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**Section IV**  
**Development Issues**

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# CHITRAL DISTRICT: A BRIEF SURVEY OF RESOURCES, PROBLEMS, CONSTRAINTS AND FUTURE DEVELOPMENT

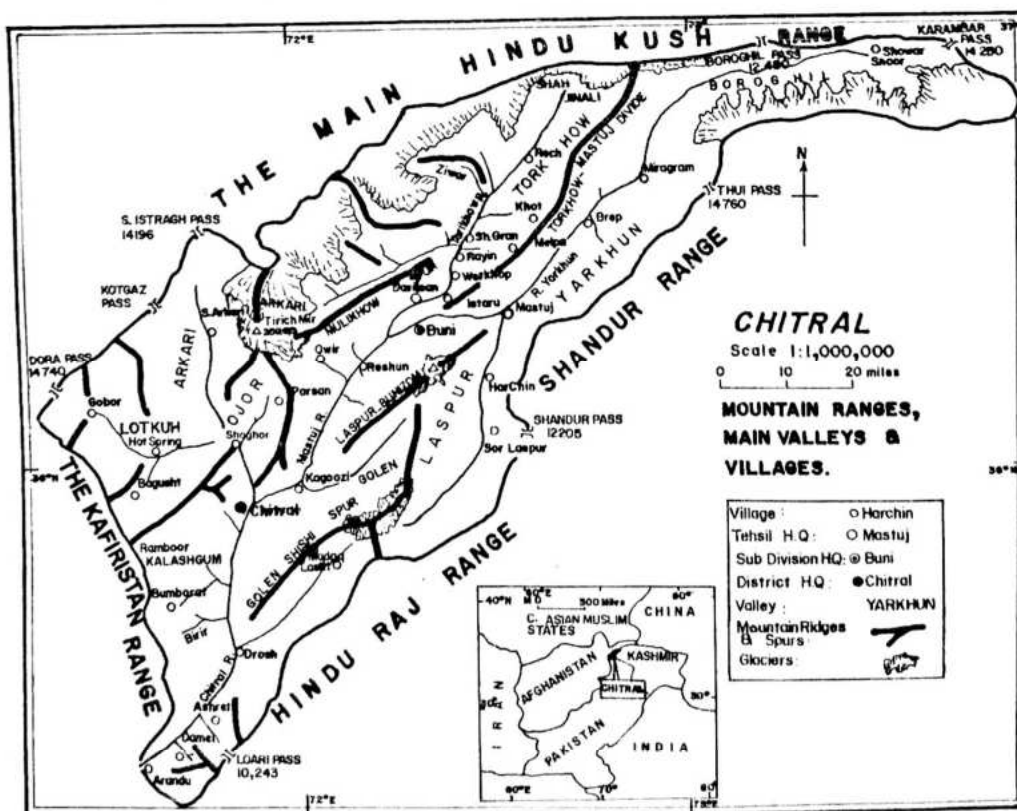
Israr-ud-Din\*

## Introduction

### Location

Chitral District lies between latitudes 35 degrees 15 minutes, and 36 degrees, 35 minutes north, and longitudes 71 degrees, 12 minutes, and 73 degrees, 55 minutes east. It is the northernmost district of Pakistan, having a common boundary with Afghanistan on the north and west, with the Northern Areas of Pakistan on the east, and with Dir and Swat districts towards the south. It is surrounded by 15,000 to over 25,000 feet high ranges of the Hindu Kush and Karakoram and is one of the loftiest tracts of land in the country. It is separated from the rest of the country by the Hindu Raj Range, the only contact being through passes over 10,000 feet (Fig. 18.1).

Fig. 18.1 Chitral District: Locations, Valleys, and Villages



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Chitral District was a princely state of Pakistan which was merged as settled parts of the country in July 1969 and covers an area of 14,850 square kilometres.

## Relief

Chitral District is extremely rugged and mountainous, with deep, narrow, and tortuous valleys, through which run the river Chitral and its numerous tributaries. The mountains include the Hindu Kush and its offshoots, which gain the highest magnitude towards the north where there are more than 170 peaks above 20,000 feet, the highest being the Tirich Mir (25,263 ft). In these parts, the average elevation reached is between 16,000 and 20,000 feet and here the jagged peaks, precipitous slopes, and glacier-bound valleys give the region its special characteristics. The lowlands are confined to the valley bottoms along the river Chitral and its tributaries, which stretch to all parts of the region. The whole of the main valley of the Chitral River, from its source to the place where it enters Afghanistan, is about 220 miles long. The average width of the valley would not be more than half a mile. Sometimes, however, it opens to about three miles or so and other times it narrows to a defile of less than 200 yards. The many side valleys which join the main valley at various places are even narrower and there the average cannot be more than a quarter mile.

The open areas comprises all the fan deposits which are found at the mouth of the hill torrents or streams. With a few exceptions the settlements and cultivated lands are generally found on these alluvial fans subject to the availability of water and other favourable climatic factors. The valley floor rises gradually from 3,577 feet at Arandu, the southernmost village at the border of Afghanistan, to 12,270 feet at Showar Shoor in Boroghil, the northernmost settlement.

## Climate

The climate of Chitral is distinctly continental. It is hot in summer, ranging from very hot in the lowlands to warm in the uplands and cool in the higher elevations. The extreme maximum temperature recorded in Drosh is 45 degrees celsius for the month of July, while in Chitral it is 44 degrees celsius for the same month. The mean maximum temperature for the same month for Drosh is 36 °C and the mean minimum temperature is 23.2 degrees celsius. The summers at high altitudes such as Baroghil, Sor Laspur, Gobor, Bogusht, Kiyar, Arkari, Owir, and Rech are cold and windy, with extremely cold nights.

In winter, most of the valleys are in the grip of cold northerly winds and blizzards. The winters are less severe in the lowlands as compared to the uplands. The extreme minimum temperature recorded at Drosh and Chitral stations have been -3.8 degrees celsius and -9 degrees celsius for the months of January and -2.2 degrees celsius and -12 degrees celsius for the month of February, respectively.

Chitral District receives between 250 and 1000 millimetres of rainfall. The rainfall increases in January and the maximum is reached in March when 135.9 and 135 millimetres of rainfall is obtained at Drosh and Chitral stations, respectively. The rainfall from December to April amounts to 448.2 millimetres in Drosh or 68 per cent of the total annual rainfall. The rainfall in the upper parts of Chitral is low, although the percentage derived in winter and spring is more or less the same. The winter and spring precipitation is very important because it,

firstly, provides moisture for the *rabi* growing season, and secondly, the whole year's flow of springs, streams, and rivers depends on the snowfall in these seasons.

The summer and autumn rains form only about 32 per cent of the total annual rainfall. It is received from the thunderstorms, which often give torrential rains and cause great damage through floods. Dust storms also occur during July and August, particularly in the afternoons. They rarely bring showers. Nearly all the moisture content of the monsoon rains is exhausted over the plains of India and Pakistan before reaching these remote valleys. Chitral, therefore, benefits very little from them.

### Settlement Distribution and Siting

In Chitral, settlements spread from 3272 feet elevation at Arandu, the lowest point in the region, to the 12,000 feet contour line at Boroghil. As mentioned earlier, most settlements are found on the alluvial fans, or on certain river terraces, wherever soil fertility coincides with easily available water. Villages are also located on the beds of abandoned river courses where similar conditions obtained. Besides, there are vast tracts of uninhabited areas due to adverse physical factors. There are also many such habitable stretches scattered in the region which are at present not settled because of precarious conditions of water supply. Settlements are generally sited on the raised side of alluvial fans, which contains mostly infertile and stony lands. Thus, the fertile lands are spared for cultivation. Hill torrents and streams are also important determining factors, several being avoided because of their being prone to flooding. The banks of deeper and less dangerous streams are, on the other hand, favourite sites for settlement.

There are certain socio-economic factors in settlement foundation and locations which result in the establishment of certain individual hamlets and dwellings amidst the cultivated land. From place-name evidence and ties of kinship, it is evident that many such settlements are due to the increase in population on older sites. Another reason is the feudal system that prevailed in the region till the 1950s. The then rulers of the area had the supreme power to seize any land and grant at will. In this way, the landlords, who were given tracts of village land, settled there and surrounded themselves with a number of agricultural labourers or tenants and their relatives. The inheritance system prevalent in the region also plays an important role in this respect. Because of this system the holdings of villagers are scattered in fragmented pieces of different sizes. Many who inherit land in different parts prefer to settle near their holdings.

The distribution of village localities according to the revelation in the following table shows that 60.6 per cent of the villages are located below 7500 feet, where two cropping seasons prevail, while 39.4 per cent are situated above 7500 feet, where only one cropping season predominates.

**Table 18.1 Altitudinal Distribution of Villages (1981)**

<i>Altitude</i>	<i>No of Villages</i>	<i>%</i>
3500–4900	169	33.7
4901–7500	130	26
7500–11,500	174	34.7
11,500 and above	28	5.6
Total	501	100

## Demographic Characteristics

The total population of the district, according to the 1981 census, is 208,560 (107,948 males and 100,612 females). The distribution of population follows the lines of streams and rivers and is concentrated on the alluvial fans where water can be easily obtained, or on the gentle slopes or hill terraces which have fertile stretches and where water is available.

The density of population is fourteen persons per square kilometre. This is low because of the vast tracts of barren mountains and glacier-bound valleys, which are uninhabited.

The population of the district has increased 427 per cent since 1900. The first census of the area was taken in 1941. Since then the growth has been 192 per cent, while the last decade (1972–81) has shown the highest rate of increase so far, which is 3.4 per cent per annum while the growth rate compared to the same decade for the whole country was 3.1 per cent. At present (1995) the population is estimated to be 310,000, raising the density to 20.7 per square kilometre. There are 30,225 households in the district with an average household size of 6.9. Number of villages by population size is as follows:

**Table 18.2 Number of Villages by Population Size**

<i>Population Size</i>	<i>No. of Localities</i>	<i>% of Total Localities</i>	<i>Population (1981)</i>	<i>% of Total Population</i>
2000–4999	4	0.8	10,275	5
1000–1999	43	8.5	55,097	26.4
500–999	99	19.7	67,662	32.4
200–499	175	35	56,070	26.9
Less than 200	180	36	19,456	9.3
Total	501	100	208,560	100

*Source: Government of Pakistan, District Census Report of Chitral–1981 (Islamabad: Population Census Organization).*

## Communication

Chitral has inadequate means of transportation and communication, which have been a main hindrance in the economic and social progress of the district. The difficult topographic conditions and the limited resources of the former state greatly hampered the construction of roads in the area. The mileage of roads for vehicular traffic remained limited till late. Since the merger of the state as a district, a number of roads have been constructed which have made most of the remote areas accessible. Among these, the Ashret Chitral Road is metalled and negotiable by heavy vehicles. The rest of the valleys have been connected by 'jeepable' roads. Only certain remote parts, for example, Boroghil, Shah Jinali, and certain small side valleys lack any roads. Lately, the widening of the Chitral-Buni Road has been undertaken, which when completed would facilitate heavy traffic to Upper Chitral. Despite these developments the district still faces the serious problem of isolation for almost half of the year when the Dir-Chitral Road, which connects the district with the rest of the country, remains closed due to snow on the Loari Top.

The district is connected with the rest of the country and the world through the microwave system and direct telephone and telegraph systems. Post office facilities are also available in all different parts of the district. Paksitan International Airlines (PIA) flies two to three daily Fokker flights between Peshawar and Chitral which are subject to weather conditions.

## Economy

Ninety percent of the population of the district is engaged in farming. The total cultivated area is 22,500 hectares; 80 per cent of the farmers' possess less than 2 hectares and only 1 per cent has 2.5 or more hectares. As can be expected, subsistence farming is universal, cereals being the dominant crops, and a small number of livestock and cattle are also being kept in, more or less, every house. However, at high altitudes, where there are good pastures and crops cannot be grown, stock raising is carried out. Examples of this are found in Boroghil and Gobor. There are also other areas that have rich pastures near the villages. In such cases a sort of mixed farming is practiced in which importance is given equally to both agriculture and to the stock. This is found in Khot, Rech, Upper Yarkhun, Upper Laspur, Melp, Owir, Tirich, Ojor, Upper Lotkuh, Upper Arkari, Bumboret, Birir, Ramboor, Shishi Kuh, Biyori, Ashret, Damel, Urtsun, and Arandu Gol. In the remaining parts there is a shortage of pastures and, therefore, subsistence agriculture is practised.

The crops grown include wheat, maize, paddy, barley, pulses, grams, potatoes, onions, and vegetables. Horticulture crops are mainly fruit and are found near the settlements, below 9000 feet. These include apples, pears, apricots, peaches, grapes, mulberries, and precimums. In recent years certain villages, for example, Brep, Chapali, and Buni have developed to grow good quality apples which are in demand even outside the district. Vegetables produced include tomatoes, cabbages, spinach, radish, carrots, and brinjals grown mostly in kitchen gardens attached to almost every house. Lately, villages located near Chitral Town and Drosh have started growing vegetables as a cash crop and allocate special plots for them.

The crops grown in different seasons are called '*Lot Zho*' or winter crop, '*Crizi Zho*' or summer crop, and '*Bosoon Degh*' or spring crop. The growing periods of these crops overlap in areas which are located above 7500 feet elevation. Those below 7500 feet have separate growing period for '*Lot Zho*' and '*Crizi Zho*' while having no '*Bosoon Degh*.'

Irrigation is an important aspect of agriculture in the region. As the rainfall is insufficient, irrigation is essential for cultivation of crops in the area. A network of irrigation channels of different capacity and lengths has been taken out from the mountain streams and constructed along the hillsides with considerable skill and labour and maintained with great difficulty.

The census (1981) shows the total working population to be 63,000, out of which 77.77 per cent are engaged in agriculture and related activities. The rest are occupied as follows:

**Table 18.3 Occupations Other Than Agriculture (1981)**

Occupations	% of Population
1. Teachers, dispensers, medical practitioners, etc.	2.85
2. Other govt services	1.73
3. Shopkeepers, traders, etc.	2.54
4. Private servants/maids	6.82
5. Labourers	6.35
6. Miscellaneous	1.94
Total	22.23

It is to be remembered that most of the population shown engaged in other occupations also practice farming in some way or other. Thus, the actual share of farming goes to above 90 per cent.

## Resources

The area is endowed with substantial natural resources, including land, water, forests, pastures, wildlife, minerals, and water, which need to be developed to improve life conditions in the area. The region also offers great potential for tourism development. The various resources are discussed below:

### Land

The land-use statistics of Chitral District are shown in Table 18.4. Four per cent of the land is cultivable waste. This is because of lack of irrigation facilities. There is need to irrigate these lands by construction of channels. Many of the cultivated lands in Mulikhow, Urghuch, Broze, Lawi, and other places do not get sufficient water for irrigation, therefore, irrigation facilities for these should also be improved to enhance yield per acre and also to increase food production.

**Table 18.4: Land Use**

Land Use	Area (Ha)	%
1. Total area reported	98,671	
2. Cultivated area	22,552	23
3. Cultivable waste	4053	4
4. Forests	41,588	42
5. Not available for cultivation	30,478	31

### Forests

The total forest coverage in Chitral District is estimated to be 41,588 hectares, which is 42 per cent of the total reported area. The forests are found mostly in the south and southwestern parts of the district.

These forests occur between 3000 and 11,500 feet above sea level and comprise deodar, spruce, fir, and Chir pine. Fir and spruce mainly occupy the highest altitude while deodar is found immediately below them. Oak is also found, but scattered and mainly on those hill slopes which are exposed to the sun. Birch and junipers are also found in abundance. The hills in most parts of the district, especially in Upper Chitral, are almost barren. However, in valley bottoms occasionally one comes across thick wooden patches of birch and xerophytic shrubs. Poplar, walnut, and plane trees are found in most parts of the district below 8000 feet. But they are planted wherever soil is suitable and water is available so they go side by side with the settlements and other cultivations.

No trees whatsoever are found above the altitude of 12,000 feet and only grasslands are reached. The forests face different problems caused by natural, human, and biological factors. The natural factors include snow, wind, hail, frost, and lightning, which cause considerable damage to the trees every year. Human beings cause great damage to the forests through ruthless cutting, grazing, fires, lopping and felling, touchwood extraction, etc. Different types of wild animals, for example, bears, ibexes, urials, markhors, monkeys, and porcupines, destroy the forest species by damaging the young plants or by eating the seeds. Certain birds like pheasants and chikors are also responsible for uprooting.

After the merger of the former state of Chitral into districts in 1969, the Government of Pakistan succeeded the state government as owner of the forests. Since then certain circumstances have resulted in indiscriminate cutting of these forests so much so that most of the holly oak forests are facing extinction. Even the pine forest areas are being depleted day by day at an accelerating rate. The reasons have been mainly:

1. construction of roads to forest areas;
2. grant of royalty rights to local people; and
3. inefficiency on the part of the Forest Department.

In recent years the Aga Khan Rural Support Programme (AKRSP) and Chitral Area Development Project (CADP) have, through village organizations, contributed a great deal to afforestation programmes in different parts of the district. This trend needs to be further encouraged so that the acreage under planted forest is increased. Lots of rough pastures and barren lands lie vacant above settlements; these would be very suitable for afforestation if irrigation channels are brought to them from the rivers and streams.

### **Fauna**

Numerous species of fauna are also found in the region. The important mammals are ibex, markhor, and urial. Ibex is found above the snow line, while markhor is found in lower altitudes. Marco Polo sheep are also found in the Boroghil area. In addition, leopards, snowleopards, cheetahs, bears, and marmots are also found. Various species of birds, like ramchikors, partridges, pheasants, golden pheasants, falcons, various species of ducks and geese, are also in abundance. The area is situated on the flyway of migratory birds and makes an important stopover zone. Therefore, it is suitable for the establishment of bird wildlife sanctuaries.

The wildlife in the area is facing threats of over-hunting, habitat destruction due to deforestation, agricultural extension, and overgrazing. Establishment of the Chitral Gol National Park and Sanctuary by the Government of Pakistan is expected to help greatly the conservation of bio-diversity in the area. More such parks and sanctuaries need to be developed in view of the intensity of the problem.

### **Pastures**

Thousands of acres of grasslands and summer pastures are found scattered throughout the district along the main as well as the side valleys. These areas are also very rich in many different species of medicinal plants. At present many of these pastures cannot be used to the optimum due to lack of accessibility and remoteness. Proprietary rights of different clans or individuals also hinder the proper utilization of such areas.

Traditionally, the villages in the region used to practice a common management system of utilizing the grazing grounds. But in recent years the villagers have started engaging nomadic herdsmen or Gujars for the purpose of grazing and pasturing. This practice is badly affecting the pasturelands because of the ruthless attitude of the nomads who generally do overgrazing or intensive form of grazing without any regard to the carrying capacity of the land. In order to save the precious grazing lands, some sort of restrictions need to be laid on the practice of

employing Gujars for grazing/pasturing in these Alpine pastures. A rotational grazing system can also be introduced for proper range management by involving the village communities themselves as in the past. Some attention to the development of rough pastures above the village margins can be given by extending water channels to such areas so that these are developed into meadows. Such measures would improve both the grasslands and the environment in general.

## Water

Numerous perennial rivers and streams, fed by melting snow and glaciers flowing throughout the different parts of the district, offer a great potential for irrigation and hydroelectric generation development. The Sarhad Hydel Development Organization (SHYDO), Government of NWFP, has identified a good number of schemes in various parts of the district promising to be economically and technically feasible for hydroelectric development. The total capacity estimated is as follows:

1. Upper Chitral	107	megawatts
2. Lower Chitral	83	megawatts
3. Total	190.6	megawatts

The SHYDO has also undertaken the construction of the Reshun Hydroelectric Project since 1989–90. The implementation of the project was first initiated through Federal (PSDP) with an approved cost of Rs 151.388 million, including Rs 20 million FEC (as German grant). The project in the first phase will have a generating capacity of 2.8 megawatts, to be subsequently enhanced to 4.2 megawatts. The power supply will cover fifty villages, having a population of 50,000 to 60,000, from Mastuj to Chitral Town.

The CADP and AKRSP have also planned to develop a number of small hydel projects in different areas through village organizations. If the plan is fully implemented then by 1998 up to more than 5000 kilowatts electricity will be generated in more than one hundred power stations to serve about 10,000 households.

The future of hydel development is very bright in the district. The resource should be fully developed so that heating and fuel needs of the area can be met and also extra income can be generated from the export of surplus power to other areas.

## Minerals

Chitral District is believed to be blessed with untapped mineral resources which, when fully utilized, would lead not only the district but the whole province to a prosperous and bright future.

The various minerals found in Chitral include Antimony, Iron, Copper, Silver, Arsenic, Gold bearing boulangerite, Marble, Dolomite, Mica, Talc and Flourite. The Iron discovered in Damil Nisar is reported to be the best quality magnetite type having more than 60% iron content. There is lot of potential for mineral exploration in the area.

## Scenic Spots

The region with its shimmering glaciers, snow-covered majestic peaks, attractive lakes, numerous species of flora and fauna, and diverse ethnic and linguistic groups offers a lot of potential for development of the tourist industry. For the economic well-being of the people, a proper plan for the development of the industry by introducing the required infrastructure is required.

## Problems and Constraints

The problems and constraints lie broadly in the following areas:

1. Natural resources: these include erosion, deforestation, and natural disasters caused by earthquakes, landslides, glacial dams, rockfalls, avalanches, flash floods, and human activities.
2. Human and social problems: these include weak infrastructure, population pressure, lack of public awareness, participation, and support.

## Erosion

This is a very important problem in the whole district caused mostly by the river Chitral and its tributaries. The area contains large glaciers in its upper parts. Chiantar and Darkhot glaciers have been notorious for surging and blocking the river and causing floods. Thus, hundred of acres of land along the river course have been eroded. Even in normal years the river is flooded due to melting of snow and the many glaciers. *Chati boi* is a local expression for the flooding of a river due to either surging glaciers or too much melting.

## Deforestation

Too much cutting and lopping of forests by the local population as well as by the forest mafia has reduced the forest cover to a great extent. If this continues, very soon the forested areas will turn into barren scrubs. The problem has already started affecting soil stabilities, water regime, landscape appearance, and wildlife habitat adversely.

## Natural Disasters

The whole area lies in the earthquake prone zone, therefore, it experiences earthquakes of high intensity causing damage to life and property. The earthquakes also cause large landslides, glacial dams, rockfalls and other disasters. Too much snow and avalanches are other problems faced in certain parts of the region.

## Infrastructure

A major constraint in the way of progress of the district has been poor means of transport and communication. Though jeepable roads have been extended to most parts of the area the roads are narrow, zigzag ging, *kutchha* (makeshift), and stony, causing different problems.

The upper parts of the Yarkhun valley, up to Boroghil, and the upper Torkhow valley up to Shah Jinali, are still served only by mule tracks. During summer floods these areas remain cut off because of erosion of tracks and lack of bridges. During winters, too much snow in most parts of Yarkhun, Lotkuh, Laspur, and other higher areas hinders transportation. In winter and spring the whole district remains inaccessible from the rest of the world due to snow on the Loari and Shandur passes, which remain closed for almost five months. As a result, not only does mobility within and without the district become a problem, but also the procurement of commodities becomes difficult and the prices of goods are raised very high in the region.

## Population Pressure and Migration

The impact of population pressure in the region cannot be assessed by considering population-growth and density. The major concern is with the population resources ratio and population resource-use system. This can be witnessed in the damage done to life-support systems, deforestation, utilization of marginal lands, erosion and lack of economic opportunities. As a result, large-scale migration is taking place from these areas into lowland parts of Pakistan. Such migration generally consists of the young and physically fit members of the families leaving behind the old and the least fit. It is to be remembered that these migrations are, generally, not permanent. The people migrate to other areas on a temporary basis to return home when circumstances permit.

## Developments

At present different government and non-government organizations are busy in implementing various socio-economic development projects in the region. The government agencies include the following:

- a. People's Work Programme
- b. Local bodies at district and union council levels
- c. Agricultural Department
- d. Irrigation Department
- e. Construction and Works Department
- f. Forest Department
- g. Health Department
- h. CADP

The only non-government agency working in the area is the AKRSP, which was established by the Aga Khan Foundation. During the last many years, the AKRSP has successfully completed many projects, including irrigation, afforestation, land protection, and improvement of livestock. The CADP is a government project working on the same pattern as the AKRSP and has been making good progress during the short span of its establishment.

## Future Development and Conclusion

Despite the fact that a lot of development schemes are being undertaken by the government and non-government organizations in the region, a lot still needs to be done to improve the conditions of the inhabitants as well as of the environment.

It is imperative that development strategies be self-reliant and based on local conditions and have the participation and support of the local people. This is the reason that the schemes undertaken by the AKRSP and CADP have been successful, and the organizations have hereby gained the confidence of the local people. The actions that would help to maintain a good environment and improve the living condition of the people include the following:

1. Although rainfall in these areas is low, there are hundreds of areas of scrubland and barren patches where afforestation can be done with the help of artificial irrigation. The planting of fast-growing trees for fuel, timber, and livestock forage can be successfully undertaken.
2. Small hydroelectric power plants should be constructed in as many villages as possible.
3. The introduction of more efficient ways to use energy for cooking and heating must be earnestly considered.
4. Food supplies should be increased by improving yields per acre as well as by the extension of cultivable areas. Moreover, a diversification of the diet should be promoted by encouraging the farmers to grow vegetables.
5. Raising farm incomes by enhancing fruit and nut trees and by introducing small volume, high-value agricultural activities (such as honeybee keeping, silk culture, medicinal plant farming, etc.) would tremendously boost the economy of the area.
6. Improving livestock productivity by controlled breeding and better animal husbandry practices is also essential.
7. Encouraging tourism by providing infrastructure and other facilities would further help the development of the area.
8. Development of village industries, for example, fruit processing, dairy farming and the production of cheese and butter, woodworking, and leatherworking, should be encouraged.
9. Providing a domestic potable water supply to the villages is a dire need of the region.
10. Education and training to provide the people with economically usable skills are also essential.
11. Public health and nutrition services should also be introduced in many remote villages.
12. The most important development needed is the improvement of road and communication systems within the district as well as with the rest of the country either by providing an all-weather road by tunnelling through the Loari Ridge or by some alternate means.

## DEVELOPMENT AND SELF-DETERMINATION: A KALASHA POINT OF VIEW

*Saifullah Jan\**

At the last Hindu Kush conference, five years ago, a lot of recommendations were made, but so far little has happened. The main problem that the Kalash are facing now is that actions are taken above their heads without their being consulted; it is especially so when some well-wishing foreigners from overseas make their own NGOs for the so-called protection of our people. In particular, it is a problem when such actions interfere with our religious places. Such projects adversely affect the unity of our people. I would like to give a few examples:

A few years back we got some funds from our member of the National Assembly (MNA) and member of the provincial assembly (MPA) to build a *jeSTakhan* (temple). It is not finished yet, so now the people are accusing each other of misusing the funds, but the money was not sufficient to finish it. Also, when political groups are involved in a project like that, some people say: 'We don't belong to that party, so why should we cooperate?' So the unity is gone because of that money.

Some outsiders have found some money to build new *Bashali*, the menstruation houses for the women. But they never came to discuss with the women here their needs and the way the buildings were to be made. They just made them in a new way, with too little space. So now all the women are upset as how to use them. Moreover, these outsiders just involve a few individuals in such projects and the rest of the people stay away. They just say: 'Okay—there is an NGO at work, then why should we do it for nothing?' So in that way our people stop working together.

The expenses for the religious places should be met by the people themselves, because then they will get together, and they will discuss how to build them and when to build them. They will find out what they have to do. And this kind of meeting will bring unity among the people. We have been used to doing things in this way for a thousand years. We have been carrying on by ourselves, and we have been doing quite well so far. But if somebody starts interfering with our religious places, then the unity of the people will be finished.

Also, if we can't get these funds all the time—because someday these outsiders will get old, or die—then who else will take care of the Kalash? Then these people will die out, waiting for funds from outside.

If outsiders start giving money for our religious things, for our customs—if they pay money for that—that would be problematic because we have so many different customs in our religion. Our funerals, for example: all the people together share the costs for the funeral. Then—if these outsiders start giving money, and if then somebody dies, then people will wait for money, and they will keep this dead body unburied for days and days, and it will get spoiled, and in the end we will have to bury it with a spoon. Life will be very difficult for the Kalash, if things continue like that.

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\* Kalash leader, Ramboor Valley, PO Uyun, Chitral District, NWFP, Pakistan.

Outsiders also want to teach us to wash our hands and faces. We are in the twentieth century now, so everybody knows how to wash his or her hands and face. The problem is this: we do not just sit in offices doing business, not touching anything. We are farmers. Of course, it is impossible for us to stay very clean. We have to work in the fields and in the stables. We do not die because of our hygiene standards. We are quite healthy, because we are used to being dirty. Nowadays many boys and girls go to school. They learn cleanliness there. We don't need anybody to teach us hygiene!

Also, when some outsiders come here and give out a few pills which are not sufficient for treatment, they are fooling the people. Because of that, the people will think, 'Their medicine is magic, so why should we go to the dispensary?'

There is medicine in the dispensary—the same medicine—and the doctors there know how to treat the diseases. They are qualified. They give all the pills needed.

But because of the few pills given out, the people refuse to go to the dispensary, even though the government has sent some qualified people to give out the medicine for free. There are even some Kalash employed at the dispensary. There may not always be everything but the medicine is given properly. So why are these people coming here giving out a few pills and saying to the whole world that they are helping the Kalash?

We are not crying for help! We are just trying to do what we want just by ourselves! If we need help, we will just ask our government or their government to send us some experts. But we don't need it at the moment: there are enough experts in Pakistan. There are enough doctors here!

Some outsiders also think that our language is going to die. They want to make schools and school books for us in Kalasha. But we speak this language all the time. We have a strong oral tradition. We don't need to be taught what we already know! We don't need pictures of what we see every day! We need modern education, which is offered to us in the government schools. We need to learn Urdu and English besides Khovar to understand what is going on in the world around us.

We need the qualifications for jobs and for dealing with our Muslim brothers on equal terms. And that is already offered to us in our government schools. These outsiders—I feel pity for them. They should first of all understand themselves. Then they can come back to this area and do some work. But if somebody says: 'I am saving the Kalash!,' then I don't believe them.

Because in our world, in our valleys, the Kalash own their own houses, their own fields—all the necessities. But in most of the countries I know of, most of the people don't own any fields, any house, any property. So these people who want to help the Kalash—if they really want to help somebody, they should first of all help their own people in their own country! These outsiders—I am not blaming them. They can come. They can stay for years. If they are coming as refugees from the Western countries, then they should come to me, and I will give them a free room. I will give them free food. They can stay in the Kalash valley free of cost. I will even send them back in a coffin, when they die—as long as they don't interfere with the Kalash society and the politics of Pakistan!

They are crying, 'We are saving the Kalash!' and, 'We want to protect them!' But we are protected already! We have no difficulties from the Government of Pakistan. As long as the government allows us to live in accordance with our culture, we are completely free, we are facing no danger. We need no NGOs or any other thing to be brought here from outside, because we live in Pakistan. Of course we need some things to be improved, like roads, paths, bridges, irrigation channels, and protection walls against the floods—some productive schemes

which can be of benefit for most of the people—things that can be done by the community itself. I would like these things to be done either through the government or our local NGOs.

The government is building the bridges, schools, hospitals, roads, and electricity infrastructure. It is all right. It is not interfering with our religious places. It is not harming our religion, our culture.

Our local NGOs—like the Aga Khan Rural support Programme (AKRSP) and Chitral Area Development Programme (CADP)—they are asking the people. Projects can be done through them. Their way of doing things is very good. Mainly they are setting up some productive schemes, like channels, link roads, electricity— what the people need. It is the decision of fifty to sixty people from every village. These NGOs always ask before taking any action: mostly it takes the fifty to sixty people a year to come together to create a village organization themselves. Then they hold several meetings about what they want. Finally, when they have decided what they want, they present their papers to the AKRSP or CADP, and then the NGO workers come out and make a site plan. Then this society, this village organization, will do the work itself. That creates unity in the community.

So through this Hindu Kush conference I request that no more actions be taken above our heads—in particular no actions that can destroy the unity of the people and be harmful to our religion and culture. We have to plan our own future in our own way!

# GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT: A LESSON FROM AKRSP CHITRAL

Noor Shahidin\*

## Background

In developing countries, women are the poorest and the least educated and work the most. In Asia and Africa, according to some sources, women produce more than 70 per cent of all the food produced but rarely hold ownership of the land. Worldwide, women put in two-thirds of the total work-hours but receive only 10 per cent of the income and less than 1 per cent of the property. Much of their work is, however, unpaid. In most countries, women work longer hours than men. For instance, in Uganda women work more than twice as many hours as men (Rogers et al. 1988). Yet they are seldom consulted in family decision making.

Until the 1980s, women were not considered in designing development programmes. But once development experts became more sensitive to issues of equality of women as part of the paradigm of development, much greater emphasis was placed on equality consequences of development programmes. In some cases like credit, women accomplished impressive results when they were involved in the programme because women are widely reckoned to recover the loan and spend their money in a more beneficial way than men, such as on children's education, healthy food, and medicine (Harper 1994).

The overall quality of life for women in Pakistan is poor. By any social indicator, Pakistani women, when compared with women in developing countries or with the male population within the country, show low life expectancy, primary school enrollment, use of contraceptives, and so on. For instance, primary school enrollment for women in Pakistan is among the ten lowest in the world. Maternal mortality has been estimated to be more than six per 1000 live births, which is very high by any standard. Females aged 1 to 39 have higher mortality rates than males of the same ages (Shah et al. 1989). Also, there is evidence indicating that female infants have an even lower rate of immunization than male children.

In Chitral, the condition of women was very similar to that in any of the rural areas of Pakistan before the intervention of NGOs. For instance, the literacy rate, without including students,<sup>1</sup> was only 3.94 per cent among the female population (Mian et al. 1986). They were least involved in family decision making. Sometimes they were the last to eat when there was a shortage of food. They were considered alien in their own homes, a concept with appears in Chitrali social thought as *žuúr khuro roi*, meaning that a daughter is affiliated with another's home or a daughter is a member of the household where she gets married. However, with the arrival of NGOs, particularly the Aga Khan Rural Support Programme (AKRSP), the Aga Khan Education Services (AKES), and the Aga Khan Health Services (AKHS), and umbrella NGOs, like the Chitral Area Development Programme (CADP) and other social interventions by the government, the condition of women in Chitral has changed recognizably during the

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last decade.<sup>2</sup> The literacy rate increased significantly during the last few years to 39 per cent, which is higher than the national figure of 34 per cent. It is believed that female literacy has gone up to 20 per cent. Also, women's role in family decision making has increased considerably—they are quite involved in matters concerning children's education, marriage, and the family budget. The participation rate in primary education is 79 per cent, which is considerably higher than the overall Pakistan figure of 66 per cent (Bhatti *et al.* 1994).

The pace of change is more than encouraging and improving though there are still some cultural constraints and barriers like inside and outside dichotomy—as women are considered baby producers and home managers and men are considered providers and workers outside the home. This thinking is a barrier to women's empowerment, access to property ownership, and participation in the major family decisions even though they play a substantial role on the productive side.

The AKRSP is working through different technical assistance and training programmes for specific women's production packages (home-based poultry, nurseries, vegetable production) and labour saving and value-added technologies, as well as training in organization and management. The results of these efforts are highly visible. More than 208 women's organizations (WOs) have been operating in the region. Through these organizations, women's skills and economic power have improved. Besides, gender awareness through relevant workshops is believed to be essential to the process of changing the traditional socially and culturally constructed roles of women.

The AKRSP is a private, non-profit body established by the Aga Khan Foundation to help improve the quality of life of locals in the Northern Areas and the district Chitral of the North-West Frontier Province. The programme was established in Gilgit in 1982 with the objective of upgrading living conditions through different income generation schemes. The programme started its experimental projects in Chitral in 1983 and a fully-fledged office was established in 1986.

From the outset, the programme focused on three conceptual packages: (i) the institutional or social model through organizing village people, (ii) human resource development by training the locals in different activities, and (iii) capital formation through savings and credit. The purpose of these three packages was to support and achieve programme objectives, which were to increase the incomes of the locals and the viability of the programme itself for replication in other locations.

## Theoretical Support

Resource access and control is part of the Harvard and Analytical Framework, which is presented here to see whether women can access AKRSP resources. Resources include everything that people need to accomplish the tasks they do as determined through activity analysis. Resources include land, credit, technology, education, labour, income, health, transport, information, and socio-political power, et cetera. In the succeeding section, we analyse whether these resources are available to women in Chitral when the AKRSP intervenes. However, from the outset it should be made clear that this study deals mainly with women specific projects.

## Methodology

The empirical data for this study is drawn from a number of AKRSP sources, mostly from the programme management information system (MIS), quarterly progress report (QPR), annual review, and other impact and evaluation studies.

## Analyses and Discussions

### Growth of Local Female Staff

The AKRSP has become a prototype in addressing women's issues. A special section, Women in Development (WID), was initiated for the development of women in the region. In the initial stage, non-locals were employed as locals were not available due to cultural constraints.<sup>3</sup> Over a period of time, however, economic necessity drew local women towards rural development organizations where they work in certain departments such as education.

Change was natural but the pace of change was not forced. The WID section was responsible for carrying out projects which were specifically designed for women. The major task of the section was to organize the local women for forming WOs and to give them a sense of power and importance parallel to village organizations (VOs), which were dominated by men. Social mobility and development continued and the WOs were given different productive packages for economic uplift like vegetable growing, fruit nurseries, and appropriate technologies. Credit was also extended to many WOs for different activities and enterprise development.

In the initial stage, the programme had to employ non-local women as local capacity developed gradually. During the programme working period the local staff increased and a local was appointed as section head. At the time of writing of this report there were eighteen staff members working in different positions, as shown in Table 20.1.

**Table 20.1 Employment of Local Females in Different Positions**

<i>Position</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Level of Education with No</i>
Women Social Organizers	4	MA (DBA) (3)
Field Coordinators	3	BA (2) FA (1)
Valley Supervisors/Village Accountant	11	BA (1) FA (1) Matric. (9)
Total	18	

The programme continues to foster skills and advancement of the staff. A promising initiative taken was the Accelerated Professional Development Programme. The objective of this programme was to improve the educational standard of the local women. During this time one senior staff member was selected for training abroad and another was sent for a full course of education in agriculture besides many in-country short training and exposure trips.

## Evolution of Women's Organizations

Initially, a social model was developed only for the male population ignoring the female section, which accounts for 50 per cent of the total population. Then it was realized that optimal development is not likely to occur without involving the female population and social development is not possible without female emancipation and empowerment and that women can play a major role in the local economy. Analysing the emerging situation, the management of the programme decided to approach the female population through the formation of WOs, giving them projects which were specifically designed for household women although integrated packages were already there to benefit them. The purpose of this assistance to the women (through the Women in Development section) was essentially twofold: to increase productivity, through providing improved inputs to agriculture, forestry and livestock management, and through training in related skills; and to reduce the work load of traditional tasks through the development and dissemination of appropriate technology. To this end, separate organizations were formed for women. In 1987, the first was formed in Chitral. To date, 208 WOs have been formed, as shown in Table 20.2. A large number of WOs were formed in Shoghor, Garam Chashma, Buni and Mastuj areas, where structural favourability<sup>4</sup> attracted the programme packages, as compared to other areas where resistance to change regarding women's social development and mobility was visible. Though failure or success of any package is linked with other variables also like awareness, education, and availability of infrastructure, a sectarian composition was observable in the programme area.

**Table 20.2 Number of WOs and VOs**

SOU	WOs	VOs
Drosh	4	70
Chitral	11	93
Shoghor	55	64
G. Chashma	55	58
Mulikhow	9	81
Buni	30	56
Torkhow	8	85
Mastuj	36	86
Total	208	593

## Dynamics of Savings

Saving has a major role in women's development as, without an economic motive, one can hardly be mobilized for this purpose. When seen area-wise there is a marked difference in WOs formation. Also, there is a significant variation in saving among the WO members. As the Drosh area has less than 2 per cent of WOs, the per member savings are the highest among (SOU) members in the region, which is due to an Ismaili-populated village called Madaklasht. Comparative analysis with CADP intervention related to WID in the same SOU area supports the view that there is a significant difference regarding WO formation, per member as well as per WO savings, because of sectarian composition as the area is populated by Sunni Muslims except in Madaklasht village. In the same SOU, the CADP has thirty-one WOs where per member savings are Rs 375 and per WO savings are Rs 8069.<sup>5</sup>

Chitral and Mastuj WOs have low achievement regarding savings per member as well as per WO. In Chitral, per member savings are only Rs 295 while in Mastuj they are Rs 568. In Chitral, some WOs are found in the Kalash valley where poverty is a factor of low contribution towards WOs savings while Mastuj, Mulikhow, and Torkhow areas are not as developed socially compared to the Buni and Garam Chashma area (see Table 20.3)

**Table 20.3 WOs Savings, Membership, and Per Member Savings**

<i>SOU</i> s	<i>WO</i> s	<i>Total Members</i>	<i>Savings (Rs)</i>	<i>Per Member Saving (Rs)</i>	<i>Per WO Saving (Rs)</i>
Drosh	4	126	209,700	1664	52,425
Chitral	11	451	133,387	295	12,126
Shoghor	55	1860	2,026,241	1089	36,840
G. Chashma	55	1537	1,156,414	752	21,025
Mulikhow	9	319	312,137	978	34,681
Buni	30	881	1,464,299	1662	48,809
Torkhow	8	145	114,172	787	14,271
Mastuj	36	1133	644,122	569	17,892
Total	208	6452	6,060,472	939	29,136

### Development of Indigenous Facilitator

A cadre of local specialists, men as well as women, were trained in different fields in productive packages and management. Some package or developmental approaches were specifically for women, like vegetable production, poultry management, disease control, food processing, and accounts. The trained women specialists are playing a major role in changing the local social structure. These specialists are agents of change at the local level, where they meet the household women in meetings and informal gatherings to solve their problems, change their values, and give them strength and hope for a better tomorrow.

Altogether, 379 WO members were given training in poultry farming while 480 women were given training in vegetable production, the highest number among the packages trained. One hundred fifty-nine household women were trained in food processing. An innovative training programme in accounts and book keeping was also extended to twenty women in three SOUs. Besides, training in stitching also given to thirty women in two localities, where participants paid fees, and which remained very successful when follow-up visits were made by the concerned section (Table 20.4).

**Table 20.4 Training Achieved in Different Fields**

<i>SOU</i>	<i>Poultry</i>	<i>Vegetable production</i>	<i>Food Processing</i>	<i>Accounts</i>	<i>Stitching</i>
Drosh	28	19	19	-	14
Chitral	9	-	-	-	-
Shoghor	115	86	51	-	5
G. Chashma	59	70	22	5	11
Mulikhow	24	5	4	-	-
Torkhow	27	12	0	-	-
Mastuj	80	98	0	3	-
Buni	54	260	63	12	-
Total	379	480	159	20	30

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Mastuj	80	98	0	3	-
Buni	54	260	63	12	-
Total	379	480	159	20	30

Traditionally, a training facility used to be held for men in similar projects as they are considered the earning members of their households. Moreover this training used to be held at a venue where mobility for women was difficult. In the case of AKRSP intervention gender biases in training were removed and more than 1068 women were trained in different fields of production and management. In view of the restricted mobility of local women, this training was held at the doorstep of the beneficiaries. These meetings also provided an opportunity to the local women to share their views regarding local concerns and exposed them to new ideas related to socio-economic uplift and betterment. Moreover, the training gave them a sense of power, respect, courage and value in front of their husbands, fathers, brothers, and other men.

## Credit

Women have almost no access to agricultural credit. At the five Pakistani banks that keep records of loan by gender, women accounted for less than 0.1 per cent of lending (Operations Evaluation Department 1990). Compared to this national figure, the AKRSP credit programme is showing encouraging results as many windows are open for credit to women. Advances are made to the WOs as well as to individuals. This access, naturally, gives a sense of ownership and consequently a greater chance for emancipation (Table 20.5).

**Table 20.5 WOs Access to Credit for Micro-enterprises**

<i>SOU</i>	<i>Purpose</i>	<i>No of Loans</i>	<i>Total Amount (Rs)</i>
Shoghor	i) HBP*	2	30,000
	ii) Puttee	3	
Drosh	i) Vet. Store	1	50,000
	ii) Poultry	2	
G. Chashma	i) Puttee	33	364,000
	ii) Wood Stock	1	
	ii) Embroidery	1	
Chitral	-	-	-
Buni	-	-	-
Mulikhow	-	-	-
Torkhow	-	-	-
Mastuj	-	-	-
Total	-	43	444,000

\* HBP=*home-based poultry*

It is now widely accepted that micro-enterprises and self-employment are healthy for the economy and should be encouraged, and that the informal sector is a very important source of jobs in developing countries (Harper 1994). Using the micro-enterprise credit programme of the AKRSP, the women of three localities—Shoghor, Drosh, and Garam Chashma—have used credit for different purposes. The major portion of the credit has been used for puttee<sup>6</sup> making, which is considered a major income source, particularly in the Garam Chashma area. The other localities have not availed the credit programme due to one reason or another—as there may be little opportunity for utilizing the credit or there is lack of information on the part of the social organizer regarding the use and availability of the facility (Table 20.6). Women's Organization Credit Programme (WOCP), which is a village-level banking system based on their savings collateral, has been used liberally. To date, in the region, 583 WOCPs

worth Rs 1.38 million have been adopted and used for a variety of purposes ranging from purchase of livestock, establishment of brooding centre, puttee making, and financing other basic household requirements.

**Table 20.6 Women's Organization Credit Programme (WOCP)**

<i>SOU</i>	<i>WOs</i>	<i>Type of Loan</i>	<i>Beneficiaries</i>	<i>Amount (Rs)</i>
Buni	3	Short-term	112	365,000
	1	Medium-term	62	100,000
Drosh	1	Short-term	17	392,000
G. Chashma	1	Short-term	23	80,000
Mastuj	1	Short-term	106	92,000
Shoghor	5	Short-term	263	352,000
Torkhow	-	-	-	-
Chitral	-	-	-	-
Total	11		583	1.38 million

### Productive Packages and Appropriate Technologies

Besides the training and credit programme, the AKRSP has extended a number of productive packages in agriculture, livestock farming, and forestry because these three components are very crucial for the survival of the growers. A number of developmental interventions and appropriate technologies have been provided for the increase of production and income. In agriculture, vegetable production and training has been made a major task of the programme. As has been stated in the preceding parts of this chapter, 480 household women have been trained in vegetable production. Up till now twenty-two vegetable introduction plots have been made for the household women, as well as providing seeds provided to many individuals. Plastic tunnels have been provided to many households for producing off-season vegetables in order to improve the nutritional level. Better varieties of fruit plants have also been introduced in many localities and individual households.

**Table 20.7 Distribution of Appropriate Technologies and Other Packages**

<i>SOU</i>	<i>DC</i> (No)	<i>FN</i> (No)	<i>FrN</i> (No)	<i>BC</i> (No)	<i>ST</i> (No)	<i>CP</i> (No)	<i>SW</i> (No)	<i>NC</i> (No)	<i>SP</i> (Kg)	<i>VIP</i> (No)
G. Chasma	3	9	8	37	59	3100	4	1	936	9
Shoghor	4	2	2	350	25	2500	3	1	540	6
Chitral	-	-	-	-	-	800	-	-	300	-
Drosh	-	-	1	-	-	200	2	-	150	-
Buni	-	5	8	20	89	1300	4	1	850	5
Mulikhow	1	-	2	14	45	300	3	1	350	1
Torkhow	-	1	-	8	19	411	1	1	250	2
Mastuj	-	10	10	33	38	712	6	0	600	6
Total	8	35	31	196	276	9323	23	6	3980	29

DC = drum carder FN= fruit nursery FrN= forest nursery

BC= brush carder ST= sulphur tent

CP= chick provided SW= spinning wheel NC= nut cracker

SP= seed provided VIP= vegetable introduction plot

Besides, to date twenty-one micro hydels have been completed in the region.

On the livestock side, poultry management and disease control has been a useful package for the locals. Chicks were provided to many households and brooding centres and training for disease control and management were offered. To date, 379 women have been providing training for poultry rearing and disease control.

Various appropriate technologies have been provided for saving labour time and increasing income. Some of the more successful at the farm level, are sulphur tents, drum carders, and micro hydels. With the help of sulphur tents the household women have increased their income and saved time. By selling fruit dried through sulphur, the intervened households increased their income more than three times (Shahidin 1995). Availability of drum carders has been very useful regarding saving time and increasing productivity besides creating hygienic conditions for household women. The work load has decreased significantly as 1 kilogram of wool used to be carded in the traditional way in one week. Availability of drum carders has eased the task by saving much of the household time and allowing the same amount of wool to be carded in 15 minutes, which is a very remarkable achievement on the part of the intervention of appropriate technologies (Fayyaz 1995).

Similarly, lighting of small hydel power has immense benefits in terms of time saving, making handicrafts, and better household management for the local women (Iqbal 1994; Table 20.7).

## Conclusion

On the basis of the preceding discussion it may be concluded that the women in Chitral have more access to and control over different resources than they had a decade ago. They have access to wage earning in the AKRSP, as well as other similar organizations, which is now culturally accepted by and large.

More than 208 organizations have been operated specifically for them where they hold different positions and manage the organization for different socio-economic activities and linkages with other bodies. Their sitting together and sharing information helps in empowering them and raising their skills.

Women have access to and control over savings, which total more than Rs 6.06 million, for development of different productive activities in their localities. This practice has empowered them as they are now owners of large capital, which was considered a male domain a few years ago.

Information and skill development is another area where more than 900 household women have been given training in different productive activities. Access to this resource enables them to be a productive force at the household and community level.

Credit, traditionally given only to men, is another crucial area, where household women have focused in order to enhance their economic power. They have access and control to different windows of credit like MECF and VOCP. Using the window of MECF, women have utilized the amount of Rs 0.4 million for different small-level enterprises and mobilization of their personal resources. VOCP, which is available at their doorstep, has allowed to achieve than Rs 1.38 million against their collateral.

Besides, women have control over and access to different productive packages (like vegetable, fruit, and forest, production, etc.) which have increased their awareness and that is why these activities are imperative to a balanced development at the household and community level. Poultry management and disease control has significantly increased their income and nutritional level as this activity has many benefits at the household level if managed successfully.

They have access to and control over different appropriate technologies like drum carders, sulphur tents, nutcrackers, and spinning wheels. Some of these have saved their labour time and increased productivity. Similarly, small hydels have increased their working capacity, providing them a better environment at the household level which would help them in better home management and child care. In short, women are moving ahead to a better life due to these activities and projects.

## NOTES

1. It was observed during various field visits that children at school going age, both male and female, were hardly seen at home, even in the remote villages. They attended schools wherever the facility was available.
2. Although this paper specifically deals with the intervention packages of the AKRSP, the contribution of the AKES and AKHS is also substantial as fifty-one girls schools (thirty-five primary, fifteen middle, and one high) are operating where thirty-nine trained local females are employed. The AKHS has twenty-one health centres where two lady doctors and forty-four lady health visitors are employed. Similarly, the CADP has provided employment to eight local women who are helping in organizing and improving concerns through different intervention packages replicating the AKRSP model. To date, 125 WOs have been formed in the region.
3. Within the programme, interaction of the female staff with the male staff remained limited and marginalization of the female staff was perceived. It was part of the cultural constraints which cause women to feel uneasy with strange men. During programme meetings the female staff segregated themselves and hesitated to participate in discussions. In the field, the male staff were reluctant to share the programme resources with their female colleagues, particularly vehicles. This attitude also stems from a culture where women are not considered at par with men. It was observed that such a situation may lead the female staff into seclusion and the development of local women may be jeopardized in the name of WID. Realizing the situation, the management group of the programme decided to abolish the WID section last year and integrated the packages with other sections. Another bold step was to appoint a female as a manager of the Field Management Unit (FMU) in the Gilgit region when structural changes were made in the programme. This had a very positive impact on the female staff, particularly in the Chitral region. One of the positive signs was seen during the regions' meeting when the same FMU manager was in Chitral for attending it. She encouraged the female staff of the Chitral region to take front seats during the meeting. Since this meeting, the female staff in Chitral have participated in discussions.
4. Structural favourability means where the programme intervention is made without resistance from the locals, meaning that their response is functional. The areas where favourable conditions were found were mostly populated by members of the Ismaili sect, who are more open-minded due to religious teachings encouraging modern education and development than Sunni Muslims. Social scientists believe that religion and religious leaders play a great role in shaping the values of the people (Stockwells & Laidlaw 1981).
5. Information was collected from the WID section of the CADP. This organization is run by the Government of NWFP and its major sources of funding are the Asian Development Bank and IFAD. Working procedure at the field level is similar to that of the AKRSP. This organization is preferred in Sunni areas to the AKRSP as the latter is linked with the Ismaili sect. The areas where members of the Sunni sect live are resistant to the programme due to politics supported by religious views.
6. *Patti* is woollen cloth made locally and is one of the important exports of Chitral.

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# MOUNTAIN TOURISM IN NORTHERN PAKISTAN—TOURIST REGIONS AND PROBLEMS OF FURTHER DEVELOPMENT

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Tourism has mainly been a matter for economists, human geographers, sociologists, psychologists, and others for decades. In recent years, however, there has been a growing awareness among social and natural scientists of the fact that tourism concerns them also. For tourism not only depends largely on the natural environment but also can impair nature. This has been experienced in European countries where mass tourism has transformed large tracts from rural to semi-urban areas. This process has chiefly affected mountain environments which were subject to measures like deforestation for ski runs, construction of ropeways and lifts, mountain roads, mountain hotels, restaurants, and other tourist attractions. It is winter sports, mainly Alpine skiing, which have caused the greatest damage, such as soil erosion and deterioration of the vegetation. Although a strong ecology movement in countries like Switzerland, Austria, and Germany opposes tourist over-development, economic interests have usually prevailed against environment protection.

It is a great challenge to examine mountain tourism in Pakistan in the light of European experiences. However, as far as I know, there are no empirical studies in this field so that, first, basic data and information have to be collected. Mountain tourism seems to be such a recent phenomenon in Pakistan that social scientists are not yet aware of it, although tourism has increased rapidly during the last decade in the mountains of Northern Pakistan and there is a large potential for its further growth. This potential should be carefully developed, above all, to diversify the sources of income for the mountain population.

In the mountain areas of Northern Pakistan the traditional economy and way of life are in a crisis as has been the case in many other mountain areas of the world, especially the Alps. The opening up of the valleys by roads and modern communication and administration systems has resulted in remarkable changes. Traditional mountain husbandry, which formerly provided subsistence, is decreasing and had been partly replaced by a market-oriented agriculture. Such changes can be observed for instance in Kaghan, Upper Swat, and some valleys near Gilgit where potatoes have become an important cash crop. Moreover, some mountain areas suffer heavy emigration of young people in search of better jobs or education, as is the case in Hunza.

What happens when the traditional ways of life in the mountain areas break down? It is tourism that penetrates the valleys, giving them a new function within the overall economy of

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a country. In highly industrialized and urbanized countries like those of Western Europe, mountain areas have become the main destination of tourists, apart from sea shores. In the Alps, this process of tourist penetration began during the last century and reached its peak in the last two decades. Tourism has also conquered other mountain areas although to a less spectacular extent: the Pyrenees and parts of the Carpathians in Europe, the Rocky Mountains in North America, the Alborz Mountains in Iran, and others. Thus, the recent appearance of tourism in Northern Pakistan reflects a worldwide process of re-evaluation of mountain environments by modernized or modernizing societies.

Although the numbers of tourists in the mountains of Pakistan are comparatively low, tourism has started to influence landscape, local economy, and society in certain places. In the following, some problems of the new mountain tourism in Pakistan shall be sketched, mainly the locations of tourist places, types of tourists and resorts, and finally some implications for tourism policy and planning.

There are five regions where tourism concentrates:

1. Murree and the *galis*. This is a region of traditional recreation, almost exclusively visited by domestic tourists, both for weekends and for longer stays in a cool climate. Murree, as one of the large hill-stations founded by the British (in 1851) is the leading tourist centre in Northern Pakistan, comprising not only of a number of hotels but also accommodation in rest houses of government departments and in private houses. Moreover, many foreign embassies in Islamabad have their summer residences in Murree, about 2200 metres above sea level. The *galis*, as Nathiagali, Dungagali, Ayubia, and other are called, are much smaller and less visited than Murree, which is easily accessible from Rawalpindi and Islamabad. The *galis* are an area of long-established tourism without much recent growth although attempts were made to develop their recreational potential, as in Ayubia, during the 1960s.
2. Gilgit and Hunza are the main tourist destinations in the Northern Areas. Here tourism shows a unique structure in regard to the nationality, activities, and expenditure of the visitors. There are single globe-trotters or 'rucksack tourists' as well as groups of trekkers and participants in expensive package tours, Pakistanis as well as foreigners. The opening of the Karakoram Highway (KKH) in 1978 and of the Khunjerab Pass in 1986 has resulted in a heavy increase of tourists of all types. The Khunjerab Pass, at 4733 metres above sea level, is not only an important transit station but also a place of sight-seeing from Gilgit and Hunza. Gilgit, as the administrative and commercial centre of the whole region, has also become its tourist focus although the town cannot boast of any sights. However, it has developed good transport and tourist facilities, offers about 210 hotel rooms of different price categories, shops for mountaineering equipment, travel agencies, and so on. After Gilgit, Karimabad in Hunza has gained considerable importance as a tourist place. Located near the old village of Baltit with its magnificent view of Rakaposhi and with various excursion facilities, Karimabad's recent hotel boom has established more than 100 rooms for tourists.  
 Gilgit and Hunza are a great attraction to foreign tourists who dominated by far about 1980. Meanwhile, the number and proportion of Pakistanis who come up the KKH for short stays has increased.
3. The Kaghan valley attracts predominantly domestic tourists from the lowlands who prefer to see a rugged, thickly forested mountain landscape. Most of Kaghan tourism concentrates in Naran where the asphalt road ends. Here the Pakistan Tourism Development Corporation; (PTDC founded in 1970) complex alone received about 15,000 tourists in 1986, including

11,000 Pakistanis and 4000 foreigners. Many other domestic visitors, mostly members of different authorities, stay in the numerous official rest houses, tourist huts, inspection bungalows, and other accommodations during the summer. As the valley itself is rather narrow, its most attractive sites lie at higher altitudes: the plateaus of Shogran and Lalazar and the lake Saif-ul-Muluk (3212 m) near Naran. Tourism in upper Kaghan, however, is often hampered by climatic conditions. In winter and spring the upper valley is closed by heavy snowfall and avalanche activity. Avalanche cones may block the road till August and impede the traffic even to Naran (as in 1986).

4. The Swat valley gives easier access to high mountain areas with forests and glaciers. Here, Kalam, at the head of the main valley, has developed into an important summer resort within a few years and there is still a boom in building new hotels. In future, the winter resort of Malam Jaba (with a hotel and ski lift), which has been under construction for many years, will add a totally new feature to mountain tourism in Northern Pakistan. Situated under a forested crest at 2500 metres, the place is easily accessible by a new asphalt road from the Swat valley almost 1500 metres below, and has a splendid location and good snow conditions. Swat mostly attracts Pakistani tourists but the lower valley with Saidu Sharif and its many relics of Gandhara culture is also visited by foreigners, mainly guided groups. Swat offers the greatest variety of landscape and hotel accommodation and is already well-equipped with tourist facilities. The main locations of tourism are (besides Kalam) Saidu Sharif and Mingora, Miandam in a side valley, Madyan, and Bahrein. Although an area of relatively established tourism, Swat still records a considerable tourist growth, increasingly supported by private enterprise.
5. In Baltistan tourism has developed only after the completion of the Indus road to Skardu, which itself is already a breathtaking sight. Tourism in Baltistan shows a bipolar structure reflected in two nearby locations: Skardu and Kachura Lake. Skardu has become the main starting point for expeditions and trekking tours to the central Karakoram Range with some modest hotels mostly visited by foreigners. In contrast to Skardu the private tourist complex at Kachura Lake, called 'Shangri La,' offers expensive accommodation to more fastidious guests, both domestic and foreign. Most of them fly in directly from Rawalpindi and make use of a diversified programme of recreation activities offered by the hotel management.

Apart from these five areas there are a few more important places with tourist accommodation. Some of them are located along the KKH: Chilas (with an expensive new 'Midway Hotel'), Besham, farther down and in particular Abbottabad as the starting point of the highway. Although Abbottabad is a resort as old as Murree and near to the *galis* it cannot be considered a part of them for it is situated only at 1200 metres, has strong urban functions, and, despite its large hotel capacity (about 120 rooms), has predominantly transit tourism. The number of tourists along the KKH up to Gilgit should not be overestimated. An official survey revealed that only a minority (8 %) of the passengers on the KKH travel for recreation or sight-seeing purposes (Research and Statistics Section 1983).

Another region not yet much touched by tourism is Chitral. Chitral Town may be called a small tourist centre which offers modest accommodation in three hotels and excursions to the Kalash valleys (Bumboret, Ramboor, and Birir) and to the hot springs of Garam Chashma. However, tourism in Chitral does not only suffer from poor road conditions (mainly over the Loari Pass) but also from restrictions along the border with Afghanistan.

If we consider the factors which favoured the growth of tourism in the five areas mentioned above we will find mainly the following: a) access by good roads and air connections (to Saidu Sharif, Gilgit, Skardu); b) natural beauty in general, especially high mountains, good

views, clear rivers, forests, snows, and in the case of the hill stations, cool climate in contrast to the lowlands; c) spectacular natural landscapes which attract mainly foreign tourists, such as famous mountains (Nanga Parbat, K2, Rakaposhi, etc.) and the huge glaciers of Baltistan and Hunza/Nager. This means that the main tourist resource of the mountains in north Pakistan is nature. Therefore, all should be done to preserve nature including forests and wildlife.

The same is true for the cultural resources. Until now they have been of minor importance for tourism but they may get more attention in future, especially from people interested in alien cultures. Such resources are, for example, traditional settlements. First of all wooden houses as still common in Chitral, Swat, parts of Chilas, and Kaghan; so are old mosques and castles with fine wood carvings (Kalam, Hunza, Ghor, Khaplu in Baltistan). Furthermore folk art, music, and dances and eventually archaeological monuments as in Swat and inscriptions from the Buddhist period along the KKH (Jettmar 1982) have potential as tourist attraction.

Other important requirements for developing tourism are proper accommodation and modern tourist facilities. Until now it seems that, apart from Murree and a few other exceptions, low-cost tourism prevails by far. This is justified in a country where the average level of income is low. In order to enable members of the middle class to participate in domestic tourism the price for accommodation should be moderate. Concerning foreign tourists, however, all should be done to achieve higher standards. International tourism can be an important source of foreign-exchange earnings but it is subject to hard competition. Therefore, a higher standard of tourism should be encouraged by a policy which promotes improvements in accommodation, service, and infrastructure. Hotels of high quality will be used by upper-class nationals as well as foreigners who usually have similar demands. Such hotels offer a great number of jobs and create broad income effects. The problem is, however, to which extent the local population benefits from these income flows; this will be discussed below.

Until recently there were hardly more than three hotels in the mountain areas of north Pakistan (apart from Murree) which met international standards. This is a small number, compared with at least fifty hotels of medium to low quality (including those of the PTDC). They are located in Saidu Sharif, Gilgit, and near Skardu (Shangri La). All of them are privately run. Enterprises who own them are planning investments in new hotels in Gilgit, Raikot (near the Nanga Parbat), Karimabad, and Sost (Hunza). They owe this success not only to foreign but also to Pakistani guests who are members of the urban upper classes. This shows that there is a demand for high standard recreation facilities inside Pakistan while in many other developing countries well-to-do people prefer holiday destinations abroad. Only a few years ago the mountain areas were not at all an attraction for rich merchants and industrialists from Karachi. Now they can be seen at Kachura Lake near Skardu as well as in the Serena Hotels at Saidu Sharif and Gilgit. It seems that these areas are successfully building up a 'tourist image' which corresponds even to the demands of the national elite. This is important for future development as the elite usually have a pilot function in tourism.

Until a few years ago public institutions, mainly the PTDC, were pioneers of tourism outside the cities. However, public tourist enterprises are hardly capable of meeting high standard demands in an optimal way as worldwide experience shows. This means that governmental enterprises like the PTDC still have an important function as a model in places where private initiative in tourism is inadequate (like Chitral or Kaghan, for example). For tourist development of international standards, however, private enterprise with its greater flexibility and know-how is an advantage.

However, the expansion of high standard accommodation has created problems in the Northern Areas, namely, social, economic, and political ones. These new hotels are owned

and run by private companies or individuals from outside the mountains, not by locals nor government institutions. The emergence of developers, financiers, and managers from outside has provoked much unrest among the local population, especially from indigenous hoteliers who fear superior competitors. In one case resistance culminated in a trial. These are understandable reactions if one considers the negative results of large-scale tourist development by outsiders as, for example, realized during the 'sixties in the French Alps. Unrestrained exogenous development of tourism usually discriminates against the local population which, insufficiently qualified, is able to participate only in minor positions with low incomes.

On the other hand, the locals in distant mountain valleys have neither the financial means nor the know-how to develop high standard accommodation and infrastructure. It is hard to imagine that villagers from Baltistan, Hunza, or Kaghan know about the pretensions and expectations of upper-class tourists unless they themselves have served in a hotel of this standard. Thus, non-local, mostly urban entrepreneurs are necessary to develop high standard tourism to complement the modest accommodation facilities which are the domain of the local population. It is an adequate mixture of high, medium, and low standard accommodation which should be developed in this way.

To achieve this aim, tourism policy and tourism planning have to give directives and set limitations. Tourism development should be a balanced process, with the participation of the local people and outside entrepreneurs, but without destruction of the natural environment and the cultural heritage of the population. At the moment the mountain environment in Pakistan does not seem to be endangered. However, there are indications of ecological stress in some areas, mainly along the most popular trekking routes in Baltistan from where pollution and destruction of the vegetation have been reported (Gruber 1981). And the hotel project on the Fairy Meadows in the Raikot valley near Nanga Parbat will destroy forests and a famous landscape. The cultural heritage of the mountain people is another tourist resource worth preserving and protecting. It is deplorable that whole villages with traditional houses which otherwise would attract tourists become ruins. Even the old *mir's* palace in Baltit (Hunza), which is visited by many tourists, seems to be going this way instead of being restored and transformed to a museum. (The Baltit palace has been lately restored and renovated by the Aga Khan Foundation—ed.).

The authorities should not only recognize the rich tourist resources of the mountains in north Pakistan but also direct their development by appropriate planning. They should not repeat the negligence and errors of governments in other countries but act properly before it is too late.

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