsprechende regionale Entwicklungsprogramme können auch im Hinblick auf die sozioökonomischen Verhältnisse des weltgrößten Stammes, dem Stamm der Paschtunen, welche an der Grenze zwischen Pakistan und Afghanistan leben, Abhilfe schaffen. Die vorliegende Studie greift bei der Prüfung der Sekundärdaten sowohl auf qualitative wie quantitative Untersuchungsmethoden zurück und untersucht relevante, empirische Daten hinsichtlich der Stammesgesellschaft der Paschtunen zur detaillierten Betrachtung des Paschtunenvolkes. Darauf basierend fokussiert die Untersuchung die Erlickterung Faktoren für das Durchdringen zur Anwendung des CDD Ansatzes im Rahmen der Entwicklung des Gebietes FATA. Des Weiteren wird mit Hilfe von quantitativer Analysen von Primärdaten die Bedeutung des Verständnis des lokalen Sozialgefüges durch Außenstehende, die Förderung kultureller Besonderheiten, die Zufriedenheit lokaler Stakeholder hinsichtlich Entwicklungsprojekten, das Level tatsächlicher Vertretungen im Entwicklungsprozeß sowie lokale Sorgen und Ängste während des Konsultationsprozesses untersucht.

Die Transaktionsanalyse des kulturellen und ökonomischen Gefüge verifiziert die erste Hauptthese. Sozioökonomische Faktoren ermöglichen die Entwicklungsbemühungen unter dem CDD Ansatz, wenn er verstanden und befolgt wird. Dies führt zu einer Partizipation der Gemeinde (materiell wie immateriell), welche den Erfolg sowie die Selbständigkeit und Nachhaltigkeit des Programms positiv beeinflusst. Dies widerspricht dem bisherigen Mythos, der sich über Dekaden entwickelt hat und dokumentiert wurde, bei der in der paschtunischen Gesellschaftsentwicklung kein Platz für Freiheit und moderne soziale Entwicklung gesehen wurde.

Die vorliegende Studie beweist viel mehr die Ineffizienz und Ineffektivität des existierenden politischen Systems, das lediglich Repräsentationssymbolik vorweist und von den aktuellen lokalen Stakeholdern verachtet und abgelehnt wird. Die Studie schließt mit einem festen Versuch das sozioökonomische System sowie die politisch-kulturelle Struktur der Paschtunen zu verstehen und entwickelt ein Konzept zur Anwendung des CDD Ansatzes hinsichtlich einer dauerhaften Entwicklungslösung der Region FATA.

## CHAPTER – 1            Introduction: *Setting the Scene*

*‘Community participation has become a common element in the developmental initiatives, such as community-based programs, which assumes participatory methods promoted by the development organizations, notably the World Bank, to address the inefficiency of highly centralized developmental approaches mainly in the developing world’.*<sup>1</sup>

(Baral and Heinen)

Developmental dimensions trailed by the developmental approaches has transformed the developmental scenario over the decades from development meant for economic development to territorial development, modernization, urbanization, industrialization, and westernization in 1950s and 1960s to finally ‘alternative to development’ or ‘community led development’. This people-centered development that emerged in 1970’s aims to ensure effective locals’ participation. Thus, focus on alternative to development or bottom-up development method was intense behind the reason that earlier developmental approaches, and ‘growth model’ and ‘basic need model’ were failed to bring the desired results. Hence, the necessity of people’s participation was felt. People’s participation, which is best defined as an *‘involvement of significant number of persons in a situation or action that enhances their well-being, e.g., social services, income, security and self esteem’*<sup>2</sup> finally stood *sine qua non* for development from rural developmental prospective. It was all about enhancement of the rural developmental strategy locals’ well being.

The mentioned new paradigm of anti-top down development approach or also narrated as ‘bottom-up partnership approach’<sup>3</sup>, rural development revolves around adept consideration of local population as ‘stakeholders’ in the development process

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<sup>1</sup> Nabin Baral and Joel T. Heinen, "Decentralization and People's Participation in Conservation: A Comparative Study from the Western Terai of Nepal," *The International Journal of Sustainable Development & World Ecology* 14, no. 5 (2007).

<sup>2</sup> John M. Cohen and Norman T. Uphoff, "Participation's Place in Rural Development: Seeking Clarity through Specificity," *World development* 8, no. 3 (1980).

<sup>3</sup> J.Paper prepared for the European Commission Conference on Rural Development Mannion, Cork, 7-9 November., "Strategies for Local Development in Rural Areas: The ‘Bottom-up’ Approach.," *Paper prepared for the European Commission Conference on Rural Development, Cork, 7-9 November.* (1996).

and thus based on local knowledge, communal capacities and need assessment founding the development industry. It is to target their set priorities and finalize the locally conceivable ways to achieve their plans. Thus, for the first time in development history, societal knowledge remains as fundamental element to interlink socio-economic growth and political perfection, which indirectly remains as an *end per se* for generating community's empowerment and self-reliance for sustainability. So, people's participation is ultimately seen as a tool to empower the local moralized society to enable them to catch the fish rather than presenting them on a plate. However, the 'significant' local participation in the development process needs to consider local societal structure to certify individuals' active participation that again indirectly leads to their building capacity.<sup>4</sup> Thus, the theme of local empowerment distinguishes community-led rural development approach from earlier developmental approaches that are considered business as usual (benefiting some and neglecting others). It rather considers it more inductive to increase locality's well being.<sup>5</sup>

These are the reasons that 'people centered' notion of rural developmental has been gaining momentum. It has its foundations in local welfare and realization of the locality's basic needs through consultation process (local involvement) that actually diminishes the operation of superficial external plans. Thus, it remains an advocacy of people's participation and effective inclusion in the developmental process at every level i.e., consultation, planning, execution and evaluation. Which remains possible, only if the locality is successfully taped, which under the 'endogenous model of development' is understood as 'promising the local involvement and grounding the developmental process largely on local resources'.<sup>6</sup> So, in distinction with exogenous development model, this locally oriented model (endogenous model) firstly respects the local societal values and then lead then let the locality to drive development

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<sup>4</sup> Michael J. Keane and Mícheál S. Ó Cinnéide, "Promoting Economic Development Amongst Rural Communities," *Journal of Rural Studies* 2, no. 4 (1986).

<sup>5</sup> Michael Murray and Larry Dunn, "Capacity Building for Rural Development in the United States," *ibid.* 11, no. 1 (1995).

<sup>6</sup> Antonio Picchi, "The Relations between Central and Local Powers as Context for Endogenous Development," *Born from Within: Practice and Perspectives of Endogenous Rural Development* (1994): 195.

industry for their economic benefits.<sup>7</sup> This further leads to other social projects on locals' genuine participation in the developmental cycle. It undeniably has the capacity to bring effective social change at the local level.<sup>8</sup> Therefore, local participation in the development process (projects' designing till management) greatly enhances the likelihood of projects' realization for overall socio-economic benefits and increased sustainability.<sup>9</sup> Thus, the idea of local people's participation at the relevant level ensures efficiency, equity, sufficient financial resources and success of developmental initiatives.<sup>10</sup> However, individuals from any geographic range are bound to local socio-economic and politico-cultural features in which they live and adjust. So, this whole debate of local participation for positive outcomes and sustainability relies on understanding, respecting and accordingly following the local cultural values, which remain as important chunk in the development debate.

Consequently, it can be said that the cultural norms, societal values, economic structure and political system of any society shape the spirit and endeavors of participation. In fact such socio-economic and political factors play a significant role in modeling both local participation and its outcomes.<sup>11</sup> Thus, people's participation that remains a comprehensive societal phenomenon cannot be laid in isolation and it is verified as a by-product of the aforementioned local societal features.<sup>12</sup> Hence, a human-centred approach, the fulcrum on which the growth and development of individuals in a society depends, is reflected by the local socio-cultural values and political system. It can therefore be established that regions or societies having aforesaid factors opens new possibilities rather than hindering any participatory attempt. Ultimately, considering societal features as vital for regional development and not just the residual explanation open competitive edge for projects' success. So,

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<sup>7</sup> B. Slee, "Theoretical Aspects of the Study of Endogenous Development. In: Ploeg, J.D. Van Der and Long, A. (Eds.) *Born from within; Practice and Perspectives of Endogenous Rural Development*, Van Gorcum, Assen, Pp. 184-194.," (1994): 184.

<sup>8</sup> Linda Stone, "Cultural Crossroads of Community Participation in Development: A Case from Nepal," *Human Organization* 48, no. 3 (1989).

<sup>9</sup> Roger Shrimpton, "Community Participation, Growth Monitoring, and Malnutrition in the Third World" (1989).

<sup>10</sup> Jesse C. Ribot, "From Exclusion to Participation: Turning Senegal's Forestry Policy Around?," *World Development* 23, no. 9 (1995).

<sup>11</sup> Manjusha Gupte, "Participation in a Gendered Environment: The Case of Community Forestry in India," *Human Ecology* 32, no. 3 (2004): 366.

<sup>12</sup> S. N. Mohammed, "People's Participation in Development Projects at Grass-Root Level: A Case Study of Alampur and Jagannathpur Union Parishad," (2010).

it is ended-up articulation of ‘culture-centred, economically viable and politically sensitive’ tactic of development that can be ensured after due respect to local societal structures for local active participation. Only such participation can guarantee local poor’s empowerment to skilfully avoid resource manipulation.

## 1.1 Problem Statement

Aforementioned results can also be achieved in the tribal belt of Pakistan, known as Federally Administered Tribal Area – FATA. FATA is occupied by Pashtuns, which constitute ‘the world's largest tribal society’. Pashtun of Pakistan straddle along the border-line of Pakistan with Afghanistan (Durand line).<sup>13</sup>

The Pashtuns<sup>14</sup> of Pakistan’s western frontier are residing in the northwest region of Pakistan with neighbouring Afghanistan. They enjoy special centuries long societal structure or tribal culture (Pashtunwali) and political system (Frontier Crime Regulation FCR-1901). Since 1947, FATA remains the most backward, unsettled, isolated and underdeveloped region.<sup>15</sup> It remains a poverty-stricken area where majority population has no access to social facilities. Thus, the situation results in low illiteracy rate, diseases due to poor water, sanitation and health facilities.<sup>16</sup> This situation is coupled with high dropout (from what?) across both genders, lack of physical infrastructure, lack of information and communication system. Moreover, the locality has no political rights. The poor population is at the mercy of local influentials (maliks) and political masters (Political Agents – PAs<sup>17</sup> in agency(s)<sup>18</sup> and Deputy Coordination Officers – DCOs in frontier regions - FRs).<sup>19</sup>

Because of lack of employment and economic opportunities, poor population has engaged itself in other money-spinning activities, such as livestock rearing, small-

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<sup>13</sup> International Boarder between Pakistan and Afghanistan created in 1893, stretched to 2640 km. It is on the name of ‘Mortimer Durand’ – Foreign Secretary of colonial British India in the 18th century.

<sup>14</sup> Pashtun; which is a local nomenclature derived to and from Pashtunwali is used here, which is Paktun, Pukhtun or Pathan in the non-Pashtun society.

<sup>15</sup> Undeveloped in the socio-economic sense i.e., literacy rate, social services infrastructure, clean water and sanitation, economic means, which are still alarming in the region.

<sup>16</sup> GoP, "Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey - Mics," (Planning and Development Department, FATA Secretariat. Peshawar2009).

<sup>17</sup> Political Agent refers to head of an agency, who is substitute to Deputy Commissioner or District Coordination Officer in the Frontier Regions.

<sup>18</sup> An agency is an administrative unit that is equivalent to a district in the modern societies.

<sup>19</sup> Molly Kinder and Wren Elhai, "Effective Aid in the Most Dangerous Place in the World for Americans," 2010.

scale businesses. Similarly, to meet their subsistence needs, Pashtun tribal adults engage in cross border trade (custom-free goods, drug trafficking, illegal sale of locally made weapons) i.e. from FATA to neighbouring Afghanistan.<sup>20</sup>

Instead of mitigating the decades long local vulnerability in a cost-effective manner, FATA has been watched through stereotypic spectrum, which is both nationally and internationally, intentionally and un-intentionally miss perceived and wrong documented. So, without analysis the *pros and cones* of Pashtun cultural realities, Pashtun tribal social structure has been pointed-out as a static and rigid structure that simply resists any change in its composition. Furthermore, virtually considering local population uncompromising and local rigid faith to retain autonomous status (governing FATA under locally acceptable laws of governance). Moreover, the remoteness of the area has been pointed-out with the miscalculated concept that locality gives no significant response to (socio-economic) development policies and strategies. It has been further documented that Pashtun society of FATA has historically impervious traits to change and progress. Thus citing it '*a patriarchal society, where concepts of modern law and liberty find no place*'.<sup>21</sup> Thus, a myth has been enlarged against the Pashtun (tribal) culture considering it as a stagnant societal structure that hamper any outsider insurgence for area development. Moreover, resource constraints and scare commercial activities are other key reasons, which are highlighted as attributing factors for the historical lag of developmental in FATA.<sup>22</sup>

So, without proper analysis of cultural values and functioning of the economic system some drastic efforts were taken for FATA development. Initially, to execute the globally preached idea of 'development for the people and by the people' local poor population was planned to be included at all levels of the developmental process. And for that reason huge financial resources were promised and dispersed under FATA sustainable development program (2006-15) and annual development programs (2007-15). But the above cited ground realities shows that the maximum funds were

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<sup>20</sup> Nasir Dawar, "Who Is Responsible for Educational Backwardness in Fata? Government of Extremists?," *Sach News* 2015.

<sup>21</sup> Syed Iftikhar Hussain, "Some Major Pakhtoon Tribes Along the Pak-Afghan Border (Islamabad: Area Study Centre, University of Peshawar and Hans Seidal Foundation) " (2000).

<sup>22</sup> GoP, "Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey - Mics."



misused at once.<sup>23</sup> On the other side, real sense of local participation also remained on paper and problems started arising when developmental projects have not been planned as desired. They were even neither synchronized nor coordinated in order to build upon each other expertise in the region. Local cultural knowledge had been totally ignored and instead of including actual poor population local powerful (politically, socially and economically dominant) elites remained the area representatives, who further thwarted the participation only for their own interests.<sup>24</sup> So, the theme of local inclusion was considered as synonym to elites' consultation and participation. And again these powerful elites *de novo* have enjoyed the status of local representation and exploited the theme of community participation. They relished total control on executed projects, if any, and exercised their power from strategies' finalization to projects' implementation, and from financial spending to resource allocation and monitoring.

Hence, despite much intention in the planned developmental strategies (e.g., FATA-SDP, ADP) to integrate local population in the development process and project implementation under assets contribution under 'Multi Donor Trust Fund' (MDTF) by WB,<sup>25</sup> all planned activities had been misinterpreted with the participation of maliks and political agents. Here again the poor locals could not emerge as autonomous and self-governing units in the FATA's development cycle. Whereas, the local elite class with their political masters hijacked not only the process but also the development resources. They then smartly isolated themselves from FATA and left the society unchanged.<sup>26</sup> So, all current programs were planned without including social culture in the debate and without taking the locality on board. Ultimately, both locals and the implementing partners are quiet about financial resource provided for

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<sup>23</sup> Dawar, "Who Is Responsible for Educational Backwardness in Fata? Government of Extremists? ."

<sup>24</sup> Muhammad Samad, *Participation of the Rural Poor in Government and Ngo Programs: A Comparative Study* (Mowla, 2002).

<sup>25</sup> World Bank, "Pakistan - Multi-Donor Trust Fund Federally Administered Tribal Areas Emergency Rural Roads Project : Procurement Plan," (Washington, D.C.: World Bank Group, 2014).

<sup>26</sup> Brian R. Kerr and Kyle A. Smith, "How Agents of Economic Development Interact with the Complex Dynamics of Regional Governance in Fata: A Case Study of Energy Development Projects," *The Dynamics of Change in the Conflict Societies: Pakhtun Region in Perspective* (2011).

FATA development, as the ‘socio-economic indicators in FATA regressed instead of making improvement’.<sup>27</sup>

So, the whole exercise of elites’ participation over locality has resulted in failure of developmental schemes, which is behind the reason that this alternative participation elites led to wrong information about actual problems. The whole exercise has authorized local power brokers to act as local aegis and started ad-hoc projects. Resultantly, wrong perception about the local societal structure and thereby neglecting the actual stakeholders dragged the whole exercise of consultation and projects’ execution to miss-utilization of the monetary resources. The so-far failure of developmental programs in FATA remains an Achilles heel and damaging.

## 1.2 Study Area & Study Population

Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) is a semi-autonomous region of Pakistan, which is located between Khyber Pakhtunkhwa-KPK (formerly known as the North-West Frontier Province or NWFP) province of Pakistan and the international border with Afghanistan, Durand line.<sup>28</sup> The total area of FATA is 27,200 square km and it has approx. 3.18 million (1998) inhabitants.<sup>29</sup> It has population density of 117-persons/square km. It has an annual growth rate of 2.19% and gender ratio of 109 males per 100 females. FATA is made up of seven ‘Political Agencies’ namely; Mohmmand, Khyber, Orakzai – Central FATA, Bajaur, Kurram, North Waziristan and South Waziristan agency – Rest FATA and six smaller zones, called ‘Frontier Regions-FRs; FR Peshawar, FR Kohat, FR Bannu, FR Laki Marwat, FR Tank and FR D.I. Khan. (*See Appendix B-1*)

Geographically, the Pashtun tribe (Pashtuns of South-Asia) are centuries long residents of FATA. They are organized on both sides of the Pak-Afghan border, thus constituting the largest tribal population of the present time. Pashtuns of Pakistan stretched along the Durand-line (the study population), whereas, the Pashtuns of Afghanistan are stretched from Durand line till borders with Iran and Turkmenistan. (*See Appendix B-2*)

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<sup>27</sup> GoP. FATA Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey (MICS FATA). Peshawar (2009).

<sup>28</sup> Boundary established in the Hindu Kush in 1893 - between Afghanistan and British India.

<sup>29</sup> According to 1998 census. The average annual population growth rate for FATA is slightly lower than the provincial average of 2.8%.

## 1.2.1 Socio-Demographic Backgrounds of the Respondents

In a scenario when there exists no reliable population listing that could show locality's socio-demographic trends, this study has tried to reach and include Pashtun population with all diverse socio-economic features. This study has significantly targeted the study population ranging from 'teenagers to elders', 'illiterate to higher educated' as well as 'students to employed and un-employed'. Hence, the socio-demographic classification of the study population is done at several different layers:

<b>Age</b>	Less than 18	18 – 24	25 – 44	45 – 64	65 and above
<b>Education</b>	Illiterate	Primary	Matric	Inter	Bachelor/Higher
<b>Employment Status</b>	Unemployed	Employed for Wage	Self-Employed	Student	--
<b>Area</b>	Agency	FR	--	--	--

Table 1.1: Socio-Economic and Geographical backgrounds of the Respondents

Analysis of the first five questions asked to get socio-economic status of the respondents show interesting trend in whole FATA. It shows that under this study 25% of the respondents those were under 18 years of age have acquired matric level education, which is followed by 18% still could not enrol and remained illiterate. Likewise, majority (54%) of the whole respondents in the age category of 18-14 fall acquired 'inter' as minimum education, which is followed by second highest 24% of those fail to step in to school. Similarly, 65% and 29% of the respondents were in the range of 25 to 64 years. Contrariwise, respondents having above 65 years of age had hardly got primary education (28%) and majority (21%) remained illiterate in the same age circle. (*See: table 1.2*)

		Education Level				
		Illiterate	Primary	Matric	Inter	Bachelor or Higher
<b>Age</b>	Below 18 years	18%	10%	25%	2%	0%
	18-24 years	24%	18%	31%	54%	5%
	25-44 years	21%	23%	22%	30%	65%
	45-64 years	16%	20%	15%	11%	29%
	Above 65 years	21%	28%	6%	3%	2%

Table 1.2: Age & Education Level in Whole FATA – cross comparison

This trend further shows that respondents in the age of 25-44 remained mainly in the

category of ‘bachelor or higher education’. It is followed by 29% having higher than intermediate education from 45-64 years of age. Hence, generalization of so-far results on whole FATA can confirm that there remains an increasing trend of schooling in the Pashtun population in the age of 25-64. Whereas, in the age groups 18-24, average 67% of the FATA population acquiring primary-inter level education that shows locality’s thrust of becoming educated. However, alarmingly 18% illiteracy rate in teen-agers shows no-access to schools, non-availability of schools or other family’s economic problems.

Further scrutiny of the questionnaires’ socio-economic explorations under this study shows cross-comparison of education level and resultant employment status. It is seen that majority respondents with ‘no education and primary level education’ are either ‘un-employed’ (61% and 59% respectively) or ‘employed for wage’ (29% and 26% respectively). Here study observation confirms ‘employment for wage’ is labor work in construction and security, but in the settled areas like, Peshawar. Likewise, majority of the respondents with ‘matric and inter level education’ are still ‘students’ (40% and 41%). However, who left further schooling are again either un-employed (majority 24%) or self-employed (22%). (*See: table 1.3*) Self-employment remains (under the study observation) small shops or agriculture labor or poultry. Interestingly, the employment trend again shows that larger part of the respondents is on the road to further education (40% average), which stand in ‘25-64’ age group.

		Employment Status			
		Unemployed	Employed for Wage	Self Employed	Student
<b>Education Level</b>	Illiterate	61%	29%	11%	0%
	Primary	59%	26%	13%	3%
	Matric	24%	14%	22%	40%
	Inter	17%	19%	22%	41%
	Bachelor or Higher	16%	35%	10%	40%

Table 1.3: Education Level & Employment Status in Whole FATA – *cross comparison*

For comparative purposes in side FATA, this study has divided the areas in to three zones. (*See: Study Area & Study Population*). Therefore, it remains important also to predict the socio-economic trends against the selected socio-economic in each zone.

*Gender \* Cross-tabulation*

		Gender			Total
		Male	Female		
Zones	Central FATA	Count	119	13	132
		%	31.2%	3.4%	34.6%
	Rest FATA	Count	198	21	219
		%	52.0%	5.5%	57.5%
	Frontier Regions	Count	25	5	30
		%	6.6%	1.3%	7.9%
Total	Count	342	39	381	
	%	89.8%	10.2%	100.0%	

Table 1.4: Zone-wise gender distribution of the Respondents

At its first instance, this study ensured participation of both the gender. The participation rate remained 90% for males and 10% for females. Similarly, the age patterns of the respondents remained: 12% (<18 years), 26% (18-24 years), 31% (25-44 years), 18% (45-64 years) and 13% (65>), round off. (See: table 1.4 & 1.5)

*Age\* Cross-tabulation*

		Age					Total	
		Below 18 years	18-24 years	25-44 years	45-64 years	Above 65 years		
Zones	Central FATA	Count	17	20	49	21	25	132
		%	4.5%	5.2%	12.9%	5.5%	6.6%	34.6%
	Rest FATA	Count	26	63	63	45	22	219
		%	6.8%	16.5%	16.5%	11.8%	5.8%	57.5%
	Frontier Regions	Count	3	17	5	3	2	30
		%	0.8%	4.5%	1.3%	0.8%	0.5%	7.9%
Total	Count	46	100	117	69	49	381	
	%	12.1%	26.2%	30.7%	18.1%	12.9%	100.0%	

Table 1.5: Zone-wise Age distribution of the Respondents

It shows that from Central FATA region, majority respondents (12.9%) were in the age of 25-44. It is same like, Rest-FATA that came-up with almost 17% each in category of 18-24 and 25-44 years. Frontier regions have counted majority 4.5% in the age of 18-24. It shows that majority of respondents stay between age of 18-44 years, which are seen above as mostly educated category. Similarly, educational background of the respondents shows that in Central FATA the majority respondents (12%) remained in the category of 'primary education', which is followed by second highest 8% having 'matric' level education. This trend remains quite similar to Rest FATA where majority of the respondents, 16% each, were also from 'primary' and 'matric' level education. However, in case of FRs the respondents hold either 'matric

(4%)’ or ‘inter’. (See: table 1.6) So, it will not be wrong to say that this study ground its findings in the coming chapters on the responses of educated Pashtuns.

*Education \* Cross-tabulation*

		Education Level					Total	
		Illiterate	Primary	Matric	Inter-mediate	Bachelor or Higher		
Zones	Central FATA	Count	14	47	31	18	22	132
		%	3.7%	12.3%	8.1%	4.7%	5.8%	34.6%
	Rest FATA	Count	23	60	61	36	39	219
		%	6.0%	15.7%	16.0%	9.4%	10.2%	57.5%
	Frontier Regions	Count	1	2	16	9	2	30
		%	0.3%	0.5%	4.2%	2.4%	0.5%	7.9%
Total	Count	38	109	108	63	63	381	
	%	10.0%	28.6%	28.3%	16.5%	16.5%	100.0%	

Table 1.6: Zone-wise Education distribution of the Respondents

Likewise, further demographic data w.r.t to economic activity confirms economic underdevelopment (35%). In Central FATA, about 14% of the respondents are unemployed, which is followed by second highest 8% ‘employed for wage’ e.g., labor. However, about 6% each from those consulted in the survey are ‘self-employed and student’. Similarly, in Rest FATA alarmingly about 20% of the respondents were ‘unemployed’. It is followed by approx. 15% ‘employed for wage’. However, 9% remained ‘self-employed’ and about 14% remain as ‘students’. Interestingly, in FRs majority about 5% remained as ‘students’, which is followed by 1% - ‘self-employed’ and about 2% - unemployed’. (See: table 1.7)

*Employment \* Cross-tabulation*

		Employment Status				Total	
		Unemployed	Employed for Wage	Self Employed	Student		
Zones	Central FATA	Count	53	30	24	25	132
		%	13.9%	7.9%	6.3%	6.6%	34.6%
	Rest FATA	Count	74	56	34	55	219
		%	19.4%	14.7%	8.9%	14.4%	57.5%
	Frontier Regions	Count	7	2	4	17	30
		%	1.8%	0.5%	1.0%	4.5%	7.9%
Total	Count	134	88	62	97	381	
	%	35.2%	23.1%	16.3%	25.5%	100.0%	

Table 1.7: Zone-wise Employment distribution of the Respondents

Conclusively, the so-far results of this research study confirms higher FRs stand with higher educational level and lower employment rate. Rest & Central FATA having motivating education level, but discouraging employment status follow it.

### **1.2.2 Political and Administrative Structure of FATA**

FATA has a unique political and administrative status. President of Pakistan is constitutionally the chief executive of FATA, who in turn control the area through the Governor Khyber Pakhtunkhwa-KP. Whereas, FATA secretariat (est. 2002) and FATA development Authority (est.2006), located in Peshawar, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province are two different government entities, which coordinate and execute social-economic development projects in FATA. However, federal government does finalization of the developmental programs and resources' allocation. In FATA, chief secretary exercises power with the help of 'additional chief secretary-ACS', who in turn is assisted by five administrative secretaries. They jointly head FATA Secretariat. Therefore, ACS FATA reports chief secretary regarding all key policy matters.

Yet, at the agency level, the political agents are the chief administrators, who also yield the power of a chief judicial officer and policeman in area of their jurisdiction. PAs derive their authority from the 'Frontier Crimes Regulation-1901'. Moreover, they are assisted by 'Assistant Political Agents-APAs', who normally administer the area on behalf of PAs and act as Tehsil (sub-district) heads, the so-called 'Tehsildars' (Sub-District heads) and 'Naib-Tehsildars' (Sub-District Deputy Heads). Local police (*Khassadars*) and security forces in the area also assist PAs.

PAs also exercises their authority through the tribal elites or 'Maliks'. Whereas, tribal councils or 'Jirga' act as a jury for the settlement of disputes (all kinds) amongst the tribesmen and with the outsiders. PAs, on behalf of the national government are responsible for any type of developmental work and in this capacity these PA coordinate with other line-departments for service delivery. Similarly, in FRs the District Coordination Officers – DCOs exercise their powers, frequently assisted by *maliks* at the micro-level.

### 1.3 Thesis Contribution

This dissertation's contributions to academic discourse are:

i). It characterizes and illustrates the Pashtun tribal socio-economic system to investigate, whether it facilitates the out-side insurgence for area development, if properly understood and wisely followed. It is done to disprove the existing myth that Pashtun culture absorbs changes under no means. For that reason, Local belief in the prevailing system, cultural ingredients of nang and qalang, *melmastia* and *badal*, trust, religious and societal beliefs, social norms, respect and dignity, individuality and collectivism, art and morals are judged under the idea of cultural relativism for joint cooperation. So, an evaluation of the ethnocentric view of Pashtun culture (homogenous attribute) gives the opportunity to understand the Pashtun cultural dimension from an ethnic prospective to defuse the fable about the rigorous and nature of the Pashtun social system. Likewise, understanding the local economic system to facilitate the local subsistent economy.

So, dexterously engaging the cultural ingredients, this study further contributes to mind mapping for cooperation in the pre-set psychological space. This study also attempts to investigate the tribal economic or subsistence system (*Nang & Qalang*), where any surplus grown and produced is vertically distributed. It is particularly important to understand the potential outcomes behind this sharing and *vis-à-vis* potential of local tangible and voluntarily contribution to build constituencies through locally driven projects – a declared base for the future rural development program.

ii). The study through systematic analysis digs the prevailing political structure – hierarchy of powers, influencing factors, projects decisions, programs' outcomes and local satisfaction under the elites' local representation. Particular focus remains also on precise analysis of the (corrupt) political structure, elites' (ill-) legitimate power, and their knowledge and understanding of the local problems. Likewise, elites' projection of needs and projects execution. It is to expose the satisfaction level of the local poor on the native prominent class. This study, intelligently based on the local perception, work on how to minimize the power of the power-brokers to ensure the actual local poor's participation and whether Jirga or individuals – a more advanced approach than traditional ways of studying the political system of FATA-FCR 1901.



Here again, this study focuses on the need and ways to intelligently engage the real local stakeholders in the development process at all level for sustainability.

The landmark of this research lies on its descriptive exploration and empirical evidences about the concerned themes to draw a framework for community-driven-development in a homogenous society, where CDD remains most successful than in heterogeneous societies of the world.<sup>30</sup>

#### **1.4 Hypotheses' Development & Objectives**

The study's main hypothesis remains that the Pashtun tribal socio-economic doesn't obstruct, but indeed (when properly understood and accurately followed) open ways to accelerate the community-driven-development. Whereas, the political system of tribal FATA hinders actual local representation and leads to resource hijack.

The main hypothetical question is divided into three research questions to be answered by the current research.

1. Does the Pashtun tribal socio-economic system facilitate community-oriented development?
2. Does and how current political system of FATA lead to process and resources' hijack in FATA development?
3. What is the level of Pashtun community's satisfaction on development process, and project and how to enhance local participation?

Finding pathways for ensuring community-oriented development is the main aim of this research study, which departs with analyzing the local socio-economic and politico-cultural system of FATA. This thesis is traditional (traditional has two meanings, one is cultural traditional and other is theoretical approach, so which u mean here?) in this sense that it takes the Pashtun culture, economic system and political structure as a single research and tested on post-development discourse and CDD approach.

Here, it remains important to mention the delimitations of this study. The intended research study doesn't aim to analyze the reasons; why local participation is not ensured in the past developmental strategies, rather to check local prospective that

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<sup>30</sup> Abdul Qadeer, *The Status of Women in Fata: A Comparison between Islamic Principles and Pashtunwali* (EduPedia Publications (P) Ltd, 2014).

who normally remained the main representatives. The study puts no intentions to suggest new tools of ensuring local participation, but accepting and suggesting the WB's fabricated effective approach i.e., CDD for the concerned issue. This approach is also taken as an applied strategy as post-development theory lacks any such methodology of alternative 'to' development. Furthermore, it doesn't fall within the jurisdiction of the study to analyze and suggest any good or desired alternative solutions to political structure of FATA, rather ensuring local active participation in prevailing political system. Furthermore, this study intends not to compare the Pashtun tribal society with other tribal societies, but generalization of its findings could be taken for other tribal society.

## **1.5 Analytical Framework & Research Methodology**

The research problem, which is addressed in this research study, is embedded in a conceptual and analytical framework. This study targets FATA decades long under-development of FATA through analyzing both 'local Pashtun cultural system and political structure' as one course. Therefore, at its first attempt the study tries to analyze cultural features i.e., norms, values, beliefs, art and spirituality, hospitality, revenge, awareness, trust and sense of in-/tangible contribution to disprove the myth created about Pashtunwali that it is rigid construction and it resists any type of cultural transformation for change to occur in the Pashtun social system. It is to probe that 'culture matters', particularly in the ethnic societies e.g., Pashtun ethnic community, which needs to be analyzed and followed, as there exist no blueprint or universal formula to apply on every society to counter under-development. Furthermore, it probes to whether Pashtunwali contains qualities of adoption and change for modern social and economic programs for area betterment or *vice versa*?

Similarly, to report FATA's development deficiency, this study aims to analyze the basis of Frontier Crime Regulation-FCR 1901 under which local corrupt governance system is presented as a genuine local representative platform. Hence, this study underlines the levels of process and resource hijack by the elite class (Maliks and PA/DCOs). Precise emphasis remains on awareness of political powerbrokers about area developmental needs, actual local thrust of developmental programs and resultant

discouraging outcomes, which are cross-checked through socio-economic indicators and resources pledged in the recent past. Here, matrix of maliks and PAs/DCOs is focused to judge consultation and coordination by these power brokers with locality (also tribal elders) and severity of miss-representation, mal-development practices and miss-utilization of the financial resources in both agencies (Maliks and PAs) and FRs (maliks and DCOs). Conclusively, this research study examines local awareness about power and funds failure and there-upon finding alternative potential ways to start community-driven development cycle in FATA.

## **Research Methodology**

Research (in all forms) is a course of action, undertaken to unmask the things in a systematic manner, where data is gathered and interpreted systematically with a clear purpose of guiding an enquiry.<sup>31</sup> Thus, research stands for searching and investigating exhaustively.<sup>32</sup> In the same way, a research design provides the conceptual framework to answer specific research questions, while utilizing the sound principles of scientific theory.<sup>33</sup> So, this study has deployed both qualitative and quantitative research technique. The qualitative method is adopted to gain in-depth information regarding the cultural realities, societal behavior and interlinked well-established economic system of the Pashtun tribal society. It is to draw a framework for joint cooperation for social sector development. Therefore, the selection of qualitative technique is due to deep interpretation of the phenomena to draw concrete results in social-science research,<sup>34</sup> and to ensure 'creative and interpretive approaches re-use of data for a as a fresh and meaningful re-conceptualizations.<sup>35</sup> Thus, the qualitative research technique is deployed to evaluate secondary data in the form of research papers, books, statistics and reports. It reveals new methodological insights by reflecting the core and hardly changeable facts about Pashtun society.

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<sup>31</sup> M. Lewis Saunders, Thornhill, A., "Research Methods for Business Students," *Financial Times Prentice Hall Inc., London* (1987): 285.

<sup>32</sup> Dictionary Excerpt, "Webster's Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary," *Merriam-Webster Inc.* (1985).

<sup>33</sup> W. William Alex Edmonds and Thomas D. Kennedy, *An Applied Reference Guide to Research Designs: Quantitative, Qualitative, and Mixed Methods* (SAGE Publications, 2012), 2.

<sup>34</sup> Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln, *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research* (Sage, 2011).

<sup>35</sup> Joanna Bornat, "Crossing Boundaries with Secondary Analysis: Implications for Archived Oral History Data," (2008).

Quantitative research technique is used for primary data collection under the ‘mixed method approach’, as it usually helps in describing, explaining and predicting phenomena (s), while adopting the ‘probability sampling technique’ within a larger sample size.<sup>36</sup> The selection of quantitative technique for primary data collection here is due to its strength in prediction, generalization and casual explanation as well as minimizing the researcher/data collector’s influence on respondents, responses and data collection strategy.

Close-ended questionnaires are used for collecting primary data. It is because (a). It draws a meaningful comparison of the responses, (b). Ensure formality in the research, (c). Quantify the variation, (d). Predict the casual relations, (e). Stable answers throughout the research, (f). Significantly avoid the respondent’s influence to reshape questions and engaging in inessential information, (g). Time effective, (h). Best for descriptive and correlational analysis.

### ***Sample Size and Sampling Technique***

For FATA population  $n=385$  remain adequate and results could be generalized based on the realities that 1). Pashtun tribal population shares the same societal arrangement and politico-economic political system. 2). It is commonly accepted and deployed approach of other studies taken in the area. a). In the prominent independent surveys (2007-10) conducted by ‘Community Appraisal & Motivation Program (CAMP) in FATA, samples were taken to study the population and outcomes of the survey were then generalized for whole FATA population.<sup>37</sup> b). Multi-Indicator Cluster Survey-MICS FATA also followed the sampling technique and study’s results were then generalized to whole Pashtun population.<sup>38</sup>

In total 385 questionnaires were deployed through researcher’s personal contact with the respondents. Sufficient time was spent to fill-out every questionnaire by the respondent and in the presence of the researcher (just like interviewing respondents one-by-one). Every filled questionnaire was firstly separated from the un-filled questionnaires and stored in the data, before contacting the next respondent. In this

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<sup>36</sup> Donald R. Cooper, Pamela S. Schindler, and Jianmin Sun, "Business Research Methods," (2006).

<sup>37</sup> Naveed Ahmad Shinwari, "Understanding Fata 2011: Attitudes Towards Governance, Religion and Society in Pakistan’s Federally Administered Tribal Areas," *Vol. II* 5(2012).

<sup>38</sup> GoP, "Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey - Mics."

way all 385 questionnaires were filled-out from the respondents and initial response rate remained 100%. Furthermore, out of n=385, total 39 (10%) samples are separated for female gender. It is particular to mention that only 10% female's inclusion remains in-significant representation. It is because; it is highly difficult to reach Pashtun women for any type of consultation or data collection, as no access is granted to them from male members of the family. It remains disturbing even in other regional societies. However, it is confronted through different ways. (*See: women's voice in CDD and Islamic world*) So, although nominal, but still this study tried to reach and include female gender. However, male members of the family, (in most-cases) after initial refusal, got the selected questionnaires filled from the female members of their family. Hence, in such a situation targeting female gender with higher proportion (e.g., 50%) had stayed un-attainable and far-off. Consequently, total 10% females samples in each agency are Bajour = 73 (7 female), Mohmmmand = 42 (4 female), Khyber = 65 (6 female), Orakzai = 26 (3 female), Kurram = 53 (5 female), N. Waziristan = 42 (4 female), S. Waziristan = 53 (5 female), FR Bannu = 03 (0 female), FR Dara Ismail-DI Khan = 04 (1 female), FR Kohat = 08 (1 female), FR Laki Marwat = 05 (1 female), FR Peshawar = 07 (1 female), FR Tank = 04 (1 female).

Sampling is a process of selecting '*a segment, a proportion or a piece*', which is representative of the whole.<sup>39</sup> Likewise, in this research, sampling is done to obtain the representation or representative picture of the tribal population. So, at the first glance, the cluster sampling technique is adopted and each tribal agency is divided into clusters. It is done because, i). There is no reliable list of population. ii). The population distribution is widespread. Therefore, clusters are made, which are based on relatively developed (having somewhat better socio-economic facilities) and rural areas (less basic socio-economic facilities). In this way, the advantage of any respondent living nearer to city center over those living in far-flung area (low access to social services) is eliminated. So, location advantage is particularly excluded in this research, because it matters more in FATA as popularity population reside near to city centers (malik's and PA's jurisdictions) and enjoy comparatively greater access to

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<sup>39</sup> Margery S. Berube and David A. Jost, *The American Heritage College Dictionary* (Houghton Mifflin, 1993), 1206.

social facilities. Therefore, the parameter of clustering remains on rural and relatively developed areas in each agency/FR. At the next stage of multi-stage cluster sampling technique 'purpose or judgment sampling technique' is deployed. It is because; this sampling technique let the research, based on his/her judgment, select each person who makes the sample representative.<sup>40</sup> Therefore, in this study the researcher intentionally targeted every individual respondent with different socio-economic characteristics in that area. It is done with the intention to consult only those not already consulted or responded. The aim remains to ensure participation of population with all possible and diverse socio-economic features and not the samples with same features again and again.

### ***Pre-Testing Survey Instruments and Plotting the Questionnaires***

Pilot investigation of the questionnaire is conducted earlier than departing for field survey. It is done through selecting ten random individuals with diverse socio-economic and politico-cultural backgrounds. The aim of this test rests on to check whether the terms used are understandable to the concerned population and whether the questionnaires can get appropriate responses. Moreover, it is done to check the administration of the survey procedure i.e., smooth running of research. Experience from the pre-testing of questionnaires didn't have major concerns, but change of certain words/phrases i.e., replacing words with verses most commonly used to refer any expression or action. The final revised questionnaires with translation in Urdu language are then finalized as a study instrument.

The respondents' answers are rated through 5-points, where 0% or 1 = lowest satisfaction level/significantly worse/very poor; 25% or 2 = somewhat satisfaction but still worse; 50% or 3 = moderate satisfaction/no significant difference; 75% or 4 = satisfaction higher than moderate, but lower than full satisfaction level; 100% or 5 = high satisfaction level/significantly improved/very good. Moreover, yes/no questions are used for more direct questions (where required).

The questionnaire is divided into four sections. The first part is regarding the socio-

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<sup>40</sup> Paula Lagares Barreiro and Justo Puerto Albandoz, "Population and Sample. Sampling Techniques," *Management Mathematics for European Schools MaMaEusch*. (2001).

economic status of the respondent. It is carried-out to uncover education and education status with age standing. It is to explore all said trends both at agencies and FR level that help to predict the trend in the absence of any reliable independent socio-economic data from FATA. Furthermore, the questionnaire is then followed into section regarding the local prospective about Pashtunwali, accepting of modern social developmental projects within the cultural parameters, local sense of trust, respect and cooperation with outsiders, provided social and political submission to Pashtunwali. The proceeding part covers the theme from outsider's prospective i.e., local equality concept, societal relationships, badal for social control and revenge (a threatening social tool) and local impacts staff security.

The second last section directly targets the political setup, elites' sensitization and knowledge about local needs, programs' outcomes, local poor's satisfaction and comfort over their representatives. Likewise, it is to check the elites' consultation with poor individuals/tribal elders and facilitating outsiders-local consultation. This section is then followed by the final part, which is regarding to local sense of effective participation (individual, Jirga or both) in the matters of social development, as the current political process, according to this study, leads directly to endanger the effective participation of the local population. Here a separate analysis for agencies (zones) and FRs presents comparative analysis within FATA. This section ends with analyzing local sense of actual participation (tangible and non-tangible) in the project cycle for lasting outcomes.

### ***Data Analysis***

Total '4' questionnaires from the sample  $n = 385$  could not be taken in the screening criteria for further data analysis. It is because; four questionnaires are missing during handling and/or transportation process from North & South Waziristan agencies. Therefore, the resulting response rate remained 98.98% or 99% (round off) with  $n=381$ .

The completed  $n=381$  questionnaires are coded for quantitative Ses?? in the 'statistical package for the social-sciences (IBM-SPSS Statistics V.21)'. Similarly, the primary qualitative data (observations and indirect information) is correlated and

quoted competently with the identified commonalities. In this way, repeated themes, wherever emerged during field research, are recorded and categorized against identified themes. Separate analysis is done only for those research questions, where responses of the female differ from the male respondents. However, if there remains no difference in responses from both the gender, the results are presented as an aggregate or combined. Furthermore, wherever separate analysis based on educational level and employment status is ensured to project change in trend against the said parameters e.g., education and employment status.

The analysis of the responses (quantitative data) from the questionnaire survey technique is presented through bar charts, pi-charts, incidences, percentages (means and standard-deviation) and cross-tabulations against all concerned aspect. The responses, where necessary, are also linked with the socio-economic status of the respondent to judge the variations of responses and across study area. The calculation of frequency distribution, likewise mean and standard deviation give here the descriptive statistical analysis of the quantitative data.

It is particular to mention that where the female responses are significantly different from the male respondents, separate analysis is done for the female gender. It is done because; the female participation (although nominal) is the motivating step to include this marginalized segment of the society in the research course. Which is done to gain their knowledge, consent, state of mind, opinion and concern about the existing development process in the region. Hence, this study is also pioneer of consulting female gender in Pashtun male dominant society. Whereas, presentation of their reactions against the said study questions is motivated by their prominent role in the socio-economic development of the neighbouring Afghanistan. Which shows that if they are consulted, given intention and taken in the community oriented developmental projects, creates social space for them to play an effective role.<sup>41</sup> And that, provision of the facilitating atmosphere helps them to get sensitized for social-services delivery, while avoiding cultural taboos.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Friedrich W. Affolter et al., "Transformative Learning and Mind-Change in Rural Afghanistan," *Development in Practice* 19, no. 3 (2009).

<sup>42</sup> Philippe Dongier et al., "Community Driven Development," *World Bank Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper* (2003).



### ***Study's Limitations & Strengths***

Taking margins of the main techniques that are used for primary data collection in this study, it is worth stating that the limitations and the margins defined in this study wouldn't overturn the study's outcomes, rather they are taken as sources of further research. Conversely, the results of this study are signs of what is expected to be the reality, despite of any notorious limitation and restriction.

Furthermore, comprehensively analyzing the century long outdated political structure; thereby underlining its weaknesses and resource miss-utilization are also the assets of this research. In addition, the study's strengths lies on the fact that it brought together the pre-set societal settings and loopholes of the area's political system for CDD approach, which past researchers failed to explore in one course. All earlier studies either focused on the social structure or economic system with no connection with CDD approach. Similarly, studying the outdated political structure for transfer of power at the lower level, but without any solid implantation plan to engaging locals in the activity. In this scenario, this research has taken a further step – examining and interlinking both the socio-economic system and political structure for area development under the community led developmental. Another might of this research persist on detailed eight months primary data collection efforts that included questionnaires and general observations. This is how; this study succeeds to shed light on ways to establish socio-economic system with the development arena and sensitively overpassing corrupt political structure for effective local inclusion.

### ***Strengths***

The most threatening factor in quantitative research is 'partiality or biasness', as it increases the tendency of favoring certain sample-units in the survey. Therefore, steps are taken to minimize it to its lowest possible level, if not eliminated, through:

(i). Dividing the area in to cluster: relatively developed and rural area for balance participation. (ii). Pre-selected 10% questionnaires for females. (iii). Random assignment of the subjects for treatment and blindness of the helping researcher to

non-native fields. It is done, as this approach exceptionally leads to avoid biasness.<sup>43</sup> (iv). Through scrutiny of the completed questionnaires after each interval and in each cluster on daily basis. It helped not only to get all n=385 questionnaire filled from the locality, but, it also helped to check the socio-economic trend of the respondents on day-to-day basis. Therefore, the respondents with unlike socio-economic characteristics were approached in the next interval. Which is done to ensure respondents with all possible socio-economic and demographic features. It minimizes the ‘sampling error’ – the difference between the samples and study population, while excluding chances of any particular unit to be chosen deliberately.<sup>44</sup> (v). Including sample units with all possible and diverse socio-economic backgrounds. Hence, coping intelligently with bias factors and wisely deploying multiple research techniques, this study has tried to give full reflection of the study population.

## **1.6 Understanding the Thesis’ Concepts and Working Definitions**

This thesis deploys, very frequently, the notion of development, which although covers the whole range of social and scientific fields. However, in this study it specifically clues the rural development or area development. Which is considered as provision and easily accessible of basic social-services (health, education, water and sanitation etc.), to segments of the classically, which are diagnosed as marginality. Whereas, marginality more specifically has several dimensions such as cultural, social, economic and political, which are often understood as synonymous to remoteness in the rural development paradigm. Such rural developments approach draws the structural guidelines from socio-economic prospective, while deploying community-driven developmental approach through local genuine participation. Which is, nevertheless, again depended on local cultural realities i.e., collectively agreed and followed beliefs and values – taken-for-granted hard cultural facts. So, based on the notion ‘culture matters in development’, this study grounds its footing on a detailed evaluation of the Pashtun culture for operational local inclusion through building trust and hospitality for coordination and collaborative actions. It is because; such an approach can start any participation process that is not the end or by-

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<sup>43</sup> Will G. Hopkins, "Quantitative Research Design," (2008).

<sup>44</sup> Mugo W. Fridah, "Sampling in Research," (Sage, 2004).

product.<sup>45</sup> However, group and individualistic (external actors') submission is considered here as a synonym with thoughtful attempt to understand and follow local cultural facts for joint participation. As, only social submission of the non-native developmental facilitators can lead to start a process, where both sides influence each other for decisions, plans and policies and not granting control to one side for any unilateral action or suggest a common goal.<sup>46</sup> Such an approach can ensure local participation for area development for change and progress.<sup>47</sup> Likewise, empowering local individuals with external facilitation, but then leaving them to take choices independently for their decent living. It will then strengthen locals' knowledge, abilities and attitudes to establish and sustain their area's development.<sup>48</sup>

## 1.7 Thesis's Organization

The structure of this research is build upon two principle objectives – theoretical and empirical. This research thesis comprises of five chapters. Each chapter centers on a particular theme and set of issues. The introduction chapter explains the background information about the thesis, problem statement, hypothesis, study's objectives, aim of the study, strengths, limitations and data collection strategy. It is further stretched to analytical framework, (understanding) thesis's concepts and working definitions. Chapter II analyzes the theoretical conception, which starts with archeology of the earlier development discourses and methodologies. This section engages the reader with 'alternative *to* development' than alternative development. It diminishes the old development mentality that has lead to regional's disparity and local's vulnerability. Here, particular focus remains on cultural-turn in development industry to takeoff development thinking. So, particular focus remains on local social structure and cultural realities. It is to portray that only proper analysis of the local socio-cultural and politico-economic components can open pathways for engaging locality in the community-oriented development process for better outcomes.

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<sup>45</sup> Peter Oakley and David Marsden, *Approaches to Participation in Rural Development* (1984).

<sup>46</sup> John E. Hebden and Graham H. Shaw, *Pathways to Participation* (Wiley, 1977), 14.

<sup>47</sup> Nici Nelson et al., *17. Popular Participation in Aid-Assisted Projects: Why More in Theory Than Practice?* (Practical Action Publishing, 1995).

<sup>48</sup> Joseph Mannion, "Partnership, Participation and Capacity Building: Rural Development Based on Local Bottom-up Strategies," *Leader Magazine* 12, no. 10 (1996).

Chapter III is based on the Pashtun culture *Pashtunwali* and embedded economic system. It includes firstly the local well-established notions of melmestia or hospitality, badal or nanawatay and nang in nangwali. These societal features are analyzed in relation to community involvement based on local, trust, cooperation and contribution. It is to present a topology of importance of societal ingredients in development. So, local perception and mind-set about cultural dearness, enthusiasm for modern developmental programs and sense of non-/tangible and intangible contribution is analyzed under the empirical methodology.

Chapter IV, explicitly analyses the political structure of FATA. It tackles the political hierarchy (exploratory examination), locals vs. elites/external coordination, needs projection, strategy finalization and projects' outcomes are studied under empirical findings. In this study, elites' illegitimate position is uncovered, which leads to non-representation of the actual needs and later hijack of resources. This chapter ends with exploration of the locals' opinion about actual representation in the development process. Thus, in chapter III and IV, community oriented or driven development is taken in relation with local culture and embedded economic system to end process and resource hijack. Chapter V strives to conclude the whole dissertation and portraying an applied framework and nodes for further research.

Conclusively, contribution of this dissertation to academic discourse is theoretical and empirical exploration of cultural ingredients and political structure for locally oriented participatory procedure of community-driven-development approach. It is to portray realities and thereby tactfully understanding local cultural realities. The aim remains to end elite capture and ways of local inclusion.

## Chapter – 2: Theoretical Framework & CDD Approach *An Outline*

### *Introduction*

*'A powerful flashlight in a darkroom: even though it cannot illuminate every nook and cranny, but most of the time it is an excellent tool for navigating through the darkness'<sup>49</sup>*

(Mearsheimer, J.)

In this part of the thesis the theme of comprehensive discussion is theory's intentions to understand worth of community led initiatives, self-reliance, self-governance, importance of local culture and its embedded ingredients, intention to non-materialistic values, art and spirituality. On the basis of which, indigenous habits of knowing and operating are established, which glows candle for post-development idea, while strongly rejecting the old ideas of development from social anthropologists, economists and developmentalists, while considering it as a top-down discourse. Thus, this section exposes the realities behind past theories' denial, which range to Marxist and capitalist ideologies, as well as market-led (neo-classical, neoliberal, modern) and state-led (neo-Marxist, structural) developmental approaches of past development discourses.

Consequently, the discussion is tracked firstly to archaeology of development and declaring past developmental idea as a ruin in the intellectual landscape that has left millions worse-off. Then (Post-Development) theoretical conceptions i.e., evolution and core abstract of the theory, are highlighted. It is to differentiate it from the rest of the development discourses. So, succeeding the debate, this section tries further to dig the basis of post-development discourse; the 'alternatives to development', and not the 'alternative development', considering the later as an 'anti-productivist' and 'anti-capitalist' stance on development.<sup>50</sup> So, no more grafted developmental bush, but a new sense of progress emerges from its very basic. Which for post-development theorists are not the developmental strategies those should be blamed, rather the

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<sup>49</sup> John J. Mearsheimer, „The Tragedy of Great Power Politics“, London: W. W. Norton and Company, 2001

<sup>50</sup> Arturo Escobar, "Discourse and Power in Development: Michel Foucault and the Relevance of His Work to the Third World," *Alternatives* 10, no. 3 (1984): 159.

externally imagined knowledge of development itself that was imposed on the ‘target population’ with wrong remedy for their genuine needs and aspirations.<sup>51</sup> Subsequently, it’s time for replanting the development tree with the seeds of participatory approaches. This chapter further investigates the importance of understanding local cultural ingredients to prove first main hypothesis of this study. As its a universal understanding that that only a concise and unbiased knowledge of local culture can help to include locals in the development process.<sup>52</sup>

The Post-Development theory, on which the basis of this study is fabricated, is then investigated further under the bottom-up approach – ‘alternative to development’. It is to reflect local poor stakeholders as agents of development. Which, according to hypothetical understanding of this study, are mostly overlooked by small group of local elites. In this case, only an opposite rational or logical mandate; a bottom-up participatory aesthetic order can challenge the disjunction between the enjoyer and the architect of an order. This is how; post-development era dares to stop all evil forces destroying the peoples’ struggle and find way to replace the irrelevant paradigms.<sup>53</sup>

Concluding this chapter, the linkage between post-development theory and the community driven development approach is defended. CDD approach is considered here as an applied framework to ground hallmark findings of PD and a body that suggested ‘*alternative*’ to development. Taking CDD as an applied strategy of PD is behind its success as a bottom-up emancipatory form of development and due to sharing the features with PD i.e., laying foundation on local socio-cultural and politico-economic system to integrate the local stakeholders in the development process and tackling elite capture. Therefore, further moving in the cave towards its lightening end, focus of this study remains on exploring how the local cultural, societal structure and political system needs could be understood? And, what needs to be understand and for whom and why? The whole exercise is basically to back local stakeholders’. It can also be participation of the marginalized segments.

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<sup>51</sup> Majid Rahnema, "Afterword: Toward Post-Development: Searching for Signposts, a New Language and New Paradigms," *The Post Development Reader* (1997): 379.

<sup>52</sup> "Afterword: Toward Post-Development: Searching for Signposts, a New Language and New Paradigms," *The Post Development Reader* (1997): 381.

<sup>53</sup> "Afterword: Toward Post-Development: Searching for Signposts, a New Language and New Paradigms," 400.

## 2.1 Philosophy of the Post-Development Theory

*'Development is an apparatus, that links 'forms of knowledge about Third World' with the deployment of forms of power and interventions, resulting in the mapping and production of Third World societies.'*<sup>54</sup>

(Escobar, A.)

Post-development discourse delinks the desire of equity from traditional economic growth's model to community and culture based notion of well-being.<sup>55</sup> Henceforth, until the recent past, any successful transaction of conventional development idea and any alternate progressive outlook e.g., 'alternatives to development' is seldom appreciated. It is because of overwhelming concentration of earlier approaches to attain the agents of growth.<sup>56</sup> Which otherwise, declares development in the pursuits of better agents of development, 'a ruin in the intellectual landscape' and a lighthouse that has hypothetically inspired nation-states. But now it 'shows cracks and starting crumbling'.<sup>57</sup> It became a 'deceitful mirage'<sup>58</sup> and turns no more than a 'malignant myth'<sup>59</sup>

Development (the preceding discourse) remained as an external thought and a type of more industrialized world model,<sup>60</sup> likewise, a 'Frankenstein type dream' and an 'alien model of exploitation', which reflects predominantly the urban bias.<sup>61</sup> It befitted itself into 'an empty word, a bland, wicked and a whore word, 'Trojan horse of word', which symbolizes nothing and it has done nothing molding the third world societies.<sup>62</sup> Furthermore, development discourse lingered not less than a 'fossil-fuel-

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<sup>54</sup> Arturo Escobar, "Imagining a Post-Development Era? Critical Thought, Development and Social Movements," *Social text* (1992).

<sup>55</sup> Wolfgang Sachs, *Development Dictionary, The: A Guide to Knowledge as Power* (Orient Blackswan, 1997), xii.

<sup>56</sup> Andrew McGregor, "Development, Foreign Aid and Post-Development in Timor-Leste," *Third World Quarterly* 28, no. 1 (2007).

<sup>57</sup> Sally Matthews, "Post-Development Theory and the Question of Alternatives: A View from Africa," *Third world quarterly* 25, no. 2 (2004).

<sup>58</sup> Majid Rahnema and Victoria Bawtree, *The Post-Development Reader* (Zed Books, 1997), x.

<sup>59</sup> Gustavo Esteva, "Development: Metaphor, Myth, Threat," *Development: Seeds of Change* 3(1985).

<sup>60</sup> Arturo Escobar, "Reflections on 'Development': Grassroots Approaches and Alternative Politics in the Third World," *Futures* 24, no. 5 (1992).

<sup>61</sup> "Reflections on 'Development': Grassroots Approaches and Alternative Politics in the Third World," *Futures* 24, no. 5 (1992): 412-19.

<sup>62</sup> Leonard Frank, "The Development Game," *The post-development reader* (1997): 263.

based triumphalism, undergirded by colonial perceptions, the legacy of Western rationalism<sup>63</sup> and an outcome of post-war (IIWW) era. It is a heritage of western civilization and a top-down development model dominated by the industrialized world and international organisations.<sup>64</sup> Its top-down look has been a type of 'ethnocentric' and technocratic approach that has treated people and their culture as abstract concept – statistical figure to be moved-up in the chart of progress.<sup>65</sup>

Particularly as a heritage of western civilization, development for North is nothing but a struggle against deficiencies in South. Whereas, the South is considered as an empty vessel having no historical landmarks of self-struggle and wait towards the North. Thus, North's superiority and dominance is continually reinforced through several discourses. It was North to take lead to develop third world constitution. Likewise, to remodel the development in the South, i.e., dictating development in South according to Western norms of advancement, growth and efficiency. Accordingly, continuous presentation of North's humanitarian and moral concern towards depression of the South. So, an ethical responsibility of the North has been first-aid and then care for those less fortunate.<sup>66</sup> It remained under the theme of universalism by the West. Hence, universalism i.e., West's strategy of using top-down strategy of dictating development in the South, has been infact justifications of the their dominance on global system. In reality, it remains far from being a neutral and unbiased process of representing deep-rooted social and political interests of the South.<sup>67</sup> It was all about Western domination to maintain their presence in their ex-colonies/territories and to use the market places for their finish products. That again remained the realm of Northern escalating economies and third-world became the center for North's geopolitical ambitions.<sup>68</sup> As well as constructing third-world societies according to

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<sup>63</sup> Sachs, *Development Dictionary, The: A Guide to Knowledge as Power*, xii.

<sup>64</sup> Yoshihiro Nakano, "On the Singular Name of Post-Development: Serge Latouche's Destruction of Development and Possibility of Emancipation'," *Exploring Post-development, Theory and Practice, Problems and Perspectives*, London: Routledge (2007): 64.

<sup>65</sup> Arturo Escobar, *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World* (Princeton University Press, 2011), 44.

<sup>66</sup> Farzana Naz, "Arturo Escobar and the Development Discourse: An Overview," *Asian Affairs* 28, no. 3 (2006): 77.

<sup>67</sup> Ray Kiely, "The Last Refuge of the Noble Savage? A Critical Assessment of Post-Development Theory," *The European Journal of Development Research* 11, no. 1 (1999).

<sup>68</sup> M. Rahnema, "With Bawtree, V.(Eds)(1997) the Post-Development Reader," (London: Zed Books), ix.



needs and desires of the West.<sup>69</sup> As a result, developmental deeds have never best answered the local demands. Ultimately, the mirage transformed to a nightmare for millions, conceiving the developmental idea not for them. It has lead further to exclusion of the South than any kind of liberation.<sup>70</sup> It has disabled the South and hindered them to define their own terms of development.<sup>71</sup> Resultantly, the situation has left millions worse-off.<sup>72</sup> Similarly, it has ended with enormous underdevelopment, impoverishment, exploitation, subjugation, famine, malnutrition, poverty, debt crisis and violence.<sup>73</sup> Development with such illegitimate ambitions brought only destruction to regional societies in the South. So, even after such devastating results, all the developmental strategies have been tested over and over. However, it continuously resulted in frustrating ends; damaging the development of the people and their environment – *'a vicious circle, like a dog chasing its tail'*.<sup>74</sup>

Such a model of development is pointed-out as 'amoeba-like' character concept, more blurred, tough to be grasped and a dig that can be easily filled with any material.<sup>75</sup> Deprived nations were continuously at hook from the never-ending plans and interventions. It has made all those Southern societies inescapable to come-out and gain control.<sup>76</sup> Development under the shadow of such devastating endings doesn't remain anymore a 'sacred cow', preciously natured to bring remedy to the underprivileged.<sup>77</sup> The former logics of development persisted as fictitious and developmental concepts as bankrupt and outdated – abandonment of both philosophy and practical techniques of development – *a dead end*. Certainly, a dead end to *'binary, the mechanistic, reductionist, inhumane and self-destructive approach'* of

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<sup>69</sup> Gustavo Esteva, "Development. The Development Dictionary: A Guide to Knowledge as Power," (London: W. Sachs, 1992), 6-25.

<sup>70</sup> Rahnema and Bawtree, *The Post-Development Reader*, x.

<sup>71</sup> Ivan Illich and Bantam Books, *Toward a History of Needs* (Pantheon Books New York, 1978).

<sup>72</sup> Pam Simmons, "Women in Development': A Threat to Liberation," *Ecologist* 22(1992).

<sup>73</sup> Escobar, *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*.

<sup>74</sup> Gustavo Esteva, "Regenerating People's Space," *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political* 12, no. 1 (1987): 136.

<sup>75</sup> "Development: Metaphor, Myth, Threat," 79.

<sup>76</sup> Arturo Escobar, "Power and Visibility: Development and the Invention and Management of the Third World," *Cultural Anthropology* 3, no. 4 (1988): 430.

<sup>77</sup> Rahnema, "Afterword: Toward Post-Development: Searching for Signposts, a New Language and New Paradigms," 381.

change, no more search of new opportunities and possibilities from the same.<sup>78</sup>

Concluding the archaeology of so-far development discourse, it can be said that the whole story solely multiplies the scenario to infinity. It leads to more materialistic and divine nature of developmental idea. Thus, the era has reached to unveil the veil secrets behind such developmental ideas.<sup>79</sup> That era of frustrating results and false perceptions is now over. So, it's time of no more development from the same ideology, but a different regime of truth and perception. It is to launch a new discursive practice, which should be detached from earlier developmental approaches. It's time to grasp fully the hypothetical and practical context of real development impression. Hence, it is the rejection of older concepts and strategies.<sup>80</sup>

### **2.1.1 Inauguration of New Era: Alternative to Development**

Post-development is an era to think about '*formation of nuclei*' that forms the relation between power and knowledge of the third world societies, their conditions and oppression.<sup>81</sup> Object of concern in this new era is to conceptualize and manage development according to local socioeconomic and material conditions. It's time to recognize the power and knowledge of local population e.g., influencing power of locality to transform development.<sup>82</sup> So, it's time to focus solely on aspects of local power to explore new possibilities.<sup>83</sup> It's time to question 'development' in its abstract form to include local culture and political ideologies, whereas rejecting the proposal of something new from the same.<sup>84</sup> Indeed, its time to look for alternative to development and coming-up with alternative discourses & practices. And its time to 'articulate the different practices of constituting subjects; those are capable of knowing and analyzing e.g., modifying the un-real'.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> "Afterword: Toward Post-Development: Searching for Signposts, a New Language and New Paradigms," 391.

<sup>79</sup> Esteva, "Development. The Development Dictionary: A Guide to Knowledge as Power," 6-25.

<sup>80</sup> Escobar, "Reflections on 'Development': Grassroots Approaches and Alternative Politics in the Third World," 412-19.

<sup>81</sup> "Reflections on 'Development': Grassroots Approaches and Alternative Politics in the Third World," 416.

<sup>82</sup> Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (Random House LLC, 1977).

<sup>83</sup> Escobar, *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*.

<sup>84</sup> Simmons, "Women in Development': A Threat to Liberation."

<sup>85</sup> Escobar, "Reflections on 'Development': Grassroots Approaches and Alternative Politics in the Third World," 433.

It's an era of post-development, an alternative *to* development. Thus, a new critique has wholly emerged on the development arena, which is anti-globalization thinking, a decentralized movement, a bottom-up participatory approach, an emancipatory fashion. So, the pendulum can't further swing back towards its old state – a directed developmental strategy. It's a whispering call to return and invest energies on people; the actual measures and determinants of development. It is restore them at the mirror of development.<sup>86</sup> Rather than depicting them poor, needy, problematic and passive recipients.<sup>87</sup> In reality, the Southern societies aren't passive receivers at all. They constitute in them active agents that do contest, oppose, influence, divert, and manipulate all those actions carried out in their premises as development.<sup>88</sup> So, what needed is instead 'a more endogenous discourse' in the South.<sup>89</sup> Nevertheless, an endogenous discourse in the post-development debate is not first to alter and then implemented the former techniques of rural development, but entire 'rejection' of the previous development ideas (both theories and practices), as an improved implementation of the earlier development is not the answer.

Post-development, like other earlier developmental thoughts, has been criticized that it shares some aspects with other development theories e.g., anti- and beyond development. But, a critical analysis of all those thoughts, which are normally linked to post-development features, shows that post-development unlike others, simply rejects development<sup>90</sup> and underlay the premises on the actual intentions of the development. Post-development thought along with anti-development theory rejects the old development discourses considering them as 'a business-as-usual'.<sup>91</sup> However, post-development theory in contrast to anti-development theory doesn't negate modernity and globalization, rather it tries to find constructive ways of breathing and

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<sup>86</sup> John Rapley, *Understanding Development: Theory and Practice in the Third World* (Psychology Press, 1997).

<sup>87</sup> Susan Maiava and Trevor King, "Pacific Indigenous Development and Post-Intentional Realities," *Exploring post-development: Theory and practice, problems and perspectives* (2007): 83-84.

<sup>88</sup> Naz, "Arturo Escobar and the Development Discourse: An Overview," 80.

<sup>89</sup> Escobar, "Reflections on 'Development': Grassroots Approaches and Alternative Politics in the Third World."

<sup>90</sup> Rejecting development: a problem of poverty and development (old thought) as westernisation ideology, a bad joke for the oppressed poor of the third world. Development instead led to destruction of people (locality), places and spaces. The third world has sacrificed on name of world 'development' What needed is more foreign bad, local good approach to development in the development industry.

<sup>91</sup> Jan Nederveen Pieterse, "After Post-Development," *Third world quarterly* 21, no. 2 (2000).

imaginatively surpassing the existing environment.<sup>92</sup> Moreover, unlike anti-development, post-development visualize and practices development differently. The post-development thinking sets on, not representing the world 'as it is', but 'as it could be',<sup>93</sup> that is demarcating (third world) with the lens of 'what it is or what it has', than simply what it lacks?<sup>94</sup> It's about two different ways of advocating. Whereas in the later one, the debate is allowing locals to come-up with their own prescribed agendas and how they perceive development for their own. It's an approach with no global guideline, capital ideologies, spectacular actions and strategies, but a call for no more but a new regime of struggle. Hence, the hallmarks of the Post-development theory could be concluded as:

- PD is rejection of the whole earlier development paradigm all together and at once. An then focusing simultaneously on alternatives *to* development and not the alternative development;
- A more precise respectful, but critical stance on already established scientific discourses;
- Due intention of considering the local culture and knowledge in the development process;
- Publicity of more localized grass root movements for popular power, transforming development and development ownership.<sup>95</sup>

Thus the central concern of post-development discourse is grounding the new social order, which fails in the old development imaginary. It's a question of opening-up a new social order,<sup>96</sup> which is less Eurocentric and technocratic approach i.e., socialising the older development discourse.<sup>97</sup> Furthermore, reversing the alarming developmental indicators e.g., abnormalities, illiteracy, malnutrition etc. and their retreatment and transformation.<sup>98</sup> Thus, bluntly rejecting the old developmental concepts, post-development theory presents rural development enthusiastic towards

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<sup>92</sup> Ankie Hoogvelt, *Globalization and the Postcolonial World: The New Political Economy of Development* (JHU Press, 2001), 172.

<sup>93</sup> J. K. Gibson-Graham, "Post-Development Possibilities for Local and Regional Development," *Handbook of local and regional development*, ed. A. Pike, A. Rodriguez-Pose, and J. Tomaney (2010): 1.

<sup>94</sup> Naz, "Arturo Escobar and the Development Discourse: An Overview."

<sup>95</sup> Escobar, *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*, 215.

<sup>96</sup> Nakano, "On the Singular Name of Post-Development: Serge Latouche's Destruction of Development and Possibility of Emancipation'," 64.

<sup>97</sup> Escobar, *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*, 216.

<sup>98</sup> *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*, 41.

local communities having 'traditional culture' mingled with 'modern' culture. Thus, its an attempt to transfer power to local population in the fields of 'politics, economics and knowledge' in order to find 'alternatives to development'.<sup>99</sup> This new style of participation is for greater community autonomy that confidently opens pathways for knowledge and cultural expression.<sup>100</sup> It is particularly for redevelopment in south, i.e., dismantling and destroying ashes of the adjustment process of 1980s.<sup>101</sup> It's a struggle for freedom, self-determination and self-rule in the South,<sup>102</sup> on burning both physical and lengthy hegemony of development. This includes decolonizing minds, and thinking processes resulting pioneering new socio-political spaces, in which local imaginaries can be endorsed and empowered. Moreover, taking control over external initiatives and actions operating in their region.<sup>103</sup> It's an actor-oriented approach, in which local stakeholders are main actors to peruse development.

### 2.1.2 Local Culture & Alternative to Development

This new era is declared as era of 'cultural turn' in development and conception. It rejects at its fist instance the myth created about Pashtu culture, while citing that 'local culture is neither rigid nor stagnant', however, traditional worlds are 'unconnected' and 'unconstructed', and can't be naturalized.<sup>104</sup> It remains a false interpretation that traditional cultures are 'old-fashioned, exotic and strange'.<sup>105</sup> Cultural elements are just residual variables those when melt with the heat of advancement and modernization and can deliver only bad to the target population.<sup>106</sup> Rejecting this old psyche, cultural turn in development is promotion of the local culture that can also open new ways toward cultural transformation through interaction. Hence, it is implanting customs and beliefs to suggest alternative to development and dwelling on it the alternate imaginaries as well as counter hegemonic principles. Local cultures and customs don't essentially contest

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<sup>99</sup> Aram Ziai, "The Ambivalence of Post-Development: Between Reactionary Populism and Radical Democracy," *Third World Quarterly* 25, no. 6 (2004).

<sup>100</sup> Escobar, "Imagining a Post-Development Era? Critical Thought, Development and Social Movements."

<sup>101</sup> Gustavo Esteva and Madhu Suri Prakash, "Beyond Development, What?," *Development in Practice* 8, no. 3 (1998).

<sup>102</sup> *Grassroots Post-Modernism: Remaking the Soil of Cultures* (Palgrave Macmillan, 1998), 156.

<sup>103</sup> McGregor, "Development, Foreign Aid and Post-Development in Timor-Leste," 161.

<sup>104</sup> Escobar, *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*, 170.

<sup>105</sup> Simmons, "Women in Development': A Threat to Liberation."

<sup>106</sup> Escobar, *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*, 44.

development as an independent conscientiousness. Rather localism of the regional culture is something that is like new-orthodoxy in development discussion, which under post-development thought derives its basis from language and power within pro-local development strategies.<sup>107</sup> So, instead of destabilizing the taken-for-granted truths, language and knowledge of development, post-development idea tries to uncover the inherited violence and blamed cultural assumptions (same like in case of Pashtun culture by the external actors) and move towards more constructive approach. So, rather than blaming societal culture, PD idea creates new space of opportunities for people and communities.<sup>108</sup>

Furthermore, while criticizing development discourse as a Western construction, standard post-development idea pays more intention on the local cultural relativism. It is to imply the developmental practices within the cultural settings, which is based on consensus by those being affected. Thus, for the sake of more parity and gaining right to development is an untrustworthy undertaking. It remains particular, when the receivers and the granters try to help the marginalized in the name of accelerated growth that then ends with hosting the poor and granting no rights to economically disadvantaged communities.<sup>109</sup> Which for Wolfgang Sachs (1997: xiv) is like '*raising the floor rather than lowering the ceiling*'.

Rejection of regional socio-cultural realities, same like by national government and international donors/organisations Pashtunwali in Pashtun tribal region of Pakistan, gave more heat to cultural discussion for more research and intervention i.e., transforming the real possibilities for local genuine representation. So, it remained proven that regardless of minority or hybrid culture, cultural theme helps in building economies through different ways from meeting basic needs, although these minority cultures (e.g., Pashtun code of conduct) hold the potential to resist and challenge (in hegemonic form). However, on the longer run, it remains the vital fact to reconceptualise the basis behind world development.<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> Sarah A. Radcliffe and Nina Laurie, "Culture and Development: Taking Culture Seriously in Development for Andean Indigenous People," *Environment and Planning D* 24, no. 2 (2006).

<sup>108</sup> Andrew McGregor, "New Possibilities? Shifts in Post-Development Theory and Practice," *Geography Compass* 3, no. 5 (2009).

<sup>109</sup> Sachs, *Development Dictionary, The: A Guide to Knowledge as Power*, x.

<sup>110</sup> Escobar, *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*, 225.

So, it's anti modelling of people's culture for an attainable future. It's an arena of language and power. It grants present developmental homogenetic soul that actually enables new forms and alternative pathways for practice.<sup>111</sup> It is also a more focused attempt towards ordinary people to let them construct themselves 'culturally and ecologically sustainable worlds' at grassroots level and for a new era.<sup>112</sup> It is narraged by, for Cornwall as '*words make worlds*'. It remains about people, spaces and places' and establishing the ultimate relationships among them.<sup>113</sup> It could be elaborated as mediating in an overwhelming consciousness of knowledge for charting (under-developed world's) social landscape, transfiguring their cultures and chiselling their economies for their betterment.<sup>114</sup> Likewise, creating space on understanding cultural values in the third world or traditional societies e.g., ethnic communities including Pashtuns, it surely open a different regime of truth and perception, growth and development. As this approach is more opened and an explicit way to cultivate new actions and practices in the traditional communities.<sup>115</sup> Which for Escobar, A., (in cultural hybridisation process modern and peasant culture) seems although more difficult, but during transformative engagement with modern culture, 'traditional culture' successfully sustain itself.<sup>116</sup> However, to make it happen, the right way (for post-development authors) is provide locals the room to define their goals, which also help to evaluate the social change that may occur in any culture.

The fundamental post-development position argues that for effective transferal of power from the outsider developmentalists to marginalised members of the society remains quite crucial. It simply leads to let them to highlight their problems and ways to achieve those goals<sup>117</sup> that adds-up to an essential democratization of the development process.<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>111</sup> McGregor, "New Possibilities? Shifts in Post-Development Theory and Practice."

<sup>112</sup> Rahnema, "With Bawtree, V.(Eds)(1997) the Post-Development Reader."

<sup>113</sup> Andrea Cornwall, "Buzzwords and Fuzzwords: Deconstructing Development Discourse," *Development in practice* 17, no. 4-5 (2007).

<sup>114</sup> Escobar, "Reflections on 'Development': Grassroots Approaches and Alternative Politics in the Third World."

<sup>115</sup> "Reflections on 'Development': Grassroots Approaches and Alternative Politics in the Third World," 317-25.

<sup>116</sup> *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*, 218.

<sup>117</sup> Tariq Banuri, "Modernization and Its Discontents: A Cultural Perspective on the Theories of Development," *Dominating Knowledge* (1990): 96.

<sup>118</sup> Ziai, "The Ambivalence of Post-Development: Between Reactionary Populism and Radical Democracy," 1056.

### 2.1.3 Question of Legitimate Power Rule

This study tried not only to disprove the wrong myth created about Pashtun societal-culture under its first hypothesis, but it also illegitimate power-play by small frontrunners under the study's second hypothesis through theoretical underpinnings, as Post-development dialog focuses also on this darker side e.g., the hijack of process and resources at the grass-root level. According to post-development theorists, all old developmental discourses have more widened the gap between frontrunners or heads and laggards that have with the march of time increased misery of the third-world communities. This capture has left poverty and inequality.<sup>119</sup> The perfect illustration can be represented from the current misery of Pashtun tribal society, which is exploited by local frontrunners e.g., local, and political elites. At point, PD shows that for such power brokers, social change(s) is indispensable and they keep marginalized segments of the society disconnected that further worsen their living conditions.<sup>120</sup>

So, overlooking the vulnerable segments, these frontrunners largely serve their own interests, and interest of the modern societies and contemporary democracies through promulgation of law & regulations under which they take decisions as community representatives.<sup>121</sup> Based on these reasons, the state of concerned affairs is miserable. But for PD focusing solely on the local representation of any society can bridge this gap. Where we should interlink objects with subjects. And to do so, due consideration and understanding of doers and recipients remained the most relevant to change power relation i.e., changing orthodox script of development.<sup>122</sup>

However, particular focus should be on females in the gender debate. It because; under the domination of elites, other than men, women also are kept abnormally subordinated. Women practices are often refused. They are recognized as non-productive and non-creative elements that further destroy their sustenance and survival.<sup>123</sup> It is particular in marginalized and religious societies. However, post-development idea acknowledges knowledge and practices of rural women and

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<sup>119</sup> McGregor, "New Possibilities? Shifts in Post-Development Theory and Practice."

<sup>120</sup> Arturo Escobar, "Development Planning," *Development Studies: a reader* (1995).

<sup>121</sup> Esteva, "Regenerating People's Space," 139.

<sup>122</sup> Naz, "Arturo Escobar and the Development Discourse: An Overview," 70.

<sup>123</sup> Escobar, "Development Planning."



indigenous people for more localized and decentralized process for social change and for improved living.<sup>124</sup> (*See: women's voice in CDD and Islamic world*)

So, in-contrast to societal settings of male domination e.g., as in Pashtun social system, where men control poor men and they both govern women, post-development scholars call for greater autonomy of mainly the female gender. Here, PD suggest granting both the gender equal authority and access to resources, which need to ensured practically under CDD. Hence, it remains to empower these downgraded pieces the society to fight individually and collectively against their local (illegitimate) power brokers. This approach is an anti-economic stance of singularity and plurality. Regarding plurality, the potential of post-development idea revolves firstly around the reactivation of the singularity (men and women separately) that goes on from plurality to universal.<sup>125</sup> So, these subaltern and subordinates groups in the plurality tunnel turn out to be ideal for reconceiving and rebuilding the gender balanced developmental world at the lower level. Here, plurality can also be any group constituting qualified group members, which constitutes members of the society e.g., lungi holders and tribal elders in FATA. Local individuals further select these members and they grant them power to lead. So, these locally selected individuals (e.g., perfectly Pashtun elders) are believed to be the wisest, virtuous, respected and qualified societal members. They have the authority to produce some worthy concepts of development for their partner dwelling.<sup>126</sup> Power of these locally qualified members is considered synonym of societal power that shows indirect decision power of local community. Local individuals themselves and their locally elected members can create paths, which are mostly guided by their ethical principles. So, it's a possible creation of another world in the regional societies.<sup>127</sup>

Furthermore, these groups of local individuals along with their platform (e.g., tribal Jirga of FATA region) are strong enough to struggle and uphold their places,

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<sup>124</sup> Vandana Shiva, *Staying Alive: Women, Ecology and Development* (Zed Books, 1988).

<sup>125</sup> Nakano, "On the Singular Name of Post-Development: Serge Latouche's Destruction of Development and Possibility of Emancipation'," 76.

<sup>126</sup> M. Rahnema, "Towards Post-Development: Searching for Signposts, a New Language and New Paradigms', in Rahnema and Bawtree, V.(Eds)(1997) the Post-Development Reader," (London: Zed Books, 1997), 388.

<sup>127</sup> Gibson-Graham, "Post-Development Possibilities for Local and Regional Development," 6.

ecologies and cultures.<sup>128</sup> They hold the power not only to diminish externally selected elites, but also their plans of regional control. This plurality element of the society further leads the locality to independently craft their vision, construct alternatives and initiate localized practices to formulate schemes to overcome the existing constraints. Interestingly, these groups of local individuals (e.g., assembly of tribal elders in FATA) conceive their culture as a ‘non-static construction’ that can be transformed to meet basic social needs of the general public. Furthermore, without rigidly defending their cultural identity they work cooperatively to meet localities economic needs and not necessarily compete in the profit oriented market economy.<sup>129</sup> Under this local economic understanding any economic surplus, if generated, is distributed vertically (refer to tribal economic system & CDD strategy). It is normally done to adjust economic deprivation in the local economic system e.g., ‘*head-on, without losing our value system*’.<sup>130</sup>

Moving in the debate of individuality and plurality, post-development discourse calls for a refined political vision, sovereignty and generating space for self-determination. It’s a struggle to control one’s own destiny under wider external forces. It is about reclaiming practices at the local level to relocate radically democratized political process of development. It’s a mean of people emancipation to pursue their objectives and granting locals the control to shape their lives. This is how; post-development idea challenged older universal standards to achieve societal development and attempts for realization of the local socio-economic needs through corrupt class. This community led form of area development already remains successful, as it has led to adjust local problems.<sup>131</sup> (*See: socio-economic needs & strategy’s suitability*)

So, instead of depending on dishonest elites, PD put faith in local poor individuals and their groups for trusting alternative imaginaries. That helps to answer the second part of third study’s objective (how to enhance local participation?). According to

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<sup>128</sup> Arturo Escobar, "Beyond the Search for a Paradigm? Post-Development and Beyond," *Development* 43, no. 4 (2000).

<sup>129</sup> *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*, 226.

<sup>130</sup> N. Neamtan, "Chantier De L'Économie Sociale: Building the Solidarity Economy in Quebec," in *Solidarity Economy: Building Alternatives for People and Planet Chicago*, ed. Davidson C. and Matthaei J. (eds) Allard J. (Chicago: Changemaker Publications, 2008), 270.

<sup>131</sup> Caroline Kippler, "Exploring Post-Development: Politics, the State and Emancipation. The Question of Alternatives," *Polis journal* 3(2010): 22.

post-developmentalists, projecting individual and their locally raised groups remains a realistic approach and not just a language approach that considers community's capacities, possibilities and assets against limitations, constraints and needs. It's a replacement of global or big thinking with local thinking, as thinking global remained an attempt to push human enterprises beyond their natural human scale. It was not less than humiliating and exemplifying the actual human capacities. It no doubt remains 'an illusion at worst the ground for kinds of destructive and dangerous actions perpetrated by the global think tanks'. However, framing the local thinking into global or universal perception proved it as a constructing faith.<sup>132</sup> It is that post-development debate remains the most appropriate intelligent for effective local development, although it is also much criticized. Therefore, before concluding the debate, it is necessary to analyse other side of the picture and take in to account the main critics of post-development thought by political scientists, sociologists, historians and de-constructivists.

#### **2.1.4 Critics of Post-Development Thought**

Post-development texts, at first instance, are just the interpretation of 'a cynical legitimization of neoliberalism' and a pointless romanticisation of pre-modern times, associated mostly as 'Foucault's tool-box'.<sup>133</sup> So, Post-development theory, according to anti post-development researchers, is just playing with words – whether desired or not and it remains as westernization of words.<sup>134</sup>

Development ideas being rejected all together by the post-developmentalists is surprising as not all development ideas or the results of it are evil. Like, how post-development relies on dressing new style of life is again revived from modernization<sup>135</sup> as, considering modernity a world of problems is again on wrong perception. It is behind the reality that westernization brought big monuments, and

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<sup>132</sup> Gustavo Esteva and Prakash Madhu Suri, "From Glocal Thinking to Local Thinking," *Majid Rahnema and Victoria Bawtree, The Post--Development Reader. London: Zed Books (1997): 278-80.*

<sup>133</sup> Ziai, "The Ambivalence of Post-Development: Between Reactionary Populism and Radical Democracy."

<sup>134</sup> Serge Latouche, *In the Wake of the Affluent Society: An Exploration of Post-Development* (Zed Books, 1993), 160.

<sup>135</sup> Gilbert Rist, *The History of Development: From Western Origins to Global Faith* (Zed books, 2002), 3 & 244.

physical infrastructure over and above technological and scientific advancement.<sup>136</sup> So, post-developmentalists watch the world with a lens, which is un-sharp and blurred. And such a lens directly leads to overlook '*progressive potentials, dialectics of modernity-for democratisation, soft-power technologies and reflexivity*'. Therefore, the idea of development, which is perceived by post-development authors, is nothing more than a 'paradox', 'an uneven melange', and misconceived notion with limited meaning that brought hardly any significant change to development industry. Similarly, post-development thought is just playing with lyrics. It barely applies old thoughts with new phrases, as it shares connections and renunciation with neoliberalism thought e.g., a) Rejecting universalization of westernization, b) adopting western living standards and quality of life, c) starting developmental industry financed by development aid from the West and relying on the regional societies, which itself lack both skills and resources in this expanding global capitalism.<sup>137</sup>

So, post-development, although has added proposal to establish a healthier society on rejecting westernization, but again planted its footings on western practices of how to live – authoritarian in its concepts.<sup>138</sup> Similarly, post-development thought put focus on faith in culture and social engineering, but again net-political effect remains the same. One can find clear and elective sympathy between post-development idea and neo-liberalism.<sup>139</sup> Moreover, while rejecting universalism, post-development discourse accepts 'domination that is legitimised under the concepts of diversity'.<sup>140</sup> For Nederveen J. P. (1998); although post-development being a contrary approach has successfully attacked the script of development, but it solely relies only on criticism and proposed new construction in its attempt.<sup>141</sup> Hence, it is not wrong to say that it is failed in proposing '*an alternative methods of social change*'. Thus, it solely relies

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<sup>136</sup> G. H. Fagan, "Cultural Politics and (Post) Development," *Critical development theory: Contributions to a new paradigm* (1999).

<sup>137</sup> Michael Cowen, M. P. Cowen, and Robert W. Shenton, *Doctrines of Development* (Taylor & Francis, 1996).

<sup>138</sup> Luuk Knippenberg and Frans Schuurman, "Blinded by Rainbows: Anti-Modernist and Modernist Deconstructions of Development," *Current Issues in Development Studies. Global Aspects of Agency and Structure*, Saarbrücken: Verlag für Entwicklungspolitik Breitenbach (1994).

<sup>139</sup> Pieterse, "After Post-Development."

<sup>140</sup> Deepak Lal, *The Poverty of Development Economics* (mit Press, 2000).

<sup>141</sup> Cowen, Cowen, and Shenton, *Doctrines of Development*, 470.

on 'local social movements' and allows them to fabricate such favoured alternatives. But having no alternative strategy, these social movements fall-back towards old and rejected 'Pontius-Pilate politics'.<sup>142</sup>

Despite much criticism, post-development thoughts are still justifiably accepted and critics again support this new idea.<sup>143</sup> For example, for Aram Z. (2004) it has its strengths as an anti-authoritarian sensibility and investigation of suspicion in the development industry.<sup>144</sup> Although much attacked by the anti-post-development writers, it has made positive claims and opted for Gandhian frugality. It has also shifted the global focus towards 'cultural sensibilities', which no-doubt is a welcome move – an appeal for 'people's/local culture'.<sup>145</sup> As, for Kiely R. (1999) post-development idea offers smart interpretations of cultural politics.<sup>146</sup> This approach for Constantino R. (1985) is a cultural lead and culturally sensitive approach of development that remains an excellent move of post-development discourse.<sup>147</sup> So, the post-development idea, on which the foundation of this research is placed, defends the idea of cultural sensitive and politically cunning development for area development.

### ***Concluding Facts***

Post-development theorists are of the view that nature of development, before 1980's i.e., prior to projection PD notion, was not even partially analyzed. Therefore, the old idea of development from the post-development prospective is like a ruin, a pointless thought, a Eurocentric discourse and an imperialist scheme. And it remains particularly true, when the old developmental scenario in the intellectual landscape is evaluated on its outcomes. It draws the intentions towards finding new ways based on

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<sup>142</sup> Jan Nederveen Pieterse, "My Paradigm or Yours? Alternative Development, Post-Development, Reflexive Development," *Development and Change* 29, no. 2 (1998): 366.

<sup>143</sup> Shiv Visvanathan, "On the Annals of the Laboratory State. In Science, Hegemony and Violence: A Requiem for Modernity (Ed) A. Nandy, 257-88," (Delhi: Oxford University Press. Anandabazar Patrika, 2000).

<sup>144</sup> Aram Ziai, *Entwicklung Als Ideologie?: Das Klassische Entwicklungsparadigma Und Die Post-Development-Kritik; Ein Beitrag Zur Analyse Des Entwicklungsdiskurses* (Dt. Übersee-Inst., 2004).

<sup>145</sup> Pieterse, "After Post-Development."

<sup>146</sup> Kiely, "The Last Refuge of the Noble Savage? A Critical Assessment of Post-Development Theory."

<sup>147</sup> Renato Constantino, *Synthetic Culture and Development* (Foundation for Nationalist Studies, 1985).

local realities, which is a fresh cloning of the developmental pyramid. Now it's more about involving societies with elements of their traditional culture and their interaction with the modern culture as it opens new possibilities under the study's first hypothesis. Granting locals the control on all decisions; ruling their lives, which ranges from socio-economic to politico-cultural fields can lead to discover 'alternatives to development', rather suggesting such alternatives from outsides. It's all about pushing back the development as a materialistic creation and focusing more on the local societal structures – *cultural debate in development*.

While cultural debate at the centre, any paradoxical position in the development industry that has emphasis on promotion of any specific developmental model is immediately rejected by post-development theory. It is rejection of general therapy for all ills, single attempt to tutor all specific groups, one common formula, usual blueprint and any universal solution for all developmental problems.<sup>148</sup> Conversely, the post-development scripts (Rahnema, 1997b; 1997a: ix; Esteva, 1992: 6, 11, 18; Sachs, 1999: 5) engaged reader to word 'development', which is more autonomous and repressive concept of mind power. So, it's a thought that combines success and progress to locals' interests, welfare and desires i.e., developmental prospects for local needs. It is because; in post-development debate '*the 'power' of development... lies in internalization by the host*'.<sup>149</sup> Subsequently, post-development thinking move the society towards reinstating and creating multiple and diverse knowledge, sense of being, trans-scale relationships and dynamics of productivity. Therefore, it establishes ecologies of differences for human beings. It is to take a supernatural, transcendental and political climb to imagine and create an enacting wide-range prospect for local and regional development.<sup>150</sup>

Afterwards, as fundamental industry, post-development attempts to explore all these new possibilities for change to occur at local level, truly at the level of the people and the level of poor Pashtuns. It is a transformation and revolution that enhances locality's 'inborn and cultural capacities'. It eventually sanctions local freedom to

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<sup>148</sup> Esteva, "Regenerating People's Space," 141.

<sup>149</sup> Ivan Illich and Majid Rahnema, "Twenty---Six Years Later," *Majid Rahnema and Victoria Bawtree, The Post--Development Reader*. London: Zed Books (1997): 119.

<sup>150</sup> Gibson-Graham, "Post-Development Possibilities for Local and Regional Development."

change both content and the rules according to culturally described aspirations in the revolution process.<sup>151</sup> For culture in the development debate, the small world of ‘de-professionalized intellectuals’ (called by Gustav Esteva) which range from Ashis Nandy, Vandana Shiva, Majid Rahnema, Orlando Fals Borda, Arturo Escobar, Wolfgang Sachs, Gustav Esteva (himself) and their other colleagues from the post-development generation fix their thump impression on (local) cultural interest. That actually backs the rightfulness of this study to take Pashtun tribal culture into consideration, beforehand projecting any further development wave for FATA region. PD move ahead and further confirm that reflecting local knowledge in development is an anthropological, and epistemological question and an analytical stance towards established scientific discourses.

So, it is to respect local cultural features, which also remains as an epistemological and political question in the current debate. And based on it protection, promotion and publicity of the local world (a socioeconomic and political question).<sup>152</sup> So, as diffused in the study for tribal Pashtun culture, PD theorists stress to reform development form the local stakeholders’ prospective, which for them is only possible when locality posses the strength to developed. This concept for Esteva G. (1992) is that ‘crutches... are not necessary, when it is possible to walk with one’s own feet, on one’s own path and to dream one’s own ideas. So there should be no more borrowing visions and concepts of development from the external elements. In fact it should be but locally oriented notions of area development.<sup>153</sup> It is about crafting the simple hypothesis that the pursuit for an accelerative way begins at the local level.<sup>154</sup>

Finding alternative ways remains the second most concern of post-development discourse. So, to think and aspires good life in any society (normative terms), there is need to transfer of power from outside experts to locality (localization of idea) to let

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<sup>151</sup> Rahnema and Bawtree, *The Post-Development Reader*, 384-91.

<sup>152</sup> Escobar, "Reflections on ‘Development’: Grassroots Approaches and Alternative Politics in the Third World," 418.

<sup>153</sup> Esteva, "Development. The Development Dictionary: A Guide to Knowledge as Power," 21.

<sup>154</sup> Stefan Andreasson, *Africa's Development Impasse: Rethinking the Political Economy of Transformation* (Zed Books, 2010), 83.

local poor to clarify their problems and certainly the goals to achieve,<sup>155</sup> which remains (after local cultural admiration) the second core focus of this. This under the third study's objective remains more important, when locality has concerns on all those decisions taken on their behalf, but remains worthless. So, PD to construct a 'good society' the authoritarian and ethnocentric components in the development discourse should be avoided and a more democratic process needs to be started that satisfies the actual local concerns.<sup>156</sup> As such existent inequalities are due to political imperfections, rather than technical.<sup>157</sup>

Here this study and post-development idea focuses on careful assessment of the apparent autonomy at the local level that is improvements of quality of Pashtun's life. For PD, it remains more a debate of universalism versus relativism.<sup>158</sup> However, post-development idea doesn't discourage and preclude the enacting of local and regional developmental efforts with those of capitalist approach and formal markets. This perhaps concentrates on truly independent development in which localities and regions foster their area for development. Furthermore, the debate is all about ensuring well-being of the community as well as regional environmental health.<sup>159</sup>

Post-development era undoubtedly has its strengths in analyzing the earlier discourses in a quite novel way, which further leads to claim alternatives *to* development – a completely new approach.<sup>160</sup> And CDD is assumed in this study is the perfect match to implement verdicts of post-development discourse. As both share culturally based and politically sensitive tactic of development. Thus, the struggle to make post-development as practice, a more successive theme can easily be found in its infancy, basis skepticism and thoughtful debate.<sup>161</sup>

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<sup>155</sup> Kippler, "Exploring Post-Development: Politics, the State and Emancipation. The Question of Alternatives," 22.

<sup>156</sup> Ziai, "The Ambivalence of Post-Development: Between Reactionary Populism and Radical Democracy," 1056.

<sup>157</sup> McGregor, "New Possibilities? Shifts in Post-Development Theory and Practice."

<sup>158</sup> Kiely, "The Last Refuge of the Noble Savage? A Critical Assessment of Post-Development Theory."

<sup>159</sup> Gibson-Graham, "Post-Development Possibilities for Local and Regional Development," 12.

<sup>160</sup> Kiely, "The Last Refuge of the Noble Savage? A Critical Assessment of Post-Development Theory."

<sup>161</sup> John Rapley, "State Capacity and Development in a Post-Modern Age," *Progress in Development Studies* 6, no. 2 (2006).



## 2.2 Societal Knowledge: *Understanding the Matrix*

The whole discussion of theory, the strategy and intention of this study revolves firstly around locals' effective local participation. This is merely imaginable on overlooking the 'societal characteristics' that have strong effects on pattern of participation, where 'individuals' of the society emerge.<sup>162</sup> So, peoples' direct involvement in shaping the societal developmental arena is, indeed, a far-reaching and comprehensive societal happening that can't be kept in isolation. It's a by-product of comprehensive cultural process and facilitated by well-desired political settings in which locals inhabit cultural ingredients and thereby take effective part.<sup>163</sup> The socio-economic features within the society influence participatory process that later leads to community's empowerment, self-sufficiency and not just the programs' outcomes.<sup>164</sup>

Thus, as a critical approach (participatory form of development), CDD of WB (just like strategies from other organizations and donors) can act an applied framework, alternative *to* development and magic pill to cure most of the developmental problems in the underdeveloped regions, including under-developed through FATA region with enhanced community's participation. However, to achieve that such participation, it remains mandatory to '*probe various aspects of social and cultural fabric of societies concerned*'. It is about understanding pitfalls, cultural perspective of the traditional rural societies,<sup>165</sup> and an aggregate knowledge about the rural society, which if inadequately managed or misunderstood can also lead to frustration.<sup>166</sup> However, as hypothesized in this study that if local knowledge, and communal capacities are correctly managed and understood, participatory endeavors can gear to satisfy the basic social needs. It can definitely help to satisfy local expression, creativity and cordiality to decide their destiny.<sup>167</sup>

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<sup>162</sup> Cohen and Uphoff, "Participation's Place in Rural Development: Seeking Clarity through Specificity," 218.

<sup>163</sup> Samad, *Participation of the Rural Poor in Government and Ngo Programs: A Comparative Study*.

<sup>164</sup> Gupte, "Participation in a Gendered Environment: The Case of Community Forestry in India."

<sup>165</sup> Anita Abraham and Jean-Philippe Platteau, "Participatory Development: Where Culture Creeps In," *Culture and public action* (2004): 210-11.

<sup>166</sup> Peter Oakley, *Projects with People: The Practice of Participation in Rural Development* (International Labour Organization, 1991), 13.

<sup>167</sup> Dag Hammarskjöld, "What Now. Another Development. Dag Hammarskjöld Report," *Development Dialogue* (1975).

### 2.2.1 Contending Voices: CDD & Local Cultural Milieu

It remains a reality that understanding local situation, including Pashtun culture, opens new inroad into development thinking, on which the whole building of development stands. This is also an immediate rejection of general mind-set about Pashtun tribal culture that it can never be exposed for new alloy and for new opportunities. Rather, the results show that such phenomenon (cultural understanding) facilitates co-operation for participatory actions and mutual support. So, it critically adds to valorization of local knowledge.<sup>168</sup> This remains another clear rejection of fable about Pashtun rigidity to maintain their culture and rejection of any mutual cooperative endeavor. It became a reality that involving local recipients on understanding of their local cultural realities i.e., localism of development can end-up with depicting locals as sites of grassroots mobilization through cooperation, which is declared as an Eurocentric approach to local problems.<sup>169</sup> Here, to satisfy PD demands, community driven development discourse has turned the development pyramid upside down. It has given local societies 'voice and choice'. So, it remains difficult to snub the social and cultural context in which locality breathe and organize. That is rather viewing local social capital as a deeply contextual and endogenous construct.<sup>170</sup>

So, under this study (cultural hypothesis) it remains vital to understand and respect local cultural values e.g., Pashtun cultural features, as only such upholding can help to retain ultimate benefits in the society.<sup>171</sup> Hence, it is not wrong to say that analysing and understanding local economic factor and cultures at multiple levels e.g., societal structure, ethnicities, religion etc. became crucial to interlink culture and economy to study area development. It is because; regions like, FATA are often associated and attributed with specific economic system and culture factors and local cultural

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<sup>168</sup> A. Inglis et al., "Scottish Forestry Policy U-Turn: Was Pra in Laggan Behind It?," *Holland & Blackburn, Whose Voice* (1998).

<sup>169</sup> Giles Mohan and Kristian Stokke, "Participatory Development and Empowerment: The Dangers of Localism," *Third world quarterly* 21, no. 2 (2000).

<sup>170</sup> Ghazala Mansuri and Vijayendra Rao, "Community-Based and-Driven Development: A Critical Review," *The World Bank Research Observer* 19, no. 1 (2004): 10.

<sup>171</sup> Slee, "Theoretical Aspects of the Study of Endogenous Development. In: Ploeg, J.D. Van Der and Long, A. (Eds.) *Born from within; Practice and Perspectives of Endogenous Rural Development*, Van Gorcum, Assen, Pp. 184-194.."

realities, like Pashtunwali is rather a competitive edge for longer success and not just residual explanation, as cited in the existing literature and perceived by developmental actors under FATA development. Hence, it's a plea to understand culture in its idiosyncratic nature that can foster trust and co-operation.<sup>172</sup>

So, CDD support the legitimacy of this study to analyze Pashtun culture and its tiny features as cultural attempt regenerate local 'social and economic' vibrancy. So, advertising and promoting local culture helps locals to have sense of development and ownership of the developmental schemes.<sup>173</sup> Local culture and certain values (networks, bonds and trust) are even more conducive to development and are pre-requisites for progress.<sup>174</sup> Additionally, local culture enhances the community's ability to organize. It also leads to local governance where locals address the local needs.<sup>175</sup> It further helps to create an economic advantage and impacts on political development.<sup>176</sup> With particular reference, it can be said local culture mainly of ethnic societies as perceived in FATA is not a static construction. Rather, it is proved that culture is 'changing, dynamic, and fluid and it remains in a constant state of flux'. Culture is paradoxically influenced on contact with other cultures.<sup>177</sup> But, still local cultural values and ingredients are not generalizable. Therefore, it's time to bring-in all the complexity of thoughts on Pashtun culture to transform development and to understand the nature of social capital within the cultural settings,<sup>178</sup> as cultural realities (social capital, norms, values, beliefs, knowledge) enhance locals' capacity to organise for their collective interests and cooperate with outsiders to carry-out collective tasks,<sup>179</sup>

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<sup>172</sup> Keith B. Griffin, *Culture, Human Development and Economic Growth* (UN Research Institute for Social Development, 1997).

<sup>173</sup> Philip Lowe et al., *Participation in Rural Development: A Review of European Experience* (Centre for Rural Economy, University of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1998).

<sup>174</sup> Lawrence E. Harrison and P. Huntington Samuel, *Huntington, Eds.(2000), Culture Matters: How Values Shape Human Progress* (New York: Basic Books, 1999).

<sup>175</sup> Babken V. Babajanian, "Social Capital and Community Participation in Post-Soviet Armenia: Implications for Policy and Practice," *Europe-Asia Studies* 60, no. 8 (2008).

<sup>176</sup> Robert D. Putnam, Robert Leonardi, and Raffaella Y. Nanetti, *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* (Princeton university press, 1994).

<sup>177</sup> Griffin, *Culture, Human Development and Economic Growth*, 10.

<sup>178</sup> Anirudh Krishna, "Global Truths and Local Realities: Traditional Institutions in a Modern World. Duke University, Durham, N.C.," (2002).

<sup>179</sup> Babajanian, "Social Capital and Community Participation in Post-Soviet Armenia: Implications for Policy and Practice."

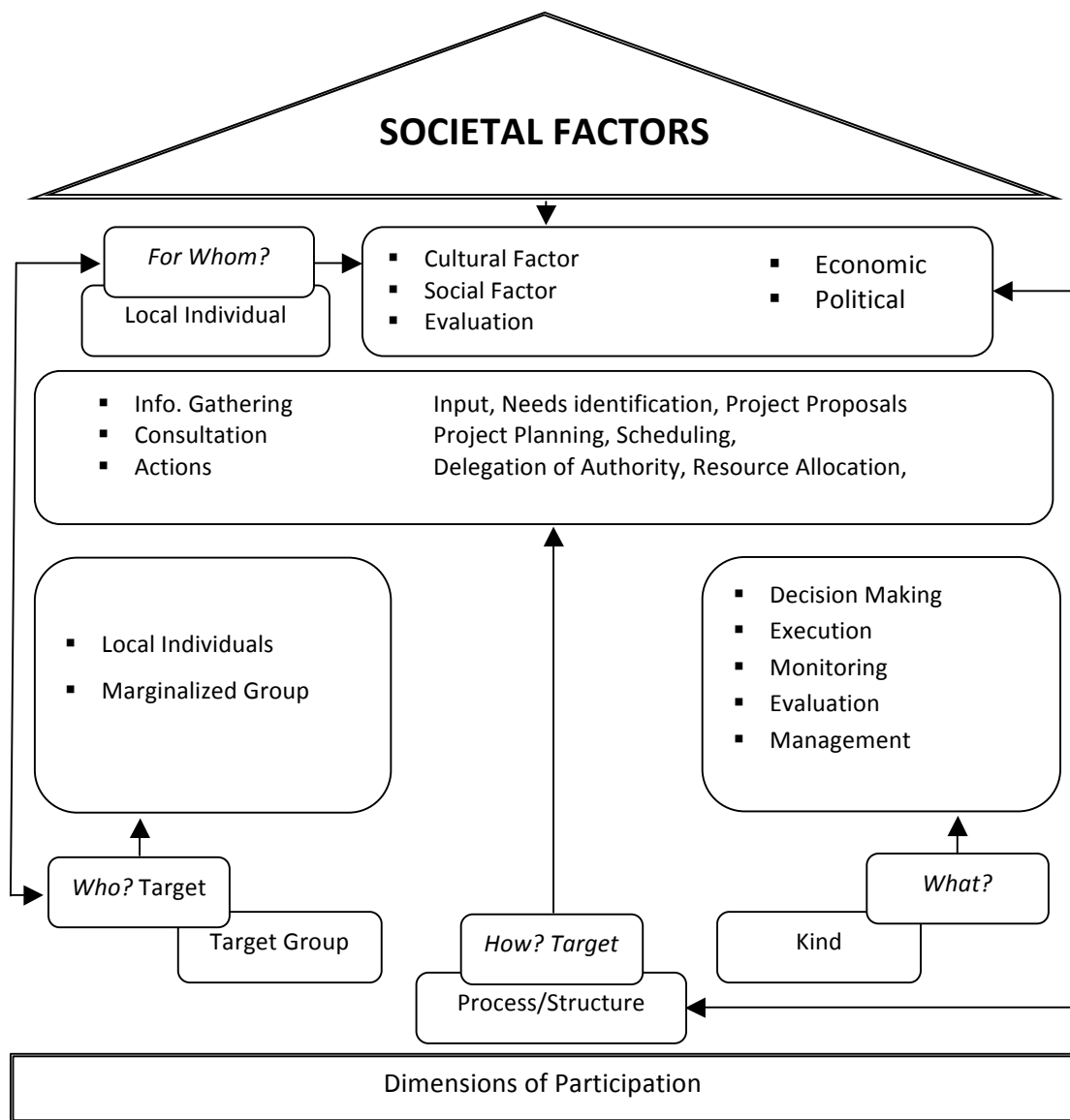


Figure 2.1: Participatory Dimensions – A Framework

This approach can end FATA underdevelopment that is based on their communal capacities and social assets. With particular reference to cultural ingredients, it can be said that such ingredients (trust and networks) are non-threatening and they can explicitly ensure local economic progress.<sup>180</sup> So, analysing cultural world (without generalization) to draw lessons and apply them specifically in development policy and practice.<sup>181</sup>

Hence, as focused by PD and CDD, only culturally sensitive approach in FATA region can lead to scrutinize new trends in regional development. It needs to be

<sup>180</sup> James Putzel, "Policy Arena: Accounting for the 'Dark Side' of Social Capital: Reading Robert Putnam on Democracy," *Journal of international development* 9, no. 7 (1997).

<sup>181</sup> Babajanian, "Social Capital and Community Participation in Post-Soviet Armenia: Implications for Policy and Practice."

started on respecting local knowledge, and showing validity of the traditional knowledge and local superiority.<sup>182</sup> Such an approach allocates dominant role to locality to design 'soft' (social) development. Predominantly, 'soft' development is reviving the local socio-cultural vibrancy that reinforces and re-affirms local feeling and commitment to local development. Moreover, culturally oriented approach creates of local identity and cultural consciousness.<sup>183</sup>

### **2.2.2 Women's Voice in CDD and Islamic World**

Literature is evident that rural women are usually excluded from development arena and often female gender is not given due recognition in area's socio-economic development. Voices of the females are less considered, particularly in the decision-making process,<sup>184</sup> which remains severe phenomenon in the Pashtun tribal culture, where men are authorized on women for all type of development decisions. This phenomenon is theoretically proved that usually the men folk are taken in rural developmental programs that show planners' neglect of women's potential.<sup>185</sup> Hence, in the course of earlier developmental process, the notion of equity and inclusion of all stakeholders (both men and women) were taken only as a 'voices and versions' of men. In this situation female gender was mostly lost. As a result, females remained only a marginalized or overlooked segments in already relegated society.<sup>186</sup> It remains a sad reality that even women documented major part of family decision and agricultural labor. Regarding agricultural activities reportedly 60-80% of the world's food produced by women is not significantly highlighted. Women in the un-equal power structure, systematic disadvantage, inequality, exclusion based on ethnic, indigenous, racial, linguistic and other social taboos remains disadvantaged.<sup>187</sup>

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<sup>182</sup> Majid Rahnema, "Participatory Action Research: The " Last Temptation of Saint" Development," *Alternatives* (1990).

<sup>183</sup> Lowe et al., *Participation in Rural Development: A Review of European Experience*, 57.

<sup>184</sup> World-Bank, "Measuring the Impact of Community-Driven Development Projects on Gender. A Toolkit for the Poverty Reduction Fund," (Lao PDR: World Bank, 2011).

<sup>185</sup> Malkit Kaur and M. L. Sharma, "Role of Women in Rural Development," *Journal of Rural Studies* 7, no. 1 (1991).

<sup>186</sup> David Mosse, "Authority, Gender and Knowledge: Theoretical Reflections on the Practice of Participatory Rural Appraisal," *Development and change* 25, no. 3 (1994).

<sup>187</sup> Melissa Leach, *Gender Equality and Sustainable Development* (Routledge, 2015).

So, the question of 'who' participates and 'who' benefits target only men this psyche remains awkward in the earlier participatory approaches.<sup>188</sup> So, including men over women's is seen as fortifying not only 'hegemonic gender norms', but it also has replicated the pattern of women exclusion.<sup>189</sup> This trend of women exclusion from the development arena becomes more threatening in close societies (e.g., Pashtun ethnic) as well as societies with greater religious influence. Therefore, in religious societies, rural women are treated only a matter of family's honour (e.g., *Namus* in Pashtunwali). They are granted no access to decision-making, which restricts them from any improvement in their economic or social status. They are limited only to agricultural work in the fields,<sup>190</sup> which is also not counted.

After the end of colonial rule, Pakistani society seen little change and the urban-rural, educated-uneducated, male-female and social-political-economic bias is widened. The static social structure of Pakistani society produced '*corrupt political leadership*', which has constituted powerful feudals in the past decade.<sup>191</sup> These feudals and liberals are disconnected from the national politics and they fails to suggest and political, social and economic change in the country's cultural landscape. Are detach themselves from local's issues and even the local NGOs do not reflect in structural adjustment in their policies in order to target vulnerable population. They do not fit to donors' anti-globalization work e.g., grass root actions for rural development.<sup>192</sup>

In the Pakistani society the class segments and gender differences so as the cast and tribe variances prevails. Thus, the traditional hierarchies combined with Islamic climate place the Pakistani women the most vulnerable groups. They re put under strict dress code and hindered from education and other economic opportunities mostly in the rural areas.<sup>193</sup> Furthermore, in the Pakistani society, both Islamic

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<sup>188</sup> Linda Mayoux, "Beyond Naivety: Women, Gender Inequality and Participatory Development," *Development and change* 26, no. 2 (1995).

<sup>189</sup> Andrea Cornwall, "Whose Voices? Whose Choices? Reflections on Gender and Participatory Development," *World Development* 31, no. 8 (2003).

<sup>190</sup> Mushtaqur Rahman, "Women and Rural Development in Pakistan," *Journal of Rural Studies* 3, no. 3 (1987).

<sup>191</sup> Aasim Sajjad Akhtar, *New Wine in Old Bottles*, Dispatches from Pakistan (University of Minnesota Press, 2014), 6.

<sup>192</sup> Sadia Toor, *The Neoliberal Security State* *ibid.*, 29-30.

<sup>193</sup> Christophe Jaffrelot, *A History of Pakistan and Its Origins* (Anthem Press, 2004).

scripture and tradition present that female gender (particularly, lower and middle class women) and their movements, which is religiously driven claim religious influencing authority as well as benefit them with the modern development. Here, feminist women's movement, the so called; Jamat women movement of Jumate Islamic (Islamic political party of Pakistan) focused more on 'Muslim women's social and economic priorities likewise, personal rights. It is to create an alternative vision for women's advocacy and raising awareness to end gender discrimination is feudal system of Pakistan that normally favors the men and elite women on the dispense of rural women. Therefore, emphasis remains to develop an effective counterstrategy against the prevailing 'feminism-versus-fundamentalism' framework that fails to recognize the communal basis of actions taken by the female gender. For that reason, 'Hudood Ordinances' was introduced in 1980 that aimed to eliminate all forms of discrimination against women in Pakistan. It is full engagement of the female gender then their suppressed roles or considering the middle, lower class and working class as only beneficiaries than the participants. For speedy implementation of such actions, several developmental partners like, World Bank and other international donors began to channel financial support directly to vulnerable groups e.g., women with the assistance of NGOs.<sup>194</sup>

Therefore, women's detachment and neglect has triggered policymakers to recognize women full participation for 'economic, social, and environmental development and sustainability. This motivation is based on global admiration and increasingly targeting women as critical agents for social development.<sup>195</sup> So, development initiative, like community driven development struggles to upgrade the existing local conditions to ensure active female participation. The focus is thus more on a sharp-break from outmoded constraints to women's engagement.<sup>196</sup> It is further observed that a '*clear explanations of the process, access to information and appropriate capacity and financial support*', leads poor and marginalized women firstly to organize, and then identify their needs and set priorities through joint cooperation

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<sup>194</sup> Amina Jamal, *Feminism and 'Fundamentalism' in Pakistan*, Dispatches from Pakistan (University of Minnesota Press, 2014), 141-60.

<sup>195</sup> UN Women, "Gender Equality and Sustainable Development," in *World Survey on the Role of Women in Development* (Milan: The Research and Data section of UN Women, 2014).

<sup>196</sup> I. J. Whang, "Management of Rural Change in Korea: The Saemaul Undong," (1981).

with outsider developmental agents,<sup>197</sup> which is practiced in this study to target female gender (although nominal but encouraging) to highlight their sense about the area development. Such an attempt ends with greater women's self-confidence as well as lowering the taboos against women to tokenism that has impact on project outcomes.<sup>198</sup> Women participation is also necessary, because often women have different priorities than men. In this scenario, involvement of female gender is more helpful for improved service delivery for women. Involvement and engagement of female gender can be an excellent vehicle for ultimate women empowerment and gender equality.<sup>199</sup>

CDD approach of rural development has also its potential to enhance 'women's participation' through decision making at the lower bottom. It promotes gender equality and drive change to bridge the gender gap. It further highlights this marginalized segment of the society under the banner of 'global action'.<sup>200</sup> This strategy has no-doubt its potential to enhance female involvement in the development cycle and authorize women through presenting their gender-specific needs. This can also modify their constraints into oceans of opportunities on their active involvement to decide about '*community priorities, implementing projects, managing funds, and monitoring and evaluating community projects*'.<sup>201</sup> Although, CDD remains quite effective in tackling the gender issue, however, for enhanced female integration need consistent steps for gender equality under explicit gender-specific activities. Steps are also needed to achieve intended poverty reduction and women empowerment under systematically guidance for tracking gender equality results.<sup>202</sup>

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<sup>197</sup> World Bank, "Community Driven Development," (Washington: The World Bank, 2014).

<sup>198</sup> Priyam Das, "Women's Participation in Community-Level Water Governance in Urban India: The Gap between Motivation and Ability," *World Development* 64(2014).

<sup>199</sup> Raghavendra Chattopadhyay and Esther Duflo, "Women as Policy Makers: Evidence from a Randomized Policy Experiment in India," *Econometrica* 72, no. 5 (2004).

<sup>200</sup> Birte Rodenberg and Elke Herrfahrdt-Pähle, "The World Development Report 2012" Gender Equality and Development", (2012).

<sup>201</sup> Kathleen R. Kuehnast, *Gender and Social Funds: Challenges and Opportunities* (Social Protection, World Bank, 2003).

<sup>202</sup> World Bank, "Gender Dimensions of Community-Driven Development Operations: A Toolkit for Practitioners.," (Washington, DC: World Bank, 2011).



### 2.3 People's Participation: *An anti Top-Down aesthetic order*

*'Community Driven Development (CDD) is an umbrella term, which refers to a fastest growing 'mechanism' for active participation of the communities to take direct control over key project decisions, projects' design as well as the management, for channeling development assistance'.<sup>203</sup>*

(Mansuri, G., Rao, V.)

An anti top-down artistic development mechanism and as an alternative to development, CDD approach comprehensively aims at making development more inclusive and bottom-up oriented strategy of development. Meanwhile, CDD remains a prominent tool of WB, which shares most charismata with other strategies.<sup>204</sup> Before departing comprehensively with CDD, it is particular to mention that other related developmental approaches (as highlighted by the anti-post-development theorists) can also be harnessed in post-development era.<sup>205</sup> So, alternatives-to-development approach for different developmental partners is in the invention phase. It is labelled with many different names. All such strategies are also being tested in different parts of the world with different results.<sup>206</sup> However, CDD approach is selected here as an alternative-to-development approach, which has added value and remains right due to its similar features. CDD like PD remains culturally sensitive, bottom-up oriented and locally owned method of regional development. It has its strength on its success across gender to meet local needs and desires with perfection. (*See: tribal economic system & CDD strategy as well as risk of elite capture & strategy's suitability*)

Accordingly, same like PD, CDD relies initially on understanding local socio-cultural

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<sup>203</sup> Mansuri and Rao, "Community-Based and-Driven Development: A Critical Review."

<sup>204</sup> There are some other bottom-up techniques being focused in the development industry but having the same intention as CDD approach, preached by WB. These are 'Asset-Based Community Development Approach (ABCD), Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA), the Rights-Based Model (RBM) and the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (SLA).

<sup>205</sup> McGregor, "Development, Foreign Aid and Post-Development in Timor-Leste."

<sup>206</sup> *See:* Efforts searching community Economies, while engaging local community facilitated by municipality in e.g., Jagna (Philippines) *see:* (Gibson-Graham, 2005), in Australia and Aotearoa (New Zealand); working with community-attached religious non-government organizations; also *see:* (McGregor 2008), in Thailand – the Sufficiency Economy model of local alternative approach *see:* (UNDP 2007)

dimensions and then critically analyzing regional political structures. That together, works for local inclusion and empowerment for efficient delivery of the basic social service. So, CDD serves well the findings of PD and it itself share same conclusions. Therefore, along with PD, CDD stresses on serious investigation of cultural world and economic sphere to remodel developmental strategy i.e., culture at the heart of development. Likewise, target local communities can prioritize their needs and identify their projects, hence, expanding local resources available for their betterment. This can enable the locality to acquire both skills and managerial capabilities to strengthen their civic capacities to end corruption.<sup>207</sup> So, CDD better serve as an alternative *to* development as it relies solely on applying local realities in which the locality live, adjust and interact with outsiders.

This setback in power relation and prominence of the locally oriented psyche of development ideology is both intentional and un-intentional response to long-span centralized developmental mentality. It is against repeated mindset that has no-doubt colonized the reality.<sup>208</sup> So, CDD is an immediate reaction to evaluate the reasons behind the decade long prevailing top-down technocratic and conventional form of development,<sup>209</sup> and dumping old developmental fashions and reshaping the lexicon and permitting new language about development. It is focusing on descriptive and normative catchphrases of development.<sup>210</sup> And, it is successfully splitting development from capitalism and pro-capitalist development ideas.<sup>211</sup>

So, unlike capitalist approach, both PD and community-driven development (CDD) strategy depart from broader paradigm shift in the development industry. It's an immediate reaction to decade long top-down, modernist and authoritarian

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<sup>207</sup> Mansuri and Rao, "Community-Based and-Driven Development: A Critical Review."

<sup>208</sup> Escobar, "Reflections on 'Development': Grassroots Approaches and Alternative Politics in the Third World."

<sup>209</sup> Nici Nelson and Susan Wright, *'Participation and Power' in Nelson and Wright (1995) Power and Participatory Development: Theory and Practice* (Intermediate Technology Publications Ltd (ITP), 1995), 4.

<sup>210</sup> Deborah Eade, "Editorial," *Development in Practice* 17, no. 4-5 (2007).

<sup>211</sup> Paul Cammack, "Neoliberalism, the World Bank, and the New Politics of Development," *Gothai, U and Minogue, M, Development Theory and Practice: Critical Perspectives, London: Palgrave* (2002): 178.

developmental.<sup>212</sup> That's why, an a successful framework, CDD becomes the fastest growing strategy that increases community's control over the development process for delivering development assistance, prescribed by the World Bank.<sup>213</sup> This new strategy is based on the idea of decentralization as well as participatory mechanism of development on taking rural societies as an effective channel of development. Hence, genuine delegation of power and responsibilities at lower scale.<sup>214</sup>

As an applied framework of PD, the rationale of CDD centres at community-level participation and accountability to ensure flow of benefits to poor.<sup>215</sup> It is through delegation of control to locality to decide area development i.e., decision making in planning, implementation, monitoring and resultant ownership of the development programs.<sup>216</sup> It is about democratizing the space where funds are better managed and controlled on emphasized broader participation and to deter any fraud.<sup>217</sup> Hence, these steps can no-doubt place CDD not only as a successful platform for PD, but also for decentralizing the centralized developmental industry in backward FATA region. As it has the capacity to prevent deception of local power brokers and hampering local authority by some individuals as well as groups. Here CDD fits quite best as having endogenous nature and stresses on cooperative environment for self-development,<sup>218</sup> and grating power to local poor and reversing the power relation.<sup>219</sup> So, adjustment in power relation on analyzing the local sense of previous participation (first-half of third research objective) is mostly desired in the prevailing political setup of FATA region. This can only be ensured under CDD that aims to prepare local communities to present independently their desired project proposals (second-half of third research objective), however, initially with the support of external facilitators. It remains about

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<sup>212</sup> Escobar, *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*.

<sup>213</sup> Aniruddha Dasgupta and Victoria A. Beard, "Community Driven Development, Collective Action and Elite Capture in Indonesia," *Development and Change* 38, no. 2 (2007).

<sup>214</sup> Jean-Philippe Platteau, "Community Imperfections" (2000 2000).

<sup>215</sup> UNCDF, "Taking Risks: Background Papers," *New York: United Nations Capital Development Fund*. (1999).

<sup>216</sup> Stuart Gillespie, "Scaling up Community-Driven Development: A Synthesis of Experience," *Washington, DC: World Bank Social Development Paper* 69(2004).

<sup>217</sup> Scott A. Fritzen, "Can the Design of Community-Driven Development Reduce the Risk of Elite Capture? Evidence from Indonesia," *World Development* 35, no. 8 (2007).

<sup>218</sup> Hammar skjöld, "What Now. Another Development. Dag Hammar skjöld Report," 7.

<sup>219</sup> Susan Wong, "What Have Been the Impacts of World Bank Community-Driven Development Programs? Cdd Impact Evaluation Review and Operational and Research Implications," *World Bank, Washington, DC* (2012).

promoting local stakeholder's involvement at all stages i.e., identification to projects' maintenance.<sup>220</sup> Therefore, affiliating with PD discourse, CDD aspires to empower the local poor and expand their real freedom,<sup>221</sup> particularly when they are excluded from the decision-making process. Thus, granting them more decisions power as well as allocations of resources.<sup>222</sup> This allows locals to respond with more tailored strategy to take control over delivery of services, thereby creating alternative power centres for them.<sup>223</sup> This course of consulting local population ranges from consultation to participation and empowerment of the locality under the CDD development model.<sup>224</sup> But, the CDD focuses on certain organizational capacities e.g., safety nets for local empowerment.<sup>225</sup>

Community driven development remains a selected strategy for PD in this study as like PD, it gives decision-making powers both singularity and plurality to the local community. Injunction with post-development, CDD motivates to strengthen community.<sup>226</sup> It is facilitating locality to have access to information, financing and promoting a supportive atmosphere.<sup>227</sup> That further improves standards of living of the locality through allocation of resources in their socio-cultural and politico-economic arena.<sup>228</sup> Here community oriented strategy explicitly focus on local assets' constraints and look for additional resource from outside, as locally owned assets and resources are usually not sufficient to meet the regional developmental challenges.<sup>229</sup>

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<sup>220</sup> Julien Labonne and Robert S. Chase, "Do Community-Driven Development Projects Enhance Social Capital? Evidence from the Philippines," *Evidence from the Philippines (July 1, 2008). World Bank Policy Research Working Paper Series, Vol* (2008).

<sup>221</sup> Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom* (Oxford University Press, 1999).

<sup>222</sup> Samir Chebil and Inaamul Haque, "Community Driven Development Programs for Poverty Reduction: Experiences, Issues, and Lessons," *Development* 1, no. 1 (2003).

<sup>223</sup> Wong, "What Have Been the Impacts of World Bank Community-Driven Development Programs? Cdd Impact Evaluation Review and Operational and Research Implications."

<sup>224</sup> Simmons, "Women in Development': A Threat to Liberation."

<sup>225</sup> Narayan Deepa et al., "Voices of the Poor: Can Anyone Hear Us," *World Bank, Washington DC* (2000).

<sup>226</sup> Community refers here is a analytical term than empirical concept that refers to the group of individuals in a society targeted for certain developmental intervention for their area development and not the politically defined municipality. Such a community is often referred to as local stakeholders and larger context in which they live, in the realm of development industry.

<sup>227</sup> Dongier et al., "Community Driven Development," 303.

<sup>228</sup> Tom Østergard-Dahl et al., "Community-Driven Rural Development: What Have We Learned?," (Inter-American Development Bank, 2003).

<sup>229</sup> John P. Kretzmann and J. L. McNight, "Building Communities from inside out—a Path Towards Finding and Mobilizing Community Assets Acta Publications," *Chicago, IL* (1993).

### 2.3.1 From Trickle-Down to Participation

As an alternative *to* development and as an applied methodology of PD, CDD deploys a comprehensive mechanism to ensure local stakeholders' involvement. However, the core discussion that guarantees any such involvement remains around societal knowledge, which under first hypothesis of this study remains analyzing Pashtun cultural features and tribal economic realities. And then move towards mutual capabilities e.g., cooperation endeavors for FATA development. Presently the suggested applied strategy ground the hallmark finding of post-development idea and construct practical guidelines to achieve the third objective of this study i.e., *how* to enhance local participation? Which is how to ensure local genuine participation at many different levels for FATA development, which for both theory and CDD remains achievable after understanding the local cultural realities (*See: societal knowledge and local culture & alternative to development*)

*Information gathering:* Community participation process starts with information gathering from locals. It is the lowest end of continuum. Information gathering can be done through e.g., questionnaires, interview, workshops, consultation, meetings etc. that allows community for initials (not necessarily approved) plans. This initial step in firstly mobilizes the locality for their best interests.<sup>230</sup> This further facilitates them to carryout assignments for positive outcomes.<sup>231</sup> (*See: fig. 2.2*):

*Consultation:* The consultation mode ensures community's comments against local needs and plans. This activity ranks local intense needs. As a mean of active participation, this exercise gathers deeper project related information.<sup>232</sup>

*[Active] Participation:* Participation of the whole community (exceptionally the neglected poor) motivates local involvement in decision-making, programs' implementation, evaluating and sharing the developmental benefits.<sup>233</sup> This exercise

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<sup>230</sup> Østergard-Dahl et al., "Community-Driven Rural Development: What Have We Learned?," 3.

<sup>231</sup> Samuel Paul, *Community Participation in Development Projects* (World Bank Washington, DC, 1987), 4.

<sup>232</sup> Østergard-Dahl et al., "Community-Driven Rural Development: What Have We Learned?," 3.

<sup>233</sup> Paul, *Community Participation in Development Projects*.

also allows local poor (e.g., marginalized Pashtun men and women) to ‘manage their affairs and enhance their wellbeing’. It revolves around making rational economic decisions, deployment of labor, time forecast, budget, scheduling and benefits distribution for self-sustainability.<sup>234</sup> Thus, beneficiaries as stakeholders influence the intended developmental process for their well-beings and for their tangible (increase in income) and intangible (personal growth) advancement. This process ensures their self-reliance and other ethics they can cherish.<sup>235</sup> So, participation is a ladder that leads from non-participation (therapy, manipulation, end receivers) to tokenism (consultation, information, placement) and finally citizen control (active participation, delegated power, partnership).<sup>236</sup> It ultimately ends with empowerment.<sup>237</sup>

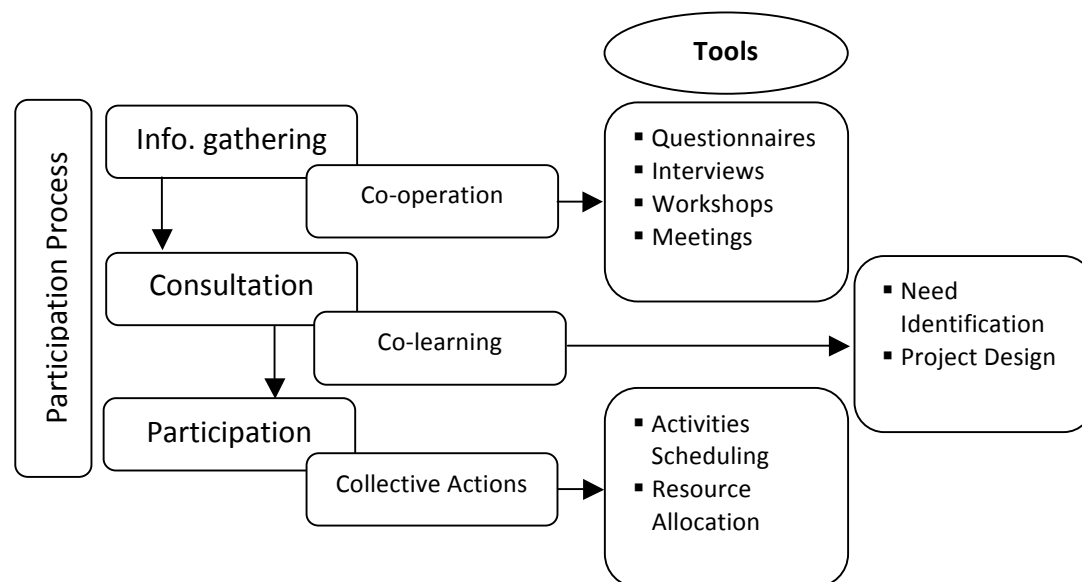


Fig: 2.2: Participation Process in Rural Development

Thus, community participation encourages taking local masses (the poor) as a vital part in the development industry, which is bringing development down to locality.<sup>238</sup> Which for PD is grounding development to the lower-bottom e.g., local population. It

<sup>234</sup> David D. Gow and Jerry Vansant, "Beyond the Rhetoric of Rural Development Participation: How Can It Be Done?," *World Development* 11, no. 5 (1983).

<sup>235</sup> John M. Cohen and Norman Thomas Uphoff, "Rural Development Participation: Concepts and Measures for Project Design, Implementation and Evaluation," *Monograph Series, Rural Development Committee, Cornell University*, no. 2 (1977).

<sup>236</sup> Sherry R. Arnstein, "A Ladder of Citizen Participation," *Journal of the American Institute of planners* 35, no. 4 (1969).

<sup>237</sup> World Bank, *Statement on Participation/Sourcebook* (1996).

<sup>238</sup> Stone, "Cultural Crossroads of Community Participation in Development: A Case from Nepal."

then thought with self-reliant, self-resilient and progressing developmental process behind.<sup>239</sup> It implies that PD leads ‘participation model to empowerment’ under ‘harmony power model’. In this model of CDD, power resides with individual within the community that ensures empowerment of the powerless in the social order.<sup>240</sup> Hence PD is empowerment of particularly female gender for greater equality.<sup>241</sup>

Conclusively, the above activity of consultation is deployed to answer several questions like, ‘W’ – dimensions of participation. What is ‘W’? Kind of participation e.g., local or external? *Who?* Participant (s) e.g., elites class or poor population. *How?* The process i.e., bottom-up or top-down. What? Kind of participation e.g., the process decision making till evaluation.<sup>242</sup> It suggests admiration of people’s knowledge i.e., Pashtun’s understanding of development and their communal capacities that for CDD stands the major corollary in the development arena. Only such a comprehensive approach can deliver appropriate footings for development actions than any immediate external knowledge brought in by the (external) professionals.<sup>243</sup>

Similarly, *How?* The bottom-up oriented method proved to be the cohesive approach of development through possible channels. There is, however, fourth dimension i.e., *for what or for whom?* Who is going to benefit i.e., the end beneficiaries e.g., Pashtun poor community or again the elite class?<sup>244</sup> The other direction of the coin could also be; *who* participates, or, *which* participants are participating, in *what?* and *what* they participate in?, by *whom* and under *which* activities? Likewise, a distinction between *how* and on *what* basis community is engaged also matters in bottom-up oriented development. So, different participation kinds imply different levels of engagement,

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<sup>239</sup> ILO, "Participatory Projects. Cited in Simmonds, Stephanie: Evaluation at the Local Level: The Roles of Outsiders and the Community," *Health Policy and Planning* 2, no. 4 (1987).

<sup>240</sup> Marjorie Mayo and Gary Craig, "Community Participation and Empowerment: The Human Face of Structural Adjustment or Tools for Democratic Transformation?," *Community empowerment: a reader in participation and development* (1995).

<sup>241</sup> Chattopadhyay and Duflo, "Women as Policy Makers: Evidence from a Randomized Policy Experiment in India."

<sup>242</sup> Cohen and Uphoff, "Participation's Place in Rural Development: Seeking Clarity through Specificity."

<sup>243</sup> Oakley, *Projects with People: The Practice of Participation in Rural Development*.

<sup>244</sup> Cohen and Uphoff, "Participation's Place in Rural Development: Seeking Clarity through Specificity."

so it's all about allowing locals (i.e., the vulnerable Pashtuns) to grab the cherry,<sup>245</sup> It and define their destiny. It's a voyage towards self-sufficiency and empowerment of the disadvantaged, depressed, marginalized and excluded segments of the society.<sup>246</sup>

### **2.3.2 From Participation to Empowerment & Beyond**

The entire cited course of action under community- based development leads to empowerment of the locality. It leads to conclusion of doing on self-help and empowerment. It's nurturing local's voice that PD is voice of both men and women. It is enabling them to take-up and makes use of what they own.<sup>247</sup> So, after much focused by post-development agenda, and the applied framework approach, the empowerment path with four key elements; access to information, inclusion, accountability and local organizational capacity.<sup>248</sup> It is authorizing potential beneficiaries i.e., the local poor stakeholders or neglected Pashtuns, to incorporate their local knowledge in decision-making and make key project decisions for 'self-initiated action'. That is exercising their voice and choice.<sup>249</sup>

This in particular refers to FATA that is snubbed by local elite class. So, as a continuing dynamic, empowerment of locals has both 'mean and an end' in its inception that enables them to take decisions, act and decide themselves.<sup>250</sup> Therefore, empowerment of the locality is an exercise of not only active participation for allocation of resources, but more importantly it's encouraging and authorising the locality to act freely. So, empowerment of the Pashtun society is granting them command to change the existing power-relation both individually or collectively. As such, strategy enables poor to melt all fences preventing them for new-fangled livelihood opportunities.<sup>251</sup>

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<sup>245</sup> Andrea Cornwall, "Unpacking 'Participation': Models, Meanings and Practices," *Community Development Journal* 43, no. 3 (2008).

<sup>246</sup> Samad, *Participation of the Rural Poor in Government and Ngo Programs: A Comparative Study*.

<sup>247</sup> Cornwall, "Unpacking 'Participation': Models, Meanings and Practices."

<sup>248</sup> Deepa Narayan-Parker, *Empowerment and Poverty Reduction: A Sourcebook* (World Bank Publications, 2002).

<sup>249</sup> Mansuri and Rao, "Community-Based and-Driven Development: A Critical Review," 6.

<sup>250</sup> Sarah C. White, "Depoliticising Development: The Uses and Abuses of Participation," *Development in practice* 6, no. 1 (1996): 7-9.

<sup>251</sup> Susan Saegert, "Building Civic Capacity in Urban Neighborhoods: An Empirically Grounded Anatomy," *Journal of Urban Affairs* 28, no. 3 (2006).



Likewise, empowerment is the break-up of the participation process, which gradually authorizes individuals at the lower-end of the ladder, where locals enhance their abilities and build capacities to contribute in the wider development process. Thus, 'new skills are learned and new norms are adopted, while respecting the indigenous knowledge. Empowerment no doubt gives confidence for sustainability of the system.'<sup>252</sup> So, idea of local empowerment that is central to WB approach of CDD shifts the focus of development from material wellbeing to capacity building. Hence, it remains a critical response to top-down development.<sup>253</sup>

So, as an anti-top-down strategy under CDD and PD theory, empowerment of the Pashtun tribes is like; letting them rely on local assets and resources (owned by them e.g., land and communal networking) for their scaling-up.<sup>254</sup> In FATA's case it can provide room to Pashtun independent society to lead their area development of their desired sovereignty. So, it is not wrong to say that in order to achieve such an autonomy by tribal Pashtuns, this strategy of empowering the locality can establish the developmental dimension from materialistic expression towards 'enabling paradigm', which is based on information provided by the poor community about their preferences and communal capacity to take top choices.<sup>255</sup>

Such an attempt can also lead to tribal rigidity, if any exist, to behavioral change. As design and above stated cycle of community led development surely leads to change in attitude to have trust to participate actively in local affairs. It enables them to take lead and start initiatives. Furthermore, it raises voices (e.g., Pashtun women) to bring area's development forward.<sup>256</sup> Accordingly, the above stated whole exercise to ground features of both CDD and PD narrates development on community's potential for sustainability of the development intervention. However, however, again bring us

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<sup>252</sup> The World Bank, *Participation Sourcebook*, ed. Environmentally Sustainable Development (Washington DC.1996).

<sup>253</sup> Sen, *Development as Freedom*.

<sup>254</sup> Kretzmann and McNight, "Building Communities from inside out—a Path Towards Finding and Mobilizing Community Assets Acta Publications."

<sup>255</sup> Asim Ijaz Khwaja, "Measuring Empowerment at the Community Level: An Economist's Perspective," *Measuring Empowerment: Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives (Washington DC, The World Bank)* (2005): 270-74.

<sup>256</sup> Deepa Narayan, "Designing Community Based Development," (1995): 26.

to societal knowledge to ensure local empowerment and sovereignty.

## 2.4 Local Political Structure & CDD Approach

Community based development approach and post-development agenda proves that other than understanding cultural realities, local political system also hold central importance for exploration. It is due to the fact that it ruins the consultation strategy (*See: from trickle-down to participation*) of locals' inclusion. It also hinders local people' participation in information gathering for proposal setting and strategy finalization. It also hampers joint activities for resource allocation, projects' execution, evaluation and ownership of the developmental programs. This exercise further leads to sovereignty from the external element, i.e. the desired political empowerment. Thus, locally distinctive rules-in-use are key potential determinants for level and style of local participation in the area's political system.<sup>257</sup> Such rules-in-use in local governance system are classic justification of devoted decision on local political participation and engagement in the political process.<sup>258</sup>

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<sup>257</sup> Vivien Lowndes, Lawrence Pratchett, and Gerry Stoker, "Local Political Participation: The Impact of Rules-in-Use," *Public administration* 84, no. 3 (2006).

<sup>258</sup> David Beetham, "Theorising Democracy and Local Government," *Rethinking local democracy* (1996).

## 2.4.1 Risk of & Response to -Elite Capture

*'Local elites, as a rule, under the theme of area development finish formal request for assistance, control actual grant seekers and held non-accountable to those they represent. The 'target population' hardly has any opinion in such deeds. Such banners are just for snatching credits for other kinds'.*<sup>259</sup>

(Rahnema, M.)

The community driven development approach, although gives development arena a new look, but certainly such a bottom-up framework is more prone to elite capture.<sup>260</sup> It is because; it faces difficulties related to scaling-up and sustainability.<sup>261</sup> Where local power-brokers conspire at the local level and they stay beyond the attention of both higher-level institutions and media and remain as only visible forum<sup>262</sup>. Hence, through elite's participation in the developmental process, donors enthusiastically rush to counter poverty, and focus only on registering rapid and visible results in the disadvantage communities.<sup>263</sup>

On the other hand, local powerbrokers run to propose projects and selecting sites for developmental programs. In this sequence, the bottom fold is initially ignored for projects' choice.<sup>264</sup> This globally understood phenomenon is not different from FATA developments, which under second main hypothesis of this study is highlighted that elite class (maliks, PAs and DCOs) are seen as visible medium of local representation.

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<sup>259</sup> Rahnema, "Afterword: Toward Post-Development: Searching for Signposts, a New Language and New Paradigms."

<sup>260</sup> Local elites/local powerbrokers/local influential, who bear the economic, political (in-/direct involvement through their counterparts in urban areas) and social power in the locality. They have access to vast areas of land and other resources in their territory. They enjoy the kingship in their territory (s) controlling the local poor through economic and/or social means. Whereas, the term elite capture or resource hijack by elites refers to the process by which these local power brokers illegally capture the community resources and developmental projects, here under CDD approach or rural development.

<sup>261</sup> J. & Gaspart Platteau, P. , "The 'Elite Capture' Problem in Participatory Development. ," (Centre for Research on the Economics of Development (CRED). Faculty of Economics Rempart de la Vierge, 8 B-5000 Namur Belgium, 2003).

<sup>262</sup> Pranab Bardhan, "Decentralization of Governance and Development," *Journal of Economic perspectives* (2002): 192-94.

<sup>263</sup> Jean-Philippe Platteau, "Monitoring Elite Capture in Community-Driven Development," *Development and Change* 35, no. 2 (2004).

<sup>264</sup> Arjan De Haan, Jeremy Holland, and Nazneen Kanji, "Social Funds: An Effective Instrument to Support Local Action for Poverty Reduction?," *Journal of International Development* 14, no. 5 (2002).

That has resulted in projects proposed on elite class's identification for quick results under FATA-SDP and ADP.

However, this study exposed this danger under the theoretical understandings of post-development and community oriented development strategy that such an attempt at the local level leads to setting-up of unpopular development policies through consultation with these elites. And it further leads to widespread corruption e.g., resource corruption in FATA (*See: FATA development programs – history & current scenario*). Here, CDD hints that this grasp of resource by elite is certainly due to ignoring local poor and granting power of choice to elite class.<sup>265</sup> Yet, non-participation of the local poor is also due to their non-empowered, non-capability and in-effectiveness to participation in the decision-making process to claim their legal dues. Henceforth, elite class is then on the move to dismantle and reverse the decentralized development process.<sup>266</sup> It can be opposite to it, when inclusion and empowerment is achieved under the abstract meaning of CDD and PD.

Nevertheless, in-efficiency of the locality and reversal of bottom-up development psyche as seen in Pashtun tribal region from last seven decades is mainly due to 'unequal power distribution, different access to economic resources, unbalanced social positions, varying levels of knowledge, different say in the political process and low literacy level'.<sup>267</sup> Likewise, there are several different categories of elites, who held different characteristics at the community level, e.g., Social – religious affiliation e.g., Syed. Economic: land holdings, education and employment e.g., maliks, and Political: political party affiliation e.g., assembly members and PA/DCO.<sup>268</sup> These factors coupled with exclusion determine the level of local participation.<sup>269</sup>

With particular reference to Pashtun tribal society, the authors discover that hijack of

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<sup>265</sup> Paul Daphne, "Community Organisation through Physical Programmes: A Strategy for Tackling Rural Poverty," (1984).

<sup>266</sup> Frédéric Gaspard and Jean-Philippe Platteau, "Is Cheap Aid Money Good for the Poor?," (Centre for Research on the Economics of Development (CRED), Faculty of Economics Rempart de la Vierge, 8 B-5000 Namur Belgium 2012).

<sup>267</sup> A. and J. P. Platteau Abraham, "The Dilemma of Participation with Endogenous Community Imperfections". Department of Economics Andcred(Centre De Recherche En Economie Du D'Evolution). Namur, Belgium: University of Namur., (2000).

<sup>268</sup> Dasgupta and Beard, "Community Driven Development, Collective Action and Elite Capture in Indonesia."

<sup>269</sup> Lowndes, Pratchett, and Stoker, "Local Political Participation: The Impact of Rules-in-Use."

the development process and resources are even more common in homogenous and kinship and societies. Therefore, same like FATA's Pashtun society, societies having 'patron-client relationships, trust and reciprocity between non-elites and elites' are more prone to elite capture.<sup>270</sup> Moreover, in such societies, the risk of elites' attack and channeling of resources is also because of economic differentiation and exclusive hierarchical connections. Such exclusive ties e.g., links between local maliks and PA/DCO, transects the grassroots initiatives through horizontal relations and cooperation<sup>271</sup>. So, the political elites (e.g., PAs and DCOs) are not the only category that benefits from newly channeled resources, but with their traditional counterparts (e.g., maliks), who are relatively educated persons and they deflect the development process.<sup>272</sup> All together, these elites in egalitarian societies (e.g., Pashtun society) jointly function to construct and manage public goods, which is normally facilitated by local societal (power) hierarchy. Thus, a malevolent capture becomes more likely, but can be countered through checks and control under CDD.<sup>273</sup> (See: figure 2.3)

### ***Mitigating Elite Capture***

To counter the problem of elite capture as seen in FATA (see: problem statement) through precautionary measures of post-development, the strategy proposes a systematic mechanism to alleviate elite capture in the Pashtun ethnic society. It is to inquire and look for alternative methodological ways against study's third objective to construct ways for local participation for ultimate empowerment. Hence, under CDD approach, an alternative route to mitigate elite capture of resources remains systematic disbursement of funds. For that the strategy firstly focuses on alterations of the existent strategy e.g., FATA SDP and ADP that leads to such hijack. For that reason any comprehensive 'cooperation mechanism', that satisfies *how* to connects locals, directly with outsider facilitators. It will then be an effective framework to develop interagency relationship between locals and the outsiders e.g., poor Pashtuns and developmentalists.<sup>274</sup> However, it remains an early response and optimal option

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<sup>270</sup> Imran Matin and David Hulme, "Programs for the Poorest: Learning from the Igvgd Program in Bangladesh," *World Development* 31, no. 3 (2003).

<sup>271</sup> Platteau, "Community Imperfections," 32.

<sup>272</sup> Platteau, "Monitoring Elite Capture in Community-Driven Development."

<sup>273</sup> Mansuri and Rao, "Community-Based and-Driven Development: A Critical Review," 30.

<sup>274</sup> Platteau, "Monitoring Elite Capture in Community-Driven Development."

against elite capture that would raise likelihood of elites playing a constructive role in community development programs in the long run. This tactic of CDD avoids eradicating elites' capture and control (all together) at once.<sup>275</sup> This, however, excludes them instantly could be difficult, if not damaging. Thus, under the so-called 'benevolent capture', local elites would take initial actions to benefit the society.<sup>276</sup> So, as long-term solution against third study's objective, community-based developmental strategy suggests again two paths. One possible mode could be a 'step-wise process of aid transfer' through geographically specialized agencies. More focus remains on clear fund disbursement and time scheduling to make communities self-supportive. It is starting with funds transfer at the lower level and then gradually moving-up. But, CDD method sets pre-conditions in the form of services' delivery and achievement of goals e.g., projects' outcomes and then further resources allocation. (See: figure 2.3)

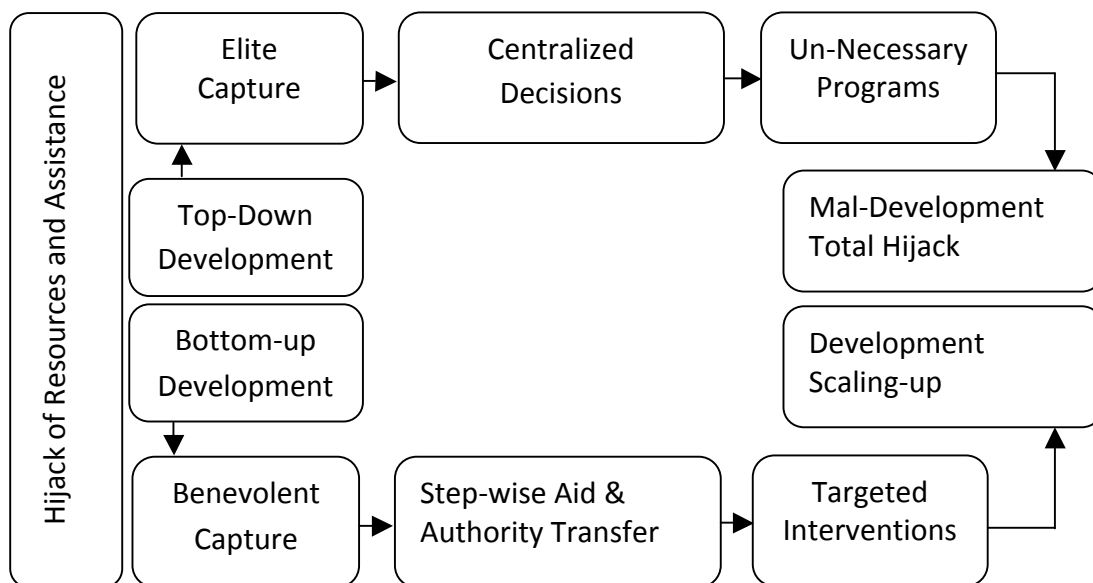


Figure 2.3: Elite and Benevolent Capture

The strategy narrates that once the objectives under the developmental programs are met (e.g., socio-economic benchmarks under FATA SDP and ADP) and relation between locals and donors is strengthened, this process of power and authority transfer let the poor to gradually learn to better defend their rights, which for post-

<sup>275</sup> Fritzen, "Can the Design of Community-Driven Development Reduce the Risk of Elite Capture? Evidence from Indonesia."

<sup>276</sup> Mansuri and Rao, "Community-Based and-Driven Development: A Critical Review."

development industry remains ultimate empowerment of the poor society. So, this gradual political empowerment further helps to monitor actions of local intended leaders and thereby compel them to meet their duties. However, the strategy further suggests that in case of no such results, the strategy permit locals to spawn alternative leadership from the lower-bottom (e.g., tribal elders from Pashtun community), who better compete with the existing elite cluster for area betterment. This phenomenon of PD is moving from singularity to plurality. (*See: question of legitimate power rule*).

So, to make it happen, the applied framework suggests a multilateral reputation (co-ordination) mechanism (MRM), where aid agencies reciprocally work to inform each other about ‘fraudulent acts committed by intermediaries’.<sup>277</sup> This exercise is to empower those poor segments, which grant authority to predominant power brokers in FATA. Hence, the suggested framework stays against the idea of training and finalizing projects with usual elites, who often exercise disgusting and undesired practices. It is all about finding alternative ways for local empowerment and skipping the existing exercise of elites.<sup>278</sup> (*See: figure 2.4*)

So, for both strategy and theory locals’ empowerment can be exercised firstly on including the locals in the decision-making process. As it allows community to present itself, gain voice and discourage the patronage system – a remedy against elite capture.<sup>279</sup> Secondly, empowerment of actual locals can be exercised by deploying the process at the grass-root level to aware local about their rights and give them enough confident to act on their own.<sup>280</sup> Here, any type of external consultation with rural society should be based on information provision and letting them to set project priorities in their best interest.<sup>281</sup>

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<sup>277</sup> Platteau, "Monitoring Elite Capture in Community-Driven Development."

<sup>278</sup> Norman Uphoff and Milton J. Esman, "Local Organizations: Intermediaries in Rural Development," (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984).

<sup>279</sup> Wong, "What Have Been the Impacts of World Bank Community-Driven Development Programs? Cdd Impact Evaluation Review and Operational and Research Implications."

<sup>280</sup> Jean-Philippe Platteau and Frederic Gaspart, "The Risk of Resource Misappropriation in Community-Driven Development," *World development* 31, no. 10 (2003).

<sup>281</sup> G. R. Cloete, "Co-Operatives and Rural Development," *Development Southern Africa* 4, no. 3 (1987).

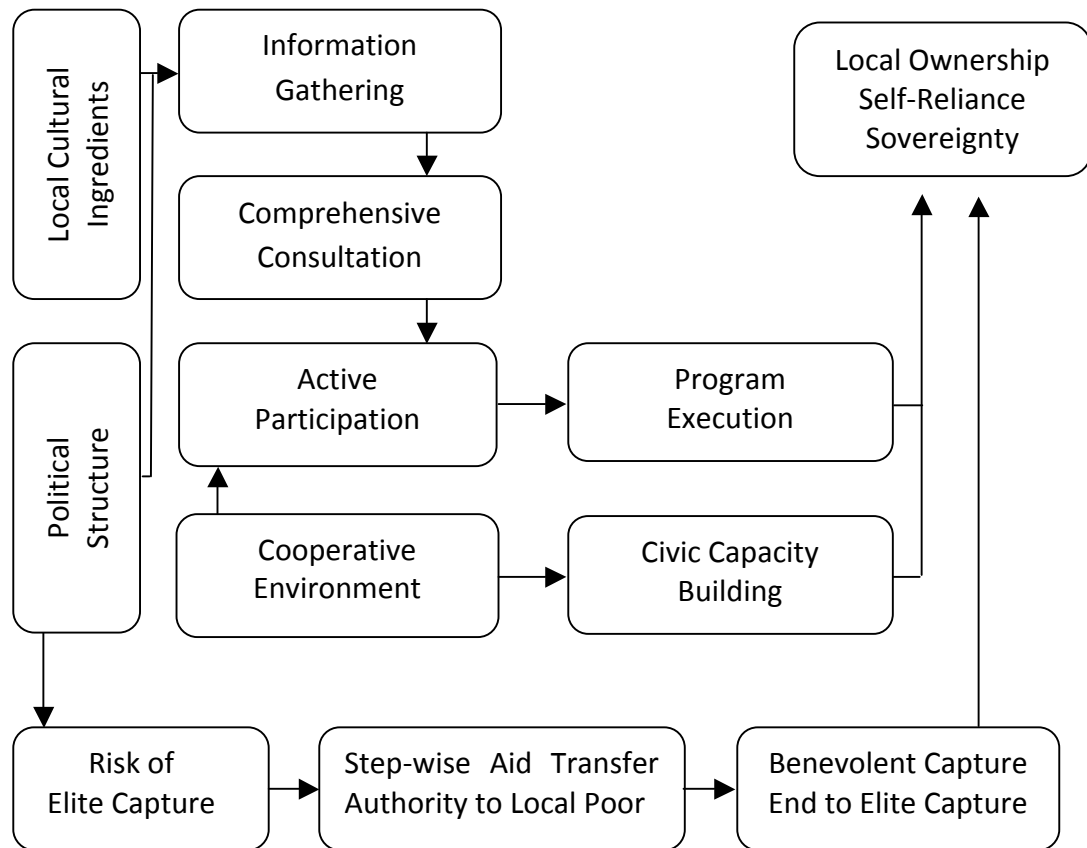


Figure 2.4: CDD Paradigm

It is achieved through strengthening the basis of local participation, rather prioritizing only physical and economic impacts.<sup>282</sup> Empowerment of local community can also be achieved through deploying clear rules, transparency and accountability that are remained as important safeguards against resource capture by the elites. Based on its comprehensiveness, CDD (selected against elite capture and empowerment of the local poor Pashtuns) rarely has any match with any other frameworks for local empowerment and economic development.<sup>283</sup> This strategy helps to reduce the risk of malevolent capture in any homogeneous communities,<sup>284</sup> like Pashtun ethnic community of FATA.

<sup>282</sup> Oakley, *Projects with People: The Practice of Participation in Rural Development*, 189.

<sup>283</sup> Dongier et al., "Community Driven Development," 308.

<sup>284</sup> Gillespie, "Scaling up Community-Driven Development: A Synthesis of Experience," 31.



## **2.5 CDD & the Question of its Validity**

Selection of CDD approach as an alternative *to* development in this study and a counter strategy of elite capture of resources and process in Pashtun poor community is due to its power of significantly grabbing enormous attention from researchers and development practitioners for desired results e.g., tangible outcomes and community empowerment. Thus, the proceeding section begins with scrutiny of the so-far results from diverse societies. It is done to laydown the overall validity and legitimacy of the CDD approach that provides strong footings to apply findings under this research study in FATA. Therefore, questions of investigation are: Did participatory form of development enhance local poor involvement in the decision-making process? Did local involvement assure any non-/monetary contribution to project costs? If yes, then what are the impacts on project ultimate ownership, management and sustainability? Did local poor participation in decision-making affect locals' lives on identification of their needs and strategies to achieve their goals? Did localization of the development process reduce elite capture and resource hijack? And finally, what are the main factors of consideration to engage local community in the development industry?

### **2.5.1 Socio-Economic Needs & Strategy's Suitability**

#### *Evidences*

The empirical evidences of CDD approach from Hertzog (South Africa) exemplify the potential of the strategy to enhance community's identification of problems besides taking-up the development challenge – viability of the bottom-up oriented method. The project outcomes made clear that 'development from below' in Hertzog has notably mobilized the local knowledge and skills for resultant area development and social services delivery. Moreover, community's sense of ownership of development has raised the level of empowerment on their due inclusion in the development process. Furthermore, self-reliant development in Hertzog – a poverty-stricken rural area indicated that if locals are facilitated by outside agents, the community can effectively utilize both natural and human resources for the benefit of their society and locally oriented initiatives helps local to improve the well-being. Moreover, coordinated action with initial government's help, although limited but can

reverse the state's oriented domination of the development process.<sup>285</sup>

Another most successful case came from Jos (Nigeria). The study results confirmed that decentralization of administrative roles from top level (central) to lower (local) level has posed substantial progressive impacts on the rewarding implementation of projects. Executing community positioned development also ensured the provision of 'physical and social infrastructure' and influenced the application and process of performing micro-infrastructure projects in slum settlements of Jos area. The study further revealed that the strategy bears the potential to enhance locals' capacity to express their needs, better managed the development process and prompt locals' spirit of projects' ownership.<sup>286</sup> Another research study in Nigeria (Fadama II project) confirmed that community driven development approach grasped significant positive impacts on (productive) asset acquisition and household income (40-60% increase), especially from the poorest households.<sup>287</sup> However, with particular reference to female gender, the Fadama Project study shows that CDD approach has better understood the 'nature and scope' of women access to both information and projects selection. It has then led to design targeted interventions for them. Therefore, CDD approach remains more operational to facilitate women, as well as their capacity building. Same type of study on water hand-pumps schemes in Ghana investigated that the depth of community' involvement at the project planning level directly cause sustainability, which further enhance to projects' management-related decisions.<sup>288</sup>

In the African continent, gender specific outcomes from Burkina Faso's (community monitoring for better health and education service delivery project) showed an increase in both quality and quantity of health and education services for women. Even in the pilot projects, which were initially not gender specific in their design had

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<sup>285</sup> E. Nel, T. Hill, and T. Binns, "Development from Below in The'new'south Africa: The Case of Hertzog, Eastern Cape," *Geographical Journal* (1997).

<sup>286</sup> Maren Mallo Daniel, "Local and Community Driven Development Approach in the Provision of Basic Facilities in Jos, Nigeria," *Cities* 39(2014).

<sup>287</sup> Raewyn Porter and Diane Zovighian, "Targeting Women in a Community-Driven Development Project: Uncovering Gender Roles in the Fadama Agriculture Project in Nigeria," (2014).

<sup>288</sup> Sara J. Marks, Kristin Komives, and Jennifer Davis, "Community Participation and Water Supply Sustainability Evidence from Handpump Projects in Rural Ghana," *Journal of Planning Education and Research* (2014).

also led to had health and education effects on women for further services delivery.<sup>289</sup> The study results from Liberia exposed that community driven program appear better able to improve the local welfare, based on the idea of local funds contribution for community project. Moreover, greater local knowledge and awareness of real social project, and faith to represent their area, the projects were well chosen. In already poor society, ‘traditionally marginalized groups’ made significant and comparatively higher contributions to developmental schemes.<sup>290</sup> And community contributions (monetary and non-monetary) in community driven competitive projects produced higher-quality results and were best aligned with community’s genuine needs. Local involvement with contribution in project costs gave beneficiaries a real stake in project operations and its sustainability.<sup>291</sup> These results are also supported by factual data of World Bank that rural water schemes in different member counties has increased beneficiary or end stakeholders’ participation, produced better project-performance and outcomes.<sup>292</sup> This remains particularly true for female gender’s participation in CDD project in Haiti. The results show that ‘*explicit gender inclusion strategy*’ was ensured high women’s participation in in the course of decision-making than strategies without clear ambitions of inclusion of female gender.<sup>293</sup>

Latin American continent also didn’t lag behind. The assignment of decision power to local poor segment of the society under the community oriented social development mode in Bolivia confirmed that the strategy has changed enhanced social services delivery and resulted in meaningful human capital. The empirical results further showed that the least poor drove the resultant changes with local contribution in devolved projects of highest-priority.<sup>294</sup> Interestingly, with particular reference to

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<sup>289</sup> IEG (Independent Evaluation Group), "The Impacts of Community Driven Development Interventions on Women’s Empowerment," in *Project Performance Assessment Reports (PPARs)* (Washington, DC.: World Bank, 2015).

<sup>290</sup> James D. Fearon, Macartan Humphreys, and Jeremy M. Weinstein, "Can Development Aid Contribute to Social Cohesion after Civil War? Evidence from a Field Experiment in Post-Conflict Liberia," *The American Economic Review* 99, no. 2 (2009); *ibid*; *ibid*.

<sup>291</sup> Ghazala Mansuri and Vijayendra Rao, *Localizing Development: Does Participation Work?* (World Bank Publications, 2012).

<sup>292</sup> Jonathan Isham, Deepa Narayan, and Lant Pritchett, "Does Participation Improve Performance? Establishing Causality with Subjective Data," *The World Bank Economic Review* 9, no. 2 (1995).

<sup>293</sup> Evie Browne, "Gender in Community-Driven Development," (GSDRC Helpdesk Research Report 1079, 2014).

<sup>294</sup> Jean-Paul Faguet, "Does Decentralization Increase Government Responsiveness to Local Needs?: Evidence from Bolivia," *Journal of public economics* 88, no. 3 (2004).

social capital and thereby collective action, research conducted in Oaxaca (Mexico) identified an added impact of local social capital and poverty alleviation under CDD approach. It was realized that community with the strongest capacity of collective action at societal level has more capability to plan independently to take initial steps not only to address but also alleviate poverty (basic human needs). The local capabilities to do so are embedded in diverse 'socio-political contexts'.<sup>295</sup>

From the Asian continent, empirical results from Karnataka (India) rural water supply project presented same positive relationship between the locals' contributed towards capital costs of the project and final project's outcomes, community's satisfaction, equal access to project, and also time saving. The study showed that the local tangible contribution in community projects had significant impacts on ultimate local say in the project selection that has rejected any suspicion of project outcomes and local needs. Thus, there were positive ramifications that capital cost contributed to community's satisfaction and sense of ownership.<sup>296</sup> However, there are evidences that CDD projects that lacked continuous outside formal, financial and technical support are comparatively not well sustainable.<sup>297</sup> Study outcomes from Sri Lanka's 'Community Development and Livelihoods Improvement Project' confirm that where project aimed to increase participation of female gender, there is an increased participation of women in the decision-making endeavors, and women further constituted majority savings and got further credits. Likewise, focus group discussions also confirmed women's leadership roles in the local organizations.<sup>298</sup>

The study results from Indonesia confirmed that collective actions clearly helped for efficient delivery of project resources to target population and mitigating poverty. Interestingly, same like in community led developmental projects in Oaxaca, the results from Indonesia revealed that main determinants of collective action needs to

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<sup>295</sup> David R. Mason and Victoria A. Beard, "Community-Based Planning and Poverty Alleviation in Oaxaca, Mexico," *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 27, no. 3 (2008).

<sup>296</sup> Linda Stalker Prokopy, "The Relationship between Participation and Project Outcomes: Evidence from Rural Water Supply Projects in India," *World development* 33, no. 11 (2005).

<sup>297</sup> Elizabeth Kleemeier, "The Impact of Participation on Sustainability: An Analysis of the Malawi Rural Piped Scheme Program," *ibid.* 28, no. 5 (2000).

<sup>298</sup> IEG (Independent Evaluation Group), "Project Performance Assessment Report , Lessons from Two Decades of Village Development in Sri Lanka: A Project Performance Assessment of the Gemi Dirya Project in Sri Lanka (2004-2010)," (Washington, DC.: World Bank, 2015).

be analyzed on multi-scalar ‘social, political and historical factors’ – internal and external factors to local societies. Additionally, the local sense of collective actions when adjusted through locally oriented activities, transforms community’s perception for interdependent steps and ultimately structural change.<sup>299</sup> Projects targeting the female gender prove that women participation is already dominated by traditional power structures, but it still has posed encouraging effects on women material poverty through increase of access to social-services delivery and decision making.<sup>300</sup> Similarly, study results from ‘Indonesia Third Urban Poverty Project (PNGN/UPP)’ has increased the voice of the poor in the decision making process that has ensured realization of the poor and needy. It has further ensured service delivery and empowered female gender based on their active participation in community organizations. The research data confirms that about 46% of the funds were invested through women.<sup>301</sup>

Same type of results from other societies (e.g., Honduras Social Investment Project) shows that when females take decisions the activities lead to delivery of health series that has facilitated pregnant women and children.<sup>302</sup> Whereas, other results from Philippines explain that consideration of local multi-scalar dimension has no-doubt the potential to changes ‘village-level social and institutional dynamics’, under strong relation between social capital and resultant block grants for infrastructure and investment. The outcomes of the study in Philippine’s society ascertain that due to locally oriented development strategy there had been enormous increase in local’s participation in the village gatherings that had increased the coordination between local poor and their leaders.<sup>303</sup>

Afghanistan's National Solidarity Program (NSP) implemented on CDD approach of

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<sup>299</sup> Victoria A. Beard and Aniruddha Dasgupta, "Collective Action and Community-Driven Development in Rural and Urban Indonesia," *Urban Studies* 43, no. 9 (2006).

<sup>300</sup> H. Haider, "Pnpm/Community-Driven Development in Indonesia," (GSDRC Helpdesk, UK: Governance and Social Development Resource Centre, University of Birmingham., 2012).

<sup>301</sup> World Bank, "Implementation Completion and Results Report on Republic of Indonesia for the Third Urban Poverty Project," (Washington, DC.: World Bank, 2012).

<sup>302</sup> ESA Consultores International, "Impact Evaluation Survey - Final Report " (Saint Lucia: Poverty Reduction Fund 2004).

<sup>303</sup> Julien Labonne and Robert S. Chase, "Do Community-Driven Development Projects Enhance Social Capital? Evidence from the Philippines," *Journal of Development Economics* 96, no. 2 (2011).

World Bank also brought satisfactory results for both the gender in Afghan Pashtun community. NSP was initiated in the year 2000 with focus on community-driven approach to rehabilitate the country's infrastructure. Results based on gender specification shows that women's access to social services has been increased under CDD approach. Furthermore, they have participated in decision-making in the local governance matters of their area.<sup>304</sup>

Whereas, overall results illustrates that 'rural community-driven infrastructure & rehabilitation program' facilitated 'transformative learning' and 'mind-change' in the Afghan Pashtun society. The research study further confirmed that project action-learning endeavors, if sensibly backed, enables the targeted population to apply their intellectual abilities to investigate fresh areas for community-owned development. The community has welcomed and found attractive the tangible benefits in the form of grants, facilitation in locals' capacity development, public-service prospects, social prestige and so on. It is also proved that tangible assistance followed by 'due respect to local societal settings' are duly valued by the community and remains socio-emotionally profitable, and rewarding.<sup>305</sup>

The debate of the strategy's success in overall non-/heterogeneous societies, the empirical evidences proves the effectiveness CDD approach in heterogeneous communities had been worse. In such societies with social inequality, externally managed programs are quite successful.<sup>306</sup> An exploratory research from Himalayas (Pakistan) confirmed that in socially heterogeneous communities the community driven development projects are poorly maintained and community's variations has a U-shaped relation with project maintenance. In such societies, increased community participation has encouraging effects only in non-technical decisions than technical decisions.<sup>307</sup>

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<sup>304</sup> Andrew Beath, Fotini Christia, and Ruben Enikolopov, "Randomized Impact Evaluation of Afghanistan's National Solidarity Programme," (2013).

<sup>305</sup> Affolter et al., "Transformative Learning and Mind-Change in Rural Afghanistan."

<sup>306</sup> Jonathan Conning and Michael Kevane, "Community-Based Targeting Mechanisms for Social Safety Nets: A Critical Review," *World development* 30, no. 3 (2002).

<sup>307</sup> Asim Ijaz Khwaja, "Can Good Projects Succeed in Bad Communities? Collective Action in the Himalayas," *Collective Action in the Himalayas (March 2001)*. *John F. Kennedy School of Government Faculty Research Working Papers Series RWP01-043* (2001).

## 2.5.2 Risk of Elite Capture & Strategy's Suitability

The problem of 'elite capture' in the rural societies, including FATA, is quite alarming. It directly results in resource manipulation and hijack of the participatory endeavors. However, this issue still got scant attention from the scholars and researchers. So, the need to analyze this nasty problem is increasing. It is because; in the absence of genuine identification, exclusion and non-empowerment of the actual beneficiaries of development, the participatory measure geared discouraging results. Therefore, in the recent past, it has resulted mal-developmental practices and miss-appropriation of resources. Hence, just like post-development discourse, community oriented strategy has projected the disease of elite capture quite significantly. As an applied framework of PD, CDD method of development presents concrete tactics to reduce and completely eliminate it while controlling the so-far powerplay of corrupt elites.

The evidences confirms that 'elite capture' becomes the threatening problem even for CDD approach. As see: n under FCR-1901 and undertaken in the third study's objective, this problem has also reported from other parts of the societies. It is informed that grab of resources and manipulation of the development process is quite high in communities where poor are marginalized and not empowered. That put societies like, Pashtun tribal society on high risk. Thus, it is evidenced that when local poor lack authority to influence and pressurize the local elite the developmental activities yield disappointing results. Hence, there exists strong need to explicitly address this issue, increase the strategic grounding for aid absorption through reaching the poor and conditional release of funds by donors under 'multilateral cooperation mechanism' as well as projects' monitoring.<sup>308</sup>

Empirical results show that elite capture is a well-organized phenomenon. The projects of targeting local community participation in Indonesia revealed that powerful individuals and collective actors were pursued to have formal influence over local governance system, local governance and cultural politics, particularly at the

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<sup>308</sup> Platteau, "Monitoring Elite Capture in Community-Driven Development."

lower level, were deeply entwined with each other and local areas were intentionally governed through occupying local authority to govern along with mobilization and allocation of resources. Such practices were greatly influenced by locals under the theme of ‘protection and projection of cultural practices’. Such happenings deterred the functioning of community driven development approaches to development. Because the possibilities of elites’ participation and exclusion of locally disempowered groups in decision-making processes as well as in public resources distribution were low. The study has summarized that; for an effective delivery of CDD approach to bring-off fruitful results, due consideration should be given to cultural practices in which such mal-practices happens.

However, there are qualitative and quantitative results showing the diminishing of elite capture over the time by community driven developmental art, like in rural Honduras. The research study explored that the projects that were once ‘susceptible to elite capture’ later experienced the change in command to ‘most marginal’ segments of the society. It resulted in improved well-being of the society as the hidden capabilities earlier non-participants were discovered. This is how; the sense of local inclusiveness can open a new space for the mostly ignored social segments.<sup>309</sup>

The other evidences on CDD of World Bank’s projects identifies that the chances of local capture devastate the benefits of local knowledge and demand-driven projects. The hazards of local capture lead firstly to exclude the weakest segments of the society and society as whole, and worse already horizontal inequities. However, joint project design and implementation rules can perform a critical role diminishing this hazard. Co-financing can become the *sine qua non* for local actual participation.<sup>310</sup>

## ***Conclusion***

CDD enhances community power on development, improving service delivery, enhancing local self-reliance, self-organization and ultimately empowerment through

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<sup>309</sup> Lauren Classen et al., "Opening Participatory Spaces for the Most Marginal: Learning from Collective Action in the Honduran Hillside," *World Development* 36, no. 11 (2008).

<sup>310</sup> Mansuri and Rao, *Localizing Development: Does Participation Work?*



fostering inclusion, ownership, and then accountability in the locality, where locals can better diagnose local problems, suggest their solutions, prioritize priorities, lay down action plans, strengthen themselves and held accountable. However, the key to convert the local areas into ‘islands’ of prosperity where social and economic needs are met and resources are effectively managed is to start with participatory bottom-up oriented form of development i.e., engaging the local knowledge. It is acknowledgement of the local or community’ culture and understanding of the prevailing political system in FATA. Which is attainable on analyzing embedded local ingredients and the normative orientation, as suggest by the theory and applied strategy to destroy the fable exists about Pashtun culture. So, a calculated attempt under ‘*culture matters*’ can ensure actual local engagement stretched from information gathering to in-/tangible contribution and from execution to till management and sustainability of development activity in any area including FATA.

It’s a question of legitimate power rule i.e., development by the people and for the people within the well-established societal settings. The recapitalization of the community driven development approach backed by empirical outcomes of the research studies in diverse societies reveals that the desired results could be achieve, if the strategy is modified and conditioned with ‘local cultural and social systems’. Whereas, any wholesale import of applications and best practices from other societies having distinct socio-cultural settings would not remain beneficial. Therefore, for both theory and selected strategy and blueprint must be adequately specified in a explicit local context and social system. Several above stated evidences also expose that if any naive imported application can diminished development idea and can lead to strange plan with negative outcomes. Thus, CDD as an applied framework of PD proves its legitimacy to act as alternative *to* development, which has its basis on getting much attentiveness.

At the same time, the evidences show that community lead development works effectively to hamper resources misappropriation and hijack of the development process, if any. While functioning in the regional political system, CDD embraces several ideas and popular practices (*see: figure 2.3 and 2.4*) to minimize elites’

capture of process and local resources. This strategy, based on its tactical means relief total hijack to benevolent capture and ultimate halt of elites' illicit role. Hence, based on comprehensive mechanism presented by the strategy inline with theory's guidelines several popular cases in different social and political settings provide the base to this research study. That back CDD to gear-up development industry for social development of most vulnerable population of under-developed FATA region. It is to assist in capacity building and empowering of local poor Pashtun to identify their needs and set strategies to solve their problems. That under post-development will end-up with empowerment of the poor Pashtun society for their sovereignty from elite class.

The theoretical findings coupled with empirical data of several studies also confirms that community based tactic of rural development contribute towards project ownership and sustainability on guaranteeing locally owned tangible resources e.g., land and non-monetary contribution e.g., labor work. It no-doubt develops sense of the locality to own developmental programs, intended for their betterment. Nonetheless, CDD proved to be the effective strategy that highlights local poor segments of the society, give them leading role and support them to get rid of elite capture in a systematic ways and without deteriorating the existing power structure.

## Chapter – 3: Pashtun Social System & CDD Approach

### *Definition and Discourse*

#### *Introduction*

*'Pashtun social system; the cornerstone of Pashtuns' society, shapes the Pashtun behaviour from cradle to the grave and it stood responsible for Pashtun tribes' survival for more than 1,000 years, but little admired by the West'.<sup>311</sup>*

(Johnson & Mason)

Pashtun tribal social system, in purely anthropological terms, is more a 'segmentary lineage' construction, as it characterized of segment e.g., clan and sub-tribes. Pashtun societal structure has nearly a perfect type of hierarchy in the social groupings from lower most level to entire ethnic group, which is based on the kinship relationships and shared culture. This cultural model revolves around the concept of egalitarianism. In this model leadership is situational than institutionalized.<sup>312</sup> And in a non-institutionalized situation, the society is 'a cephalous = without a head', but divided into segments tribe, sub-tribe, clan, family and individuals.<sup>313</sup> As being the segmentary lineage system (kinship structure), it has hierarchy of social grouping – ranging from local level to kin, clan, tribe and then the entire ethnic group. It's an egalitarian type of cultural model, where every individual is independent and self-sufficient. And it has a balanced and reciprocal economic system.<sup>314</sup> No one is excessively powerful or destitute, as the social system inherits an inbuilt limit.<sup>315</sup>

Pashtun social system, which is culturally idiosyncratic, greatly influences the Pashtun thought, perception and behavior.<sup>316</sup> This social system, based on rivalries endemic, has an independent character in its composition. Therefore, every man in

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<sup>311</sup> Thomas H. Johnson and M. Chris Mason, "No Sign until the Burst of Fire: Understanding the Pakistan-Afghanistan Frontier," *International Security* 32, no. 4 (2008): 59.

<sup>312</sup> Joseph A. Tainter and Donald G. MacGregor, "Pashtun Social Structure: Cultural Perceptions and Segmentary Lineage Organization," (DTIC Document, 2011).

<sup>313</sup> Charles Lindholm, *Frontier Perspectives: Essays in Comparative Anthropology* (Oxford University Press Karachi, 1996).

<sup>314</sup> Tainter and MacGregor, "Pashtun Social Structure: Cultural Perceptions and Segmentary Lineage Organization."

<sup>315</sup> Akbar S. Ahmad, *Millennium and Charisma among Pathans: A Critical Essay in Social Anthropology* (Routledge, 1976), 75.

<sup>316</sup> Tainter and MacGregor, "Pashtun Social Structure: Cultural Perceptions and Segmentary Lineage Organization."

this system is independent and a declared leader ‘Khan’ (*har saray khan day*). Hence, under this tribal code of honour, Pashtun individuals are relatively difficult to control. This is simply a republican of its own – ‘law on-to he himself’ – ‘warlike and predatory’.<sup>317</sup> The sense of acting as substitute doesn’t exist in the society, which is a matter of inferiority, particularly with outsiders. Because its more about mistrust that end-up with an un-successful conclusion. They rather offer their commodities and wait for ‘honour’ in return. This arrangement is simply a rejection of legitimacy of any ‘hereditary authority’.<sup>318</sup> Therefore, they have never accepted any foreign/state led authority. Even they never remained anxious to build their own government.<sup>319</sup>

The Pashtun social system of FATA, so called ‘Pashtunwali’, is overwhelmingly became the largest ‘quasi-legal’ system ever exists in any stateless society. It is based on the fact that nearly the whole community breathe under the umbrella of Pashtunwali and they all are subjected to it.<sup>320</sup> Therefore, it is culturally idiosyncratic to avoid frustration and hostility. Pashtuns social system extensively influence Pashtun behaviour i.e., their perception, reasoning of the intervention and sense of judgement, while interacting with outsiders.<sup>321</sup> Thus, Pashtun tribal social system neither comprehends nor caricatures the modern world’s dilemmas. And in this system, the symbols of social life are more daring. The real essence of tribal code is still well captured. Thus, any attempt to ruin this old tribal social system might create xenophobia that could lead to reaction from the locality. But in normal life, Pashtun tribal system is a balanced system.<sup>322</sup> As, it has established itself into a locally accepted constitution.<sup>323</sup> This locally acceptable constitution is in FATA back from centuries (2000-3000 BC) by Pashtuns of South-Asia. Prominently, the major division within the social system is ‘*Nang*’ – the free and encapsulated form and ‘*Qalang*’ –

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<sup>317</sup> Thomas Hungerford Holdich, *The Indian Borderland, 1880-1900* (Methuen and Company, 1901), 184-85.

<sup>318</sup> Charles Lindholm, *Generosity and Jealousy: The Swat Pukhtun of Northern Pakistan* (Columbia University Press, 1982).

<sup>319</sup> Milan Hauner, "One Man against the Empire: The Faqir of Ipi and the British in Central Asia on the Eve of and During the Second World War," *Journal of Contemporary History* 16, no. 1 (1981).

<sup>320</sup> T. Ginsburg, "An Economic Interpretation of the Pashtunwali " (2011): 19.

<sup>321</sup> Tainter and MacGregor, "Pashtun Social Structure: Cultural Perceptions and Segmentary Lineage Organization."

<sup>322</sup> Akbar S. Ahmad, *Pukhtun Economy and Society : Traditional Structure and Economic Development in a Tribal Society*. (Routledge & Kegan Paul London, 1980), 93-95.

<sup>323</sup> *Pukhtun Economy and Society : Traditional Structure and Economic Development in a Tribal Society*. (Routledge & Kegan Paul London, 1980).

the encapsulated form (*See: e.g., Pashtun economic system for further elaboration*). This division conceptualize two antithetical forms of social organisation. Pashtun themselves identify these two basic symbols as social diacritica. However, the tribal values are equal in both the categories. So, this tribal social system hinders any further divisions and even the existing divisions don't leads to superiority of either the group within the system.<sup>324</sup> This character proves that genealogical segment of such societies is normally regulated and function on the principle of equivalence, which further implies political equality and organizational equivalence.<sup>325</sup> Thus, the tribal social system that draws the Pashtuns' social life is neither embodied as a set of scriptures nor as a 'Magna Carta'. Rather, this social system revolves around Pashtun code called Pashtunwali that contains some rectifying elements to help the society to organize and articulate social functions prescribed under Pashtun code.<sup>326</sup>

So, the Pashtun society is based on an ideal type of equality where all Pashtuns are equal – decedents of common ancestor. The social and economic inequality, which seldom exists, is not threatening and can be changed at any time.<sup>327</sup> So, the only struggle is to acquire and maintain honour. It is through hospitality and truthfulness. Likewise, to get political-status, but not the economic gains.<sup>328</sup> Based on these realities, the Pashtun hill society, with their centuries old societal system, remains a wild land of independence. The land of unruly people – neither conquered nor tamed in the past. They glorify the martial race and die for Pashtunwali than submitting to the will of any alien power. A trend of myths and fable against the Pashtuns has re-shaped the truth about Pashtun psyche, however, the proportion of bravery, honour, freedom and egalitarianism encompasses Pashtunwali are blown-out just a proportion. But a critical look at Pashtun society demonstrates something quite different, which is totally opposite to that fabricated story that exists in the outsider world.<sup>329</sup>

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<sup>324</sup> *Millennium and Charisma among Pathans: A Critical Essay in Social Anthropology*, 73-83.

<sup>325</sup> Christian Sigrist, "Segmentary Societies: The Evolution and Actual Relevance of an Interdisciplinary Conception," *Integration* 6(2004).

<sup>326</sup> Ahmad, *Pukhtun Economy and Society : Traditional Structure and Economic Development in a Tribal Society.*, 95.

<sup>327</sup> Bernt Glatzer, "The Pashtun Tribal System," *Concept of Tribal Society* (2002): 6.

<sup>328</sup> Ahmad, *Pukhtun Economy and Society : Traditional Structure and Economic Development in a Tribal Society.*

<sup>329</sup> Adeel Khan, "Pakhtun Ethnic Nationalism: From Separation to Integration," *Asian Ethnicity* 4, no. 1 (2003).

### 3.1 Pashtun Tribal Culture – *Pashtunwali* & CDD Initiatives

*'Pashtunwali; the 'code of conduct', comprised more than just rules in its legalistic definition, it is the moral 'grid of parallels and meridians' expended by the Pashtuns'.<sup>330</sup>*

(Karrer L.)

Pashtun tribes<sup>331</sup> of western frontier region of Pakistan have a unique culture and legal social code of conduct that governs their life, termed as 'the way of the Pashtuns or *Pashtunwali*'. *Pashtunwali* is an unwritten 'constitution' that regulates the domestic affairs of Pashtun tribes, which is based on the principle of retaliation and retribution (*tawan*). Hence, *Pashtunwali* is a set of values, which are traditionally and collectively agreed in the Pashtun tribal society and are understood as 'Pashtun culture'. So, this cultural construction remains the foundation of Pashtun identity and social structure.<sup>332</sup> Which, at first instance includes the numerous supplementary core tenets of 'dignity, independence, impartiality, warmth, forgiveness and tolerance'.<sup>333</sup>

*Pashtunwali* in Pashto language is also edited as *pashtoonwali*, *pakhtoonwali*, *pakhtunwali* or *pashtunwli*. *Pashtunwali* has a noun; '*Pashtun*' and the suffix; '*wali*'. In Pashto language these suffixes normally generate a nouns having abstract meaning. Thus, the word *Pashtunwali* (or its variants) can simply be decoded as '*the way of the Pashtuns*'. Thus, *Pashtunwali* is the central skeleton of Pashtun social structure. It is a 'flesh' of Pashtun's social organisation and societal behaviour.<sup>334</sup>

For Chalres A. (2001); *Pashtunwali* is 'an uncompromising social mystery' that profoundly is '*at odds with Western mores that its application constantly brings one*

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<sup>330</sup> Leo Karrer, *Pashtun Traditions Versus Western Perceptions: Cross-Cultural Negotiations in Afghanistan* ( Graduate Institute Publications, Geneva2012).

<sup>331</sup> Tribe, according to Encyclopedia Britannica, in anthropological terms, is defined as a common form of social organization from common descent, language, culture and ideology. It was first originated in ancient Rome, with the word *tibus*: division within the state. However, under pure anthropological investigation, 'tribe' refers to 'social segment' having a unique social structure within the society with any common ancestor i.e., a society sharing common ancestry. For some, tribe is a political unit; yet, the social order and structural concept encompass such ideologies.

<sup>332</sup> Lowell Thomas, *Beyond Khyber Pass into Forbidden Afghanistan* (Grosset & Dunlap, 1925).

<sup>333</sup> Johnson and Mason, "No Sign until the Burst of Fire: Understanding the Pakistan-Afghanistan Frontier," 59.

<sup>334</sup> Ahmad, *Pukhtun Economy and Society : Traditional Structure and Economic Development in a Tribal Society.*, 356-57.

up with a jolt'.<sup>335</sup> Correspondingly, 'Pashtunwali remains the central reality in this tribal society. It's an explanatory variable and also a key.'<sup>336</sup> Pashtunwali signifies the core concept and includes all the traditions of Pashtuns; *'their tribal spirit, a sophisticated code of honour, moral and ethical rules of behaviour, the demand for martial bravery, reasonable actions, consultation, a system of customary legal norms and not the least, the faith in Islam'*. So, based in these concepts, Pashtuns differentiate themselves from other ethnic societies on describing Pashtun culture an ideal.<sup>337</sup> However, Pashtunwali has another view that for 'Dilip Hiro'; Pashtunwali is something, *'to avenge blood; to fight to death for a person, who has taken-up the fight with me, no matter of his lineage, to defend to-the-last of any property entrusted, be hospitable, provide safety to the guest and his property, to pardon an offense (other than murder) at the intercession of a woman of the offender's lineage'*. Furthermore, it's about scrupulous respect to Syed (Mohammad-PBUH decedents) and Mullah (religious person/scholar). And punish all adulterers with death (only in reply) but refrain from killing a man, if he is entered in the mosque or the shrine of a holy man'.<sup>338</sup>

Thus, Pashtuns as a complete society agrees on one common myth, *'Let the head be gone, wealth be gone, but the honour must not, because the whole of dignity of a man is due to this honour'*.<sup>339</sup> This society from J. C. Griffiths' point of view; is a civilisation that has, *'their voices like revenge, envy, avarice, rapacity and obstinacy and on the other hand, they are fond of liberty, faithful to their friends, kind to their dependents, hospitable, brave, hardy, frugal, laborious and prudent. They are less disposed than the nations of their neighborhood to falsehood, intrigue and deceit'*.<sup>340</sup> These diverse societal-characteristics had made the local Pashtuns having intersecting qualities like, *'honour and treachery, devotion and betrayal, simplicity and cunning,*

<sup>335</sup> Charles Allen, *Soldier Sahibs: The Daring Adventurers Who Tamed India's Northwest Frontier* (Carroll & Graf Publishers, 2001).

<sup>336</sup> Kimberly Marten, Thomas H. Johnson, and M. Chris Mason, "Misunderstanding Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Area?," *International Security* 33, no. 3 (2009): 185.

<sup>337</sup> Lutz Rzehak and Afghanistan Analysts Network, *Doing Pashto: Pashtunwali as the Ideal of Honourable Behaviour and Tribal Life among the Pashtuns* (Afghanistan Analysts Network, 2011).

<sup>338</sup> Dilip Hiro, *War without End: The Rise of Islamist Terrorism and Global Response* (Psychology Press, 2002), 181.

<sup>339</sup> Khushal Khattak, Khan Kamil, D. M. K. (Ed.) *Divan-E-Khushal Khan Khattak* (Peshawar: Idara-e-Ishaat-e-Sarhad, 1960).

<sup>340</sup> John C. Griffiths, *Afghanistan: A History of Conflict* (Carlton Books, 2001), 66.

*hospitality and hostility*'. So, Pashtunwali is not about some 'strict set of inviolable rules' but a code by which the Pashtun live and nourish – some guidelines of their daily life behaviour.<sup>341</sup> Accordingly, Pashtunwali is not just a legal code as imagined but it is also 'a code of honour' to lives-by and die-for! – An insight proud Pashtuns.<sup>342</sup> Pashtuns love life, but only with honour. So, it will not be wrong to say that Pashtun's life is sub-ordinate to honour and without honour life is considered as useless, so death is preferred.<sup>343</sup> *'Sweeter to me is death than life, which is passed day-to-day without honour'* (Khushal Khan Khattak).<sup>344</sup> And that, *'When a Pashtun has no Pashto (honour), may he fills the hollows of the earth'*. Being Pashtun is synonym of being respected and following Pashtunwali from every aspect. It is viewed as composition concept that embraces the Pashtun tribal customs, morality and ethos.<sup>345</sup> However, any false interpretation of Pashtun code of honour directly hampers steps to recognise their actual cultural values, rules of governance.<sup>346</sup>

In this way, Pashtunwali being the 'tribal law' has got the paramount importance in Pashtun society and their political behavior.<sup>347</sup> This unwritten code consists of general principles and practices (*tsali*), although its application varies from case to case.<sup>348</sup> Such a 'tribal customary law'<sup>349</sup> exists in all tribal groups, cherished, adopted and regarded as intrinsic to tribal identity. It governs all events of daily life events like, marriage, divorce, inheritance etc. till community ownership of natural resources.<sup>350</sup>

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<sup>341</sup> Thomas H. Johnson, "Understanding Afghan Culture," (2009).

<sup>342</sup> Yasmeen Aftab Ali, "Understanding Pashtunwali," *The Nations* August 06, 2013.

<sup>343</sup> Raj Wali Shah Khattak, Fida Mohammad, and Richard Lee, "The Pashtun Code of Honour," *Research Journal of Area Study Centre, University of Peshawar, Pakistan*.

<sup>344</sup> O. Caroe, Howell, E. , *The Poems of Khushal Khan Khattak*. (University of Peshawar: Pashto Academy, 1963).

<sup>345</sup> Mohammad Nawaz Tair, *Rohi Mataluna: Pashto Proverbs* (Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2009).

<sup>346</sup> Rzehak and Network, *Doing Pashto: Pashtunwali as the Ideal of Honourable Behaviour and Tribal Life among the Pashtuns*.

<sup>347</sup> José Oberson, "Khans and Warlords: Political Alignment, Leadership and the State in Pashtun Society," (2002): 35.

<sup>348</sup> Alef-Shah Zadran, "Socio-Economic and Legal-Political Processes in a Pashtun Village, Southeastern Afghanistan," (1978).

<sup>349</sup> Customary law is meant by any common cultural and ethical code of the society or non-state legal system that governs the society through generating binding rules for its members, all in all in the absence of and/or in opposition to state government or any other external authority. Such and oral code ranges from community's daily life activities till dispute settlement, from praising someone to imposing sections, provided, violating the local established norms under the customary law.

<sup>350</sup> Kumar Suresh Singh, *Tribal Ethnography, Customary Law, and Change* (Concept Publishing Company, 1993), 17.



So, Pashtunwali, as being practiced continuously over centuries (regardless of its formal status) is understood as a bottom-up oriented social structure. It's functioning on the principle of equity, so no man is extremely authoritative or deprived. There remains an inherent limit of power gain. And beyond that the situation/position of any individual is affected either by sub-groups and tribal norms.<sup>351</sup> So, Pashtunwali constitute in it an emergent mechanism for check & balances, which are prominently influenced by Shari'a law. However, close analysis of cultural features and Islamic law represents something quite different.

### 3.1.1 Pashtunwali & Sharia Law

For the tribal Pashtuns of Pakistan, there exists absolutely no contradiction between practicing Pashtunwali or Sharia law/Islamic law<sup>352</sup>, as they pretend Pashtun culture in accord with the Islamic principles and practises it as filtered through the Islamist lens. However, close analysis of both presents something quite different. (*See: figure 3.1*) Which is although not the aim of this study to dig every node, but it still remains quite interesting to state major clashes between them.

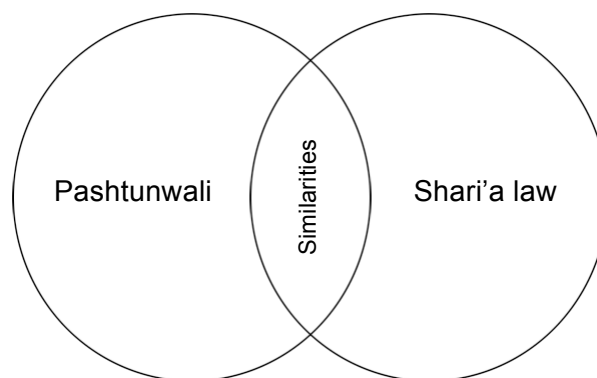


Figure 3.1: Overlap of Pashtunwali and Shari'a law

Pashtunwali shares few of its features with Islamic law and contradicts the most. First and the foremost fusion that emerges in the course is that; Shari'a law signifies 'God's/Allah's will for humanity' on Earth, hence it is being practiced as moral

<sup>351</sup> Ahmad, *Millennium and Charisma among Pathans: A Critical Essay in Social Anthropology*, 75.

<sup>352</sup> Shari law refers to Islamic code of conduct that governs every aspect of Muslim's life, from birth to death and ranging from allowed (*halal*) to verboten (*haram*). Sharia is the cast of Quran and the words (hadith) & deeds (Sunnah) of Mohammad (PBUH).

code.<sup>353</sup> Hence, Islamic law is being practised in this region more as a ‘cultural norm’ without precisely agreeing Shari law.<sup>354</sup> Therefore, the decisions under tribal Jirga are not necessarily referred and agreed on Islamic law.<sup>355</sup> For example, Pashtunwali’s relationship with Shari’a law is much complicated and often contradictory once it comes to women’s respect and rights.<sup>356</sup> Unlike Sharia law, *pardah* (veil) of Pashtun women strictly restricts female gender to go for better educational as well as economic opportunities.<sup>357</sup> In the same way, Pashtun women are also forbidden from their religious rights of property inheritance.<sup>358</sup> Honour killing of women in the Pashtun society (e.g., due to illicit relations, demanding prenuptial money, love marriage etc.) is forbidden in religion Islam, however, still operational in Pashtun culture.<sup>359</sup> More alarmingly, women are exchanged as ‘mean to end dispute’, which is another major contradiction to Islam.<sup>360</sup> Henceforth, Pashtunwali is quite utilitarian in its composition. It provides the foundation for Pashtun daily life under their understanding Islamic law. Which for some, Pashtun social structure otherwise could collapse.<sup>361</sup> Pashtunwali is still considered as a matter of high importance for the local Pashtun community, when crosschecked with the empirical results under this study.

The outcomes of the 6<sup>th</sup> question of the questionnaire from the ‘local culture section’: ‘do you think Pashtunwali is still a matter of life and death for the local Pashtun community?’ discover that majority of Pashtun tribes from Central-FATA (Mohmand, Khyber and Orakzai agency) and Rest-FATA (Bajaur, Kurram, N.Waziristan, S. Waziristan) is still closely connected to their cultural values. About 95% of the local community from Central FATA still give significance importance to Pashtunwali and consider it matter of life and death. Further findings, under the same study questions,

<sup>353</sup> Olivier Roy, *Afghanistan: From Holy War to Civil War* (Darwin Press Princeton, NJ, 1995), 52.

<sup>354</sup> Ghulam Shams-ur-Rehman, "Pashtunwali and Islam: The Conflict of Authority in the Traditional Pashtun Society," *Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences (PJSS)* 35, no. 1 (2015).

<sup>355</sup> Craig Cordell Naumann, "The Pashtunwali’s Relevance as a Tool for Solving the ‘Afghan Crisis’," (Research Report, American Institute of Afghanistan Studies, 12, 2008).

<sup>356</sup> Hamid M. Khan, *Islamic Law, Customary Law, and Afghan Informal Justice* (USIP, 2015).

<sup>357</sup> Palwasha Kakar, "Tribal Law of Pashtunwali and Women’s Legislative Authority," *Afghan Legal History Project, Harvard Law School, Harvard*. (2004).

<sup>358</sup> Qadeer, *The Status of Women in Fata: A Comparison between Islamic Principles and Pashtunwali*.

<sup>359</sup> Mohammad Ismail Safi, "Honor Killings in Afghanistan Perspective of Sharia and Law" (International Islamic University, 2014).

<sup>360</sup> The-Economist, "Pashtunwali: Honour among Them," (Gardez and Peshawar 2006).

<sup>361</sup> Niloufer Qasim Mahdi, "Pukhtunwali: Ostracism and Honor among the Pathan Hill Tribes," *Ethology and Sociobiology* 7, no. 3–4 (1986).

show that total 5% contradicting the main results in the concerned area. (See: table 3.1) These initial results legitimize the theoretical underpinnings of post-development that local to consider local cultural realities, before thinking any of rural development plan.<sup>362</sup> And this remains a whispering call of PD that ‘*culture matters*’. Therefore, it remains of high importance to investigate local cultural realities e.g., Pashtun cultural features, which are determinant of development.<sup>363</sup> The above stated empirical findings immediately question earlier developmental idea in its abstract form and focus to include local culture rather than proposing something from the old idea.<sup>364</sup> The percentage of this affection with Pashtunwali remains also high in Rest-FATA. Around 81% of the respondents as compared to only 19% seek to hold their culture in the modern era<sup>365</sup>

	Zones	Frequency	Yes	No
<i>Pashtunwali as Matter of Life and Death</i>	Central FATA	132	94.7%	5.3%
	Rest FATA	219	81.3%	18.7%
	FRs	30	50%	50%
	<i>Total</i>	<i>381</i>	<i>83.5%</i>	<i>16.5%</i>

Table 3.1: Importance of Pashtunwali for Pashtun Tribes

The so-far empirical findings confirm that cultural debate, which remains necessary to think for future development can present new means towards local and external interaction.<sup>366</sup> Overall results (84%) favour the importance of Pashtun culture for Pashtuns’. The major perception from the local respondents confirms the main focus of post-development idea i.e., due intention to local culture and local knowledge in the development process.<sup>367</sup> It is to understand third-world societies and the local environments, in which local community breathe i.e., understanding the cultural

<sup>362</sup> Simmons, "Women in Development': A Threat to Liberation."

<sup>363</sup> Rapley, *Understanding Development: Theory and Practice in the Third World*.

<sup>364</sup> Simmons, "Women in Development': A Threat to Liberation."

<sup>365</sup> There remains no significant difference between male and female respondents, therefore no separate analysis is carried-out at this level.

<sup>366</sup> Radcliffe and Laurie, "Culture and Development: Taking Culture Seriously in Development for Andean Indigenous People."

<sup>367</sup> Escobar, *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*, 215.

realities at its first attempt.<sup>368</sup> That for CDD further requires exploration of 'social capital within the cultural settings'.<sup>369</sup> CDD target to dig the cultural realities, particularly social capital, norms, values, beliefs, knowledge and communal capacities to organise and cooperate with outsiders to carry-out collective tasks under area's development.<sup>370</sup>

Surprisingly in Frontier Regions, the perception of the local population about Pashtunwali (an affair of worth importance) remains 50%. So, the data shows that in somewhat developed zones (relatively developed region) of FATA, local community gives less importance to Pashtunwali than in the rural far-flung areas. It means, in FRs, local cultural values are no more a focal point on which the decision of life's existence is made. This trend normally occurs when local 'individuals' (singularity) and working together (plurality) work to craft their world. In this situation the locality considers local culture a 'non-static creation', which can be altered to meet their socio-economic needs, while not completing modern economic markets.<sup>371</sup> So, it will be not wrong to say that change is indispensable and Pashtun society is in the transformation process from close to relatively open society with changing trend in their perception. It is based on their interact with the outside world (people and project). Here community based strategy demonstrates that any locally fabricated development design further lead the society for 'change in attitude' and have trust in the participatory activities that ultimately enables them to start and lead cooperative initiatives.<sup>372</sup>

Nevertheless, based on above results it can be said that local culture is highly important and it is gladly obeyed individually and collectively within the society. Which impedes the idea to replant the development tree with participatory seeds and the basis of such an approach remains an accurate understanding of local culture. It is because; cultural realities are the most daring to locality and only a concise and

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<sup>368</sup> "Reflections on 'Development': Grassroots Approaches and Alternative Politics in the Third World," 416.

<sup>369</sup> Krishna, "'Global Truths and Local Realities': Traditional Institutions in a Modern World. Duke University, Durham, N.C."

<sup>370</sup> Babajanian, "Social Capital and Community Participation in Post-Soviet Armenia: Implications for Policy and Practice."

<sup>371</sup> Escobar, *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*, 226.

<sup>372</sup> Narayan, "Designing Community Based Development," 26.

unbiased knowledge of culture can help to include locals in the development process.<sup>373</sup> Likewise, respect to local social system remains synonym to practically delinking traditional economic growth's tactic to more cultural based philosophies of local well-being.<sup>374</sup>

### ***Local Sense of Acceptance of Pashtunwali***

Taking the debate further the question emerges whether Pashtun culture/Pashtunwali has been practiced willingly or under any internal (tribal) or external pressure e.g., non-natives' perception of strictly following of Pashtunwali by locals – sense of being not ashamed.

It is found during the field research that no obligation exists at the local level to strictly follow Pashtunwali e.g., no bindings or a cohesive force, which is probably be due to local sense of independence in their conduct. Although not rigid, but the Pashtun social system carry certain collective factors to respect local culture. First of all is the factor of honour (*izzat*) that could motivate to practice local cultural as central normative. It impedes the factor, 'Pashtun linguistic membership' – an emic viewpoint. For Bernt G. (1998); the societal membership is 'a substitute of an expression, action and fulfillment of set of strict rules in accordance with Pashtunwali'.<sup>375</sup> So, being member of Pashtun society and disposed action against pre-set cultural feature could (not necessarily) lead to harmful reaction from the whole tribes. It could range to expulsion of the concerned person and/or rejection of the planned project(s).

All in all, coming-up with Pashtunwali is like doing Pashto (be Pashtun) and *vice versa*, it's a matter of living with or without honour – a matter of life and death in the rural FATA. So, in this scenario, when majority of the FATA want to hold their affiliation with their cultural values, only proper understanding of social system can enable outsiders to better interact and progress with Pashtuns – cultural features in

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<sup>373</sup> Rahnama, "Afterword: Toward Post-Development: Searching for Signposts, a New Language and New Paradigms," 381.

<sup>374</sup> Sachs, *Development Dictionary, The: A Guide to Knowledge as Power*, xii.

<sup>375</sup> Bernt Glatzer, "Being Pashtun-Being Muslim: Concepts of Person and War in Afghanistan," *Essays on South Asian Society: Culture and Politics II* (1998).

development. It's critical to take advantage on such an understanding to create opportunities and prospects it offers. Yet, understanding Pashtunwali cannot be translated into any mental map of how to control Pashtun tribes. But, it means granting due consideration to Pashtun culture – locals' main concern. Based on it any potential framework can be formulated that can help in further formulation of any policy, program and strategy for dealing with- and engaging of Pashtun tribes.

Here, it is important to check; whether the local Pashtun society (practicing tribal culture) appreciates the modern world's social developmental programs and schemes or rejects it? Alternatively, do they fear of coming closer with outside world that could transform their cultural values? Or it's acceptable for them to start at-least projects of basic social development, while not disturbing the prevailing socio-economic system? Analysis of the data under 7<sup>th</sup> research question: '*do Pashtuns welcome modern world social development projects while living within local culture*' shows that the thirst of developmental schemes is quite high in whole FATA, particularly in Central-FATA – population strictly connected to Pashtunwali. About 87% of the total respondents from Central FATA are anticipating that, provided no attempts to diminish the local cultural values, the social developmental projects can meet their socio-economic needs. The percentage is also high in Rest-FATA and FRs with 80% and 83%, respectively. This trend, nevertheless enforces the theoretical realities that once the locality is given a chance to define their goals, they welcome modern social service projects. This local sense of acceptance for community driven development strategy is clear sign of modifying local constraints into opportunities and delivery of social services based on their active involvement in project's selection, implementation, and monitoring and evaluating community.<sup>376</sup> Those in the longer run can effectively transfer the decision power from developmental actors to marginalised members of the society.<sup>377</sup>

At this point time, results further reveal that around 13% of the respondents from Central FATA, coupled with around 20% and 17% each from Rest FATA and FRs,

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<sup>376</sup> Kuehnast, *Gender and Social Funds: Challenges and Opportunities*.

<sup>377</sup> Banuri, "Modernization and Its Discontents: A Cultural Perspective on the Theories of Development," 96.

are against the idea that there exists any eagerness to start progressive schemes in their area. However, regardless of the minor perception, overall 83% of the respondents are in favor of initiating rural development schemes in both tribal agencies and frontier regions. (See: table 3.2) This later trend for post-developmentalists like, Escobar A (2011), change with the march of time and local world stop strictly defending their cultural identity or societal culture and they work more towards cooperative measure to meet their basic social and economic needs.<sup>378</sup>

	Zones	Frequency	Yes	No
<i>Pashtunwali and Social Developmental Programs?</i>	Central FATA	132	87.1%	12.9%
	Rest FATA	219	80.4%	19.6%
	FRs	30	83.3%	16.7%
	Total	381	82.9%	17.1%

Table 3.2: Pashtunwali & Modern Social Development Programs

So, this study confirms that Pashtun tribal societal system is a matter of high concern in underdeveloped FATA, than in slightly developed Central-FATA and moderately developed FRs. So, after due respect to local cultural features, the locality is willingness to adopt any targeted social development programs. So, its time to take thoughtful measures to determine development, so as to restore the local community at the mirror of improvement,<sup>379</sup> through development programs targeting their social development. However, any future developmental activity should be based on feasible strategy and not repeated falsification of the poor society i.e., taking local world as problematic and passive recipients,<sup>380</sup> while remained the main heading for justifying decades long underdevelopment of FATA. So, including FATA, what needed is an endogenous model of development under the post-developmental discourse.<sup>381</sup> Such a model should be anti-Eurocentric that place locality at the heart of development. Hence, an enthusiastic approach on locals' involvement after admiring their traditional world authorize the local poor to foresee modern world developmental

<sup>378</sup> Escobar, *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*, 226.

<sup>379</sup> Rapley, *Understanding Development: Theory and Practice in the Third World*.

<sup>380</sup> Maiava and King, "Pacific Indigenous Development and Post-Intentional Realities," 83-84.

<sup>381</sup> Escobar, "Reflections on 'Development': Grassroots Approaches and Alternative Politics in the Third World."

programs and take control in the fields of economics to find 'alternatives to development' based on their perception.<sup>382</sup>

Appreciating local socio-economic features in development or at-least not disturbing local cultural environment (as desired by Pashtuns) leads to influence participatory process and end-up with community's empowerment. It further leads to self-and needed programs' outcomes.<sup>383</sup>

The final point of investigating to check resident's expectations from non-residents is the locally desired 'understanding of Pashtunwali by outsiders, before contacting with tribes? So, the primary data form field survey under the 9<sup>th</sup> research question: '*how important is for outsiders to understand local customs before contacting and working with local population?*' reveals interesting facts. More than half of the respondents (52%) strongly enforce outsiders to get proper understanding of local Pashtun culture, prior to any contact for planning any workable strategy. Other 28% of the respondents consider it 'fairly important', followed by around 18% 'important'. While, less than 2% of the total respondents diminishes any such concerned expectation that immediately fail to influence the overall local mind-set. (*See: figure 3.2*) The highlighted phenomenon on majority results, nevertheless, benefits in building local economies through effectively meeting the actual basic needs. That on the other hand; 'overlooking the cultural norms' for post-development theorist can create instant trouble. Escobar, A. (2011) highlights that such an effect remains a reality. Local minority cultures, in their authoritative form, bear the potential to resist and challenge any modernity or modern world development,<sup>384</sup> but it becomes the other way around on respecting their cultural values and displaying at the centre of any developmental intervention. An advanced analysis of the same question remains necessary to check the trend across educational level, as majority respondent in study fall in the category of 'matric, inter and bachelor & higher' (almost 20% each – 60% in total). So, cross comparison of with education level and their expectation from understanding and following Pashtunwali from externals show constantly increasing trend.

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<sup>382</sup> Ziai, "The Ambivalence of Post-Development: Between Reactionary Populism and Radical Democracy."

<sup>383</sup> Gupte, "Participation in a Gendered Environment: The Case of Community Forestry in India."

<sup>384</sup> Escobar, *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*, 225.



The data shows that with every increase in education level, there is reported increase in such expectation i.e., for illustrate it is 45% ‘very important’, whereas, this trend keeps on increasing ‘primarily to matric and inter to bachelor & higher’ with 45%, 52, 56% and 68%, respectively, considering it ‘very important’. (See: table 3.3).

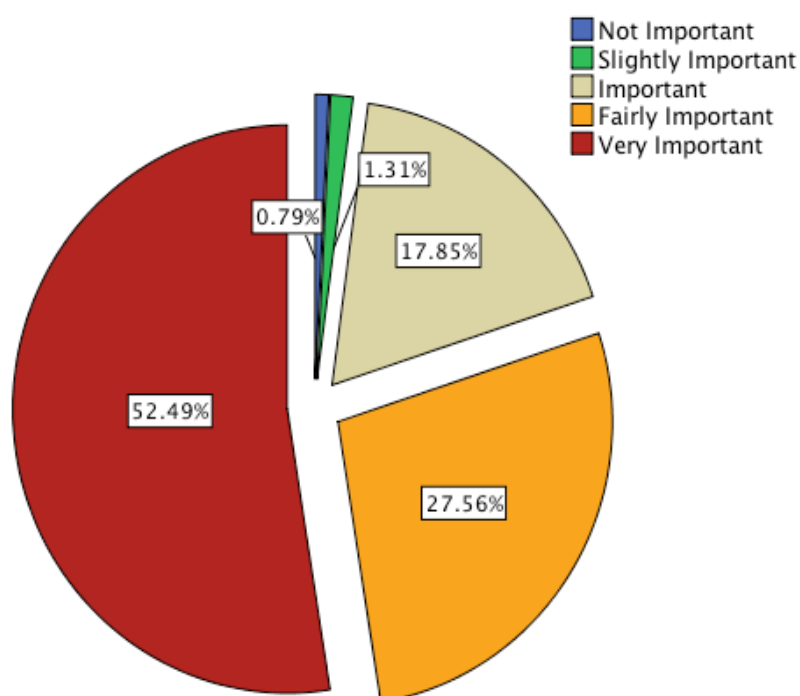


Figure 3.2: Local Perception of Prior Understanding of Pashtun Culture – Percentage-wise

		<b>Importance of Understanding Pashtunwali by Outsiders</b>				
		Not Important	Slightly Important	Important	Fairly Important	Very Important
<b>Education Level</b>	Illiterate	0.0%	2.6%	21.1%	31.6%	44.7%
	Primary	0.0%	0.9%	17.4%	36.7%	45.0%
	Matric	0.9%	2.8%	23.1%	21.3%	51.9%
	Inter	1.6%	0.0%	15.9%	27.0%	55.6%
	Bachelor or Higher	1.6%	0.0%	9.5%	20.6%	68.3%

Table 3.3: Education Level vs. importance of understanding Pashtunwali by outsiders – Cross-comparison

Such an expectation (prior understanding of the local cultural realities by outsiders) remains an inaugural of new regime of ‘truth and perception’ about the third-world by the external world. And such an understanding about the local world surely opens an

explicit way to cultivate new actions and practices at the lower-bottom.<sup>385</sup>

It stresses on the mind-set that any developmental attempt from outside for local society should be within their cultural settings and acceptable to locality. Only then it can give the right to decision for any trustworthy undertaking.<sup>386</sup> Whereas, for post-development theorist, any wrong judgment of local cultural realities or perceiving locality as residual variable can deliver some badly results. It could straightaway hamper any unanimously applicable intervention, if it is against the local community's interest.<sup>387</sup> Consequently, understanding Pashtun culture by the outsiders greatly demanded by the Pashtun locality. Now, the focus remains to understand local world as locally perceived and then through mutual cooperation letting local community to construct a culturally and ecologically sustainable world at the grass-root level.<sup>388</sup>

For CDD approach, this demand of cultural acceptance befitted as a reality i.e., understanding local cultural realities or localism of development and then involving local recipients to depict local sites of grassroots mobilization. So, it remains *sine qua non* to tackle local developmental problem through mutual trust and cooperation.<sup>389</sup> Which is empirically supported by this study. The outcomes of the study under the 8<sup>th</sup> research question: '*to which extent, acceptance Pashtunwali leads to trust and cooperation for joint project planning and implementation?*' shows that prior understanding of local societal system would certainly leads to faith in cooperative efforts and resultant trust building and cooperation of local and outsiders. About 52% responses confirm that external's social submission to Pashtun cultural realities would always result in trust and local cooperation. Other 27% of the respondents supported the idea with 'almost every-time', which is followed by other approx. 17% with 'some-times'. However, total 5% of the total respondents are of the view that even accepting Pashtunwali and its ingredients would end in dexterous results – no trust and cooperation from the locality, though, failing to diminish the actual majority

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<sup>385</sup> "Reflections on 'Development': Grassroots Approaches and Alternative Politics in the Third World," 317-25.

<sup>386</sup> Sachs, *Development Dictionary, The: A Guide to Knowledge as Power*, x.

<sup>387</sup> Escobar, *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*, 44.

<sup>388</sup> Rahnama, "With Bawtree, V.(Eds)(1997) the Post-Development Reader."

<sup>389</sup> Mohan and Stokke, "Participatory Development and Empowerment: The Dangers of Localism."

impression. (See: figure 3.3) Based on the majority results, it can be said that such socio-cultural features e.g., trust, cooperation, networks, bonds etc. actually binds the local societies to ensures the local economic progress and political development.<sup>390</sup> It leads the society to think out of their pretend kingdom.

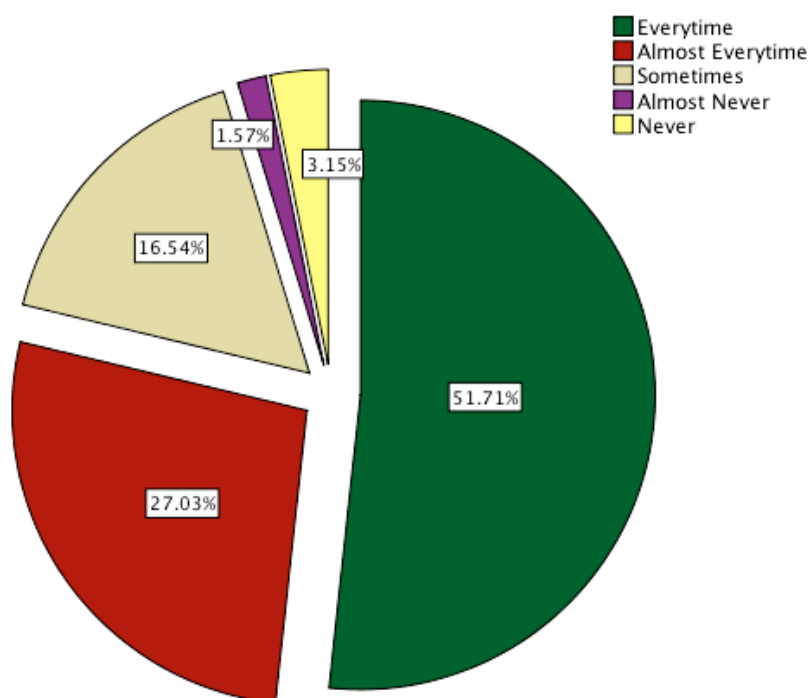


Figure 3.3: Respecting Pashtun Culture vs. Level of Trust & Cooperation

The results further show Rest-FATA stands high with around 73% on favouring of the above statement (externals' social submission to local cultural and resultant trust and cooperation from the locality) with 'every-time/almost every-time'. It is followed by round 88% and 80% from FATA and FRs, respectively. (See: figure 3.4) So, it is not wrong to say; more the social development – less is the rigidness of minds and higher the rate of developmental schemes – less is the expectation from outside agents about prior knowledge of local culture. It proves that the development, in the post-development era, attempts to explore new possibilities for opinion change and transformation to occur at local level.

<sup>390</sup> Putzel, "Policy Arena: Accounting for the 'Dark Side' of Social Capital: Reading Robert Putnam on Democracy."

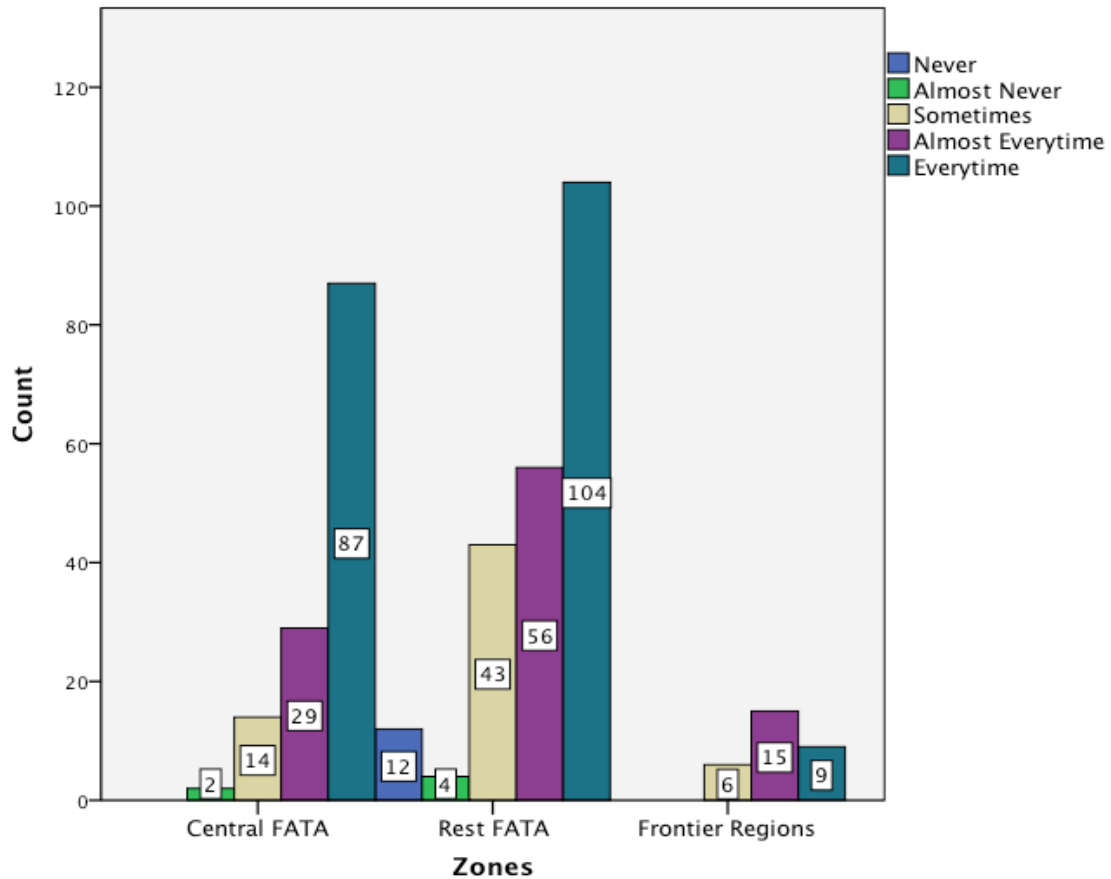


Figure 3.4: Pashtun Culture & Level of Trust and Cooperation: Area-Wise Distribution

Such a change in perception actually enhances the cultural capacities of the locality and it sanction change in the societal structure that ultimately clues to cultural transformation.<sup>391</sup> However, the sense of trust in development and cooperation with outsiders is highlighted initially under (financial and technical) support from the external facilitators to promote local stakeholder's involvement from identification to projects' to their maintenance. The situation then gradually changes, once the locality is sufficiently empowered to do initiate developmental activity independently.<sup>392</sup>

At this point, analysis of the 13<sup>th</sup> research question: '*does dis-respecting and not following Pashtunwali leads to expulsion of person and dismissal of projects?*' shows that 98% of the respondents from Central FATA, followed by 71% from Rest FATA refuse any developmental plan or its execution and the external project staff, once their demand of respecting Pashtu culture is avoided. (See: table 3.4).

<sup>391</sup> Rahnema and Bawtree, *The Post-Development Reader*, 384-91.

<sup>392</sup> Labonne and Chase, "Do Community-Driven Development Projects Enhance Social Capital? Evidence from the Philippines."

		Non-Compliance with Pashtunwali & Expulsion of Person and Project Dismissal?	
		Yes	No
Zones	Central FATA	98.5%	1.5%
	Rest FATA	71.2%	28.8%
	Frontier Regions	46.7%	53.3%

Table 3.4: Non-compliance with Pashtunwali & Expulsion of person and project's dismissal

However, this trend remains moderate (almost 50%) in relatively developed regions that can be linked to relatively little closeness to Pashtunwali, likewise, demand of Pashtunwali from outsider developmental agents. Interestingly, the respondents, who not in favour of rejecting developmental activities and expulsion of external facilitating persons remains majority females. The empirical findings show that in whole FATA 44% of the female gender does not comply with any such idea, which is supported by 19% of the men respondents. Whereas, average 69% shows their rigidity to expel those do not comply with local cultural realities. (See: figure 3.5)

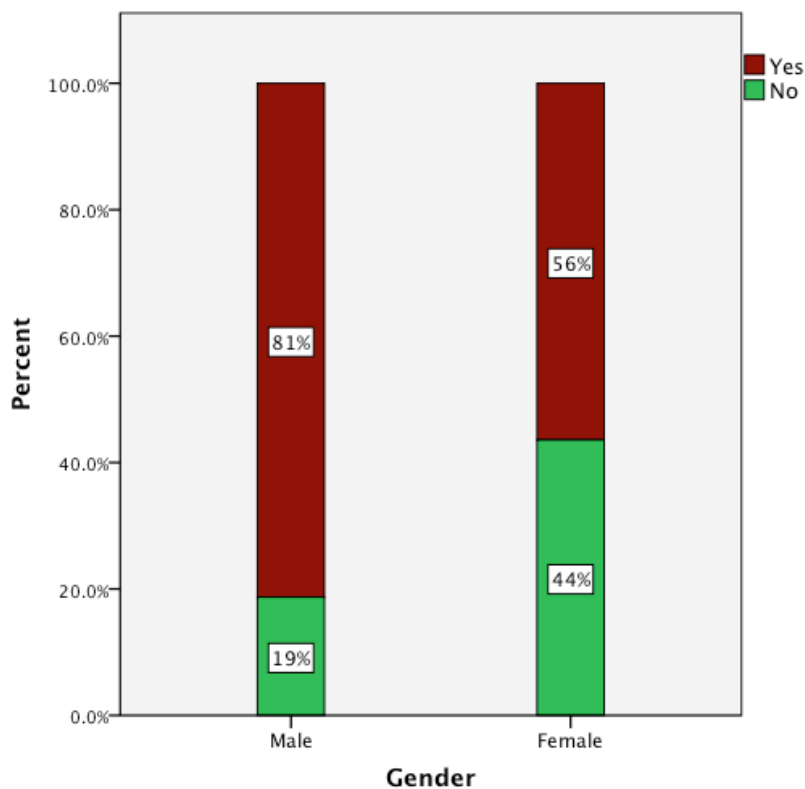


Figure 3.5: Non-Compliance with Pashtunwali & Expulsion of Person and Project Dismissal  
Gender Wise Analysis

The so-far experimental results show confirms local belief in retaining the local cultural values and sufficiently respected from outsiders for any type of trust building and cooperation with outsider agents to initiate social project in under-developed FATA region. Hence, from the so-far results it can be concluded that:

1. Rural FATA: The locality is 'more concerned and worried' about their local cultural values but collectively prefer the social developmental projects. Additionally, the locality is ready to organize for mutual trust and cooperation to own developmental schemes in their area, only if, the local culture is properly understood, duly accepted and correctly followed i.e., development but within the cultural preconditions.
2. Central FATA: The locality is 'somewhat concerned' about the local cultural values but meanwhile has the desire for social developmental ventures. They are fairly concerned about their traditional ethics. However, accepting the local traditions undoubtedly lead to trust and joint activities to plan and implement developmental projects.
3. FRs: Standing already with reasonable social facilities, the locality lacks rigidity in views about Pashtunwali but reflects future developmental projects within the cultural parameters. However, the locality is not much concerned about the immediately understanding and acceptance of local norms and values by outsiders. Yet, considers it helpful in confidence building and joint cooperation.

The so-far results confirm that '*culture matters*'. It's an era of societal inclusion, while rejecting the earlier ideologies and proposal of something new from the same old fashion of development.<sup>393</sup> It is now highly important to have proper knowledge of local social system, before departing with any developmental intervention at the lower-level. This study confirms that admiring cultural elements in Pashtun tribal area would end-up with trust and cooperation for prioritising the strategies with local consent. So, its time to dig each facilitating as well as threatening aspect of Pashtun culture at its very basis level.

Pashtunwali breaths around three core pillars: *Nanawatia* or code of honour, *Melamstia* or hospitality (also refuge) and *Badal* or revenge (in case, first two are not

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<sup>393</sup> Simmons, "Women in Development': A Threat to Liberation."

followed). In general terms, these set of values are the sum total of the tribe's collective expectations from the members of the society,<sup>394</sup> likewise, from outsider agents. So, the foremost facilitating element, which authorizes the local Pashtuns, is tribal code of honour.

## 3.2 The Tenets of Pashtunwali & Facilitating Factors

### 1. *Nang* – Code of Honour

*Nang*, *Nanawatai* or *Namoos* refers: '*honour, bashfulness, modesty, shame, care of what is sacred and inviolable, courage, indignation, ardor, zeal, concern for what one is bound to defend, affection, humanity, generosity, urbanity, affability, benevolence and manhood*'. It's self-respect and dignity. *Nang* has the highest value in Pashtun ethnics. *Nang* is the basic Pashtun nature and character and central pillar of Pashtun culture. Upholding *nang* is the foremost duty of every Pashtun individual.<sup>395</sup> *Nang* is synonym with code of conduct and behaviour. This unwritten tribal code got the importance of a capital good, which is accumulated overtime in the area. Most of the rules in Pashtun society involves around *nang*.<sup>396</sup> So, Pashtunwali is profoundly about the 'honour' – both individual and communal honour.<sup>397</sup> So, in the absence of any other law, life revolves around this dominant component. It's a symbol of prestige and social mobility. Hence, *nang* in '*Nangwali* – the code of honour' become a key thought and standard of reference in accepting, and understanding the normative tribal behaviour and socio-political interaction.<sup>398</sup> It's a widely expressed assertion in the Pashtun society. It demands imperative deeds of retaliation for violations, which are helpful for mitigations in the society.<sup>399</sup> For Bernt Glatzer, *Nang* in the Pashtun society has two important things inside its parameters: *Sharm* and *Namus*. *Sharm* is equivalent to 'shame' in English language. In its abstract form, it's the implementation of concrete action or failure of counteraction against any harm or miss-behavior against anyone from the tribe or from outside. Any such behavior is

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<sup>394</sup> Vern Liebl, "Pushtuns, Tribalism, Leadership, Islam and Taliban: A Short View: Report from the Field," *Small Wars & Insurgencies* 18, no. 3 (2007).

<sup>395</sup> Khattak, Mohammad, and Lee, "The Pashtun Code of Honour."

<sup>396</sup> Ginsburg, "An Economic Interpretation of the Pashtunwali " 6.

<sup>397</sup> Johnson, "Understanding Afghan Culture."

<sup>398</sup> Ahmad, *Millennium and Charisma among Pathans: A Critical Essay in Social Anthropology*, 75-76.

<sup>399</sup> Oberson, "Khans and Warlords: Political Alignment, Leadership and the State in Pashtun Society," 42.

seldom forgiven and it always needs impressive and categorical action. Whereas, *Namus*, in its wider sense, means something very honourable, like Pashtun 'women', land or Pashtun homeland and the protection of both. Any harm to women severely affects the whole family, clan and tribe men's integrity. Therefore, honour is redeemed at any cost.<sup>400</sup> Thus, its all about protecting three things; *Zar* (Gold or any portable property), *Zan* (Women) and *Zamin* (Land, both individual and Pashtun homeland).<sup>401</sup> Pashtuns obey to this social code to maintain their honour (*namoos*) and identity in worst circumstance, if not observed, which leads to disadvantage and grave trouble.<sup>402</sup>

So, understanding and accepting Pashtunwali is translated into giving honour to the honourable society and the socio-cultural environment. That is respecting the integrity, prestige and protecting the Pashtun's personality, women (*Zan* or *Izzat*) and Land (*Zamin*) in tribal social structure. It is pivotal for trust building, rather than ordering self-centred Pashtun people that will result in ambiguity, if ordered or threatened with power. The Empirical results show that the society still demands this pivotal concept before any other endeavours of joint schemes for area development. Other than building trust on granting due consideration to local cultural values, the submission by outsiders would result in hospitality from the tribes as a whole.

## **2. *Melmestia* or Hospitality**

*Melmestia* is giving hospitality to host, who are considered equal to host and even 'friends of the host' (*da melma dost*).<sup>403</sup> *Melmestia* is a set of conventions and an immediate reward from the society on respecting local cultural values, which is stretched to sanctuary (*panah*) provision, if threatened by enemies or requested voluntarily. The guest is then responsible for guest's security and basic needs. According to Pashtunwali, it is considered dishonourable to be inhospitable and doing so (being unfriendly) is punished. The severity of punishment depends on the degree of violation.<sup>404</sup> Hospitality involves around guest's obligation to give respect to host. So, hospitality from the Pashtun tribes will be carried, once 'the visitor' presents

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<sup>400</sup> Glatzer, "Being Pashtun-Being Muslim: Concepts of Person and War in Afghanistan."

<sup>401</sup> Fredrik Barth, *Political Leadership among Swat Pathans* (Athlone Press London, 1959), 73.

<sup>402</sup> J. W. Spain, *The People of the Khyber: The Pathans of Pakistan* (Praeger, 1963).

<sup>403</sup> Ahmad, *Pukhtun Economy and Society : Traditional Structure and Economic Development in a Tribal Society.*, 90.

<sup>404</sup> Mahdi, "Pukhtunwali: Ostracism and Honor among the Pathan Hill Tribes."



himself in alien to Pashtun tribal settings. Furthermore, the guest is obliged to recognize the ‘authority and sovereignty’ of the host’s ‘property and persons’ presents – social and political submission. In this host-guest relation the encounter is short-term and the statuses are reversible and reciprocal.<sup>405</sup> In the same way, Melmestia from the Pashtun tribes enforces the host to be loyal to anyone entering their home or homeland. Correspondingly, the foreign developmentalists fit in the category of guests, but once they bestow their loyalty i.e., submission to tribal customs. In reply the local Pashtuns are liable to security provision, which remains the best facilitating aspect of Pashtunwali for developmentalists.

The empirical results of the study under the 11<sup>th</sup> question: ‘*is Melmestia considered as tool for cooperation with development agents/organisations?*’ show that almost 87% of the respondents from FRs and Rest FATA, followed by 96%, form the Central FATA correlate melmestia with trust and local cooperation with outsiders. (See: figure 3.6)

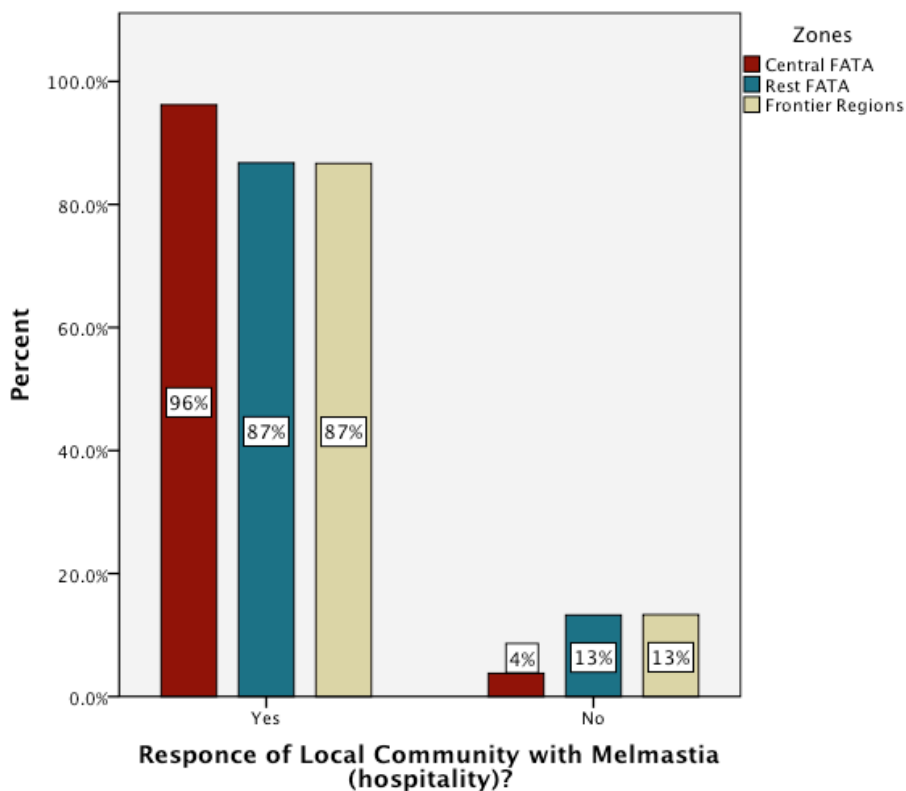


Figure 3.6: Melmestia & Level of Trust and Cooperation: Area-Wise Distribution

<sup>405</sup> Fredrik Barth, "Pathan Identity and Its Maintenance," *Ethnic groups and boundaries* (1969).

It is further observed that regardless of the level of practicing Pashtunwali, the probability of melmestia 'in-reply' is quite high. However, it is correlated with admitting local norms and surrender both individually and collectively. These results give the communal sense that the key lies on admiring the tribal social system in order to avail local hospitality, trust and security, as highlighted in study's 8<sup>th</sup> question. The cultural ingredient of trust ensures significant local involvement (cooperation in social projects).<sup>406</sup> Moreover, it remains conducive to development and pre-requisites of growth,<sup>407</sup> besides the cultural feature of trust and resultant cooperation are imperative to collective actions.<sup>408</sup> But, it is also to mention that guest is obliged to accept host's generosity for mutual understanding, trust and friendship. Whereas, any ambiguity in the host-guest relation e.g., dis-honouring the host, honour, women and his belongings leads swiftly to grave trouble for the guest.<sup>409</sup>

Nevertheless, melmestia resists external oriented and imposed directions. So, it is particular to mention that respecting Pashtun's honour by external authority, although gives the impression of acceptability of law, but it should not be misunderstood with establishing external rule of law in the Pashtun tribal society. Otherwise, this cultural factor could defuse the conditions required for the community-driven-development process even though the locality is willing to work jointly through mutual cooperation and to seek external (financial and technical help) to execute developmental activity.

Which under findings of the study under 16<sup>th</sup> research inquiry: '*does external help is desired at the start to execute any developmental project?*' shows that there remains a room for help locals on their motivation. Findings show that more than three-fourth (79%) of the respondents from Central and 75% from Rest FATA desire any such help, where this trend remains moderate, touching the moderate level (47%) in-case of FRs. (See: table 3.5) This could be linked to higher education level that corresponds their capacity and empowerment to plan and execute rural developmental projects on their capabilities.

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<sup>406</sup> Babajanian, "Social Capital and Community Participation in Post-Soviet Armenia: Implications for Policy and Practice."

<sup>407</sup> Harrison and Samuel, *Huntington, Eds.(2000), Culture Matters: How Values Shape Human Progress.*

<sup>408</sup> Griffin, *Culture, Human Development and Economic Growth.*

<sup>409</sup> Karrer, *Pashtun Traditions Versus Western Perceptions: Cross-Cultural Negotiations in Afghanistan.*

		Does external help desired for initial projects	
		Yes	No
Zones	Central FATA	78.8%	21.2%
	Rest FATA	75.3%	24.7%
	Frontier Regions	46.7%	53.3%

Table 3.5: Desired of external help by the locals to initiate projects

However, it to note that any contrary attempt against their cultural environment and wrong understanding of local desire of help (e.g., considering them sub-ordinates) could sabotage the environment and increase the chances of radicalization of local tribes with deleterious results e.g., Badal.

### 3. *Badal or Revenge – A Tool of Justice & Social Control*

Badal or *por* is like a debt in the Pashtun culture, which ends mostly with revenge. It's an equivalent response, reciprocation, and exchange in its both positive and negative sense.<sup>410</sup> Badal feature is interconnected and paired with other features of Pashtunwali like, nang and melmestia.<sup>411</sup> Therefore, badal takes different form, when put in practice and not necessary the violent form, as mostly cited. There is certainly no indiscriminate practice of badal or revenge in Pashtun society. There are clear limits for deploying revenge and not the free-floating mad rage that can be expressed without any constraints. More specifically badal in the Pashtun area implies to the idea of justice.<sup>412</sup>

Badal is also translated as feud, vendetta, which is caused beyond 'time, space and cost'. For Pashtuns: '*he is not a Pashtun, who doesn't give a blow for a pinch*'.<sup>413</sup> And even after a hundred-years, Pashtuns payback and still think the obligatory revenge is fulfilled quickly. For them it's better late than never.<sup>414</sup> It is necessary to make prominent at this level that 'revenge is the reaction of any action'. It is insult against

<sup>410</sup> Khattak, Mohammad, and Lee, "The Pashtun Code of Honour."

<sup>411</sup> Louis Dupree, "10 Tribal Warfare in Afghanistan and Pakistan: A Reflection of the Segmentary Lineage System," *Islam in Tribal Societies: From the Atlas to the Indus* (1984): 282.

<sup>412</sup> Farhat Taj, "Compatibility: The Pakhtun Culture, Talibanization and Obscenity," *Khyber News* (2009).

<sup>413</sup> Akbar S. Ahmad, *Mataloona: Pukhto Proverbs* (Pakistan Academy for Rural Development, 1973).

<sup>414</sup> Tair, *Rohi Mataluna: Pashto Proverbs*.

any insult. So, it's like an end to any disobedience than any mean. As an exception, badal doesn't provoke, but only if, any couple is killed on illicit sexual relationship, called *tor* (black).<sup>415</sup> In reality, Pashtun don't start the dispute but remain truthful – Pashtunwali *per se*. Pashtuns are primarily loyal to their kin, tribe, ethnic group (*qawm*) and village.<sup>416</sup>

So, badal is taken only against major disobedience by any person, both within and outside the society. In a non-institutionalized form of ostracism, badal applies to whole community where every individual sits-in with judgment on himself/herself. So, badal is not taken immediately. Revenge taking at first instance contains the curing element; '*gila*' (complaint. It is to convey community's message to his/her kin to bring that individual in-compliance with the social norms. This is done before any escalation of dispute takes place that leads to badal.<sup>417</sup> Exceeding any unacceptable attempt that can't be left gone, leads immediately to taking revenge. The cultural norms push the insulted person as a coward to take the revenge – Paighor (taunt).<sup>418</sup>

So, badal is upholding the individual or the family honour by avenging any harm caused or imposed on them – *tit-for-tat* strategy. Badal is the core Pashtun society and even proceeds on-to generations.<sup>419</sup> Therefore, this code of Pashtunwali mostly causes feuds and vendettas i.e., '*an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth*'.<sup>420</sup> It's a response to '*every insult, theft of property, an attack on one's reputation or immediate family, a wounding or a murder of one's kin*', is met with a proportionate act of payback by any individual, clan, sub-tribe or the whole Pashtun tribes all-together.<sup>421</sup>

Hence, badal is the obvious desire to punish anyone, who disgraced any Pashtun and/or committed any dishonouring act. So, badal is to redeem the honour. Thus, the

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<sup>415</sup> Mahdi, "Pukhtunwali: Ostracism and Honor among the Pathan Hill Tribes."

<sup>416</sup> Thomas Barfield, *Afghanistan: A Cultural and Political History* (Princeton University Press, 2010), 18.

<sup>417</sup> Mahdi, "Pukhtunwali: Ostracism and Honor among the Pathan Hill Tribes."

<sup>418</sup> Hussain, "Some Major Pakhtoon Tribes Along the Pak-Afghan Border (Islamabad: Area Study Centre, University of Peshawar and Hans Seidal Foundation) " 25-27.

<sup>419</sup> Humayun Khan, "The Pathan and His Land: Centre of the World's Attention," *Asian Affairs* 41, no. 1 (2010).

<sup>420</sup> Azmat Hayat Khan and Muhammad Yahya Effendi, *The Durand Line: Its Geo-Strategic Importance* (Area Study Centre, University of Peshawar, 2000), 35.

<sup>421</sup> Bijan Omrani, "The Durand Line: History and Problems of the Afghan-Pakistan Border," *Asian Affairs* 40, no. 2 (2009).

right of revenge and expectation of retaliation, against any person and against any harm to individual/kin group, lies at the heart of the Pashtunwali.<sup>422</sup> However, there exists an inbuilt mechanism to resolve the disputes through arbitration or mediation. Which if remains unsuccessful, than ‘how (to revenge), on whom (women and children are excluded), where (place) and when (time) is decided by Pashtun culture.’<sup>423</sup> Here, results from research under 14<sup>th</sup> question: ‘do you think badal is obligatory to maintain justice and social control in the area?’ reveals that about 90% of the respondents from Central FATA still favoured the deployment of badal for justice and social control in their local kingdom. It is followed by other 10% contradicting the idea. The percentage remains in the upper quarter (76%) in Rest-FATA that declares it as an obligatory mechanism to ensure harmony in the region. However, the respondents from relatively developed region declare its importance in the lower quarter (33%). Interestingly, in the frontier regions, 67% of the respondents reject deployment of badal as a tool to justice and revenge killing against any dishonest individual or *ad-hoc* group. (See: figure 3.7)

A detailed analysis of the results based on respondents ‘age’ and perception about ‘badal as revenge for social control and justice’ shows that the trend remains in the upper corner. On average 78% of the respondents are willing to apply badal as locally acceptable revenge factor. This trend alarmingly remains in age group 25-44 (80%) and more threatening in age group ‘above 65 years’ (90%). Whereas, other 22% reject badal as tool to ensure justice under as per local understanding and to certify communal control in the FATA. (See: table 3.6) Conclusively, it is proved that local Pashtun tribes still (majority cases) organise themselves for retaliation against any person and activity, which they consider atrocious that could harm the tribal territory and its belongings. Moreover, it remains quite interesting that the sense of taking revenge against the concerned activity and person remains high in Central-FATA, which is followed by Rest-FATA.

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<sup>422</sup> Fredrik Barth, *Political Leadership among Swat Pathans* (Athlone Press London, 1965), 82.

<sup>423</sup> Thomas Barfield, "Culture and Custom in Nation-Building: Law in Afghanistan," *Me. L. Rev.* 60(2008): 358.

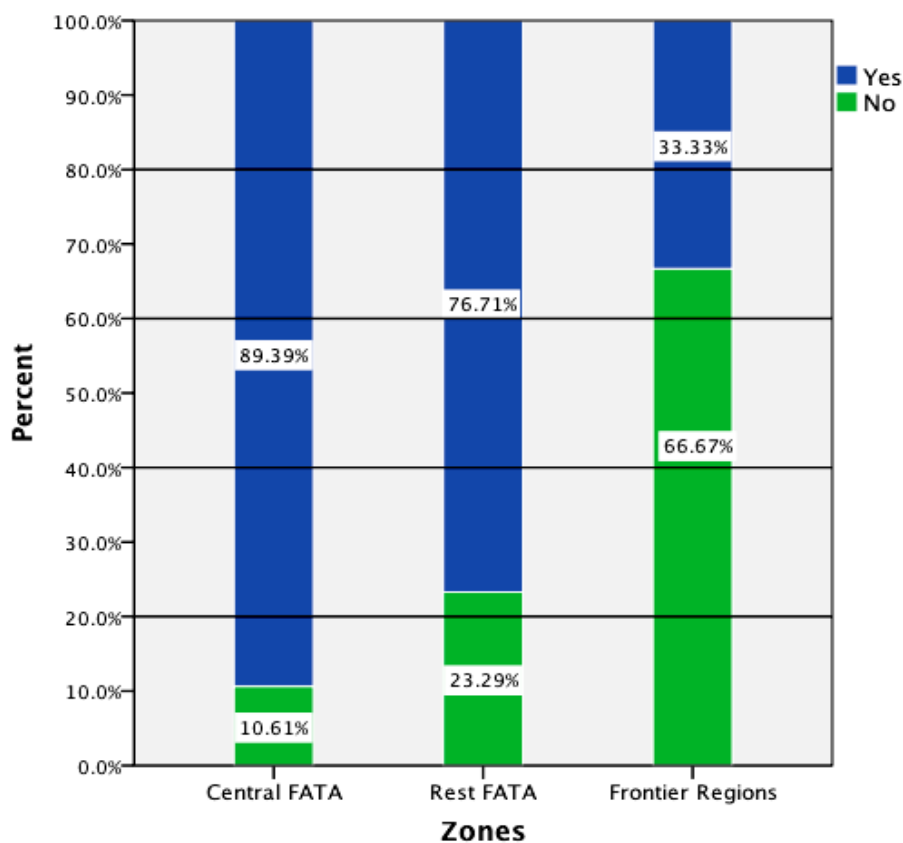


Figure 3.7: Badal for Justice and Social Control

		Badal as revenge for justice & social control	
		Yes	No
Age	Below 18 years	73.9%	26.1%
	18-24 years	75.0%	25.0%
	25-44 years	80.3%	19.7%
	45-64 years	71.0%	29.0%
	Above 65 years	89.8%	10.2%

Table 3.6: Badal as Revenge: *Perception per Age*

This threatening cultural element for alternative *to* development doctrine is a usual phenomenon, which occurs; once the aggregate knowledge about local culture/locality is either misunderstood or inadequately managed that results in frustration.<sup>424</sup>

<sup>424</sup> Oakley, *Projects with People: The Practice of Participation in Rural Development*, 13.

Further findings of the study under the 15<sup>th</sup> research question: ‘*is badal still obligatory against any person, group against any hypocritical and dishonest behaviour or activity?*’ that was asked during the field survey, reveal that 65% of the total respondents are in favour of deploying badal for the said course. However, still around 35% are against any such action from the Pashtun tribe against any external element or activity in their area that can create further disturbance. (See: table 3.7)

		Badal against dishonest person and activity		
		Yes %	No %	Total in No.
	Central FATA	83.33	16.67	132
Zones	Rest FATA	75.78	24.22	219
	Frontier Regions	36.67	63.33	30
	Total	65.26	34.74	381

Table 3.7: Badal & Its Implications in Different Zones

A gender-based analysis of this variable interestingly shows that majority impression (under 65% in favour of deploying badal) is from men. The trend uncovers that from the total population 93% of the male respondents are in favour of badal against the locally un-acceptable entity or action, which is followed by only 7% against it. Contra-wise, 78% of the female respondents are against any such deed, whereas other 7% are of the same idea as of Pashtun men. (See figure 3.8) Whereas, cross-comparison of the cited parameter with education level shows rigidity of minds when we move from illiterate (58%) respondents to respondents having somewhat schooling (primary education). It constitutes 87% at the primary level. This trend remains identical in respondents with ‘matric & inter’ level education i.e., 69% each and quite high in persons with ‘bachelor & higher’ level education i.e., about 83%. Hence, it can be said that people with low literacy level are less rigid as compared to those having schooling. (See: table 3.8) However, it is particular to mention that badal although remains an inherited social code of Pashtunwali, which locality is willing to apply against and untruthful person or group and action. So, taking *badal* or revenge to redeem tribal honour is replacement of holding and protecting Shari’a law. So, local Pashtun tribes don’t compromise on any tiny element of Pashtunwali.

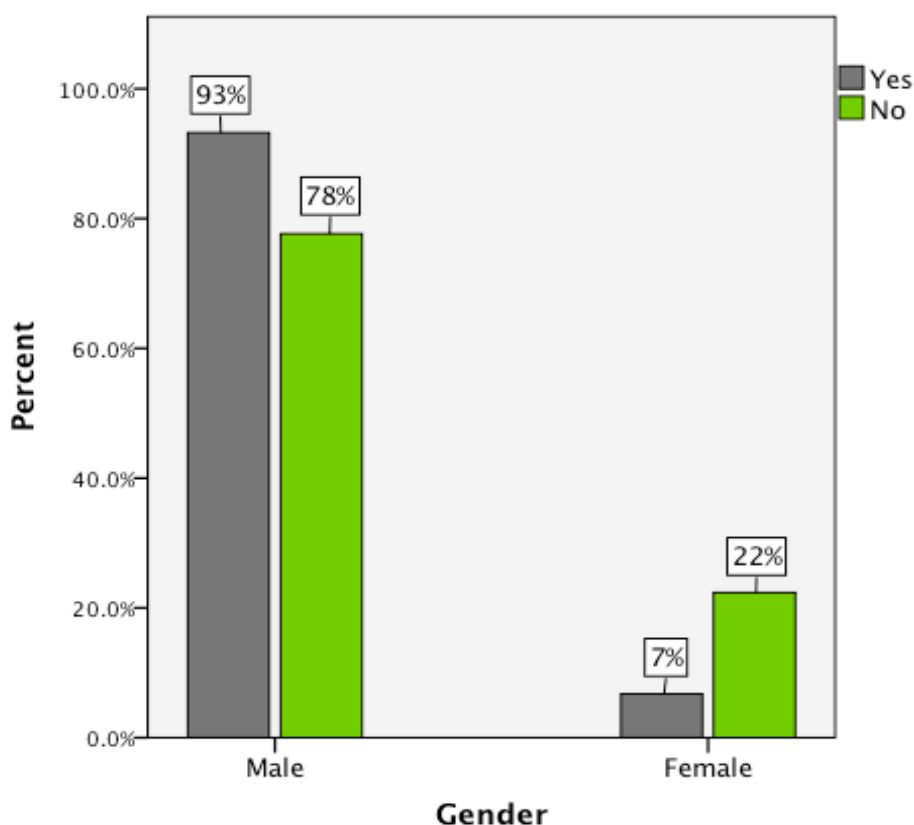


Figure 3.8: Badal against Dishonest Person and Activity?

*Cross-comparison*

		Badal Against Dishonest and Hypocratic Person and Activity?	
		Yes	No
Education Level	Illiterate	57.9%	42.1%
	Primary	87.2%	12.8%
	Matric	68.5%	31.5%
	Inter	69.8%	30.2%
	Bachelor or Higher	82.5%	17.5%

Table 3.8: Badal Against Dishonest and Hypocratic Person and Activity –  
*Cross-comparison with education level*

Hence, like other elements, badal remains an obligation that must be fulfilled. But are no-doubt there exists some badal avoiding cultural features, which could be necessary to mention and remained important for developmentalists to operate in FATA, which otherwise could pose serious consequences development facilitators. The most usual way to stop the cycle of badal is through bilateral agreement or asking



for Nanawatay – sanctuary. Nanawatay is a tool of conciliation but requesting again proved to be a matter of losing honour.<sup>425</sup>

Furthermore, it remains important to be understood whether the main sector of the regional economy is agricultural, industrial or services. Which, helps to understand the main local economic activity and local consciousness of economic trade. It further helps to underscore past economic survival of the locality and whether local economy can contribute or in a position to contribute for area's developmental programs. So, It needs to analyse the Pashtun tribal economy, the sense of survival and possible 'tangible and intangible' assistance to decrease the project's costs. Which further leads to ensure community's ownership of the projects.

### **3.3 Tribal Economic System & CDD Strategy**

Studying local economic system also remains crucial to interlink societal culture with economic system. As, without competing the market economy, locally understood economic system has the capacity to meet local economic needs through economic development in a cooperative manner.<sup>426</sup> Economic system is synonym to having some economic capital or wealth, where interestingly in underdeveloped FATA, holding of wealth by any individual seldom exists. Any type of locally produced commodity (e.g., crops and livestock products) is firstly used (e.g., meeting the family needs) and any extra commodity is then distributed vertically to those dependent on it. However, there exists no sense of controlling people through such material things and any such distribution is only for maintaining the self-esteem and to gain political influence.<sup>427</sup>

Self-sufficiency in the Pashtun society is ensured through economic exchange under the 'barter trade' to achieve balance. Under the theme of barter trade some goods are exchanged with immediate and equal return of extra commodities. Exchange of goods is normally done with the person or group having equal economic status. As, only a balanced exchange can ensure an equivalent commodity in return. However, failure to

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<sup>425</sup> Mahdi, "Pukhtunwali: Ostracism and Honor among the Pathan Hill Tribes."

<sup>426</sup> Escobar, *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*, 226.

<sup>427</sup> Barth, "Pathan Identity and Its Maintenance," 121.

give something in return is again synonym of lost of honour and prestige. It translates into un-equality and dependency of the tribal men. Hence, the economic system is somehow presents a logical expression of operation in the Pashtun tribal social system. Meanwhile, giving gifts even to outsiders are purely for 'God's sake'. The impression is that the gift presenter is loved by God and *vice versa*. And this whole system is based on trust to avoid any unfair advantage.<sup>428</sup>

In Pashtun tribal economy, 'land resource' remains the main wealth, which is owned in majority cases. The amount of land depends from family to family. However, majority land is un-irrigated i.e., not much supportive to feed the market economy. Therefore, the agricultural production is mostly a domestic activity. So, agricultural production for use and exchange becomes apparent and relevant. It's a reciprocal and primitive economy that supports acephalous and segmentary tribes.<sup>429</sup> This is how; it portrays the logical expression of operation of the Pashtun economic system.<sup>430</sup>

Another picture of the Pashtun economic system, for Ahmed A. S. (1976); is a system that 'reciprocal and redistributive', having an inbuilt interactive (economic) mechanism. In this system, the symbols of *Nang* and *Qalang* are inbuilt features of tribal socio-economic system.<sup>431</sup> 'Nang' category holds hill areas, although mostly un-irrigated. Those who hold such type of land are agriculturalists, but they don't pay taxes. This *nang* category is a symbol of prestige and social mobility. This categorization leads to *Nangwali*, which is a code of honour, a standard of reference and a normative behavior for socio-political interaction. It is further to mention that 'Wesh System'<sup>432</sup> doesn't exist in the nang category, as the society already has equality in the segmentary descent group.<sup>433</sup> There exists even no social hierarchy or

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<sup>428</sup> Lindholm, *Generosity and Jealousy: The Swat Pukhtun of Northern Pakistan*.

<sup>429</sup> Ahmad, *Millennium and Charisma among Pathans: A Critical Essay in Social Anthropology*, 75.

<sup>430</sup> Lindholm, *Generosity and Jealousy: The Swat Pukhtun of Northern Pakistan*.

<sup>431</sup> Ahmad, *Millennium and Charisma among Pathans: A Critical Essay in Social Anthropology*, 72-73.

<sup>432</sup> Wesh means distribution, here distribution of land. Land based on its fertility, water availability, location and composition is redistributed and allocated (not permanently) within the Pashtun tribal society. It is done under the land tenure system. Land resource is re-distributed by 'Dawatari' (land holder) equally after every ten years and within sub-branches of a tribe. It is done to stop holding of land to any group within the tribe and also to let all the member of the tribe to take advantage of the land. However, land with permanent ownership is not redistributed under the Wesh system, but if so then only to religious families (e.g., Syed).

<sup>433</sup> Ahmad, *Millennium and Charisma among Pathans: A Critical Essay in Social Anthropology*, 76.

inequality in the society e.g., landlords and tenants or master and slaves etc. Every individual is independent and an effective component of the economic consumption and distribution tasks. Nang is the pure democracy of the Pashtuns, which limits the excessive growth of power by any individual within the tribal social and ecological structure. Nang is indeed a '*democracy in its purest form*'.<sup>434</sup>

Whereas, 'Qalang' category is based on Pashtun tribes, normally residing on the plain areas. They hold irrigated land, pay rents and taxes. They enjoy the status of '*Khans*'. They are culturally rich and mostly belong to fairly development parts. This category is seen as the pivotal socio-economic concept of those, who both tracts the irrigated land, cultivate and redistribute it. It's a category, which has symbiotic roles of patron (landowner) and client (cultivator). However, land distribution for cultivations is merely for social interaction. 'Wesh System' do exists in the qalang category i.e., through distribution of land (every ten or sometimes every thirty years) from one sub-tribe to another, to achieve equality in the segmentary descent groups.<sup>435</sup> Both the categories, indeed, are not structurally immutable. The social relations, to whom they function, predetermine these categories. The nang and qalang division is unidirectional in nature i.e., 'hill to plain, non-agricultural economy on hills to agricultural economy on plains' etc. These categories remain antithetical and their reverse is quite difficult. These both categories need economic resources to up-hold the political power.<sup>436</sup> Conclusively, in this agricultural economy, the economic system revolves around land and its equal distribution.

### **3.3.1 Local Resource & Contribution**

The most important resource in the Pashtun tribal society is 'land (*Zameen*)', around which everything is organized. It's a matter of highest self-esteem to own land. The landowner is considered higher than the cast of priests, if not the Saints.<sup>437</sup> Likewise, it is paramount of subsistence to gain power and being a Pashtun. Whereas, selling

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<sup>434</sup> Pukhtun Economy and Society : Traditional Structure and Economic Development in a Tribal Society., 96-99.

<sup>435</sup> Millennium and Charisma among Pathans: A Critical Essay in Social Anthropology, 76.

<sup>436</sup> Millennium and Charisma among Pathans: A Critical Essay in Social Anthropology, 80-82.

<sup>437</sup> Anamaria Berea, "Economic Processes and Network Dynamics in the Pashtun Tribes," (2010): 4.

land is like selling Pashtun's identity, so having 'no honour' in the society.<sup>438</sup>

Pashtuns own and control land resource. Those with fewer land, cultivate others' land as serfs – stratification of the system.<sup>439</sup> However, they have independent political status although the land cultivators are some how dependent on landowners. The contract between the client and landlords is reciprocal that can be terminated at anytime. Whereas, the cancellation of such agreements rest on either party's will.<sup>440</sup> Such a dichotomy in the Pashtun society compared with non-Pashtun society is voluntary and there exists no embarrassing factor between them.<sup>441</sup> Other than cultivating land, Pashtuns are entrepreneurs within FATA and in settled district of the country e.g., Peshawar, Quetta and Islamabad-Rawalpindi.<sup>442</sup>

Thus, land can be a form of 'monetary exchange, which is often not sold – matter of losing honour. However, if it is sold in severe circumstances or in emergency, the selling party retains the right to re-acquire land on regaining the necessary means or enough amount to payback. So, defending land in the Pashtun society refers to defending the security and family's future.<sup>443</sup> Land holding, regardless of quantity, is a matter of esteem in the Pashtun society.

Land resource in FATA gives guaranteed economic support. Thus, land provides both psychological and material security, particularly in a situation when community lack other material resources.<sup>444</sup> Hence, this study tries to present local sense of resources ownership and contribution e.g., infrastructure development for the provision of social services in their area, as land remains *sine qua non* for infrastructure development. Therefore, such an analysis in FATA is done to check the post-developmentalists' findings that 'traditionally marginalized groups made significant and comparatively

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<sup>438</sup> Lindholm, *Generosity and Jealousy: The Swat Pukhtun of Northern Pakistan*.

<sup>439</sup> Fredrik Barth, "Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Difference," (1969): 27.

<sup>440</sup> "Segmentary Opposition and the Theory of Games: A Study of Pathan Organization," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* (1959).

<sup>441</sup> *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference* (Waveland Press, 1998).

<sup>442</sup> Paul Titus, "Honor the Baloch, Buy the Pushtun: Stereotypes, Social Organization and History in Western Pakistan," *Modern Asian Studies* 32, no. 03 (1998): 664.

<sup>443</sup> Willi Steul, *Paschtunwali: Ein Ehrenkodex Und Seine Rechtliche Relevanz*, vol. 54 (Steiner, 1981).

<sup>444</sup> M. D. Sahlins, "On the Sociology of Primitive Exchange, In: The Relevance of Models in Social Anthropology, M. Banton (Ed.). Tavistock, London.," (1965).

higher contributions to local developmental schemes'.<sup>445</sup> Therefore, this study tries to paint such picture the local prospective in Pashtun tribal region i.e., their willingness to offer land for their area development and voluntarily. Thus, the empirical findings of this study against the 30<sup>th</sup> research question: 'do you think that the local participation will lead any to even economic contribution?' indicates that about 78% (compared to 22%) of the all respondents from FATA are prepared to offer 'land' as locally owned tangible resource future projects in FATA. Whereas, area-wise analysis of the data confirms that 76% of the respondents from Central-FATA, 80% from Rest-FATA and 67% from FRs support the impression that marginalized or traditional societies are more willing to contribute in the projects' cost through monetary means. (See: figure 3.9) In this analysis, only 24%, 20% and 33% from Central-FATA, Rest-FATA and FRs do not the support the concept of any type of local tangible contribution in the developmental projects.

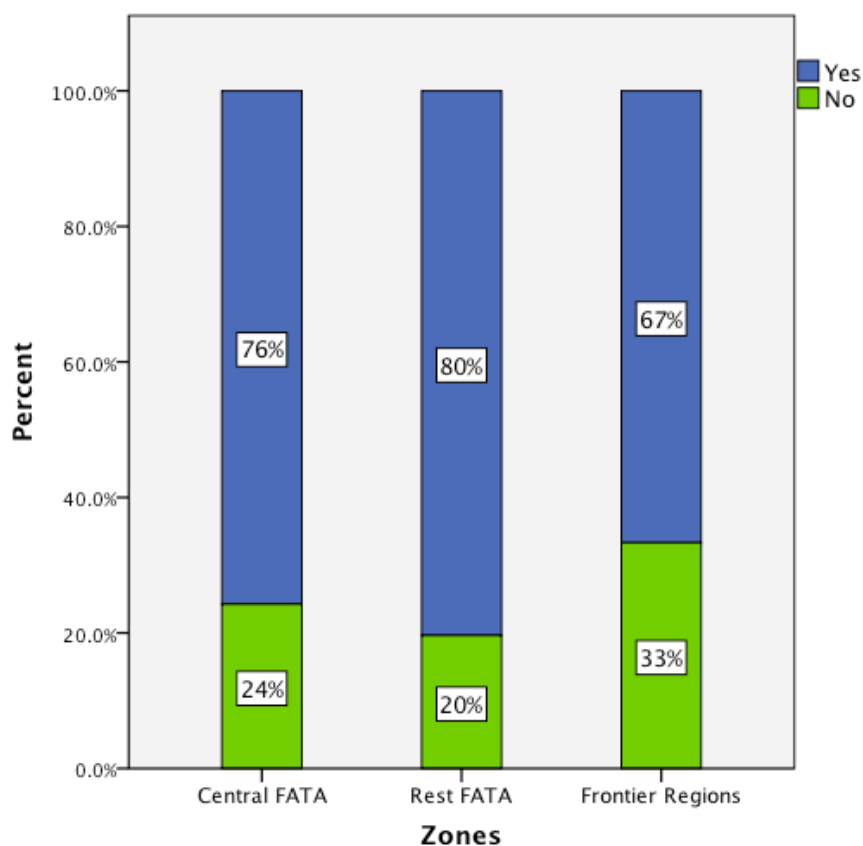


Figure 3.9: Area Wise Economic Contribution in Area's Development

<sup>445</sup> Fearon, Humphreys, and Weinstein, "Can Development Aid Contribute to Social Cohesion after Civil War? Evidence from a Field Experiment in Post-Conflict Liberia; *ibid*; *ibid*.

Nevertheless, majority of the local population is willing to contribute. Which is proved as a valuable capital that can reduce the projects' cost. It importantly gives the local community e.g., local Pashtuns, a sense of satisfaction on area development that can lead to local feeling of programs' ownership.<sup>446</sup>

Interestingly, the cross-comparison of local economic contribution in the projects' cost w.r.t economic status confirms that sense of local economic contribution remains low in 'un-employed category' i.e., 40%, which otherwise 34% from the same category is also ready for any type of economic contribution e.g., land and cash. It is followed by 'student category', which is 24% willing to contribute, as compared to 32%. However, interestingly local sense of any such contribution remains comparatively high in 'employed for wage and self-employed', 25% and 18% respectively. (*See: figure 3.10*). It could be due to several reason e.g., land holding, financial capital etc.

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<sup>446</sup> Prokopy, "The Relationship between Participation and Project Outcomes: Evidence from Rural Water Supply Projects in India."

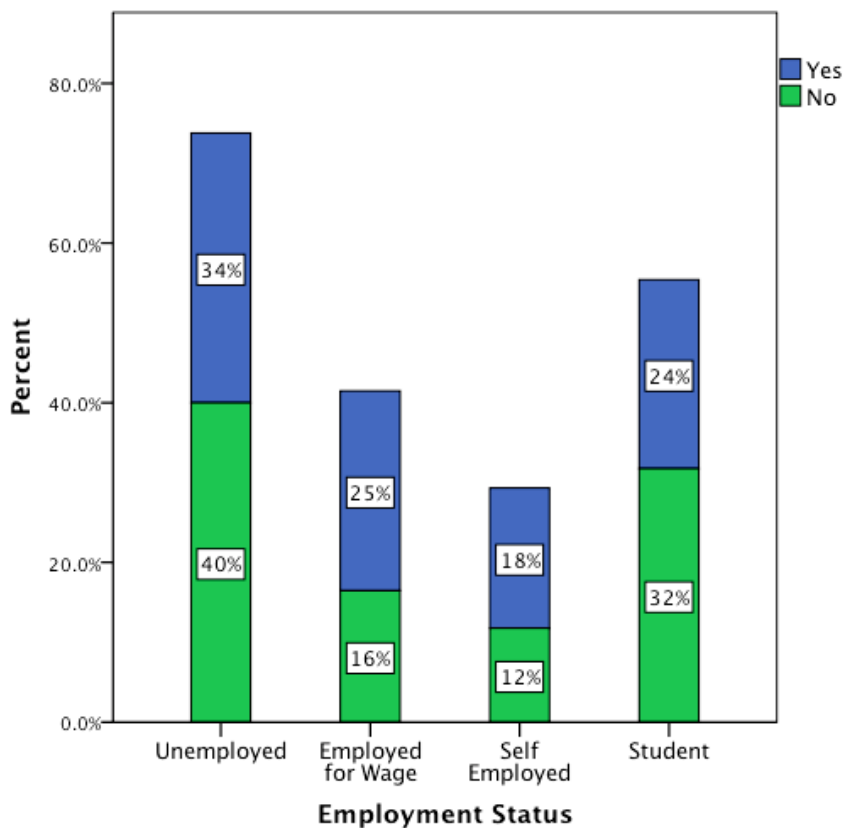


Figure 3.10: Economic Status and Local Economic contribution

Which is definitely due to their low economic status, no ownership of land and unemployment. Nevertheless, local sense of contribution, no matter nominal, remains an encouraging factor that gives clear indication of locality's real stake in the development activities and their wiliness to contribute in the projects' cost. This ultimately produces higher-quality results on meeting the community's genuine needs.<sup>447</sup> This psyche (in the long run) strengthens the local community to take control on all developmental initiatives taken in their region.<sup>448</sup> Whereas, local sense of tangible contribution in the social development programs constructs a new social-order that then minimizes the active role of outsider developmental actors,<sup>449</sup> – sustainability of the locally taken initiatives.

<sup>447</sup> Sananda Sahoo, "Us-Pakistan: Fata Aid Programme Largely a Flop," in *Audit Report* (Washington DC: USAID, 2010), 221-22.

<sup>448</sup> McGregor, "Development, Foreign Aid and Post-Development in Timor-Leste," 161.

<sup>449</sup> Nakano, "On the Singular Name of Post-Development: Serge Latouche's Destruction of Development and Possibility of Emancipation'," 64.

### 3.4 Local Intangible Contribution for FATA Development

Pashtuns, being the segmentary ethnic group, develop their ancestral bonds and commitments within their social arrangement and enjoy the worldview with certainly different lens.<sup>450</sup> Therefore, they are remarkably mobile within their territorial boundaries. Moreover, they mitigate quite successfully in their social and geographical parameters, in their stateless homeland.<sup>451</sup> And their societal structure and organization is purely based on 'patrilineal principle'. Which is completely a kin-based or blood-built relation. In this traditional social structure, the inter-clan and blood relations is the web of interconnection and unity. Living together in a joint family system, they contain a hierarchy of power within the system and work together to maintain solidarity between sub-groups. This factor certainly helps to ensure intangible local contribution in the area's developmental project, as the locality lacks any major quantifiable contribution, which they also willing to contribute.

The empirical outcome of the study under 29<sup>th</sup> question asked during the field survey through questionnaire: '*do you think that the local participation will lead to voluntary work in project implementation?*' reveals that almost-half (47%) of the respondents from Central-FATA are willing to offer voluntary services in the execution of area development programs. It is followed by around 67% from Rest-FATA and surprisingly 72% from FRs. (See: table 3.9) The cross-comparison of the same parameter (intangible contribution) with age groups interestingly reveals that the trend remains the relatively low in age group 'below 18 and above 65' with an average of 58%. Whereas, any such contribution is promised from age groups '18-64'. (See: table 3.9)

This factor further facilitates the voluntary contribution as it is influenced from local societal culture. The cultural feature e.g., networking, ties and bonds, based on mutual local trust, are even more conductive and helpful in area development.<sup>452</sup>

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<sup>450</sup> Johnson and Mason, "No Sign until the Burst of Fire: Understanding the Pakistan-Afghanistan Frontier," 51.

<sup>451</sup> Titus, "Honor the Baloch, Buy the Pushtun: Stereotypes, Social Organization and History in Western Pakistan."

<sup>452</sup> Harrison and Samuel, *Huntington, Eds.(2000), Culture Matters: How Values Shape Human Progress.*



	Zones	Frequency	Yes	No
<i>Local Intangible Contribution</i>	Central FATA	132	46.7%	53.3%
	Rest FATA	219	66.7%	33.3%
	FRs	30	72.0%	28.0%
	Total	381	66.9%	33.1%

Table 3.9: Local Intangible Contribution in Area’s Development

Interestingly, the cross-comparison of local voluntary contribution in the projects’ cost w.r.t economic status confirms that local conscious of voluntary contribution in whole FATA remains in the upper-corner i.e., 75% of respondents from ‘un-employed’ category, followed by 84% each from ‘employed for wage and self-employed’ category is enthusiastic for un-paid contribution in the projects’ implementation. This trends also high in ‘student’ category with 72%. (See: figure 3.11).

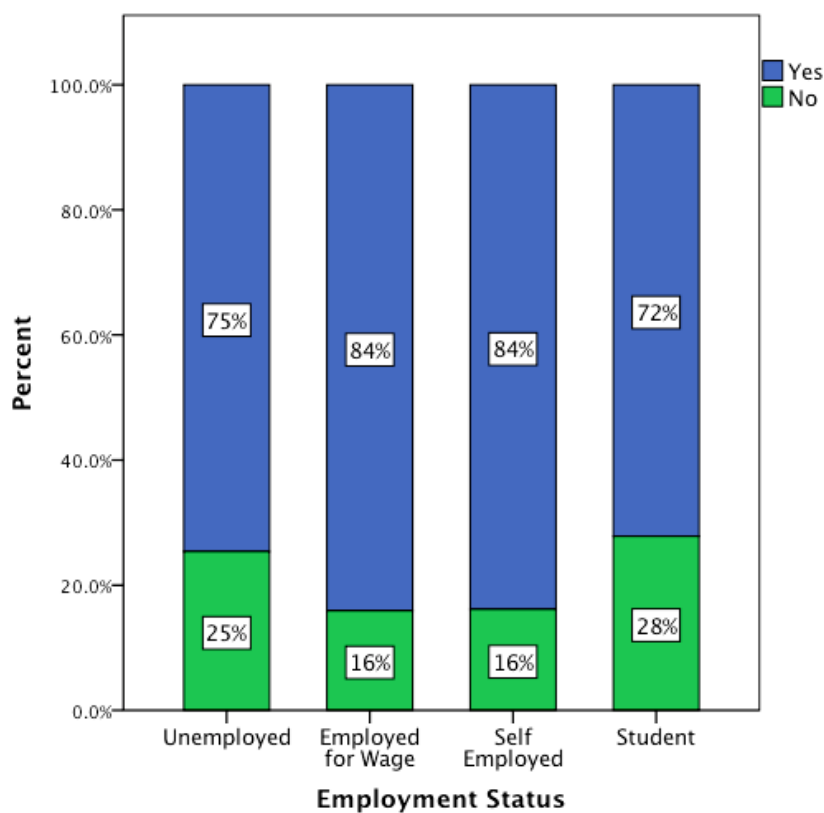


Figure 3.11: Employment-Status Wise Local Intangible Contribution in Area’s Development

Community individuals participate voluntarily in the developmental activities of their area, like, construction and cleaning of; canals (kareez), irrigation channels, waterways, drainage system etc. Likewise, in the agricultural activities, hasher applies to cultivation, harvesting, picking and thrashing of all season crops. Likewise, other developmental works e.g., building mosques and wood bridges. In case of voluntary absenteeism, the participation can also be met through quantifiable item e.g., land, animals, food or tea to workers. However, non-participation (both tangible and non-tangible) is replied with penalty (cash or kind). Which is decided through joint decision. Hence, this Pashtun sense of unpaid participation remains a symbol of community's linkage and eager for development, which as already discussed show their intention to adopt modern social world developmental projects for their betterment.

It is proved that any volunteer local involvement can produces locally established standards and discourses to take part with some contribution. That not only positively opens pathways for knowledge and cultural expressions in the development process.<sup>453</sup> But it also gives local stakeholders a real stake in project maintaining. This factor surely leads to enhance the sustainability at the local level.<sup>454</sup> The local intangible contribution gives a communal sense of local networking that remains an important factor to quickly organize the community to pursue developmental interests. It is built on trust and collective actions that remains meaningful for active local involvement for service provision.<sup>455</sup> Hence, it will not be wrong to say that locality's direct involvement (tangible/intangible) benefits in shaping the societal developmental arena. So, local sense of active involvement can't be kept in isolation, which is again a by-product of local social system, where the inhabitants are active to play effective role.<sup>456</sup>

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<sup>453</sup> Escobar, "Imagining a Post-Development Era? Critical Thought, Development and Social Movements."

<sup>454</sup> Mansuri and Rao, *Localizing Development: Does Participation Work?*

<sup>455</sup> Babajanian, "Social Capital and Community Participation in Post-Soviet Armenia: Implications for Policy and Practice."

<sup>456</sup> Samad, *Participation of the Rural Poor in Government and Ngo Programs: A Comparative Study*.

## ***Conclusion***

The results from the qualitative analysis of the Pashtun tribal societal system and the recent trend of perception, checked through empirical results, expedite the first hypothesis of the study i.e., Pashtun tribal culture doesn't obstruct, but indeed accelerate the community driven development approach, if it is properly understood and accurately followed. Similarly, the Pashtun tribal socio-economic system provides a comfort-zone for external developmental actors. Therefore, it can be proved that local social and economic features influence the locally induced participatory process that play a substantial role not only in the participatory endeavors but also in the outcomes of the participatory process. Such activities further lead to community's empowerment and self-sufficiency.<sup>457</sup>

It is to confirm that culture still matters more for Pashtun ethnic society of FATA. So, what needed is a cultural focused approach of development that has the potential to encourage and enhance local participation. It is all about reviving the local socio-cultural vibrancy and giving the locality a dominant role in development cycle to re-affirm the local feeling and commitment to local development.<sup>458</sup> However, this study also proves that the Pashtun culture constitutes in it the elements of change along with reconciliation and reintegration endeavours, as it has changed from a more rigid traditional tribal structure to loosely attached grid through participation in the growth process e.g., the case of Central-FATA and importantly FRs. It's the confirmation of elastic nature of Pashtun culture. In areas e.g., Rest-FATA, where the intensity of expectations to follow Pashtunwali both from local residents and non-residents is high, the study verifies that the locality is excited and prepared to play their role in the modern social development programs, if Pashtunwali is truly admired. So, it proves the concept of 'cultural turn' in the development industry. Which, shows that local cultures and traditional worlds can't be generalized. There is no one remedy for all.<sup>459</sup> Only a proper analysis and understanding of the local culture can lead beyond limits. There is no hegemonic form of development. So, its time to facilitate the development

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<sup>457</sup> Gupte, "Participation in a Gendered Environment: The Case of Community Forestry in India."

<sup>458</sup> Lowe et al., *Participation in Rural Development: A Review of European Experience*, 57.

<sup>459</sup> Escobar, *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*, 170.

debate within the social landscape.<sup>460</sup> So, the bottom-line or starting point remains a proper evaluation, understanding and then applying the locally understood norms, before coming in contact with the Pashtun tribes. If done so, the process leads to successful initiation of joint endeavors in this backward tribal region through mutual trust and cooperation under *Melmestia*. Thus, it remains a debate of proactive evaluation of the inoffensive Pashtunwali. It's about understanding Pashtunwali to achieve positive outcomes e.g., delivery of social services. As it remains a common reality, particularly in post-development space, that understanding cultural and related social features can facilitate integrating the local developmental bureaucrats (local poor) at all levels of the development process. Therefore, under post-development thought only a deeper, concise and unbiased knowledge of culture' can ensure it.<sup>461</sup> So, an acquaintance through evaluation would normalize the existing environment between locals and outsiders. This study fosters several assisting traits to pursue the locally induced joint activities and the foremost sense of equality within the society. This would let the locality to foster the area development to ensure well-being of both community and the environmental health.<sup>462</sup> This study further explore that the whole community is cliques around one ancestor, follow one single culture, one religion and having a sense of responsibility. The society is ready for collaboration for joint activities. This aspect facilitates one-way actions i.e., avoiding long bureaucratic procedures, effectively start consultation process with actual stakeholders, ensure equal participation of all the representatives and zero chances of involvement of any particular group (e.g., local elites). Ultimately, it takes up to effective implementation and management of the developmental business.

Also, this study discloses that the locals' faith in development industry is built on preconditioned to social submission by the outsiders. It because, the Pashtun tribes hamper any attempt aimed to put their sovereignty in danger. So, compliance with tribal code of conduct is considered as the right approach in cultural recognition, which is translated into granting honour to honourable Pashtuns. Honouring Pashtun

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<sup>460</sup> "Reflections on 'Development': Grassroots Approaches and Alternative Politics in the Third World."

<sup>461</sup> Rahnema, "Afterword: Toward Post-Development: Searching for Signposts, a New Language and New Paradigms," 381.

<sup>462</sup> Gibson-Graham, "Post-Development Possibilities for Local and Regional Development," 12.

tribes is more daring for them than life. This social capital translates into normative tribal behaviour and the facilitating aspect for mitigation, as they reject any foreign executed developmental strategy as well as direction. They bear the tendency to deny any top-down imposed order. Which has already hindered the joint endeavors for area development.

However, in reply to granting honour, evidenced from the investigational verdicts that there exist enormous chances of mutual trust and joint cooperation in whole FATA. Trust on foreign development actors (either the state, ngos and donors) leads to local confidence building, thereby sketching of ideas for progress on identify the local social and economic needs. It further gives Pashtun tribes confidence of plotting the social development programs within their cultural parameters and suggest strategies to achieve those. While operating in the locality, in line with local expectations, Melmestia is the foremost relieving response from the tribes. The study outcomes on primary data ratify that the vast majority of the population is ready for hospitality and protection of life and property of the developmental actors in this lawless tribal frontier. In contrary, this study also expose that the Pashtun tribal society, on dishonouring the Pashtunwali and undermining the local sense of freedom, can lead to destructive results of any developmental scheme, resources and staff. Particularly, the tribes of Central & Rest-FATA are organised for reasonable counter measures in the form of 'badal' to redeem individual and tribal honour. They posses the sense of revenge and retaliation against any person and activity, if it doesn't fall in pre-set cultural limits. It can be dishonour and/or disgrace to any individual or activity. Hence, badal remains the obligatory element for justice and social control. However, the study highlight that the deployment of badal, against any shameful act, is not necessarily at its first instance. However, its chances increase in backwoods. So, badal for justice and social control remains an obligatory toll that could endanger the whole developmental idea.

Yet, another facilitating factor for CDD approach (besides, melmasita, trust and cooperation) is the local sense of 'tangible and intangible' contribution. In FATA, land ownership and decisions regarding its use and management is determined by the tribal society. Pashtuns inherit land and maintain it without selling-out. It's a matter of honour. This research study proves that the matrix seems problematic at the initial

stage, adequately leads to local concrete input. This approach can help to gain access to land resource – a charitable tangible contribution from the locality. Moreover, the tribal sense of resource ownership and their management under existing tribal structure and customary tradition are helpful for the execution of future projects. Thus, locally owned tangible (land) resource, sense of ownership and management, when coupled with effective participatory approach under ‘community-driven-development’ can bring rapid prosperity to area. Which in the long run remains a struggle for freedom, self-determination and self-rule in the South.<sup>463</sup> Comprehensively, certain facts are important to recognize, before executing any developmental projects.

- i. Respect to tribal norms and values, honour and respect to self-sufficiency to all the clans, particularly to avoid *badal*. Discarding the idea of creating western model of economic growth and competition.
- ii. Respect to tribal independence and authority.
- iii. Clear attempts to ensure participation of the locals. Inclusion of all clans’ members with equal importance to their needs. Comprehensive needs’ assessment and then strategy finalization.
- iv. No direction from the outsiders regarding needs assessment till finalization of the projects – core of the CDD approach.
- v. Respect to Pashtuns local governance and not external laws and bodies to control the area. Admiration of locally induced individualistic approach – family centred – no politico-economic doctrine in the modern understanding.

As suggested by Post-development theory and basic requisite of the CDD approach, taking culture in the debate is the foremost requirement of present times, when it comes to end backwardness of any area. Only due respect and proper understanding of the local socio-economic system, while transitionally reviewing each societal aspect can help to effectively engage the locals stakeholders in the development process at all level. It is also necessary to implement the CDD approach’ procedures and guidelines. Which ensures honour, cooperation, protection of the personnel and property of non-resident external facilitators. It can surely provide strong footings for community lead initiatives of rural social development programs in whole FATA.

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<sup>463</sup> Esteva and Prakash, *Grassroots Post-Modernism: Remaking the Soil of Cultures*, 156.

## Chapter – 4: FATA Political Structure & Subsequent Elite Capture

### *Introduction*

*The Pashtuns are politically organized tribes with, in part, very great autonomy. Their political forms are largely based on the segmentary organization from descent groups, some places in acephalous system, integrated in quasi-feudal systems, within the prevailing states and increasingly subject to custom law then bureaucratic administration.*<sup>464</sup>

(Barth F.)

The Pashtun society breathes into two but quite different political scenarios. First, it emerges from the community's heart, and is facilitated by the local culture and mindset. Whereas, the second one is solely top-down authoritative and state's dependable system of governance, the former emerges from bottom to top i.e., individual, clan, sub-tribe on-to tribe, which constitutes of several facilitating elements e.g., societal relationships, individual's sovereignty, equal participation of tribes without discrimination, tribal collaboration etc. that facilitate community lead and driven development approach. According to Sigrist C. (2004); this former system remains the usual system that exists in most segmentary societies e.g., Pashtun segmentary society. This system constitutes of an ideal social structure under social or segmentary processes (clan, sub-tribe, tribe etc.). Therefore, social structure in such segmentary societies is perceived as having genealogical charter i.e., common ascendancy. This system is normally reproduced through certain segmentary processes, like 'segmentation by ramification, fusion and fission'.<sup>465</sup>

The top-down oriented authoritative system of local governance is imposed in FATA through a great deal of coordination from federal to local level with authoritative ambitions. It ranges from political, to administrative and judicial matters of the society. Although this system in FATA is outdated, it still exists in its more brutal form. A pure cross-sectional analysis of the prevailing political system of FATA

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<sup>464</sup> Barth, "Pathan Identity and Its Maintenance," 118-20.

<sup>465</sup> Sigrist, "Segmentary Societies: The Evolution and Actual Relevance of an Interdisciplinary Conception."

reveals nothing but a preposterous practice in the Pashtun region, which results in inequality, anarchy, hijack of development process, misappropriation of resource investment and unending corruption at the expense of disadvantaged local poor Pashtuns.

Conclusively, it remains a reality that actual political hierarchy of the Pashtun tribes is more bottom-up oriented in which Pashtuns are structured through 'genealogical' distance, but are always genealogically and geographically united to outsiders. They are independent and hold 'homogenous political organization' and they embrace the capacity for any coordinated political action and feasible negotiation for political settlement.<sup>466</sup> They hold a distinct structural arrangement with units, which are defined through their un-lineal descendent character. They are mobilized in a corporate action, which is normally studied under Durkheim's mechanical solidary concept. This concept directs the political interests of the hierarchical homologous groups. In this system, closely associated descendent groups make political alliances.<sup>467</sup> So, in pure anthropological sense, Pashtun tribal system acts as one 'political unit'. Other than their actual social and organizational form, they act collectively as single political unit.<sup>468</sup> Within their single political unit, they hold a severe sense of individual independence and they allow paradoxical wisdom of dependence only on the kinship groups. But as a whole, Pashtun society lacks any political unity from the national political consciousness. This is because; they love to live with individual freedom and pride. This aspect makes it difficult for them to be a part of national political fabric.<sup>469</sup>

The Pashtun tribal sense of political independence can be traced back from their tribal code of conduct. The tribal code of honour positions all Pashtun honourable adult

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<sup>466</sup> Tainter and MacGregor, "Pashtun Social Structure: Cultural Perceptions and Segmentary Lineage Organization."

<sup>467</sup> Fredrik Barth, "Segmentary Opposition and the Theory of Games: A Study of Pathan Organization," *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 89, no. 1 (1959).

<sup>468</sup> Louis Dupree, "Tribal Warfare in Afghanistan and Pakistan: A Reflection of the Segmentary Lineage System," *Islam in Tribal Societies: From the Atlas to the Indus* (1984): 266-86.

<sup>469</sup> **Leon B. Paullada**, "The Pashtun Role in the Afghan Political System," *Afghan Council of the Asia Society* (1970).



men equal in this political authority.<sup>470</sup> Thus, they are decentralized in their political organization (kinship structure). This political construction hinders them from being controlled under the command of any single leader or ruler.<sup>471</sup> Thus, Pashtun tribes struggle to retain their overall Pashtun identity, but are split frequently into groups and clusters for political reasons. Nevertheless, they share their enmity with foreign governance system.<sup>472</sup> This can be best illustrated by a Pashtun poem: '*It is the highest delight in a man's life to lie side by side with his cousin (tr bur) with whom he has had much trouble, in the same bunker and to snipe at the common enemy*'. This view is extended from an individual in the society to whole society through segmentary cooperation.<sup>473</sup> However, in contrast to their sense of independence and equal political authority to all men in the society, they are loaded with an externally loaded governance system i.e., FCR-1901), which was firstly introduced in the colonial times and it still exists in its ever draconian form. Thus, under the second hypothesis of this study (*the political system of tribal FATA hinders actual local representation and leads to resource hijack*), it remains important to check each tiny element of the political structure of FATA i.e., levels and route of developmental processes and resource hijack, which is motivated by the so-far disappointing socio-economic indicators. The next section will therefore seek to probe into FATA development – history and current scenario.

#### **4.1 FATA Development Programs – History & Current Scenario**

FATA remains the most underdeveloped and backward region of Pakistan since independence-1947. The nation's founder (M.A. Jinnah) visited FATA in 1948 as Governor General of Pakistan and promised to take sincere efforts to bring development to this backward region of the country. In 1951-52 and 1954, several deeds were practically planned to incorporate FATA development into provincial (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province) development programs. However, it remains only a

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<sup>470</sup> Marten, Johnson, and Mason, "Misunderstanding Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Area?," 183.

<sup>471</sup> Hugh Beattie, "Negotiations with the Tribes of Waziristan 1849–1914—the British Experience," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 39, no. 4 (2011).

<sup>472</sup> Tribal Analysis Center, "Pashtun Tribal Dynamics," (Tribal Analysis Center, 6610-M Mooretown Road, Box 159. Williamsburg, VA, 23188 2009).

<sup>473</sup> Sigrist, "Segmentary Societies: The Evolution and Actual Relevance of an Interdisciplinary Conception."

planning activity that failed to bring any betterment in the lives of poor Pashtuns.<sup>474</sup> In the following years, FATA was invisible from the national spectrum (1955-1972). The democratically elected government of Z. A. Bhutto (1972) successfully introduced several structural reforms to start social development projects. All such socio-economic programs were initiated under 'Forward Policy'.<sup>475</sup> It was the next step from 'Close Border Policy' – relying on subsidies from the national government and hindering any political manipulation. The development of FATA development under the so-called 'forward policy' worked well until 1977. Several programs of social welfare were implemented and economic activities were generated through small industries. Ultimately, peace prevailed in the area.<sup>476</sup> Nonetheless, when Bhutto became history, the conservative regimes disconnected themselves from the tribal needs. Resultantly, hardly any developmental project was taken on in the area, that is if any, the local participation was non-existent. It has alarmingly deterred any goodwill from local society, which is compulsory for any developmental intervention.<sup>477</sup>

The idea of FATA development was again buried for decades. In 2005, the national government (P. Musharraf and Pakistan Muslim League Quaid-e-Azam) introduced developmental programs for this underdeveloped part of the country. For better management of the area's developmental industry, FATA Development Authority (FDA) was established in 2006, and budgetary investment was laid-out and documented. Based on these institutional initiatives, FATA Sustainable Development Plan-SDP (2006-2015) was designed. Unfortunately, this was done without specific budgetary allocation for individual projects or sectoral programs, an overall Rs. 124.1 billion (750million) was planned and pledged to make SDP a coherent and integrated

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<sup>474</sup> Noor Ul-Haq, Rashid Ahmad Khan, and Maqsoodul Hasan Nuri, *Federally Administered Tribal Areas of Pakistan* (Islamabad Policy Research Institute, 2005).

<sup>475</sup> 'Forward Policy' was first introduced by Sandeman (British army colonel in sub-continent of India) also called Sademan System – benign corollary in Indian frontier area in colonial times. This policy was adopted with the objective to bring welfare to Pashtun tribes. It remained as a moral obligation to attempt to gradual civilization and settlement of the tribes, likewise, peaceful penetration in tribal homelands with knowledge of local culture and sympathy. It was giving hill-men a chance to improve his economic status. That's has worked well in Baluchistan than in FATA. Because, the Pashtuns of FATA were comparatively well-armed, more intractable with tribal culture and remained higher in number.

<sup>476</sup> J. W. Spain, "Political Problems of a Borderland," *Pakistan's Western Borderlands: The Transformation of Political Order* (1979).

<sup>477</sup> Akhtar Husain Siddiqi, "Society and Economy of the Tribal Belt in Pakistan," *Geoforum* 18, no. 1 (1987).

framework. Meanwhile, intentions were drawn to acquire more international funding for FATA development.<sup>478</sup> The exercise of specific budgetary allocation under the total developmental budget of FATA remained solely on the decision of FATA Secretariat and federal government i.e., Ministry of States & Frontier Regions – SAFRON. However, Rs. 96.3 billion were pledged for FATA Annual Development Programs-ADP (2007-15).<sup>479</sup> Internationally for sectoral programs, WB inclusively supported FATA's livelihood and infrastructure projects with \$12 million,<sup>480</sup> whereas another \$6 million for FATA's governance reforms.<sup>481</sup> Other main donors for FATA multi-sectoral development programs were Asian development bank (ADB), UNESCO, USAID, Unicef, Canadian international development agency-CIDA, embassy of Japan, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ) and Norwegian agency for development cooperation.<sup>482</sup> Again without specific allocation of funding for sectoral programs, individual states' funding remained \$48 million under WB's coordinated mechanism; 'Multi-Donor Trust Fund-MDTF'.<sup>483</sup> Majority of the funding under MDTF is deployed by the national government to achieve objectives under FATA-SDP 2006-15. The major non-quantifiable goals set through this comprehensive strategy aimed at fostering:

1. Educational development: increasing number of schools, separate schools for girls, increasing net enrolment rate, increasing gross enrolment ratio, decreasing gender disparity, curricula revision and teacher training.
2. Health: building of public sector hospitals, dispensaries, apportionment of trained doctors and paramedical particularly targeting area's high infant mortality, besides creating awareness for clear health practices.
3. Water & Sanitation: infrastructure development; for drinking water supply, gravity based schemes, water storage tanks, enhancing capacity of the public health (works & services) department, promoting awareness about health & hygiene and developing management system for reliable data provision.

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<sup>478</sup> Samir Puri, *Pakistan's War on Terrorism: Strategies for Combating Jihadist Armed Groups since 9/11*, vol. 30 (Routledge, 2011).

<sup>479</sup> Shuja Nawaz and Arnaud de Borchgrave, "Fata—a Most Dangerous Place," in *Center for Strategic and International Studies* (Washington DC2009), 21.

<sup>480</sup> Kamran Akbar, "Fata Rural Livelihoods and Community Infrastructure Project (Rlciip)," (Washington DC: World Bank, 2012).

<sup>481</sup> Sher Shah Khan, "Kp/Fata Governance Reforms," (Washington DC: World Bank, 2011).

<sup>482</sup> GoP, "Fata Sustainable Development Plan (2007-2015). Civil Secretariat Peshwar," (2007).

<sup>483</sup> World-Bank, "Pakistan - Multi-Donor Trust Fund," (Islamabad: World Bank Group, 2014).

4. Rural Development: Provision of recreational services, social welfare services for women.
5. Agriculture: Steps towards shifting of substantial production to market-oriented production, shift to pocket-area production, recovering cultivable wasteland, improved water supply to fields, and facilitation in pre-post harvesting, micro-credit schemes, agricultural research, and capacity development of the agriculture research directorates.
6. Industrial development: processing of local raw material (minerals, iron, copper) at sites, designing pocket industrial clusters, skills development through technical training, strengthening infrastructure (roads, energy, communication), establishment of knowledge-base for financiers and establishment of FATA industrial-engineering research centre.
7. Skills Development: market oriented skills development of both the gender, job training, integration of skills development with education and through public-private partnership.

### ***Implementing Partners***

FATA-SDP has focused on involving private sector under the theme of public-private partnership. So, other than strengthening the already existing PPP in the area, the national government planned to boost ‘quality and accessibility’ of the social services provision. So, government remained as ‘purchaser of the services’, provided by the private sector/NGOs. The aim behind such a consortium was fostering ‘collaborative management’ between national government and private sector.<sup>484</sup> Several international development partners have taken part in FATA development. Under the cooperative mechanism, several projects like, ‘promoting basic education, strengthening the health system and improving livelihood were carried-out.’<sup>485</sup> Likewise, private sector was engaged in healthcare & hygiene promotion, livelihood improvement,<sup>486</sup> likewise, rehabilitation, and livelihood and infrastructure

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<sup>484</sup> GoP, "Fata Sustainable Development Plan (2007-2015). Civil Secretariat Peshwar."

<sup>485</sup> GIZ, "Fata Development Programme," Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit.

<sup>486</sup> UN-Habitat, "Un-Habitat Urban Youth Fund for Ngos in Developing Countries," FundsforNgos, LLC.

construction.<sup>487</sup> Thus, several international organisations acted both as donor as well as implementing partners e.g., GIZ, USAID to carry out the task on behalf of the national government.<sup>488</sup> Thus, in this whole exercise of public-private partnership, the focus remained on comprehensive FATA development, prominently, on integrating local stakeholders in the development process. This sense of local participation was to ensure equity in the projects implementation, which has in the past neglected far-flung areas of FATA. Thus, the intended participatory approach was planned to include local community through a wide-ranging consultation process. It was to ensure local sense of ownership – an affective response to earlier poor planning. For the first time, focus was on eliminating political motives behind sites and projects selection. For that reason, a scheme of regular meetings was planned to arrange with local tribes. And to decide the projects' sites with locals' consent. The aim was to bridge the gap between developmental activities and intake at the local level.<sup>489</sup>

#### **4.1.1 Current Status of FATA Development**

Instead of comprehensive planning, huge financial investment and public-private consortium to meet social and economic needs of FATA, the outcomes have been disappointing. There exists hardly any significant improvement from educational to health sector and from water & sanitation to skills development. The available statistics show that there are still major differences between rural and urban areas across social services' provision. The incidences of diseases e.g., diarrhoea are high due to lack of hospitals, staff and medicines. Only 58.7% of the population has access to safe drinking water and only 28.1% enjoy hygienic sanitary facilities. There exists no major source of clean drinking water in the locality. Although, farming is the main source of livelihood for poor Pashtuns, majority of the land still remains unproductive. 89% of the local population still keep livestock at subsistence level.<sup>490</sup> Instead of much focus being put on generating economic activities in the area, the per capita income remains just \$250/year, a lot of emphasis therefore needs to be put on

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<sup>487</sup> ACTED, "Protracted Relief & Recovery Operation Fata : Food Security, Livelihood, and Drr Support for Kurram and Orakzai Agencies," ACTED.

<sup>488</sup> Dawn, "Ngos Working in Fata Told to Recruit Locals," *Dawn News* 2015.

<sup>489</sup> GoP, "Fata Sustainable Development Plan (2007-2015). Civil Secretariat Peshwar."

<sup>490</sup> "Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey - Mics."

the policies. Likewise, industrial activities are narrow and unemployment is widespread. Still, 60% of the local population lives below poverty line. Female literacy rate is only 3% (32% at national level). Additionally, there is no rule of law. The residents have no political rights and are subjected to FCR-1901. The living conditions are appalling with the locals living under the domination of elite's class.<sup>491</sup>

Resultantly, plan to develop the local people's capacity to enable them to provide services in social and technical sectors are also rarely seen. The push for socio-economic development is still being reported. In spite of much focus being put on the current developmental strategies, there is a call for social (health, education etc.) projects for the locality. There remains a thrust for economic projects to create job opportunities and to boost local industry through utilization of local natural resources.<sup>492</sup> It is thus not wrong to say that despite the comprehensive planning and huge investment of money, all interventions have failed to address impoverishments of the region through effective services delivery.<sup>493</sup>

All in all, FATA-SDP (2006-15), which was taken as a modified plan, became another failed strategy and could not bring any development to the area. The basic reason behind this failed exercise was a fresh focus on top-down solution for areas' deep-rooted needs.<sup>494</sup> No-doubt, under FATA-SDP and ADP, the foundations of all the planned projects were laid on information from the local elites i.e., *maliks*, which was presented through their political masters e.g., PAs/DCOs. This led to un-real projects' proposals. Resultantly, the politically motivated developmental programs failed to be effectively implemented. Regretfully, actual local stakeholders were not engaged in the consultancy or project selection process which in turn has then hindered access to areas and security for projects staff. It further obstructed the statistical data collection.<sup>495</sup> So, the mob of local elite class has resulted in mal-developmental practices in the areas hence winding-up with disappointing results.

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<sup>491</sup> Elhai, "Effective Aid in the Most Dangerous Place in the World for Americans."

<sup>492</sup> Ali Mohammad Jan Orakzi, "Situation in Fata: Causes, Consequences and the Way Forward," *Policy Perspectives* (2009).

<sup>493</sup> Sahoo, "Us-Pakistan: Fata Aid Programme Largely a Flop."

<sup>494</sup> Noor ul Haq, "Preface to Fata Sustainable Development Plan (2006-15)," (2008).

<sup>495</sup> Nawaz and de Borchgrave, "Fata—a Most Dangerous Place."

## 4.2 CDD Approach & Tribal Political Structure

Long before the independence of Pakistan, the British colonial rulers deliberately excluded FATA from rest of the settled area and declared it 'loosely administered buffer zone' under the Frontier Crimes Regulation-FCR 1901. The British authorities introduced this system just to continually achieve their interests. They controlled that area through planting 'Political Agents'-PAs, who are still enjoying their wide-ranging political powers.<sup>496</sup> However, cleverly understanding the local customs and sense of independence, the British rulers had granted the Pashtun tribes a high degree of sovereignty and autonomy.

To govern the area, colonial British rulers used mix tactics of persuasion. They controlled Pashtuns through elected local assistants and political bosses i.e., *maliks* and PAs and meanwhile pressured them through armed interventions.<sup>497</sup> Although due respect is given to local customs and great authority to local elders, time has proved that FCR remains the major obstacle to effective governance of the area. An example of its severity is that this draconian governance system (FCR) allows referral of all civil and criminal directly to Jirga<sup>498</sup> on *ad hoc* basis which without necessary prior trial, results in arresting of any individual from the local community and putting him in jail.<sup>499</sup>

After independence, the newly established Pakistani government continued with the same British strategy of controlling the area and suppressing the locality. The national government intentionally retained this old outdated 'political, administrative and judicial system' in tribal FATA, although it has over the decades denied community's basic constitutional and political rights. Such an attempt remains against the Pashtun tribal traditions.<sup>500</sup> So, under the old political system of governing the tribal area, political agents and maliks were provoked. Thus, as a part of same legacy and on

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<sup>496</sup> Robert Boggs, "Pakistan's Pashtun Challenge: Moving from Confrontation to Integration," *Strategic Analysis* 36, no. 2 (2012): 210.

<sup>497</sup> Zahid Hussain, "Pakistan's Most Dangerous Place," *The Wilson Quarterly* (1976-) (2012): 19.

<sup>498</sup> Jirga and Shura: Jirga is purely a Mangolian term, which lack religious connotation. Whereas, Shura is purely an Arabic word. Jirga in comparison with Shura doesn't require regular permanent membership and its meetings are on *ad hoc* basis e.g., when any issue arises.

<sup>499</sup> International Crisis Group ICG, "Pakistan: Countering Militancy in Fata," in *Asia Report N°178* (Islamabad/Brussels2009).

<sup>500</sup> Ibid.

behalf of the state government, PA and local maliks continued their policy of controlling the Pashtun tribal region.<sup>501</sup> However, no permanent solution was proposed for this area.

Rather, this outdated political system was given a constitutional cover. The constitution of Pakistan (1956), for the administrative procedure, under the articles 103 & 104, has provided all the 'excluded areas' or 'special areas' as 'Federally Administered Tribal Areas-FATA' and others as 'Provincially Administered Tribal Areas-PATA'. So, FATA was brought under the administrative supervision of President of Pakistan and PATA under the authority of Governor of KPK (former NWFP). Regarding FATA, it was made clear that local representatives (maliks and PA) will exercise the executive powers and will be answerable to governor of KPK, likewise to president of the country.<sup>502</sup> Moreover, under the constitution of 1973, the president of Pakistan enjoys his discretionary powers to formulate rules and regulation. The provincial governor (KPK province) has given the right to use his executive authority in the area on behalf of the president of Pakistan. Moreover, the constitution of Pakistan under article 246 and 247, invalidate the Pakistan's Criminal Procedure Code (PCPC) in FATA.

Thus, the ordinary judiciary system (both national or provincial legislatures) has no dominant authority in this wild frontier. Under article 247, the national parliament holds the authority to pass any law and extend the jurisdiction of both the provincial High court and Supreme Court to FATA.<sup>503</sup> Whereas, the aims and activities of the political masters; are under no check, not even through the constitution of 1973. Moreover, the constitution of Pakistan puts calls-off to analyze powers and undertakings of the *Tehsildar*. The administrative wrongs in the area are also beyond the jurisdictions of both Supreme and High court (KPK).<sup>504</sup>

All in all, despite the constitutional cover, the government institutions are already declared ineffective in both planning and implementation of any policy for FATA.<sup>505</sup>

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<sup>501</sup> Kerr and Smith, "How Agents of Economic Development Interact with the Complex Dynamics of Regional Governance in Fata: A Case Study of Energy Development Projects."

<sup>502</sup> GoP, "Constitution of Pakistan," (Islamabad1956), Article 103-04.

<sup>503</sup> "Constitution of Pakistan," (Islamabad1973), Article 246 (a,c) & 47 (3,5,6,7).

<sup>504</sup> Mumtaz A. Bangash, "Fata: Towards a New Beginning," *Tribal Areas of Pakistan: Challenges and Responses* (2005): 49.

<sup>505</sup> ICG, "Pakistan: Countering Militancy in Fata," 3.



And the current cited results from the area confirm the fact. This is because; the top-down authoritarian approach of governance is without accountability. Far beyond the local demand to govern their area on their own, they are away from the participatory form of governance, consensus based decisions, inclusiveness, efficacy and developmental ethics. Likewise, operational responsiveness in delivering quality public services, transparency and accountability.<sup>506</sup> Conclusively, it is still an antagonism that federal government opted no fundamental changes in its policy for administrative and political structure of this most underdeveloped region of the country.

In this way, this draconian law (FCR) governs the area politically and under ‘strict legal regime’. So, FCR has both social and political impacts on the society. In the absence of any other legal mechanism and framework of fundamental human rights, the social rights of the community are severely curtailed under this system. Other than lack of guaranteeing the provisions of economic rights, FCR gives no political right to local tribesmen. Rather, this political system abolishes the societal right of the locality to organize for justice. Intolerably, the system puts basic human rights on the mercy of the political agents and it politically isolates the Pashtun community to take part in the legislation process.<sup>507</sup> This is how, the prevailing political system of FATA results in gross human rights violations and declared as a ‘black law’.<sup>508</sup> Furthermore, it affects the cultural realities of FATA and doesn’t not reflect at the actual local customarily proceedings, but function totally against them. For example, it endorses *Melmestia* on government’s mercy and demand, which is an insult to the local code of honour. Furthermore, it enables political administration to decide to take *badal*,<sup>509</sup> even though both parties are willing to negotiate and forgive and/or compensate with any tangible mean, which is allowed in the Pashtunwali (*See: Badal or Revenge – a tool of justice & social control*).

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<sup>506</sup> FATA Research Center-FRC, "Local Government in Fata: Past Failure, Current Challenges and Future Prospects," (Islamabad2014), 7.

<sup>507</sup> Mazhar Ali Khan, "Fata Political Status What Are the Social, Political and Economic Implications of Frontier Crimes Regulation 1901, in Fata, Pakistan E Consequences and Options for Pakistan?," *Asian Journal of Social Sciences & Humanities* Vol. 3(1) (2014).

<sup>508</sup> Sabina Khan, "Fata’s Political Status: What Are the Consequences and Options for Pakistan?," *Strategic Insights* 10, no. 2 (2011): 36.

<sup>509</sup> Khalid Aziz, "Frontier Crimes Regulations and Administration of the Tribal Areas," *Tribal Areas of Pakistan: Challenges and Responses* (2005): 127.

This old governance system (FCR) still remains unabated as it allows political masters and their local helpers to enjoy the wide-ranging power and enjoy continued allowances from the federal government. This is because; the developmental programs fail to step-in in this area. Alarming, the prevailing black law continually smudges the operative local sense of governance, leading to mal-developmental practices and resource manipulation. Thus, the proceeding section analyzes the hierarchy in power structure, the basis of political relationships and detraction of funds from its actual destination. The results from field research are cross-referred to scratch-out the political believes and motives. Relatedly, the proceeding section tries to check the political awareness of the locality, so as to to tap local prospective to halt further process- and resource hijack.

#### **4.2.1 Political Hierarchy & Power Breakdown**

Political structure of FATA has unique type of political hierarchy and breakdown of political command. It is stretched form the federal government (president level) to the lowest most *Naib-Tehsildar* (town/sub-district administrator) level. However, the executive authority still relies on politically appointed PAs/DCOs and local elected *maliks*, particularly when it comes to bringing social development to FATA. So, political masters are the actual powerbrokers. They rule the area at the expense of traditional *maliki* system that violates both authenticity and legitimacy of the actual stakeholders; ‘tribal elders or *lungi holders*’.

Thus, the actual political hierarchy to control the area originates from political bosses and is driven to locally appointed *maliks*. Their basic purpose remains to ensure law and order, conflict resolution and disputes settlement. And the regulations and guidelines to ensure peace through conflict resolution, if any emerges, relies on the disposal of PAs in agencies and DCOs in FRs.<sup>510</sup> At this point, it is necessary to study the whole political matrix through analyzing every knot and bond of political relations in the prevailing area’s governance system. And it remains essential to understand their exercise of power for area development.

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<sup>510</sup> Sarfraz Khan and Abdul Hamid Khan, "The Frontier Crimes Regulation (Fcr): A Socio Political Assessment," *Central Asia, Area Study Centre, University of Peshawar, Pakistan*.

## ***Political Masters***

Political Agent,<sup>511</sup> of agency and Deputy Coordination Officer-DCO or Deputy Commissioner-DC from FR are no more than externally sponsored and federally elected political masters and, they act as bridge between the state officials and the Pashtun tribes. They politically represent Pashtun community, and exemplify local project needs and desires to state government and practically impose the State's oriented decisions. This whole activity is carried-out with the consent of regionally appointed *maliks* and (sometimes) priests (*mullah*). This is how; the PAs/DCOs rule the Pashtun tribal area, rather than conquering them at once. This hierarchy traces its roots back from colonial times.<sup>512</sup> That is when the British rulers ruled this area with the help of these politically oriented agents, rather than any direct involvement in the local administrative structure.<sup>513</sup> Gradually, the British rulers obstructed any permanent political solution to this region. So, FATA was left as 'marshland' and remained on the outdated track,<sup>514</sup> and the same policy was and has been followed by the past Pakistani governments.

These political masters overlook the administrative and political matters of the area also with the help of Assistant Political Agent-APA (*Tehsildar*).<sup>515</sup> Likewise, Tehsildars and Naib-Tehsildars assist them in the concerned administrative matters. Whereas, scouts force (*militia of Khassadars*) facilitate them to maintain law & order and communication infrastructure to run smoothly,<sup>516</sup> the political agent in each agency is like a linchpin. He enjoys the same powers as 'District Commissioner-DC or District Coordination Officer-DCO' in each FR.<sup>517</sup> PAs also act as liaison officers on behalf of tribes of their jurisdiction<sup>518</sup> and they are the magistrates and revenue

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<sup>511</sup> Political Agent is a public civil servant, who is substitute of Deputy Commissioner-DC, District Magistrate or District Coordination Officer-DCO in the Frontier Regions-FRs.

<sup>512</sup> Sherard Cowper-Coles, *Cables from Kabul: The inside Story of the West's Afghanistan Campaign/Sherard Cowper-Cole* (HarperPress, 2011).

<sup>513</sup> Humayun Khan, "The Role of Federal Government and the Political Agent," *Tribal Areas of Pakistan: Challenges and Responses* (2005): 107-08.

<sup>514</sup> Hauner, "One Man against the Empire: The Faqir of Ipi and the British in Central Asia on the Eve of and During the Second World War," 185.

<sup>515</sup> Shinwari, "Understanding Fata 2011: Attitudes Towards Governance, Religion and Society in Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Areas."

<sup>516</sup> Hussain, "Some Major Pakhtoon Tribes Along the Pak-Afghan Border (Islamabad: Area Study Centre, University of Peshawar and Hans Seidal Foundation) " 3.

<sup>517</sup> GoP, "Fata Sustainable Development Plan (2007-2015). Civil Secretariat Peshwar," 15.

<sup>518</sup> Ul-Haq, Khan, and Nuri, *Federally Administered Tribal Areas of Pakistan*, 19.

collectors.<sup>519</sup> Moreover, this political hierarchy enjoys an extensive ‘executive, revenue and judicial’ powers. These political masters possess additional power (preventive clause of FCR) to maintain peace in the area. They also hold the power to put three years jail term on rejecting any signed bond by any individual.<sup>520</sup>

Another primary function of the PAs/DCOs is to take care of local welfare and looking-after the interests of their masters that is, maintaining supremacy through all means – no matter ‘*fair or foul*’, even through exercising the cruellest possible methods. Their task has been to ‘*collect intelligence, cultivate informers, create friction amongst the tribes and keep the lines of communication open between the army garrisons in the area*’. So, these political masters with such brutal powers are no less than their colonial masters,<sup>521</sup> who based on personal inspiration, character, wisdom and ability handle all problems whenever they breakout.<sup>522</sup> These political masters build their power with the consent of some local facilitators:

### **Maliks: *the local landlords***

Maliks of Pakistan’s western frontier are the traditional mediators and negotiators, who function in the community under the direct support of political agents and deputy commissioning officers. These ‘wealthy ‘hereditary elected influentials<sup>523</sup> mostly repress the underprivileged community in the area<sup>524</sup> and they trump-up any change in the area to happen and often use collective punishment to wrap-up local demands for basic human and social rights.<sup>525</sup> There is no formal mechanism to remove them from their actual authority, but their disobedience and hostile behaviour to higher political administration in their area could cause immediate suspension or withdrawal from their authority. But it seldom happens in the lawless region.<sup>526</sup>

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<sup>519</sup> A. K. Wazir, Khan, M. Z., "Mainstreaming Fata through Legal and Political Reforms," (2014).

<sup>520</sup> GoP, "Frontier Crimes Regulation-Fcr," (Islamabad1901), Section 40-41.

<sup>521</sup> Mateen A. Mirza, "Taming the" Wild West" Integrating the Federally Administered Tribal Areas of Pakistan," (2005): 31.

<sup>522</sup> "Taming the" Wild West" Integrating the Federally Administered Tribal Areas of Pakistan," (2005).

<sup>523</sup> Maliks get inherited powers, which is mostly transferred from grandfather to son, grandson and so on and it is based on their family’s economic status e.g., holding of land and capital. So, through this process they are selected automatically as local influential class or maliks.

<sup>524</sup> Omrani, "The Durand Line: History and Problems of the Afghan-Pakistan Border," 187.

<sup>525</sup> Imtiaz Gul, "Fata-a Futuristic View," *Tribal Areas of Pakistan: Challenges and Responses* (2005).

<sup>526</sup> Georg Lutz and Wolf Linder, *Traditional Structures in Local Governance for Local Development* (University of Berne, 2004), 14.

The above description is how these local influential enjoy their authority back form colonial times, and a fresh agreement was signed with them by the Pakistani government to control FATA. So, they are enjoying the same rights and privileges as before independence even under the new agreements. The new treaties were signed through political agents in 1947, which endorsed maliks to provide any help, when and wherever needed by the federal authorities. So, in response they showed their commitment ‘*to be peaceful, law abiding and that they will maintain friendly relations with people of the settled districts*’. In return to their loyalty, the state government promised to bestow the pre-colonial benefits.<sup>527</sup> So, maliks continually got stipends from the Pakistani government under FCR-1901.<sup>528</sup> Even under FCR-1901 the local maliks are given the right to vote on behalf of local community,<sup>529</sup> but they often sell their vote for money.<sup>530</sup> Yet, there is certainly no formal procedure to determine their effectiveness, but through their political masters, however, it relies a wrong judgment.<sup>531</sup> This wrong judgment becomes more alarming, when the role of political masters and maliks change is changed in its outlook and remains more development oriented.<sup>532</sup>

### ***System’s Expiry & Area’s Vulnerability***

Maliks and their political masters remained the main actors behind the socio-economic development of FATA. Their power remained un-checked and their joint matrix brought no fundamental change in the area’s betterment. Likewise, they hindered any basic change both in the tribal administrative and political structure.<sup>533</sup> The main motives behind such obstructions are ‘to maintain their status quo in the region and fear of losing power’. With their un-ending powers, they became the local patronages and they enjoy all ill-gotten benefits through liberty of their actions.<sup>534</sup>

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<sup>527</sup> GoP, "Revised Agreements with the Tribal People," (Peshawar1947).

<sup>528</sup> Lutz and Linder, *Traditional Structures in Local Governance for Local Development*, 13.

<sup>529</sup> Sartaj Khan, "Changing Pashtun Society," *The News* 2010.

<sup>530</sup> Political Parties Joint Committee on FATA Reforms, " 40 Recommendations for Fata Elections Reforms," (2013).

<sup>531</sup> Robert Lane Sammon, "Mullas and Maliks: Understanding the Roots of Conflict in Pakistan’s Federally Administrated Tribal Areas," (2008): 50.

<sup>532</sup> Ul-Haq, Khan, and Nuri, *Federally Administered Tribal Areas of Pakistan*, 30.

<sup>533</sup> *Federally Administered Tribal Areas of Pakistan*, 27.

<sup>534</sup> Khan, "The Role of Federal Government and the Political Agent," 113.

Maliks particularly manipulate their higher authorities e.g., PAs/DCOs and federal government, to have a blind-eye on their decades long corruption, prevailing inequality, areas' backwardness, underdeveloped social services and poverty in the region.<sup>535</sup> Resultantly, these maliks along with 'khans' (wealthy landowners) are now isolated from their constituencies in FATA. (*See: Current status of FATA development*). Based on such frustrating facts, the political system of FATA is starting to decay, as this old system of local governance became too weak to control the already browbeaten society.<sup>536</sup> Yet, local wealthy powerbrokers and their political bosses continue trying to unceasingly keep poor tribesmen under their thumb and pay no attention to restructure the rudiments of locals' self-governance. So, it ends-up with continuous under-development and local's vulnerability.<sup>537</sup> Underdevelopment is also a resultant factor of giving these influential direct developmental schemes and allocation of development budgets to their family members and associates. This in itself is even against the tribal customs, and it has further deterred their loyalty and respect to tribal culture.<sup>538</sup>

Thus, a consistent lack of political-will has deterred all efforts to establish any direct contact with local tribal community at the grass-root level. Such a neglect and upholding status quo has resulted in retrogression of socio-economic indicators in whole FATA.<sup>539</sup> So, the area's poor governance structure, which is coupled with ineffective services' delivery system has led to widespread frustration from the locals. It has caused deficit of trust of the society over the state's governance system<sup>540</sup> such as; local population's consciousness and alert un-un-ending corruption by the elite class.<sup>541</sup> Resultantly, misuse of power, miss-management of resources, widespread corruption and human rights abuses which all are a setback in the existing governance system of FATA. Therefore, it stood, as a 'draconian law' and a vague rule ever

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<sup>535</sup> Sammon, "Mullas and Maliks: Understanding the Roots of Conflict in Pakistan's Federally Administrated Tribal Areas," 50.

<sup>536</sup> Khan, "Changing Pashtun Society."

<sup>537</sup> Sultan Shahin, "Islamabad's Plan to Tame Tribal Areas," *Retrieved on January 12(2005)*.

<sup>538</sup> Marten, Johnson, and Mason, "Misunderstanding Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Area?," 184.

<sup>539</sup> Ul-Haq, Khan, and Nuri, *Federally Administered Tribal Areas of Pakistan*, 27.

<sup>540</sup> Nawaf Khan, "Pakistan Tribal Areas Demand Local Government System," *FATA Reforms 2014*.

<sup>541</sup> Sammon, "Mullas and Maliks: Understanding the Roots of Conflict in Pakistan's Federally Administrated Tribal Areas," 51-52.

existed on this planet that no society can afford to keep for life-long.<sup>542</sup> It remained a system, which is '*negative in purpose and authoritarian in spirit*'.<sup>543</sup> As the tribal sentiments are shifted towards immediate curtailing of maliks and PAs/DCOs powers,<sup>544</sup> the political players now lack both social legitimacy and general as well as religious support in the area. But, it still serves as a politically oriented official intermediary and federal government is still following this draconian system,<sup>545</sup> even though the international community has also rejected this structure.<sup>546</sup>

#### 4.2.1.1 Hierarchy in Resource Hijack

Constitutionally, the political Administration in the tribal region is accountable to local council (Jirga). Jirga is responsible for administration and use of funds for any development projects. Jirga approval is required for all developmental schemes,<sup>547</sup> but *per contra* PAs/DCOs still supervise and direct this activity. They represent projects' proposals and approve them with their higher authorities. So, they serve as project coordinators between federal government and the local community.<sup>548</sup> While, PAs/DCOs are operational at the higher level, maliks (on under-estimating the role of Jirga) are tasked with identification and monitoring of the developmental projects at the community level. So, this hierarchy of power and role distribution between local *maliks* and the political electives bear the '*veto power*' for decision-making and funds distribution in the area.<sup>549</sup> However, misappropriation of power, and resources and locals' awareness has stopped elite class's (maliks and DCOs/PAs) free movement in FATA. Their movements are restricted to their constituencies even in broad daylight.<sup>550</sup> So, they reside in other settled areas, which causes their perceived power in their respective regions vanish.<sup>551</sup>

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<sup>542</sup> Om Prakash Yadav, "Pakistan to Repeal Colonial Draconian Law," *Merinews* 2009.

<sup>543</sup> Bangash, "Fata: Towards a New Beginning," 43.

<sup>544</sup> Shaheed Bhutto Foundation, "Mainstreaming Fata," (Banazir Democracy Institute-BDI, 2009).

<sup>545</sup> Ul-Haq, Khan, and Nuri, *Federally Administered Tribal Areas of Pakistan*, 27.

<sup>546</sup> Manzoor Ali, "Forgetting Fata Reform," *AfPak Channel website*, August 10(2010).

<sup>547</sup> GoP, "Constitution of Pakistan," Article 58 & 140A.

<sup>548</sup> "Fata Sustainable Development Plan (2007-2015). Civil Secretariat Peshwar," 15.

<sup>549</sup> ICG, "Pakistan: Countering Militancy in Fata," 19-20.

<sup>550</sup> Hassan Abbass, "President Obama's Policy Options in Pakistan Federally Administered Tribal Areas (Fata)," *Institute for Social Policy and Understanding* 30(2009): 4.

<sup>551</sup> Kerr and Smith, "How Agents of Economic Development Interact with the Complex Dynamics of Regional Governance in Fata: A Case Study of Energy Development Projects."

### 4.3 Local Elites, Community's- Sensitization & Participation

*'The issue today is the same as it has been throughout all history, whether man shall be allowed to govern himself or be ruled by a small elites'.*<sup>552</sup>

(Jefferson T.)

Residing in socially disconnected areas from their constituencies, the local powerbrokers are still clever enough, based on their local limited authority consume the maximum benefits from the state government. Their static representation of the local population blocks any 'political, legislative or electoral reform' in the area. Even the state government, in the absence of any other system, doesn't want to lose its grip on the local populace and area. So, they continuously feed the existing political system and triumphing over the government interest has always resulted in durable support from both sides.<sup>553</sup> So, far from the real sense of local ownership, the developmental funds are being dispersed solely for the benefits of dishonest beneficiaries (the *maliks*). This new elite class like their presiders doesn't care about FATA development.

However, the locality is quite sensitized about the misuse of power and resources, and planned to ensure any positive change in the area. And it's a common reality that there exists no mechanism of fund's auditing and, community is not given the ownership of developmental works. Rather, the developmental funds are being channelled solely at the expense of local maliks than local interests.<sup>554</sup> The local maliks are already viewed as corrupt and their appointments just 'for sale' in FATA.<sup>555</sup> Therefore, the loyalty and independence of both maliks and PAs/DCOs remains questionable. This is also because; the maliks get allowances (*mojib*) from the federal government and bestow their status to APA, PA, governor of KPK and to president of Pakistan. In this scenario, the locality is being marginalised, which leads

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<sup>552</sup> E.G. Austin, "Sayings of Thomas Jefferson, Quoted In: Democracy in America, American Politics," *The Economist* 2011.

<sup>553</sup> Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah, "Political Reforms in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas of Pakistan (Fata): Will It End the Current Militancy?," *1617-5069* 64(2012).

<sup>554</sup> Wazir, "Mainstreaming Fata through Legal and Political Reforms."

<sup>555</sup> Reforms, " 40 Recommendations for Fata Elections Reforms."



to mistrust in the concerned institutions to fulfil their needs and aspirations.<sup>556</sup> Hence, the area remains the most backward region and the locality is completely ignored in the whole developmental process of FATA. Thus, here the point of concern is to check the local dis-/satisfaction level on maliks and political elite class, and level of process & resource hijack.

### **4.3.1 Local Elites & Hijack of the Participation Process**

This study has so-far explored the inadequate institutional arrangement coupled with the current political system have failed to steer the actual rural development efforts and gear the results for those in need. This study also endorses the socio-economic figures that show that there exist no tangible results at the grass root level. The themes of transparency, accountability, check and balance don't exist at all. So, this study, at first instance, tries to explore the actual level of local satisfaction on local maliks and their political representation for any consultation to chalk-out the local needs of projects.

The empirical findings of the study under the 18<sup>th</sup> question: *'do Maliks facilitate the coordination process between local people and PA/govt./NGOs for needs identification and new projects' proposal?* shows that 86% of the respondents from Central-FATA express their concern that local elites have 'never consulted' them to highlight their projects' needs and propose developmental scheme. This dissatisfaction also remains high in Rest-FATA, where 74% of the respondents show their frustration on the local elites and their political masters. However, comparatively with the FRs, 'dis satisfaction' level stands at roughly 66%. The empirical data further shows that only 14% and 26% of the respondents from Central and Rest FATA respectively, are facilitated by local elite class and only this nominal population has got the chance of facilitation from elites' for local representatives. (See: figure 4.1). The overall percentage of elites' facilitation of the coordination process remains below average and, this is a clear indication that locality is disconnected by the elite class to forecast their future projects to improve their lives. Such a phenomenon

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<sup>556</sup> Shinwari, "Understanding Fata 2011: Attitudes Towards Governance, Religion and Society in Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Areas," xi.

remains usual for post-development doctrine, as in local political administration like, FATA, the local world is dominated by some proportion of wealth elite class that disrupts any course of action and coordination mechanism to halt the poor from improving their living conditions while taking direct part in development course.<sup>557</sup>

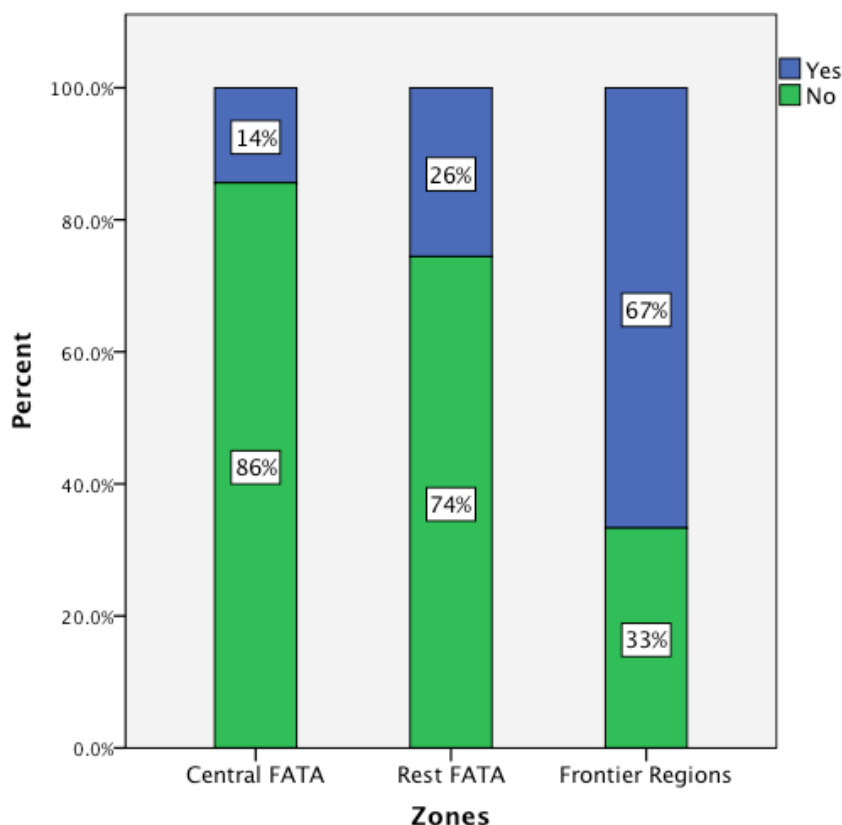


Figure 4.1: Locals' Satisfaction on Coordination Facilities by Local Elites

Interestingly, local frustration on local elite class (both maliks and PAs/DCOs) to facilitate the locally desired coordination with developmental actors remains quite comparatively high in female gender than in males. As compared to about 74% males, 87% females respondents are of the view that they are not facilitated by the elite class to come forward and have say in their area development. (See: table 4.1)

		Maliks' Facilitation of Coordination between Locals and Developmental Actors	
		Yes	No
Gender	Male	26.3%	73.7%
	Female	12.8%	87.2%

Table 4.1: Prior Consultation with Community Prior to Project Planning

<sup>557</sup> Escobar, "Development Planning," 260-310.

### 4.3.1.1 Local Elites & Community Participation in Planning

Further findings of the study against the 18<sup>th</sup> question of the questionnaires: ‘does local community get consulted by Govt./NGOs in the projects’ planning process?’ explores that the elite class after blocking the local external coordination mechanism, has also hindered the Pashtun society from taking part in the areas’ project planning. The results show that 85% from central FATA, followed by other two-third from Rest FATA register their concern that external developmental actors and national government never consult them in the project-planning phase. It remains usual in societies where radical elites are exclusively considered ideal than local community. And in such course, poor segments of the society (the marginalized people) are excluded in creating modern societies.<sup>558</sup>

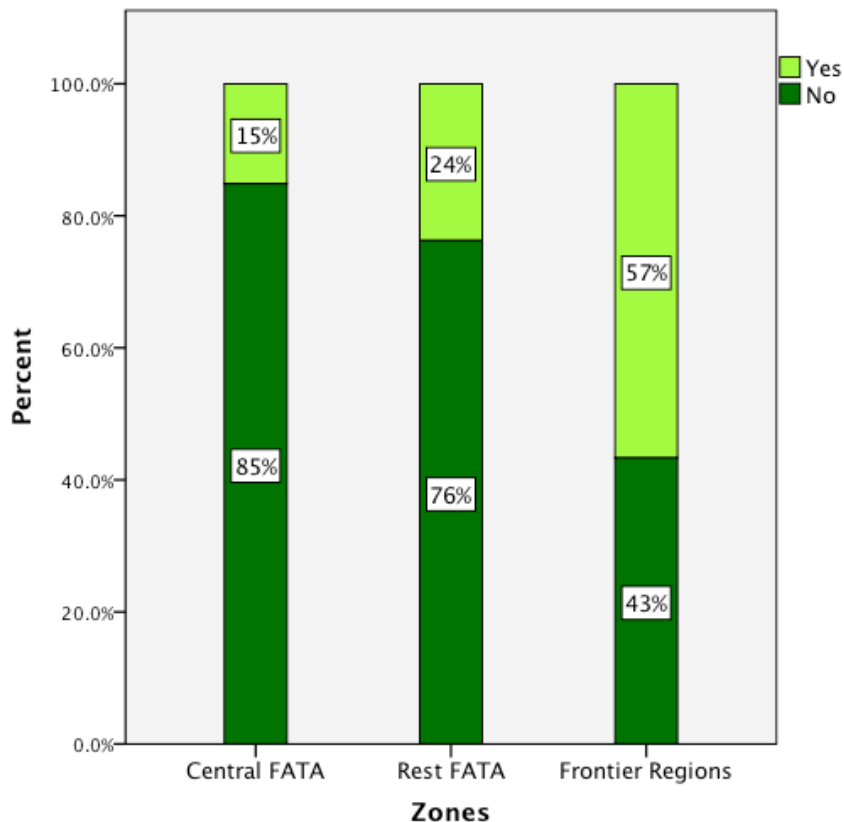


Figure 4.2: Local Representation in Project Planning and Implementation

<sup>558</sup> "Development Planning."

However, in case of FRs, 57% of the respondents took part in the planning activities under FATA SDP (2006-15) and ADP (2007-15). (See: figure 4.2) Age-wise comparison of the data against the concerned theme shows that local dissatisfaction remains high across all age groups. On average 79% of the respondents are not considered in the planning socio-economic developmental programs in FATA, (See: table 4.2) which remains an already documented phenomenon. Local power-brokers keep marginalized segments of the society disconnected and this further worsens their living conditions.<sup>559</sup> They also conspire at the local level to detach locals from the planning process and sharply stay beyond the attention of higher authorities. They then remain as the only visible forum for local consultation.<sup>560</sup>

		Consultation with Community Prior to Project Planning?	
		Yes	No
Age	Below 18 years	17.4%	82.6%
	18-24 years	27.0%	73.0%
	25-44 years	30.8%	69.2%
	45-64 years	17.4%	82.6%
	Above 65 years	12.2%	87.8%
	Total	20.96%	79.04%

Table 4.2: Local Representation in Project Planning and Implementation – *cross-comparison*

So, the above results clearly show that local malik and political representatives, whose role became development oriented, still can't conclude with any advantage. So, it would not be wrong to say that local elites still hinder the coordination efforts to barricade local poor from raising their voice, present their problems and suggest the strategies to achieve locally desired outcomes. Likewise, the local population is neglected to take part in the area's planning process by the national government and donor organizations. At this point, the matter of further analysis remains to check (on overlooking the local society) whether local power-brokers have consulted 'tribal council/Jirga' to set local priorities? However, as conclusion is being drawn with empirical findings, this study precisely analyzes the true genesis of Pashtun Jirga system. Particularly, it's legitimacy to represent all segments of the society as well as locality's acceptance of Jirga as a rightful representation.

<sup>559</sup> Ibid.

<sup>560</sup> Bardhan, "Decentralization of Governance and Development," 192-94.

### 4.3.1.2 Local Elites & Tribal Jirga Coordination

*Tribal Jirga & its Power.*

‘Jirga’<sup>561</sup> of Pashtun elders uphold the local administrative procedures and act as conflict resolution mechanisms. Furthermore, it remains a local representative platform to defend local developmental needs. Jirga is also a strong platform and powerful political tool for governance to social control.<sup>562</sup> It also serves as a platform to communicate with outside developmental actors, as it represents interests of the solidarity groups i.e., individuals, family and Pashtun ethnicity.<sup>563</sup> Thus, Jirga holds the supreme position in FATA. It is the only ‘notable governing institution’ in the whole Pashtun society. Its social fabric act as a strong mechanism for both inter- and intra conflict resolution.<sup>564</sup>

Jirga also remains an effective problem solving body at the village level, which implies a new approach of ‘honourable ordering’ of the public affairs.<sup>565</sup> Jirga as an inclusive code of conduct is local creation that operates in accordance with Pashtunwali. Under this council, almost all tribal issues are solved.<sup>566</sup> Therefore, Jirga in Pashtunwali is neither the lynch mob at work nor the deficiency of governance or a rapid ruling. It rather remains as an exemplary type of social organization that has an inbuilt advanced mechanism for conflict resolution. Jirga doesn’t require lawyers, judges, courts, clerks, prisons or policemen, but it hears and resolves 95% of the regionally petitioned cases.<sup>567</sup> Jirga proceedings and decisions are never crosschecked through police or scientific evidences are never presented.<sup>568</sup> Although, this local

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<sup>561</sup> Jirga is purely a Pashto word that refers to ‘ring, circle or council’. In its abstract form, Jirga is gathering of the local people e.g., Pashtun tribal elders. In Pashtun society, Jirga is more often mixed with Shura (Taliban council) that was made by Taliban on both sides of Pak-Afghan border to serve their own interests and blaming loyal Pashtun tribes.

<sup>562</sup> Center, "Pashtun Tribal Dynamics."

<sup>563</sup> Jolanta Sierakowska-Dyndo, "Tribalism and Afghan Political Traditions," *Institute of Oriental Studies* (2003): 58.

<sup>564</sup> Brian R. Kerr, "A Progressive Understanding of Pashtun Social Structures Amidst Current Conflict in Fata," in *Peace and Conflict Studies* (Islamabad: Pakistan Institute for Peace Studies, 2010).

<sup>565</sup> Mukulika Banerjee, *The Pathan Unarmed: Opposition and Memory in the North West Frontier* (James Currey, 2000), 156.

<sup>566</sup> Lynn Carter and Kerry Connor, *A Preliminary Investigation of Contemporary Afghan Councils* (ACBAR Peshawar, 1989), 7.

<sup>567</sup> Carl Robichaud, "Afghanistan’s Three Legal Systems," *Afghanistan Watch* Last assessed: January 9, 2015.

<sup>568</sup> Omrani, "The Durand Line: History and Problems of the Afghan-Pakistan Border," 187.

council lack any formal and legal position, it still holds a strong legal legitimacy. It abides Pashtuns through its proceedings or expel on denial.<sup>569</sup>

Jirga remains a strong forum for highlighting Pashtuns' virtues like courage, judgement, dependability and morality. This council confirms the integrity and autonomy of the Pashtun men. Jirga is alternative customary tribal dispute mechanism. It has strong value in conflict resolution as well as collective decision-making. Hence, Jirga is also a platform for collective decision-making concerning regional matters. Cooperation and negotiation with external actors for any joint actions is solely dependent on Jirga decision, which is synonymous with Pashtuns' decision.<sup>570</sup> This springs from the fact that the decisions of Jirga are consensus based. And to reach consensus, discussions are held until the decisions are clear and the members are satisfied.<sup>571</sup>

Jirga is like 'tribal jury' and its decisions in the Pashtun society vary across inter and intra civil as well as criminal cases. However, all the cases involve local tribes. Jirga decisions are accepted unanimously. Jirga is a typical traditional institution that governs justice through customary guidelines, particularly when no other federal judicial system exists. Jirga decisions range from settling disputes i.e., ascending from blood feuds to matters related to women (*Zan*). So, Jirga grasps its judgment in any session and the lawbreaker is prosecuted. Such verdicts are distinct from the state's slack judicial system. It's rather a more quick justice system in FATA that functions on the ideology of '*Justice delayed is justice denied*'.<sup>572</sup> However, on the past few years Jirga is attacked by suicide bombers sent by the Taliban. So, due to killing of the elders the institutional connection between the state government and FATA is lost and there remains no 'institutional mechanisms' to consult the state government. As a result, Al-Qaeda took over the traditional area management.<sup>573</sup>

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<sup>569</sup> Kerr and Smith, "How Agents of Economic Development Interact with the Complex Dynamics of Regional Governance in Fata: A Case Study of Energy Development Projects."

<sup>570</sup> Barth, "Pathan Identity and Its Maintenance."

<sup>571</sup> Glatzer, "The Pashtun Tribal System," 8.

<sup>572</sup> Olaf Core, "The Pathans," (Macmillan and Company Limited, London, 1965), 353.

<sup>573</sup> Madiha R. Tahir, Qalandar Bux Memon, and Vijay Prashad, *Dispatches from Pakistan* (University of Minnesota Press, 2014), 211.

Yet, Jirga system stood as a strong platform, and a powerful political tool for local governance and social control in the society.<sup>574</sup> Moreover, being the stage for communication with outside actors, it is a source of political decisions. It takes forward the interests of the solidarity groups ranging from one individual family to whole Pashtun ethnic group.<sup>575</sup> As a normative authority in institutional terms, Jirga holds the comparative advantage based on the fact that its decisions are representative of the whole community and are followed collectively. Moreover, they are based on the community's trust and faith in Jirga, its proceedings and decisions are remarkably determined by the local community. It resists any state's efforts to maintain writ in the area. It also acts against all other mal-elements, those who seek to end the Pashtun's self-regulating character for their ill policies.<sup>576</sup> The communal acceptance of Jirga's proceedings is based on the fact that Islamic law – 'Sharia law', influences it. The verdicts of Jirga vary from settling conflicts within tribes to large issues of foreign relations and even conveying the tribal message to state government. The decisions of Jirga are final and binding to all the parties.<sup>577</sup>

### ***Pashtun Tribal Jirga and Local Representation***

Jirga also remains the main stage of cooperation and co-ordination for area development.<sup>578</sup> It acts as an unofficial liaison stage for any type of negotiations between community and the state government.<sup>579</sup> Therefore, Jirga's unencumbered support is fundamental to get access and decisive security to initiate any developmental activity in FATA.<sup>580</sup> Jirga remains the most effective platform for setting priorities and their presentation to non-native developmental agents. Conclusively, it can be said that:

- i. Jirga holds principal position of census-based decision in FATA.

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<sup>574</sup> Center, "Pashtun Tribal Dynamics."

<sup>575</sup> Sierakowska-Dyndo, "Tribalism and Afghan Political Traditions," 58.

<sup>576</sup> Ginsburg, "An Economic Interpretation of the Pashtunwali " 8-9.

<sup>577</sup> Ahmad, *Pukhtun Economy and Society : Traditional Structure and Economic Development in a Tribal Society.*, 90.

<sup>578</sup> Barth, "Segmentary Opposition and the Theory of Games: A Study of Pathan Organization."

<sup>579</sup> Naveed Ahmad Shinwari, *Understanding Fata: Attitudes Towards Governance, Religion and Society in Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Areas (Volume V)* (2012).

<sup>580</sup> Kerr and Smith, "How Agents of Economic Development Interact with the Complex Dynamics of Regional Governance in Fata: A Case Study of Energy Development Projects," 76.

- ii. Jirga provides collective representation of needs to higher authorities and it facilitates the coordination activities in the area.
- iii. Jirga has been the second most effective representative forum if local poor individuals are not directly consulted.

Hence, locally acceptable platforms like Jirga of Pashtun tribes, can be an option (if no direct consultation with every individual is made) to consult for local society. It is because, the local society (collectively) grant power to some ‘wisest, virtuous and qualified members’ of the society and expect them to bring some satisfactory developmental outcomes for the concerned locality.<sup>581</sup> However, survey results of 23<sup>rd</sup> research question: ‘do Maliks/PA consult local Jirga before they set priorities for the new projects?’ shows that about 65% of the respondents from Central FATA, followed by 76% from the Rest of FATA are of the view that assembly of their tribal elders are never consulted by both maliks and political masters to set priorities for area betterment.

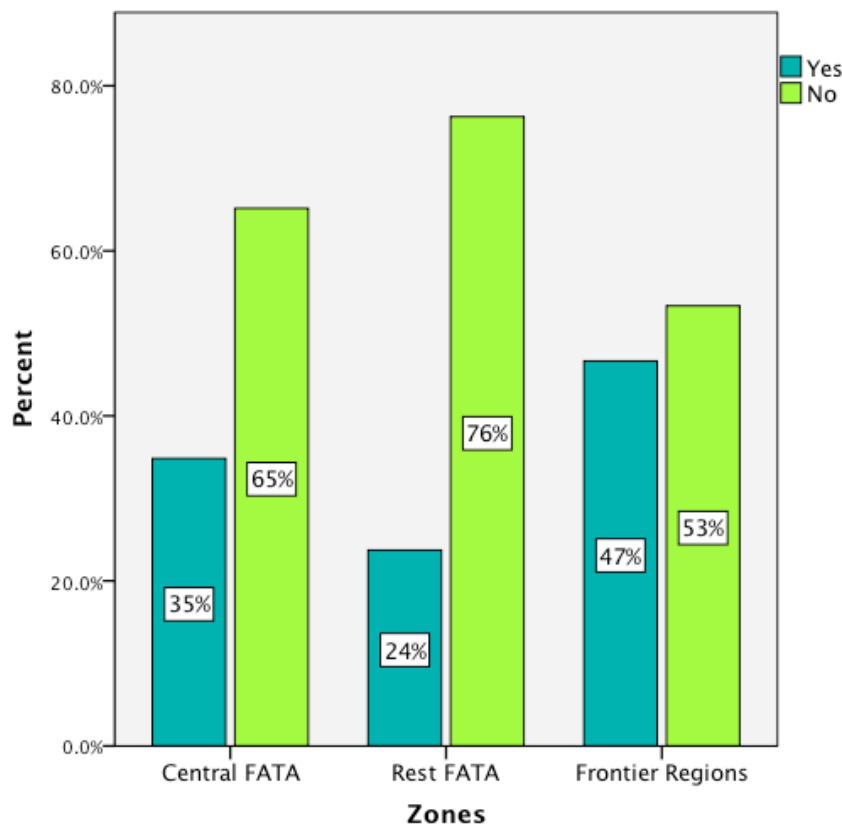


Figure 4.3: Local Elites & Consultation with Tribal Jirga – Local Concerns

<sup>581</sup> Rahnama, "Towards Post-Development: Searching for Signposts, a New Language and New Paradigms", in Rahnama and Bawtree, V.(Eds)(1997) the Post-Development Reader," 388.



It is followed by an average of 30% contradicting the majority perception of elites' consultation with tribal Jirga. Whereas, 47% of the respondents from FRs illustrates that the council of Pashtun tribal elders is taken into consideration by the local influential and DCOs to project local needs before the projects were started. (See: figure 4.3) It can therefore be said that, local maliks and political masters after rejecting the local individuals, has also excluded the local representative platform (Jirga) from representing locals' needs and suggest strategies to achieve their goals.

### **4.3.2 Local Elites as Representatives & Needs' Awareness**

Empirical findings of the study under the 20<sup>th</sup> question: '*were maliks remain your representatives for projects' selection?*' reveals that around 79.5% of the respondents consider maliks as their representatives in the past and present developmental activities in FATA. Whereas, only a small proportion of people (21%) get the chance to directly participate in projects' planning process. (See table 4.3). Such disregard to poor locals and granting to elite class power of choice for CDD directly leads to grasp of resources and setting-up of unpopular development.<sup>582</sup>

A cross-comparison between 'maliks as local representatives' and their 'level of awareness about the local project needs' under the 21<sup>st</sup> study inquiry: '*to which level malik's are aware of the real problems and projects need of the area?*' gives quite disappointing results. From all respondents, about 11% confirm that local maliks have 'no-awareness' about the actual local needs thus confirming them as externally selected 'puppets' with no knowledge of local problems. However, about 20% and 21% of the total respondents place local maliks as having 'slight and somewhat awareness', respectively. Interesting, in total, 48% of the respondents think that there is state's pretense on local representatives' sufficient awareness (moderate and full aware) of the local socio-economic problems.

Taking-out 11.3% of the respondents (who think that local influential have no idea about the local problems), 89% rank local maliks as having 'slight to full awareness' of the local needs and desire of projects. (See: table 4.3).

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<sup>582</sup> Daphne, "Community Organisation through Physical Programmes: A Strategy for Tackling Rural Poverty."

<i>Cross-tabulation</i>		Maliks' Awareness about the Local Projects' Need					Total
		No Awareness	Slightly Awareness	Somewhat Awareness	Moderately Awareness	Full Awareness	
Yes	Count	33	62	67	74	67	303
	% within Maliks as Local Representatives?	10.9%	20.5%	22.1%	24.4%	22.1%	100.0%
	% within Local Maliks' Awareness about the Local Projects' Need	76.7%	82.7%	83.8%	77.1%	77.0%	79.5%
	% of Total	8.7%	16.3%	17.6%	19.4%	17.6%	79.5%
Maliks as Local Representatives?	Count	10	13	13	22	20	78
	% within Maliks as Local Representatives?	12.8%	16.7%	16.7%	28.2%	25.6%	100.0%
	% within Local Maliks' Awareness about the Local Projects' Need	23.3%	17.3%	16.3%	22.9%	23.0%	20.5%
	% of Total	2.6%	3.4%	3.4%	5.8%	5.2%	20.5%
No	Count	43	75	80	96	87	381
	% within Maliks as Local Representatives?	11.3%	19.7%	21.0%	25.2%	22.8%	100.0%
	% within Local Maliks' Awareness about the Local Projects' Need	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% of Total	11.3%	19.7%	21.0%	25.2%	22.8%	100.0%
Total	Count	33	62	67	74	67	303
	% within Maliks as Local Representatives?	10.9%	20.5%	22.1%	24.4%	22.1%	100.0%
	% within Local Maliks' Awareness about the Local Projects' Need	76.7%	82.7%	83.8%	77.1%	77.0%	79.5%
	% of Total	8.7%	16.3%	17.6%	19.4%	17.6%	79.5%

Table 4.3: Maliks as Local Representatives? Local Maliks' Awareness & Local Projects' Need

The severity of this problem, no-doubt remains severe in kinship and egalitarian societies e.g., Pashtun tribal society. And this is the main reason behind the ‘patron–client relationships and trust between elites and local poor/non-elites’, which remains high on economic grounds<sup>583</sup> and hence allows them enjoy higher economic status, local influential act as ‘kings’ in materially poor societies. So, despite having full knowledge of the local problems, these local elites benefit themselves and also their counterparts e.g., politicians from outside the locality.<sup>584</sup>

		Maliks as Local Representatives	
		Yes	No
Agency or FR	Bajaur Agency	95.9%	4.1%
	Mohmand Agency	78.6%	21.4%
	Khyber Agency	79.7%	20.3%
	Orakzai Agency	92.3%	7.7%
	Kurram Agency	86.8%	13.2%
	N. Waziristan Agency	66.7%	33.3%
	S. Waziristan Agency	70.6%	29.4%
	FR Peshawar	57.1%	42.9%
	FR Kohat	42.9%	57.1%
	FR Bannu	66.7%	33.3%
	FR Lakki	20.0%	80.0%
	FR Tank	75.0%	25.0%
FR D.I Khan	50.0%	50.0%	

Table 4.4: Maliks as Local Representatives – Agencies-wise comparison

Interestingly, in the above results 21% of the respondents, who think that they themselves were local representatives, are majorly from frothier regions than from agencies. FR Lakki remains the highest with 80% of the respondents taking direct part in presenting their genuine needs. It is followed by 57% from FR Kohat, 50% from FR D. I. Khan, 42% from FR Peshawar. Whereas FR Tank stands at (25%) and in FR Bannu (33%), maliks and DCOs have disallowed locals to be local representatives. Similarly, compared to other agencies of Central and Rural FATA, Waziristan agencies (North & South) stand with higher proportion (on average 31%) where

<sup>583</sup> Matin and Hulme, "Programs for the Poorest: Learning from the Igvvd Program in Bangladesh."

<sup>584</sup> Platteau, "Monitoring Elite Capture in Community–Driven Development."

locals get the chance to represent their locality. Disappointingly, respondents from Bajaur agency remain the most neglected population with about 96% in whole of FATA. (See: table 4.4)

### 4.3.3 Local Concerns on Projects Proposed by Elites

Having confirmed that the elite class remain the local representatives, and that they are sufficiently aware about the local needs and desire of developmental projects, further empirical results under 22<sup>nd</sup> study question: ‘to which level, projects being proposed by maliks to Govt./NGOs through PAs/DCOs match the local needs and bring betterment in the area?’ show that overall about 23% of the respondents plot that project proposals by the elite class ‘worsen’ the already disturbed developmental scenario of FATA. It is followed by 44% who assert that all project proposals by the local elite class have deteriorated FATA development, and the other 13% affirm that such representation brings no change in whole of FATA. This trend is followed by 12% and approximately 8%, who think that all project proposals by the local elites bring ‘somewhat or much betterment’ to concerned area. (See: table 4.5)

		Maliks & PA's Project Proposal and Resulting Area Betterment				
		Worse	Somewhat Worse	About the Same	Somewhat Better	Much Better
Zones	Central FATA	58.3%	22.7%	14.4%	4.5%	0.0%
	Rest FATA	36.5%	31.5%	19.2%	7.3%	5.5%
	FRs	10.0%	13.3%	26.7%	43.3%	6.7%
	Total	22.82%	44.10%	13.12%	12.0%	7.96%

Table 4.5: Project Proposed by Elites & Local Needs & Area Betterment – Cross-comparison

So, it can be confirmed from the empirical findings that in majority cases, while eliminating the local population participation, elite class remain as the local ambassador to federal government, developmental partners and donors to discuss the tribal needs of projects. Observations from the field research confirm that normally during the joint sessions, only local and political elites are taken as ‘means of consulting and liaising with the local population’ and not the local population for

which the development is actually designed.<sup>585</sup>

A cross-comparison of the above results remain necessary to check whether the reported ‘somewhat betterment (12%)’ and ‘much betterment (near 8%)’ rests in agencies or FRs? Thus, further examination of the results shows that the respondents from FR Peshawar (57%), FR Kohat (42.9%) and FR Lakki (80%) place their area development as ‘somewhat better’, which is followed by FR Bannu (33% - much betterment). (See: table 4.6) Once these results are crosschecked with local involvement (e.g., table 4.4), the trend shows that the locals’ direct involvement at the planning stage of development cycle brings rewarding results. The trend shows that higher the local involvement, the higher the level of genuine local representation of projects and the higher the local satisfaction. Other than in FRs, only N. & S. Waziristan agencies remain fairly acceptable for area betterment (14% – somewhat better).

		Maliks & PA's Project Proposal and Area Betterment				
		Worse	Somewhat Worse	About the Same	Somewhat Better	Much Better
	Bajaur Agency	52.1%	30.1%	15.1%	2.7%	0.0%
	Mohmand Agency	78.6%	11.9%	9.5%	0.0%	0.0%
	Khyber Agency	50.0%	26.6%	17.2%	6.3%	0.0%
	Orakzai Agency	46.2%	30.8%	15.4%	7.7%	0.0%
	Kurram Agency	37.7%	37.7%	24.5%	0.0%	0.0%
Agency	N. Waziristan Agency	26.2%	23.8%	26.2%	4.8%	19.0%
or	S. Waziristan Agency	21.6%	33.3%	13.7%	23.5%	7.8%
FR	FR Peshawar	14.3%	0.0%	28.6%	57.1%	0.0%
	FR Kohat	14.3%	28.6%	0.0%	42.9%	14.3%
	FR Bannu	0.0%	0.0%	66.7%	0.0%	33.3%
	FR Lakki	0.0%	20.0%	0.0%	80.0%	0.0%
	FR Tank	25.0%	0.0%	50.0%	25.0%	0.0%
	FR D.I Khan	0.0%	25.0%	50.0%	25.0%	0.0%

Table 4.6: Maliks & PA's Project Proposal and Area Betterment – Agencies-wise comparison

It can also be confirmed that where locality is given the chance to represent themselves, the resultant area development remains satisfactory. This remains mostly

<sup>585</sup> GIZ, "Fata Development Programme".

in FRs, where majority of the local population take part in planning phase to highlight their local needs. All in all, the performance of maliks & DCOs in mostly FRs remains satisfactory as compared to maliks & PAs in agencies. Hence, project proposal writing, undertaking of the developmental projects and resultant underdevelopment in FATA is a clear indication of elite capture of resources. And the severity of this huge corruption is backed by the social structure of FATA. It can be confirmed that such resource capture is normally quite high in 'patron-client relation' societies, than in more open societies, which is due to strong power structure, hierarchical and exclusive ties that influence the channeling of the resources. Thus, it increases the dependency of the poor to ensure their livelihood.<sup>586</sup> It also proves that elite class's representation of local needs increase misery in the third-world societies e.g., Pashtun society. It leads to further under-development, poverty and inequality, which are mostly unconceivable to mitigate. In this course, only the small proportion of the elite class e.g., maliks and PA benefit.<sup>587</sup> This elite class then leave other marginalized segments of the society, considering them traditional entities, stagnant and a world where social change is indispensable.<sup>588</sup>

#### **4.4 Local Perspective of Actual Participation**

From the discussion, it can be concluded that although the local representation remains satisfactory in some cases (e.g., FR Lakki, FR Kohat etc.), actual local participation in the developmental process is quite nominal. So, the further point of investigation remains, whether (after neglecting the individuals of the society) local elites (mostly maliks and PAs) consult the tribal elders and local council (Jirga) prior to identifying any developmental need to higher officials (e.g., government and NGOs). Thus, findings of the study under the 23<sup>rd</sup> research question: '*do Maliks/PA consult local Jirga before they set priorities for the new projects?*' reveals that 65%, compared to 35%, of the respondents from Central FATA, and 76%, compared to 24%, of the respondents from Rest FATA endorse that, after rejecting individual segments of the society, elite class has also treated tribal elders as well as Jirga as

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<sup>586</sup> Platteau, "Community Imperfections," 32.

<sup>587</sup> McGregor, "New Possibilities? Shifts in Post-Development Theory and Practice."

<sup>588</sup> Escobar, "Development Planning."

insignificant. This trend remains also high in the Rest of FATA, where three-fourth of the respondents up-hold this general fact. However, in the case of FRs, 53% of the respondents ratify that maliks and DCOs duly consider tribal elders and Jirga before setting any priority for new projects. (See: figure 4.4)

Interestingly, gender based results under the same study question confirm that the above presented results are major representation of the male gender. Compared to nearly 27%, more than half of the female respondents confirm that the elite class has consulted tribal Jirga and Pashtun elders before setting projects' priorities under FATA SDP and ADP. (See: table 4.7)

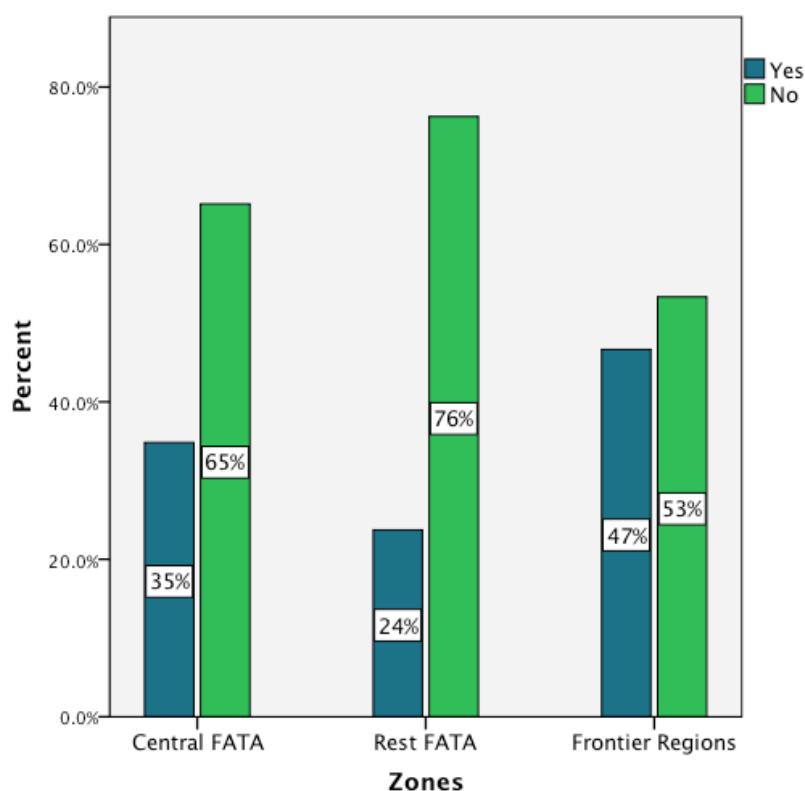


Figure 4.4: Maliks & PAs/DCOs Consultation with Local Jirga

		Maliks' Consultation with Jirga before Presenting Project Proposals?	
		Yes	No
Gender	Male	26.9%	73.1%
	Female	51.3%	48.7%

Table 4.7: Maliks & PAs/DCOs Consultation with Local Jirga -

Simultaneously, now the foremost focus of the study remains to analyze whether:

- i. Tribal elders and Jirga system still hold any respectable position in FATA and whether it is still desired by the local representative to serve the locality. Or
- ii. Whether there still exists a sense and appeal of individuals' direct participation to targeted FATA's social development programs? It remains debatable as to whether locals' confidence of local elite class can bring any real development to FATA.

#### 4.4.2 Tribal Elders & Jirga as Participatory Means

The empirical outcomes of the study under the 24<sup>th</sup> research question: '*to which extent, Jirga can better represent the local socio-economic needs?*' confirm that for three-fourth (57% and 18.2%) of the respondents from Central FATA, 72% from Rest FATA and for 100% of the respondents from FRs, Jirga is not expressively desirable (un-/slightly desirable). (See: table 4.8)

		Jirga as Representative				
		Undesirable	Slightly Desirable	Neutral	Somewhat Desirable	Extremely Desirable
Zones	Central FATA	56.8%	18.2%	20.5%	4.5%	0.0%
	Rest FATA	26.5%	45.7%	15.5%	8.7%	3.7%
	FRs	43.3%	56.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%

Table 4.8: Jirga as Local Representative in FATA.

Thus, the point of further consideration remains locals' sense of 'direct involvement' on rejecting elite class on their poor performance e.g., miss-representation of the process and miss-utilization of the resources, as well tribal elders or Jirga. Thus, cross-comparison shows firstly that in total 89% of the respondents favour local individual inclusion, whereas other 11% consider Jirga as continued local representative platform. Thus, such type of due direct collaboration between doers and recipients remained most relevant to change power relations.



Cross-tabulation

	Jirga as Representative					Total
	Undesirable	Slightly Desirable	Neutral	Somewhat Desirable	Extremely Desirable	
<b>Yes</b>						
Count	138	125	54	20	2	339
% within Individuals as Representatives	40.7%	36.9%	15.9%	5.9%	0.6%	100.0%
% within Jirga as Representative	94.5%	88.7%	88.5%	80.0%	25.0%	89.0%
% of Total	36.2%	32.8%	14.2%	5.2%	0.5%	89.0%
<b>No</b>						
Count	8	16	7	5	6	42
% within Individuals as Representatives	19.0%	38.1%	16.7%	11.9%	14.3%	100.0%
% within Jirga as Representative	5.5%	11.3%	11.5%	20.0%	75.0%	11.0%
% of Total	2.1%	4.2%	1.8%	1.3%	1.6%	11.0%
<b>Total</b>						
Count	146	141	61	25	8	381
% within Individuals as Representatives	38.3%	37.0%	16.0%	6.6%	2.1%	100.0%
% within Jirga as Representative	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
% of Total	38.3%	37.0%	16.0%	6.6%	2.1%	100.0%

Table 4.9: Individuals & Jirga as Real Representative – Community’s Prospective

It is based on respect and understanding from both sides that no-doubt changes orthodox script of development.<sup>589</sup> The results further show that out of total respondents, merely 2% place Jirga as ‘extremely-desirable’, about 7% consider Jirga ‘somewhat desirable’ and 16% of the respondents remains neutral i.e., neither favouring Jirga nor individuals as local representatives, hence relying on local influentials and political masters for local representation. Jirga of tribal elders remains ‘slightly desirable’ to 37% of the respondent population, whereas for 38% Jirga see them as ‘undesirable’. (See table 4.9) Thus, out of total respondents (regardless of favouring individuals or elite class) about 38%, in comparison to only 2%, immediately reject tribal council for its leading role in the concerned matter. Thus, overall results favour the individualistic participatory approach under the community-driven development approach.

Hence, Individuals remain as the most favoured and anticipated endeavors of (local) representation. So, it’s time to interlink the objects (here tribal individuals) and subjects (state and development partners). Furthermore, suitable reflection and understanding of both contributors and receivers remains most relevant to change not only the power relation, but also importantly the prevailing (local) conditions and not again focusing on conventional script of development.<sup>590</sup>

#### **4.4.1 Individuals as Participatory Agents**

The empirical results under the 25<sup>th</sup> research question: ‘do you think instead of Jirga, ‘Individual’ should be directly consulted by the Govt./NGOs?’ uncover that 99% of the respondents from Central FATA, followed by 84% and 80% from the Rest of FATA and FRs, respectively, are enthusiastic to be consulted and included directly as development agents to highlight their real needs, which even the elite class knows, but doesn’t express to state government and/or developmental organisations/institutions. Thus, involvement of local individuals remains synonymous to people emancipation as an alternative *to* development approach. This approach allows poor locals to pursue their objectives and shape their lives. It is actually realization of the locals’ potential against the corrupt class, which under the community driven development approach is

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<sup>589</sup> Naz, "Arturo Escobar and the Development Discourse: An Overview," 70.

<sup>590</sup> Ibid.

a successful attempt to adjust local problems.<sup>591</sup> Hence, local thrust of inclusion under the cultural transformation process permits the locals to take effective part.<sup>592</sup> Whereas, to ensure effective local involvement in the development process, CDD suggest a comprehensive mechanism to engage local individuals at all level, (*See: figure 2.2*) here again, 16% of the respondents from the Rest of FATA are satisfied from local maliks and PAs to be their representatives. 20% of the FRs is satisfied by the arrangement of local maliks and DCOs for area representation. (*See: table 4.10*)

		Individuals as Representatives	
		Yes	No
Zones	Central FATA	99.2%	0.8%
	Rest FATA	84.0%	16.0%
	Frontier Regions	80.0%	20.0%

Table 4.10: Individuals as Local Representatives

Here, cross-comparison of the results with education-level explores that although the thrust of local direct inclusion is high across each educational level, it particularly increases once we move from ‘illiterate’ category (near 90%) to ‘bachelor or higher education’ category (near 94%). (*See: table 4.11*)

		Individuals as Representatives	
		Yes	No
Education Level	Illiterate	89.5%	10.5%
	Primary	83.5%	16.5%
	Matric	89.8%	10.2%
	Inter	92.1%	7.9%
	Bachelor or Higher Education	93.7%	6.3%

Table 4.11: Individuals as Local Representatives – Education-wise cross-comparison

Further elaboration of the results under the same study question shows that individual deeds of direct inclusion in the development process remain higher in both males and females. It is to confirm that almost 90% of each male and female respondents are

<sup>591</sup> Kippler, "Exploring Post-Development: Politics, the State and Emancipation. The Question of Alternatives," 22.

<sup>592</sup> Samad, *Participation of the Rural Poor in Government and Ngo Programs: A Comparative Study*.

ready for direct consultation and cooperation with outside developmental actors to shape FATA development. Local direct involvement is a critical response to top-down development, which no-doubt leads to local empowerment of both the gender.<sup>593</sup> Whereas, involvement and direct consultation with female gender remains as exceptional acknowledgment of their knowledge, and practices to decentralize the developmental process for social change and improved living.<sup>594</sup> Here again, other 10% of both men and women allow local elites to design area development. (See: table 4.12). Majority results show ‘female motivation’ of involvement in the development process, which is a gradual shift of male domination in the local society. So, the time is up when females acted as subordinate and their contributions were refused, that has contributed to destroying their livelihood of survival in the development course.<sup>595</sup> Now, it’s time to acknowledge female contribution, and their suggested practices in the improved living.<sup>596</sup>

		Individuals as Representatives	
		Yes	No
Gender	Male	88.9%	11.1%
	Female	89.7%	10.3%

Table 4.12: Individuals as Local Representatives – Gender-wise cross-comparison

Under the same theme, further outcomes of the study for the 26<sup>th</sup> study question: ‘to which level, local people’s inclusion leads to identification of necessary and desired projects in the area?’ confirm that nearly half (48.5%) of the respondents from Central FATA, 53% from Rest FATA and 63% from FRs expect that Pashtun direct inclusion leads to identification of the desired projects in their region. It is followed by other 31% (average) from whole FATA considering their uninterrupted involvement and highlighting of the genuine socio-economic projects in FATA. However, an average of 6% of the tribal region plot that any such involvement can lead to ‘rare or no’ genuine identification of the development projects, thus alternatively relying on local elites and Jirga for such course. (See: table 4.13) It is

<sup>593</sup> Sen, *Development as Freedom*.

<sup>594</sup> Shiva, *Staying Alive: Women, Ecology and Development*.

<sup>595</sup> Escobar, "Development Planning."

<sup>596</sup> Shiva, *Staying Alive: Women, Ecology and Development*.

proved that majority of local motivation of direct involvement in the development cycle is actually facilitated by local revolutionary ‘inborn and cultural capacities’. Thus, locals as basic ingredients lead to local freedom gives them power to change both content and prevailing authoritative rules according to culturally described aspirations.<sup>597</sup>

	Including Locals & Projects' Identification				
	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always
Central FATA	10.6%	9.8%	5.3%	25.8%	48.5%
Rest FATA	1.4%	3.2%	13.2%	29.7%	52.5%
FRs	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	36.7%	63.3%

Table: 4.13: Locality’s Inclusion & Actual Programs’ Identification

Nonetheless, grounding majority findings of the study confirmed that there is a call for ‘individual’ direct participation in the development process at all level, which for post-development theorist like, Kippler C. (2010); is an ambition of the transfer of power to locality i.e., localization of the development process. It is permitting actuals stakeholders to highlight their problems and set goals.<sup>598</sup> For Ziai A., it can only be attained, if ethnocentric component i.e., elite class as authoritative bodies, is avoided in the development discourse. Only then could a democratic process be started that remains on the actual public concerns.<sup>599</sup>

#### 4.5 Counter Effects of Local Non-/Participation on Projects’ Rejection & Success

The hitherto study results prove that majority of respondents from the Pashtun tribal society is keen to participate as ‘individual elements’ than collective form or through tribal council in the development cycle. It is rather a motivating factor as local individuals’ direct involvement leads to better community’s empowerment and self-sufficiency in the long run.<sup>600</sup> Therefore, the further point of concern under the 28<sup>th</sup>

<sup>597</sup> Rahnema and Bawtree, *The Post-Development Reader*, 384-91.

<sup>598</sup> Kippler, "Exploring Post-Development: Politics, the State and Emancipation. The Question of Alternatives," 22.

<sup>599</sup> Ziai, "The Ambivalence of Post-Development: Between Reactionary Populism and Radical Democracy," 1056.

<sup>600</sup> Gupte, "Participation in a Gendered Environment: The Case of Community Forestry in India."

study's question: 'do you think local people's exclusion directly lead to rejection of areas' projects?' remains to check rejection of the developmental initiatives or project failure due to non-inclusion of the local individuals in the area development and *vice versa*. Hence, the empirical data of the study shows that more than three-fourth of the respondents reject any developmental activity, if they are not a part of it. (See: figure 4.5) In-contrast, only one-fourth of the respondents still imagine realization of any development related activity, without local individuals is not considered as the participating agents in planning phase and program's execution. Thus, it remains a reality that local individuals' inclusion and resultant projects' success illustrates diverse effects on growth-related discourse.

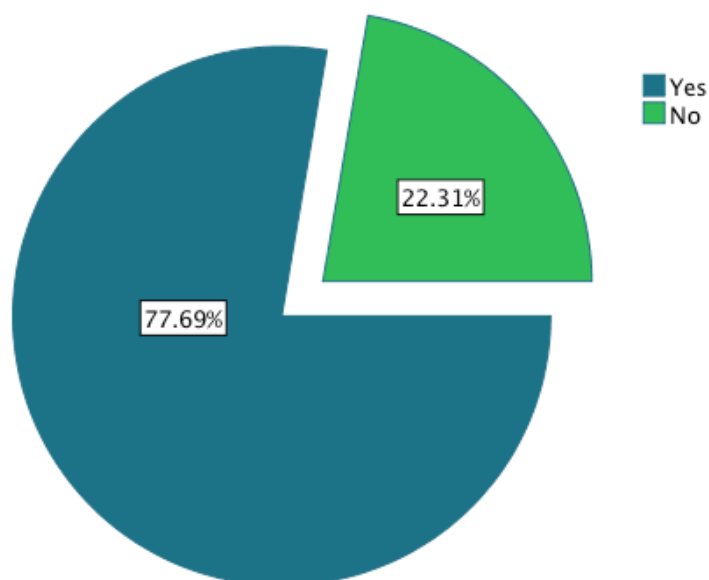


Figure 4.5: Local Individuals' Non-Inclusion & Projects' Failure

Further findings of the study under the 27<sup>th</sup> research question: 'to which level, locals' inclusion leads to projects' success and area betterment?' conclude that individuals' direct inclusion with local consent in the development cycle leads to 85% of the projects' success in Central FATA. It is coupled with 67% in the Rest of FATA. This local concept of projects' success is exceptionally due to local empowerment after their direct inclusion, and then based on their local assets and resources (e.g., land and communal networking, trust etc.) which leads to scaling-up of the community.<sup>601</sup>

<sup>601</sup> Kretzmann and McNight, "Building Communities from inside out—a Path Towards Finding and Mobilizing Community Assets Acta Publications."

Whereas, only 14% from Central FATA and 16% in Rest FATA rate the concern that it ‘sometimes and sometimes not’ is an indication of successful developmental endeavours. It remains the evidence that community participation and resultant contributions in community’s projects produce higher-quality results – projects success on local significant inclusion.<sup>602</sup> In case of FRs, 35% of the respondents strongly support the concerned theme – individual local participation in projects’ identification, implementation and subsequent positive outcomes. Whereas, 60% do not support this idea and 5% of the respondents are not clear whether there exists any associated link. (See: figure 4.6)

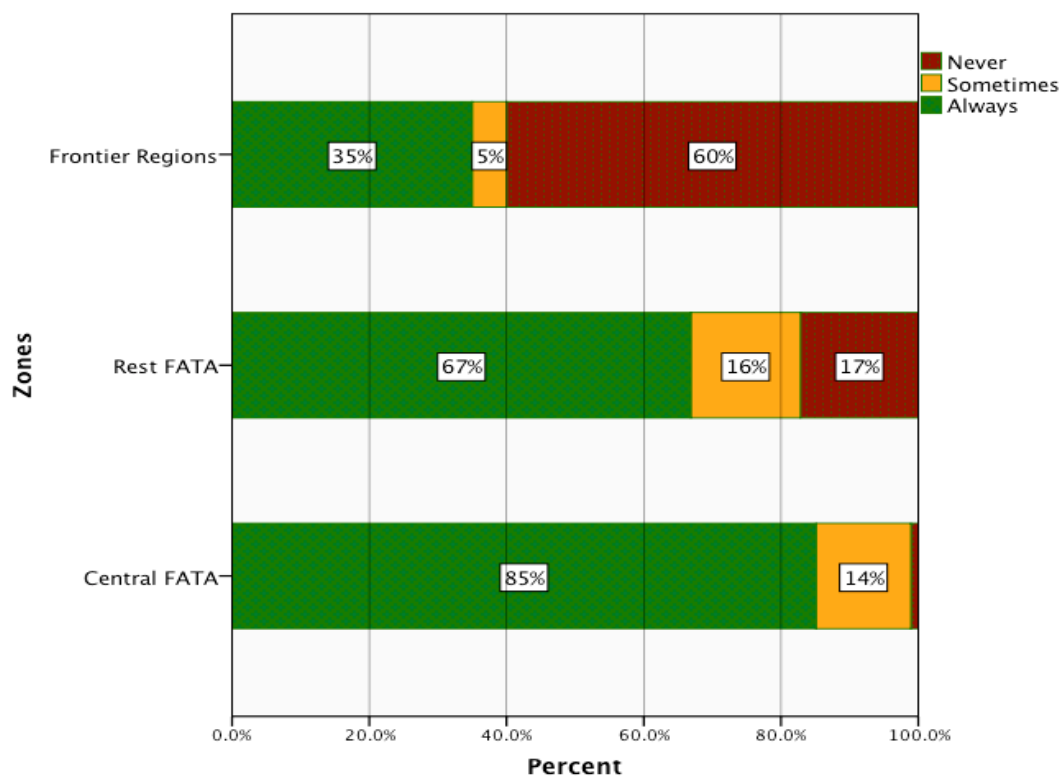


Figure 4.6: Local Individuals' Inclusion & Projects' Success

		Including Locals & Project Success & Area Betterment?				
		Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always
Gender	Male	11.1%	6.4%	9.6%	19.3%	53.5%
	Female	7.7%	15.4%	17.9%	25.6%	33.3%

Table 4.14: Including Locals & Project Success – Gender-wise cross-comparison

<sup>602</sup> Sahoo, "Us-Pakistan: Fata Aid Programme Largely a Flop," 221-22.

Other than overall encouraging results of local direct inclusion and project success, particularly in agencies, a gender-based cross-comparison of the results shows that as compared to male respondents, female respondents can't see any dependency relationship between locals' inclusion and effective outcomes e.g., 33% to 53% females to males. The uncertainty factor (sometimes) in women is also quite high i.e., near 25% to 19% females to males. (See: table 4.14) However, based on majority results, it can be confirmed that if exclusion of local independent Pashtuns results in developmental projects' rejections, then including them boost the developmental activities and it leads to target desired social development programs.

### ***Conclusion***

The theoretical and empirical evidences regarding political system of FATA clearly marks that the Pashtun tribes of Pakistan hold independent psyche and maintain ethos of equality and deny any top-down direction. Yet, they are being ruled through decades of long and out-dated political structure-FCR, which is operational back from colonial times. Under this system, federal government's appointed PAs & DCOs and their appointed local influentials control FATA developmental activities and their exercises are never monitored or crosschecked.

Hence, other than revenue and judicial powers, this dominant class manage FATA development, and socio-economic development of the area relies solely on their mercy and the generosity of their political masters. They jointly construct political system of this backward region, which stands against the local psyche of tribal administrative control. And they jointly portray local socio-economic needs and suggest strategies to achieve. They then practically impose the resultant external or government's decisions on Pashtun tribes, but residing from outside. The outcomes of study investigation exposes that these political and local masters in majority cases not only don't consult local population for planning and implementing any developmental project, but also hinder any type of direct coordination between locality and the external actors e.g., state government, developmental donors and NGOs. This situation is quite worse in agencies than in FRs that shows locals confidence on maliks and DCOs. Due to the severity of this problem, CDD explicitly suggest



‘cooperation mechanism’ and a ‘systematic mechanism’ to alleviate elite capture gradually and systematically. (See: figure 2.3 and 2.4)

Most results from agencies confirm that poor locals are ignored (the actual development stakeholders) and local and political elite class e.g., maliks and PAs remain the prominent local representatives. In this scenario, it is concluded from the empirical findings that local maliks and their political bosses even don’t consult tribal elders and tribal council (Jirga) before prioritising developmental schemes for FATA development. It remains particularly alarming that as tribal Jirga holds the principal ‘constitutional position’ to be consulted for area developmental, endeavours, which ranges from joint decisions, cooperation and coordination with outsider developmental agents; Jirga is also ignored firstly by the elite class and the by developmental partners, although this platform ensures availability of both tangible, and intangible support, access, and security to projects and projects’ staff in this lawless tribal homeland. Hence, local maliks who are the main actors behind all developmental plans e.g., FATA SDP, ADP and sector programs, hinder both consultation and coordination process in FATA. Thus, elites are enjoying their unlimited decision making power under no consultation with local individuals and tribal Jirga.

The study further reveals that although these local influentials and their political bosses are fully aware of the local projects’ needs, the project they present do not significantly match with the actual local needs. Thus, majority of the population from Central- and Rest FATA support that there exists U-shape relation between project normally being presented by maliks & PAs and local aspirations. Hence, it brings no noteworthy betterment in the area, rather it worsens the already damaged situation. However, the performance of maliks-DCOs blend in with the FRs and brings some satisfactory results, hence locality’s satisfaction is high FRs than in agencies.

Similarly, this study uncovers that local sense of actual participation has shifted from Jirga or tribal elders to local poor individuals. This concept of local individuals’ inclusion in the development arena is declared as ‘harmony power model’, where inclusion of individual elements actually increases the success of the developmental

programs and empowerment of the powerless within the social order.<sup>603</sup> Thus, Pashtun locality is demanding more direct consultation with state government and developmental actors under the 'individualistic approach' of consultation. Nevertheless, this remains effective through successful channelling of developmental resources and a genuine delegation of power at the lower level.<sup>604</sup> Hence, even rejecting tribal elders and tribal council with all its constitutional backing, Pashtun individuals are keen to participate to take decision making power and control over resources. This type of local conception, starting with individualistic approach and then forming groups on working together (singular and plurality) remains and is an effective tool to combat against local elites and against their illicit activities.<sup>605</sup> Such a grouping is proved to be effective, as it relies on rebuilding development within locally perceived cultures, places and ecologies.<sup>606</sup> Therefore, this study concludes that, targeting individuals under the 'individualistic approach' leads directly to projects' success and *vice versa*.

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<sup>603</sup> Mayo and Craig, "Community Participation and Empowerment: The Human Face of Structural Adjustment or Tools for Democratic Transformation?."

<sup>604</sup> Platteau, "Community Imperfections."

<sup>605</sup> Nakano, "On the Singular Name of Post-Development: Serge Latouche's Destruction of Development and Possibility of Emancipation'," 76.

<sup>606</sup> Escobar, "Beyond the Search for a Paradigm? Post-Development and Beyond."

## **Chapter – 5      Conclusion: *Finding a Way Forward***

Tribal Society, Post-Development & CDD's Implications

### *Introduction*

The study is set out to explore, theoretically and empirically, the socio-cultural and politico-economic aspects of the world's largest tribal population; the 'Pashtun tribes' of FATA Pakistan to handle the decades long area's under-development via community driven development approach of WB. So, this research at the first instance explores the Pashtun societal realities i.e., facilitating as well as obstructing factors, in order to energize bottom-up oriented development process. It is done to build trust and cooperation for joint collaboration on taking local stakeholders can be placed at the center of the development paradigm. It is treating them agents of development on understanding their cultural realities, rather than considering them as end beneficiaries. The study further explores the societal integrated economic system for local subsistence and survival, rather than revising market-led and profit oriented local economy in FATA. Based on which this study investigates local sense of participation (monetary and intangible) for absolute outcomes, community's self-reliance and sustainability. Furthermore, this dissertation tries to divulge the outdated political system of FATA (FCR-1901). FCR is analyzed based on the reasons, motivations, process and roles' hierarchy between the national government, local *maliks* and political bosses e.g., PAs and DCOs. Particular emphasis remains on the level and fashion of process and resources hijack under the FATA developmental schemes. Distinctly, this study analyses the negative effects of power and resource on the wellbeing of the locality and level of frustration. Based on it locally desired mode of actual representation is highlighted.

Consequently, this chapter briefly re-examines the overall outcomes of the empirical research and annex them with the main normative claims of post-development discourse and community driven development approach. This dissertation ends-up with an applied framework to develop the foundation this research project sought to address and various further research directions are alleged to explore further concerned themes.

## 5.1 Main Conclusions

The main conclusion of this section gives a conclusive depiction of all the exploratory and empirical findings, which are explicitly summarized under the theme of study's research questions: community driven development approach in link with the Pashtuns' tribal politico-cultural system and political system of FATA. Hence, this part of the conclusion provides evidences and synthesis of all the arguments, presented consistently in the thesis' body, to show how important is societal culture and economic system to Pashtun locality and to which extend facilitates CDD approach (1<sup>st</sup> research objective). Hence, for that reason, each tiny component of Pashtunwali and chunks of Pashtun tribal economic system is explored. It is followed by theoretical and factual investigation of the prevailing political structure of FATA – power arrangement, course of development process, process seizure, and resource hijack by the locally oriented and political backed administrative actors (2<sup>nd</sup> research objective). This analysis further guides to analyze the local satisfaction on the current consultation process and make safe road for community oriented development on genuine local involvement (3<sup>rd</sup> research objective).

### 5.1.1 Socio-Economic System and CDD Approach

Study's qualitative and empirical analysis proves that Pashtun society collectively places the Pashtun tribal code of conduct as the most important matter – it is preferred over life in this modern world. So, integrating local culture in the development process becomes the reality. So, it is not wrong to say that '*culture matters*'. The findings of the study reveal that Pashtun tribes don't dare to prioritize any topic other than Pashtunwali, which they consider to be, redline for their survival in FATA. This locals' psyche proves that local culture can't be taken for granted. So, it's time to uncover local knowledge and cultural assumptions in the development discourse to move towards with a constructive approach.<sup>607</sup> Here, detailed cultural investigation remains a discrete exploration of cultural ingredients like, social capital, norms, values, beliefs, networking, societal knowledge, political sensitivity etc. that swiftly helps in enhancing local capacity to organise for- and cooperate with non-native

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<sup>607</sup> McGregor, "New Possibilities? Shifts in Post-Development Theory and Practice."

actors to carry-out shared tasks for combined benefits.<sup>608</sup> And such an investigation prior remains vital to build trust and cooperation with local Pashtun tribes, which facilitates community driven development approach of WB. So, culture oriented approach of development provides comfort-zone for external developmental actors for joint project activities. It is further proved, if there is no contradiction with local cultural values, modern social services is duly welcomed by the locality. It diminishes the myth that Pashtun tribal rigidity to reject modern socio-economic projects.

However, with particular references to developed districts (FRs), it is depicted that there exists a shift of penumbral shades of changes from closed to open and easily assessable society in FATA. The population of FRs are coming-out of their decades' long encapsulation on their interaction with the outsider world. Hence, it also remains against the fable about Pashtun tribal culture – a static societal construction with 'transformation under no means'. Accordingly, the study confirms that *Pashtunwali* is a composition of features, which bears the tendency to incorporate social changes. Such changes occur with the march of time and along the establish notions of social science in the socio-cultural realms. So, Pashtun society is being reconciled, reintegrated and changed from an inelastic traditional tribal structure to more loosely attached grid, provided due participation in the growth process e.g., Central-FATA and FRs. These findings reject the idea that traditional societies accept the natural and social environment as given and any attempt to change their societal system gets an offensive response. It also contradicts the idea that any type of change in the traditional societies is deficient or imperceptible. So, such societies can't conceive their existence in the social world.<sup>609</sup> Similarly, in Pashtun tribal region the areas of (re) conciliation and (re) integration remain to understand and accordingly follow cultural and economic features to avoid any superficial results.

Correspondingly, this study highlights several assisting and threatening societal attributes for joint ventures. They comprise local sovereignty, sense of equality, respect (*Nang*), sanctuary (*panah* - protection of life and property of the guest), trust,

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<sup>608</sup> Babajanian, "Social Capital and Community Participation in Post-Soviet Armenia: Implications for Policy and Practice," 78-90.

<sup>609</sup> Samuel P. Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies* (Yale University Press, 2006), 95-105.

networking, justice and revenge (*Badal*) for social control. These features are contingent upon collective submission to locality's understanding of what is good, because it solely depends on Pashtuns' perception, reasoning of the intervention and sense of judgment, while interacting with outsiders. With particular note, hospitality (*Melmestia*) societal factor for outsiders' (developmental agents and state) is only carried out once 'the visitor' presents himself as an alien to Pashtun social system. The guest (the Pashtun) is then obliged to recognize the 'authority and sovereignty' of the host's 'property and persons' presents – social and political submission. It is respecting the local's integrity and prestige as well as protecting Pashtun's personality, women (*Zan* or *Izzat*) and land (*Zamin*).

Here, it should be notably considered that any attempt to order self-centred Pashtun people could wind-up with ambiguity, if local populace is ordered or threatened with power. So, it is proved that all societal characteristics generally have strong effect on local pattern of participation in the developmental activities. So, 'individuals' with aforesaid features essentially emerge in the developmental process and shouldn't be overlooked.<sup>610</sup> However, this study confirms that any mode of developmental intervention can break the locally fabricated and pretend kingdom i.e., more the social development – less the cultural rigidness and local expectation of prior understanding of local culture. It's a confirmation of inoffensive and adaptable nature of Pashtunwali. Hence, it approves study's legitimatization and first hypothesis: '*Pashtun tribal culture doesn't obstruct, but indeed accelerate the community-driven-development approach of area development*'.

Similarly, the qualitative and quantitative analysis under this study reveals that tribal economic system is perfectly balanced and it has no intentions towards market economy for wealthy gains. Pashtun tribal economy basically rely on the concept of *Nang* (agriculturalists) & *Qalang* (Khan/Landlords) – an induced reciprocal and redistributive system in nature. Thus, the economic system revolves around land (*Zameen*) acquisition (tangible resource) and its distribution, which are again a synonym of relishing honour and not for profitable gains. Thus, the tribal sense of

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<sup>610</sup> J.M. and Uphoff Cohen, N. T., "Participations Place in Rural Development: Seeking Clarity through Specification," *World Development*, 8. (1980).

resource ownership and its management within the existing tribal social structure is supportive for any type of economic project that could equally benefit the locality. It is based on the study's findings that 'land' is *sine qua non* for developing infrastructure and ultimately for infrastructure of social services and *vice versa*. Study further proves that social submission to local cultural realities confirms local readiness of economic (monetary equivalent or land) as well as non-monetary (voluntary services) contribution in the projects' cost. This aspect no-doubt represents generous mind power of the locality, which ultimately leads to societal welfare through successful outcomes of the planned projects. Thus, local sense of contribution helps to design development against the genuine local needs – internalization and ownership of developmental activities.<sup>611</sup> And it further influences participatory process at the lower-bottom and result in community's self-sufficiency and empowerment.<sup>612</sup>

### **5.1.2 Tribal Political Structure: Elite Capture & Response**

This section deals with the current controversial political structure of Pakistan's tribal frontier, as in this system the political hierarchy that stems from political masters (PAs/DCOs) to locally appointed influential (*maliks*) blur and detract the essence of (universally acknowledged) community driven development methodology. The study findings reveal that the preached tribal representatives is indeed not only destroying the idea of actual local representation, but it hinders cooperative deeds and alarmingly track to capture community's resources.

Cross sectional analysis of primary, and secondary data under this study shows that local and political power brokers (*maliks*, PAs and DCOs) are enjoying their wide-ranging powers from needs' identification till programs' evaluation. The prevailing political system is function on a very planned top-down mechanism where political masters elect local prominent class and assist them to exercise un-ending powers in the area. And this system facilitates political class from very bottom to top e.g., maliks-PAs/DCOs-Governor-State government. Hence, this organized form of consultation and cooperation from bottom to top tolerates local maliks to present un-

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<sup>611</sup> Illich and Rahnema, "Twenty---Six Years Later," 119.

<sup>612</sup> Gupte, "Participation in a Gendered Environment: The Case of Community Forestry in India."

real needs and demands to state government and other developmental actors. So, they act as local coordinators between locals and external partners. In this situation, the actual local poor tribesmen are kept under thumb by the elite class. The main motives behind obstruction are ‘maintaining their status quo in the region, fear of losing power, remains as patronage, liberty of actions and enjoying ill-gotten benefits’ under the theme of FATA development. So, this small elite class remain as pressure group in 30% is politically (no politically elected members in the provincial and national parliament) and 50% physically (out of reach due to security reasons) inaccessible area.<sup>613</sup> Their exercise of economic and political power is under no check and beyond limits, particularly to locality and developmental actors.

Correspondingly, due to unequal power distribution between the locals and influential, this study reveals that there exists an anxiety, mistrust, and vagueness among the Pashtun ethnic society. On their miserable life the totally rejects the existing political hierarchy and held the whole political class responsible for their critical problems. Resultantly, any political, centralized and externally planned developmental strategy is not simply hatred, but remains antithesis of what is good in Pashtun society. Locality all together rejects the idea of consulting the privileged class and rejecting the locality to represent their area. It is because, locality and tribal council (jirga) are ignored both by the state government and the developmental partners e.g., NGOs and donors. It is despite of the fact that locality is enthusiastic to engage themselves in the development cycle at all level.

The empirical findings of the study also certify that elite class participated in the consultation process finalize developmental plans for FATA. And although, these local and political influential are well aware of the local problems and desire of project needs, deficit of infrastructure and economic deprivations, yet, there exists a clear contradiction between the actual local necessities and wrapped-up programs. Here, CDD approach focus on locally emerged and bottom-up oriented intellect, as only such a tactic has the potential to explicitly represent the local problems and exposes authoritative ambitions under the prevailing political settings. Only CDD

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<sup>613</sup> GoP, "Federally Administered Tribal Area, "Inaccessible Areas", (2005).



methodology can reverse the top-down imposed directions, which are imposed through a great deal of political synchronization. Thus, cross-sectional analysis of the prevailing corrupt political system under this study uncovers nothing but preposterous practices and savage that results in inequality, suppression, anarchy, capture, obstruction of coordination, miss-representation of local needs, misappropriation of community resources, wastage of monetary resources and unending corruption at the expense of local disadvantaged poor.

So, the study outcomes certify possibility of inside-out approach, which is based on individual, clan, and sub-tribe and while tribes – local sense of governance. This approach is contrary to solely top-down, centralized and authoritative system of governance, which is being followed in FATA. So, this study confirms that only the local governance system has the capacity to operate freely, annex genuine local individuals, facilitates local-external coordination, grabbing communal consent, security to programs and staff, sanctuary provision, trust, networking and promise of significant local contribution to deliver community driven development of WB. It further confirms that the locality is sufficiently aware and necessarily sensitized to participate actively. The study outcomes stamp on local individual inclusion, rather than incorporation of elite class and local council (Jirga). So, it's a call from top to bottom or from outsiders to locality i.e., localization of the development process, where actual poor clarify local problems and set goals.<sup>614</sup> Moreover, it give locality a change to enjoy their 'right to decide' and take command over resources. It ultimately leads them to struggle against the illegitimate role of local power brokers.<sup>615</sup> Similarly, it is proved that these non-institutionalized and independent tribesmen as 'political unit', under the study findings, hold the capacity and motivation to lead FATA development. The need is their accurate integration in the development process and at all level. If done so, individuals of Pashtun homogenous society can act efficiently individually (social and organizational form) and also collectively (political units) to stop further capture of the developmental process and stealing of the developmental resource. It can no-doubt ends with success and desired outcomes

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<sup>614</sup> Kippler, "Exploring Post-Development: Politics, the State and Emancipation. The Question of Alternatives," 22.

<sup>615</sup> Nakano, "On the Singular Name of Post-Development: Serge Latouche's Destruction of Development and Possibility of Emancipation'," 76.

of the developmental programs under community-driven development approach, as effectiveness of CDD is great in homogenous societies than in heterogeneous communities.<sup>616</sup> And in homogenous harmonized culture like, FATA, the community-driven projects are well maintained as they reject any U-shaped relation between resources and outcomes. In such societies increased level of community participation encourages technical decisions than non-technical.<sup>617</sup>

## 5.2 Theoretical Implications

The theory's selection and theoretical perspective presented in this thesis well match with the problem statement and helps to solve the complex matrix of FATA under-development. This section contributes to develop the theoretical agenda to tackle the study's hypothesis, address the research questions and counter the erroneous illusion created about Pashtun tribal society. Hence, this section describes Pashtun cultural features and political realities based on academic concepts i.e., contemporaneous with post-development theory, and community driven development methodology with their concepts and understanding in the rural development sense. Hence, focus remains on culturally created, locally agreed and jointly implemented tactic of development. It stays against describing pros and cons of each theoretical and practical (CDD) opinion. So, the focus solely stands on clarifying theory's implications in conclusive manner along with study's legitimization and CDD as an alternative *to* development. It is to cover instantly the broad based terminological and conceptual award of post-development to shed-light on the milieu of cultural centred and politically sensitive community-oriented development approach.

Post-development theory and CDD jointly back the main hypothesis of the study that 'Pashtun culture is more daring to locality that needs to be properly understood and accordingly followed'. So, its time to stop implementing blueprints, but paying more intentions on the local cultural relativism. It is now necessary to imply the (locally) accepted developmental practices to local needs and desires, within the cultural settings, based on local agreement and consent to target area development. It is now

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<sup>616</sup> Qadeer, *The Status of Women in Fata: A Comparison between Islamic Principles and Pashtunwali*.

<sup>617</sup> Orakzi, "Situation in Fata: Causes, Consequences and the Way Forward."

focusing on individuals and their social system for any intervention, as only this attitude can end hosting the poor and granting rights to economically disadvantaged communities.<sup>618</sup>

Aforementioned idea is particularly applicable in an ethnic, homogenous and agricultural society e.g., Pashtun society, as according to illustrious notion Pashtun society is backward due to their cultural retention and mental rigidity. Cultural theme at the heart, the post-development agenda laid its foundations on rejecting the earlier capitalist and Marxist ideologies, likewise, market directed and state led, ethnocentric and technocratic development designs. It is discarding them as ruins in the development vista. So, no more alternative development, but an alternative *to the idea of development* e.g., CDD method, which remains the culture sensitive notion of development. Consequently, it's a notion of defending '*culture matters*'. So, the theory appeals for efforts to find out other ways to invent development philosophy. And here CDD approach serves well that like, PD considers local cultural realities to end any further exploitation of the poor third-world societies. This new impression of local development opposes all earlier ideas of development. Because, time has come to reject false perception of developmental outcomes. Its time to transform and modify developmental practices and lay the foundation of development on understanding the societal realities. It's time for a new formation of the nuclei,<sup>619</sup> which should be perceived from the local perspective as an anti top-down technique; the community driven form of development.

Consequently, the idea of development is questioned in its abstract form. This new era of development for PD and CDD focuses more on power and domination of the locality. It is letting local society to explore new possibilities within their culture and political ideologies. A localized attempt, decentralized movement and a bottom-down participatory approach like, CDD is needed to be taken as emancipatory fashion rural development approach for FATA development. As, this new idea, according rejects the misrepresentation of the third world societies and their social system that has

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<sup>618</sup> Sachs, *Development Dictionary, The: A Guide to Knowledge as Power*, x.

<sup>619</sup> Escobar, "Reflections on 'Development': Grassroots Approaches and Alternative Politics in the Third World."

watched them as poor, needy, problematic and passive recipients.<sup>620</sup> So, it's time to reject earlier theories and practices of development and focus on endogenous discourse. It is burning both physical and lengthy hegemony of old development idea, community based developmental approach serves to apply findings of post-development discourse. And both PD and CDD focus on the local socio-political regime of truth, local perception and authentic participation, where CDD approach explicitly present the ways to achieve it (*See: figure 2.2*). It is to target greater community autonomy, and confidently to open pathways for local knowledge and cultural expressions. Based on Pashtun tribal thirst, as analysed in this study, this new socio-political space let local imaginaries to be understood and empowered. Likewise, local community then take control over joint initiatives and actions operating in their region for social services' delivery. It's an idea of considering local Pashtuns not only beneficiaries, but also the stakeholders to peruse development. Hence, this attempt stands on internalization of development by the host. It starts with admiring the reality of poor Pashtun's inclusion in the development cycle. Here CDD approach presents a comprehensive mechanism to let locals to highlight needs and ways to achieve those (*See: 2.3.1. from trickle-down to participation*).

Similarly, the myth about Pashtun society that its a 'patriarchal civilisation, where concepts of modern law and liberty can find no place', 'locals' firm faith in cultural retention' and 'local rigidness to enjoy their autonomous status' on rejecting any form of development practice are rejected by PD, CDD and results of this study. It is proved by the theory that 'culture is always a non-static construction' and it transforms with interaction with other culture. For such a transformation, CDD approach focuses to set 'dimensions of local participation'. CDD emphasis on giving locals' authority under their active involvement on answering *who?* the target group e.g., focusing more on locality, *how?* The process i.e., introduce of process of local inclusion to realize modern law and liberty through consultation and joint actions. And *what?* Kind of participation i.e., working with externals to break local rigidness. (*See: figure 2.1*). This whole exercise under CDD is rejection of cultural universalism with local relativism. A step further, the theory stresses on local cultural uniqueness

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<sup>620</sup> Maiava and King, "Pacific Indigenous Development and Post-Intentional Realities."

and localized practices. It is to centre to strengthen against modern developmental practices to formulate the visions and schemes to overcome the existing local constraints. Moreover, the fundamentals of the post-development industry back the Pashtun tribal thirst for modern social developmental and it motivates to explore new opportunities for change to occur at the local level. Only a change with joint collaboration can enhance the local inherited and cultural capacities – a culturally described aspirational approach in the revolution process.

So, the post-development agenda affix intention on local cultural interest, and local knowledge to establish scientific discourse for local needs and CDD suggests the pathways to ensure local involvement while accepting local cultural realities. Similarly, both theory and strategy emphasizes that the project needs and strategies to achieve those should be based on locals' identification, as there is no more a magic pill to cure developmental problems of all the underdeveloped regions. So, it became mandatory to probe social and cultural fabric of societies to interlink socio-economic growth and political perfection for community's empowerment.<sup>621</sup>

Post-development thought also provides the enabling environment to satisfy economic needs of all. That is, after meeting the needs, any surplus if exist, can be distributed to strengthen the social economy. This approach helps to adjust the economic issues without losing the local value system. So, FATA's economic model is backed as a balanced and reciprocal economic system (barter trade), which remains effective for self-sufficiency. This system of Pashtun tribal region presents a logical expression of economic operation in the social system. For PD ideology, this type of locally managed economic matters provides the enabling environment to satisfy the economic needs of the whole community. As, distribution of any extra production strengthens the economy to adjust its economic issues without losing the local values system.<sup>622</sup>

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<sup>621</sup> Abraham, "The Dilemma of Participation with Endogenous Community Imperfections". Department of Economics Andcred(Centre De Recherche En Economie Du D'Eveloppement). Namur, Belgium: University of Namur.."

<sup>622</sup> Neamtan, "Chantier De L'Economie Sociale: Building the Solidarity Economy in Quebec," 270.

Moving forward in the discussion, post development discourse and CDD as an applied framework comprehensively addresses the problem of elite capture and resource hijack, which remains the second main concern of this research. It is highlighted that local political structure of homogenous, kinship and egalitarian societies, like FCR-1901, thwarts actual local participation. This top-down system empowers local power-brokers, who then hijack not only the development process but also the resources. It is due to 'patron-client relationships, trust and reciprocity between non-elites and elites' regarding economic life is high at ground. So, instead of engaging local poor in the development process and based on their knowledge of cooperation, elites who are politically dominant, hinder and thwart development idea for their own interests.<sup>623</sup> Therefore, as per the study findings, the post-development discourse supports core focus of this study to engage genuine local components in the development process to end resource miss-utilization. For that reason CDD approach relies on connecting locals directly with outsider developmentalist. So, CDD methodology focus on 'benevolent capture' i.e., granting passive role to elite class, than avoiding eliminating elite class and (all together) at once, as it could be dangerous.<sup>624</sup> Therefore, for benevolent capture a 'multilateral reputation (co-ordination) mechanism-MRM is suggested by CDD. It relies on aid agencies to work reciprocally and inform each other about 'fraudulent acts committed by intermediaries'.<sup>625</sup> (See: figure 2.4) This strategy of WB relies on locally breathed initiatives that lead to decolonizing minds and enhancing locals' thinking processes. It then pioneers new socio-political space, where local actual entities can be included and authorized.

Conclusively, post-development discourse and CDD approach proves the study's legitimacy and backs the idea of taking local Pashtun culture and knowledge in the development debate, and dwell on it the alternate imaginaries and counter hegemonic principles. So, it's a localism of development that is based on societal culture and as a new orthodoxy in the development discussion. The theory also stands with the study's outcomes of relying on the existing local economic system and developing it within

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<sup>623</sup> Platteau, "Community Imperfections," 32.

<sup>624</sup> Fritzen, "Can the Design of Community-Driven Development Reduce the Risk of Elite Capture? Evidence from Indonesia."

<sup>625</sup> Platteau, "Monitoring Elite Capture in Community-Driven Development."

the locally acceptable economic limits and not importantly engaging the locality in the market race. Alike, the theory and strategy backs the study's findings of usual hijack of both the development process and resources by the local and political influentials, which could be mitigated by the prescribed technique under community driven development approach. Here and now, it remains important to draw an applied framework. It is to address the study's comprehensive findings, which are stretched to societal culture and political structure of FATA, particularly the ways to ensure community-driven development in FATA.

### **5.3 Applied Framework**

The research study ends-up with an applied framework to ground theoretical and empirical findings, which are based on admiration of local cultural realities, economic features and reverse the existing power relations for FATA development. The aim is to implement locally oriented and desired intellect of development ideology. Therefore, based on the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> research objective of the study, an extended decentralized developmental is desired to the 3<sup>rd</sup> research question; *How*; actual local participation can be effectively enhanced? It requires a comprehensive mechanism to follow for community and driven development in Pashtun tribal region. Definitely, the intention is to ensure and effective bottom-up developmental approach for local empowerment, capacity building, sustainability and long-term sovereignty from the external developmental actors.

Nevertheless, an applied mechanism to apply study's findings is facilitated by CDD, which serves here as alternative *to* development of post-development agenda. However, in this study CDD approach is modified on silent features of PD, CDD itself and findings of the study to fine alternative *to* development approach in the Pashtun tribal settings. (*See: figure 5.1*) So, as an applicable framework CDD departs with analysing, admiring and accordingly following local Pashtun socio-cultural knowledge and capabilities. Thus, it built-up as culturally sensitive, socially adoptive, economically productive, politically perceptive, bottom-up oriented and locally confessed strategy of rural development. It solely relies on local knowledge, local

cultural assets, societal ingredients, embedded economic system, besides understanding political structure of the targeted society, rather than proposing again an externally fabricated remedy for all cures. It is because, understanding every local milieu opens new inroad into development thinking. Therefore, admiring the above stated basic principle of post-development and CDD itself, this applied framework inevitably starts identifying and including the actual local stakeholders (the marginalized and disadvantage individuals). It then turns the ancient development pyramid of FATA upside-down. It authorizes the local poor to enjoy decision-making power immediately and directly to take locally oriented developmental interventions. It draws clear rules to ensure transparency and accountability to prevent seizure of the development process and resources by the elite class. The next step of the ladder then starts the desired participation process with the help of tools and techniques suggested by CDD approach. It ranges from:

- a). *'Information Sharing'*, where local stakeholders are put in a position to draw down their actual needs, particularly the information from the female gender. It is to provide background information of the programs and remain well-informed about the results.
- b). *Consultation*: consultation-external consultation and coordination to about key issues and streamline the potential programs with responsibilities. Particular focus remains on consultation with the female gender.
- c). *Decision-Making*: it is taking effective by the locality against their set projects. And it is local stakeholders' involvement regarding final decisions of developmental projects –design till implementation.
- d). *Initiating Actions*: Local people organize themselves to take action in their best interest, deploy resources and make cooperation with external developmental agents for joint projects' initiation.<sup>626</sup>

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<sup>626</sup>Deborah Eade and Suzanne Williams, *The Oxfam Handbook of Development and Relief*, vol. 2 (Oxfam, 1995), 14-15.



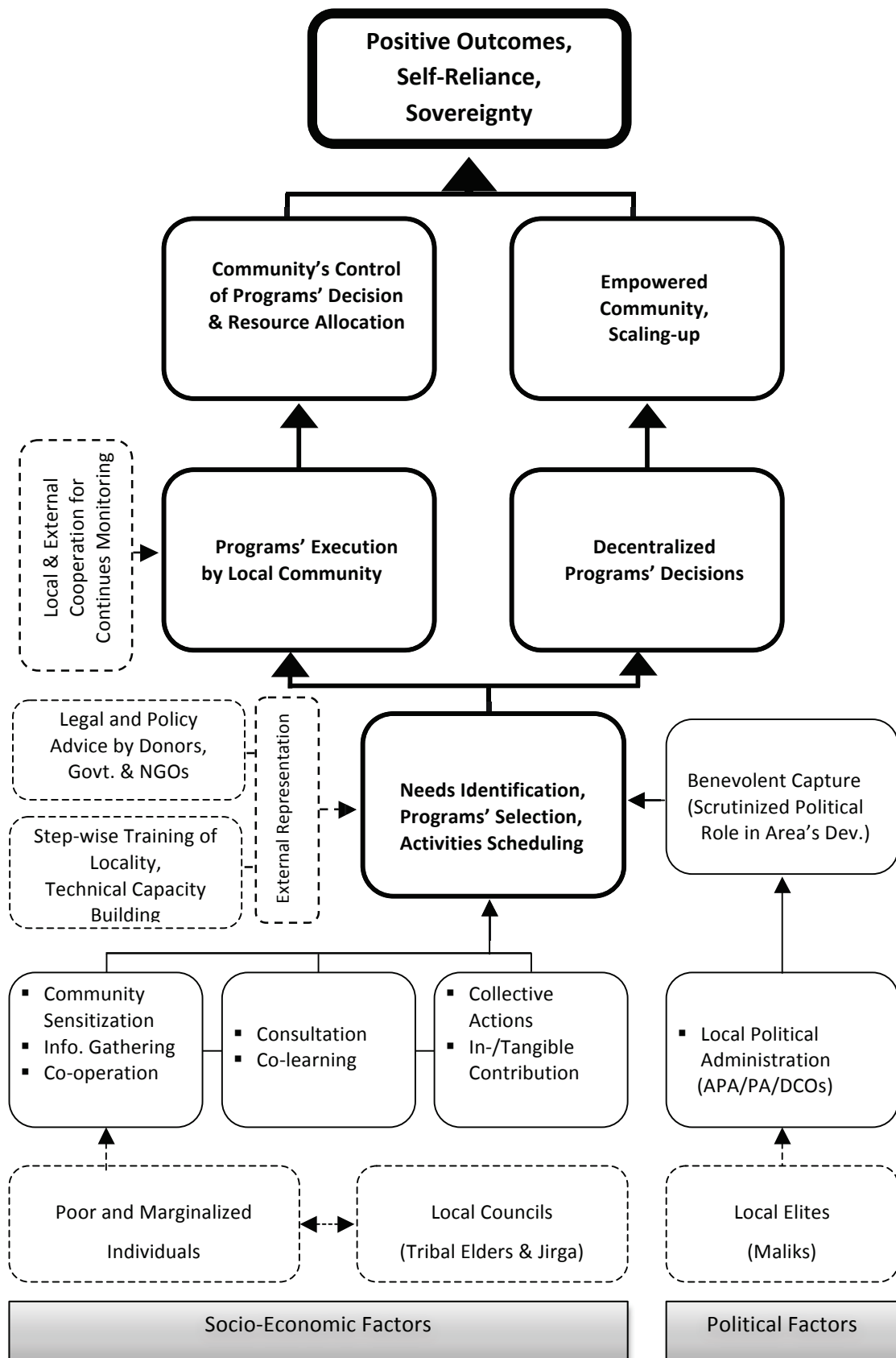


Figure 5.1: Thesis' Applied Framework

This whole exercise is regarding mental or mind mapping, which aims to decide sites of mutual cooperation. It is also to ensure deliberate sensitization of the concerned population to start self-initiated action i.e., voice and choice of the locality. This community consultation stage initially excludes political masters along with local influentials from identification of the local needs and possible ways to achieve those. It is followed by confirmation of collective consolidative actions and categorization of the local in-/tangible contribution in the programs' interventions. The local willingness for both tangible and intangible contribution confirms locals' readiness to be included with motivation. Which is, however, prove be the better contributors, when it comes to poor or marginalized societies. It definitely leads to higher-quality results and ownership of the programs by the locality based on their real stake in development.

After needs' identification and programs' selection on active involvement of the local population, the model suggests soft input from the elite class. The applied strategy disseminates any direct input from the elites regarding needs' identification and strategy finalization. This precautionary measures are to avoid any chance of prominent presence of the elite class, so as to ensure CDD suggested malevolent capture. Thus, at the initial stage, this applied framework disfavour them to just passive contributors in the development cycle. Adequately, the active role of external developmental actors is desired as it becomes more effective to start the development cycle as locally owned assets and resources are usually not sufficient to meet the local development challenge.<sup>627</sup> Likewise, due to deficit of technical expertise of the locality to do cost-benefit analysis, protection from externalities etc. the framework suggest policy support from donors, national government, ngos or altogether. However, the framework stresses on step-wise capacity building and enhancement of the technical expertises of the community to perform the desired action autonomously. This whole exercise finally leads to strategy's execution on avoiding any tailor-made solutions and focusing more on monitoring system to avoid unnecessary activities and extra project costs. It ultimately leads to scaling-up,

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<sup>627</sup> Kretzmann and McNight, "Building Communities from inside out—a Path Towards Finding and Mobilizing Community Assets Acta Publications."

empowerment and sovereignty of the Pashtun society to take the developmental industry independently.

#### **5.4 Scope for Further Research**

The hierarchy initiated and presented in this dissertation provides an ingrained leader to future research. Typically, on resolving the matrix that culture does matter and as being non-static construction, social culture changes with the march of time, even in societies with initially no direct contact with the external world. And, even the deliberate attempts for safeguarding and preserving the traditional cultural patterns change from their grids to soft and loosely hanging chunks, after in contact with other cultures. So, the themes of further research would be, however, not limited to:

**Node – 1:** A new domain of research can initially be to analyze the interrelationship between- and patterns of tribal cultural transformation, in relation with cross-sectional analysis of all the facilitating factors. It will shallow the levels of the social hierarchy to social transformation for engaging local stakeholders in the development cycle. For that, a research for thoughtful consideration of local cultural realities and culture's intrinsic contribution as a driver, facilitator and promoter for the achievement of Millennium Development Goals-MDGs, under Post-2015 UN development agenda remains a good idea.

**Node – 2:** Particularly, studying the tribal societies, an extensive cross-comparison of Pashtun social transformation and based on its tendency for remodeling, an extensive comparative analysis with other world's tribal societies will definitely open new domain to gradually move to deeper levels for searching new interesting facts.

**Node – 3:** For outcome optimization, project maintenance and ultimate sustainability, the Pashtun tribal economic contribution, as evidenced under this study, needs to be further investigated. It could start at the thinnest node of tasks' allocation and quantity of resources (tangible input) deployment and to check their suitability with internationally acceptable benchmarks for projects' life. This type of investigation research will coincide with other international researches being done with the idea of integrating locals (as empowered 'agents of change') for rapid poverty reduction. Thus, this node in the hierarchy, as most recently focused, remains on automatic

mechanism design that puts the foundation of area development projects on local economic capabilities. It is to motivate local community to take responsibility of the area developmental projects. Hence, new direction for future research can push this domain of inquiry to move deeper down the hierarchy to study local in-/tangible contribution for future global development framework – MDGs-Post 2015 agenda.

**Node – 4:** The study’s uncovered resource hijack, which is starched over decades in Pashtun tribal region, can be fixed under the title of FATA long-term and sustainable development. So, a further intensive investigation is required to unmask the so-far economic and financial loses to FATA. It should include resource allocation, thereby assets miss-utilization and project failure. Additionally, in the context of uncovering corruption in this west frontier, the level of exploitation from FATA’s local elites can also be studied in-comparison to other world societies having nearly the same problem and precautionary measures to handle it.

**Node – 5:** To stop further resource miss-utilization and malfeasance in Post-2015 ‘FATA Sustainable Development Plan’ and based on the already presented solutions to FATA political system (FATA as separate province or FATA’s inclusion in KPK Province), an investigatory research can be taken-out to check the suitability of either the solution to foster the inclusion of actual local stakeholders at every stage of the development process. Thus, a research based on parameter of local effective inclusion under either the system or proposing another effective implementable political system for FATA can end further conspiracy of locals’ exclusion.

Future researches at these nodes will be synonyms to digging the cave in search of understanding tiny but supportive local (tribal) social, economic and political ingredients and than with theoretical (Post-development theory) backing and practical (CDD approach) guidelines to end decades long backwardness of (tribal) societies.

## **5.5 Conclusion of the *Conclusions***

*“The accelerating quest for progress, out of quagmire, begins at home, which depends on societal knowledge, cultural understandings and political legitimacy for the genuine cooperative efforts of the social development”*

## Appendix A.

## Questionnaire

*This field research is conducted to complete a research thesis. The aim of this research is to analyse the Pashtun culture and economic system to analyse actual local involvement in the development process and find ways for cooperative programs' planning and implementation of the FATA. Moreover political & judicial system is analysed to check elite capture, if any. All the data and measurements obtained from this research study will be stored confidentially. The study is strictly anonymous and only the researcher will have access to data collected during this research.*

*You are requested to complete this short questionnaire (of max.20 min). Thank you for your time.*

### Socio-economic Status سماجی و اقتصادی حیثیت

1. Agency/FR? آپ کس ایجنسی/FR میں رہتے ہیں؟ \_\_\_\_\_
2. Gender? آپ کی جنس کیا ہے؟ Male  مرد Female  عورت
3. Age group? آپ کی عمر کیا ہے؟ <18  18 تا 24  25 تا 44  45 تا 64  65 یا زیادہ
4. Education level? آپ کی تعلیم کیا ہے؟ Illiterate  Primary  Matric  Inter  Bachelor & Higher   
بی اے اور اعلیٰ تعلیم انٹر میٹرک پرائمری ان پڑھ
5. Employment Status? آپ کیا کام کرتے ہیں؟ Unemployed  Employed for wage  Self-Employed  Student   
طالب علم اپنا کاروبار نوکری بے روزگار

### Local Culture موجودہ ترقی کے منصوبے

6. Do you think Pashtunwali is still a matter of life and death for the local Pashtun community? Yes  ہاں No  نہیں  
کیا پشتنولی اب بھی مقامی پشتون برادری کے لئے زندگی اور موت کا معاملہ ہے؟
7. Do Pashtuns welcome modern world social development projects while living within local culture? Yes  ہاں No  نہیں  
کیا مقامی پشتون برادری مقامی ثقافت کے اندر رہتے ہوئے جدید سماجی ترقی کے منصوبوں کا خیر مقدم کرتے ہیں؟
8. To which extent, acceptance Pashtunwali leads to trust and cooperation for joint project planning and implementation?  
پشتنولی کو قبول کرنے پر، کس حد تک مقامی اعتماد اور تعاون کی یقین دہانی کرائی جا سکتی ہے؟  
Lowest Medium Highest  
کم درمیانہ مکمل  
(0%) (25%) (50%) (75%) (100%)
9. How important is for outsiders to understand local customs before contacting and working with local population?  
غیر مقامی لوگوں کے مقامی رسم و رواج کو سمجھنا کتنا ضروری ہے تا کہ وہ مقامی لوگوں سے رابطہ اور ساتھ مل کے کام کر سکیں؟  
Lowest Medium Highest  
کم درمیانہ مکمل  
(0%) (25%) (50%) (75%) (100%)
10. To which extent, local sense of equality helps in implementing developmental projects more equally?  
کس حد تک، مقامی مساوات کا نظام اور احساس، مقامی ترقیاتی منصوبوں پر مساوات کے ساتھ عمل درآمد میں مدد دے سکتا ہے؟  
Lowest Medium Highest  
کم درمیانہ مکمل  
(0%) (25%) (50%) (75%) (100%)
11. Is Melmestia considered as tool for cooperation with development agents/organisations? Yes  ہاں No  نہیں  
کیا ملمستیہ ترقیاتی ایجنٹوں / تنظیموں کے ساتھ تعاون کے لئے آلے کار کے طور پر کام آ سکتا ہے؟

12. To which extent, societal relationships and tribal unity helps for projects' success?  
جس حد تک، معاشرتی تعلقات اور قبائلی اتحاد منصوبوں کی کامیابی کے لئے مددگار ثابت ہوسکتے ہیں؟
- |        |         |                    |
|--------|---------|--------------------|
| Lowest | Medium  | Highest            |
| کم     | درمیانہ | مکمل               |
| (0%)   | (25%)   | (50%) (75%) (100%) |
13. Does disrespecting and not following Pashtunwali leads to expulsion of person and dismissal of projects?  
کیا پشتنولی کو مسترد کرنا یا اس کی پہروی نہ کرنا کسی بھی شخص اور منصوبوں کی برخاستگی کی طرف لے جا سکتا ہے؟
- ہاں  Yes نہیں  No
14. Do you think Badal is obligatory to maintain justice and social control in the area?  
کیا بدلہ لینا علاقے میں انصاف اور سماجی کنٹرول برقرار رکھنے کے لئے ضروری ہے؟
- ہاں  Yes نہیں  No
15. Is Badal still obligatory against any person, group against any hypocritical and dishonest behaviour or activity?  
کیا اب بھی کسی منافق انسان یا گروپ کے بے ایمان رویے یا سرگرمی کے خلاف بدلہ لینا ضروری ہے؟
- ہاں  Yes نہیں  No
16. Does external help is desired at the start to execute any developmental project?  
کیا بیرونی مدد ترقیاتی منصوبے شروع کرنے میں مطلوب ہے؟
- ہاں  Yes نہیں  No

**Political System and Local Participation** سیاسی نظام اور مقامی شرکت

17. Do Maliks facilitate the coordination process between local people and PA/govt./NGOs for needs identification and new projects' proposal?  
کیا مقامی ملک نئے منصوبوں کی منصوبہ بندی کے لئے مقامی لوگوں اور حکومت/NGOs کے درمیان بات چیت میں تعاون فراہم کرتے ہیں؟
- ہاں  Yes نہیں  No
18. Does local community is consulted by Govt./NGOs in the projects' planning process?  
کیا آپ لوگوں سے علاقے میں لگائے گئے منصوبوں کی منصوبہ بندی کے عمل میں مشاورت کی گئی ہے؟
- ہاں  Yes نہیں  No
19. Does local community is consulted by Govt./NGOs in the projects' implementation process of area's projects?  
کیا آپ لوگوں سے علاقے میں لگائے گئے منصوبوں کی منصوبہ بندی کے عمل میں مشاورت کی گئی ہے؟
- ہاں  Yes نہیں  No
20. If NO to Question 18+19, than were Maliks remains your representatives for projects' selection?  
اگر 18 + 19 نہیں، تو کیا مقامی ملک آپ کے نمائندے تھے؟
- ہاں  Yes نہیں  No
21. To which level, Malik's are aware of the real problems and projects need of the area?  
کس سطح پر مقامی ملک/PA علاقے کے مسائل سے آگاہ ہیں؟
- |        |         |                    |
|--------|---------|--------------------|
| Lowest | Medium  | Highest            |
| کم     | درمیانہ | مکمل               |
| (0%)   | (25%)   | (50%) (75%) (100%) |
22. To which level, projects being proposed by maliks to Govt./NGOs through PAs/DCOs match the local needs and bring betterment in the area?  
کس سطح پر مقامی ملک/PA کی طرف سے پیش کردہ تجاویز مقامی منصوبوں کی ضروریات کو پورا کرتی ہیں؟
- |        |         |                    |
|--------|---------|--------------------|
| Lowest | Medium  | Highest            |
| کم     | درمیانہ | مکمل               |
| (0%)   | (25%)   | (50%) (75%) (100%) |
23. Do Maliks/PA consult local Jirga before they set priorities for the new projects?  
کیا ملک/PA منصوبوں کی ترجیحات کا تعین کرنے سے پہلے مقامی جرگہ سے مشورہ کرتے ہیں؟
- ہاں  Yes نہیں  No

### Sense of Effective Local Participation

24. To which extent, Jirga can better represent the local socio-economic needs? Lowest Medium Highest  
کس حد تک، جرگہ علاقے کے سماجی و اقتصادی ضروریات کی نمائندگی کرتا ہے؟ کم درمیانہ مکمل  
(0%) (25%) (50%) (75%) (100%)
25. Do you think instead of Jirga, 'Individual' should be directly consulted by the Govt./NGOs? ہاں  Yes نہیں  No  
کیا آپ کے خیال میں جرگہ کے بجائے، مقامی افراد سے براہ راست مشورہ کیا جانا چاہئے؟
26. To which level, local people's inclusion leads to identification of necessary and desired projects in the area? Lowest Medium Highest  
کس حد تک مقامی لوگوں کی شمولیت، ضروری اور مطلوبہ منصوبوں کی نشان دہی میں مددگار ثابت ہوسکتا ہے؟ کم درمیانہ مکمل  
(1) (2) (3) (4) (5)
27. To which level, locals' inclusion leads to projects' success and area betterment? Lowest Medium Highest  
کس حد تک مقامی لوگوں کو شامل کرنے سے منصوبوں کی کامیابی کی ضمانت دی جا سکتی ہے؟ کم درمیانہ مکمل  
(1) (2) (3) (4) (5)
28. Do you think local people's exclusion directly lead to rejection of areas' projects? ہاں  Yes نہیں  No  
کیا آپ کے خیال میں مقامی لوگوں کو نظر انداز کرنے سے لوگ منصوبوں کو مسترد کرتے ہیں؟
29. Do you think that the local participation will lead to voluntary work in project implementation? ہاں  Yes نہیں  No  
کیا مقامی لوگوں کی شمولیت کے نتیجے میں لوگ ترقیاتی منصوبے کے عمل درآمد میں رضاکارانہ طور پر کام کریں گے؟
30. Do you think that the local participation will lead any to even economic contribution? ہاں  Yes نہیں  No  
آپ کے خیال میں مقامی لوگوں کو شامل کرنے سے لوگ منصوبوں میں اقتصادی (زمین،) شرکت کریں گے؟

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## Appendix B. FATA Map



1). Geographical Location of FATA –Agencies and FRs

(Source: FATA DMA)



2) Pashtun Ethnic Geographical Distribution

(Source: Heritage Foundation)



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