



Tracing impacts of the Kalam Integrated Development Project



KIDP 1981-1998

**Through memories and
perceptions of local
people, former project staff
and other stakeholders**



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Acronyms

AKRSP	Agha Khan Rural Support Programme
CBO	Community Based Organisation
CIP	Community Infrastructure Project
CTA	Chief Technical Adviser
DFO	Divisional Forest Office
FDC	Forest Development Corporation
GAD	Gender and Development
HTC	Home Tuition Centre
IC	Intercooperation, Swiss Foundation for Development and International Cooperation
IPRP	Innovation for Poverty Reduction (IC project)
KIDP	Kalam Integrated Development Project
LHV	Lady Health Visitor
NRM	Natural Resource Management
NWFP	North West Frontier Province
SAP-PK	South Asia Partnership - Pakistan
SDC	Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation
SKEP	Swat Kohistan Education Project
SKYAID	Swat Kohistan Youth Association for Integrated Development
STC	Sarhad Tourism Corporation
TBA	Traditional Birth Attendant
TFW	Trained Forestry Worker
TZKT	Tanzeem Zalmay Kul Teerat (NGO)
VDP	Village Development Programme
VID	Village Infrastructure Development
VO	Village Organisation
WID	Women in Development
WO	Women Organisation

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Executive Summary

People in Upper Swat are better off today than their counterparts in comparable mountainous regions of NWFP. They have higher incomes, are less dependent on seasonal migration for earning their livelihood and enjoy higher levels of well-being - at least in those areas, such as housing, where money can buy well-being directly. This is of course a general statement, but a remarkable feature of the situation is that the economy on which this relative state of prosperity rests, production of high value off-season vegetables in a multi-cropping system, has been accessible to the majority of farmers, although with varying benefits, depending on a number of factors, notably access to land.

Everyone agrees that the Kalam Integrated Development Project, which ran in Upper Swat from 1981 through 1998, was crucially instrumental in bringing about this change by helping the farmers to move away from subsistence agriculture and to diversify cash crops, abandoning potato mono-culture which at the time was threatened by a pest. Not only did the project pilot and support appropriate kinds of agricultural innovation, it also exposed the farmers to the art of selling their produce in distant down-country markets, thus implementing a value-chain approach "avant la lettre" very successfully. This is - without doubt - the single most important and lasting achievement of KIDP.

This is not a very obvious conclusion for a project which had started out as a forestry project (1981-1983), continued to pursue forestry objectives over its whole lifespan and had the Forest Department as its lead partner among the line agencies with whom it co-operated. In fact, KIDP failed to achieve a major impact in forestry on the ground, partly due to factors beyond its control: Capacities and techniques it had developed in the early years, particularly in tree harvesting, became inapplicable once a complete ban on logging was introduced by Government in 1993 - and some of them wouldn't have survived the project context anyway. Community forestry approaches didn't find a lasting response in the population. The outstanding achievement of the project in this area was to bring the community and the Forest Department together to discourage timber smuggling out of the area through a network of "community check post", some of which continue to function to-day, although their continued existence is not secured.

While Upper Swat may be more prosperous today than comparable mountain regions in the Province, public services are few and of meagre quality as everywhere else. Once KIDP wound up, agriculture and forestry services immediately contracted to their pre-project level, with the exception that the (Sub-) District Forest Office in Madyan, which KIDP had fought for, remained in place. Social services, such as health and education, have always been weak and unreliable in Upper Swat and remain so today.

When one talks to the people in Upper Swat in 2005, what they resent most is that they feel left alone with their problems and aspirations, and some of that resentment is directed at KIDP, because the project offered that kind of support for a limited time and then went away - with lots of unfinished business, according to people's perceptions. "Neither before nor after KIDP did we ever have a functioning support agency right here at Kalam", a community member said. Nostalgia certainly also plays a role because KIDP was a generous project, it opened attractive options in the lives of many individuals and communities. But those who have a more professional view of things tend to share the perception of the community: "When the ground was prepared and social responsiveness was created, the project left, and assets developed could not be capitalised upon", said a participant in an expert panel held in September, 2005.

Indeed, apart from successful agricultural innovation, KIDP's most important achievement was in changing the mental outlook of the people in Upper Swat. KIDP was of course not alone in doing that, tourism, which developed at the same time, had its share in this, but what counted in the end was the sheer extent of interactions with outside actors and ideas local people were exposed to during that time. KIDP was a massive intervention which

through its extension network had a considerable geographical reach and density of interaction, at least in Kalam, where it worked from the beginning. Paradoxically, the "Village Organisation" approach of the project, which precisely aimed at changing social practices and corresponding mindsets, was not successful in institutional terms, the community organisations it initiated have all but vanished - with a few notable exceptions, such as a women group at Yajgal. However, organisational practices acquired during the project's lifetime may have enabled local individuals and activists to cope better with subsequent challenges than would otherwise have been the case.

In the other major area where KIDP tried to foster social change directly, namely girls' education, the outcome is similar: The concept of "Home Tuition Centres" was not sustainable; while some of them survived as community schools to this day - more or less precariously, through a post-project support scheme - the initial impetus given by KIDP was massive enough to bring about changes in mentality which are felt and remembered and acted upon to-day.

The same is true for forestry, where practically nothing is left on the ground. But here again, during its lifetime, the project has created enough awareness - for the need to protect the forests as an essential element of the local livelihood - that the logging ban of 1993 has been widely accepted and people have definitely given up the idea that money is to be made through cutting of the forest and selling of timber. The participatory concepts have influenced subsequent policy developments in the Forest Department and several NGOs directly or indirectly involved with the project or after the project was over (e.g. IUCN, SUNGI, local NGOs of Malakand).

KIDP left some "agents of change" who continue to work either as volunteers or small entrepreneurs in the community or as public servants in their respective departments. But it was unable to foster sustainable institutional links to outside resources which the people of Upper Swat need because they want to progress and build on the resources they have developed in interaction with KIDP.

This study is not a classical impact evaluation, on two counts:

Firstly, it doesn't use sampling techniques and "objectively verifiable" quantitative data, it relies heavily on exploration of memories and perceptions. This is a novel approach, and it was possible because it is complementary to earlier, more academically solid studies of the project, particularly "Learning from KIDP" by Urs Geiser, published in 2000, to which the authors of the present report are heavily indebted for valuable structural "background" information which they otherwise would not have been able to access within the given resource frame.

Secondly, this study does not assess the impacts of KIDP in terms of the project's objectives as would normally be the case. Rather, SDC suggested that the team look at impacts in the light of concepts which guide its 2006-2010 co-operation strategy with Pakistan. This strategy was developed against a context whereby, over the past two decades, Pakistan had achieved considerable macro-economic progress, while poverty had increased and the country, in terms of human development indicators, compared unfavourably with its neighbours in Southern Asia. It identifies the situation of women and children as of special concern due to limited rights and access to public goods. The goal of the new strategy therefore, is "to reduce poverty through promoting a people-driven, equitable and ecologically sound development". There will be two domains of co-operation namely "Improving Governance", where the focus will be on enabling institutions and citizens to fulfil and exercise their obligations and rights, and "Increasing income", which will focus on enabling the poor to access markets, resources and services. A human rights based approach will be applied as an overarching principle, while good governance and empowerment will be guiding concepts.

In methodological terms, this meant for the team to determine "fields of observation" in KIDP, where issues of empowering people as citizens and as economic actors had been addressed - albeit using a different terminology at the time. The next step then was to identify fields of investigation, or "probes", where, by virtue of previous knowledge on KIDP, one could expect to find evidence. The tools used to capture the information were mostly interactive social research techniques, such as memory work, narrations, focus group discussions and semi-structured interviews.

Looking at KIDP in terms of SDC's 2006-2010 co-operation strategy has shown to be an enriching exercise, since in KIDP many issues were addressed which are of relevance today: One thread of KIDP is about enabling agricultural producers to take maximum benefit of the comparative advantages offered to them by the agro-ecological features of Upper Swat, including helping them to access down-country markets. Another one is about enabling both local people as well as the Forestry Department to work together effectively to avert the threat of de-forestation of the area due to uncontrolled logging. KIDP initiated village organisations "where everybody had a voice" in order to overcome the limitations of traditional fora for deliberation and local decision-making and to foster effective dialogue between project and local people. By offering professional training to local women and school education to girls, and by fostering women organisations, KIDP made a very perceptible public statement about equal rights between men and women. And, beyond sectoral interventions, the project made an important contribution towards the emergence of a culture of public debate and inclusion which gave the area a head-start when it came to establishing effective local government. The following pages will provide substance to these claims, based on the narrations of the people themselves who generally speaking, look back to KIDP as a unique period of innovation and empowerment.

Memories of Bakhatzar - Changes in Upper Swat as reflected in the biography of a local woman



Bakhatzar, October, 2005

Upper Swat is a different place today from what it used to be 25 years ago when KIDP was initiated. It is much more prosperous from a revolution in agriculture, it has become a destination for thousands of tourists every summer, and the local inhabitants have gotten used to being involved in all kinds of interactions with the outside world. Development has had its trade-offs, as everywhere, and people are very much aware of that. The memories of a 62 year-old woman,

Bakhatzar, go back beyond this period, into the era of princely rule in Swat, which ended in 1969, when the region was absorbed into Pakistan.

"Kalam has been our home for generations and you may call it a little paradise. My ancestors made it worth living, exactly like their forefathers struggled to give them a better livelihood. I never saw fairies or any fearful beasts in these jungles, these were like our own home, always peaceful, calm and willing to give us something that we always wished to collect before the arrival of harsh winters; I mean food and fuel to cook it. ... I heard about the existence of bears and wild cats (Cheetahs) living in the deepest corners of woods and over the tops of mountains but never had a chance to see those in my life. Most of the

population living here belonged to the same family and clan. Women were never restricted to their homes, they had a busy and productive life. I, being a child accompanied my mother and collected fuel wood from the door steps of our house, we also fetched water from the stream and, of course, there was plenty of farm and domestic work that was to be done daily. During those days jungles were not so remotely situated. Women were able to roam freely, no outsiders were there to stare at us, we were like a family and there was no formal tradition of observing purdah (veil) during those days.

Wali-e-Swat was our ruler and everything was so simple, correct and was being managed with discipline. Nobody even dared to steal an apple from the trees because it was considered Wali's property (amanat). We had limited needs; population was small in size, two crops were sufficient to meet our food related requirements. We used to grow maize, spinach and plenty of fodder was available for our cattle. We were able to produce home made butter, cheese and above all fresh milk was available for daily use. Life was simple, men and women worked together in the fields, clothes were made at home, even shoes were produced locally that were very useful in winter season. Whenever we had a need to get something, we got it by exchanging some other commodities. Decisions were made by the family heads (mostly by men), while the matrimonial decisions were made in consultation with women. Major decisions especially, the disputes were settled by the "jirga" (assembly of clan elders)."

Bakhatzar is not a dreamer, lost in idealising the past, but a resolutely modern woman, who took up the challenges that came along her way and seized the opportunities offered to her and her family. Some 20 years ago, her husband died, and she had seven young children. Her family lived in extreme poverty.

"...Then we came to know that the KIDP project team was offering training in different skills. Most people at that time misperceived the project. They believed that the project involved people in anti-social activities, but after many meetings our perceptions changed. Four more women, Bakht Rana, Rabia Gul, Jamila Bibi, Nasib Jan, along with me, got traditional birth attendant (TBA) training. During training KIDP gave us Rs. 500 per month and training consisted of three months. Ever since I have been working as a birth attendant, it is my source of income that meets all my needs. My fee is Rs.50 to Rs. 100 per case. I earn almost Rs. 1500 to 3500 per month depending on people's capacity to pay. I am very thankful to KIDP due to which I have an honourable job and a respectable position in the village."

Bakhatzar is convinced that her and her colleagues' activities have contributed to lowering maternal and child mortality in the area. She is also aware that the project promoted women in many other ways. Later on, two of her daughters were asked to become tutors at "Home Tuition Centres" for girls established by the project, but their husbands were at first reluctant to allow them.

"There was no tradition of sending girls to schools before, but due to KIDP's efforts many girls completed their matriculation from boys' school. Unfortunately, many of these girls' schools couldn't survive after KIDP's withdrawal."

(Bakhatzar refers here to the fact that Home Tuition Centres - at least initially - didn't provide the whole course of primary education and that at some stage girl students had to attend boys' schools or at least take exams from them.)

Bakhatzar is a keen observer of past and present changes in Kalam and comments on important development trends as follows:

"KIDP worked in agriculture. People got prosperous within months after using the newly available techniques. Off-season vegetables and multi-cropping made people prosperous but somehow it disturbed the natural ecology of Kalam. For example, in old days, when we used to grow khoshoom (a local variety of peas), maize and spinach there was always space for fodder to grow that was later used to feed the cattle but the multi cropping system didn't

leave any room for medicinal herbs and fodder. Now we are not able to get these and we have to buy these things and also, to some extent, the number of cattle has also been reduced.

On the other hand, the mushroom growth of the hotel industry played havoc to our jungles and society. The tourist industry not only consumed much of our woods but also forced people to restrict their women inside the four walls of their homes. Before, women were more mobile and were active partners in economy, now they only come out during off-season. They have become off-season creatures because of tourists. Now they produce wedding dresses and do other house chores; but their contribution in external traditional work is still considerable. KIDP also encouraged women's participation in decision making through its "Village Organisations". During early days people were simple and couldn't understand its importance, but later women even started participating in local government elections. Now if a project like KIDP was initiated here it would get a warm response because KIDP has done the ground work. But we have not been able to reap the whole benefits of the crop that KIDP has sown."

Bakhatzar echoes a widespread opinion of the people in Kalam that the "premature" closure of the project deprived people of many potential benefits because things were not allowed enough time to "mature". For development professionals this has been and is a controversial issue. But for the local people there can be no doubt. As one of them said in a meeting: "Wali's and KIDP's eras were dreams for the community".

Some of Bakhatzar's observations on the mainstream of agricultural development in Upper Swat are not shared by other informants of the study, the most controversial issues being the reasons for the decline of the numbers of livestock, the role of maize in the overall cropping patterns, the development of soil fertility and the role of fertilisers and chemical pest controls in developing and maintaining the present cropping system. While these parameters are undoubtedly important when it comes to assessing options for further agricultural development in Upper Swat, discussing such issues would require independent carefully researched factual information and is therefore beyond the scope of this study.

Major socio-economic developments in upper Swat since 1980: Significantly exceptional

According to a recent authoritative study, the 2003 Pakistan Participatory Poverty Assessment¹, Swat is the only area in what it called "high mountainous forest region" of NWFP where commercial cultivation of off-season vegetables had become common and was the dominant characteristic of farming - as opposed to ecologically comparable areas such as Kohistan, where subsistence and food crops still dominated agriculture². In more details, it described the changes as follows:

"A trend starting in the mid-1980s had been for farmers to move from growing subsistence food crops towards growing cash crops. Initially, this appeared a positive trend in terms of income as profits were very high. The soil was fertile because intensive cultivation methods had not been used before and the use of external inputs (chemical fertiliser, pesticides) helped to increase crop yield. A third factor contributing to the high profitability was that the cultivation of off-season vegetables was not wide spread in other high mountain areas such as Murree and Kaghan so supply was limited while the demand in urban markets was high. Mingora and Lahore were the two major markets for the off-season vegetable crops grown ... Moreover, the increased use of tractors made it possible to cultivate previously barren land. The Kalam Integrated Development Project (KIDP) provided support to establish and improve marketing systems, introduced high yielding varieties, improved farm-to-market roads and increased the availability of micro-credits to farmers. Training and social mobilisation through the formation of village development committees was also part of their intervention strategy."³



Enough income from farming to build a spacious new house for the family, 2005 (RF)

The study goes on to explain that apart from initially high income levels this development over time also brought adverse impacts and problems. Soil fertility started to decrease which had to be compensated for with the increased use of chemical fertilisers. And as the new crops were vulnerable to pest attacks, increased use of pesticides was required - causing profits to narrow and health hazards to grow. This in turn increased levels of uncertainty and risks for farmers. This development, the study says, caused a substantial decrease in livestock holdings, traditionally a major source of livelihood in Swat.

The replacement of the maize crop, a main form of fodder, and the conversion of pasturelands into cultivated areas had made it impossible to continue keeping large numbers of livestock. The study concludes that the changes in cropping patterns had a complex impact on livelihoods.

In terms of non-agricultural employment, again according to the Pakistan Participatory Poverty Assessment, Swat was another exceptional case as it was the only area in NWFP where local informants perceived off-farm employment opportunities to have increased over the past 20 years, while the trend was perceived to be going in the opposite direction everywhere else⁴. Also, at the better-off investigation site in rural Swat, people said that their overall well-being had slightly increased in the past.

¹ Pakistan Participatory Poverty Assessment, NWFP Province Report, October, 2003

² Ibid., pp. 80/81

³ Ibid., pp. 94/95

⁴ Ibid., p. 91



Poor farmer with his daughter in his cabbage field in front of his modest house



... and next to neighbour's big potato field and stately house, Aryana Kas, 2005 (Both RF)

From what was learnt by the team it seems quite likely that employment created by marketing and transportation of vegetable crops and by tourism account for that difference.

Certain visually perceptible indicators in Upper Swat, particularly the development of higher quality housing over the past two decades, clearly point to increasing incomes and well-being, although the distribution of this additional wealth may be quite unequal, since size and quality of landholdings determined largely to what extent farmers were able to benefit from recent agricultural developments. Casual information confirms this: While farmer families with a certain acreage per family member who are fully engaged in vegetable farming feel no need to supplement their farming income with casual labour in the lowlands during the winter season, male members of families with smaller holdings per capita still need to do this. But the overall perception is that this form of labour migration has diminished over the past two decades, again a feature rarely seen in other mountainous areas of NWFP.

However, even for those who have been able to increase their incomes there are severe limitations to the well-being they can buy for money. As in other areas of NWFP, public services in Upper Swat are very poor, ill health is a major economic hazard even for a better-off family since due to the lack of acceptable services in the area they will take their severely ill patients to the hospital at Mingora and may be forced to spend ruinous amounts of money. The same limited reach of what money can buy applies to schools which are either inexistent or notoriously unreliable, or to alternative forms of energy, such as electricity. In the case of income-poor people, public services are even more vital. As the Pakistan Participatory Poverty Assessment pointed out:

"Adequate access to important public services was regarded as critical in building up human capital and capabilities. However, a variety of policy, legal and institutional constraints, and the lack of accountability of public institutions, were perceived to be major constraints to realising human rights and objectives of livelihood security."⁵

In this respect, Upper Swat is no exception to the general situation prevailing in NWFP.

⁵ Ibid., p. 71

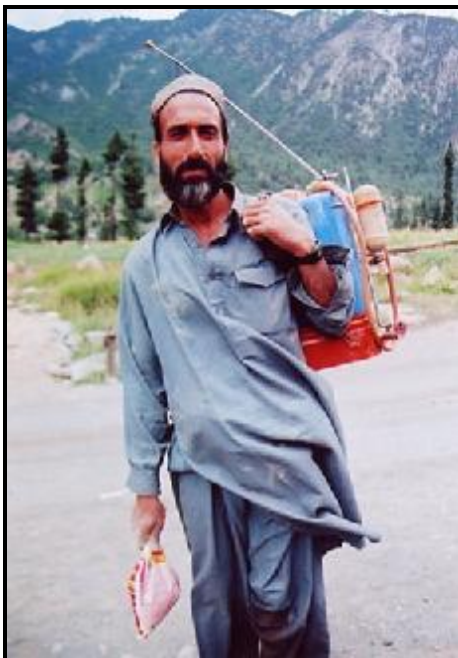
One step further: How Aziz-ur-Rahman transcended his resource limitations and became a contract farming manager



Aziz-ur-Rehman (RF)



Jafar Shah promoting Chinese cabbage, Kalam, 1985 (FB)



Farmer with spraying equipment at Ashuran, 2005 (FB)

"My name is Aziz-ur-Rehman, I have 5 brothers and now I am of 48 years of age. I received my primary education from my own village. My kin consists of 80 members. I am the resident of village Jalbanr. Twenty years ago¹ the only crops grown were maize and buckwheat. At that time we had a small number of family members and our needs were few, but with the family growing our needs for basic necessities also increased. This weakened our economic position and prompted my brothers to start living separately. When KIDP initiated its work in 1982 my family was quite sceptic, it resisted the activities of KIDP strongly in the first phase, but gradually we started to realise that these activities were aimed at the overall development of the community. One of the KIDP officers, Mr. Jafar Shah, was the main source of motivation to people for planting off-season vegetables on their lands and benefiting from the successful results. Soon we were introduced to the double cropping system, both gave a boost to the economy of the local communities and more people took interest in cultivating off-season vegetables such as turnips, peas and cabbage. We were also taught about other modern techniques to carry out the cultivation process more economically, e.g. one of the innovative methods was to store and utilise our own seeds rather than bringing more costly seed from the down country. This method not only contributed towards cost reduction but also towards better germination.

We became more enlightened and receptive to modern ideas that enabled us to earn better income and to make savings. With the savings I set up a general store in the main Kalam Bazaar. In 1995 another breakthrough took place, and nature gave me another opportunity; a tourist visiting Kalam, Mr. Tariq Jafri from Lahore, came to my store for shopping and we had a conversation which lead to a lasting friendship. Mr. Tariq was a nature lover and deeply liked Kalam, he used to visit it every year, and as we became good friends, we used to talk on many issues, including my agriculture related activities. I explained him how KIDP had helped me to improve my economic condition through off-season vegetable cultivation. This idea seemed to hit his mind, and next year when he came back he was not alone but accompanied by another person, Mr. Benjamin Daniel.



Vegetable currently grown in Upper Swat (FB, 2005)

Daniel was a renowned businessman who was dealing in exports of vegetables to Gulf countries under the name of his firm 'United Fresh Ways'. Daniel conducted a detailed survey of Kalam. He then offered me a business opportunity, he asked me to work for him in cultivating certain crops on my land. He had a vast experience in that field and he discussed with me that we can share his experience and my lands and convert them into a profitable venture. The idea seemed to be very lucrative at a glance, and I could easily forecast the future benefits. I at once agreed to that idea. After a long discussion we agreed on certain terms and conditions according to which Mr. Benjamin was responsible to provide me with high grade seeds to be sown on my land and took upon himself to purchase the entire crop produced. During the first year he provided me lettuce seeds and also briefed me about nursery planting, transplanting and other agronomic practices. By the Grace of God the results were tremendously beneficial.

That encouraged us to expand our business a little further but the main problem was that I had only a little piece of land and it was not economically feasible for me to purchase more land. Benjamin too was aware of this fact and then decided to contract some more people keeping in view the increasing demand for the produce. He asked me to find some other farmers who were willing to join us; that was not a difficult task for me as the news of our successful experiments had spread like a jungle fire in the village and people were more than willing to join us. I initially engaged two farmers, but Benjamin wanted us to push forward rapidly in order to meet growing demands of business; as time passed he introduced new species and varieties of crops. With the expansion of our activities more farmers needed to be contracted, so our network kept on expanding and became so enormous that managing it became a complete job. Benjamin discussed this issue with me and suggested that I assume this function. I was thrilled with the idea because now life provided me with a chance to do some work for the benefit of my community as well. I gave my consent to Benjamin and he decided to pay me separately to perform this job.



The pace of innovation has slowed down
Vegetable demonstration plot at Ushu (1986, top) with a
typical "KIDP fence" turned into a potato field (2005)
(Both FB)



Marketing vegetables, Mateltan 1985 and 2005 (FB)

As I became more skilled and more independent to perform my job I started conducting further experimentation based on my own experience which I had gained over this period. I take pride in telling you that as a result of my research I became able to get three crops per year. It is also worth mentioning that by the Grace of Almighty Allah my earnings from this new business increased so much that I decided to shut down my general store as it depended on tourists and demanded too much time which by now I didn't have any more. I knew that the main hurdle for farmers to develop in my area was the costly seeds that they had to bring from down country and costly agronomic procedures in cultivating traditional crops. So I offered them a deal under which I provided them with nurseries and seedlings free of cost for such species of vegetables that we intended to grow (China cabbage, lettuce "Desert Queen", celery, broccoli, and leeks). They required less care and spraying, cost of cultivation was minimised and profits increased. In addition, I also shared with them my practical experience of sowing the seeds nine inches apart, this way about 3600 plants can be sown on an area of one kanal (5445 sq. feet). The farm gate price which I offered them was Rs. 5 per plant allowing them to have approximately Rs. 18'000 in sales per kanal with a minimum of production costs. This was not only much more than they earned previously by cultivating traditional crops but also much more than can be made with the same crops in the Punjab plains. I do not hesitate to admit that this all became possible due the awareness given by KIDP about off season vegetable cultivation in the farming community of Kalam."

Aziz' success story, told during a focus group discussion at Jalbanr, highlights a number of strengths and achievements of KIDP and at the same time points to a number of current limitations for the farmers in Upper Swat. Among the achievements were the following:

KIDP successfully introduced high value off-season vegetables. new seeds for

existing varieties (such as for potatoes, where traditional varieties suffered from nematodes at the time) and various important crop management techniques which were adapted to the



Creating additional vegetable fields, old style (Mateltan, 1982) and new style (Kanai, 2005) (Both FB)



Planting cabbage on an erosion-prone hillside, Peshmal, 2005 (FB)



Vegetable fields established in the forest, Utror, 2005 (FB)

context. Not only that, KIDP also systematically exposed farmers to the mechanisms of the market for these new crops which were mainly "down-country", at Rawalpindi and Lahore. It did it in such a way that farmers were enabled to establish well working, effective marketing arrangements. One could say that KIDP successfully implemented a "value chain" approach without being aware of the concept (which recently has gained new attention in development circles).

Another participant in the focus group described the prevailing marketing practice as follows:

"In village Jalbanr the community members benefit from marketing their produce through an established contractor system while in other areas, the farmers have developed a low cost communal marketing system. The farmers, whose produce is ready for delivery to the market, jointly hire a single truck and send one person as their representative, who is in charge of selling the produce at best rates as well as for record keeping of each person's items separately. After deducting his own commission and truck charges the representative distributes the rest of the amount among the farmers according to their share of the produce."

Aziz' story also highlights the initial reluctance of farmers to engage with KIDP and their overwhelming response once the benefits of the proposed innovations had become clear. Even the smallest farmers followed the movement, and the former staple food crop, maize, is only grown very rarely these days¹, while basic foodstuffs, mostly wheat, are brought up from the plains. As Aziz points out, as a consequence of being exposed to the relatively massive efforts of KIDP, farmers in the project area acquired an innovative mindset, a "culture of innovation", and there is evidence of a number of them experimenting on their own to further improve cropping systems and seizing new opportunities.

In terms of limitations, the most obvious one is that KIDP was unable to help the farmers establish permanent links to outside institutions who could have assured a steady flow of new knowledge and inspiration: Since the days of KIDP, the pace of innovation has come down to a trickle, with a few notable exceptions, such as the one related by Aziz which, nonetheless seems to be significant, and pointing to a future trend.



Pushing vegetable cultivation to the limits, Gulabad, 1986, 1997, 2005 (All FB)

Instead of further increasing yield per surface unit through innovation in cropping systems and techniques, the existing mode of production has been extended to new areas. It is clearly recognisable from reading the landscape in Upper Swat that the cropping system introduced with the help of the project has gradually been pushed to the limits of arable lands, with probably decreasing returns, as is usually the case with marginal soils, and with related ecological risks, mainly erosion, since, typically, the most recently added vegetable fields are located on relatively steep slopes which through cultivation may become exposed to erosion. Literally the whole landscape in Upper Swat is speckled with vegetable fields. This not only indicates the ecological limits of the system but also the potential conflicts with other uses, such as forestry and tourism. The extension of agricultural surfaces into hitherto "untouched" landscapes so appreciated by tourism has in certain areas, such as Gujar Gabral, probably reached a point where agriculture becomes damaging to tourism.

Many farmers, particularly poorer ones, said in formal and informal discussions with the team that one of their biggest worry and limitation since the closure of KIDP was a lack of technical support for further agricultural development, since public extension services are practically non-existent. Private contractors now seem to start filling this gap in certain cases with the offer of "embedded services".

The extension of such services is directly commercially motivated and at the cost of the producer's autonomy, with inherent potential dangers. For the time being, this new mode of innovation has only small coverage. Some informants put the blame on KIDP, saying that it had failed to develop sustainable support services for the farmers. While it is a debatable question whether such an expectation was reasonable, the former KIDP staff are aware that there was a shortcoming there. As one of them said in a meeting with the team at Saidu Sharif on Sept. 27, 2005: *"What we left behind were the village organisations and the locally trained people, But there is a missing link."*

Forests as a source of livelihood in Upper Swat: Solved and unsolved problems



Some of the changes which occurred in Upper Swat over the past two decades can be seen like an open book, such as the ubiquitous vegetable fields and the large number of new hotels strewn over the valley ground at Kalam Bazaar. Other changes were of a less spectacular, more subtle nature, or more difficult to apprehend. This is certainly the case with everything pertaining to the forest and its uses. Interestingly, in conversations with community members, "forest" was much less of a priority than other themes at their level and aroused fewer emotions. This is in striking contrast with the early years of KIDP (say, 1982-1984), when forest related issues were at the heart of attention and debates and when a conflict opposed the local communities to the Provincial Forest Department over the rights to the proceeds of forest exploitation.

Deforestation at Sasgal between 1986 and 1997 (FB)



The team explored forest related issues with a focus group of seven residents of Utror. The oldest participant started relating as follows:

"During the era of Wali there was only one or two forest guards in our area and nobody dared to chop off even a single branch of a tree. If anyone was found guilty of cutting any wood, the forest guard was simply supposed to report to the Subidar (the local administrator), and the Subidar took immediate action and penalised the culprit. The Subidar was supported by 40 employees of the state who used to function in the same way as does the police department nowadays (but without any bribe). However; officially a permit was issued to deserving people to cut the wood from the forests for the construction of their houses; other than that even for fuel wood purposes one wasn't allowed to cut any branch of a green tree, however, collection of dried twigs was allowed for fuel."

Deforestation on an erosion-prone steep river bank at Shahu between 1985 and 1997 (FB)



On further probing the issue of fuel wood requirements in Wali's times, the team learnt that in those days houses were much smaller and had fewer rooms than nowadays and that one open fire was enough to heat the house and cook the food. Over time, houses became bigger and had more rooms which needed to be heated separately. The members of the focus group continued, taking turns in narrating the following story:



"Though there were now more than 10 forest guards looking after the forests, illegal cutting of timber and fuel wood was frequent. Government tried to meet the requirements of people by marking the dried and windfall trees. However, the contractors who were involved in the harvesting and extraction of the windfall trees started misappropriation in the loggings. The contractors also didn't take any interest in regenerating plants and didn't fulfil the promise of planting new tree; we were very well aware of all such damages but were helpless because of having no role in the forest management."



On the other hand the community needs increased day by day, they needed more money to support themselves, the only means available to the community was to sell off the forest timber to meet their cash requirements. This led to the emergence of new swindling techniques to smuggle out wood from the community....

Increasing bush cover at Torwal – despite agricultural development 1985, 1997, 2005 (FB)

It was the same time when KIDP appeared on the scene and their main agenda was the protection of the forests.

The main issue was that of harmful effects of contractor harvesting, they told us that these contractors are ignorant of modern harvesting techniques and while chopping down one tree they damage several other trees with it, moreover, extraction methods used by them also destroy the new germinations. Another thing was that though they were given a proper working plan about the chopping area, they always overstepped their limits and chopped more wood than they were actually allowed to, simply because the community who were the real owners of the forests had no say in forest management.



Increasing forest cover along the road, Torwal, 1985, 1997, 2005 (IFB)

KIDP highlighted the importance of joining our individual efforts and told us that a common forum would be effective at this level if we wanted our voices to be heard. For this purpose we organized a forest protection committee in which proper representation was given to every tribe according to its size. Besides this, KIDP also took practical initiatives, important of which were erection of sky line cranes for extraction of woods based on modern techniques, use of modern machinery like timber jacks and saw chains to harvest the trees in order to minimise wood wastage. To operate these modern machines skilled labour was also required, so they picked appropriate men from amongst us and trained them as forest workers (TFWs) to operate these technologically advanced equipments.

KIDP also facilitated the community for plantation in different blocks. For this purpose KIDP established community based forest nurseries at different sites of the project area. Though this was all for our benefit, I don't feel happy to tell you that such nurseries do not exist anywhere anymore. One reason is that people's needs are growing with the passage of time and they need more land to plant off-season vegetables to earn more money. Therefore, nobody is willing to spare land for forest nurseries any more.

In order to address the main problem i.e. smuggling of wood to downward areas, the community forest protection committee and KIDP thought of erecting check posts to restrain the smuggling. A check post was erected at Kalam and Utror border, the management of this check post was in the hands of the community and employees of the check posts were paid by the community, and as far as our timber and fuel needs were concerned those were met with local quota and windfall trees. It seemed as if history was repeating itself and the golden times of the Wali of Swat had come back. Prosperity and happiness were in the air, but unfortunately these things could not continue for long.



One of the few successful community afforestations, Bahrain, 1985, 1997, 2005 (FB)

Due to constant increase in population our needs kept on increasing and the situation worsened when the Government of Pakistan banned forest harvesting in 1993, now we were unable to use windfall trees as well which were fulfilling a large portion of our timber and fuel woods needs. To fill up the gap, people started using illegal means so that they could meet their local wood requirement, but appreciably their awareness about forest protection still exists and we use this wood only for local needs and don't let it be smuggled down to the lower regions. Though we were chopping these woods for personal use we were really self-conscious of our action, so we approached Government and asked them to grant permission to extract windfalls from the forest so that we can meet our daily requirements. Negotiations are going on the right path and we are pretty much optimistic that this will give positive results and we will be allowed to extract windfalls from our forests. Our elders are also united on the idea of putting a resolution in front of Government that the hydel-power station expected to be installed in Utror should provide electricity to the community free of charge or at nominal rates to warm our houses and save our precious forest."

This narration practically touches on all the elements of relevance to forest issues in Upper Swat over the past 25 years. In a more analytical form, they can be described as follows:

1. The tensions around the forests which prevailed during the very early years of KIDP were in fact related to the process of the Pakistan national state taking over sovereignty from the earlier princely state. The inhabitants of the forested mountainous areas were apprehensive about the new ruler taking forest use privileges away from them they considered an integral and important part of their livelihood and as a historical entitlement.
2. At the time of KIDP starting, a system was in force whereby logging contracts were given out to big contractors who not only did the felling but were also mandated with transporting the timber to the down-country collection points of the Forest Department. This system afforded them with a multitude of opportunities to cheat - which they did on a regular basis, i.e. they cut - in a ruthless fashion - more timber than the contract allowed, smuggled the excess out of the area and got away with it.
3. KIDP managed to obtain a policy change from the Department. The project argued that in order to stop abuses and to protect the forest it was better to let the felling be done by



Subtle changes in the landscape, Peshmal, 1985, 1997, 2005 (FB)

trained local people using latest techniques and to contract transport of timber out separately to a different type of contractor. This would reduce opportunities for cheating.

4. By the time the new system was well established, Government, after devastating rains, imposed a total ban on commercial logging in 1993 in order to protect the forest. This ban has not been lifted since. With the imposition of this ban the forest management and harvesting system developed and implemented by KIDP as well as related investments in human resources and technology became effectively obsolete, i.e. inapplicable.

5. Before the logging ban was imposed, the local community was given a part of the proceeds of the sale of commercially logged timber, a so-called royalty. Before the advent of commercial vegetable cropping, this was an important source of income to cover cash needs. (There is a debate on how equally these royalties were distributed through the clan structures, but this is an issue of mere historical interest, given that forest royalties of this magnitude and such importance for livelihoods are not an option any more in the future.)

6. Royalty sharing between Govt. and the local community is also applied in the case of "windfalls", which is the only legally harvestable timber under the ban (outside of the "local quota", see next paragraph). The reason why the Forest Department and the local community have not come to an

agreement yet over the exploitation of windfalls is due to haggling over the respective shares of the royalty.

7. A rule which had been in force since Wali's times was that the local community had an entitlement to a number of trees to satisfy local needs for construction of housing and infrastructure. In the past as well as presently individuals can put their claims before the forest authority which then will decide who gets what volume of timber among competing claims. The "windfall issue" having been pending for the past 10 years or so, the "local quota" was effectively the only timber which could be harvested legally since 1993. With the amount of construction going on in Upper Swat (including hotel constructions in the second part of the 1990s), there must have been ways of extracting more timber from the local forest than foreseen under the "local quota" (given that very little timber seems to have been ferried up to Upper Swat for construction purposes).



Commercial logging (Paloga, 1984), typical stove (Kalam, 2005) and truck with firewood (Kalam, 2005), and (all FB)

8. Setting aside the local demand for timber for construction purposes, the most obvious and vital demand of the local community is for fuel wood. Given that no affordable alternative sources of energy are currently available, the biggest pressure on forest resources presently arises from the need of the local population for fuel to heat their houses (during approximately 8 months of the year) and to cook their food. It is an awkward situation as the most pressing need of the community must be satisfied in a - strictly speaking - illegal manner which only adds to legal uncertainty. The obvious conclusion from this in terms of available courses of action, - apart from acknowledging legitimate demands of the population for the use of natural resources to cover basic needs - would be a rigorous programme to promote energy-efficient stoves¹ and, possibly, better insulation of houses.

9. The forest protection committee inspired by KIDP brought about the first collaborative arrangement (possibly at the time a "first" in the whole of NWFP) between the Forest Department and the local community for the control of timber movements through the establishment of jointly run "check posts". After imposition of the commercial logging ban, these do not have the importance they used to have,

but they are still being maintained by the community - which can be interpreted as an expression of its ongoing concern for the protection of its forest resources.

10. KIDP successfully argued for the closing down of local sawmills which were perceived to be in fraudulent business, i.e. processed illegally cut timber and were difficult to control. KIDP sponsored a modern sawmill at Kalam which was run under the Forest Protection Committee and henceforward was the only sawmill to operate legally in the area.

11. KIDP had thought to actively involve the community into re-forestation to make up for losses of forest cover through commercial logging and community uses (agriculture, grazing). This was one of the more unsuccessful initiatives in forestry, as the informants at Utror pointed out, the people have abandoned the practice. The reason given by the

participants in the Utror focus group however is only part of the truth: The other part is that the project used to buy the seedlings from the community nurseries. With the disappearance of this financial incentive, it would seem, the scheme collapsed, since it was not sufficiently anchored in other ways. - Another attempt made by the project to involve the community was to grow multi-purpose fast-growing broad leaved trees, but this was soon rejected by the people saying that the heat value of this wood was not sufficient for the harsh winters in the mountains.

The team explored some of these issues more in depth in conversation with local community members and Forestry Department staff. The following chapters are devoted to this.

In terms of conclusions:

While there is a debate as to whether de-forestation continues or not in Upper Swat (which seems to point to the fact that the evidence is not clear-cut), pressure on the forest as an eco-system almost certainly diminished over the past 25 years by a combination of controls and - above all - development of alternative livelihoods in agriculture and other sectors of the economy. Paradoxically, it would appear that the most important contribution made to forest protection by KIDP was through promoting agricultural innovations, while most of its directly forest-related interventions were unsuccessful (in the area of community forestry) or became obsolete (with the imposition of the commercial ban on logging). This complete ban (and its enforcement, supported by the pre-existing collaborative control mechanisms) was certainly very helpful in preserving forests in Upper Swat as a national ecological asset and as a source of livelihood for the local people. It has definitely weaned the people of the idea that money is to be made from cutting the forest. The creation of awareness undertaken by KIDP has certainly helped the community a lot in accepting alternative means of earning livelihood. The population is wholeheartedly in favour of the commercial logging ban, even though it has been involved in a lengthy dispute with the authorities over some of its undesirable (and unrealistic) local effects, i.e. the problem of using windfalls to satisfy the local demand for timber and fuel wood.

There is a perception in some members of the local population that instead of spending huge amounts of money on forestry issues it would have been a better choice for KIDP to allocate those funds to education. As a participant in a meeting at Aryana Kas on 26.09. 2005 said: "The best way to protect the forest is to educate people."

Trained Forestry Workers: An unsuited model

The team met with a group of men who had been trained and employed by KIDP as forestry workers (TFWs). They summed up their experience as follows:

" We were trained by KIDP in tree felling techniques and were provided with the equipments that were necessary for the working. We worked under KIDP for many years and we are proud of the fact that we played an important role in saving our community forests. But after the logging ban in 1993 we all became jobless. After imposition of the logging ban there is no other opportunity in this area to earn our livelihood. We can contribute to Forest Development Cooperation (FDC) in the harvesting and extraction of wind fallings wherever they need us, but the dilemma is that FDC usually hires unskilled labour on cheaper rates. Only few of us worked with them in the past, but currently Mr. Nazir is working as sky line crane operator on a three months' contract basis. The majority of us are dependent on private work, we present our services to those community members who want to fell the dried walnut trees and their quota trees. But that too is limited and its only seasonal earning."

A local official of the Forest Department, interviewed on the same issues, confirmed these statements and shed some light on the current use of technology introduced by KIDP. He said:

"As far as the timber requirements of the community are concerned, the quota system is still valid, under which 150 trees are reserved and marked on the request of the deserving community members. Community members apply for the quota, application is filed with the Divisional Forest Office (DFO), who scrutinises it and then after making sure that the need is genuine instructs the forest officer to go to the forest and make appropriate markings, after which the community member who is in need of wood chops it and takes it to the saw mill to cut it according to his needs. The department is proud to mention that illegal export of timber to the downhill areas is almost stopped mainly due to forest protection committees and the community check posts."



Logging at Tamra (1983) and Trained Forest workers at Utror (2005) (FB)

Government relaxed the ban in 2001, and some green markings were done. Forest Development Corporation (FDC) is extracting windfalls from selected areas these days. They are using KIDP sky lines for these extractions. Felling is done by minor contractors. None of the TFWs have been engaged for these extractions, as they are more costly. Only persons employed are forests munshis¹ for supervision of overall work, these munshis were the employees of FDC before logging was banned and were terminated by the department. They are now sometimes employed by minor contractors on contract basis. FDC uses 3 harvesting techniques:

- The first technique is used for those areas which are near roads or the areas where roads can be constructed with minimum of cost
- The second technique is for those areas which are comparatively difficult to access, there sky lines are used
- The third technique is for those far-flung areas where access is very

difficult; for those areas slant technique is used based on the concepts and approaches developed by the KIDP and other forestry projects.

The community is reluctant to extract windfalls from Kalam region because they feel FDC charges heavy amounts which decreases community share; however; negotiation with people have been made and an agreement between Utror people and the Forest Department has been reached upon, and chances are that Kalam people will also give their consent."

Saw mill and check posts: An uncertain future



Saw mill (Kalam, 2005, SAP), saw mill (Kalam, 2005, FB)
community check post (Kalam, 2005, ARS)

The team spoke with in-charges and staff of the sawmill at Kalam Bazaar which is operated by the Forest Protection Committee. They said that before installation of this wood processing unit by KIDP in 1995, 14 illegal saw mills had been operating in Kalam. Even with a virtual monopoly in its field, the current mill turn out is far below capacity. This is due to the fact that it has only three limited sources of income:

1. Processing of timber from the "local quota" brought by community members
2. Processing of timber from windfalls exceptionally granted to local people to meet emergency needs
3. Processing of illegally felled timber confiscated by the Forest Department (which will then be auctioned off)

After the logging ban was imposed in 1993, there were massive amounts of timber left stored on the premises of the sawmill which represented the community's share of commercial logging of previous years. Over many years the sawmill was kept busy to some extent with processing this wood. But recently, they said, the situation had become critical:

"Currently, work is just confined to processing the quota allotted to the local community which produces so little income to the mill that it's difficult to meet both check posts and mill expenses out of it; the condition has worsened so much that we fear the mill will be closed down within a year. The matter was discussed with community members and they also have shown their concern over this, they also want to keep it alive as this saw mill

is an assurance to the protection of their most valuable asset i.e. the forests. The community is trying to not let it shut down because this will lead to mushroom growth of privately owned saw mills and such incidence has been recorded. Recently a person established his own saw mill but the Forest Department took a stay order from the court to prevent it from running. The suit is still running in court of law and currently there is no illegal saw mill existing. - The financial situation of the mill could be much improved by processing the huge amount of windfall lying in the forests of Kalam which has not been extracted for the last 15 years because of a lack of interest on the part of the Forest Department. If there is any chance of running this mill profitably it is in extracting these windfalls from the forests and using them for community requirements."

As pointed out by the saw mill management, community check posts are financially dependent on the saw mill since the saw mill's profits represent the only substantial income of the Forest Protection Committee who runs the community check posts. During the KIDP



Development of hotels in Kalam, 1986 and 1997 (FB)

era, there used to be a number of check posts over the Kalam area, now there are two left which are operated jointly by the community and the Forest Department (whereby the committee is the party entrusted with the management of the check posts while the department only provides staff). The arrangement is that the tribes of the valley take turns each year to appoint two members to serve at the check posts. Their salaries are met from the saw mill's profit through the forest protection committee. As members of the forest protection committee said:

"It was expected at the time of setting up such check posts that the Forest Department will also contribute by providing one or two employees of the department to these check posts, however, Forest Department was not able spare its employees for these check posts on a regular basis. The community is very much satisfied that smuggling of timber to lower regions has been stopped. It is the community's

concern that due to lack of resources it may not be possible for them to run these check posts on a permanent basis."

Tourism and transportation: New sources of livelihood with some trade-offs



Mr. Rehmat Ali, a shop keeper and transporter from Kalam, whose father was the first hotel owner, remembers the early days of tourism in Kalam as follows:

"One day, the entire family was amazed to hear the announcement that a hotel was being set up by the family head in Kalam. "We had no idea what purpose it would serve. I still remember, Kalam Hotel was built in the mid-sixties and it had seventeen rooms. It was the first hotel of the town and no other accommodation facility was available for tourists at that time. We had no concept of offering accommodation to guests on rent. Consequently, when we received our initial guests, no bills were forwarded for payment. Food, stay and every possible facility was offered free of cost. Khalid hotel was the second hotel built in Kalam, later Falak Ser was set up by Wali-e-Sawat (today's Greens Hotel). Falak Ser Hotel was handed over to Sarhad Tourism Corporation (STC) after Swat's merger with Pakistan.



Tourism in ecologically fragile areas, Mahodan and near Utror (bottom) (FB, 2005)

In the early seventies, foreigners started coming in bigger numbers and college students made their appearance in Kalam in summer vacations. A decade later, tourism truly changed the entire fabric of our lives. The lucrative profit margins attracted non-locals

to purchase lands here. A rat race began, and locals started selling their lands to those who were willing to offer a good price which, a few years later, appeared to have been peanuts. The first piece of land was sold out on a sheer Rs. 30'000 per Kanal and afterwards the prices shot up and reached up to Rs. 300'000, and in some areas (mostly along road sides) even reached up to Rs. 700'000. The trend continued to fluctuate periodically. However, most of the locals came up with a binding that ensured the employment of one person as Chaukidar or waiter at the hotel. The owners happily respected the binding during the initial phases but later they started bringing their own staff from hometowns. Even Shenvaries and Afridies (Pushtoon Tribals) started owning large land holdings here in the later phases. Currently, between 250 and 300 hotels are operating only in Kalam valley and seventy percent of those are being owned by non-locals."



The informant then explained that a similar development was observed in the transportation services linked to tourism, where about 50% of the business was in the hands of outsiders, and whereby local people controlled only jeeps and taxis, mostly for local transportation of tourists. He said that a number local people used the proceeds from selling land for hotel construction to purchase vehicles and set themselves up in the transport business. He cautioned that this business was highly seasonal and therefore not as profitable as one might think. "People are eating up during the winter months what they earn with their vehicles in the summer."



Taking an outsider's perspective, it would seem that, apart from the stunning beauty of the landscapes, which is of course the main asset for tourism in the area, a number of factors contributed to the development of tourism. One of them was the upgrading of the road to Kalam about 30 years ago. Another one was the smoothing out of the tensions which opposed the local population to the governmental authorities of Pakistan after the princely state had been merged into Pakistan in 1969. An executive member of the Kalam Hotel Owners' Association said that outsiders "found it to be an unsafe place after Wali's period". At that time weapons were ubiquitous and openly carried by men. Although KIDP did not intervene in tourism development, the team heard from a number of people that during its early years KIDP effectively contributed towards tuning down those disputes and exposing the people of Kalam to other ways of conflict resolution as well as to other lifestyles in general. This helped to create a new kind of "openness" among the population which was another prerequisite for further development of tourism. (And of course, expanding tourism then contributed to further changing the mental outlook of the people.) Seen in this light it is not surprising that the big hotel construction boom in Kalam took place between 1986 and the late 1990s, fuelled on the demand side by good macro-economic performance of the country during the 1980s.



Gulabad, 1986 and 2005: Competing demands of agriculture and tourism on natural resources (FB)

The development of tourism created a number of new livelihoods which were restricted to men since the prevailing "purdah" system excluded women from taking up such opportunities. Indeed, several informants pointed out that tourism had adverse effects on existing women's roles in the economic sphere. As one of them put it:

"The tourists introduced consumer culture and promoted cultural insecurity in the local communities. The tourists' women were not properly dressed and created disliking among the common people. In order to preserve the local culture and traditions local women had given up coming out in day light, now they did most of their external work at night."

Or, as somebody else said: *"They [the men] barred women participation in agriculture, because they feared that tourists might trespass their privacy."*

The hotel industry obviously put pressure on local ecological systems through its huge consumption of timber and fuel wood which encouraged illegal logging practices. And the correct disposal of liquid and solid waste remains an unsolved problem, blatantly visible particularly in the case of the many hotels located along riverbanks which dispose of their waste directly into the rivers.

"Apart from endangering the life of trouts in the river, which is the local culinary specialty most appreciated by tourists" Mr. Amir Zada, the MPA for Kalam said, *"it also effects the health of the people. From generations women and children had been fetching water and the river was very kind to them but now its waters are getting bitter and unkind to their families and no doubt to their cattle too".*

As in other ecologically fragile areas of the world, in Kalam tourism is its own worst enemy. Some untouched beautiful landscapes of 20 years ago are now the site of vegetable fields, and footpaths which lead to them have been turned into jeep roads.



"Visual pollution" at Kalam Bazaar (above) and "Pepsi Cola culture" in the Upper Ushu vally, 2005 (FB)

Opening a window to a new world: Social change in Upper Swat, 1980-2005



Local Government election 2005: Campaigning at Sasgal (top) and waiting in line to cast the vote at Ushu (FB)



Amir Zada, member of the Provincial Assembly (and Former KIDP staff) addressing a workshop at Mingora, Dec. 13, 2005 (RF)

Gull Naqash, a lady from Kalam Tehsil, got the highest number of votes in the recent (August 2005) Local Government elections in her constituency. Mohammad Amin from Mankial, Behrain, was another contestant for Local Government. The team discussed with them what changes had occurred in the society of Upper Swat over the past two decades. The following are excerpts from a transcript of the encounter:

People have become more conscious of their issues and confidently raise their voice wherever they think necessary. They are no more submissive and very bluntly express their views before government officials. However, our major obstacle remains illiteracy and poor capacity to tackle issues of technical nature.

According to Gull Naqash, there was no official restriction on women but the traditional norms barred their regular participation in council meetings. Women councillors are more experienced now and they had learnt to work in coordination with their male colleagues, she said. She herself felt more confident when people came to discuss their issues with her. Her opinion was given importance when she visited her constituency even women seeking her opinion while deciding marriages... "I feel that the lack of education is the biggest hurdle in my way and becomes a disability at various levels. Now I am educating my daughters, so that they can perform well in coming days."

A huge change has taken place in people's attitude because of KIDP. In the beginning, nobody was willing to collaborate with the project. They thought that KIDP would capture their lands, but when it cultivated off-season vegetables and introduced multi-

crop techniques and proved these more beneficial, people followed the new trend. "It was like opening a window to a new world. Suddenly, potato, cabbage, onion, tomato and other vegetables replaced the traditional spinach and maize. People started becoming prosperous and market oriented."

KIDP provided foundations for the emergence of a modern civil society in Swat. People were introduced to new concepts of organisation that were non-existent in tribal society before. They were only accustomed to traditional types of organisation such as "Jirga" headed by the elders that provided no room for youth and women. "KIDP's village and women organisations provided space and voice to those sections of the population which were

previously unheard and invisible in the tribal civil society." The emergence of these organisations ultimately strengthened the local government system in Swat in the later phases. KIDP left behind educated, trained and vocal people who encouraged common women and youth to contest elections and represent their communities at Local Government level. "I believe now people are better represented and there is a hope for them being heard".

KIDP's most important intervention was capacitating people in presenting their issues confidently. Its staff enabled people to learn important skills such as presentation, negotiation and advocacy through regular meetings they had during their field visits. These skills broadened people's vision and helped them in resolving their issues through non-violent means. For example, people living in neighbouring Dir valley took violent options more frequently on burning issues as compared to people living in Behrain and Kalam. Though tourism played a key role in putting a comprehensive ban on arms, the awareness specifically on women education, environment and positive engagement with markets were also contributing factors that kept Kalam and Behrain peaceful.

When KIDP was designed, concepts like "empowerment" or "rights based approach" to accessing public services were far in the future, "civil society" as a term was unknown yet in development circles, the most influential paradigm at the time was "participation". In the course of the 1980s women came into the picture of development theory and practice, both in their own right as human beings with specific development needs as well as of actors of development in areas such as health where objectives were hitherto considered unattainable and achievements unsustainable without the active involvement of women. The then prevailing concept of "Women in Development" (WID) was the direct answer to these challenges. These two paradigms can be said to have been guiding KIDP's interventions in areas considered crucial for bringing about social change.

Sources say that the project's turning to the communities was initially motivated by its failure to elicit a response from the people through its narrow forest-centred approach during the first phase (1981-1983). The project operated in what it felt to be a "hostile environment" which was characterised, as mentioned earlier, by the tensions around entitlements to the use of forest resources between the population and the Pakistan national state who had taken over sovereignty from the princely state of Swat just a little over 10 years before.

Approaching communities: Village infrastructure

As from 1984, with a much broader mandate as an "integrated" development project, KIDP launched a "Village Development Programme" (VDP). According to Geiser⁶, KIDP was involved in implementing approximately 60 items of village infrastructure through the VDP over its lifespan. The sub-team who researched issues surrounding the support of village infrastructures by KIDP, learnt that "KIDP, in some places, used construction of physical infrastructures as a tool to access communities". Improving village infrastructures was of course also a development objective in itself, and with the increasing success of its agricultural interventions, one would assume that the project had less and less reason to enter into villages through the "small door" of village infrastructure.

After talking to local people in a number of places where the VDP had intervened, the sub-team reported as follows:

⁶ Geiser, *ibid.*, pp. 85ff.



KIDP-sponsored link road at Bara, 1985, 1997 and 2005 (FB)



KIDP-sponsored bridge at Shahoo, 2005 (ARS)

In some communities needs assessments were carried out and beneficiaries opted for physical infrastructures. Physical village infrastructures contributed to meeting community members' development priorities. The lack of adequate rural infrastructure in water supply, irrigation, bridges and roads were major issues of the rural communities.

Most of the infrastructure improvements required 'low tech' approaches and used local resources. They provided employment for the local people who participated in such constructions and they had a significant impact on the lives of villagers whereby attention was given to benefit the maximum number of households. KIDP constructed bridges, roads, drinking water supplies and made improvements in irrigation channels. Our team visited a number of villages to see the physical condition of such infrastructures and discussions were carried out with community members regarding their constructions and maintenance procedures. Due to time constraints, the team was able to visit a limited number of such infrastructures only, no representative sampling was attempted. Most infrastructures visited were out of order except roads and bridges, some of which were found in good condition and well maintained by the community. But even in the case of some roads and bridges which were found undamaged, there was little evidence of maintenance. In the case of irrigation channels, damages caused by heavy snowfall seem to be beyond the repair capacity of local communities.

The team found that the 3 km road linking Jalbanr to Kalam which had been constructed during the last phase of the project, involving community participation, was reasonably well maintained. The community had devised a seasonal maintenance scheme whereby the road was divided into 9 segments and each segment had to be looked after by the people who lived in its immediate vicinity. The people living on the other sections of the road were entitled to monitor the quality of the maintenance job. The team concluded that this scheme was successful because all community members involved were highly aware of the benefits of the road since it was their quick, reliable and inexpensive link for marketing their agricultural products.

In another case, at the village of Shahoo, where the team investigated a bridge built with KIDP support, it found that the community had lost interest in the bridge since it was mostly used by FDC who was not paying any money for maintenance. Yet in another village, an irrigation channel built under KIDP had been maintained regularly by the 25 benefiting households until the heavy snowfalls of the last winter season (2004/05) washed a portion of

it away. To correct this was beyond the capacity of the local community, and they have been approaching local government to pay for repairs.

In the village of Jalbanr, a local resident reported that a drinking water supply constructed with the help of KIDP had been out of order for some time as most of the plastic pipes had broken down. Local government stepped in recently and built a water tank. People then fixed their own pipes into that reservoir, trying to bring water to their homes.



The water supply at Yajgal, maintained by the women organisation, 2005 (SAP)

A special and remarkable case was the drinking water supply at Yajgal, near Kalam Bazaar because it was much better maintained than all the other physical infrastructures visited. The team acquired this information after talking to 12 members of the women organisation:

A women organisation was formed in the village Yajgal to provide a forum to the women where they could discuss their mutual problems and plan out any possible solution. One of the prime issues that women faced at that time was that the village was located on the hill, the river

being the only source of drinking water, and it was the women's duty to fetch drinking water from it. It was really a tedious job to go down the hill to the river and then climb back with pitchers full of water on their heads. The women organisation discussed this matter several times in their meetings but they were unable to find any solution. Finally a solution was offered by KIDP that if community could contribute 25 % of the project cost in cash, KIDP could construct a water scheme in the village. Further the community would be responsible for its subsequent maintenances. The idea was at once approved by the organisation and they contributed the required cash contribution from their own savings. KIDP built water tanks and provided 5 houses with one tap and hence solved one of the biggest problems that the community women were facing. Now this channel is properly maintained by the community from their own resources and they are really getting benefits.

Creating separate spaces for development: Women organisations and Home Tuition Centres

In the second half of the 1980s KIDP started initiating "Village Organisations" (VOs) along the lines pioneered by AKRSP in order to create a platform for interaction with local communities outside of the rather rigid intervention schemes of the line agencies with whom the project co-operated. According to Geiser⁷, inconsistent concepts and implementation policies as well as changing and unrealistic expectations towards the village organisations were the reason why they "didn't work" - even in the project setting. In early 1997 a last comprehensive inventory of VOs was undertaken⁸ which revealed that only 56 out of 173 had a set of activities which qualified them for being considered "active". In institutional terms, all of them can be assumed to have since vanished.

Village Organisations were conceived in such a way that there were no customary barriers to participation, as opposed to traditional jirga. Even so in the early 1990s the project realised that the VOs didn't provide enough space for women. The WID section of KIDP then started initiating Women Organisations (WOs) as platforms for women to organise around social and economic (i.e. income generating) issues and to serve as a point of interaction for the

⁷ Ibid, var. loc.

⁸ Khalid Hussain/Arshad Saeed, CBO Profiles of active community based organisations in Kalam, Bahrain and Madyan areas, March 1997

corresponding women-focused interventions of the project. The inventory undertaken in 1997 showed that 15 WOs were considered "active" at the time. The team which made investigations in the project area in the fall of 2005 came with the report that they only found one Women Organisation that had managed to survive as such, the one at Yajgal which successfully maintains the KIDP-sponsored drinking water supply scheme and also keeps a Home Tuition Centre running. The women at Yajgal shared their memories with the team as follows:



"Our organisation was formed in 1994. Forty-two women including KIDP's teachers [from the Home Tuition Centre] became its members. We decided to save ten rupees every month and a teacher was appointed as finance secretary; she collected six thousand rupees and never returned them. This incident didn't shatter our dreams and enthusiasm, instead, it recharged us, and we collected more resources and each family contributed money that ranged from five hundred to one thousand rupees. This enabled us to pay for the water supply.



We were introduced to new concepts and methodologies for running the Women's Organisation. In the beginning, we simply got together, discussed the issues and went back to our homes. We were not accustomed to maintaining minutes of the proceedings. Ms. Yasmeen became our mentor and helped us in taking notes and recording the minutes, these were kept for follow-up purposes in the next meeting. Gradually, we learnt writing and documenting our decisions and this technique really helped us when we started maintaining the financial accounts. Everybody could check the financial records and thus transparency was maintained in all activities, and decisions were made on a democratic basis. The secretary was responsible to produce these records in every meeting for information and decision making purposes. All members of the women's organisation had equal status and were allowed to participate in the decision making process, their questions were taken up seriously and the secretary had to satisfy the queries.



Yajgal Women Organization meeting, and scenes from the Yajgal community school, 2005 (SAP)

It was the democratic practice that enabled us to work together even after the closure of KIDP. We still get together, have meetings, make decisions but find no institutional support behind us. KIDP didn't finish its mission which resulted in losing a huge amount of potential and energy that is necessary for bringing about change in any society."

A similar fate was reserved to the "Home Tuition Centres" (HTCs) sponsored by KIDP from the mid-eighties as part of the Village Development Programme. The focus on promoting girls' education came about because training courses offered to women in 1985 at Kalam was met with the resistance by men. The "Home Tuition Centres" offered primary education according to the Govt. syllabus along with some additional crafts training to girls; local female youths with a minimum of formal education were hired as tutors and paid by the

project. No school fees were asked for in the beginning but later on very moderate ones were taken. This was a very successful scheme which was in high demand by the community; by the time the project closed in mid-1998 there were 28 schools operating and 40 communities were on the waiting list.

One of the Centres which still operates to-day is the one at Yajgal which currently has 50 girls enrolled and even continues to offer sewing and stitching classes after regular hours.

The first teacher of the school, Ms. Assia Rehman, remembers the past as follows:

"KIDP provided sanitary goods e.g. towels, soap and a comb to all schools on monthly basis; it gave more priority to health and hygiene of children. The teachers were supposed to maintain a good level of cleanliness at the Home Tuition Centre; we washed their hands and faces, brushed their hair and then formally engaged them in studies, it was our regular practice during those days. Some of these girls later took admission in government schools and appeared in matriculation exams and a few of them even completed their graduation privately.

Some of the former students were extremely bright and confident; they responded to different questions without any reluctance and shared their point of view with utmost clarity. They were maintaining the eye contact and courageously discussed issues facing women in Kalam."

The post-project situation of HTC's, being totally dependent on project funding, was of great concern to the local communities as well as to the sponsors of KIDP. The Swiss partners therefore continued to support the centres in the post-project context, first through a local



Community school at Shinko, Chail vally, 2005 (SAP)

NGO and later on through a larger scheme, the "Swat Kohistan Education Project" (SKEP), which looks after a large number of community based primary schools in remote areas. When SKEP took over in 2000, there were 18 out of the 28 HTC's left, currently the number of survivors stands at 6. There are a number of reasons for this erosion: The schools had to be reorganised with a local responsible body (Parent-Teachers Association), subsidies and teachers' salaries dropped and fees went up, the quality of supervision and external logistical backup could not be maintained, and Government schools became viable alternatives in certain cases.

The team visited one of the less fortunate former HTC's at Shinko, situated in Chail valley (Madyan), and learnt the following:

The school has been well managed and all necessary records are being maintained from 1992 onwards. Ms. Haleema, the first tutor, motivated the mothers to join a "mothers committee" that met every month to discuss progress of girls. Gradually, it started functioning regularly and on insistence of

the mothers a vocational skills facility was also anchored at the school's premises. The students were also imparted skills on preserving fruits and they were able to produce orange squash, jam and jellies. KIDP's supervisor, Ms. Noor Jehan, also participated in these meetings. When KIDP was winding up its activities in Chail valley, people suddenly realised the importance of this mothers committee. Noor Jehan frequently used to say, "it was KIDP who provided salaries to teachers and looked after important matters which might affect schools activities. In its absence how would you run the school?" Some of the mothers said

we would pay a fee while a few said, "We are poor." But continuous moral support of KIDP helped us in running the school even after the project's closure.

Ms. Behtreen Baigum was the teacher who took over the school after Ms. Haleema in 2000. She informed that students attending grade two and three levels courses pay Rs. 15, while the students attending grade four and five pay Rs. 20 per month as fee. The school teaches government prescribed syllabus and the books are provided by SKEP. "I am more worried about the students of grade five" the teacher said "because girls are supposed to appear in exams from Peshawar board, they need to know about the fresh syllabus while we hardly have access to the new syllabus. My students might not be able to appear in exams because of this disability."



She was of the view that government schools were offering better facilities and services to people now. For example, government schools were providing a tin of edible oil to each student every month. Poor people were attracted to this facility and some students had recently left the Home Tuition Centre to join government school. In such circumstances, if promotional and support activities were not initiated, she said, running the Home Tuition Centre would prove an uphill task.

Although SKEP provides rugs (mats), furniture, maps, and free books for children and teaching aids for the teachers, she said, the Centres continue to shut down because teachers used to receive a salary package of Rs. 2000/m from KIDP which was reduced to Rs. 500/m by SKEP. Secondly, no regular back-up support in the form of good supervision was available to these schools after KIDP's withdrawal.

"Those children usually come to our schools which are not commonly taken care of by the state or belong to poverty stricken families. For them Home Tuition Centres are a linkage to the external world."



Girls attending public mixed school at Gujar Gabral (top) and Madyan, 2005 (FB)

While the Home Tuition Centres are definitely not a success story in terms of their post-project survival, community members speak of them with high regard, and many informants, including lots of men, praise KIDP for having initiated girls' education in Upper Swat and claim that it is largely to the project's credit that families nowadays value girls' education much more than in the past.

Investing in people: Building human capacity for development

While KIDP was not particularly successful at "engineering" sustainable local institutions everybody agrees that the project was a prime agent for the area (and beyond) in terms of building human capacity for development. In fact, KIDP is generally considered to have been in the 1980s and 1990s, together with AKRSP, the "nursery for development workers" in NWFP. KIDP exposed staff of partner line agencies to a wide range of new techniques, concepts and approaches; they acted as agents of change in the various contexts where

they worked later on⁹. The project also had hundreds of local people on its payroll who learnt by doing in various fields or were given formal training in some technical specialities. In terms of numbers and impact beyond the project era the agricultural "field assistants" (extension agents) may have been the most important category, although they all became jobless when the project closed down and, in that regard, shared their fate with the Trained Forest Workers. While the skills of TFWs were subsequently of very limited use, "field assistants", being local people, simply returned to full-time farming and applied their enhanced knowledge to their and their family's agricultural pursuits. From the early 90s KIDP trained approximately 35 "livestock specialists" from among the community.

On top of that, KIDP developed a policy of supporting local people in acquiring academic and/or professional qualifications which it considered crucial for the development of the area. By 1988, the project started a formal scheme of scholarships to support the development of medium and high-level students. The objective was to enable students for Science Matriculate and Faculty of Science to enrol at high schools and colleges. Around the same time KIDP began sponsoring teacher training for promising tutors of Home Tuition Centres. Around 20 women got various degrees of training in midwifery and four were sponsored for a two-year training course as Lady Health Visitors (LHV) at the Nursing College in Peshawar.

New livelihoods and new services, enhanced status and self-confidence: Professional training for women

The team had a focus group discussion in the village of Malikabad Kalam with a number of women who had been trained by KIDP. The most respected among them, Tasleem Hameed, got a double qualification from KIDP as a teacher and later on as a Lady Health Visitor. She related her story as follows:



Bakhatzar showing her kit she got from KIDP when she was trained as a birth attendant, 2005 (SAP)

"My father was working with KIDP as a timber jack operator; as he worked under the supervision of educated people this resulted in the development of a positive approach towards life, and he decided that he will provide education to his children, so my siblings and I got admission in school and I became the first ever girl in Kalam Kas who passed primary level education. During that time I heard that KIDP needed educated girls to be employed as tutors. I offered my services and was fortunately selected for the job. I was paid Rs.500 per month and served in

that capacity for 5 years. At the same time I continued my education and passed matriculation in 1990 as a private candidate. In 1991 KIDP advertised a scholarship programme for primary teacher training and I was again selected. Soon after completing I got married and shifted to Malikabad and got busy with my domestic life. But soon KIDP offered me to join the LHV training programme, I discussed this matter with my husband and he gladly permitted. I joined the public health school Hayatabad Peshawar for 2 years. All expenses of the training including boarding and lodging were sustained by KIDP. Initially I faced many problems regarding studies as I had never actually received a proper schooling and did my matriculation as a private candidate. I was finding it an ordeal to

⁹ Quite exactly where they worked later on is - in the absence of solid quantitative evidence - a matter of speculation and debate. Some of the highly qualified staff subsequently left Govt. service for better paid jobs elsewhere and as such their technical skills and capacity to change the outlook of Govt. services were lost to the state.

successfully accomplish the tasks of my studies. I would have lost courage to pass the course, but my community's hopes were counting on me. I returned to my village and started private practice at home. In July 2004, I was appointed as a primary school teacher in Government Girls' Primary School in the village Gahil Kalam, but as I was the only health service provider in the vicinity I decided to continue it as a second profession. I devote four hours daily to offering health services to the community. Now people are getting health services at their door step which before KIDP's onset was just a dream. Undoubtedly, KIDP provided me a chance to stand on my feet and to become a symbol of dignity and admiration for my family. Now I am earning around Rs.10000/month from both professions combined, enabling me to meet all the necessary needs of my life."

Another lady, Haleema, had the following story:

"I was raised in a poor family, my father owned a small village store, his earnings were meagre to support our large family of ten members. I have three brothers and five sisters, I am the seventh amongst them. We could not afford to dream of education. As the time passed, my elder brothers and sisters got married. My father's infirm health and old age was making it hard for him to work anymore. Our financial condition worsened day by day; I was watching all this helplessly. I wanted to do something to support my family but didn't know how; one day my friend Aaisya who was working as a teacher at the KIDP Home Tuition Centre told me that KIDP was starting a vocational training programme for women who have no means to support their family. I saw a silver lining in the clouds of poverty and helplessness prevailing in my family. I felt that God gave me a chance to do something for my family.

The next day I went to the KIDP office with Aasiya and registered my name for the programme. Some other girls of our area also registered. Miss Shehnaz was our instructor and she gave a one month sewing training to us and by the end of the training we were also given sewing machines free of cost to support our future earning activities. In the beginning, I tailored for my neighbours and charged Rs.30/suit, but then, as the time passed by, my stitching skills polished and I became a popular tailor. The number of my customers increased. Now I am charging Rs.100 per suit and earning approximately Rs.7000 per month, and I am supporting my family in a respectable way. My training made it possible for the ladies of my community to get their clothes tailored by a professional. Moreover, I am proud of transferring my skills to young girls of my community who are now working independently and serving the community women in tailoring their clothes. I still own the sewing machine provided by KIDP."

Community "Livestock Specialists" and line agency staff: Transmission of know-how beyond the project context



Mr. Jan Muhammad holds a Master's degree from the University of Agriculture, Peshawar. He was on deputation as an agricultural officer in KIDP in the 1990s. He relates how the "Livestock Specialist" concept developed by the project was later on successfully replicated in an adjoining area:

"It seemed that each village required a livestock expert, KIDP would have needed to create a huge army of experts.

The project responded to this challenge by introducing participatory approaches and the communities were requested to nominate potential individuals for the "Livestock Specialist Programme" that aimed at capacitating them in livestock management.

I felt challenged by the idea of working to create new development models in collaboration with communities which were previously neglected by the government agencies and were

being labelled as ignorant and tribal illiterates. Through experience my own prior prejudices and social taboos were replaced by a participatory conceptual understanding. During my service tenure with KIDP, I not only had field experience in agriculture but also developed expertise in livestock management that later helped me a lot while working with other projects. In 1998 when project activities were concluded, I rejoined the department of agriculture. The department posted me as an agriculture officer in the Dir Kohistan project which was funded by the European Commission.

Dir Kohistan is adjacent to Kalam and was very much similar to the KIDP project area, the population was similarly geographically scattered and was dependent on agriculture and livestock. Here I found the same problems in livestock as in Kalam. My experience greatly helped me to understand the problems and to develop solutions along the lines of KIDP. The communities sent their people to get trained and during my assignment in Dir Kohistan I trained nearly 40 livestock specialists. Out of these 30 specialists emerged as entrepreneurs, serving the community with dedication and offering their services at their doorsteps. I am proud of KIDP which gave me knowledge, skills and concepts of participatory approaches."



Veterinary shop of a former staff who got a three months' training in animal husbandry at Peshawar, Kalam Bazaar, 2005 (FB)

According to Mr. Muhammad's estimate, in the former KIDP area, about half of the livestock extension workers continue to offer their services as volunteers to the community, while the other 50% have set themselves up as small entrepreneurs who offer services against a fee, in many cases in combination with running a shop for animal health products. This seems to confirm the impression that those project investments in professional training which enabled people to run services independently of an institutional context do continue to have an impact in the post-KIDP context.

Mr. Muhammad's story points to another interesting factor which appears to be a limitation to the replication of successful participatory concepts in NWFP such as developed by KIDP. While, as the last chapter of this report shows, far reaching policy changes have accommodated much of what has been developed in terms of innovative approaches over the past 20 years, the capacity to actually implement these policy changes seem to be limited. In fact, the team found some anecdotal evidence that the practice of participatory approaches, including government service/community partnerships, may mostly be confined to "project contexts" and may not (yet) be part of standard (non-project) line department interventions.

The team spoke with a local person from Upper Swat who had become a Forest Department staff through serving and getting trained in KIDP. Immediately after project closure he was transferred to another geographical area where he found no use for the capabilities he had acquired through the project. In the subsequent posting he was able to apply his skills but was discouraged by the fact that they were not valued by the department. Since his professional aspirations remained unfulfilled, he started running a private nursery and began working as a private consultant for organisations who appreciate his expertise.

NGOs: The "missing link"?

In the former KIDP project area, two local NGOs currently continue to address issues of local communities and extend services to them. One of organisations is the "Swat Kohistan Youth Association for Integrated Development" (SKYAID), based at Bahrain, the other one is "Tanzeem Zalmay Kul Teerat" (TZKT), from Teerat. Both were established in the mid-90s

and were initially a religiously motivated charity organisation (TZKT) or an offspring from such an organisation (SKYAID).

The team spoke to some executive members of TZKT, Mr. Nawab Khan, Ms. Kishwar Khan and Ms. Nusrat and learnt the following:



Sher Bahadur speaking about TZKT at a workshop at Mingora on Dec.13, 2005 (Top) (RF) , executive members of TZKT in conversation with the team and medicinal herbs demonstration plot run by TZKT (SAP)

TZKT, like other charity driven organisations, had no orientation in development work. It aimed at supporting orphans, widows and poor students living in the village Teerat. But soon its mission changed and it aimed at "improving the standards of living of the community through unity and participatory development". In the meanwhile, KIDP had begun its work in Behrain and small civil society organisations had started getting attracted to various initiatives lead by project staff in the remote hilly locations of Behrain and neighbouring Madyan. TZKT was also among those organisations who managed to develop partnership with KIDP in 1996 on village infrastructure development (VID) projects. This partnership helped the TZKT to develop its expertise in VID and on the other hand it also broadened its vision on development concepts.

In 1998 TZKT was selected for a training course that was being arranged by KIDP for organisations working on community development. Four of its members were selected for the training programme that was being conducted by the South Asia Partnership Pakistan (SAP-PK). It proved to be a new beginning for them, they started grappling with new concepts, themes and techniques which were utterly beneficial in the long run, especially, when they decided to launch female organisations in Teerat. During those days women were not even allowed to sit together. Their community was very conservative and resisted new ideas and gave them a tough time when they started a discourse on the concepts of gender and development (GAD). It seemed that Teerat was the graveyard of fresh ideas, the

team tried hard to practice the newly learnt concepts in their community but the clergy and illiterate population blocked their initiatives. "Consecutive defeats made us think to give up forming women organisations."

But then they changed the strategy, on one hand they moved away from the main village of Teerat and secondly, initially only approached men and convinced them to get organised for collective action. Later on, they formed women groups. Seven women organisations were formed in different villages. Under the supervision and continuous support of three female supervisors they continued to undertake various assignments that were influenced by the concepts of participatory development.

Three priority areas were identified for TZKT and these entailed: Skills development; capacity building and poverty reduction. They had done the basic mobilisation work and it was time for developing concrete partnerships with different stakeholders.

TZKT executives managed to develop working relationships with a number of outside support and funding agencies which enabled them to extend their services to the community and to enhance their own capacity as an organisation and their skills as leaders and managers. TZKT is particularly proud of a project it is running with women groups who produce medicinal herbs and where women bring the harvest themselves to the collecting point and get paid on the spot thereby ensuring that their income is given directly to them. Most recently, TZKT has started setting up a training resource centre where they plan to provide capacity building to CBOs and VOs against a fee.



SKYAID started out as something like a youth opposition movement within a traditional religiously inspired local charity organisation. It eventually evolved into an independent platform of educated youths who discussed social issues and developed the need to engage in practical activities. Mr. Inaam Ullah, one of SKYAID's executives told the team the story of how the organisation made its way into development:



Inaam Ullah speaking about SKYAID at a Workshop at Mingora on Dec. 13, 2005 and SKYAID volunteers in the village of Aryana Kas, Sept. 26, 2005 (RF)

"At that time we had no idea about KIDP and lacked understanding of development concepts. Consequently, we decided to target some social customs which were overburdening the poor strata of people living in Behrain. People used to spend thousands of rupees lavishly on functions unnecessarily ... which put them further into economic crunch. By the end of 1997 KIDP was trying to strengthen its work in Behrain and Kalam. KIDP was not a new name for us because of its successful interventions in agriculture and forest conservation. KIDP marked eighty potential organisations for future collaboration and SKYAID was among those. The regular interaction with KIDP enabled us to develop a new vision

and orientation on the functioning of Village Organisations (VOs). Some KIDP staff members who were natives of Bahrein contributed in their personal capacity to making SKYAID a viable vehicle for the development of Behrain."

SKYAID staff subsequently also underwent training with SAP-PK and the organisation gained practical experience by implementing projects in partnership with outside agencies such as the "Community Infrastructure Project" (CIP) and Innovation for Poverty Reduction project (IPRP). It engaged in social mobilisation and successfully facilitated the emergence of many community development committees at village and hamlet level. SKYAID is particularly proud of the fact that it is a purely secular organisation and that it enjoys a very good standing in the Bahrein area because it has managed to stay outside of party politics. In fact, people of different political orientations work together in SKYAID, in a conducive democratic atmosphere, for the good of the community.

Organisations like "TZKT" and "SKYAID" became "partners of last resort" when KIDP learnt in 1995 that it had to wind up and when it realised that the many village organisations it had initiated were due to become dysfunctional without an alternative link to outside support. The project had at some point developed a plan to "create" a local "umbrella NGO" in order to

take care of the post-project situation but this was declined by headquarters. The project therefore, from about 1996, put considerable efforts into making organisations such as TZKT and SKYAID fit to fill some of the gaps it would be leaving, and these efforts, with the consent of the donor, went beyond the closing date of the project, such as the organisational training provided by SAP-PK.

As we know to-day, the "partners of last resort" strategy had limited success. For future reference it would be important to know why TZKT and SKYAID survived (and others didn't), and it might be equally enlightening to investigate why no such organisation(s) emerged in Kalam. This, however, was beyond the scope of the present study.

A limited reach: KIDP as an agent of change in partner organisations



KIDP made its most obvious contribution to changing concepts and - particularly - field level approaches and practices in partner line agencies in its capacity as a "nursery for development workers" (see above, pp. 30-32). During most of its lifetime, KIDP didn't proactively pursue opportunities to influence the higher levels of decision-making in partner line agencies, unless they were concerned with operational issues affecting the project directly. Urs Geiser commented on this topic as follows:



"In this regard, KIDP was hesitant for a long period of time, especially as a result of Swiss experts' development perceptions: Many of them saw themselves as "partners of the people" and perceived higher echelons of line agencies rather as hindrances to the cause of local people. Only in its later years, KIDP "went to Peshawar" (e.g. with the Forest Donor Coordination; ...)."



A formal contribution was made by KIDP towards the end of its lifespan to an on-going policy formulation process within the Forestry Department which concerned public-private partnership in timber harvesting.

Ex-KIDP staff and other stakeholders during a workshop at Mingora on Dec.13, 2005 (RF)

KIDP's contribution to Forestry Reforms in NWFP - a personal account



Arjumand Nizami, currently country programme co-ordinator for Intercooperation in Pakistan, has been associated in subsequent professional capacities with the Forestry Reform Process in NWFP. She offers the following view on KIDP's contribution to Forestry Reforms in NWFP:

My first exposure to KIDP was in 1990 when I was a student of forestry. My home town was Quetta, the Provincial Head Quarter of Balochistan in the South West. I still remember my excitement when I was in Kalam. Most of the people in Quetta could only dream of visiting Kalam as for them it was a far off heavenly fairyland which they had only seen on TV screen. I did not know at that time that Kalam would be so close to me later in my life.

In 1996 I left the Balochistan Rural Support Programme in Quetta and joined the Pak-Holland Social Forestry Project Malakand Dir (SFPMD) in Swat. The SFPMD was a bilateral project with the Government of NWFP through the Forest Department, funded by Royal Netherlands Embassy (RNE). This project pioneered in introducing the Village Land Use Planning (VLUP) methodology which was later followed by several forestry projects. I worked directly with the staff of Forest Department at strategic and field levels. I was responsible for the Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation Cell of the project. At that time I knew of KIDP activities from a distance. I sometimes found opportunities to interact with KIDP staff during formal and informal meetings. I was also a frequent traveller in the valley and I could feel a strong presence of this project in Kalam.

An active dialogue on NWFP forestry reforms began in 1996. An Institutional Transformation Cell (ITC) was established with a joint funding of the Swiss and Dutch to facilitate the process in 1997. Both the KIDP and the SFPMD had a great ownership for ITC since this cell came from their relevant donors (SDC-IC RNE). The two donors at that time were close to each other in their overall thinking hence were often termed as 'like-minded donors'. The Programme staff of these donors and their projects (namely KIDP and SFPMD) were, therefore actively involved in facilitating the reform process in early years. I was associated to one of these projects and actively liaised with the Forest Department and colleagues from KIDP and ITC, often on behalf of RNE¹⁰. In early 1998 I participated in the very first consultation meeting. This meeting was hosted by KIDP in Kalam. This and several more discussions within the first three months determined that the reform process will be further facilitated through a number of working groups. These groups were mandated to prepare recommendations for the consideration of the Reform Steering Committee at Provincial level. I remember at least three of them being:

- 1. NGOs / Civil society working group*
- 2. Education and capacity building working group*
- 3. Forest Department reorganization working group*

The process further continued through these working groups and a final shape of proposal was presented in early 1999. I can say that KIDP was a source of inspiration to base reforms on community based approaches. The project, supported by other similar participatory NRM projects, also contributed to change mindset of the Forest Department to recognize communities as stakeholders rather than enemies of the forests which are to be kept away from the forest boundaries in whichever possible way. KIDP also pioneered joint working of the two important players in natural resource management on the platform of one project: The Forest Department and the Agriculture Department. It was an innovative setup which

¹⁰ It is important to mention that the DHV Consultants, who were implementing the SFPMD, had a strong team deputed in the project to steer the project and support reform process. The RNE and SDC were seldom directly present in consultative process, however, they had a strong presence in Forestry Donors' Coordination Group. The knowledge and material for the FDCG actually came from the projects and its key representatives.

proved to be extremely successful and set precedence for joint working on community based NRM. However, at that time the value of agricultural development as an incentive and means to ensure improved practices in forest management on a longer term vision was not emphasized. The two sets of interventions went on parallel to each other.

The KIDP had already wound up in June 1998. However, the people associated to KIDP continued to play their roles even after the closure of the project. I still remember Dr. Shamshad Khattak (former Project Director) was an active member of reform team in Forestry Sector Project. Other names include Mr. Mohammad Rafiq, Mr. Haider Ali, Dr. Faiz-ul- Bari, Mr. Sanaullah and many others who were directly associated with the project in different times but used their knowledge of community based NRM in the process from other positions which they held after the project was closed. This brings me to a small conclusion. Despite that KIDP did not last long after the dialogue on forestry reform initiated, the experiences continued to speak through the wisdom of people and contributed in promoting a new departmental structure which was people friendly and closer to the ground realities. In this way, KIDP's experience got institutionalized in the new policies which were formulated within five years after the project concluded. I must admit here that KIDP cannot take the entire credit for this change. There were many actors involved in the process including several projects from the Royal Netherlands Embassy, the GTZ, The European Commission, the Asian Development Bank, NGOs like Sungi, IUCN and several others who became partners in the process at different stages in several ways.

I joined Intercooperation in 1999 and I continued to play my role in the reform process together with other IC and SDC colleagues through Joint Donors support to the Forest Department. I was glad to join the 'other' like minded organisation after working so long with the RNE project and hence could promote similar values and programmatic priorities. The Forest Management Centre (FMC) Support Unit, which was established in 1994 under IC implementation, replaced more or less KIDP role from the Swiss side in the reform dialogue and added value on several strategic elements in the process with the Forestry Sector Project¹¹ of the Asian Development Bank and RNE. Hence I am happy that I did not lose the opportunity as far as my contribution to reform was concerned, be it from the platform of SFPMD or Intercooperation.

Today, when I compare my experience working with the Forest Department from early years (1996), I see a huge difference in the mindset and orientation. The department and other relevant stakeholders in forestry have come a long way from a centralized – individualistic and bureaucratic behaviour to a more participatory thinking. However, the department is yet to go further from this point. There are areas in reform process which still need attention, such as establishment of Forest Commission, operationalisation of the Forest Development Fund and collaboration with other stakeholders (e.g., local government and other departments) at district level. Yet, the breakthrough is commendable and the change in the department is irreversible.

¹¹ This project began in 1994 and the key implementer was the Forest Department. This project steered major components of reform in 1999 onwards with an active support of the RNE. It is important to mention that until 1998, GTZ was also a strong player but it withdrew its support for political reasons. Hence the entire process continued with an active engagement of the SDC, RNE and the ADB until the end of 2003 when Forestry Donors' Coordination Group dissolved.

Some issues arising from discussing KIDP with local people and other stakeholders

KDIP represents a rich field for learning. Urs Geiser's earlier report on validation of KIDP experiences offers a very systematic, detailed and lucid analysis of project interventions, their successes and shortcomings, based on a broad range of documented evidence. The present study has a different focus and rests on much less coherent evidence, mostly narrations provided by local people. It is therefore appropriate to organise a few conclusions around themes that surfaced through those interactions.

Fundamental differences: KIDP made two lasting impacts: One by contributing to changing the mental outlook of the population (due, mostly, to the various effects of its prolonged massive presence), and the other one in agriculture. One reason for its success in agriculture is trivial: Success in economic matters is self-propagating. As this study has shown, self-propagation has its limitations, but for some time it works within a given resource environment. The other reason was that the project had the right analysis and the right interventions. It correctly identified that the area had an unrealised agricultural potential in terms of comparative advantages for growing certain crops at certain times of the year. Even without enabling sustainable support structures, a lasting effect could be achieved. In the area of service provision (social infrastructure, health, education), there are no such favourable factors at work. When KIDP moved out and no one was there to take over, things simply collapsed, some immediately, some at a slower pace, even those with "post-project support". This points again to the need for fundamentally different intervention strategies and mechanisms in areas which, at first sight, seem to have things in common, because they concern the livelihood systems of the same people.

Supporting self-help: KIDP provides a lot of interesting evidence that supporting self-help efforts by local populations may fail to establish lasting changes despite best intentions and state of the art expertise. This issue is as relevant to-day as it was in KIDP's times. The "self-help" approach should probably be re-conceptualised in order to become more differentiated, more realistic and, eventually, therefore, more effective. The same is true for the concomitant concept of "community" which probably masks more of societal reality than it explains, and therefore may mislead development efforts, particularly in relatively fragmented societies as in the case of Upper Swat, or, by extension, in comparable areas of Northern Pakistan.

Critical mass: KIDP didn't reach many of its stated objectives, or only partially so (Urs Geiser's report provides detailed insights into this). Still, the project made a lasting impact in certain areas, such as in forestry, where, for a number of reasons, intended project achievements were weak. However, the project made a significant contribution to changing the mindsets of local people concerning the role and uses of the forest. It would appear that the presence of KIDP was massive and long enough to bring this about, by keeping the discussion about the issue going in so many fora for so many years. This raises the question as to what today's much more "diluted" single purpose approaches can achieve if their core interventions are not completely on target and what can be done to "embed" them into a supportive and re-enforcing environment - without having the option of "integrated" approaches as in the past. It appears, generally speaking, that for lasting change to happen, a critical momentum is required.

Limitations in support to Natural Resources Management. KIDP provides ample evidence that supporting natural resources management beyond the cultivated fields is a tricky undertaking. In agriculture, natural resource concerns can be linked to cultivating and cropping techniques which are beneficial both for the farmer and the environment (1) because sustainability concerns eventually coincide over the longer term and (2) because access to the resource (cultivable land) is relatively straightforward (at least in the prevailing owner-operator environment in Upper Swat). Forest system, is much more complicated in all those regards. By focussing on technical issues of forest management, KIDP initially took the wrong entry. In areas where regulatory and power issues are so prevalent, strategies

and approaches must be developed with utmost care, and a good systemic understanding of the issues at hand is an obligatory prerequisite for a successful intervention.

NGOs filling the gap: From what this study learnt through local people about the NGOs currently active in Upper Swat, it is more than obvious that their reach in improving the well-being of the population is very limited, both geographically and sector-wise. There are open questions about their effectiveness. And it is not clear, who determines their agenda and whom they are accountable to. On the contrary, dedication and zeal of their representatives appear genuine, and there are indications that the NGOs play an important role in changing the mental outlook of the people they are working with. It follows from this that donors need to look more carefully into the institutional and intervention mechanisms of local NGOs in order to ensure that they perform to the best of their ability.

Flexibility vs. steadiness: Among former project staff, KIDP's ability to review its strategies and approaches frequently is perceived to have been a strength of the project. It allowed, for example, to make a very significant and successful shift from forestry to agriculture after a relatively short initial phase. However, that flexibility was also one of its most obvious weaknesses, as Urs Geiser has convincingly shown with regard to the community-focussed interventions of the project which lacked consistency and continuity. This indicates the need for careful balancing of flexibility and steadiness in order to achieve optimal results.

Capacitating Govt. partners: From what the people of Upper Swat say, it is quite clear that Government services have not been strengthened sustainably in Upper Swat. The service level is presently nearly as low as it was before KIDP, and this translates into a reduced rate of innovation, development and, eventually, well-being. The contribution KIDP was able to make towards changing Govt. services as institutions by exposing their staff to different ways of perceiving and doing things, seems obvious at first sight. However, on looking more closely, there is ample evidence that it may have been more limited than one might like to think. Although the study didn't have enough resources to assess this question correctly, the conclusion appears to be that hypotheses about projects being able to induce change in Govt. partner institutions have to be assessed very cautiously.

"Closeness": A related issue is raised by the statements of local people that KIDP was successful because the project was "close" to them, because it had offices right at Kalam and because it remained in touch with them through so many channels of interaction. Today's projects are far more "distant", they work mostly through local NGOs. It would seem that this "closeness" generated lots of energy in the local people under the then prevailing circumstances in Upper Swat, and that this energy was much curtailed when the tie was broken. The many complaints heard about "pre-mature" closure of the project clearly have emotional connotations, they indicate a loss of appreciation and esteem - besides pointing to very practical problems that arose for the local people when the project ended.

Phasing out: As this study has shown, most of those practical problems were related to suddenly being cut off from channels of information and support provided by or through the project. The conclusion is obvious: A project should not move out before having made a significant contribution towards establishing relevant sustainable links of interaction and support with the "outside world", or, alternatively, before the target groups have been enabled to do that on their own. KIDP's initial intention had been to establish those links through capacitating government line departments. When it became apparent that this wouldn't work, there was not enough time left to develop and implement alternative solutions. In that sense, people are right in saying that "KIDP ended prematurely".

Annex 1: List of persons met by team headed by A. R. Saleemi

- 1. Forest check post Kalam.**
 - a. Ghulam Muhammad (community member)
 - b. M.Ishaq (community member)
- 2. Saw mill**
 - a. Akhtar Gul (community member)
 - b. M.Nabi (community member)
 - c. Naser Ullah (community member)
 - d. M.Jan (community member)
 - e. Shah-e-Mulk (chokidaar)
 - f. Royedaar Khan (saw mill operator)
 - g. Ghani Khan (helper)
- 3. Shahoo bridge**
 - a. Adalat Khan (community member)
 - b. Gulzada (community member)
 - c. Sanaullah Khan (community member)
 - d. Afzak Khan (community member)
- 4. Shamsi Khan, Social organizer MRDP Madian**
- 5. Ms. Naseema Mir, Social organizer MRDP.**
- 6. Jan Muhammad, Agriculture officer Bariqot**
- 7. TFW'S UTROR**
 - a. Noshervan
 - b. Qazi Khan
 - c. Rehaman ud Din
 - d. Khan Zareen
 - e. Bakht Buland
 - f. Gulzada
 - g. Akhtar Hussain
 - h. Mangol Khan
 - i. Nazir Ahmad (sky line crane operator)
 - j. M.Zeb
- 8. Rustam Khan, DFO Madian circle**
- 9. Sana Ullah Khan, DFO Swat circle**
- 10. Abdus Salam, Range officer**
- 11. Gul Zada, Forest guard Kalam Range**
- 12. Shoukat Ali, Forest guard Kalam**
- 13. M.Nawaz, Forest guard Kalam**
- 14. Utror**
 - a. Iqbal hussain (petty contractor)
 - b. Abdus Sattar (community member)
 - c. Haji Gujar Khan (community member)
 - d. Malik Bakht Rawan (community member)
 - e. Malik Akhtar Hussain (community member)

- f. Haji Bashir Ahamad (community member)

15. Gibril

- a. Malik Wazir (community member)
- b. Malik Zareen (community member)
- c. Mehtab Khan (community member)
- 16. Jalbanr/Ghael
- a. Habib Khan (farmer/community member)
- b. Israr Ullah (farmer/community member)
- c. Pir M. Khan (farmer/community member)
- d. Habib Gul (farmer/community member)
- e. Haleem (farmer/community member)
- f. Aziz Ullah (farmer/community member)
- g. Aziz ur Rehman (farmer/community member)
- h. Shakir Ullah (farmer/community member)
- i. Liaqat ullah Khan (farmer/community member)
- j. M. Afzal Khan (farmer/community member)

17. FDC

- a. Mr. Shahzaman, supervisor FDC Madian Swat
- b. Nasir hussain, supervisor FDC Madian Swat

18. Gurnai

- a. Dildar, vegetable contractor
- b. M.Ali, vegetable contractor
- c. Sheren Zada, vegetable contractor
- d. Saida Jan, vegetable contractor

19. Khalid Hussain, IPRP

Village Yajgil women participated in focus group:

- a. Rehana (surveyor)
- b. Naheed (surveyor)
- c. Asia (president)
- d. Zubaida (general secretary)
- e. Akhtar Meena (member)
- f. Bibi Fatima
- g. Bibi Salma
- h. Rukh Meena
- i. Rabia Gul
- j. Jan –i-Baher
- k. Mehr-un-Nisa
- l. Sheeren
- m. Haleema
- n. Zarthaliat

One person, Mr Jan Muhamad, agriculturist, was interviewed on 8th October 2005 while the rest were met during the second trip which was from 17th October to 27th October 2005.

Annex 2: List of documents produced by KIDP available at the IC library, Peshawar
List prepared by A. R. Saleemi

- 1981 Forest inventory handbook Pakistan by J. Mccarty
- 1981 Support to NWFP forestry pre-investment center, Peshawar by H.J. Mccarty
- 1982 Kalam forests inventory report by Yar Muhammad Khan & Ayaz Khan Khattak
- 1983 Mission report of W. Jungen by W. Jungen
- 1984 A planning report in preparation of phase 2,
- 1984 Govt. of NWFP department of agriculture, forest and co-operatives.
- 1984 Martin Wieser, Jean-Francois Metraux and Rene Burger
- 1984 Mission report of W. Jungen by W. Jungen
- 1985 A planning report in preparation of phase 3 by Jean-Francois Metraux, M. Wieser & W.Hunziker
- 1985 Back to office report mission by M.Wieser & W.Hunziker
- 1985 Study tour of Mr. Asmat ullah agric officer to Nepal by Asmat Ullah
- 1986 A planning report in the preparation of phase 3 by Jean-Francois Metraux, Martin Wieser & W. Hunziker
- 1986 Kalam food emergency program (First progress report)
- 1986 Planning workshop for phase 3 (1987-88 to 1991-92.
- 1986 Socio-economic survey of Ushu valley by K. Elahi, F. Hamid, N. Elahi & S. Sajjad Hussain Shah
- 1986 The Present Activities Under. The Base line survey& monitoring program
- 1986 Timber harvesting contract for petty contractors by T. Kraft
- 1986 Working paper for the project supervisory committee meeting
- 1987 A brief account of KIDP by A. Gul
- 1987 Annual progress report of VDP for 1987 by A. Gul
- 1987 Annual report 1986 by Agriculture sector staff
- 1987 Back to office report
- 1987 Back to office report (concerning the engineering consultancy mission) by A. Pozzi & S. Niederer
- 1987 Back to office report by M. Wieser
- 1987 Back to the office report by S. Niederer
- 1987 Forestry & agriculture (July 1987 – June 1992.)
- 1987 Inter cooperation for KIDP forestry component 9-20 August 1987. Back to office report Stebler JD
- 1987 Opening up in Kalam by B. Stucki
- 1987 PC-1 Forest development corporation & village development program
- 1987 PC-1 of KIDP (Phase 3)
- 1987 PC-1 schemes of Pakistan Swiss KIDP phase 3 1987-92 part 3.
- 1987 Photo documentation concerning the engineering consultancy mission May 23- June 15 1987 by Andrea Pozzi and Stephen Niederer
- 1987 Study on organizational aspects of Kalam farmers by Asif Ashraf, H.M. Naqvi & Z. Ahmad Khan
- 1987 Study tours reports of IRDP & AKRSP by S. I. Hussain
- 1987 Village level development program 1986 by D. Gubler
- 1988 Planning and monitoring manual 1988 by U. Gieser
- 1988 Back to office report by S. T. Niederer
- 1988 Back to the office report by S. Niederer
- 1988 Background information on the Kalam Tehsil.
- 1988 Behrain at a glance.
- 1988 Mission report by Walter Jungen
- 1988 Parts out of "the AKRSP 6. Annual review 1988"
- 1988 Physical balance of Kalam forest 1988 by Dr. F. M. Pacheco
- 1988 Planning & monitoring 1988 (Forest sector)
- 1988 The socio-economic impacts survey of KBR by S. I. Hussain
- 1988 Working plan for Utror- Desan forests by Stucki Beat & H. A. Khan
- 1989 Financial monitoring of KIDP by the middle the 3 years phase 1987/88-1989/90
- 1989 Survey On Health Situations in the tehsil of Kalam & Bahrain by Mrs. Iqbal Anwar

- 1989 Handbook for training supervisors of timber harvesting by E. Nydegger
- 1989 Insect, Pests and their relative abundance on maize, cultivars Kalam M. A. Mashwani
- 1989 KIDP annual report 1988.
- 1989 Monitoring of KIDP sector effectiveness, training of instructors & forests workers & follow up by E. Nydegger
- 1989 Plan of operation 1989-90 agriculture sector by H. Oppliger & A. Rehman
- 1989 Plan of operation, FDC for 1989-90 by E. Nydegger
- 1989 Public participation in high hills management by Dr. Shamshad Khattak
- 1989 Tool catalogue of appropriate tools for timber harvesting in Pakistan by E. Nydegger
- 1990 Financial monitoring of KIDP by the middle of 3 year phase 1987/88-1989/90
- 1990 Evaluation of Half SIB-Family selection in new Shaheen (Maize) by K. Hussain
- 1990 Monitoring and evaluation of KIDP during 1990-91 & 1991-92. Forest department
- 1990 5 years of agric research 1985-90 by A. Rehman
- 1990 5 years of agriculture research (1985-90) by Abdur Rehman
- 1990 Activities in forest department. Planning 1990-91 & 1991-92 by C. Duerr
- 1990 Administrative hand book for training supervisors of timber harvesting by E. Nydegger
- 1990 Assessment of completed physical village infrastructure schemes with regard to operation, maintenance & follow up Nov.90
- 1990 Assessment of completed physical village infrastructure schemes with regard to operation, maintenance and follow up submitted in Nov 1990 by H. Warth
- 1990 Assessment study concerning the domestic potential for starting domestic fuel saving activities by KIDP
- 1990 Back to office report concerning the engineering consultancy mission Feb 23- March 18, 1990.
- 1990 Cable crane by M. Buehler
- 1990 Chorat in Bloom by A. Gul
- 1990 Collection of selected thoughts of Hans Oppliger about KIDP or final report1
- 1990 Consultancy report of Bayun Kukunel Road, timber cantievere bridge on Ushu river for KIDP by Gandhara consultants
- 1990 Exposure visit of VDP (KIDP) team to Srilanka by J. Shah
- 1990 FDC monitoring of KIDP sector effectiveness: training of instructors & forests workers and follow up 1982-90 by M. Nazir, S. Ahmad & M. Rahim
- 1990 Final report on my assignment as chief technical advisor to the KIDP in Pakistan by H. Warth
- 1990 Govt of NWFP department of forestry, fisheries & wild life, revised PC-1 VDP
- 1990 Identification of material requirements for harvesting and road construction. E. Nydegger
- 1990 Improving the farming system in Swat Kohistan experiences & prospects by H. Oppliger
- 1990 Kalam-Bayun Road- The case by H. Warth
- 1990 Maintaining a raker-tooth cross-cut saw by E. Nydegger
- 1990 Monitoring & evaluation of KIDP during 1990-91 & 1991-92: Forest Development Corporation by J. Krijnen & M. Wieser
- 1990 Plan of operation KIDP for the years 1990-91 & 91-92 by E. Nydegger & M. Z. Khan
- 1990 Revised PC-1 Forest Development Corporation
- 1990 Revised PC-1 forestry agriculture & management.
- 1990 Supervisor committee meeting.
- 1990 Supervisory committee meeting 22.4.90 by H. Warth & S. K. Khataak
- 1990 Training of forests workers by E. Nydegger
- 1990 Tree felling with axe and raker-tooth cross-cut Saw by E. Nydegger
- 1991 An internal evaluation of past experience & first proposals for phase IV an input to the planning process for phase IV of the KIDP
- 1991 Annual report of agric extension 1991 by Kamal Din Khattak
- 1991 Cost benefit ratio for forest machines by E. Nydegger
- 1991 Evaluation of VDP by Ejaz Ahmad
- 1991 Institutional framework for community participation in KIDP by O. A. Khan & K. Sadiq

- 1991 Internal Draft For Discussion & Internal Evaluation of the past experience & first proposal for phase IV.
- 1991 Joint Planning mission- Final Draft by Jurgen Blaser, Christian Casparis, John Krijnen, M. Rafique, Fozia Saeed & Ahamad Zahoor.
- 1991 Key topics for discussion by C. Duerr & S. K. Khattak
- 1991 KIDP Phase 4 1992-97 Annexes joint planning mission
- 1991 KIDP/ FDC 1992-97 in the view KIDP/ FDC staff by E. Nydegger, S. Ahmad, S. Zada, A. Hafeez & D. Gul.
- 1991 KIDP-FDC Film script by E. Nydegger
- 1991 Minutes of the workshop on future options of KIDP for phase 4 1992-97
- 1991 NSO-KDIP draft to be discussed by E. Nydegger
- 1991 Options for KIDP 1992-97
- 1991 Pak Swiss KIDP
- 1991 Planning for phase IV by Ahmad Gul
- 1991 Planning survey 1991 by A. R. Shaheen
- 1991 Preliminary survey ob the socio economic condition of the women in the KIDP area 1991by M. Foellmi
- 1991 Processing and recommendations of the timber auction at Chakdara attended by elders from KIDP project area by R. Din
- 1991 Report on study tour (practical training on farmer's field) of agriculture sector KIDP Kalam to Switzerland from August 91 to Sep. 1999 by K. D. Khattak
- 1991 Study on wood processing units in Kalam & Behrain Tehsil
- 1991 Survey on Alpine pastures in Kalam Tehsil by S. Khan & C. Duerr
- 1991 Timber harvesting under FDC petty traditional contractors 1986-90 by E. Nydegger & M. Nazir
- 1991 Training report S. Badshah in Uk by S. Badshah
- 1991 Visit of forest development corporation KIDP team to Bhutan by Rehman-Ud-Din
- 1992 Report on the workshop peoples involvement in working plan Behrain.
- 1992 Annual plan of operation 1992-93
- 1992 Annual report 1991 agriculture research by M. Khan
- 1992 Effect of NPK on yield growth of apple at Behrain by M. Z. Shams
- 1992 FDC consolidated reference manual for logging operations by R. Din
- 1992 FDC consolidated report of training follow up & timber harvesting under train forests workers/ traditional contractors by R. Din
- 1992 Field research on improved heating stoves for the Swat region by H. Von Krosigk & S. Mughal
- 1992 Final report by Christoph Duerr
- 1992 Final report by Erenst Nydegger
- 1992 GOVT. of NWFP department of forestry fisheries & wild life PC-1 Forest Development Corporation.
- 1992 KIDP phase IV, 1992-97 forest development corporation
- 1992 KIDP-FDC 1992-97 in the view of KIDP-FDC staff by E. Nydegger, R. Din, A. Hafeez & S. Zada
- 1992 Mustakil- Lah-E-Ammal by Shabir Ahmad
- 1992 Pak Swiss infrastructure/ civil work, KIDP phase IV 1992-97
- 1992 Pak Swiss KIDP Highlights 1991 E. Nydegger
- 1992 Pak Swiss KIDP phase IV, 1992-97 forestry and management.
- 1992 Participatory rural appraisal & planning for community development in the village Kanai from 31st May to 7 June.
- 1992 Participatory rural appraisal and planning for community development first experience in the village Habibabad from 11-16 April 1992 by J. Shah
- 1992 PC-1 Pak Swiss KIDP Phase 4 92-97 agriculture extension.
- 1992 PRA in Kanai village, Kalam circle (Urdu version) by J. Shah & E. Foellmi
- 1992 Report on livestock development survey in Behrain Tehsil by P. Kessler
- 1992 Report on the workshop peoples involvement in working plan Behrain.
- 1992 Survey on timber market Chakdara & proposed improvements by KIDP during phase IV 1992-97 by R. din & E. Nydegger
- 1993 KIDP Audit report for Sep. 25 to Dec. 1992 by KMHSR Chartered Accountants

- 1993 Annual plan of operation 1993-94
- 1993 Biannual progress report Jan 1, June 30 1993
- 1993 Feasibility study of women's handicraft centre in Kalam & Behrain Tehsil Swat by F. Saeed
- 1993 KIDP biannual progress report Jan 01, June 30, 1993 by M. Treacy
- 1993 Study of Behrain forests road surveys, alignment, costs, opening up units 1-24
- 1993 Pak Swiss KIDP Highlights 1992
- 1993 Participatory rural appraisal and planning for community development in Terat Dara from 18 April to 01 May 1993
- 1993 PRA Terat (Urdu version) by E. Foellmi, M. Foellmi & J. Shah
- 1993 Stability analysis of Maize hybrids across 3 different locations by Arshad
- 1994 Biannual progress report July 1, December 31st 1993
- 1994 Final report introduction of bee keeping as a component of KIDP by Yousaf Riaz
- 1994 A baseline survey on the socio-economic conditions, needs & potentials of women in KIDP area by Z. Khalid, and M. Massod Khan
- 1994 Brief for the honourable secretary of forests Govt. NWFP
- 1994 Brief note on KIDP. (NOTE 1 & NOTE 2) by F. Bari & M. Treacy
- 1994 Designing of handicraft items & assisting in production & marketing for women income generating project by S. Aslam
- 1994 Effect of different doses of nitrogen on the growth & yield of potato by Noor-ul-Ameen
- 1994 FDC/ KIDP analysis from 1982-94 BY MFO/Adviser the timber harvesting ban and its implications by KIDP.
- 1994 Final report of the SDC/IC/GONWFP mid term review mission visiting Pakistan from 14 June – 6 July 1994
- 1994 Joint report of the of the joint SDC/IC/GONWFP mid term review mission visiting Pakistan from 14 June – 6 July 1994
- 1994 Pak-Swiss KIDP highlights 1992-93 by F. Bari & M. Treacy
- 1994 Planning for a change participatory rural appraisal for community based development.
- 1994 Village organizations directory KIDP area 1993-94
- 1995 Planning mission report by J. Krijnen, F. Bari, E. Foellmi, M. Foellmi, M. Yousaf
- 1995 Planning mission report by J. Krijnen, F. Bari, E. Foellmi, M. Foellmi & M. Yousaf
- 1995 Biannual progress report July 01 1994- June 30 1994
- 1995 Biannual progress report July 01 1994-june 30, 1995
- 1995 FDC/KIDP technical report by Rodger Zurflueh
- 1995 FDC-KIDP technical report by Roger Zurflueh
- 1995 Final report VDP by E. Foellmi
- 1995 Impact on village women of the KIDP handicraft program by B. Ismail
- 1995 Institutionalization of WID activities in agricultural extension by N. Khan & E. Van Selm
- 1995 KIDP manual for social organization outcome 4 days workshop of VDP sector held at Mingora from April 9, to 12, 1995 by J. Shah
- 1995 KIDP Phase 4- extension 1995-98 agriculture extension
- 1995 KIDP Phase 4 revised 1992-98 Forest Development Corporation
- 1995 KIDP VDP Final report by M. Foellmi
- 1995 Participatory rural appraisal in village Balakot Behrain Tesil from 22 to 26 October 1995 by J. Shah
- 1995 Two six reports for KIDP 1994-95 by M. Treacy, F. Bari
- 1995 Working plan for protected forests of Behrain Tehsil by Haider Ali Khan
- 1996 Annual plan of operations for the year 1996-97.
- 1996 Biannual progress report
- 1996 Biannual progress report
- 1996 Education today for empowerment tomorrow by B. Ismail & A. M. Toru
- 1996 Gender & development network meeting Nov.20 1996.
- 1996 Highlights 1995-96
- 1996 Highlights 1995-96 by KIDPC
- 1996 Report of participatory rural appraisal on agriculture at Bayun Kalam by Mazullah Khan, J.Shah

- 1996 Report of the planning mission of CBRM by Andreas Schild, Tariq Durani, Norin Khan, Naser-ulah Jan Malik & Christoph Duerr.
- 1996 Social organization training by R. S. Hayat et al
- 1996 Survey report on the village infrastructures schemes under KIDP by S. Wahab
- 1997 5 thrusts of agriculture sector KIDP.
- 1997 ABC of Dos by S. Ali. Bacha
- 1997 CBO profiles of active community based organizations in Kalam Behrain and Madyan areas by Khalid Hussain & Arshad Saeed
- 1997 Effect study of the agriculture extension sector KIDP on the cropping system in Kalam tehsil by A. Irfan
- 1997 Self review report of VDP by Khalid Hussain
- 1997 Working plan Urdu version (Behrain)
- 1998 Background information on Kalam Tehsil. A summary report on investigations made during 1982-87
- 1998 Biannual progress report
- 1998 Minutes of the KIDP validation workshop.