VI. Change, and Issues for the Future

Chitral: Future Problems and Prospects

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I must thank the President, Inayatullah Faizi and the Chairman Organizing Committee, Professor Israr-ud-Din, of the Anjuman-e-Taraqqi Khowar for giving me the honour of addressing this gathering and also for the tremendous effort they have made in getting us all together here in Chitral.

Chitral is one of the world's last wildernesses, and all its future problems and prospects are directly related to this state of wilderness in which we find Chitral today. To the local Chitralis, this wilderness means difficulty in communication and commerce, non-availability of luxuries, and general deprivation of conditions that are available to folks in cities. To those coming from the developed world, like many of our guests here, this wilderness means an opportunity — an opportunity to accept the kind of development most suited to the area and the people and reject that which is aimed at only exploiting this simplicity. Also one has to remember that when an underdeveloped country like Pakistan decides to develop its hitherto unspoiled parts like Chitral, it must go about it very carefully and selectively.

Development must be strictly oriented to the needs of the people and their peculiar environment. In Chitral you come face to face with nature and everything is naturally and delicately balanced here. Overemphasizing one aspect at the expense of another can lead to problems; for example, overdevelopment of agriculture may bring more food, but suddenly one may find no labour to work on essential developmental activities like road construction and repair and public engineering works.

We must also take full advantage of all the expertise available to us through world bodies who have helped in such development elsewhere. Otherwise a new road into Chitral may take away more than it gives to Chitral by replacing our sun-dried apricots and mulberries, fresh fruit, hand-woven cloth, and few precious goats with cheap plastics, outdated medicines, and substandard consumer products. Tourists, unless controlled, could put pressure on our limited resources and pollute the environment with their tins and plastics without necessarily bringing any income to our people. Yet the same aspects, if properly aided and monitored by experts, can help us to develop Chitral to the best advantage and choice of its people, who are at least lucky to be able to exercise this choice in return for accepting a state of backwardness as compared to the rest of the country up to now.

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Problems of Chitral

Geopolitically influenced problems

Geographically speaking, Chitral is not part of the NWFP (North West Frontier Province) of which it has been made a district. The main river of Chitral flows into Afghanistan and there is the formidable 10,500 ft Lowari Pass between Chitral and the rest of NWFP. Chitral, therefore, remains the only part of the country which gets physically cut off for over five months each year. Culturally, Chitral is at harmony only with the Northern Areas of Pakistan, i.e. Gilgit and Skardu. Economically, Chitral happens to queue up at the tail end of the recipients receiving funds from the dwindling coffers of the NWFP Government. Commerce in Chitral has always been dominated by the ever-increasing Pathan population of Southern Chitral who have better access to the Government of NWFP. Resentment towards this aspect is beginning to show. Recently excesses committed by the transporters at Dir, to monopolize the only route into Chitral, have further widened the gap between Chitralis and Pathans. There is now an urgent need to stop any further delay in all-weather route into Chitral to prevent any elements within or outside Chitral from taking advantage of this unhealthy marriage that Chitral has with the NWFP.

Basic problems

a. **Drinking water.** There is no drinking water hygienically stored, hygienically conveyed, free of dissolved and suspended impurities anywhere is Chitral Ddistrict. The few village schemes attempting to convey water from a storage tank through pipes to a central outlet fall short of this requirement because the tanks are serviced from the source (usually a distance away) through open drains; the water contains silt and no effective effort is made to kill the bacteria. An unfiltered glass of water in Chitral town from such a storage tank will be brown in colour and full of silt. There is a scheme at hand by Germans to harness a spring and give Chitral town its first proper supply of drinking water, but what happens in the villages?

b. **Communications.** Don't judge the roads in Chitral from the drive you take from the airport to the town. Metalled roads are non-existent in Chitral. Former mule tracks have been widened to force jeeps through, leading to many fatal accidents each year. Even the main artery passing through the length of Chitral and connecting it to Gilgit is only a dirt track. A seriously ill person at Vedinkhot in northern Chitral has no chances to get to the hospital in Chitral alive. Being easy-to-please people, the Chitralis feel quite happy to hear the roar of jeeps passing by their villages, but this present state of communication leaves much to be desired. Lack of communication also is hampering the mining of Chitral's mineral wealth.

c. **Land utilization.** Although cultivable land in Chitral is scarce, there are large areas still lying unutilized. It is inexcusable not to have any worthwhile irrigation schemes for the thousands of acres lying waste in places like Kaghlasht, Morilasht, and Qudratabad. There has been no lack of effort from the local population to irrigate these lands from their own meagre resources. In Qudratabad, they carried salt on their backs to spread over the mountain to attract more snow in winter. The main river skirts

Qudratabad only 300–500 ft below the level of the village. How much expertise and financial help would be required to carry the water up to the 700 thirsty acres above and thereby please the hearts of 150 families? If water is taken to the thousands of acres lying unutilized at the 8000 ft Kaghlasht, one can grow for export special crops to which this altitude is suited.

d. Forests and firewood. Every Chitrali feels dismayed when he sees a precious jeep burning expensive fuel to transport firewood, and his amazement increases when the thought dawns on him that there is someone at the other and willing to pay the price. Firewood is becoming scarcer and more expensive every day. Nothing in Chitral is being more shamelessly destroyed than the small forested area in the south, where, for commercial purposes, destruction by all and sundry has been officially let loose on the pine trees. If immediate steps are not taken, we shall have no forests to show in Chitral. People are now cutting fruit trees to keep warm and cook their food in the long winter months.

e. Health. Fifty posts lie vacant here because of lack of qualified people wanting to fill them. Out of the twenty doctors present, there are only two dentists and one eye specialist. This for a population of 250,000 people spread over 5000 sq miles is hardly a rational and acceptable figure. And what good can ill-equipped and unmanned dispensaries do? The local population has consequently, and sadly, taken to frequent use of readily available antibiotics for the slightest of ailments. They request them by their colour from the numerous shopkeepers, who stock them along with kerosene oil, soap, and plastic footwear. Probably the largest variety of spurious drugs under brand names can be found in Chitral. People have discarded traditional herbs and medicines, which no longer take effect on bodies heavily dosed with antibiotics. The biggest sufferers are the babies and the female population, and the infant mortality rate is high. In Mastuj village I once visited a woman suffering from asthma. Her husband showed me half the contents of an injection vial which he said suited her ailment. The cracked neck of the vial had been stuffed with a piece of foam from a discarded mattress to keep the precious medicine from oozing out; its colour had been changed by the sponge. This new substance was going to be injected into the veins of the suffering woman.

f. Administration. The Chitralis have begun to feel that it is now time that they should be inducted into the various higher cadres of the district administration where they can have a direct say in development work. This is not asking for too much, considering the fact that there is now a large pool of young Chitralis who are university graduates to choose from, and also considering that in neighbouring Gilgit and Skardu for several years now locals have filled posts such as Deputy and Assistant Deputy Commissioner, Superintendent of Police, District Forest Officer, in-charge of WAPDA, PWD, etc., and have performed to the entire satisfaction of the local population. Ghizar has now the only Chitrali qualified and senior enough to take over as a Deputy Commissioner but he has been posted to Sindh.

g. Population growth. In the last twenty years the population of Chitral has doubled. Because of lack of prospects in the villages, this population is crowding into the main town, and, along with the Afghan refugees is posing a major problem to the existing civic facilities. Some efforts of world bodies to bring more land under cultivation have definitely helped to get some of this population to move to their proper locations – the villages – but a lot more is required to make it worth their while to remain there.

h. Bribery and corruption. Chitral has its share of suffering from the curse of prevailing bribery and corruption among officials of different departments. If one were to collect accurate data of the amount of money spent on various development projects in Chitral and balance it against the work actually undertaken, one would get a big shock. Officials in the past have taken advantage of the geographical conditions to wipe out the traces of half-performed projects and blamed the loss on the harshness of nature. Again it is felt that officers from within the local population will feel more accountable and will be under greater scrutiny from the public, and therefore the few who attempt to use unfair means are less liable to get away with it. Then, by nature, the Chitrali is a disciplined person and relatively more honest than other Pakistanis.

i. External aid. In the future Chitral will bear its share of the pressure caused by the reduction of foreign aid to Pakistan caused by the creation of the new world order and the affairs in the Middle East (which will also effect remittances from workers there). Development work will therefore quickly have to aim at income-generating schemes to offset this loss of revenue. Some such schemes will be discussed in the section on future prospects below.

Future prospects

a. Hydroelectricity. The vast potential of generating hydroelectricity from the numerous rivers in Chitral has never been explored seriously. It is a pity that with such fast-flowing water skirting around each village only 0.5 per cent of the area is electrified. Small hydroelectric plants brought on a common bus and transported over Lowari to augment the power generated at Tarbela Dam is a very viable proposal. Electricity can then be Chitrali's main export to the rest of the country. Then within Chitral electricity can be provided to the population at a nominal cost to help in irrigation works, fuel, and heating and thereby save the destruction of forests. We will then be able to take on heavy construction works including mining.

b. Mineral exploration and mining. The mineral resources of Chitral have never been tapped. Although this is closely connected to better communication, a proper assessment of the quantity and quality of the various minerals available can help us to determine the viability of their exploration. In fact, instead of waiting for better communication to lead us to mineral exploration, we may find that the minerals make the construction of roads viable.

c. Strategic value. Chitral was strategically important to the British because of its location vis-à-vis Afghanistan and Russia. Although the world order may have changed, the strategic value of Chitral need not. There is a possible realignment of the Soviet states resulting in the emergence of powerful Central Asia under Muslim domination. In fact, there is a likelihood of seeing a renaissance of the glory of Central Asia. Pakistan has to start looking towards that horizon. Chitral has cultural ties with Central Asia through the Wakhan, which are still being maintained, and this is a good time to start putting these ties to use. On the other hand, Chitral has cultural ties with Afghanistan. During their hour of need Chitral, has given refuge to the thousands of Afghans who are still living here. With a friendly government in Afghanistan, Chitral can play an important role towards peace and stability in the northwest border areas of Pakistan.

d. Tourism. The mighty peaks of the Hindukush, with their unspoiled, green valleys and friendly and hospitable population are the ingredients of a scenario in which tourism as an industry in Chitral can thrive and become a major source of much needed revenue for the people, provided it is controlled and the revenue so earned remains in Chitral. Once the situation in Afghanistan stabilizes, there is a good chance for Chitralis to be permitted to use the old traditional and geographically more feasible route through the Kunar Province into Peshawar over the Nawa Pass. Gradually this is bound to open to tourists who would feel eager to include this area on the popular land route through Pakistan into China to be able to get a first-hand picture of the area which saw most of the fighting with the Russians. Prospects for tourism are very good. The incentives announced by the Government a year ago (such as loans for construction of hotels at 6% interest) have yet to go through the bureaucratic channels to authorize banks to disburse them. These incentives should, however, be allowed only to locals to discourage non-Chitralis from misusing this facility by having such loans sanctioned without putting them to the use for which they are intended.

Conclusion

The 'disappearing world' of Chitral needs the patronage of people like you who have come for this conference. The scope of the conference must include a discussion on the economic problems which are in turn affecting the cultural adversely. Besides the Kalash, the Hindukush region offers the rich and colourful Kho culture which needs to be studied as much in depth as the studies carried out on the Kalash.

Judging by the gathering here, the prospects for the future of the Hindukush region seem very bright indeed.

Winds of Change: Women's Traditional Work and Educational Development in Pakora, Ishkoman Tehsil

Margaret A. Mills[*]

Research setting and methodology

This paper presents preliminary findings based on work in progress in Pakora, a Khowar-speaking community located in Ishkoman Tehsil, Ghizar. The area was settled from Chitral about a hundred years ago, mainly by Ismailis, who developed previously uncultivated land purchased from the Raja of Ishkoman. Since the first settlement, the population of Pakora has diversified to include about forty per cent Khowar-speaking Sunnis, plus several Burushaski-speaking families from Hunza (who purchased land between twenty and thirty years ago), a few Gujur families, and at least one Wakhi-speaking family from Gojal. Intermarriage has occurred among all these groups. Numerous families have kin in Shina-speaking communities of Ishkoman and Punial as well, so it should be stressed that the main language spoken in the home in no way circumscribes the cultural or marital contacts of the family. For women, a change of language environment at marriage is a common enough occurrence that it presents little grounds for remark.

My own research has comprised daily contact and informal observation in eight households in one extended family of Ismaili Sayyids (two patrilineages related by marriage), plus more intermittent visits to other Ismaili households in the settlement cluster including Pakora, Chatorkhand, Dain, Koejdeh, and Shonass, all of which are predominantly Khowar-speaking. I have briefly visited four different high-pasture areas associated with these communities. I have also spent several days in intensive observation of a local girls' school, and have myself taught English in a second girls' middle school and to a group of graduates of that school who are preparing for their matriculation examinations. Volunteer teaching has aided my understanding of local pedagogical techniques and the goals and strategies of female students. My research and language learning have been assisted by local residents able to speak limited amounts of English, but I have not relied on interpreters and have used Khowar as my main research language. Predictably, I am only now, after eight months, reaching a level of fluency where casual conversation and detailed verbal investigation become possible. The following findings should, therefore, be regarded as preliminary, subject to more sophisticated investigation in, I hope, years to come. Since a primary focus of the research is social change at the individual household level, repeat visits over the next decade or so will be necessary to monitor the decision processes and sequence of events in several households. As a folklorist, I have not emphasized the assembly of quantitative data, but am more inclined to qualitative microstudy of individual decision processes, seen as complex combinations of demographic and psychological components. Questionnaires are not part of my methodology, though I find my own findings enriched and aided by the survey techniques of previous researchers (see references).

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The general picture: Women and work

As York (1984) and Caroe (1986) correctly emphasize, Northern Areas women are not a homogeneous group. Their work and social lives vary greatly with sectarian and local differences, and especially on account of differences in the demographic composition of residential households. Given that my circle of contacts are all Ismaili, and predominantly Sayyid, the differences most visible to me are those at the household demographic level. A woman's pattern of work and social contact is greatly influenced by the size of her family of residence, the ages of its members, her position and status among the women in the family, and the number, age, and sex of her children. Within the family, there is one senior woman (married to the dominant male member, who may be the father of resident sons or the dominant — not always the eldest — among co-resident brothers whose father is deceased or no longer dominant due to age or infirmity). The dominant female, whether mother or sister-in-law, controls daily allocation of food and for the most part controls the work assignments of the other females (girls and women), though junior women's work patterns are influenced by factors outside her control as well, such as pregnancy, illness, and demands made in time of need by the natal families of daughters-in-law, who may call them home to help out in times of crisis. Longer-term juggling of regular work assignments takes place in the context of pregnancy and birth, particularly evident in a difficult pregnancy. While other observers have noted the division of labour and non-heterogeneity of women's work patterns within families (Caroe 1986; York 1984), no one has yet had the time to observe the dynamics of these relationships within the family. As York suggests, disagreement among co-resident sisters-in-law over work allocation may be a major factor in the fission of co-residential families of brothers and the division of jointly-held land. A junior wife, or if there is no daughter-in-law or sister-in-law available, the oldest unmarried daughter, will be the main cook, with responsibility for preparing fresh *Sapík* 'bread' four to five times a day (totalling three or so hours of work in a large family) plus other foodstuffs, minimally a hot vegetable dish and/or *šetu* 'buttermilk' served over crumbled bread for lunch or dinner, plus three regular teas, plus tea at any time for any visitors who arrive. In a large family (over fifteen people), cooking becomes virtually a full-time job for the main cook. Other women or girls may assist her with food preparation (e.g. bringing in the garden produce and cleaning it prior to cooking). Junior wives are usually actively childbearing as well. They will be relieved of cooking duties for two weeks to one month after the birth; if there is no one available in their residential household to take over this task, one or more female relatives from another household will fill in. This is one of the situations in which a family may call a married daughter home to help out.

The senior wife generally supervises the dairying, and is often the main milker, though she may assign churning and other related processing chores to more junior females. Two women usually work as a team on milking cows, one holding the calf near the cow's head to encourage her to release milk, the other doing the milking. Milking without a helper is considerably more difficult. The senior wife is also the one who monitors the health of animals, treats them, and calls in the local veterinary specialist (AKRSP-trained and male) at need. The senior wife also plans the size and content of the vegetable garden, (together with the men who will do the ploughing and other heavy ground preparation if a new garden is being made), but all available women and girls participate in manuring and planting the gardens, assisted by a male or two and often working in extended-family work parties (more on that to follow). How much actual hand work the senior wife does depends on her age and her predilections as well as the number of women in her household. In Pakora, senior women who are physically vigorous and who do substantial amounts of the household work themselves, thus reducing the workload of their juniors, are praised, while others, still vigorous but taking advantage of their position to gain more leisure, are criticized, at least behind their backs. Women who are known as hard workers are respected for that; less attention is given to the woman's level of skill, whereas men are recognized for both ingenuity and industry. In individual families, the physical inactivity of a senior wife, whether due to physical laziness or a decline in physical powers, necessitates adjustments in the work allocations to junior women, in which the relative meekness or aggressiveness of different women, affected by the relative activity and status of their respective husbands, may be displayed in a dynamic way. Several such stories of intra-family change are still in progress in my circle of contacts, but it seems to me well worth observing such transitions as it is through them that different status resources of women can be seen to be deployed. A junior wife, herself uneducated, may be married to a junior brother who is enhancing his social and educational status. If the woman or women senior to her have less dynamic husbands, relative status and authority may be shuffled among the women as well, as the junior brother assumes more of a leadership role. Many of the most dynamic men in Pakora, as elsewhere in the Northern Areas, leave their home communities for work; under these circumstances, the wife left behind may be more subject to the authority of others than she would be if her husband resided with her, or she may assume more responsibility for decisions normally made by a senior male, depending on the composition of the household. Her own disposition also figures in these processes. A lazy but senior woman may use her authority to relieve her own workload, but not to arbitrate among the junior women whose workloads are thus increased.

Leadership capacity varies among women just as it does among men. For development purposes, agencies such as AKRSP pay a good deal of attention to the relative leadership potential of women as well as men, though AKRSP's expertise in identifying potential female community leaders is so far still being exercised mainly at the anecdotal level, in recruiting and organizing for individual projects. Though women's leadership potential and leadership styles are most vividly illustrated in internal family events, still there are generalizations to be made about how power flows through the female half of the population; and furthermore, those patterns affect male social organization, more so in situations of frequent male labour migration, such as the present one.

Work has aesthetic as well as psychosocial dimensions, and the aesthetic of work is also implicated in the life stages and relative status of women. For instance, almost every household in Pakora has a few flowers growing inside the walled house compound, and generally, it is an unmarried older daughter of the family, near marriage, who has the flower garden as her special province—they are 'her' flowers, an aesthetic domain assigned to a woman at that period in her life when her own aesthetic appeal is in greater focus than it will ever be again. Households without marriageable daughters tend to have less ambitious arrays of flowers, though I know of exceptions where an interested individual, man or woman, has taken special trouble with the flowers.

Work in extended-family households other than that of her residence constitutes an important part of a Pakora woman's social contacts. In Pakora, the work of the peak periods in the agricultural cycle (manuring and planting, weeding, harvesting of field crops) is generally done in work parties recruited from the extended family on a reciprocal basis, so that the work experience of an individual woman depends on the contacts of the extended family and their ability to offer aid. Women, usually the junior members of the household, share work not only with women in other households in their husband's family, but also may go home to their own fathers' or uncles' houses to work, in turn receiving help from their own lineage 'sisters' during their marital households' work parties. These work sessions are a memorable part of women's social experience, the list of those participating recounted from one year to the next. They form part of the larger system of female exchange, which includes visits and gifts of food and clothing during life cycle events (marriage, childbirth, illness, death) and annual festivals (the two Eids, plus the main agricultural festivals, *biganík*, the spring planting festival and *γarxomík*, the autumn festival marking the return of the animals from the high pastures and the end of the harvest season). Khowar-speaking households in Pakora strongly maintain the tradition of *baS*, sending food gifts to daughters of the lineage married elsewhere (cf. Loude and Lièvre 1984:206, 225, 237) for parallel customs among the Kalash) and to 'milk daughters' and 'milk sisters' (not only women who have actually been nursed by a woman of the household, but those who have been sponsored at marriage by a 'milk father/mother' from the household, or those who have been given mothers' milk to treat an illness or infection. In a large and well-connected family such as the one in which I resided, the *baS* gifts may be sent to over twenty homes at each festival. This means someone, usually the main cook with some assistance, will prepare sixty to eighty loaves of *ćelpak*, large *paratha*s, or 30 or more kg of *sanubáči*, a stiff porridge of butter, wheat, and maize flour, plus wheat bread (*gom Sapík*) which is eaten with it on that day.

A girl preparing for marriage may have help from both her matrilineal and patrilineal women kin in sewing and embroidering the bridal ensemble (traditionally a handmade lace veil, *šamax,* with a fine cross-stitch-embroidered headband *sorband* and tassels, *pus*, of coloured and metallic thread, plus a cap, *khoi*, and cuffs and neck decoration, *girwanbazúri*, for the bridal dress, both embroidered in the finest possible cross-stitch. While some brides now forego the fine cross-stitch items, because of a lack of skill in the family and the high cost of buying such items, in the past a bride who could not sew for herself and whose female relations did not furnish those items might have them made by an outsider: the price of a *girwanbazúri* is reported to have been one goat or sheep, that of a *šamax* even more. Women relatives still contribute embroidered household linens (especially *tsadár* 'bedsheets' and *dastarxan* 'eating cloths'), but the designs are now usually taken from embroidery pattern books, not from the traditional repertoire of floral designs. Women also sew and embroider for their female kin on request at Eid time, and make gifts of *khoi* 'embroidered caps' and baby clothes for births, though the wearing of *khoi* is declining among younger women. As York (1984) points out, gifted women embroiderers also still sew for pay, sometimes cash, sometimes barter, on request from other women. Crafts must be fit into the spaces between subsistence work: women sew in the winter when agricultural work is slack, or after dark in summer if there is a pressing need, or while herding the cattle, if the piece being worked on is small (e.g. a *khoi*). A master stitcher of my acquaintance, thirty-five years old, married with three children and two co-residential adult women in her household, working under pressure to complete a *šamax* during August and September — in the harvest season when time was short — needed seven weeks to complete the project. Another master stitcher, an unmarried young adult who more regularly sews for pay, is said to be able to finish a fine *khoi* in a week, or a *girwanbazúri* in twenty days. Fine cross-stitch requires good eyesight; either the pressure of domestic work or deteriorating eyesight cause many women not to persist with fine needlework much after early adulthood, but in every extended family or residential area, there are still a few women recognized as master stitchers, whose work is sought by others either as part of the family exchange system or for pay. Fine cross-stitch, the most refined of the local needlework styles, is becoming less visible as young women cease to wear the *khoi* and as the bridal ensemble declines in importance. I will explore the role of crafts in women's exchange systems in more detail elsewhere (Mills forthcoming), but suffice it to say here that fine needlework, formerly a way of displaying either a woman's own skill, her family connections, or her wealth and leisure, is presently falling out of that role, to be replaced by other elements of the exchange system.

In any case, decorative crafts must remain an interstitial activity where subsistence agriculture is still the predominant activity of both women and men. Pakora is a single-crop area. Ground preparation starts in late February or March; the maize harvest ends the growing season in late September. In between, there are peak and slack periods in the women's work cycle, the peak being planting, weeding the corn (wheat is not weeded), and harvesting and storing the various crops (first kale, then apricots and mulberries, then wheat, then fodder, the later fruits and nuts, perhaps fodder again, then maize). As elsewhere, women are responsible for both the daily running of the household and for a wide variety of agricultural tasks, so that the overall workload of women, in hours spent, exceeds that of men at all times except during the peak periods of planting and harvesting (Caroe 1986; Hewitt 1989; York 1984). A cow or two and two or three goats may be kept in the village for the summer to supply milk, the rest of the animals being sent to the high pastures, usually on consignment to another family. Thus dairying in the village is done in limited quantities, most families only churning milk every second or third day even in the peak milk-producing periods. The animals not taken to the high pastures are stall-fed or confined on limited grazing grounds in the village area, the women feeding them on cut fodder or the weedings and thinnings of the garden and maize field. Very thick sowing of the maize ensures a supply of thinnings to use as animal fodder through June and July.

In Pakora, like Burusho Yasin and Gojal, (unlike Burusho Hunza and Nager; cf. Hewitt 1989, Kreutzmann 1986), women reside in the high pasture camps and do most of the work there, including all the dairying, men mainly going to collect wood or to check on the flocks. In the last few years, the cultivation of field crops (barley or maize) in the high pasture areas, men's work, has almost ceased, part of the shift in manpower to paid labour elsewhere (Kreutzmann 1986). According to local women's memories, very few families go to the high pastures now, compared to former years, and many fewer animals are kept, because, they say, young people, now going to school, are unavailable to care for them. Most animals are sent in the care of two or three Kho families, or the more substantial numbers of Gujur families (who are not as likely to send children, especially girls, to school). They take the animals to the pastures in April, returning in September or October, in return for a payment of flour, salt, and tea, and return to the owner families a set amount of ghee for each animal consigned (2 seers for each goat or sheep in 1990). Thus work in the high pastures is now a rare experience for Pakora Kho women, but the older women remember the high pastures with great nostalgia.

The decline in absolute numbers of dairy and meat animals, corroborated elsewhere (Kreutzmann 1986), is compounded by the increase in the human population, to produce an even more severe decline in per capita production of dairy products, and thus in access to calcium and protein, especially for women and children (cf. York 1984), who eat after adult men or who are allocated food after the men even if consumption is joint, and who thus have less access to fat and meat protein which are the preferred edibles. In Pakora, cultivation of vegetable protein sources such as legumes is very limited, as is purchase of these items for home use. My hypothesis, as yet undignified by quantitative study, is that while cash income enables people to buy food and avoid seasonal shortages in calorie intake, most of what is presently purchased is wheat and tea, leading to a decline in the variety of diet as compared to former patterns people report ("We used to have lots of..."), and probably also resulting in a decline in the proportion of protein and calcium available per capita. The effects of generally low quality nutrition can be seen in pregnant women (anaemia, weakness, neurological symptoms of calcium shortage). In a community where ten or twelve pregnancies are normal for the present generation, with little medical support and no birth control strategy other than two-year lactation, nutritional stress associated with child-bearing becomes a twenty-year-long condition for many women. As yet, of the AKRSP schemes for protein production, poultry management has had limited effect in Pakora, where there is no women's organization (the usual channel for poultry and kitchen-garden improvement projects), and dairy-cow breed improvement has not been instituted.

Overall, my observations in my Pakora host families of women's work patterns tend to corroborate the variety of patterns traced by Caroe, Hewitt, and York in other parts of the Northern Areas, with two differences. One is that water is available year-round in irrigation ditches adjacent to all the houses in Pakora, so carrying water to the house is not as arduous as in areas where some of the water sources freeze in winter. Secondly, wood is less of a problem in Pakora than reported elsewhere. Women's wood gathering is mostly accomplished on land less than ten minutes' walk from the hearth. The more arduous gathering of wood from upland forest areas is done by men, often assisted by donkeys. The net effect of the limitation of these two tasks, which are major time commitments in some other communities, is probably a slightly longer mid-day rest period for Pakora women than for others whose daily time allocation has been profiled (Caroe 1986), but it must be remembered that Caroe's data are self-reports through interpreters representing a powerful agency (notoriously impressionistic), not direct observations under ordinary daily conditions, and as Caroe points out, seasonal variations are substantial, as are the variations in the time schedule of individual women depending on the composition of the family work force and their place in it.

Schooling: hopes and realities

Schooling for girls was established in Pakora seventeen years ago, the year of the birth of my hostess' first daughter. In that year, two of the girl's women relatives, an aunt and a cousin, started school; both are now teachers in DJ middle schools in their respective marital communities. Thus the families in my immediate circle of acquaintance are among those most actively involved in schooling for women. My initial goal in the original design of this year's study was to note, by direct observation in schools and at home, the importation of school-derived skills into the home work environment of girls and women. As it turns out, the direct importation of school-acquired skills or knowledge, even in families very much committed to girls' education, is minimal. I expect that in the coming years, the attention of both Pakistani government and Aga Khan Ismaili Education boards to the impact of education and curriculum design may result in more carryover, but at present a dominant characteristic of the information propagated in schools is its separation from the home environment. In fact, teachers interviewed in a previous visit to the Northern Areas (1987) complained that not only are many parents, of necessity, unfamiliar with the education process and thus unable to help their children with homework assignments (since they themselves had no chance to go to school), but also, when consulted, parents tend to reject as school subjects topics they perceive as 'ordinary knowledge', including such things as agricultural and livestock management, or technical training in metal or woodworking (for boys), favouring 'clean' activities such as reading, writing, and reciting. Perceptions of my own status as an educated woman further illustrate how the community sees this dichotomy between the traditional agricultural life and the culture of schools.

At first when I tried to join women's work parties, my efforts were repulsed, with statements like, "Oh, no, your work is good, ours is bad – you go and write, while we do this (weeding, feeding cattle, etc.)." There is a general perception among both men and women that desk jobs, involving clean hands and paper, are easier and more pleasant than agricultural labor, and they certainly pay better. People have ambitions for their children to get such employment, mostly through the Government and school systems, and many area boys and young men have pursued training outside the community in order to gain such jobs. But what are the realities for women?

School-acquired literacy gives women access to jobs teaching school, and as Community Health Workers and Lady Health Visitors, but only a small number of such jobs are available in any one community. By this time, five or six times as many girls are acquiring the Matriculation degree than there are positions for them, and that differential can only increase once the main job openings, for women teachers in the girls' schools, become filled (at the moment, a shortage of female teachers means a number of girls'-school teaching jobs are held by men, but school system policy favours the hiring of qualified women for those jobs as they become available). The school curriculum includes basic information on diet, hygiene, and home management, as well as basic numeracy and Urdu literacy in school-book-type documents (not necessarily in information documents such as the package information on medicines or infant food supplements, information that women might use in their homes). Even literate women tend to keep the family budget – the rate of food use and its supply, mainly – in their heads, and can estimate amounts of annual or monthly use of basic supplies easily, without recourse to writing or calculating on paper. I have seen no direct carryover of school-supplied hygiene and diet information into the households of the school-going girls, but the information may be put to use when they themselves are running a home; at the moment, it is still their non-school-going older female relations who make the decisions about diet or hygiene practices. The complete absence of local cultural forms in the school books (e.g. tailoring patterns are for styles not worn in the area; food information includes may food items which are exotic in the Northern Areas) inspires one to wonder whether information carryover from school to home could be enhanced by supplementary curriculum materials or teaching techniques that translate general principles according to the terms of local cultural repertoire.

If direct transfer of information is not yet much in evidence, the relative prestige and authority of women within the family is being affected by schooling in certain ways. The most visible effects are two: the numerically small but highly visible employment of educated women as teachers and health workers, and the delay of marriage by school-going and matriculate-preparing girls. In Pakora, the middle school only educates to the eighth grade, so girls who seek the matriculate (still less than 20 per cent of the number starting school) must study independently for two or more years, with a small amount of tutorial help available, then take the examinations as external candidates. These girls routinely stretch this preparation period to three or four years, perhaps more, taking examinations late or taking additional time to try for supplemental examinations if they do not succeed in the first round. Among these girls, the standard answer to the question, "When are you getting married?", is "After I finish my studies". There are even one or two young women thinking of accompanying their brothers down-country for further study, should they succeed with the Matric. These young women (a minority of the whole community: I have coached up to eighteen at a time; the school graduated twelve eighth graders last year and has only seven this year) are quite aware of study as a strategy to delay marriage, just as they are aware of how radically their workload will change when they go from being the elder daughter in their father's house to the junior wife in their husband's house (A real conversation ilustrates this: Golbibi to MM: "Why don't you come to visit me?" MM: "Where? I haven't seen your house." G: "Well, you can come to my husband's house, or you can come to my father's house when I'm home visiting. That's better — at my father's house I just lie around and sleep.") Of course, this is the perspective of the young wife who returns to her father's house as a guest, but young women freely acknowledge that their workload as soon-to-be-married daughters is lighter than it will be again until they are too aged to work, or until by some miracle a well-educated husband whisks them off to the city. This of course is another reason to pursue studies: young men who are becoming educated favour wives with a matriculation degree, for cachet and a perception of equal status, if not for actually marketable skills and earning power.

Girls who go to school are removed, during the school-going years, from the first half of every work day, and as AKES personnel and my own observations attest, they spend a great deal of time at school just sitting around, socializing, or half-heartedly conning lessons with a minimum of teacher supervision. The lack of teacher supervision is necessitated in the smaller schools where one or two teachers serve five or six classes, but in the larger schools, where one teacher to one class ratios are more nearly achieved, the habit of leaving students on their own still persists, to the frustration of school supervisors and teacher trainers. This relative idleness of students during parts of the school day reinforces the notion of paper-and-pencil jobs as sanctioned idleness. While it seems that young girls are acquiring basic domestic skills, taught at home, in plenty of time for marriage, it may be that their overall habits of time allocation will be affected by their experience at school, or most likely, that the jolt of moving to a marital home, with the full schedule of a young wife, is more of a contrast to their schoolgirl existence than it would be for their non-school-going peers. Such a discrepancy further adds to the perception of school and all that is thought to derive from it as a culture of leisure. This perception is not borne out by experience under present circumstances, though.

At this point, schooling does not change the basic requirements made on young women in adult life, except that women teachers may be relieved of domestic chores for the part of the day they are in school. If the family is short-handed, though, the teachers may find themselves in the same double bind that working Western women often do, coming home to a full day's domestic work after the outside work day is finished. School-going girls are also removed from certain fields of activity, especially the high pastures, where certain kinds of information, such as specialist knowledge of medicinal plants, were formerly passed on in the course of plant-gathering and drying of species not available in the village area. This seems to me to be a small piece in the larger picture of the decline in the diversity of local knowledge and subsistence bases and patterns, in the context of development and transition to a market economy.

To sum up. While there is little direct application of school-acquired knowledge and skills to home management (which is women's main job now as in the past), there may be more carryover in future years: this is only the first generation in which girls have gone to school in substantial numbers. Schooling does result in significant changes in the work experience of young girls and in the family work pattern. The availability of schooling changes young girls' ambitions, especially in that it gives them a sanctioned alternative to early marriage: Matric can be the badge of adulthood for some girls, rather than one's first baby. This has effects on desired family size. Many young girls and young men express a desire for three children, maximum, instead of the seven to ten siblings they were raised with. Young women's perceptions of the (undesirable) workload of young wives, and young men's desire for an 'educated' wife and a white-collar job, whether realized or not, are psychological forces presently at work in the community as a whole, with benefits (improved lifestyle) visibly accruing to enough young people to encourage others to aspire. At the moment, though subsistence agriculture no longer supports the family (M. Saeed Khan, Assistant Director of Rural Development in Gilgit, estimated in July, 1990 that only 40 per cent of the average family's maintenance needs is now met by family agricultural production), women are still fully employed in that production, militating against any radical change in work patterns inspired by the school experience (rarified as it is). Yet while women are still for the most part fully employed in household-based subsistence agricultural activities, the diversity of those activities, and the diversity of local products in local use (and the diversity of skills accompanying the production of those products) seem to be declining. It seems that communities like Pakora are poised, values changing at the perceptual level but the realities of life for adult women, especially, not much augmented by down-country technologies, even while the partial monetarization of the local economy has changed patterns of consumption. Watch this space: the next ten years will be of compelling interest, just as the last ten have been.

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Tourism in the Hindukush–Karakoram: A Case Study on the Valley of Hunza (Northern Areas of Pakistan)

*Hermann Kreutzmann**

Abstract. The role of tourism in the Karakoram is analyzed in the perspective of mountain travel in South Asia, which effects the Northern Areas of Pakistan to a lesser degree than other countries of the region. On the other hand, the impact of tourism on regional development should not be underestimated, but has to be seen in the context of further development processes linked to the construction of the Karakoram Highway and related development projects.

The Hunza Valley and Gilgit are most affected by this fast growing industry. A low degree of vertical integration has left an important share of it to local entrepreneurs up to now, who enjoy an additional income besides agricultural practices. A steady increase in tourist influx to the Northern Areas since 1979 encouraged further investments. The opening of the Khunjerab Pass to trans-border traffic increased the interest of investors from outside.[1]

Introduction

The growing popularity of mountaineering expeditions and trekking in recent years has also introduced tourism to the mountainous regions of Northern Pakistan. They offer a unique concentration of some of the highest peaks on earth: Eastern Hindukush (Tirichmir), Karakoram (K2, Rakaposhi), and Western Himalayas (Nanga Parbat).

Accordingly, in 1985 alone thirteen West German travel agencies, for example, operated tours and expeditions in the Northern Areas of Pakistan. To provide satisfying facilities, the tourist industry requires a minimum of physical and personal infrastructure. An essential precondition for the development of international tourism in high mountain regions is the existence of roads and airfields. The installation of these lines of communication causes changes in different fields: in the exchange, migration and trade patterns. Tourism is only one aspect, a side effect, and its importance varies in different high mountain regions. In the Swiss Alps, for instance, nearly one-third of the work force is employed in the tourist industry, in Wallis Canton up to 50 per cent (Brugger and Messerli 1984:24–5). This proportion is not at all characteristic of the high mountain regions of South Asia and especially for the Northern Areas of Pakistan. In comparison with other high mountain regions of the Indian subcontinent, those of India and Nepal have more developed tourist industries and provide an important source of income for growing

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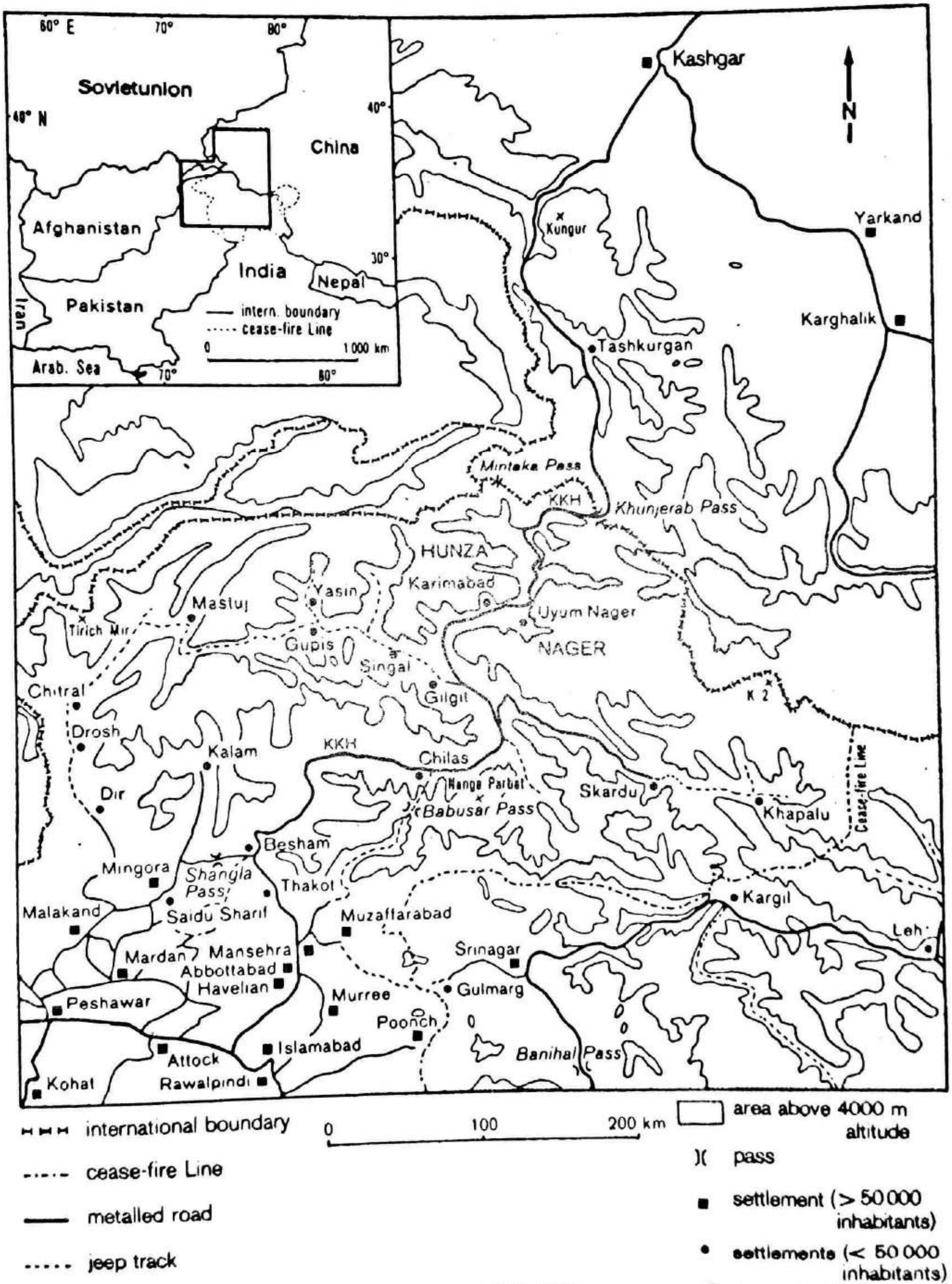
numbers of employees and entrepreneurs. Between 1974 and 1982 the number of tourists in Ladakh increased twenty-eight fold from 527 to 14,286 (Singh and Kaur 1985:374). In Nepal, the annual growth rates of the gross foreign currency income through tourism rose from 20.7 per cent in 1970 to 76 per cent in 1980. Tourism is the main source of foreign exchange coming into the country, but it safeguards employment only for 0.3–0.4 per cent of the work force (Engelhard 1983:620). The development in the Northern Areas is less spectacular, although it has changed the economic structure in some societies like Hunza (with approximately 30,000 inhabitants) profoundly.

Up to now we have little knowledge about the impact of tourism on the high mountain valleys of Pakistan.[2] Only after the completion of the Karakoram Highway in 1978 was this region opened to foreign tourists. Previously, only a limited number of mountaineering expeditions and some individual guests of the Mir were allowed. Before analyzing the tourist industry in Hunza, which is just one aspect of a changing economic structure in the Northern Areas, some remarks on other developments connected with the construction of the Karakoram Highway are useful. These factors in relation to tourism give information about the linkages and dependence of the mountain areas to down-country and the process of social differentiation and vertical integration in the valleys.

Changes in Hunza during the last century

The Northern Areas of Pakistan comprise roughly the former Gilgit Agency of British India. After the 'Hunza Campaign' of 1891 when the Mirdom of Hunza was defeated by British troops, it became a part of the Gilgit Agency as a semi-autonomous principality. After partition in 1947, the Mir of Hunza supported Pakistan actively in the cause of Kashmir. The construction of the Karakoram Highway built by Pakistan from 1966 to 1978 with Chinese help changed the exchange patterns of Hunza decisively (Fig. 1).

Nowadays the valley of Hunza is connected to down-country by a metalled, two-laned road which is open to traffic all year long. Also, 92 per cent of all settlements of Hunza are linked to road systems, a quota which is exceptional in high mountain regions of South Asia. When Hunza became a subdivision of the Northern Areas in 1974, all taxes were abolished and the Government of Pakistan introduced subsidized basic foodstuffs and subsidized cartage. Both events — the construction of the Karakoram Highway and the integration of Hunza into the administration and economy of Pakistan — changed the economic structure in Hunza in many ways.[3] The new line of communication has increased the volume of Pakistan-China trade via the Khunjerab Pass and the intra-regional traffic in North Pakistan and at the same time between mountain valleys and down-country. Gilgit as the administrative and trade centre gained regional importance. The urban population is growing constantly and also non-agrarian job opportunities mainly for the male immigrants. While the migration to Gilgit began during British rule, the emigration to the major cities of Pakistan is a younger phenomenon promoted by the improved transport facilities. The migration pattern can be characterized as follows: contrary to seasonal migration in the other valleys (during winter), people from Hunza leave for a longer period (5–25 years), take up jobs and education in Karachi or abroad, and after their return they start non-agrarian businesses. Growing numbers of male Hunzakuts — as the people call themselves — are looking for jobs outside the agricultural sector. This



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Besham
Mingora
Shangla Pass
Thakot
Kargil
Malakand
Saidu Sharif
Muzaffarabad
Leh
Mardan
Mansehra
Srinagar
Abbottabad
Havelian
Gulmarg
Peshawar
Murree
Poonch
Attock
Islamabad
Banihal Pass
Kohat
Rawalpindi
international boundary
0
100
200 km
area above 4000 m altitude
pass
cease-fire Line
settlement (> 50 000 inhabitants)
metalled road
settlements (< 50 000 inhabitants)
jeep track

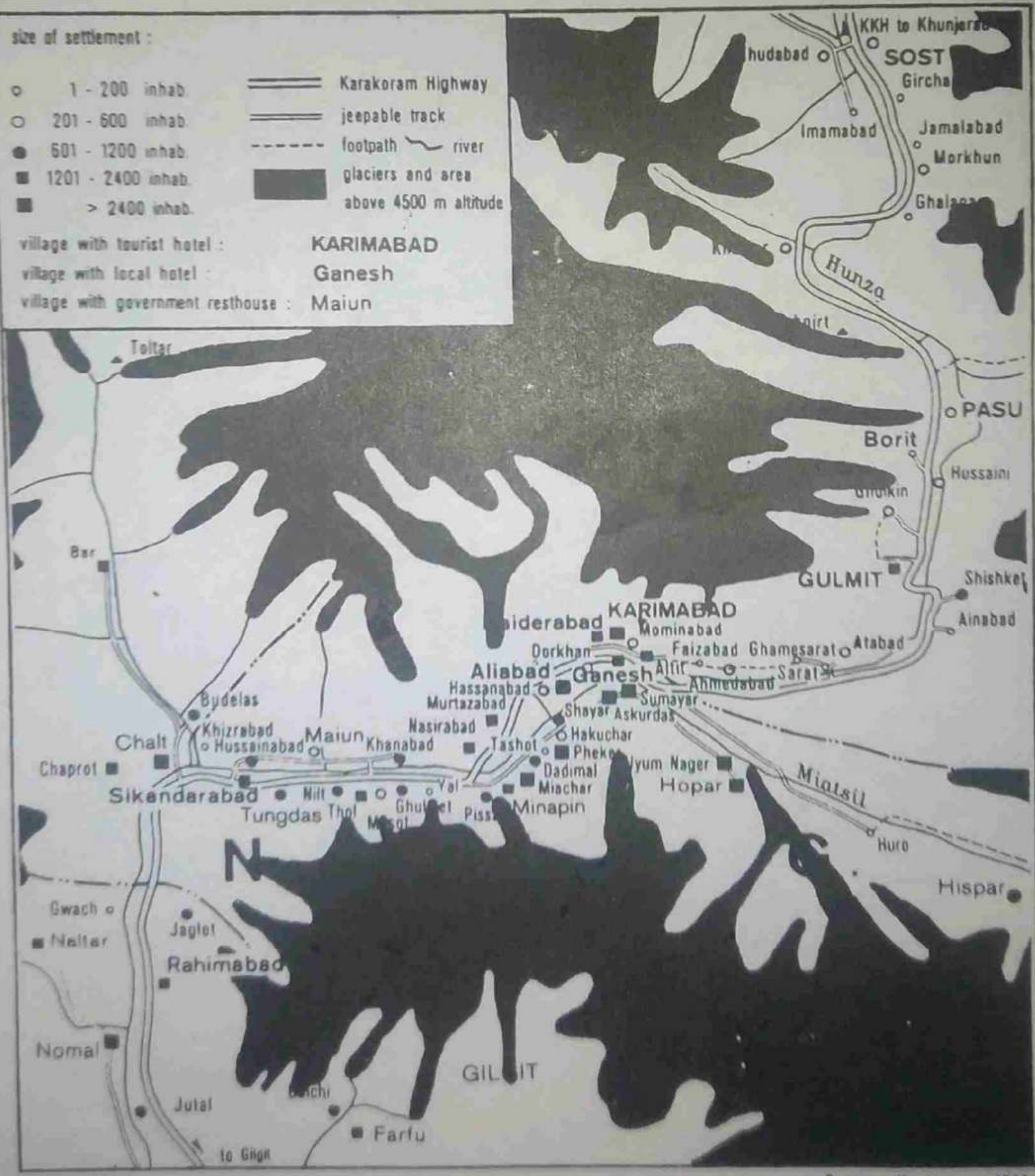
Source: Bartholomew Map (1:4 Mio.) Indian Subcontinent 1979, 1984.

Cartography: H. Kreutzmann

Figure 1 The Karakoram Highway

process shows a change from a traditional economy based solely on agriculture to part-time farming supplementary to incomes from non-agrarian occupations. Accordingly, the economic structure in Hunza is undergoing many changes.

First of all, women and old people have to do most of the agricultural work because of the out-migration of the able-bodied male population (at least one member of a joint-


size of settlement :
○ 1 - 200 inhab.
○ 201 - 600 inhab.
● 601 - 1200 inhab.
■ 1201 - 2400 inhab.
■ > 2400 inhab.
Karakoram Highway
jeepable track
footpath
river
glaciers and area above 4500 m altitude
village with tourist hotel : KARIMABAD
village with local hotel : Ganesh
village with government resthouse : Maiun
KKH to Khunjerab
hudabad
SOST
Gircha
Imamabad
Jamalabad
Morkhun
Ghalapan
Hunza
Toltar
PASU
Borit
Hussaini
Ghulkin
GULMIT
Shishkat
Ainabad
Bar
KARIMABAD
Haiderabad
Mominabad
Dorkhan
Faizabad
Ghamesarat
Atabad
Aliabad
Ganesh
Altit
Ahmedabad
Sarat
Hassanabad
Murtazabad
Sumayar
Budelas
Shayar
Askurdas
Nasirabad
Khizrabad
Hussainabad
Maiun
Khanabad
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Chaprot
Dadimal
Nyum Nager
Miachar
Hopar
Miatsil
Sikandarabad
Nilt
Yal
Thol
Ghulmet
Pissan
Minapin
Tungdas
Masot
Huru
N
Hispar
Gwach
Jaglot
Nalter
Rahimabad
Nomal
GILGIT
Danchi
Jutal
Farfu
to Gilgit

Source : Kreutzmann 1988

Figure 2 Size of settlement and tourism infrastructure in Hunza Valley

family). Secondly, four development agencies have been operating in the Northern Areas since the completion of the Karakoram Highway. They aim at the increase of agricultural productivity by means of the extension of cultivated area, construction of irrigation channels, market production (seed potatoes, vegetable seeds, fruit) and the marketing of cash crops in down-country. Although they emphasize integrated rural development, the tourism sector is not included in the planning activities of these organizations. In the context of the modified role of agriculture and interrelated changes, tourism is another important indicator for analyzing the economic structure of Hunza.

Development and extent of the tourist industry in Hunza

Hill stations like Murree, Naran, and Ziarat were the first recreational centres in the mountains of Pakistan. Only sporadic hunting parties and a few mountaineering expeditions accompanied by explorers came to the Hindukush, Karakoram, and Western Himalayas (Haughton 1913; Neve 1913; Qamar 1975). Until 1947, these expeditions brought their own mountain guides from Switzerland (see Conway 1894:xiv; Visser and Visser–Hooft 1935:30–1) and hired porters from the ethnic group of Sherpas in Nepal (Dyhrenfurth 1954:157; Streather 1954:79–80; Daud Beg 1964:21). In Hunza all undertakings had finally to be sanctioned by the Mir, who reserved for himself the privilege of housing and boarding as an additional source of income. He maintained plain guest-houses in several villages. Originally these functioned as resthouses along the Xinjiang-route between Gilgit and Kashgar.

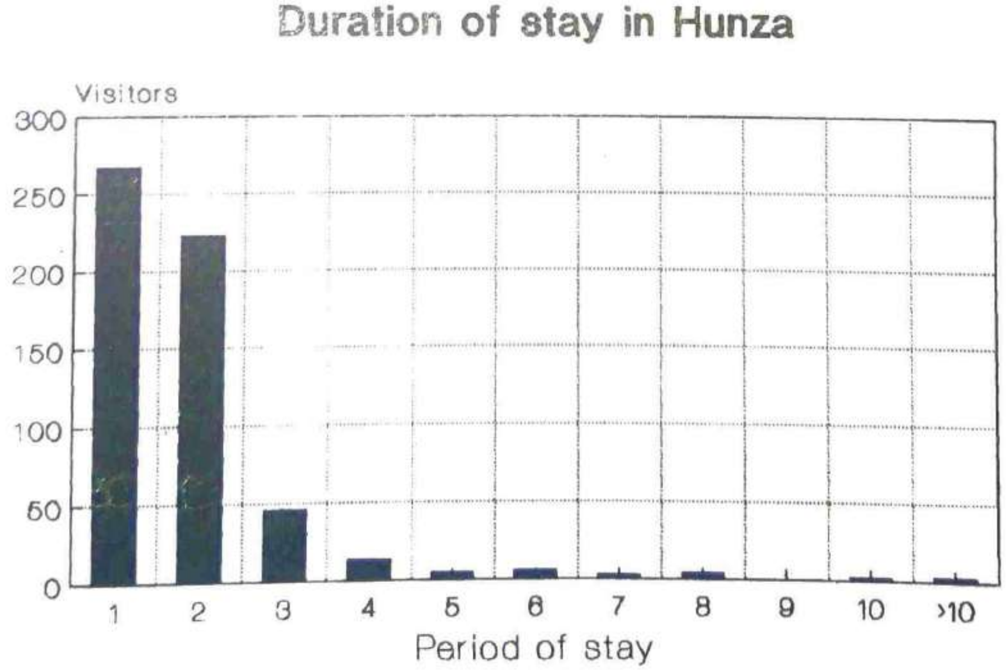

Figure 3 Duration of stay in Hunza. Source: Visitors' book of Hilltop Hotel, Karimabad.

Since the publication of E. O. Lorimer's *Language Hunting in the Karakoram* in 1939, which was a source of information for the majority of succeeding books on the alleged longevity, natural health, and deliberate vegetarian diet of the Hunzakuts, the influx of short-term visitors increased considerably during the following decades. Hunza became known as a 'Shangri La' ('heaven on earth') and attracted the interest of foreigners far more than the neighbouring valleys with a similar natural setting and material culture (Jettmar 1977:55). In the beginning of the 1970's, Mir Jamal Khan constructed the first small hotel (Hunza Tourist Hotel, now Rakaposhi View Hotel) and rented out a piece of land to the national airline PIA, which intended to set up a fifty-room, deluxe hotel. Since the opening of the Karakoram Highway in 1978, the number of visitors to Hunza has increased (Table 1). The number of hotel beds available in Hunza increased from eight in 1979 to 275 in 1987. The majority of guests travel in groups and stay only for a short period (1.8 days per visitor on the average) in Karimabad, which as the centre of tourism in Hunza is visited by every tourist (Fig. 3). The influx of visitors is concentrated in the summer months, July to September, and coincides with the peak season in the mixed mountain agriculture: harvesting of grain crops and fruit, and alpine dairy farming (Fig. 4).

Occupations in the hotel industry[1] which is run by joint families or business partners from Hunza, and jobs as jeep drivers, shopkeepers in small handicraft stalls, local guides, porters, cooks, dancers, and musicians provide an extra income. These earnings accumulated in a comparatively short period can exceed the monetary equivalent of the agrarian production. The size of land holdings in Karimabad with 0.7 ha per household (6–8 members on average) and 6 ha as a maximum is not sufficient to guarantee a living solely on agriculture. This is reflected in an annual purchase of 16.1 maunds of wheat per household (Saunders 1983:79–92).

Table 1. Lodging numbers in Karimabad 1979–1985

Year	Number of visitors × days in Karimabad
1979	302
1980	1153
1981	2358
1982	2973
1983	3863
1984	4937
1985	5361 (Jan–Oct)

Source: Figures compiled by the author from all visitors' books in Karimabad, Hunza.

The tourist industry gives a chance for investment to returning migrants and to army pensioners. Nearly 10 per cent of all households in Karimabad gain a considerable income through tourism. In Pasu, 11 per cent of the income is earned by agriculture, and 5 per cent from wages as tourist guides not counting fixed salaries, secondary profits and other businesses (Alam 1985, Fig. 10). When expeditions need porters, village communities are able to provide some hundred men for a short period, even during the agricultural

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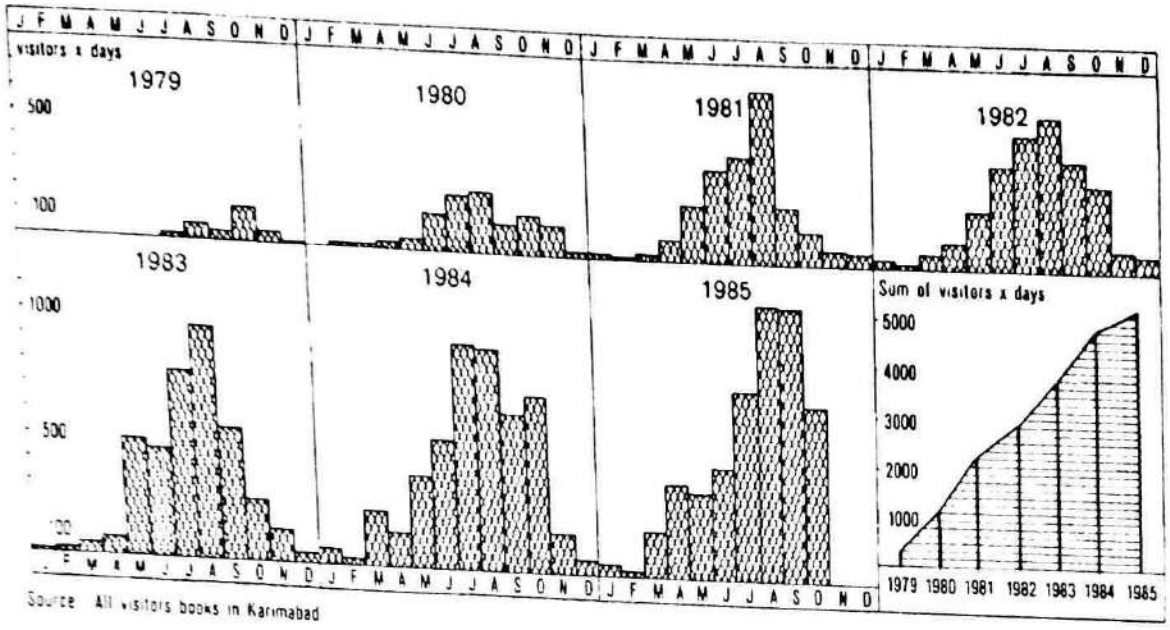
[1] In 1985 there were nine hotels and guesthouses in Karimabad, three in Gulmit, three in Pasu, and two in Aliabad plus one PTDC camp there.



Source: All visitors books in Karimabad

Figure 4 Increase of tourism to Karimabad on a monthly basis from 1979 to 1985.

peak season, as wives and relatives help out. The community of Pasu is organizing the porter service according to a certain key which gives each household an equal share in the business. Only those villages who possess grazing rights in the high pastures are privileged to supply porters for expeditions which put up their base camps on their territory. In Hunza, porters take advantage of this monopoly and demand the highest porterage in the whole area of the Himalayas and Karakoram. Sometimes the negotiation for wages leads to severe problems. Porters from neighbouring villages or even from Baltistan are not allowed to compete. There are fixed Government rates for porters of Rs. 140 per day, but these are not the object of negotiation. It is the length of the work day, i.e. the covered distance per day, which is reduced by the local porters themselves. Consequently, to get the equipment of the expeditions to the base camp becomes more expensive every season and at the same time increases the village income. In Hunza, mainly the villages of Karimabad, Gulmit, Pasu, and Shimshal make a profit out of mountaineering expeditions, because their high pastures and grazing grounds are located on the way to attractive peaks. These villages also supply porters and extra food for expedition members. The Government of Pakistan levies 'peak royalties' from the expeditions: in 1985 these fees amounted to 1.8 million rupees (*Pakistan Times Overseas Weekly* 1.12.1985). The number of expeditions stagnated between 1974 and 1981, with thirty-three groups per year on average (Table 2), but since 1982 the figures have been growing constantly. This brings a higher demand for services from porters, cooks, and mountain guides.[4] Alpine dairy farming is declining due to dropping numbers of sheep and goats and a shortage of shepherds who are willing and have the extra time to spend some months every year on the high pastures, which in former times was a privilege. A few village communities get some compensation for the reduced alpine dairy farming when these pastures are used as camping grounds by trekkers and as base camps by expeditions.

Table 2. Mountaineering expeditions in Pakistan, 1974–1985

Year	Number of expeditions
1974	31
1976	35
1976	35
1977	31
1981	33
1982	43
1985	54
1987	49

Source: Kamal (1979:26); *Pakistan Times Overseas Weekly* 1.12.1985.

Organization of the tourist industry in Hunza

Among the Hunzakuts there is a general agreement to keep the tourist industry in their own hands. The attempt to control the tourist market led to a controversy when the President of Pakistan visited Hunza in July 1986. He connected further subsidies for the region with a competitive tourist industry (*Pakistan Times Overseas Weekly* 27.7.1986). So far, Hunza has not experienced a situation like that in Ladakh where entrepreneurs from outside dominate the tourist business and gain a high profit for their investments (Singh and Kaur 1985:375). Some Hunzakuts who have a good knowledge of Urdu and English form the link between the local tourist industry and the travel agencies in Islamabad and Karachi. These tour guides and clerks are the majority of the few permanent employees of the agencies in Hunza.

Although the former principality of Nager (see Fig. 2), situated on the opposite bank of the Hunza River, can also be reached via the Karakoram Highway and offers attractions to tourists (Rakaposhi, Hopar, and Hispar glaciers) there is not a single hotel or handicraft shop in Nager. Exceptions are the resthouses in Chalt, Minapin, Hopar, and Hispar which are badly equipped and assigned preferentially to Government officials. Tourists visit Nager mainly on day trips from Hunza and Gilgit.

The growing number of visitors and the possibility since May 1986 for foreigners to enter China on the Karakoram Highway via Hunza and the Khunjerab Pass attracts investors. The Tourist Promotion Service (Pakistan) [TPS (P)] plan fifty-room deluxe hotels in Karimabad and Sost. The background of this project is a strategy which regards the tourist industry as an appropriate way to improve the employment situation in developing countries. In Pakistan the Serena chain of hotels is trying to extend their network of four-star hotels (Saidu Sharif, Sukkur, Faisalabad, and Quetta) and to introduce international standards. In June 1985, TPS (P) acquired a hotel in Gilgit (Serena Lodge) (*The Muslim* 30.6.1985). In 1990, PTDC opened a new Hotel in Chalt on the Karakoram Highway. In Hunza, until now small hotels accommodate visitors. Their owners fear the competition of the projected luxury hotels because they draw a substantial proportion of their incomes from these investments: building materials, sanitary facilities, and furniture are obtained from down-country. In some cases, joint families have granted credits to enterprising family members which are expected to amortize over a long period.

Prospects of tourist industry in Hunza

Tourism has an immediate impact on Karimabad, Gulmit, and Pasu while other villages profit indirectly. Local subcontractors supply the tourist market with food (vegetables, fruit, chicken), handicrafts (tailored and embroidered clothes), and folkloristic performances. Musicians of the traditionally low-ranking caste of the Dom (or Bericho) are counted among the best paid wage-earners of the tourist industry. Karimabad is the centre of all these activities and services which are extended every year. So far, in Hunza, no case of changing cropping systems or fallowing of cultivated land due to tourism have occurred, as has been observed by Gruber in Baltistan (1981:43). The male population's investment in tourism shifts the burden of agricultural activities to women, elders, and relatives who thus participate in the tourist industry indirectly.

The opening of the Khunjerab Pass as an entry point to China leads to high expectations by the tourist industry of growing numbers of visitors. Nevertheless, events like the Russian bombings in Chitral in June 1985, or the closure of the Chinese border in early summer 1990, have to be taken into consideration as they led to cancellations of most of the foreign groups. Pakistani tourists who discovered Hunza as a worthwhile touristic destination made up for a portion of the financial loss at that time and will play an important role in the future. Transit passengers on their way to China may have further influence on tourism in Hunza. Future trends remain to be seen. At present, some new projects have been started along the Karakoram Highway where the cost of property has risen dramatically. Besides Karimabad, investments and the improvement of infrastructure are concentrated on Sost, which is the customs post and the last village of Hunza on the way to China.

Conclusions

This analysis of the tourist industry in Hunza underlines its importance for regional development, which is different from other areas of Pakistan. The grade of vertical integration in the tourist industry is below that of comparable high mountain regions of South Asia; up to now local services (accommodation, restaurants, guides) are distinctly separated from those provided by travel agencies in Islamabad and Karachi (acquisition, organization, transport). This arrangement reserves room for negotiation and participation of the Hunzakuts in the tourist industry. Returning migrants are important investors and entrepreneurs in the tourist industry, and at the same time provide jobs locally. The tourist industry is rather a young trade and a welcome extra source of income for several Hunzakuts who do not have to give up farming for wage earning. However, economic and political crises abroad may cast a cloud over the present enthusiasm and may threaten long-term investments.

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NOTES

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2. Exceptions are the publications of Frembgen 1983, Government of Pakistan 1983, and Gruber 1968, 1981; but they contain little data on the development of tourism in Hunza.

   Before the opening of the Karakoram Highway, Hunza could be reached either via the Babusar route or via Chitral and Shandur Pass, weather and road conditions permitting. Since 1979 there has been an airfield in Gilgit and daily flights to and from Islamabad depending on weather conditions.
3. Cf. Kreutzmann (1987) for further details on exchange patterns.
4. The Alpine Club of Pakistan operates a mountaineering training centre in Nilt (Nager Subdivision) in the Hunza Valley, where every year local men get trained as high altitude porters (Dawn 1.9.1984).

A Sad Legacy

Maureen Lines[*]

I first visited Chitral in 1980. I loved the area, the people, and the countryside; although Chitral itself was already barren, forests still remained in the Kalash Valleys. A long jeep ride over a mountain ridge to Bumburet afforded a glimpse of the giant cedars, although they were already being decimated. In 1981, I made a long trek up Rumbur valley to a shepherd's encampment, not many hours away from the pass leading into Nuristan. Much of the way was through the forest and the smell of cedar was everywhere. Now Rumbur, too, is at the mercy of the woodcutter. Logs are shipped down river and carried out by jeep to Ayun. Only in the upper reaches of Rumbur can the giant cedars be appreciated up close.

In Birir, soil erosion is increasing at an alarming rate as the cutting down of the forests takes place. When I first visited the valley in 1981, the mountain slopes, above the summer pastures and fields of Grubba Chet, a finger valley, were thickly forested. Now these slopes are badly scarred as they are being denuded of the giant cedars. A trek to the lumber camp in the summer of 1988 showed an enormous number of felled trees, some large and old, others relatively young — none could be called 'dead wood'.

Recently I learned timber is being cut from another finger valley in lower Birir: also sleepers are still coming from the higher slopes of upper Birir and being floated down river. Last autumn a work gang of Afghans was employed in the lumber camp with chain-saws, and I witnessed jeep after jeep going out of Birir loaded with logs en route for Chakdara. This month I saw a repeat performance of numerous jeeps chugging out of the valley with their heavy cargo. It costs fifty rupees for a permit. One foot fetches Rs. 27 and on the black market Rs. 70.

At the end of June, after several rainstorms, the Birir River went into flood. The logs on the river-bank were caught up in the surging rush of muddy water. All bridges were washed away; women working in the fields on the southern bank were separated from their children and homes on the northern bank. Some dogs were temporarily marooned on a sandbank in mid-river. Cattle, taken to pasture on the other side, were unable to return to their cattle-houses. Irrigation channels were broken; mills ground to a halt; waterholes were contaminated; and the road washed away. These, however, were only temporary problems. The destruction of several fields, a mill, and a Muslim home were more disastrous. The river-bank was further eroded and it is hard to believe that once shady glades existed between the river and Guru village. Birir is a narrow valley and now the river is cutting into the very foundations of Guru village, beneath the irrigation channel and pathway that leads to several hamlets down-river.

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In Bumburet it takes many hours to reach the logging camp, as the slopes, close to the main part of the valley, have long since been denuded. In the recent flood, again in June, many fields were destroyed, part of a hotel washed away, and the river-bank littered with dead wood and uprooted trees.

The higher slopes of Rumbur far away from the main valley are still thickly forested, but, again, an alarming number of trees are being felled. In a flood a few years ago, a number of fields were washed away and a child swept off a bridge. In a recent flood there was a bad land-slip and a section of road destroyed. A ban on the cutting of the forests of the Kalash Valleys was called for last year by Shakil Durrani, the Commissioner for Malakand. Corruption, however, from what I have been told, succeeded in stopping the ban from being effective. Jeeps come to the valley and out goes the wood. Perhaps, if the NWFP Government banned the export of wood from Chitral, corruption, in regard to the destruction of the forests, would then disappear and no more jeeps laden with logs would come out of the valleys. If something is not done soon, the Kalash valley of Birir will be destroyed within the next few years. Then, where will the people go? Bumburet is already being destroyed by tourism as well as deforestation, and Rumbur, also in danger, cannot give succour to the inhabitants of the other valleys.

I am told that reforestation is taking place. To replant the high slopes with cedars would be costly and it would be well into the next century before any results would show. A cedar takes around sixty years to mature and more than fifty per cent of the trees planted would not survive. The reforestation I have seen is the planting of saplings beside the river and irrigation channels (in some instances, I have been told, branches are stuck in the soil for the benefit of visiting dignitaries). This is not going to help the soil erosion of the mountain slopes. A proposal to do aerial spraying of *Deudonia* seed by Mr. Zahid Elahi, Monitoring Economist of CADP, could help check the soil erosion but only if there is an effective ban on the cutting of more timber — time is running out for the people of the valleys.

On the other side of the border, the same thing is happening and I am told sleepers are piled up at Arandu. The Kuchis go in with the camels, which can carry six sleepers each; also men from Bajaur go in with mule trains, each animal carrying two sleepers. One valley is seeing the fields laid waste, its mountainsides a graveyard of tree trunks and knee deep in soil.

Besides the loss of the forest (and subsequent soil erosion) and natural habitat for wildlife, the Kalash (helped by Muslim sportsmen), in the mistaken belief that all birds damage the crops, have killed off most of the birds. Only myna birds, which young children keep as pets, flourish — along with a few crows. Boys and young men with catapults and guns have decimated the bird population. Fields are being damaged by caterpillars, the natural prey of the birds. Now the Kalash have discovered DDT, long since banned in the West for its harmful effects. Muslims spray their stores containing food, such as open chests of tea, rice, and sugar, with DDT and other pesticides. They use them in the fields and contaminate the waterholes and irrigation channels. Those Kalash who can afford it are copying their Muslim brothers. A child died in Rumbur a few years ago because his father dusted his young son with DDT powder to kill the fleas. I once stopped a Kalash man from pouring DDT into his ear to rid himself of a fly. Sprays and DDT powder are left on the ground in houses for children to come upon.

Chemical fertilizers are also now finding their way into the valleys, so starting a spiral of increasing dependence upon the use of chemicals for farming; this could eventually lead to bankruptcy for the farmer and destroy their natural and traditional way of farming, aside from the dangers already mentioned. Project workers in Chitral say the people need to increase their yield and that environmentalism is a luxury and that one has to be realistic. IUCN has supplied Chitral with a tape showing the harmful effects of insecticides and chemical fertilizers and how biological control and natural ways can be found to increase yield and rid the fields of pests.

C.A.B. International Institute of Biological control, an inter-governmental, non-profit organization, already has personnel working in Pakistan. In NWFP the effect of mixed cropping of sugarcane with clover for controlling sugarcane borer (*Chilo infuscaleellus*) was studied. In the experimental fields, there was an 81 per cent mortality of the larvae. Other methods, such as importing an ectoparasitoid of the sugarcane borer from Indonesia, rearing it in laboratories and releasing into the fields is also being explored. Chitralis are more prosperous now than they were ten years ago, but, with urbanization, people need work. Tourism has come to Chitral; new hotels are being built; tour companies are being formed. If the Kalash valleys are destroyed, will barren mountains, subject to flash floods, bring the tourist to Chitral? What affects the Kalash, also affects the other people of Chitral. Hotel workers, jeep drivers, shopkeepers, all will be hurt if the growth industry of tourism is destroyed. And what of the Kalash? For them, the destruction of their habitat will mean their very culture and way of life will vanish forever. In the next century, the people of Pakistan and the world will not forgive this generation.

When I asked the Deputy Commissioner, who holds the same views on the Kalash and the environment as those of the Commissioner, if a ban on the cutting of wood in the Kalash Valleys was imminent, he replied that, unfortunately, not, but that the amount cut was being restricted. The District Forest Officer, when he saw my abstract in the brochure, said he did not agree with it. When I asked why, he said that the people needed the royalties from the timber. When I asked what would happen when the forests disappeared, he had no viable solution. Perhaps if he is in the audience he will give us that answer.

Anticipating a possible question. An alternative to the royalties is income from tourism; by that I mean controlled tourism with rules and regulations to protect the Kalash from harassment. The valleys of Rumbur and Birir should be cut off from mass tourism and the hotels in Bumburet be given back to the Kalash. The income generated could be distributed between the three valleys and hotel workers gathered from all three valleys. If Rumbur and Birir are made into a protected area, the Kalash stand a better chance of preserving their culture.

The keeping of bees also could be encouraged in order to generate another source of income.

I repeat, in the next century, the people of Pakistan and the world will not forgive this generation if the Kalash lose their culture and their valleys are destroyed.

Comments on Lines' Paper

McGrath: Reforestation cannot replace the forest, it can only supply timber. But it cannot provide a natural forest. Also, reforestation is extremely difficult while timber mining is going on. It is almost never attempted successfully while people mine the forest cheaply. Old trees are very cheap to cut down, and only when that source of timber is finished usually or when the government or the people stop the logging does real reforestation occur. In Australia we are still mining our forests. First it is necessary to stop the mining of what little forest remains, and the it might be possible to work on plantation.

Lines: I do not advocate that the people in the valleys should not be allowed wood for their own fires or construction. What I am advocating is that wood should not be shipped out of the valleys and exported and used by contractors for earning month outside.

Discussion on the Problem of Deforestation

A supplementary session was organized to continue discussion of the problem of deforestation raised in the talk by Maureen Lines. The following paragraphs summarize the main points presented in this discussion.

Israr-ud-Din: The process of forest depletion was accelerated by a decision made about fifteen years ago to give royalties to people in the valleys. In the past, during the time of the former state of Chitral, all forests belonged to the state, and the state rulers controlled the forests and prevented ruthless cutting of the trees. Until the mid-1970's, there was not such ruthless cutting. After the mid-1970's, certain new rules followed in Dir and Swat were also introduced in Chitral. In Dir and Swat Kohistan, the forests belonged originally to the tribes, who had ownership rights; whereas in Chitral it was different. All forests belonged to the state and thus to all the people of Chitral. After merger, the government of NWFP decided to nationalize the forests in Dir and Swat Kohistan. This was resisted by the people of Dir and Swat Kohistan; then the Government decided that the forests belonged to the local people, who should get royalties. Seeing this, people in different valleys of Chitral argued that they should also get royalties from forests in their areas, and the Government agreed to this. This, however, meant that people living in areas without forests no longer got a share from forest income. The main problem now is not royalties *per se*, but that some people sell trees in advance to contractors from down-country who cut them ruthlessly from Ashret to Bumburet. As a result of this, there has been more cutting in the last five to ten years than in the previous fifty or a hundred years.

This problem exists not only in Chitral, but is being faced by the whole country. Environmental degradation affects the whole country. Forest cutting leads to erosion and floods, plus silting up of dam reservoirs. Animal habitats are being destroyed.

Major Ahmad Saeed: Both sides of the picture must be seen. I agree that indiscriminate cutting of forests will lead to many future problems, but people inhabiting forested areas are generally very poor. During the rule of the ex-state rulers, the forests were under control of the state, whereas forests in the rest of NWFP belonged to individuals. In certain parts of Chitral also, people owned the forests. We are now living under one law of Pakistan, and if the people of Hazara, Swat, and Dir Kohistan can get royalties from forests, I think the poor people of the forested areas of Chitral should also get royalties. Personally, I am against royalties, but the people of those areas deserve to get them. The Kalasha valleys' standard of living and sources of income are limited. Forest royalties are probably their only source of cash income. If royalties not given to these areas, and if forests are controlled by the Government of Pakistan, cutting will still not be stopped, and the money will go to a central exchequer and will probably not be utilized in Chitral but somewhere else. I agree that there should be a limitation on cutting, but there should be some way to compensate the poor people of these areas and simultaneously stop the cutting of the forests. If the Government seriously considers the problem, they can work out a solution. Simple stopping of royalties would be an injustice to the poor people of these areas.

Israr-ud-Din: The question of ownership of forests has already been settled, and we have to move on from here. If people were surviving before without royalties, they should be able to get along in the future. The speed of cutting has accelerated so much because of the greed created by royalties in certain people, and because of certain vested interests. Cutting should be done, but in a planned and limited way. The Forest Department should plan how many trees can be cut per year, which should be so that the environment does not suffer.

Michael McGrath (guest from Australia): I have worked in Australia with people from Southeast Asia on a range of environmental issues. Logging and deforestation is probably the most difficult of these problems to deal with: there are no easy solutions to this problem. My experience is with tropical rain forests, which are a different ecosystem from that in Chitral, but there are virtually no examples of sustainably managed tropical rain forests in Southeast Asia. Most forest management operations provide very few short-term benefits to local people. In almost all cases, both when government controls the forests and when local people control the land, the local forest officers are corrupt and are in league with the timber industry. My own experience does not provide much hope. The only hopeful aspect is where people are asserting local control of their own forests. In areas of the Southwest Pacific, in a few places in Papua New Guinea, local people are developing small portable mills which they carry into the forest so that they can control the rate and location of logging. People in parts of Indonesia have asked for a moratorium on logging so that local people can get their organizations together and think carefully about the issues involved. It is a situation that must be dealt with 'now or never'. After all the forests have been logged, it will be too late to decide that it was not a good idea. The forests are the only source of wealth for these people; they need a few years to think about a possible solution before making decisions. Perhaps the situation in the Kalasha valleys is the somewhat the same—with people facing pressure for social and cultural change and poverty, and having few options and little control over the tourist industry which is a potential source of income for them. To ask them to make a decision immediately is perhaps unwise. Perhaps a temporary moratorium on cutting is a possible solution.

I am not aware of any situation where government or private industry has been able to set up an effective plantation industry at the same time as timber is being taken out of natural forests, because it is so much cheaper to log a natural forest. Nature has done the work for us; it has provided so many free services. This timber can be bought so much more cheaply than timber from plantations. It is just not economically or politically possible to set up an effective plantation industry. On a worldwide scale, I don't see it possible to set up an ongoing plantation industry while natural forests continue to be exploited.

These are not decisions to be rushed into; people deserve time. It is also unfair to say to local people, "We will give you power to set royalties. Choose whether you want to have your forests logged or not," and then not to give them control over anything else, e.g. not to give them control over fishing or tourism. It is not consistent to say that they can make a decision about one thing, but not about others, for example tourism. Local people will have to work out a solution for themselves; it won't work otherwise. But it is probably too early to ask them to work it out.

M. P. Bhandhara: American naturalist George Schaller has written a book, *The Stones of Silence*, dealing with Chitral. Looking upward from the Governor's Cottage into the Chitral Gol, a generation ago the Chitral Gol was full of forests. Now there are only five or six cedar trees surviving among the stones of silence. Chitral is outside the monsoon zone, thus its remaining forests are primeval forests. The difference between primeval forest and rain forest is that once a primeval forest is gone, it is gone forever. Therefore, if one has to be careful in logging a rain forest, one must be much more careful in logging a primeval forest. This asset is not renewable. In princely times, when environment was not a big issue, the rulers of Chitral enforced rules on logging strictly. One of the main problems after Pakistan is removal of these restrictions.

The problem has assumed critical dimensions in Chitral. Trees like juniper and cedar take hundreds of years to grow. They require a forest floor and protection from goats and sheep in order to take hold and grow. What can be done? There are three or four things that government or local administration can do. (1) Appreciate that it is dealing with a primeval forest that cannot be replaced. (2) To meet the fuel needs of the people of Chitral, several things can be done; for example, the use of solar cookers. When I tried to introduce the first solar cooker among the Kalash, people said that the taste of food was different and the people would not accept the solar cookers. Even if solar cookers have to be introduced free today, it would be well worth it to introduce them. (3) There is said to be a form of peat available in the Baroghil region. If this is true, it should be mined and used as an alternative fuel to wood and other fossil fuels. (4) The fires of the Kalash are very wasteful of fuel. They do not conserve heat. About two years ago, fuelefficient cookers were introduced; and some are now being made in Chitral itself. Each cooker uses only about one-third the fuel that an open fire used. (5) Increasing local control over decisions affecting Chitral will lead to more appropriate and sustainable planning.

Peter Parkes: The issue of logging is a very sensitive one, because there are whole businesses and livelihoods dependant on the forests. All that we can do at the moment is to advise that the level of permits be reduced, and increase in permits should be reduced. But many people's livelihoods are dependent on logging. Although we, as outsiders, see the urgency of the environmental issues, there are also important social problems involved. Royalties should be maintained for local people, even though this leads to feeling of unfairness from people living in non-forested issues of Chitral. These immediate social problems require a sensitive approach.

The Future of Chitrali Culture and Literature: A Challenge for Social Scientists

Inayatullah Faizi[*]

The socio-economic progress and material developments of the modern age have endangered the cultural survival of a number of small communities having distinctive and unique customs and traditions in far-flung parts of the world. For most of these cultural groups, the preservation of their traditional norms has become over the last few decades a matter of great concern. Many such communities in the developing world, famous for their primitive yet self-sufficient ways of life and traditional customs, are giving up their old traditions and adopting modern and borrowed modes of civilization. The present industrial and mechanized age has posed a threat to the great cultural heritages of the past, and it seems that advancement in the means of production and changes in the habits of living will ultimately mean an increasing detachment from the traditional links, and, in the long run, result in the cultural ending of a community.

Asia, particularly the central and southeast part of it, has been highly regarded in the past for the cultural heritage of its peoples. The mountainous region overshadowed by the Hindukush range is one of the rich zones of Asia that has attracted many scholars and institutions of higher learning to study various aspects of its cultures. A number of communities such as the Kalash still survive with most of their primitive ways of life, customs, and traditions; but there is a growing trend of departure from the past in most of the communities in the region.

The Hindukush zone is the abode of a diverse variety of peoples with different identities, different languages, and varied cultural heritages. The area seems destined to be one of the worst victims of modern civilization following the development activities in recent years. Old customs and traditions are being swept away by the winds of change and a trend even of hatred against the primitive culture is growing among the new generation, day by day. Traditional dresses are being replaced by the latest fashions; age-old festivals are being ignored; traditional arts have been replaced by new ways of passing the time; and traditional crafts are being given up in exchange for new skills for one reason or another. Passive listening to radio or watching TV distracts people from healthier activities and pursuits. Many traditions related to herding, farming, and hunting in Chitral traditions related to herding, farming, and hunting in Chitral have been given up, or are being ignored with the passage of time. The traditional way of playing the *buk*, a traditional tune on an ibex-horn flute by the village shepherd at dawn and evening time when the herds set out for pasture and returned home, is heard nowhere in Chitral. Similarly, the traditional feast called *bi nisík* prepared and served on the occasion of the first seed sown in a sowing season, is no longer in practice. Traditional festivals of the Kho like *phindík*, *oCwán*, and *ašton* (summer festivals), *sal γereek*, and *pathak* (spring festivals) have ceased to exist in the manner in which they were celebrated in the past. The arts of music, dancing, and singing have been replaced by manufactured activities, and traditional games like *patik dík, danz dík, bamphu γal, šimeeni Zingeéik*, and *γaC Chokík* have been replaced by new games such as cricket, carom, and badminton. The famous handicrafts of the Kho and Kalash are also undergoing modernization or being superceded by the cheaper and easier products in the market. The woolen *paTi* of Chitral called *moγikan* has been replaced in the market by a similar woolen cloth produced on power looms in Swat and available to the middleman at much cheaper rates. Similarly, the *palésk* and *qalín* have been replaced by cheaper things produced by the Afghan refugees. The same is the fate of the traditional embroidery and weaving skills of the women in Chitral. New designs with knitting and weaving machines are being promoted and traditional handicrafts are likely to vanish.

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There was a time when the needlework, spinning, and weaving skills of a young lady were considered her best qualifications. Now these skills are no longer counted as important aspects of merit and consequently nobody cares about these crafts. The old generation of craftsmen and women in Chitral had very good knowledge of traditional design, which we see depicted in wood-carving and embroidery and used in woven handicrafts. All this knowledge and expertise will fade away as soon as the older generation passes away.

The traditional knowledge of the older generation about stars and fairies together with a number of superstitions attached to natural phenomena have not been communicated to the present generation and only a few persons among the outgoing stock know something about these rich traditions of the past. There is only one person, aged about eighty-five years, in the whole district who knows the details of the traditional lunar calendar of the Kho people. Similarly, only two or three persons, of about seventy years of age, have the knowledge of traditional designs in woodcarving, weaving, and embroidery. In clay work and pottery, we find an old man of 105 years in Madak village who possesses the knowledge of the traditional craft of pottery in Chitral. Similar is the case with the arts related to folk music, songs, dances, and oral traditions.

In addition to this state of affairs with regard to the future of folk arts, crafts, and oral traditions, there has been interaction among many cultural groups in the same environment which has subsequently brought about a number of changes in the oral and material cultural of the people, contributing towards a mixed society in Chitral. For example the Wakhi, Kirghiz, Sariquli, and Kho make a closed society in the landlocked mountain valleys of Upper Yarkhun near the Wakhan corridor. Each group sticks to its own culture, yet is influenced by its close neighbours in many things. In the extreme south, the Shins, Damelis, Pashtuns, and Kho live together. They strictly follow their own way of life, but lending and borrowing of cultural norms is very much there among these neighbours. Similarly, the Gujurs and Tajiks of Madaghlasht in the southeast, and the Kalash, Bashgalis and Munjis (Yidgha-speakers) to the southwest have either influenced the Kho or have been influenced by them. The age-old intercourse of many cultural groups in the same society in a landlocked area has brought about many changes in the culture of each group, and makes an important study in human history.

A review of the present literature on the area reveals that some valuable works on the subject have been produced by various institutions of Europe. The British officers serving in this region penned down their impressions of the area in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. In the first half of the present century, German scholars, Norwegian researchers, and Danish expeditions carried out their studies in the area. John Biddulph, George Robertson, D. J. T. O'Brien, G.A. Grierson, Dr. Leitner, Georg Morgenstierne, Georg Buddruss, and Dr Karl Jettmar are some of the pioneers in various disciplines of the social sciences in this region. Later on, the Americans and French have also been attracted to the study of this area. The South East Asia Institute of the University of Heidelberg, the Indo-Iranian Institute of Oslo University, and the Prehistoric Museum of Moesgaard, are some of the famous centres of source material on the Hindukush region. It is unfortunate that almost all the work on this region has been undertaken by foreigners and only a few serious attempts have been made by native scholars, among them Dr Nazif Mohib Shahrani, Professor Israr-ud-Din, Shahzada Hussam ul-Mulk, Wazir Ali Shah, and others.

There is need for an interdisciplinary programme of joint research on the oral and material culture of each cultural group in different valleys of Chitral. The programme should aim at concentrating on collection, documentation, and dissemination of material on the customs, festivals, dresses, folklore, and other aspects of the traditional heritage of each cultural group of the present society in Chitral. Table 1 lists the major components of the population of Chitral.

Table 1. Composition of Chitrali Population

Community	Population	Area
Kho	175,000	Chitral district, Ghizar District, and Bashkar (Kalam Valley) of Swat
Wakhi	1,000	Upper Yarkhun valley in the extreme north of Chitral
Kirghiz	10	Upper Yarkhun valley
Sariquli	50	Upper Yarkhun valley
Munji (Yidgha)	4,000	Upper Lotkoh valley in the southwest
Shins (Phalura)	10,000	Ashret and Byori valleys in the south
Damelisi1	5,000	Arandu and Damel valley in the south
Madaghlashti (Tajik)	5,000	Upper Shishi valley in Drosh in the southeast
Gujurs	16,000	Upper Shishi valley, Drosh, in the southeast
Bashgali (Kati)	4,000	Upper Bumburet, Birir, and Lotkoh valley to the southeast
Pashtuns	5,000	Chitral proper, Drosh, and Arandu in the south
Kalash	4,000	Bumburet, Rumbur, and Birir valleys in the southeast.

So far, proper source material is not available in printed or manuscript form on the culture and people of Chitral in the following fields:

i. Linguistic diversity and oral literature of different languages
ii. Ethnic diversity — lineage of various ethnic groups, their culture and history.
iii. Nomenclature and etymology for the names of villages, places, and plots. (Here in Chitral, every piece of land in the utilized landscape has its own name and this makes an interesting study).
iv. Cultural history of Chitral, evolution of a highly cultured society in the land-locked region through age old traditions
v. Folklore, folk and traditional heritage

There are a number of creative and research works written in Persian, Urdu, Arabic and Khowar, and some native scholars both in prose and poetry in manuscript form, which need thorough editing, translation (in some cases), and publication. The manuscripts written during the last 300 years particularly provide a good deal of source material on the history and social system of Chitral.

Further survey of the area will prove useful in finding out the scope of research needed in various disciplines. In fact, we will never be able to check the tides of change. We can neither stop the pace of time, nor return to the past. What we can do is to preserve the remainders of the past in recorded or documented form. This goal may be achieved by social scientists through extensive research to be followed by a series of detailed works on different aspects of the culture of various communities living in the area. Some of these peoples such as the Kalash, have preserved their unique and primitive culture while some others have lost their traditional heritage. Recent developments in the area have changed the face of traditional society and more drastic changes are likely to take place in the future. It is feared that with the materialization of the long conceived dream of the Lowari Tunnel, the traditional society of Chitral will become more vulnerable to the problems of modern civilization and the area will lose its identity as a land-locked zone having its own culture.

In order to preserve the existing glimpses of the traditional society, the intelligentsia in Chitral is of the view that the idea for a research project, should be introduced through the auspicious forum of the Hindukush Cultural Conference. There follows an agenda for the proposed project,

1. Folk songs of Khowar, Wakhi, Kalasha, Sariquli, Kirghiz, Dameli, Yidgha, Bashgali, and Shina (separate works to be carried out)
2. Traditional musical instruments in Chitral
3. Folk tales/stories of Khowar, Wakhi, Kalasha, Shina, Kirghiz, Sariquli, and Dameli
4. Folk dances of each community in Chitral
5. Folk games of each community
6. Folk life, dresses, and house types of each group, in Chitral
7. Folk and traditional festivals
8. Traditional crafts and skills
9. Folk customs of marriage and burial, etc.
10. Folk beliefs about fairies, and superstitions
11. Etymology of the names of places
12. Social and cultural history of the people

13. History of oral traditions
14. Collection, translation, and editing of old manuscripts
15. Compilation of dictionaries for Khowar and Kalasha

The proposed project would indeed serve as a challenge for institutions of advanced studies and social scientists working in different fields of knowledge on human history. A team of enthusiastic researchers trained in various disciplines and guided by competent consultants, should be commissioned to launch the project. It would need to be carried out according a phased schedule in four different stages. A highly disciplined research institution should be set up in Chitral, well equipped with all the latest audio-visual and documentation facilities for recording and processing of data.

The first phase of the project should comprise a cultural survey of the area. Provision of equipment, vehicles, building, and other basic facilities should be part of this phase. The second phase should be initiated with the collection of available material through extensive field research and documentation of source material. The third phase of the project should comprise processing and publication of the data. A fourth phase of the project would be to set up a permanent academy or board with a library and cultural museum to follow up the whole programme. This academy/board would partially depend on its own resources generated through the sales of cassettes and publications. The project could be jointly sponsored by UNESCO, the Aga Khan Trust for Culture, and the Ministry of Culture, Government of Pakistan, at the initial stage. European and American institutions may also contribute their share towards the project.

With the twentieth century nearing its end, the latest developments in electronic media will surely bring the world to a closer understanding, and rapid socio-economic changes will be leaving their effects on the traditional societies in developing countries. The primitive cultural heritage of place like Chitral is no doubt in danger. If these cultural norms and glimpses of folk and traditional inheritance are preserved in recorded, documented, or printed form, it will be a great service to the cause of the advancement of knowledge in various fields of human endeavour.

Remarks of Deputy Commissioner, Ishtiak Ahmad Khan

I present here a few thoughts on the problems and prospects of Chitral. Chitral is the northernmost tip of NWFP, with an area of about 15,000 square kilometres and a population of about 250,000 plus 40,000 Afghan refugees. It is a special place for me—with a unique culture and unique problems. Based on my experiences, a few problem areas are identified.

1. Scarcity of cultivable land. The population is unable to be self-sufficient in food. Large quantities of food plus other essential commodities have to be imported and stored before closure of Lowari Top in December.

2. When Lowari is closed, the District is cut off from the rest of the country for about six months, which chokes all activity in the District for this time.

3. The fragile mountain ecology is under threat by economic and human pressures from the large indigenous population plus refugees. Large-scale cutting of forests is causing erosion and floods. The great influx and prolonged stay of tourists, especially in the Kalash Valleys, is threatening local cultures. Easy availability of weapons has led to the introduction of an element of violence into Chitral, which was not there before.

4. More roads, schools, better health services, more water supply schemes and irrigation channels, electricity, and development of an alternate fuel source are needed to overcome the increasingly severe shortage of firewood.

Various government plus non-government measures are being taken to solve these problems.

1. The provincial government annual development plan and allocation of crores of rupees through nation-building departments.

2. The Provincial Government has instituted the Chitral Area Development Programme, under which about one billion rupees will be spent on various development schemes in the district over the next five years. A major component of this project is the metalling and widening of the Chitral–Booni Road, about 75 km long.

3. The AKRSP are doing good work by creating a sense of self-reliance among the population.

4. The District Council is executing development schemes within the District.

5. There are also some specially funded projects, e.g. the Reshun hydel station, which will meet the electricity needs of all of upper Chitral plus some of lower Chitral, and the water supply scheme for Chitral Town Area. Both projects are to be completed within two to four years. Work on the Lowari Tunnel was started in the 1970's, and so far one kilometre has been completed. The total cost is estimated to be three billion rupees, but the Gvernment stands committed to completion of this project. I hope it will be completed soon.

When these billions of rupees have been spent and these schemes completed, a new face of Chitral will emerge in the twenty-first century. Most of the problems mentioned above will have been solved. But then Chitral will have to face some new problems. (1) As the pace of life becomes faster it will lose its present state of tranquility. (2) If Lowari Tunnel is completed, it will link Chitral with the rest of the country and give an all-weather road; but simultaneously as Chitral comes into contact with the outside world its culture will be subjected to pressures from the outside world and alien cultures. (3) An increased number of tourists will lead to commercialization of the environment, which will pose a threat to the present state of innocence and contentment—a life where people are at peace with the universe and at peace with themselves. In this context, the Kalash people will face the question of the survival of their unique culture.

This conference will probably suggest many solutions to these problems, and measures which can lead to a peaceful and happy life in Chitral. I offer my congratulations to the organizers of this conference and thanks to the guests for their work and ideas aiming at the welfare of the people of Chitral.