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Swat

An Afghan Society in Pakistan

Urbanisation and Change in a Tribal Environment

The Pukhtun society of the Swat valley in the North West Frontier Province, Pakistan, is at the crossroads of social transformation and change. The Afghan Yusufzai tribe, which migrated from Kabul more than five hundred years ago and settled in the Swat valley, has retained its particular tribal culture and characteristics to this day. It was during the last century that the culture of Yusufzai Pukhtuns, residing on this side of the Durand Line, began to be influenced by the regional historical and geo-political forces.

From a rural tribal society, governed by the centuries old tribal code—Pukhtunwali—the Pukhtuns have been gradually urbanising, responding to the emerging socio-economic and historical changes. The transformation is not without its ramifications—social conflicts, breakdown of old tribal social structures and values, unplanned economic growth and its adverse effects on the natural resource base of the lush green valley, often compared with Switzerland for its scenic beauty.

This book chronicles the process of urbanisation and change in the broader context, embracing the history, geography, agriculture and economics, demography and migration, culture and politics of the Swat valley. It analyses the impact of abolition of the traditional Wesh system of land distribution, merger of the State of Swat within the nation-state of Pakistan, the increasing influence of religious groups subsequent to the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan and the advent and decline of the Taliban, the remittance economy and tourism, and the donor-funded development projects that have a bearing on the process of urbanisation. What emerges is an insightful picture of the contemporary Swat valley, leading to a better understanding of the complex forces that are transforming its tribal Pukhtun society.

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An Afghan Society in Pakistan

Inam-ur-Rahim & Alain Viaro

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Urbanisation and Change in a Tribal Environment



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Alain Viaro



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Urbanisation and Change in a Tribal Environment

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Alain Viaro



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A Look at Swat in 1953

A Foreword by
Gilbert Etienne
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In April 1953, I contemplated a trip to the mountains in order to avoid the growing heat of Lahore. But where to go? My friends had only one name in their mouth: Murree, the old hill station set up by the British off Rawalpindi. But it did not fit with my taste for going out of the beaten tracks. Looking at a map, I located Swat, a place unknown to most of my Lahori friends, and which upper part of the valley could be reached only on foot.

From Nowshera, a fine bus of the NWFP Transport Service, with fixed number of seats and a fixed schedule, took me via Malakand to the border of the princely State of Swat. There I boarded an old bus, which had three classes and when full, fifteen to twenty extra passengers would be accommodated on the roof.

Saidu Sharif was still but a big village and Mingora hardly existed. A few streets were becoming to be asphalted. The Wali's Prime Minister gave me a friendly welcome and made the necessary arrangements for my trek from Barein, at the end of the road, to Kalam forty kilometres away.

I was accompanied by a coolie carrying my bag and a militia man with his rifle. After ten kilometres we reached a small fort, the garrison of which came out, saluted and presented arms, consisting of

antiquated rifles. Being not even twenty-five years old, I was amused by such honours, but also surprised to walk from fort to fort with an escort. Only later on I learnt about the recent and turbulent past of Swat, torn into all kinds of bloody feuds, local rivalries, and the classic vendetta "à la Pathan".

When the Wali, Miangul Jahan Zeb, a man of great integrity, received the "gadi" from his father in 1949, his first aim was to establish a minimum of law and order. To that purpose, he built a number of forts linked by phone to the Palace, so that he was constantly informed of what happened in his country. During all my trek, for instance, the various forts reported my moves.

Following these first steps, the Wali began to open roads; in Saidu the first high school and a new hospital had just been built. No less than forty primary schools had been opened since 1949. The wide plain with its network of canals, irrigating wheat in the "rabi" and paddy in the "kharif", has not much changed since then, but yields of crops have much increased thanks to the Green Revolution. In the 1950s, traffic was scarce on dusty roads, bazaars were small and confined to some basic amenities: food, cloth, agricultural implements. As a drink you could only get tea. The contrast is striking today, as I could see in the 1990s, with all sorts of semi-durable goods, video, TV, transistors, freezers full of CocaCola, in more and more bursting bazaars, including more traffic of trucks, buses, tractors, and plenty of garages and workshops.

From Barein, we entered the upper Swat, a rather narrow valley, its slopes covered with thick forests of deodars and pines, although deforestation did appear here and there. In the bottom of the valley, fields, some terraced, were irrigated by a beautiful torrent. The landscape was very similar to valleys in the Swiss Alps, yet the area was still hardly touched by modernisation.

During my two days' walk to Kalam, on a good footpath, we met very few people, hardly a dozen. A team of workers was coming down after cutting wood, singing and playing a kind of mandolina. They did not look too poor, wearing shoes, shalwar and kamis. Later on, it was a young man with his servant, carrying his bedding. Then came a very poor family, the two children were barefoot, the parents wore but a shabby dress. As to the militia men, several of them had really curious "shoes": a plank of wood attached to the foot by two vertical pieces of wood.

From the distance, a man ploughing his field would shout to my escort. "Who is he? "Farangi," (foreigner) was the reply. In fact, since 1947, it seems that only one Englishman in 1952 had passed through the region before me.²

In Kalam, 2000 metres high, the valley opens in a kind of plateau, with, at the time, a few settlements, meadows and cultivated fields. The only important building was the fort, with its heavy walls and several towers. The tehsildar, with his pistol never leaving him, received me in a very friendly manner, with an excellent meal of chapattis, parangas, eggs and chicken, rice with almonds. In the meantime, the Wali phoned to enquire about my safe arrival. After dinner, some militia men came in. One played the mandolina, another was beating tabla to accompany the others, who were dancing. And from time to time, the forest guard, who looked like a noble of the Italian Renaissance, with his thin, well trimmed beard and his pakol, would crack a joke. Very soon there was hardly any barrier left between the Farangi and his hosts, who fortunately knew some Urdu, in addition to their native language.

Next morning, the sun rose over one of those wonderful landscapes, the summits surrounding Kalam still covered with snow, while flowers and light green meadows announced spring down below. I asked the tehsildar to give me some men to climb a small top around 3000 metres high. He kindly lent me his boots and offered his pistol which I declined, preferring his walking stick which, nevertheless, contained a sword inside. It was really difficult to give up arms in this part of the world. We proceeded in the forest, but the nearer we got to the snow, the more I felt my companions becoming restless in spite of their rifles. In those days, as in the Alps until the 19th century's end, no native would bother or take the risk to climb mountains, so that most first climbers were city people. Finally, I asked only one militia man to follow me, while the others would return to Kalam. We started going up on not too steep slopes covered with snow. My guard rumbling surats of the Holy Koran, in order to return alive. Reaching the top, it was a strange feeling to be there. The Koshujan Range (6000 metres) hiding the heart of Asia, the Pamirs (the Bam-i-Dunya, the roof of the world) where Soviet Union, the Chinese Turkestan, Afghanistan and Pakistan meet, an area which has been at the crossroad of so many civilisations.

On my return to Kalam and down to Barein, the telephone informed the people of my "exploit". They looked at me with a mixture

of praise and awe, about this peculiar idea to climb mountains. An old man had the last word: "Ajib admi hei!" (What an odd fellow!).

July 2001

Notes

- ¹ In all the other parts of the subcontinent, one uses the word "Angrez" (English). "Frangi" (Franc, from the Crusades) is used from Middle East to Afghanistan.
- ² See: Wilfred Thsoper, *Among the mountains of Asia*, London, Flamings 2000

Preface

A lot of literature exists concerning Swat, particularly its Pukhtun culture, geography and agricultural productions till the end of the 1970s. Barth, Lindholm, Kalter, all present a very traditional view of this society. Photographs and life stories give the impression of a static, conservative, well preserved island in the middle of change. Anthropologists made it a model of social organisation, describing features which in fact didn't exist anymore.

This book is an attempt to analyse the changes and transformations of the society, and to describe what has happened through the last thirty years, with the development of the economy, the spread of urbanisation, the Afghanistan wars, and the transition from a small independent mountain State to a marginal zone of Pakistan.

The project was to trace the history and development of Mingora town, with a view to providing a context for a six years research about environmental and urban management, funded and directed by the Swiss National Science Foundation, the SDC and the Graduate Institute for Development Studies (IUED) in Geneva. But it quickly became clear that to speak about Mingora was to speak about Swat as a whole. It also became clear that to speak about Swat today needed to reconstruct the history of the area through the ages. Swat has been at the crossroads of civilisations, pilgrims and trade roads for the last two thousand years, and its present situation can only be explained by that fact. In order to meet this objective, the book attempts an original reconstruction of the events during this long period of time, and tries to provide first hand information about the more recent period, i.e. from the 1980s to date.

The intention is to provide some needed primary information in a dynamic form to a development planner working in a transforming tribal society which occupies a diverse mountainous climate. The information may also be equally helpful for those working in urban environment in its broader socio-ecological framework. Using a geographical approach, different physical, socio-economic and ecological zones have been identified in concentric rings of different levels from a village to a municipal ward to the whole region. These zones can be superimposed upon each other to identify dispersed areas of target activity and planned intervention with an improved presumed level of sustainability. The information may help a development planner to view the dynamics of the local system and predict the impact of a planned intervention with a higher degree of precision.

The conclusions drawn at the end are also very general in nature. The available information has not been integrated to suggest a trans-disciplinary, dynamic and comprehensive development strategy — an exercise needing a much larger scope than this book intends to provide. However, the work as a whole is hoped to be a step in a forward direction. The socio-economic and ecological diversity, and the process of transformation from a tribal system to urbanisation, make the region much more feasible for a comprehensive trans-disciplinary action research. This attempt to provide the relevant information with this objective is believed to have given the book a broader outlook, but this may also have made it look like a reference book. With a realisation of all the limitations and hopes for future improvements, the book is presented for your judgement as a preliminary effort of its kind.

Inam-ur-Rahim
Alain Viaro
March 2002

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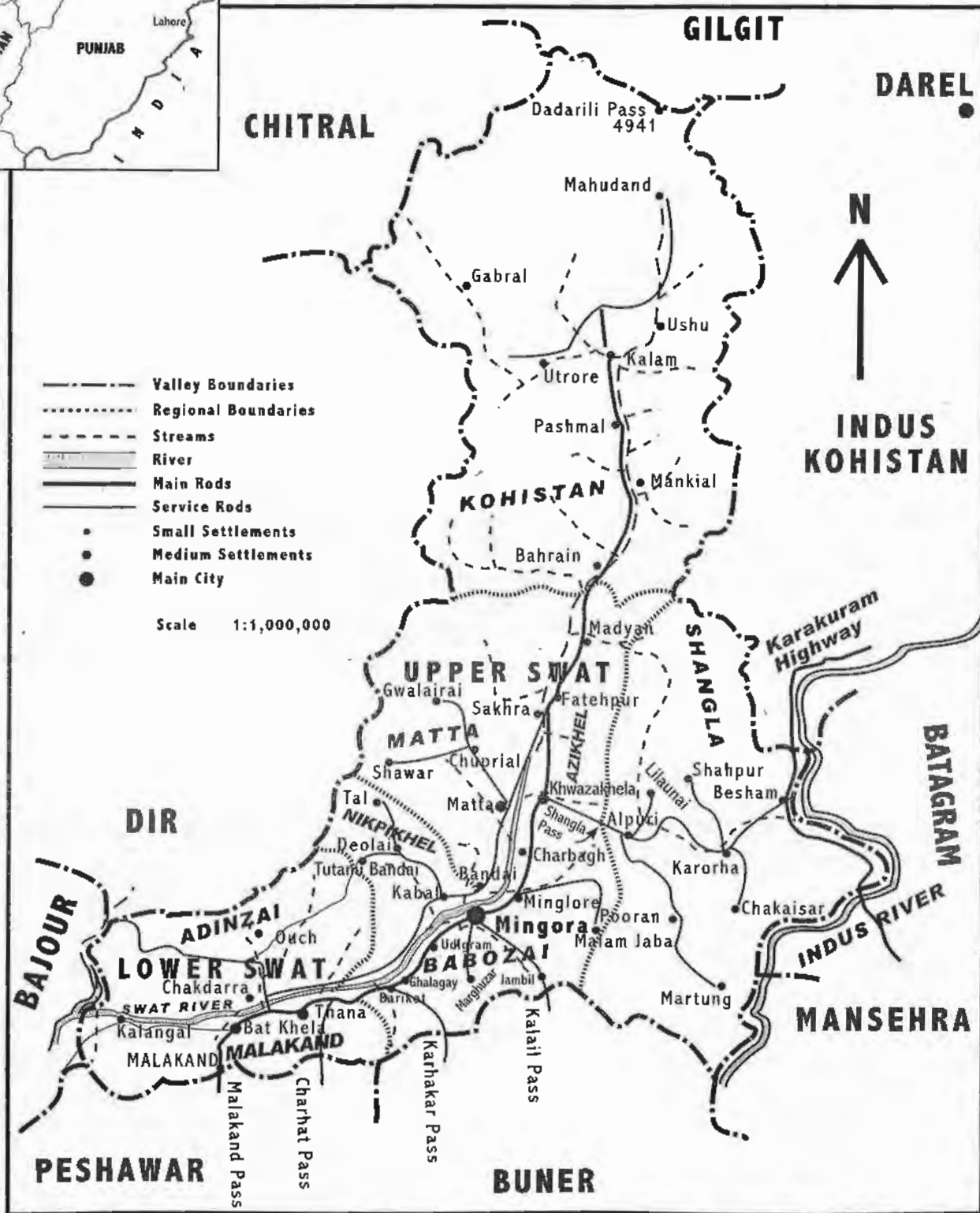
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March 2002

Swat: An Afghan Society in Pakistan

Northern Pakistan



Map 1: Swat Valley in Northern Pakistan



Chapter One

The Valley

Although geographically isolated by mountains from the Peshawar plains, Swat valley has been a main interacting place for important civilisations of the world. Throughout its previous history, the valley linked China with India/Persia and India with Central Asia and Europe. Alexander the Great, Mahmood of Ghazni and the first Mughal king Babar entered India via the lower part of Swat valley after crossing Bajour¹ and Kunarh valley². The famous Chinese travelers Fa-hsien (403 AD), Sung Yun (519 AD), Hsuan-tsang (630 AD) and Wu-kung (752 AD) coming from the Indus valley, probably through the present Shangla pass after crossing the Hindukush³ mountains, described the Swat valley for its fertile land, abundance and variety of its produce, its temperate climate, the beauty of its scenery and the sacred Buddhist sites, when they visited Swat through the difficult passes of Hindukush mountains³ (Stein, 1928⁴) on their way down to the Indian subcontinent.

After being gradually regressed from its prosperity due to repeated invasions, mostly from Central Asia⁵ (up to seventh century AD), no urbanised civilisation could get established in the valley till the initiation of the twentieth century. The entire valley thus remained rural and tribal in nature. With the founding of the Swat State in 1917, the establishment of administrative centre at Saidu Sharif initiated the growth of Mingora as the main urban territory in the valley. Evolution of urban territory in the centre of rural environment not only facilitated the disposal of rural surpluses but also modified its mostly internalised production system.

The existing settlement pattern in the valley surrounding Mingora is thus predominantly the result of socio-political dynamic processes dictating a peculiar land-use pattern according to the provisions of different ecological niches. Emergence of Mingora as an urban territory in the centre of an ecologically and ethnically diverse rural and mountainous territory has speeded up the modification of traditional institutional framework and resource utilisation patterns and needs due attention in a holistic sense.

Physical Geography

The Swat Valley, almost entirely lying in Malakand Division⁶, covers an area of 8,220 square kilometres. The valley lies in Hindukush mountain ranges, but climatically it resembles the bordering Himalayan mountain range⁷. The Sino-Japanese vegetation region extends through Nepal and Kashmir and occupies the Valley except Kohistan⁸ area (eastern Irano-Toranic vegetation region) lying toward the north (Ahmad and Sirajuddin 1996⁹). The physical geographers termed these mountains 'Hinduraj'¹⁰, i.e. a part of Hindukush, while the climatic geographers usually termed these mountains 'The trans-Himalayas'¹¹. The elevation above mean sea level varies from 600 meters in the south to 6000 meters in the north (Kohistan).

The River Swat flows through the length of the valley from northeast to southwest. The erosion of the River Swat and its tributaries formed the valley. The valley is wider to the south and narrows down toward the north. Tributary valleys and streams merge into the main valley on both sides of the river throughout its length. After originating at Kalam¹² through the merger of Ushu and Utrore streams¹³, the river flows at a relatively high speed through the Kohistani territory and reaches Madyan¹⁴ after covering a distance of 35 kilometres. Different tributary streams, originating from different tributary valleys, merge into the main river throughout its length. Toward the south of village Madyan the river gradually slows down and the main 70 km long drainage basin of the river starts which gradually widens into vast alluvial plains with deep and productive soils. The soils of the tributary valleys, formed by the erosion work of the tributary streams, include both alluvial and colluvial deposits of the stream.

The tributary valleys toward the south of Madyan up to Khwazakhela¹⁵ on both sides of the River Swat, though narrow at the bottom, mostly have gentle sloped mountains with shallow to intermediate soils. These valleys receive the highest amount of precipitation, hence are highly productive and thickly populated. The inter-mountain basin toward the north of Madyan (Kohistan) consists of rocky, rugged and complex mountains and narrow valleys. The mostly steep sloped mountains with high-glaciated peaks receive lower summer rainfall, possess shallow soils, predominantly covered with natural vegetation and are scarcely populated (Ali and Khan 1991). The sloping areas, above ultimate tree line and below perpetual snow cover (3500-5000 meters) constitute the upland summer grazing pastures. The elevation of mountains gradually decreases toward the south. Near Qulangai¹⁶, the valley terminates and the River Swat, after joining the Panjkorha¹⁷ River coming from Dir¹⁸ and Bajour valleys, enters a very narrow zigzag passage. The river subsequently opens near Charsadda¹⁹ at Abazoo²⁰ after crossing the Arang Barang²¹ and Mohmand²² areas.

In the rural territory, based upon different farming activities, the year has been traditionally divided into six seasons including spring (Sparlay²³), dry summer (Harh²⁴), and wet summer (Pashakal²⁵), harvesting or early autumn (Asu²⁶), storage or late autumn (Manay²⁷) and winter (Jamay²⁸) (Rahim, 2000²⁹). July is the hottest and January is the coolest month of the year. The temperature is, however, not uniform and inversely varies with increasing elevation. During April, when the arable lands lying at higher elevations in the north still have a snow cover, the wheat crop is at the bloom stage in Malakand Agency³⁰ lying in the southern corner of the valley. There are two main rainy seasons, from the end of December to the end of April and from the end of July to mid September. The two main dry seasons are from the end of May to mid July and the start of October to the end of November. The rains during December to February are characterised by long, uniform, silent and light spells, whereas with the onset of spring the rains characteristically become intermittent, variable with casual hailstorms and lightning in the sky. Heavy, erosive and short spell showers, usually accompanied with flood in different streams and the river, characterise the late summer rains. The rainfall patterns are also non-uniform spatially and the valley can broadly be divided into four rainfall zones.

The first zone is that of Kohistan (north of Madyan, semi-arid temperate, average rainfall 450-700 mm/year), where the summer rains occur occasionally. The second zone is that of Bar (upper) Swat (Khwazakhela to Madyan and Shangla, humid temperate, heaviest rainfall area, average rainfall 1000-1750 mm/year). The third zone is that of Kooz (lower) Swat (Barikot to Khwazakhela, sub-humid subtropical to temperate, average rainfall 1000-1250 mm/year). The fourth zone mainly occupies upper part of Malakand Agency and Adinzai Tehsil³¹ of Lower Dir district³² (Barikot to Malakand, semi-arid subtropical, lower spring and summer rainfall, average rainfall 450-700 mm/year) (Anon., 1986³³).

Such an enormous spatial and temporal seasonal variation compels the residents to evolve a complex farming system and settlement pattern, based upon the provisions of relief and climate and labour requirements for obtaining a particular amount of output from a unit of natural resource base. There also exist another level of longer duration ecological cycles and there are historical evidences of drought in the area³⁴ and regular flooding. However, the effect of global and regional level environmental changes brought by increased population, deforestation and fuel use are also evident. The climbing limits of snowfall during winter with subsequent effect on water bodies and winter rainfalls are commonly observed phenomenon, though not properly recorded.

Neighbouring Regions

Dir valley runs along the entire length on the western side of the valley. Toward east, the neighbouring regions include Indus Kohistan, Shangla and Buner³⁵. The Chitral³⁶ and Gilgit³⁷ lay toward north, while Buner, Peshawar valley and Bajour³⁸ join to the southern boundaries. Toward the north, the valley is separated from Gilgit and Chitral by high elevation mountains. From Kalam onward, in the Utrora valley, a hard pass leads to Madaklasht valley in Chitral, rarely used by trekkers or local Kohistanis. Another pass, traditionally used by the local Kohistanis, leads toward Tal Lamotai³⁹ in Dir Kohistan. The Ushu valley lying to the east joins through Dadarilli pass with Terru village. Terru is situated in Gupis/Yasin⁴⁰ valley (Gilgit area) near the famous Shandur pass connecting Gilgit and Chitral through a jeepable track and the pass

is frequently used by national and international trekkers. From Ushu, a hard pass leads to Kandia valley in Indus Kohistan and used by local Kohistanis. In the Kohistan region, two other passes through Mankial and Bishigram leads to Indus Kohistan and Shangla but nowadays only used by herders. All these passes are situated at more than 3000 meters elevation from sea level and are only usable during summer season, heavily covered with snow for the rest of the months.

In the mountains on the eastern boundaries Shangla pass, Kalail pass, Jowarai/Shairatrap pass and Karakarh pass in decreasing order of elevation (2800 meters to 1000 meters from sea level) link the valley with Shangla and Buner areas of the Indus watershed. All the passes remain open throughout the year except a day or two during winter snowfall, affecting Shangla and Kalail passes. The road access has been established through Shangla and Karakarh pass to Shangla and Buner areas, while the road construction through the Kalail pass is underway. The local people of Mingora and its surroundings traditionally used to cross Jowarai/Shairatrap pass on foot while visiting the shrine of Pir Baba⁴¹. During the nineteenth and early part of twentieth century, the inhabitants also used to proceed to the valley of Pooran⁴² through Malam Jaba⁴³ during summer. This track has now been completely abandoned in favour of access road through Shangla pass. The herders routinely use almost all these routes even today, while going to and fro on the upland pastures.

On the western boundaries, the passes through Shawar valley, Tal Dardiyal valley and Kamraney Pass through Adinzai valley join the Swat valley with Dir. The Shawar valley and Dardiyal valley passes are comparatively high elevation passes (approximately 2500m from sea level) without any road, while Kamraney is a low elevation pass (approximately 1000m from sea level) and previously contained access road. All these passes are now rarely used mainly due to availability of road link through the bank of Panjkorha⁴⁴ River linking Adinzai valley and Dir/Bajour areas with the lower part of the Swat valley. In ancient times the Swat valley was connected with Afghanistan through the same route via Bajour. Toward the south, the passes to the valley of Peshawar include the passes of Charhath, Shahkot, Malakand and Qulangai. Almost all these passes are at less than 800 meters elevation from the sea level. Road links exist

through all the passes except Shakkot. The Malakand pass is the main pass, while Shakkot was the historic pass mainly used during the Buddhist period linking Central Asia and China with India. A pass connects Nikpikhel⁴⁵ with Adinzai via Tutano Bandai (now containing a link road as well) while another connects Nikpikhel with Matta via Taghma/Shalhand mainly used by transhumant herders.

Social Geography

The Swat valley, due to its geographical location, soil fertility, water availability and the climate, remained under occupation of different invading tribes throughout history. After being attacked by a more powerful tribe, the previous occupants either accepted the subordinate position or migrated to other areas. For the last one thousand years, the valley remained under the occupation of Swati⁴⁶ and Yousafzai Pukhtun tribes. The tenants are either the remnants of the defeated tribes or immigrants from other areas due to poverty or animosity. The extension of market economy is gradually disrupting the rigid occupation pattern of different social groups particularly in Mingora and its suburbs. However, in the majority of cases the rigid spatial social stratification is still valid.

Different ethnic groups or artisans either dispersed or occupying independent territorial units are called Qaum⁴⁷. Hence Kohistani, Gujar, Joula (weavers), Inger (blacksmith) etc. are considered different Qaums. The Yousafzai Pukhtuns indicate that they belong to one qaum in order to justify their political authority. The qaum is determined by parentage and its membership is unalterably determined by birth (Barth, 1959a).

The Pukhtuns are concentrated in the main villages in the valley, at the bottom of the main valley as well as side valleys along occupational lines⁴⁸. The main Swat valley and corresponding tributary valleys are divided into different broader geographical units called Tapa. Each Tapa was occupied by different section of Yousafzai Pukhtuns with the exception of Sebuji section ethnically belonging to Shinwari and Tarkanri tribes⁴⁹ of Pukhtuns. In the past, these tribes practiced a circulatory occupation pattern of different valleys on a 5 to 10 years basis through the Wesh system. The set pairs of Tapa-level Wesh during the nineteenth century were

between Sebuji-Nikpikhel, Shamizai-Adinzai, Abakhel-Khankhel, Musakhel-Maturizai, Azikhel-Chakaisar, Babozai-Pooran and Jinkikhel-Kana. Mullan⁵⁰, a religious caste, also reside in the main villages along with the Pukhtuns, while Miangan, another religious caste, have independent villages and hamlets. However, when Miangan reside in the main Pukhtun village, they mostly have separate wards in the village (Cham). Apart from Miangan and Mullan in the religious class, there are also Sayyeds⁵¹, Sahibzadgan⁵² and Akhunzadgan⁵³ (descendants of the saints and other learned religious leaders). In the valley of Swat, the rise of Akhund⁵⁴ gave birth to another religious class termed Miangulan. They claim their ancestors to be from a Pukhtun tribe called Safi Mohmand⁵⁵ (Barth, 1989). However, the other tribes consider them to be from the Gujars.

Within the village the Pukhtun, Sayyed, Sahibzadgan and Akhunzadgan are considered socially superior, while the Nai (barber) and Shakhel (leather worker) are inferior. The remaining artisan groups including Zargar (goldsmith), Inger (blacksmith), Joula (weaver), Kulal (potter), Paracha (muleteer) and Tarkan (carpenter), etc., have intermediate social status. These artisans are also parts of the Pukhtun traditional cultural and social system and reside within the same village with the landowner groups. Among them, the external Paracha and Zargar are wealthier than the rest and are comparatively more respected. The Tarkan and Inger are the next in respect. Hindus and Sikhs also reside in minority in different valleys and Mingora and are predominantly involved in cloth trade.

The Mullan at present mainly depends on earning from preaching in mosques and donations during the weekly Friday prayers. In the majority of mosques, the Tal⁵⁶ household members also donate monthly stipend to Mullan. The Mullan either reside in the mosque, when alone, or provided with accommodation by the rural community, if married. The Mullan differ from the Miangan in that they usually have no religious ethnic background and can be originally from any social segment before obtaining religious education. Nowadays most of the mosques are however occupied by Afghan refugees, where they act as Mullan. They usually are ready to perform the duties at the mosque at less than 1000 rupees per month where as the surrounding households provide them the food.

Due to continuous demand and fragility of the clay utensils, the

Kulals (potters) established separate residential hamlets approachable to different villages where clay for baking was easily available. They exchanged these utensils with grain, equipment and money with all the social groups. The weavers (Joulagan) also established separate hamlets as it was a more complex activity. Some families washed and graded cotton and wool, others made the thread and still others wove it into cotton and woolen cloth. They were considered part of the rural society as their settlements remained in the territorial boundaries of particular villages and their language and traditions were similar to those residing in the main villages. The Gujars (settled livestock herders with cattle and buffalo herds) and Ajars (transhumant sheep and goat herders) on the other hand are not considered part of the rural social structure as they usually reside in hamlets outside the proper village or live in scattered houses on the hill slopes and speak different language than the rest of villagers. The Gujars and Ajars both ethnically have the same origin. Their cultural traditions are different from the remaining rural social segments and they possess their own welfare mechanism. The Gujars and Ajars are socially more interactive with each other as compared to Pukhtun, Miangan, Mullan and other professional classes living in the main village.

The Gujars and Ajars are most probably the Indian nomadic groups wandering with their livestock between Swat, Hazara and Kashmir during summer and the plains of Punjab during winter. In upper parts of Punjab, Hazara, Kashmir and Northern India they are among the major landowners and powerful groups. In Swat, however, they could hardly establish ownership due to subsequent invasions from the west (Afghanistan) through Bajour and sometimes from the north (China) through Shangla and Dadarilli Pass. The invasions from west and north directly affected the social geography, by conquering, subjugation and expulsion of the inhabitants by the subsequent invaders. The invasion from the south (Mughal, Sikh and British) rarely influenced the social geography in a direct way. Indirectly it however led to the emergence of princely states and the dominance of religious groups in order to minimise the influence of perceived infidels. The tribal society was thus weakened, centralised states emerged and religious figures dominated.

Beyond Madyan towards the north, the main landowner groups are Kohistani Dard tribe and the original Gujar clan. The Kohistanis

residing toward the north of Bahrain are believed to be the remains of previous occupant tribes of the main Swat valley before the invasion of Swati Pukhtuns (Mahmood of Ghazni invasion at the end of the 10th century AD). Many of the Kohistani fractions while quoting their elders refer their previous occupation down the valley. For example, Nilaiwor⁵⁷ Kohistani tribe residing in Kalam claims to have their previous settlement in Barikot near Mingora.

The Kohistani seldom migrate along with their families to the lower areas. They are ethnically related to the Kohistanis residing in Dir Kohistan (Tal/Lamotai) lying to the west and Indus Kohistan (west bank of River Indus) to the east. Their language is close to the Shina⁵⁸ language spoken in Gilgit. The Gujars occupy the area of Gabral⁵⁹ and the area between Kaidam and Peshmal. They also own lands in Gabral area in the extreme north of the valley. In Gabral area they only spend the summer months, while during winter most of them migrate to downstream areas along with their families and livestock. The landowner Gujars in Kaidam-Peshmal area usually have no such obligations. The Ajars do not own land (although they have now purchased many hillside sloping lands particularly in Kabal and Matta areas on the northwest side of River Swat from the Pukhtuns). The Gujars speak Gujri⁶⁰ (very close to Punjabi⁶¹) indicating their close ethnic relations with the people of Punjab (Gujars are more powerful ethnically in Punjab and they also have the same sub-clan names, as in Swat). The cattle herder Gujars either stay permanently at their purchased or leased lands, or may rotate between upland pastures during summer and plains of the Peshawar valley during winter.

Traditional Land Classification

Landscapes are traditionally divided into sites each comprising one or more soil series, potentially capable of producing the same kind, proportion and abundance of vegetation⁶². The mostly arable productive lands in the vicinity of household are called Barhai. The size and geometrical shape of land shares are given the names of Gwagay (a very small irregular land share), Sagar (share having equal length and width), Birarha (oblong land piece) and Karkha (narrow and long land piece). The Barhai lands being easily approachable are well managed and frequently utilised for domestic

vegetables, fodder crops, commercial vegetables (in peri-urban area) and physical extension of the house. Shoalgaras are the lands at the banks of stream or rivers with plenty of water and sometime marshy (Jaba) in nature are used for rice (Sholey) cultivation.

The Kas⁶³ include the out of village larger pieces of irrigated lands. The faraway Kas lands are mostly given to tenants on sharecropping and are mainly utilised for wheat/mustard/barley during winter and maize during summer. Beans are also inter-cropped with maize being the complementary crop. Mustard and barley are now rarely cultivated and the beans combination with maize is now rarely successful due to continuous use of chemical fertilisers⁶⁴. Sadin are the less frequently cultivated hillside rain-fed lands with deep soil cover. The rain fed lands may become Sadin if abandoned and may subsequently used for rain-fed agriculture depending on the need and labour availability. The Sadin are cropped at the most once a year⁶⁵ with maize or barley crop. The tractors have now brought many of the Sadin lands under permanent cropping and increasing population with land fragmentation dictates their extensive cultivation.

The Karim is the shallow soil hillside forestland recently denuded of trees for forage production and gradual cultivation extension. The Karins are sloping lands; however, the temporary retaining walls are occasionally built to minimise the soil erosion. The newly created karins are occasionally sown through Takdana⁶⁶ and usually left for hay. On the hill slopes, Karins are more effectively used due to limited cultivated land. The Karin in the vicinity of wider plain are rarely sown and more frequently grazed. When purchased by tenants, the Karins are frequently transformed into terraced permanent croplands through increased labour inputs. The Warshoo is communal freely available grazing land, in the vicinity of the village, hence much degraded. In faraway areas when the Ajar or Gujar lease such lands for seasonal grazing and these are better managed. Maira⁶⁷ is large portion of plain non-cultivated drier lands. Zangal is the communal or private forest. Ghar is hillside and sam is the name given to any plain land. Taang are the land pieces surrounded from all the sides by streams or river. Taangs are differentially used for uni-seasonal cropping or grazing according to their size and safety from river water.

Farming Systems

On geographical basis, six main farming systems can be identified in the valley. Different farming systems are evolutionary adaptation to provision of occupied ecological niche. Urbanisation process has further affected these systems, particularly in accessible areas with good communication. The impact of urbanisation may be directly proportional to the ease of access. The seasonal differences at different elevations have further facilitated the promotion of commercial farming system.

The peri-urban farming system is characterised by vegetable and fodder production with sporadic staple crops for the landowner subsistence. The big landowners mainly do all the activities through agricultural labour predominantly on cash payment, while majority of the small landowners cultivate themselves with casual paid labour. The tenant leases the irrigated land on cash payment solely for commercial vegetable production. The intensity of cash/grain crops decreases with increasing distance from the city centre in case when landowners utilise the land; while for the livestock herders the fodder and staple production are the main options⁶⁸. The reason may be that landowners produce cash crops for commercial utility, while they keep livestock for subsistence level⁶⁹. The Gujars of peri-urban areas on the other hand are commercial dairy producers hence they devote more land to fodder crops⁷⁰. Both the big and smaller landowners depend principally on the non-farm urban earning activity. The agricultural labour and tenant families also distribute and simultaneously shuffle their labour between farm and non-farm sectors on a seasonal basis. Buffalo is the main species on irrigated areas, while cows and buffalos are common in the rain-fed areas toward Jambil, Marghuzar and Manglawar valleys. Lactating goats are also common with poor farmers residing on the steeper peri-urban and sub-urban hill-slopes. The feeding system of cattle and buffaloes is principally based on crop residues (wheat and rice straw) and concentrates purchased from the market⁷¹. Lactating goats mainly depend on browsing, kitchen vegetable by-products and tree leaves feeding procured from roadside plantation free of cost.

Main valley irrigated farming system has rice plus wheat/legume fodder alternation-cropping pattern on the riverbank. Subsequent to this zone are vegetable and orchard production zones.

At the lower valley the vegetable production starts earlier than the season of production at higher elevation mainly due to temperature variation. Hence the vegetable production expands temporally to maintain a constant supply to the market over a longer duration. The livestock production similar to the peri-urban system except that it is principally at subsistence level. The commercial dairy herder Gujars are sporadically concentrated at different locations and transport fresh milk to Mingora for sale on a daily basis: however, they generally have smaller herds of 10-25 buffaloes as compared to the larger peri-urban dairy herds. With increasing elevation the significance of hay and fodder tree leaves increases in the feeding schedule due to prolonged winter and little availability of crop residues. Orchards under storey grazing also contribute to the feed and are now recognised as complementary activity with more fruit bearing in the subsequent year. Toward the north and side valleys the system gradually merges with gentle terraced farming near Madyan. It mixes up with rain fed subsistence tenant system mostly at the middle valley (Khwazakhela, Barikot, Chakdara and Kabal) and with transhumant sheep and goat herding system near Thana, Shamoza and Manyar/Ghalagay mostly toward the south. The tenant/landowner relationships are still partially on sharecropping and partially on cash basis.

Maize and wheat cropping characterise the rain-fed subsistence farming system. The dominant rain-fed systems are found near Khwazakhela, Barikot, Nikpikhel area near Kabal, Nal area near Thana and Adinzai area near Chakdara. The tenants occupy the areas with more cultivable land, while the Gujars occupy the areas with more grazing land. Female members of the family are mostly involved in farming activities, while most of the males do the non-farm wage labour or collect fuel-wood for sale in the nearby villages and small towns. Livestock is the most important risk avoidance mechanism under the variable rainfall. When the crop fails to bear grains, it is harvested for livestock feeding and increased livestock number avoids the risk. Beef cattle are the main component of the herd. Crop residues (maize stalks and wheat straw) and concentrates characterise the feeding system. During good rainfall, hillside grazing significantly contributes to livestock feeding. Lactating goats are more numerous and consume the tree leaves and do browsing at the nearby hillside. Stabbling is carried out for longer duration than

the irrigated system, as the farmers have to wait for rainfall before re-sowing. The agricultural production and the standard of living are in a downward spiral, due to lack of land, labour and money. This situation is called the 'Barani trap'⁷². (Leede and Rahim 1997).

The gentle slope terraced mixed farming system is relatively complex and is the main characteristic farming system of almost all the narrow side valleys. It is characterised by more dependence on livestock than crops. In general, cropping tends to be concentrated on gentle, less erosive slopes with deeper inherently fertile soils, having tendency for moisture retention. On the other hand, rangelands mainly have highly erosive, shallow, badly gullied, stony and poorly drained infertile soils. Thus in a single locality, the croplands may be intermingled with less favourable grazing lands (Sprague, 1979⁷³). Agricultural production is much less due to limited arable lands and less irrigation possibilities. Rice is cultivated at the valley bottom on streamside terraces and alternated with wheat, while at the rain-fed or spring irrigated hillside gentle slope maize and wheat is alternated. The valley bottom has two crops of wheat and maize/rice per year, while the upper hill slope and shaded areas have a single maize crop. The landowners keep mostly stall-fed buffaloes for subsistence through crop residues or hay collected from eroplant boundaries. They occupy the most fertile foot hills/valleys. The less fertile agricultural soils are leased to or owned by tenants. The least fertile lands with only grazing and browsing potential are occupied by Gujars. The Gujars keep cows and goats and depend mostly on livestock production. The Gujars livestock depends more on grazing followed by browsing, hay making and lopping. The farmers send their animals for free grazing to the hillsides rangelands during spring and summer. The fodder shortage for winter is met by hiring paid labour from downstream areas to help the family labour during hay harvesting seasons from the protected hillside during September. *Grewia* tree leaves are of significant importance to the feeding regime during winter scarcity periods. Mulberry and *Celtis* leaves are used in addition during the summer scarcity period (in the hotter areas).

The Kohistani system is characterised by uni-seasonal cropping, either of maize or off-season potato/beans/turnip. The dependence on livestock is greater and different environmental niches are simultaneously utilised during short summer duration. Non-lactating

livestock and part of the family shift to the nearby upland pasture for summer grazing while leftover lactating herdsmembers are sent to sub-alpine forest for grazing on a daily basis through a rotational herder. Fresh *Quercus incana*²⁴ tree leaves and hay or dried tree leaves are differentially fed during winter to all categories of livestock depending on their production. The steep slopes are mostly covered with patches of oak and blue pine forest. The protected pastures are situated in or near the arable lands at the valley bottom and are harvested for hay in September. In winter, the livestock depends on intensive stall-feeding. The introduction of cash crops replacing maize and wheat has reduced the crop residue availability for winter-feeding and crop residues are now transported from down areas (Rahim 2000). The faraway rangelands are not harvested for hay and are under-used due to labour shortage or labour inefficient hay collection, while the fodder trees are often over-used (Leede and Rahim 1997²⁵).

The transhumant system is the main traditional commercial livestock production system. The population of sheep and goat is principally limited to transhumant herders, and they are solely dependent on grazing and browsing on hillside except in winter, when tree leaves and seed pods are fed during rainy days, and where no grazing and browsing is possible. Few nomads/transhumants with cattle spend the winter in downhill irrigated plains in Peshawar valley, feeding mostly crop residues, particularly sugar cane tops in return for their sugar cane harvesting labour and have lower dependency on rangelands. The nomadic shepherds move between summer upland alpine pasture and low land winter ranges in the lower Swat valley. The landowners lease the faraway low elevation hill slopes to nomads for 5-6 month during winter. They spend 4-5 months during summer at upland pastures (also on lease basis). The average flock size comprises 110 sheep and/or goats and the limited feed availability at low land winter range is the limiting factor to their flock size. The sheep dominant flocks go for sloping winter grazing to lower Swat and Dir, whereas goats can be found mostly in Buner and Malakand. The observed trends are that the winter grazing areas are decreasing rapidly due to plantation activities (by landowners in collaboration with Forest Department and donor-funded projects) and cropping extension to hillsides.

In general there are clear zones of crop systems with respect to altitude, slope and aspect, water availability and soil conditions,

while fertility is maintained mainly through the use of manure and casual chemical fertilisation. Different ecological zones are inter-linked, constituting a multi-community subsistence unit. The internal transactions in such a unit are regulated by both barter and monetary system. The common characteristics are the uses of local resources in such a way as to support the internal consumption of the rural community as well as for exchange, along with maintaining the productive capacity of the resource base. Production is mainly aimed for subsistence at household or community level. Peasant household may also be involved in food processing (yogurt, whey, Ghee²⁶, etc.) for subsistence or exchange with grain and/or money.

During the past, the upward and downward movement of transhumant herders was coupled with dry summer and autumn harvesting seasons. The harvesting seasons varied with change in elevation from sea level. The gradual movement of herds was spread over a month or more in a manner that the herder used to spend a night with his herd on the productive pieces of land consuming the aftermath of crop harvest while the flock delivered manure to the cropland. The result was that little subsequent manure was required for the field followed by a good crop yield. The landowner in return provided specified quantities of corn flour to the transhumant herder family. This also promoted synergistic relationship between the two social groups that was further strengthened by the reciprocal exchange of gifts by household members. This association has almost completely disrupted through afforestation activities and commercial vegetable production. Due to political rifts, the transhumant herders now spend the night mostly on the road and riverside.

Settlement Pattern

The settlement pattern in the Swat valley is characterised by population concentration in the valley bottom, gradually thinning out toward the periphery. Different ethnic groups occupy different environmental niches and their settlement patterns are specifically adapted to their natural resource utilisation pattern. In general, the powerful and well-off (Yousafzai Pukhtuns mainly) are concentrated in the valley bottom, while the subordinate classes (tenants and Gujars) occupy the sloping areas. Kohistani people, ethnically

related to Dard races residing in its east, west and northern neighbouring regions (Indus Kohistan, Dir Kohistan and Gilgit), are the main occupants of the northern Kohistan region. The southern portion of the valley is mainly inhabited by Pukhtuns, ethnically related to the Pukhtuns in Buner, Dir/Bajour and Mardan/Peshawar regions lying in the east, west and southern neighbourhoods respectively.

Three main types of physical features and corresponding habitats, i.e. the Swat basin, the inter-mountain basin and the slopes, characterise the Swat Valley. The Swat basin includes the low lands of the River Swat below Madyan. In this zone the distribution of settlements varies from 600 metre to 1200 metre altitude. The compact and nucleated settlements are located on the raised alluvial plains, mainly near the bank of the River Swat. Because of the flat and fertile land and easy access, the main urban settlements are confined to this zone. The bigger settlements are mainly found either on small fan developed at the mouth of the tributary valleys or on the raised terraces of River Swat.

The inter-mountain tributary valleys comprise the drainage/watershed basin of the tributary streams joining on both sides with the River Swat. The lower inter-mountain basins are located below Madyan at an altitude of 1000-1500 metre and the upper inter-mountain basins are located above Madyan at an altitude of 1500-2300 metre from sea level. In the lower inter-mountain basin the settlement pattern depends upon the condition of water in the mainstream or spring line settlements. There may be main settlements, surrounded by economically linked smaller sister settlements and subsequently by dispersed isolated houses. In the upper inter-mountain basin the settlement pattern is characterised by fragmented and dispersed settlements.

The mountain slopes on the periphery of the River Swat and its tributaries form the frontier settlements of the valley beneath the watershed. The typology of settlements in this zone is dispersed with isolated houses in majority of the situations. Raised sides of the alluvial fans are usually chosen as settlements sites, mainly because of their dryness and infertility. The safer stream banks and spring neighbourhood are also preferred sites for human settlements (Ali, 1992).

Main Swat Valley and Tributary Valleys

Apart from the city of Mingora, the centre of main economic activity, there also exist an array of small towns on both sides of the River Swat. The towns with dominant commercial activities include Kalam, Khwazakhela, Matta, Thana and Batkhela. These towns act as sub-centres for the surrounding villages, occupying the narrow side valleys and rain-fed areas. In different seasons, a different kind of production and marketing activity proceeds in these towns each having a defined surrounding zone of influence. Some valleys are important for off-season vegetables production and orchards, while others have the potential for tourism or are famous for timber production.

In Swat district only one locality is classified as urban, that is Mingora. The increase in population of Mingora as well as the remaining rural territory is higher than the average figures for the province and the country as evident from Table 1.1. In Mingora and Swat the household size and population growth rates are higher than the province and the country. Main contributor to such increase is however the inclusion of previous peri-urban settlements in the municipal limits besides indigenous multiplication and migration. This is an indication of urban explosion that took place in the valley after 1980.

In the Swat valley the main towns and villages are situated on both sides of River Swat and are interconnected through roads and telecommunication services. The villages of Chakdara, Shamozai, Kabal, Kanjo, Koza Bandai, Bara Bandai, Ningualai, Matta, Durushkhela, Bahrain and Kalam are situated on the western bank. On the eastern bank of the river the villages of Totakan, Khar, Batkhela, Thana, Kota, Barikot, Ghalagay, Manyar, Odigram, Balogram and Qambar are lying in the south of Mingora, while

Table 1.1. Population of Swat district 1998

Area	Population 1981	Population 1998	Household size	Growth rate %	Growth rate urban	Growth rate rural
Mingora	88,678	1,74,469	8.87	4.10	4.10	-
Swat	7,15,938	12,49,572	8.60	3.33	4.10	3.21
NWFP	1,10,61,328	1,75,54,467	7.60	2.75	3.46	2.62
Pakistan	8,42,53,644	13,65,79,571	6.60	2.45	3.45	2.45

Source: Census 1998,

villages of Manglawar, Charbagh, Khwazakhela, Fatehpur and Madyan are lying in the north of Mingora. Saidu Sharif served as the political headquarter of the district since the inception of State, and maintained that status till the merger of the State. With the subsequent growth of Mingora after State merger it was included in the municipal limits and now it is considered as part of Mingora urban territory.

The villages of Matta, Khwazakhela and Batkhela have attained the status of towns, based on their suitable locations for commercial activities, while Kalam has attained the status of town purely on the basis of tourism. Another important town attaining commercial status, Bisham⁷⁷, is situated in Shangla region. Village of Thana has become a town on the basis of its historical role in Pukhtun society as well as its role in providing formal education. A century earlier it was the biggest village in the valley. The growing villages with a commerce potential include Chuprial, Barikot, Chakdara and Kabal. The larger villages have larger zones and vice versa. These zones are mainly in the form of either scattered houses or hamlets on the surrounding hill slopes or in the form of still smaller villages situated further inside the corresponding tributary valleys.

The other populous villages lying in the eastern side valleys include Dheri Alladand and Dheri Julagram lying on the southern boundaries of the valley and Ooch lying near Chakdara toward Bajour and Dir district. To the western side of the River, populous villages are in the side valley, while on the left (eastern) side the populous villages are in the main valley on the riverside. Villages in the side valley near Kabal are Deolai, Shah Dherai, Tutano Bandai and Dardiya. The side valley villages near Matta include Chuprial, Shawar, Biha Rorhingar and Sakhra Nawkhara. Miandam is another important village near Fatehpur with touristic potential. Lilaunai, Chakaisar, Shahpur, Shang, Maira, Pooran, Martoong and Karorha are the important villages in Shangla region.

Table 1.2 indicates the main populous villages in Swat valley and their distance from Mingora (including Shangla, and parts of Malakand Agency and Dir district). On the basis of population the main compact settlements following Mingora are Batkhela, Thana, Dheri Alladand, Charbagh, Shawar, Koza Bandai, Manglawar, Dheri Julagram and Kanjo. On the basis of commerce Batkhela, Matta, Bisham, Khwazakhela, Kalam, Thana, Chuprial, Kanjo, Bahrain, Madyan, Barikot, Karorha and Kabal follow Mingora.

Table: 1.2. Location, population, distance (from Mingora) of main villages in District Swat

Name of Village	Location	Distance in Km from Mingora (Approx)	Population (1998 census)
Kota	LBD	22	14059
Barikot	LBD	16	12106
Ghalagay	LBD	12	11269
Odigram	LBD	9	12497
Manglawar	LBU	8	17812
Charbagh	LBU	11	23970
Dakorhak	LBU	14	10026
Khwazakhela	LEU	21	12908
Madyan	LBU	56	11036
Kokarai	LSU	8	13319
Kabal	RBO	9	11968
Kanjo	RBO	3	16598
Koza Bandai	RBU	9	18800
Matta	RBU	21	10778
Gwalalai/Rorhingar	RSU	30	10991
Shawar	RSU	30	20163
Biha	RSU	32	16250
Chuprial	RSU	26	12663
Dardiya	RSO	22	10029
Shahdherai	RSO	19	14848
Tutano Bandai	RSO	19	10534
Koza Deolai	RSO	17	10517
Thana	RBD	35	40515
Totakan	RBD	55	11568
Khar	RBD	48	11808
Dheri Alladand	RSD	42	32506
Dheri Julagram	RSD	51	17355
Batkhela	RBD	42	43179
Ooch	LSD	58	14199
Lilaunai	SHN	50	14735
Shahpur	SHN	75	10070
Maira	SHN	110	10534
Shang	SHN	105	10917
Chakaisar	SHN	102	11082

Source: District Census Reports, 1998

R=Right (western) side of the River Swat, B=Situated on the river bank
 S=Side Valley L=Left (eastern) side of the River Swat
 D=Down Stream SHN= Shangla U=Upstream
 O=Just on opposite side to Mingora

The demarcation line between urban and rural territories is not very sharp. However, it can be generally concluded that the valley bottom all along the River Swat may be classified as physically urbanised territory. On social grounds, almost all the territory except

Mingora is rural in nature. Even in Mingora, the rural traditions still have influence but are gradually fading away. The sphere of influence of the populous villages comprising the valley ends and faraway gentle to steep hill slopes, usually in the form of individually scattered houses and hamlets, may be termed as pure rural territory. The demarcation is, however, not static in nature, but dynamic, always favouring the urbanisation at the cost of rural territory. Most of the villages surrounding Mingora, on both sides of the river, are now hardly five kilometers apart from each other. Villages of Kanjo and Balogram may join the city formally or non-formally, in no more time than five years, while Kabal and Odigram up to Barikot in the south without mountain barriers are the subsequent potential candidates for inclusion in the municipal limits. Due to exploding population and growing urbanisation, occupying the most precious land of the valley, the previously self-sufficient area in food, with sizable surpluses for export⁷⁸, has now predominantly become dependent on food items shifted from down the country with no visible hopes for reversal of the process.

Housing

The houses built in the main valley, particularly on the roadside, are predominantly Pakha⁷⁹, and mainly belong to the Pukhtun/religious class landowners, with separate kitchens and toilets. The housing pattern before the abolishment of Wesh⁸⁰ system was the simplest, i.e., mainly comprising a single large room and in rare situation more than one room, depending on the size of family and social status⁸¹. Extended patrilineal families residing in a single compound were rare. Rather, occupying a ward by patrilineal families with strong interactive wards were more common. The housing was simple and labour force abundantly available for the landowner group being trendsetters for the subordinate classes. The hillside houses were mostly without verandah and courtyard, while the plain territory houses commonly possessed both of these. The transitional use of the houses and their redistribution through Wesh, the prohibited long term investment in the housing sector. The Wesh abolishment led to gradual replacement with more permanent and expanded housing pattern, although still predominantly Kacha⁸². Table 1.3 indicates the percentage of different housing units with

Table 1.3. General Housing Patterns in different Administrative units compared with Mingora

	% Houses with one room	% Houses with 2-4 rooms	% Houses with+5 rooms	Average rooms/ house	Persons residing/ rooms
Mingora	18.0	69.0	13.1	2.7	3.4
Swat District	23.0	67.9	9.1	2.5	3.5
Shangla	31.0	64.5	4.5	2.1	3.9
Malakand	18.9	68.7	12.4	2.8	3.2
Lower Dir	19.0	66.0	15.0	2.9	3.2

number of rooms and average number of persons per room as shown in the official housing statistics data for 1998.

The primitive traditional residence structure during Wesh time was generally similar for different landowner groups. The modern houses could hardly be generalised. However, the housing style commonly adopted by landowners is the transformation of the old housing pattern adopted after Wesh abolishment, from Kacha to Pakha. It is hence generally fashioned as, 2-4 rooms in one row with a veranda in the front with a common kitchen and a latrine. The independent drawing/guest room (Baithak⁸³) with landowner houses at the cost of common Hujra is becoming more common with the weakening traditional social structure particularly after state merger and due to remittances inflow in the region. The remittance money earned by the tenants is invested in land purchase, hence is transferred to the landowner group, who in turn invest the same in construction of shops or personal residence.

The facilities available in the houses of different social groups also vary tremendously. The remittance money, political awareness and access to the urban centre significantly affect the availability of facilities at different houses. The availability of kitchen, bathrooms, latrine and access to drinking water sources for different administrative units of Swat Valley during 1998 are given in Table 1.4. The facilities were in general highest for Mingora, followed by Malakand, Swat, Shangla and Adinzai areas of lower Dir in decreasing order of availability. A corner in the surrounding fields is normally used as female toilet in the hillside houses, while the plain area houses of the landowner group mostly contain a toilet, comprising an enclosed area without a roof in a remote corner of the courtyard only for women. The main reasons are the compact

Table. 1.4. Percent Housing Facilities in different Administrative units compared with Mingora

Attributes		Mingora	Swat	Shangla	Malakand	Lower Dir
Kitchen	Separate	37.0	22.5	23.5	35.9	19.8
	Shared	24.0	19.2	5.9	22.9	13.0
	None	39.1	58.3	70.6	41.2	67.2
Bathroom	Separate	46.2	31.9	37.1	36.7	27.9
	Shared	34.7	25.1	7.9	24.2	14.8
	None	19.1	43.0	55.0	39.1	57.3
Latrine	Separate	41.9	16.3	11.1	29.8	15.3
	Shared	34.1	13.9	2.5	21.6	7.7
	None	24.0	69.8	86.4	48.6	77.0
Drinking Water Source	Pipe	79.0	28.9	26.7	34.1	49.8
	Hand pump/well	16.0	17.9	2.7	56.1	18.6
	Ponds	0.5	4.3	2.0	1.2	2.5
	Others	4.4	49.0	68.6	8.6	28.1

settlement pattern and remoteness of the croplands. Men residing in both plain and hillside used to visit the remote corner and cropland areas as toilet and minors used to defecate on the compost or anywhere in the street or drain. Men used to take their bath in the mosque bathrooms (Charchobai⁸⁶) or common springs.

The dependence on remittances than on native resources caused negligence to the land utility for food. Construction is rapidly turning the most fertile land both in rural and urban territories into concrete structures. The newly built houses of even lower middle class mostly possess a shared kitchen, bathroom and latrine. The remoteness from the main road generally corresponds to increasing concentration of traditional houses and lack of basic housing facilities.

In the traditional Pukhtun houses the corner of main veranda (Mandaw⁸⁵) is mainly used as summer kitchen with a Chargai⁸⁶. Another Chargai also exist in one corner of main sleeping room used as winter kitchen. A smaller side veranda (Da Sang Mandaw⁸⁷) mostly served as storehouse for grain and fuel. The houses of leading Pukhtuns also contained firing towers (Braj⁸⁸) during Pukhtu⁸⁹ times. Sociology and relief of the area affected the housing pattern. The traditional houses of the tenants and Gujars occupying steep slopes/rain-fed areas, are mostly without a boundary wall kept open toward the valley giving a view of the down valley. It commonly comprises a single large room, accommodating all the family. There

are Chargai and women ablution and bath place (Audas Khana⁹⁰) in the darkest corner of the room. In the plain areas, there also exist a medium to large courtyard, surrounded by 10-15 feet high boundary wall (Barth, 1959a⁹¹), containing at one end a bath/toilet while at the other the entrance room of the house (Daiodai⁹²). Sometime a separate Baithak exists at one corner of the house; however, most of the guests are entertained in the Hujra⁹³. In the bigger villages, different landowner sister families occupy a particular ward (Palau/Cham⁹⁴) with a single common Hujra and mosque. The settlement pattern is gradually modified with the initiation of sloping area with less extensive compact settlements and dominance of hamlets and independent houses. In double storey houses the lower story with or without veranda courtyard is used as family house, while the upper portion is used as guest room or grain storehouse. The roof of the ground floor is used as courtyard for the upper accommodation. On the steeper slopes, a three storey planning is adopted with the lowest storey used as cattle shed and feed store.

The material used in roof structure of the traditional houses of both plains and hillside include, one large wooden beam (Bash⁹⁵) placed in the centre of the roof at right angle with the main entrance to the room, supported by an elaborately carved central wooden pillar (Stan⁹⁶) with a base (Pandai⁹⁷) and a support wooden piece at the top (Saroutay⁹⁸). Two side-beams placed parallel to the central beam lies over the sidewalls. Above the three main-beams the sub-beams (Karhai⁹⁹) are placed across six inches apart. Karhai are covered initially with oak leaves, then with clay and finally plastered with wheat straw clay mixture (Khatta¹⁰⁰).

Typically two feet broad rough stone masonry walls, that contained wooden pillars at each corner and wooden beams horizontally fixed throughout the length of wall structure, are placed in pairs interiorly and exteriorly to provide strength to the wall structure. With the initial division of the family, a separation is made through a 2-3 inches broad Bithar¹⁰¹ erected at right angle of the door, crosses three fourth of the room width and initiated from the back wall opposing the door. The main door is still jointly used. All the anterior of the room sides and exterior walls facing the courtyard are plastered with Khatta while the remaining exterior is kept bare. The initial intervention toward modernity was the separation of livestock from the rest of the family, creating a four square feet

window (Tambagai¹⁰²) in the front wall and then a Mandaw, particularly in hillside houses.

In the narrow side valleys, the landowners mostly occupy the valley bottom or most fertile and gentle slopes. The small settlements occupy the non-productive ridge easily accessible to the cultivation terraces. The cattle shed in such areas is usually established at the farm for easy manure access. The housing pattern of the landowners in general resembles to those occupying the plain areas in the main valley except a multi-storey architecture and smaller courtyards. The Gujars¹⁰³ and tenants, when residing in narrow valleys have their cattle shed inside houses and sometimes inside their sleeping room. The residences of Ajars¹⁰⁴ and Gujars most often consist of a single room for the entire family and stored fodder, while another room is for the livestock. The tenants and professionals have now become the sporadic purchased landowners particularly after mid seventies. They opt to construct a Pakha house even in remote areas, if having one or more family members are working abroad. Otherwise they still reside in the kacha houses with wooden beam roofs and mud walls, with no kitchen, bathroom and latrine. The cattle shed is either inside the house or annexed to it.

In the Kohistan area the settlement is mainly confined to the valley bottom, comprising much smaller settlements or hamlets. The sloping hillside is mostly covered with natural forest. Part of the local population and almost all of the livestock is shifted during summer for 3-4 month and utilise the natural resource base through a finely tuned shifting settlement pattern. The Ajars and Gujars also have their transitional multiple summer settlements well suited to their herding system. They shift their settlements with the herd movement. The transitional accommodation mostly consists of single kacha room used both for the pregnant or lactating herd members and for the entire family.

At the upland pastoral areas even more primitive housing system can be seen i.e. some wooden branches placed in tilt at the side of bigger trees stem, covered with pines needles and the triangular underneath is used as residence. The floor is covered with dried pine needles and contains a Chargai at the centre. At different elevations the herders have sister clan hamlet (Banda¹⁰⁵) at suitable grazing locations, with 10-20 houses and a mosque also used as community centre. The Kohistani landowners also have sporadic

and similar independent settlements at upland pastures. The landowner Kohistanis at Kalam and Utrora visit the upland pastures more often due to easy accessibility, while the Kohistani residing at Bahrain rarely visit the upland pasture due to difficult access. After the middle of August the downward movement of the transhumant families is initiated. Sheep and goat herder families occupy the upper limits at each pastoral area with relatively steep topography, whereas cattle and buffalo herders occupy the lower gently sloping limits. In most situations, sheep and goat herders are usually the first occupants with late return, whereas the cattle and buffaloes herders are the late occupants with early return.

The recent Kohistani residences are typically closed accommodation: a large single room partitioned with wooden walls into four small cabins and a central corridor. More often two of these cabins are used for residence, third for livestock and the fourth as fodder store. With the growth of the family two additional rooms with one verandah are constructed over the roof. Their living standards were no better than transhumant herders, were some fifty years ago.

Notes

- ¹ Bajour Valley lies to the west of lower Swat Valley and was probably a more prevalent route to India in ancient times than the Khyber pass, mainly due to easier and safer track and availability of water sources throughout its way.
- ² Kunarh Valley lies to the west of Bajour Valley in the territory of present Afghanistan. It is linked through different low elevation passes with Bajour while to the North the it is continuous with the Chitral, lying parallel with the Wakhan Valley joining China, Central Asia and Afghanistan. To the west, the Valley posse different links with the Valley of Kabul, the Capital city of Afghanistan.
- ³ Hindukush Mountains occupy Central Asia, Afghanistan and Pakistani Territory to the west of River Indus. In Northern areas of Pakistan only the Gupis and Yasin Valley lies in Hindukush Mountain range, while Hunza, Skardu and Khanjarab are in the Karakoram Mountain range. The previous silk route reportedly passed through Hindukush and not through Karakoram and probably consisted of different sets of passes mainly crossing through Wakhan (Afghanistan), Chitral and

- Gupis/Yasin Valleys in Gilgit, all ending in the Swat Valley.
- 4 Stein. A (1928) *On Alexander's track to the Indus*. Reprinted in 1995 by Indus Publications, Farid Chambers, Karachi.
 - 5 See Chapter Two
 - 6 Malakand division include Swat, Malakand, Shangla, Buner, Dir and Chitral (Approximately 29,000 Km² area and almost entirely lying in mountainous region)
 - 7 Himalayan mountains extend from Kashmir and end at the eastern bank of River Indus
 - 8 Kohistan means land of mountains in Persian language. Three different Kohistan areas exist namely Indus Kohistan (both banks of River Indus from Chilas down to Bisham), Swat Kohistan in the north of Swat valley and Dir Kohistan at the north of Dir valley. The inhabitants of all the three areas are called Kohistani, believed to be from the same ethnic origin, except the portion on the eastern bank of Indus, having a language more similar to the residents of Northern area and Kashmir.
 - 9 Ahmad, H. and Sirajuddin (1996) *Ethno botanical profile of Swat*. Pro. First Train. Workshop Ethnobot. Appl. Conserv. NARC, Islamabad 202-211pp.
 - 10 Hinduraj means Hindu Kingdom is the name given to the part of Hindukush Mountains occupying Swat Dir and western bank Indus Kohistan.
 - 11 Trans-Himalayas name is given on the basis of climate and vegetation similarity to that of Himalayan region.
 - 12 Main town of Swat Kohistan famous for its scenic beauty.
 - 13 These streams rise from the Shandur or Mashabar range of Hindukush, where Gilgit, Chitral and Swat Kohistan joins.
 - 14 Madyan village is the border village between Kohistani people and Pukhtun people.
 - 15 Khwazakhela is a road junction in the north of Mingora, where roads from Shangla, Swat Kohistan, Matta valley and Mingora join together.
 - 16 A small village, where the valley of Swat terminates and the river from Dir join the River Swat.
 - 17 Name given to the river coming from Dir, Jandul and Bajour areas, containing comparatively less water than Swat River proper.
 - 18 Valley running along the entire length of western boundaries of Swat valley.
 - 19 Charsadda is a town in Peshawar valley and centre of Hashtnagar area, where River Swat joins with the River Kabul coming from the West. Charsadda is believed to be occupying the place of the prehistoric Gandhara town of Pushkalawati meaning the city of Lotus.
 - 20 Abazoo is the name of the village situated in the vicinity where River

- Swat open up in to Hashtnagar plains after crossing a narrow zigzag gorge.
- 21 Arang Barang is the tribal territory occupied by Utman Khel tribe, a hardly accessible area and a difficult terrain to reside situated on the western bank of River Swat down Qulangai.
 - 22 After crossing Arang Barang territory the river enters the Mahmand tribal territory. Inside both the territories the river travels approximately a distance of 50 kilometers before opening at Abazoo.
 - 23 End of February or start of March to mid May. Comes early in the low-lying areas and later in the upper elevation areas.
 - 24 The dry summer from 15th May to the end of June or mid July. Wheat harvest and Maize sowing are carried out and movement to upland pastures start.
 - 25 Wet summer from mid July to the end of August or mid September. Heavy rains and floods in proper Swat and dry season in Kohistan area.
 - 26 Hay, maize and rice harvesting season, from mid September to Mid October.
 - 27 Mid October to the mid or end of November, Shorter in high elevation areas and longer at valley bottom. Grain, hay, fodder and fuel-wood storage period for the subsequent months of winter
 - 28 The winter season starting from mid November or early December and extend up to the end of February or mid March.
 - 29 Rahim, I. 2000. *Identification, yield, palatability, and nutritional evaluation of consumable forage species at various elevations and aspects in Chagharzai Valley of Malakand Division in Trans-Himalayan range*. PhD Thesis, University of Agriculture Faisalabad, Pakistan.
 - 30 Agency is the name given to the tribal territory, with limited extension of the Government of Pakistan rules and regulation. The total population of Swat Ranizai subdivision of Malakand Agency (traditional part of Swat valley) is 260,295 with an approximate total area of 700 km².
 - 31 Tehsil is part of subdivision. The population of Adinzai tehsil is 169,896 with an area of approximately 450 km². It is culturally and ethnically part of Swat valley but administratively it is part of lower Dir District.
 - 32 District comprises a geographical territory with an administrative centre formed either on the basis of area or population.
 - 33 Anonymous. 1986. *Atlas of Pakistan*. Survey of Pakistan (3rd Ed), Government of Pakistan.
 - 34 After being driven out from Swat Valley during 1515, the Swati tribe made persistent efforts through twelve years long guerrilla warfare to recover their lost territory, till finally the calamity of a dreadful drought

- and calamity drew them to submission, after they had for a considerable time subsisted on the corpses of their own dead (Bellow. H. W. 1979. *The races of Afghanistan: A brief account of the principal nation inhabiting that country*. Reprinted by Song-e-Meel Publications, Lahore, Pakistan.
- ³⁵ Buner district remained part of Swat state, however the region was not included in the mobile land tenure system of Swat valley.
- ³⁶ Chitral is located to the north of the Swat valley, separated by high elevation mountains. The area is inhabited by Chitralli people, ethnically different from the inhabitants of the rest of Malakand Division. In the past it was probably one of the main route along with Wakhan joining China and Part of Central Asia bordering China with India and Persia.
- ³⁷ Gilgit lies to the Northeast of Swat and is part of Northern Areas. It is the main town on Karakoram Highway. Near Gilgit the three largest mountains of the world joins together i.e., Himalayas, Karakoram and Hindukush.
- ³⁸ Bajour is a tribal agency inhabited by Utman Khel, Salarzai and Mamund Pukhtun tribes. It is situated on the main historic route joining Kabul with Swat Valley. This route is presently used as Smuggling route for Chinese goods and automobiles.
- ³⁹ Tal and Lamotai are the two main villages of Dir Kohistan under the administrative control of Upper Dir district.
- ⁴⁰ Gupis/Yasin are the names of main villages as well as region lying to the North of Gilgit joining Gilgit with Chitral through famous Shandur Pass, the venue of upland Polo tournament.
- ⁴¹ Pir Baba situated in Pacha Kalay village of Buner, is the name given to the shrine of a saint of mid Mughal era, named Sayyed Ali Termizi.
- ⁴² One of three valleys of Shangla inhabited by Babozai tribe traditionally exchanged their land with their sister clan residing in the surroundings of Mingora after every ten years through Wesh system. For details see chapter three.
- ⁴³ Presently a mountainous winter sport and skiing resort 30 km to the east of Mingora.
- ⁴⁴ Panjkorha River is the name given to the river coming from Dir, Jandul and Bajour valleys and joins with the River Swat at Qulangai.
- ⁴⁵ Nikpikhel is the name given to the area surrounding Kabal, lying just opposite to Mingora on the Western bank of River Swat. Nikpikhel is connected with Adinzai through Tutano-Bandai and Asband, with Matta through Shalhand and Miankilay villages and with Dir through Dardiyal and Warai.
- ⁴⁶ See Chapter Two.

- ⁴⁷ Qaum is a politically important term, wherein the more populous landless segment is divided into different Qaums, while almost all the Pukhtuns residing anywhere are considered a single Afghan Qaum.
- ⁴⁸ Including carpenter, blacksmith, muleteer, weaver etc,
- ⁴⁹ Ancestors of these tribes occupy the bordering Kunarh valley in Afghanistan.
- ⁵⁰ Mullah are the working priests in Mosques, not necessarily possessing a religious ethnicity. Singular is Mullah
- ⁵¹ Claiming to be the descendants of the Holy Prophet from paternal side
- ⁵² Descendants of the religious person having exceptional religious knowledge, particularly those possessing due acknowledgement from valid political authority like Nawab or kingdom chiefs
- ⁵³ Descendants of the religious person with exceptional spiritual power, although leading very simple life. Those specifically employed for cleaning Mosques were called Akhund, however different saints often adopted the job temporarily and the name often became symbolized for the spiritual leaders like Akhund of Swat or Akhund Darwaisa Baba. The descendants of Akhund Darwaisa Baba are however termed Akhunkhel rather than Akhunzadgan.
- ⁵⁴ See Chapter Two.
- ⁵⁵ A tribe residing in Mahmand Agency in the Northwest of Peshawar Valley.
- ⁵⁶ Tal is the name given to a community group including all the super ordinate and subordinate social segments residing in a particular village ward and having established reciprocal welfare mechanism, like same mosque, helping one another at the occasions of sorrow and celebrations (Gham Khaki)
- ⁵⁷ The tribe reside in Kalam proper and its surroundings, and is politically the most powerful tribe
- ⁵⁸ Shina is the language spoken in Gilgit region in the Northern Areas.
- ⁵⁹ Gabral lies in the extreme northwest of the Swat valley, while Kaidam-Peshmal lies between the Bahrain and Kalam.
- ⁶⁰ Gujri grammatically resembles North Indian Prakrat group of languages, however it has borrowed most of the nouns from Pukhtu language.
- ⁶¹ Punjabi is the group of languages spoken in Punjab region. In Punjab however different names are given to different dialects like Lahori, Pindiwal and so on.
- ⁶² Archer, S and F. E. Smeins. 1993. "Eco-system level processes", in Heitschmidt R. K. and J. W. Stuth. *Grazing Management: an ecological perspective*. Timber Press, Portland Oregon, USA
- ⁶³ The relatively far away irrigated and fertile lands mainly used for grain

- production, seldom managed by landowners and mainly by tenants.
- ⁶⁴ The NPK chemical fertilizers that causes immediate increased output of grains, but gradually leave the soil deficient in trace minerals
- ⁶⁵ In the past the poor peasants, mostly free of cost used to sow the Sadin in such areas for one time after obtaining verbal sanction from the landowners. The shrubby vegetation available is initially burnt to ashes and sown on "dig and put the grain" bases, without plough the land (Takdana).
- ⁶⁶ Dig and put the grain method without plough
- ⁶⁷ Maira also means stepmother, hence indicating the behavior of such lands.
- ⁶⁸ Akbar Ali (2000) *Livestock Management as affected by different management practices of various social groups of Babozai Tehsil of district Swat in NWFP*. (M.Sc. Hons. Thesis) Unpublished data, University of Agriculture Faisalabad. Pakistan
- ⁶⁹ The sale of milk is traditionally considered a shameful activity among the landowners.
- ⁷⁰ In the peri-urban hilly area toward Marghuzar and Jambil valleys, sporadic tenant based, mixed internalized farming prevails particularly on the rain-fed lands.
- ⁷¹ The feed composition not only varies for different classes of animals but also according to the level of production of individual animal.
- ⁷² DAI/EDC, Barani Development Project, June 1991
- ⁷³ Sprague. H. B. 1979. *Management of Rangelands and other grazing lands of the Tropics and subtropics for support of livestock production*. Technical series Bulletin No. 23, Agriculture Technology for Developing countries, Office of Agriculture Development support Bureau. Agency for International Development, Washington D.C. 20523
- ⁷⁴ A native Oak species
- ⁷⁵ Leede B.M and Inam-ur-Rahim. 1997. *Rang land Utilization in Malakand Division; over use or under use?* Paper presented at the international conference Livestock production held on Dec. 1997 at NARC, Islamabad.
- ⁷⁶ Butter oil
- ⁷⁷ A town situated on the bank of River Indus at the junction of Swat, Mansehra and Northern areas on the main Karakoram Highway leading to China. Bisham population is less than 10,000, and however its market is comparable to that of Batkhella. The inhabitants from the surrounding regions have opened commercial shops, while coming in the morning and returning back in the evening to their native villages.
- ⁷⁸ Informally known but never formally documented.
- ⁷⁹ Pakha means durable. The walls are made of bricks and the roof made

- of concrete. The walls are plastered with cement from anterior, and occasionally from exterior. The floor of the rooms and verandahs are usually plastered, while the courtyard is occasionally plastered.
- ⁸⁰ See Chapter Four.
- ⁸¹ The livestock herders and tenants having no remittances member mostly reside in single room houses. According to 1998 official census during 1981 the proportion of singled room houses in Shangla was 58.8%, which decreased to 31.0% during 1998. Similarly in Upper Malakand the proportion of singled roomed houses was 46.3% during 1981, which reduced to 18.9% during 1998. This proves that traditional housing pattern during Wesh time in rare situations might have contained more than one room.
- ⁸² Kacha is opposite of Pakha. The traditional mud plastered walls and
- ⁸³ The term has been borrowed from Hindi/Punjabi, meaning a sitting place.
- ⁸⁴ Charchobai is one or more common bathrooms for males inside most of the Tal mosque. These were particularly constructed in villages, where alternative arrangement like river, streams and springs are not common.
- ⁸⁵ Mandaw is typically 16-17 feet wide running all along the front of the row of main sleeping room
- ⁸⁶ Open depression in one corner of the Mandaw and inside the main sleeping room. There is no smoke outlet surrounded from all sides by sitting places, used both for cooking and heat purposes during winter.
- ⁸⁷ This Mandaw is generally half the width of the main Mandaw.
- ⁸⁸ Braj is squared room erected at double height of the normal room at one corner of a chief house or four quarters of a declared fort.
- ⁸⁹ See Chapter Four.
- ⁹⁰ Audas Khana is mad by placing two to four flat stones (2-3 Sq feet each) placed over sands and pebbles, with no outlet for water. The water was supposed to be absorbed downward. Minimum usage of water is insured at these places.
- ⁹¹ Barth, F. (1959a) *Political leadership among Swat Pathans*. Athlone Press London.
- ⁹² Daiodai is the house entrance room. It was common in the chiefs/Khau houses, where male servants received food from the household female servant for serving the guest. In many occasions it also serve as the fuel-wood store.
- ⁹³ Hujra is the common guesthouse of a particular Pukhtun sub-section residing in a compact locality. There exist at least two rooms, one for elders and the second one for youth.
- ⁹⁴ Palau is a village ward occupied by Pukhtun sub-section, while Cham

is the village ward occupied by religious class.

⁹⁵ Bash is the main supporting wooden beam, supporting all the load of the roof (Approximately 9X12 inches, when rectangular, and 18 inch diameter, when round shaped and 18 or more feet long depending on the size of the room). Two side Bash are placed parallel to the central Bash on the two main sidewalls of the room.

⁹⁶ Stan is the main supporting pillar of the Bash, erected exactly in the centre of small 16X16 feet room. In larger room there may be more than one Stan for example in mosques. Two other Stans are placed at both ends of the Bash inside the walls or anterior to it.

⁹⁷ Pandai is the wooden or stone made base of the Stan, 3-4 times of the diameter of the Stan. Its main purpose is to distribute the load on the underlying soil.

⁹⁸ Saroutay are placed beneath the Bash above all the Stans usually 4-5 feet in length and similar diameter to that of the Bash.

⁹⁹ Karhai has a diameter of 3 x 4 inches when rectangular, 5-6 inch in diameter when round shaped and 8-9 feet in length. They are placed above the Bash at its right angle, so that one end of Karhai comes over the main Bash and the other end at one of the side Bash.

¹⁰⁰ Khatta is the mixture of clay and pieces of wheat straw (Boos), used for plastering of roof to prevent leakage during winter and spring rains and anterior walls of the house.

¹⁰¹ Bithar is the initial room partition; the elastic wooden branches of Banjai tree are interwoven and plastered with Khatta on its both sides.

¹⁰² Only in houses with a courtyard raised above the ground.

¹⁰³ Gujars are the mainly cattle herders, when transhumant, or residing on sloping lands they have a herd of cows and mainly subsist on live animal sale and when sedentary and residing in the suburbs of main town, they shift to Buffaloes production and then subsist on milk sale predominantly.

¹⁰⁴ Ajars are the transhumant or nomadic sheep and goat herders. They shift to goats, when shrubs dominate the hillside and to sheep when grass dominates the hillside.

¹⁰⁵ Banda is the small transitional hamlet containing residence of 10-20 residences of flocks or herd owners, mostly with a joint paddock.

Chapter Two

A Long and Complex History

There are several ways to present and discuss the history of a place such as Mingora and Swat valley. One is to stick to the very place without taking into account what happened around it: the major inconvenience of this perspective is to miss the regional (and larger) inputs, which are important to understand the links and the reasons behind what has happened through centuries in the valley. Another one is to consider such a place as resultant of the regional history as well as participating as an actor through centuries in the regional history. This explains some apparent digression, which will occur from time to time in the following text. These are only to enlarge the perspective and to underline the complexity and the interactions of events, human beings, civilisations and locations, with reference to Braudel's concept of space-time allowing us to focus on the slower currents of the history of human groups relating to their environment, the structures that shape societies, be it essential trading routes or mentalities.

Another point needs to be clarified here. Often the authors speak about "Swat", but which Swat are they speaking about? Upper Swat, Lower Swat, or what is known today as the Kohistan of Swat? Confusion between these places can greatly affect the understanding of historical sources. We will consider Lower Swat as the area down Landakay to Malakand Pass and Upper Swat from Landakay to Madyan. The area below Malakand Pass has never been included in Swat, though it was controlled by it in different historical periods.

In this chapter, we will attempt to recount the history of the valley, which has often been over-shadowed by the great civilisations flourishing around it, from Persia to China, from Central Asia to India. The choice was made to use as much as possible French, Italian, and German literature on the topic, to add other views to the English language works. For the later period British, Indian and Pakistani authors were used.

From Prehistoric times to Alexander the Great

In this part, we will try to describe the civilisations which developed in the area before the passage of Alexander the Great, on the basis of archaeological discoveries and literature.

On the basis of archaeological discoveries the earliest traces (3rd millenary BC) have been found in a rock shelter near Ghalagay. As many as seven major periods have been established, of which the earliest and the pre-ceramic level is considered to be of Neolithic age¹. Subsequent levels show a type of pottery similar to those found in Charsadda and Taxila (2nd millenary BC). There are also similarities with ware of another Neolithic settlement north of Srinagar, and archaeological finds from Dashly (Russian Bactria) or Tajikistan. The appearance in Swat of black-grey burnished ware is probably connected with the influences originating from northern Iran (Shah-tepe, Tepe Hissar). In Butkara, near the present Mingora, under the strata of Buddhist period, Italian archaeologists found tombs also showing a long occupation of the site. Thus, the scientific analysis of a skull, probably one of the most ancient inhabitants of the valley, indicates a Torwali human type similar to the present inhabitants of the Swat Kohistan. From the findings, archaeologists conclude that in the second millenary, or even earlier, groups of invaders entered the valley bringing with them Indo-Aryan and Dard languages². An open-air occupation layer, showing trace of flooding, was also discovered at Butkara. Interestingly, the next period settlements (Loebanr 3 and Barikot-Ghwandai) show walled houses located on hillsides and hilltops. This indicates the need to protect themselves from floodwaters, or, more probably, with the development of irrigated agriculture, to provide some security against fluctuations in rainfall and the possibility of drought. The growth of crop-farming during this period is clearly shown by the

variety of plants cultivated, which include wheat, barley, rice, peas, lentils, grapevines and linen seeds. The breeding economy was based on cattle and pig. The number of sheep and goats tends to demonstrate a considerable development of grazing, which remained nonetheless of secondary importance compared with cattle breeding.

The analysis of the content of tombs in Kherai³ indicates the presence at this time of different ethnic groups within the community, attested by the coexistence of different burial customs. It also shows the presence of interregional networks, through numerous findings: vases derived from north-Iranian prototypes, gold earrings suggesting a trade route from the northern areas of the sub-continent, articles made of shell and coral possibly imported from the Indian or Arabic Sea (but anyway not from Swat!), beads made of semi-precious stones (jade, lapis lazuli) and paste of faience. Lapis lazuli were probably imported from Afghan Badakhshan, and light green jade is found in the Kunlun Mountains of the present day Chinese Sinkiang. The paste of faience beads has a close resemblance to some types produced in urban centres of the Indus plains during the period of Harappan culture. It is very likely that the importation of certain articles from distant places was accompanied by the exportation of products from the valley and its surroundings, but there is not yet archaeological evidence to prove such a hypothesis. Wood (deodar) and some food/medicinal items could have represented an export item of major importance. Woven textiles (the linen seeds show that Swat is one of the first areas of the sub-continent in which this plant was grown) may be another possible trade product, which may have reached distant markets.⁴

These different ethnic groups arrived in Gandhara, using the northern route (through Margiana and Bactria, and for the present NWFP: Bajour, Dir, Chitral, Swat, Buner, Peshawar valley, and Taxila).⁵ They created there the "Gandhara Grave Culture" around the 17th century BC. Today this culture is known from the excavations of the settlement sites in Swat and Taxila. This period continued through the beginning of the historical cities of Taxila and Pushkalavati, the two cities of Gandhara, which played an important role in the periods of the Achemenids and Alexander the Great. In Swat, this culture has been traced in several settlement sites at Loebanr, Aligrama, Barikot and Ghalagay cave. The settlements

have revealed a stone masonry, consisting of rough stone blocks or river pebbles. The same type of masonry is also seen in the construction of stone-built graves⁶, which contained terracotta human and animal figurines (four-legged bull), bronze, iron, bone, ivory, stone, jade, faience and gold⁷. Another interesting point is horse burials along with graves in Swat, and rock carvings found at Gogdara in Swat⁸. The carvings, representing carts drawn by animals ("war chariots") are dated within a period of time going from the second millennium to the beginning of the first millennium BC. The presence of war chariots is important as it represents a type of war machine well attested in Sanskrit literature.

On the basis of literature the most ancient quotation of Swat⁹ is found in the Rig Veda, the mythical history of the Aryan peoples, who migrated to India from the Iranian regions through successive flows. The Rig Veda¹⁰ is the earliest of the Veda's literary texts, composed between 1500 and 500 BC, and describing the physical and human geography of the tributaries of the Indus. From the texts of the Late Vedic period (800 to 500 BC), we learn that numerous clans, such as the Kambojas, the Gandharis and the Madra, inhabited the northern India. The territory of the Vedic settlers was divided into tribal principalities, usually ruled by kings, the present district of Peshawar, and the valley of Kabul were part of Gandhara¹¹. The religion was Brahmanism, then mixed, for Gautama Buddha is said to have preached in Taxila (6th century BC).

About the proto-historic period in Swat valley, we are limited to hypotheses. The huge amount of books, travel accounts, academic theses, military reports, written from the 18th century till now, is a mixture of fiction, ideological reconstruction of the past (Aryans, Gandharis, Pathans), confusion and errors in the geographical locations of places or of ethnic groups (Bactria, Ki Pin, Kashmir, Kamboja, Uddiyana), chronological confusions (the same name is carried by groups who lived in the third millennium BC, and in the third century AD), contested linguistic analysis (Dards or not, Aryan or Indo-European, Sanskrit or Dravidian). All these interpretations show great interest in the regions between the Indian plains and the Central Asia high plateau. But none of these explanations give a definitive answer about the role and situation of the Swat valley in the middle of all these historical or mythical empires.

Summarising or synthesising this mountain of literature, we can say that during the Achemenid period (6th C. BC), till the Seleucid period after Alexander's death, Swat was part of one or more larger complexes, expanding from the Indus and the Peshawar plain to the Afghan plateau and the Amu Daria (Oxus). A trade road existed through the Lower Swat, coming from Bajour; Kunarh, Jalalabad in the north-east; from Buner, Charsadda, Peshawar in the south-west; and from Hund on the Indus banks in the south-east. In the Swat Valley, along the horse's trade route from Bactria to India, there were important fortified cities inhabited by Assakenoi's people¹². According to the Rig Veda, these peoples were of Brahmanic religion, organised in confederations of tribes, or in republics. A clear difference is, however, made with the Gandharis peoples occupying the plains from Peshawar upto Taxila.

History begins in 530 BC, when Cyrus crossed the Khyber Pass and took Peshawar. The independence of Gandhara was terminated by its inclusion as one of the 22 satrapies of the Achemenian Empire of Persia (by Darius time, c. 519 BC). The valley's major role as the channel of communication with Iran and Central Asia continued. During the Persian period, Gandhara covered the whole of what was called Northern India by the Indian, including Punjab, Kapiça (from northern Afghanistan to Kashmir), Taxila and down to Multan.

Herodotus, in his "History" (450 BC) gives some indications about this country: "There are other Indians who border on the city of Kaspaturus and the country of Paktiuke, these live to the north and in the direction of the wind as compared with the remaining Indians, and their way of life is almost the same as that of the Bactrians. They are the most warlike of all the Indians" (III, 102). Sir Olaf Caroe identifies this land with the Peshawar valley and the Paktiuke with the Pakhtun, or the Indian Pathan¹³. In other verses, Herodote makes the difference between the different peoples: "the Sattagudai and the Gandarioi and the Dadikai and the Aparutai...this was the 7th satrapy" (III, 91); "the Gandarioi and the Dadikai had the Bactrian equipment... the Paktues wore cloaks of skin and carried the bow of their country and the dagger" (VII, 66-67).

Already in that period three zones are delineated: Central Asia (Bactria), opening on its west side to Iran and the Middle East, and to the south going down the Kabul valley upto Peshawar and the

Indus river banks; the Indian world on the eastern side of the Indus; and in between the Hindukush range, with all its valleys, among which is the Swat valley.

The flow of invaders coming on their horses, White Huns, Mongols, Afghans, and many others, razed the rich Indian plains but always returned, as they were not able to bear the hot and humid climate¹⁴. They came through the road called by Foucher "The old road to India": From Balkh (near Mazâr-é-Sharîf), a place located at the main crossings of the ancient world, just near the four big regions: Indian, Iranian, Scythe and Chinese, where life was easy for men and fodder plentiful for animals, one road goes north to Samarkand, another east to China, the third one to Herat and Mehed, and the fourth to Bamiyan and Kabul. From Kabul it reaches Jalalabad and Peshawar. It crosses the Indus few kilometres north of Attock at Hund, or Dar-é-Hind, "the door to India, and reaches Taxila"¹⁵.

The main contingent of Alexander the Great army entered Gandhara after following this road from Balkh to Peshawar, Attock and Taxila. Alexander himself, in 327 BC, followed the Kunar valley from Jalalabad, crossed the Pashat (Nawa?) pass and reached Nawagai (Bajour). From there his road crossed the Panjkora River¹⁶, and continued to Chakdara in the Lower Swat valley. Another part of his army came down through the Mohmand territory. His campaigns against Bajour and Swat are the first historical testimonies about the region, by Greek and Latin writers. He subsequently turned south to the Peshawar valley where he was to establish his junction with the division of the army that had preceded him down the Kabul River¹⁷. Assakenoi (Asvakayana, "asva"=horse) from the Dard group inhabited the Swat towns. They must have been confederations of allied tribes: the Aspasioi-Asvakayana, the Assakenoi-Asvakayana, the Aurdiyana (who probably gave their name to the valley, Oddiyana). This last tribe took power over the others after the destruction of Massaga by Alexander; his town Ora (Urdu, Udra, Udri, Udi) became the capital of the confederation. The most important cities were Massaga (near Chakdara), Bazira (Barikot), Ora (Udigram) and Dyrta (not yet located). Udigram, where the most ancient layers go back to the IV century BC, remained an important city till its destruction by Mahmud of Ghazni in 1001 AD¹⁸.

Alexander advanced into Central Asia in the follow-up operations against the Achemenid monarch Darius III. The whole of Central Asia opposed him and resisted his march at every stage. It was in Bactria that he planned to conquer the Indus provinces of the Achemenid Empire, following the proposal of Ophis, the ruler of Taxila who offered him his alliance. Two other local chiefs also supported him: Sisicottus from Swat (who was later rewarded by an appointment in this place), and Sangaesus from Gandhara. Arrian (IV.23) calls this "the land of the Aspasiens, Guraeans and Assaceniens". In modern geographical terminology it embraces Nawagai, Bajaur, Dir and Swat. Crossing the mountains, Alexander descended to a city called Arigaeum (Nawagai), and found that this had been set on fire by the inhabitants, who had fled to the mountains. A battle took place in the plain. Ptolemy says that all men were captured to a number exceeding 40000 and that over 2300000 oxen were also taken. The fact that such a great amount of cattle was collected, even if the figure is exaggerated, shows the great prosperity of the region. Alexander then crossed the Panjkorha River. "When the barbarians (the Assaceniens, identified with the Asvakas of Sanskrit literature) perceived him approaching, they dared not take their stand for a battle in close array, but dispersed one by one to their various cities with the determination of preserving these through fighting from the ramparts. The most important of them was Massaga¹⁹" (Arrian IV.25.7-26.1). "An army of 38000 infantry defended the city which was strongly fortified both by nature and art...The city was, besides, surrounded with a wall thirty-five stadia²⁰ in circumference which had a basis of stonework supporting a superstructure of un-burnt, sun-dried bricks..." (Quintus Curtius, VIII.10.23-9). After the besieged had agreed to surrender, Diodorus (XVII.84.1) informs us: "When the capitulation on those terms had been ratified by oaths, the Queen (of Massaga), to show her admiration of Alexander's magnanimity, sent out to him most valuable presents, with an intimation that he would fulfil all the stipulations. Then the mercenaries²¹ in accordance with the terms of the agreement evacuated the city...but Alexander pursued the barbarians, and falling suddenly upon them made a great slaughter of their ranks...the women, taking the arms of the fallen, fought side by side with the men for the imminence of the danger... The defenders, however, after

fighting desperately, along with their wives, were at last overpowered by superior numbers, and met a glorious death which they would have disdained to exchange for a life with dishonour". Two more places of great importance were then the target of attack. "Then he dispatched Coenus to Bazira, entertaining an opinion that the inhabitants would surrender when they heard the capture of Massaga. He also dispatched Attalus, Alcetas and Demetrius to another city, named Ora, with instructions to blockade it until he himself arrived. The men of the city made a sortie against the forces of Aletas; but the Macedonians easily routed them, and drove them into the city within the wall. But affairs at Bazira were not favourable to Coenus, for the inhabitants showed no sign of capitulating, trusting to the strength of the place, because not only it was situated on a lofty eminence, but it was also fortified all round... The siege of Ora proved an easy matter for Alexander, for he no sooner attacked the walls than at the first assault he got possession of the city, and captured the elephants which had been left there. When the men in Bazira heard the news despairing of their own affair, they abandoned the city about the middle of the night and fled to the rock called Aornos" (Arrian, IV.27.5-28.1), probably located in Buner, the district of the Assaceniens. Arrian inform us that Alexander fortified Ora, Bazira and Massaga to keep the land in subjection. Later on he advanced on Aornos and took the place. After such an arduous campaign Alexander was finally able to subjugate the Assaceniens and the whole area west of the Indus. Then crossing the Indus he arrived at Taxila²².

What we can conclude from this history is that, Assakenoi (Asvakayana) tribes inhabited Swat living in large and well-fortified cities. Having elephants and Indian mercenaries, shows that this culture was rich and had regular contacts with the Indian civilisations. It also indicates that it was not part of Gandhara, and already in that time, diplomatic and political contacts took place at a much larger scale and in direction of northern Afghanistan (Bactria), along routes well used for trade and exchanges. Graveyards found in Butkara are, according to the Italian archaeologists, tombs of these Assakenoi. The horse was very important in their culture and religion, as it was for their neighbours the Kamboja. Skulls of horses, and a funerary urn with a head of horse as handle have been found in tombs in Katelai. A text from

Curtius Rufus seems to indicate that the tombs were surmounted by a wooden structure with carvings representing a horse. This type of tombs can still be seen today in Nuristan, in the upper valleys of the Kohistan of Dir and in Kalam, and could indicate a sacred relation between the death and the horse. From this similarity, we can begin a discussion about the ethnic origins of these peoples: Kambojas from East Afghanistan known for their horses, Aspasioi and Asvakayana around the rivers Panjkora and Swat, living in an area including Nuristan, Kunar Valley, Chitral, Dir, Panjkorha and Swat, all tribes for whom the horse was very important and whose origin could be from Iran. They could have become rich through the trade of horses from Central Asia to India, the trade of woolen products (shawls) and cattle breeding.

The Buddhist Period

After Alexander's expedition and his death in 323 BC, the Seleucid kingdom (312-64 BC) was carved out of the remains of the Macedonian empire. Seleucus, one of Alexander's leading generals, governor of Babylonia in 321 BC, extended his domain eastward to the Indus River and westward to Syria and Anatolia, around 305 BC. The Seleucid kingdom was a major centre of Hellenistic culture, which maintained the pre-eminence of Greek customs and manners over the indigenous cultures.

Seleucus marched into Punjab but was completely defeated by Chandragupta Maurya, the founder of the Maurya dynasty of India. The result was a treaty (305 BC) by which Seleucus ceded the trans-Indus provinces to the Maurya and the latter presented him with 500 elephants²³. The treaty ushered an era of friendly relations between the Maurya and the Seleucids, with exchange of envoys. History does not say anything about Swat during this period. It was probably under the control of Maurya. Chandragupta was succeeded by Bindusara (297 BC), who was in turn succeeded by his son Asoka (272 or 268 BC) who ruled for 37 years.

Asoka issued a large number of edicts inscribed on rock surfaces and converted to the Buddhist religion. During his reign and under his patronage, some of the greatest Buddhist art was produced. Asoka is said to have started the tradition of setting up Stupas to enshrine the relics of the Buddha and his disciples.

Originally these were simple burial mounds. The earliest Buddhist shrine at Taxila is the massive Dharmarajika Stupa built near the first city of Bhir Mound. During Asoka's period, a party of monks arrived in Gandhara to preach Buddhism and the religion took root in Peshawar, Swat, Buner, and Bajour valleys. Asoka's government gave generous assistance in building facilities for the pilgrims and monks of all religions. Shaded roads, wells, rest houses and monasteries were constructed. Buddhism soon became the predominant religion in Swat. At his death (236 BC) his empire disintegrated and gave rise to a number of small kingdoms. In spite of political fragmentation, this was a period of economic prosperity, resulting partly from a new source of income trade, both within the sub-continent and with distant places in Central Asia, China, the eastern Mediterranean, and Southeast Asia.

The diffusion of Buddhism in the mountain areas north of Gandhara, from the Asoka period to the Muslim conquest, is attested by many rock inscriptions left by Buddhist pilgrims and by reliquary inscriptions from Bajour, Tirah, Swat, Gilgit and Hunza written in Kharosthi and Brahmi scripts. In the first millennium BC, Buddhist pilgrims, merchants and traders crossed the Gilgit and Hunza areas by travelling between Central Asia, India and East Turkistan²⁴. It is difficult to imagine how was Swat in that time, however the valley was inhabited by Buddhist communities and was a centre for the diffusion of Buddhism to Central Asia and China. Caravans of merchants and pilgrims crossed regularly the valley, coming from all directions. Sir Aurel Stein describes it, as "the whole of the great valley must have been crowded with Buddhist sanctuaries and religious establishments in the centuries immediately before and after Christ. This explains the care taken by the old Chinese pilgrims to visit Swat on their way from the Hindukush to the sacred sites of India... these attractions are significantly reflected in the popular etymology, that has transformed the ancient name of the country, Uddiyana, into Sanskrit Udyāna, "The Garden", as it meets us in the narrative of Hsüang-tsang, the most famous of those old Chinese travellers"²⁵. Monasteries were centres of learning and knowledge. Books were copied and texts were carefully checked, for which purpose staff was maintained. The copying of books was considered a work of piety. Important donations were made by the merchants to the

monasteries in order to continue and expand this task. Development of scientific literature took place. Indian treatises on medicine were studied and translated into the languages of Central Asia. There were also works on history and other branches of learning. All this was a reason for the Chinese pilgrims to come here, to get copies of the holy books and to bring them back to China, where the Buddhism was just in its beginnings. Another distinguishing feature of the culture of this period was its syncretism. Ideas, images and concepts were exchanged. There was an intense cultural exchange interpenetrating all levels of the society and all fields of culture and intellectual activity. Tolerance brought huge richness to the whole region²⁶.

When the Mauryan Empire began to weaken after 195 BC, Demetrius (190-167 BC), king of Bactria, took advantage of the situation, conquered the Kabul river valley and gained control of northwestern India. This introduced what has come to be called the Indo-Greek rule. The best known of the Indo-Greek kings was Menander (155-130 BC), called Milinda by the Buddhists, who converted to Buddhism²⁷. He controlled Gandhara and Punjab. His kingdom in the Indian sub-continent consisted of an area extending from the Kabul valley in the west to the Ravi River in the east, and from Swat valley in the north to Arachosia in Afghanistan to the south. Menander made his capital at Sagala (Sialkot), and probably rebuilt Taxila and Pushkalavati (Charsadda). Pushkalavati (Charsadda), 18 miles northeast of Peshawar, was the principal city on the old trade route from Balkh into India. At Balkh this trade route tapped the main "silk route" between China and the West, and thus Pushkalavati was in direct contact with trans-Asiatic commerce. Trade on the Silk Road enabled great quantities of extremely valuable items to be distributed and exchanged between China, the states of Central Asia, and the Mediterranean, especially Byzantium. Not only individual merchants or guilds, but also states participated in this trade, and rulers had an interest in the profits from it. Commercial and economic interests frequently determined diplomatic relations²⁸. Swat region would have definitely been influenced from such trade, as after Jalalabad multiple valley routes would have been adopted to reach Pushkalavati, or Hund through Taxila and bypassing Pushkalavati.

The Bactrian control over Taxila was disturbed by an intrusion of the Scythians, known in Indian sources as the Sakas²⁹. The Sakas, or Scythians, warrior-like horsemen pasturing north-west of Bactria, were ruled by another Iranian people, called the Yue-chi. The Yue-chi had themselves been pushed south into Saka territory by the Huns. All of these peoples, the Bactrians, Sakas, Parthians, Yue-chi and Huns, in turn entered the territory now in Pakistan.

The Sakas did not come through the Kabul valley, but probably crossed the high Karakoram mountains as it can be seen from the Saka petroglyphs at the principal river crossings at Shtial, Chilas, Gilgit and Hunza³⁰. Among the early Saka king was Maues (1st century BC) who captured Taxila from the Indo-Greek king Apollodotus II, and subsequently ruled over Gandhara.

Around 50 BC, the Parthians — an Iranian people who now controlled most of the Seleucid's former territories — invaded the Afghanistan and northern Pakistan area and put an end to the last remnants of Greek rule in the world. Strangely, it was the Parthians who brought Greek culture and western artistic traditions to Gandhara, as they maintained close relations with western Asia and the Mediterranean. It is from their time that we see the development of the wonderful Gandhara School of art³¹.

In Bactria, the Kushanas, one branch of the Yue-chi, settled down and controlled and taxed the trade which passed along the Silk Route between China and the Mediterranean. The Kushana king Kujula Kadphises conquered northern India in the 1st century AD and took Gandhara from the Parthians. His son Vima succeeded him, who was followed by Kanishka (128-151 AD), the most powerful among the Kushana kings, as the dynasty came to be called³². The Kushana kingdom had his capital at Purusapura (Peshawar). Trade now passed through Peshawar and the Khyber Pass instead of through the Kabul river valley. According to Buddhist tradition, it was in Peshawar that Kanishka was converted to Buddhism. Kanishka called a council to discuss the differences within Buddhism. Five hundred Buddhist scholars of Gandhara were instructed to set down the various Buddhist doctrines in writing. This resulted in a Buddhist Canon, but the differences were not resolved. From this time onward there were two kinds of Buddhism: Himayana, or Little Vehicle, whose followers attempted to keep the original teachings of Prince Siddhartha; and Mahayana,

or Greater Vehicle, whose followers were more inclined to accept various local gods and religious practices into their Buddhism. Mahayana, which was predominant in the Kushana Empire, spread to Tibet, Central Asia, China and Japan. At this same Council it was decided that images could be made of the Buddha. Kanishka had built thousands of Stupas and monasteries all over his vast empire. These projects attracted the best artists and craftsmen from as far away as Greece. Kanishka inscriptions have been discovered in Gilgit, showing Central Asian connections. Kanishka's successors failed to maintain the power. By the middle of the 3rd century, they were left only with Gandhara and Kashmir. During Kushana reign, the country became a centre of Buddhism.

The urban centres increased to a very large extent during the Kushana period. In the main valley of Peshawar all such cities lie to the north of the Kabul river along the old route that came from Taxila and across the Indus to Hund onward to Puskalavati (Charsadda) at the confluence of the Swat and Kabul rivers. Here the routes diverged in various directions, one of them to the Swat valley, and from Swat through Shangla pass opening over the Indus River and the Karakorum road. One can only imagine the landscape covered with Stupas and monasteries, when comparing it to the plain of Pagan, with its 1400 temples, in Burma. The surroundings of Peshawar must have shown a similar aspect at that time. The Buddhist monastery of Takht-e-Bahi, for example, was built in that period. Cities were rectangular in shape. In Udigram, the excavated city of this period consists of blocks divided into two areas, one containing dwelling houses, the other shops. In some cases, the shops were built in a row along the street. They were rectangular in ground plan with a small room at the back. In every section of the city there was a network of alleyways, which crossed one another at right angles and divided the city into blocks³³. Swat had declined in importance after the main trade route (Silk Road) started going through the Khyber Pass and Peshawar. In the third century AD, Swat fell victim to natural disasters. A series of floods and earthquakes destroyed many of its Buddhist monuments and the people shifted Udigram up to a hilltop to avoid further devastation³⁴. The place is now called Shandala, on a ridge between Udigram and Balogram, Raja Gira built his fort toward south of the old hilltop city.

The Records of the Chinese Pilgrims

It is at this period that we begin to have records by Chinese Buddhist pilgrims about Swat, which give us a precise idea of its landscape and culture.

The first is Fa-Hian (400 AD) who was moved by a desire to obtain books not known in China, and with that aim set out in company of other priests from Chang'an (X'ian) during AD 399, and after an absence of fourteen years returned to Nankin, where he translated various works and composed the history of his travels. Advancing across the Tsung-ling range (Hindukush) towards India, the pilgrims reached the little country of To-li (probably the valley of Darail/Tangir and Chilas in the Dard country). Still advancing southwest for fifteen days they entered the kingdom of Udyāna, where they found Buddhism in a flourishing condition³⁵. "The country of Wu-chang (Udyāna) commences North India. All uses the language of mid-India. The dress of the people, their food and drink are also the same as in the middle country. The religion of Buddha is very flourishing. The places where the priests stop and lodge they call sanghārāmas. In all there are 500 sanghārāmas; they belong to the Little Vehicle (Hinayana) without exceptions³⁶. Tradition says: when Buddha came to North India, he visited this country. As a bequest Buddha left there the impression of his foot. Moreover, the drying-robe-stone in connection with the place where he converted the wicked dragon still remains... Fa-Hian and the rest stopped in this country during the rains; when over, they went down south to the country of Su-ho-to³⁷. In this country also the Buddhism flourishes... From this, descending eastward, journeying for five days, we arrive at the country of Gandhara... The people of this country mostly study the Little Vehicle... From this spot, going eastward seven days, there is a country called Taxila... From Gandhara, going south four days' journey, we arrive at the country of Purushapura (Peshawar)".

The second Chinese pilgrim is Sung Yun (AD 518), who also came to Swat, to seek religious books. It seems that he took the same route as Fa-Hian one hundred years before him. The Ye-tha (Ephtalites, or White Huns) were then in possession of the country of the Kushanas, and had recently conquered Gandhara. They are described as having no walled towns, but keeping order by means of

a standing army that moved here and there. In the early part of the VI century their power extended over Western India, their king Gollas dominated there with a thousand elephants and a vast force of horsemen. As these conquests had been achieved two generations before Sung-yun's time, we may place this invasion of India about AD 460. "On the north Udyana borders on the Tsung-ling Mountains; on the south it joins India. The climate is agreeably warm. The territory measures several thousand li³⁸. The people and productions are very abundant. This is the place where Bōdhisattva gave his body to the tigress. The king of the country religiously observes a vegetable diet; on the great fast-days he pays adoration to Buddha, both morning and evening, with sound of drum, conch, flute, and all kinds of wind instruments. After mid-day he devotes himself to the affairs of government... At the proper time they let the streams overflow the land, by which the soil is rendered loamy and fertile. All provisions necessary for man are very important, cereals of every kind flourish, and the different fruits ripen in great number. In the evening the sound of the convent bells may be heard on every side..." At this time there were already diplomatic contacts with China, as the king receives Sung-Yun and his fellows as ambassadors of the Great Wei dynasty, with the help of a local interpreter. Apparently we are before the Hephtalites destructions, and this king was possibly still a Kushana.

Then Sung-yun left the city for the purpose of inspecting the traces which exist of the teaching of Buddha, and continues with the same kind of information as Fa-Hian about the places where Buddha came, about the temples and Stūpas. The temples were still working with 300 monks in one of them, 200 in another, 80 in a third one. In 520 AD, Sung-yun leaves Udyana and enters the kingdom of Gandhara, where the king Lae-lih is a Hephtalite. According to Sung-yun, the Hephtalites destroyed and occupied this kingdom two generations before his visit. The king did not believe the law of Buddha, but loved to worship demons.

The third, the most famous, is Hiuen Tsiang (AD 629). He brought back to China numerous statues of Buddha, 124 books (sūtras) of the Great Vehicle and 520 other fascicules, the whole carried by 22 horses. He visited most of Central Asia countries and India and returned in X'ian in 645 AD³⁹. "The country of U-chang-na (Udyāna) is about 5000 li in circuit; the mountains and valleys are

continuously connected, and the valleys and marshes alternate with a succession of high plateaux⁴⁰...The grape is abundant, the sugar-cane scarce. The earth produces gold and iron, and is favourable to the cultivation of turmeric. The forests are thick and shady, the fruits and flowers abundant...the people love learning...they practice the art of using charms (magical exorcisms), their clothing is white cotton, and their language greatly resembles that of India. They greatly reverence the law of Buddha and are believers of the Great Vehicle⁴¹. On both sides of the river Su-po-fa-su-tu (Subhavastu of the Indian, Swat in the present day) there are some 1400 old *saghârâmas* (Buddhist monasteries). They are now generally waste and desolate; formerly there were some 18,000 priests in them, but gradually they have become less, till now there are very few. They study the Great Vehicle; they practice the duty of quiet meditation, and have pleasure in reciting texts relating to this subject, but have not great understanding as to them. The schools of the Vinaya are five: Sarvâstivâdins, Dharmaguptas, Mahisâsakas, Kâsyapiyas, and Mahâsanghikas. There are about ten temples of Dêvas, and a mixed number of unbelievers who dwell in them. There are four or five strong towns. The kings mostly reign at Mungali (Manglavor) as their capital. This town is about 16 or 17 li in circuit⁴² and thickly populated. Four or five li to the east of Mungali is a great stûpa, [may be the present Butkara] where many spiritual portents are seen. This is the spot where Buddha, when he lived in old time (i.e. as Bôdhisattva) was the Rishi who practised patience, and for the sake of Kalirâja endured the dismemberment of his body. To the northeast of the town of Mungali about 250 or 260 li, we enter a great mountain and arrive at the fountain of the Nâga Apalâla; this is the source of the river Su-po-fa-su-tu (Gabra). This Nâga, in the time of Buddha, was born as a man called Gangi. He was able by the subtle influences of the charms he used, to restrain and withstand the power of the wicked dragons, so that they could not afflict the country with violent storms of rain. Thanks to him, the people were thus able to gather an abundance of grain. Each family then agreed to offer him, in token of their gratitude, a pack of grain as a yearly tribute. After a lapse of some years there were some who omitted to bring their offerings, on which Gangi in wrath prayed that he might become a poisonous dragon and afflict them with storms of rain and wind to the destruction of their crops. At the end of his

life he became the dragon of this country; the flowing of the fountains emitted a white stream that destroyed all the products of the hearth. At this time, Sâkyâ Tathâgata (another name for the Buddha) was moved with compassion for the people of this country. Descending therefore spiritually, he came to this place, desiring to convert the violent dragon. Taking the mace of the Vajrapâni (reference to the thunderbolt of Indra) spirit, he beat against the mountainside. The dragon terrified came forth and paid him reverence. Hearing the preaching of the law by Buddha, his heart became pure and his faith was awakened. Tathâgata forthwith forbid him to injure the crops of the husbandmen. Whereupon the dragon said, "All my sustenance comes from the fields of men; but now, grateful for the sacred instructions I have received, I fear it will be difficult to support myself in this way; yet pray let me have one gathering in every twelve years". Tathâgata compassionately permitted this. Therefore every twelfth year is a calamity from the overflowing of the White River.

This story by Hiuen-Tsiang is very interesting for our purposes. It indicates, as the Italian archaeological surveys in Udigram did also show, that flooding occurred along Swat river since very old times, and that it had nothing to do with deforestation as we think now. The flooding of Bangladesh area in Mingora in 1995 is only the repetition of a phenomenon attested since long. Hiuen-Tsiang continues with the description of all places where Buddha appeared in the valley, and where Buddhist remains could be seen. In this way, Swat is really a very important place for Buddhism as legend says that Buddha lived and visited many places of the valley. Monasteries (500 in Fa-Hian time and 1400 in Hiuen-Tsiang time) and stupas could be seen everywhere around the valley: "Going south about 200 li from the town of Mungali, by the side of a great mountain, we come to the Mahâvana sanghârâma. Going north-west down the mountain 30 or 40 li, we arrive at the Mo-su sanghârâma. Here is a stûpa about 100 feet height. By the side is a great square stone on which is the impress of Buddha's foot...Going west 60 or 70 li from the Mo-su sanghârâma (monastery of the lentils) is a stûpa which was built by Asôka-râja. To the south-west of the town of Mungali 60 or 70 li there is a great river, on the east of which is a stûpa 60 feet or so in height, it was built by Uttarasêna (a king of this country)...Going west of the town of Mungali 50 li or so, and

crossing the great river, we come to a stûpa called Rôhitaka, it is about 50 feet high, and was built by Asôka-râja (the Kushana emperor)... To the north-east of the town of Mungali 30 li or so is the Ho-pu-to-shi stûpa (the stûpa of the miraculous stone), about 40 feet in height. In former days Tathâgata here expounded the law for the sake of men and Dêvas, to instruct and guide them... To the west of the stone stûpa, after crossing the great river and going 30 or 40 li, we arrive at a vihara, in which is a figure of Avalôkitêsvara Bôdhisattva. The votaries of the law come together from every side, and offer it continual presents. "

"Going north-west from the town of Mungali, crossing a mountain and passing through a valley, we re-ascend the Sin-tu (Indus) River. The roads are craggy and steep; the mountains and the valleys are dark and gloomy. Sometimes we have to cross by ropes, sometimes by iron chains stretched across the gorges. There are footbridges or covered-ways suspended in the air, and flying bridges across the chasms, with wooden steps let into the ground for climbing the steep embankments. Going thus 1000 li or so, we reach the river valley of Ta-li-lo (Daril/Tangir and Chilas), where stood once the capital of Udyana. This country produces much gold and scented turmeric. By the side of the great monastery in this valley is a figure of Maitrêya Bôdhisattva, carved out of wood, golden coloured, and possesses a secret spiritual power of miracles. It is about 100 feet high, and is the work of Arhat Madhyântika (Madhyântika, was a disciple of Ananda)...". All Chinese pilgrims speak about this huge statue. Fa-hien even writes that it was the place where originally the Buddhist doctrine was brought by priests coming from India, and from there it spread through Swat and Gandhara.

"Going east from this, after climbing precipices and crossing valleys, we go up the course of the Indus and then we arrive at the country of Po-lu-lo (Bolor, or Baltit, the Little Tibet)".

At the end of his travels through India and on his road back to China, he passes again through Taxila and reaches the river Indus. While crossing it, a boat is swallowed up, 50 manuscript copies of sûtras and the flower seeds of various sorts are lost. In consequence of losing these copies, he sent certain persons to Udyâna, for the purpose of copying out the Tripitaka of the Kâsyapiya School.

The interest of this story, apart of being a precise testimony about Swat at the end of the great Buddhist period, is that in this

time there were five big cities, a king living in Mingora⁴³, and a kingdom going as far as Hunza. The location in Daril valley of an old capital of Udyana is quite strange, as according to Sir Aurel Stein and other Western scholars who visited the place very little Buddhist remains are visible there. A more feasible location might be the Chilas valley, where are found a lot of Buddhist' pilgrims carving on the rocks along the Indus river banks. According to Hiuen-Tsang, at the time of his visit all the convents were desolate and ruined, and the law of Buddha had been replaced by charms (magic). Most monks had moved to Gilgit, Baltistan and Central Asia. This decay of Buddhism can probably be explained by two main reasons: The first is the persecution that took place during the reign of Mihiragula, the third Hun king, disciple of Shivaism, who made his capital in Sialkot. He conquered Swat, Kashmir and the Ganges valley. It is said that he killed 5000 monks and that the River Swat was red with their blood. The second is that trade had declined and taken other routes. Buddhist monasteries depended on the devotion and taxation of wealthy merchants and master craftsmen. By the time of the Hun's arrival no one could afford to maintain hundreds of stupas and monasteries or support thousands of monks. So the centre of Buddhism began to shift to more prosperous areas — east to Bengal and Southeast Asia and north towards China.

The last of the Chinese visitors we know was Wu-k'ung. This humble successor to Hsüan-tsang reached Swat in the year 752 in the suite of a mission, which the imperial court had dispatched, to the Turkish ruler of the Kabul valley, who then also held Peshawar and Swat. It was the very time when China's predominance in Central Asia was about to be rudely shaken by Arabs and Tibetans. Wu-k'ung, detained by illness in Gandhara, subsequently became a Buddhist monk, and after pilgrimages extending from Kashmir to the sacred spots of Bihar, settled down in a monastery of Swat. During his long residence in the country he is said to have visited all the holy vestiges. He found "not the slightest difference between what he saw and that which Hsüang-tsang's narrative says". He returned to China during the years 783-90, when the last strongholds of China's Central Asian power succumbed to the attacks of Turks and Tibetans⁴⁴.

The Hephtalites, or White Huns

From the mid-fifth to the mid-sixth century, the Hephtalite tribes ruled Central Asia. There are many gaps in our knowledge of the origins of the Hephtalites and the formation of their state, the first difficulty being that they are given different names in different sources. Some Chinese sources hold that they originated in Turfan, others consider them to be descendants of K'ang-chü in southern Kazakhstan, still other postulates that they descended from the Great Yüeh-chih⁴⁵. By the end of the fifth century they had taken possession of the whole Tokharistan, including the Pamirs, and a considerable part of Afghanistan. At the same time they seized much of East Turkestan. The late fifth century saw the start of Hephtalite raids on Gandhara and subsequently on the whole of Northern India. They were accompanied in this incursion by a sort of vassal or helot group of tribes named the Gurjaras (originally Khazars?). In Gandhara they appointed a viceroy, nominally subordinate to the Hephtalite supreme ruler in Bactria. This viceroy is identifiable with the Toramana of the Indian Gupta inscriptions. Before long Toramana and his son Mihiragula, both known to legend as infamous and bloodthirsty tyrants, had overrun the Punjab, destroyed the Gupta Empire, and become the paramount rulers of all northern and central India. They established their capital at Siakot. It is said that "the banks of the river Swat had been lined with Buddhist monasteries; but in the time of Sitsi, the 24th Buddhist patriarch, a fierce prosecution arose against them, under the auspices of king Mihiragula. Sitsi was murdered, the waves of the Swat river rose several feet owing to the numerous massacres of the priests, and so ended the transmission of the Law in that country"⁴⁶. In the end Mihiragula oppression led to rebellion of the local Indian population and the defeat of the Hephtalites, who only retained a small footing in the north. Mihiragula took refuge in Kashmir where he inaugurated another reign of terror, which lasted until his death in 542 AD⁴⁷. At his death in 550 AD, the Hun Empire seems to have split up. The Hephtalites from Central Asia found themselves squeezed between Sasanian Iran and the Türks, who had conquered much of the northeast of Central Asia.

Trade played a major role in the economic life of the states of Central Asia in the sixth and seventh centuries. Political and

military events were largely determined by the struggle for the control of the Silk Route. About the middle of the sixth century, the Hephtalite kingdom controlled the most important sections of the route, which led across Central Asia together with its branches from the Tarim basin to the Aral Sea in the west and to Barygaza-Broach in the south. At that time a powerful rival appeared in Central Asia, the Türk tribal confederation. In alliance with the Sasanians, the Türks overthrew the Hephtalite kingdom, but could only take possession of the territory of Sogdiana⁴⁸. By 575 AD Hun power abolished in Central Asia, although they continued to rule much of today's Pakistan area and Kashmir⁴⁹ even after the annexation of the western territories of the Hephtalite kingdom, first by the Sasanians and subsequently by the Western Türks. The definitive annexation of Tokharistan and Gandhara to the Western Türk Empire took place in about 625. The Western Türk army advanced to the Indus, took possession of the most important cities and replaced the Hephtalite dynasties with Türk rulers. According to the report of Hsüan-tsang, the royal dynasty of Gandhara was extinct by the time of his visit in 630 and the land had come under the rule of Kapisa (Kabul), where probably a prince of Western Türk origin was ruling⁵⁰. Most likely, in Kashmir, Pravarasena, a son of Toramana, succeeded Mihiragula. Gokarna followed this king, himself succeeded by his son Khinkhila, who ruled between 597 and 633. Probably, the Chinese pilgrim Hsüan-tsang came to Kashmir when he was ruling there. At this time the Hephtalite Empire of Kashmir included the Kabul valley, the Swat valley and the mountain regions of Kashmir and in the southeast extended as far as the Chenab River. His son Yudhisthira, who ruled until 670, and was the last great independent White Hun ruler, succeeded Khinkhila. The end of the rule of Yudhisthira brought further changes in the White Hun kingdom. One major consequence was the foundation of the so-called Türk Shahi dynasty in Kabul and Gandhara⁵¹. The end of the Hun period saw the migration of large numbers of people through the Pakistan area and into northern India. Some called themselves Huns; many called themselves Gurjaras (Gujars) and Jats, those more exclusively agricultural are recognised as akin to the Gujars⁵². Gujars and Jats had settled northeast of Peshawar and are presently in the northern plains of Punjab.

At the end of the Hepthalites rule in Swat, Buddhist monasteries had been destroyed, numerous priests/monks had been killed, others had taken refuge in the Swat Kohistan or Indus Kohistan, may be even in Bolor. With the advent of the Turk Shahis, and, later on, the Hindu Shahis, monasteries were rebuilt, monks came back, and Buddhism was present again. But it seems that through all these murders and prosecutions the true Law of Buddhism had been lost and that another type of doctrine, integrating demoniac figures and popular beliefs, developed. Doctrine which later gave birth to the Tantrism (Vajrayana), was originally developed in Swat and exported to Tibet, Nepal and China. For the populations living in the place, we can assume that they were a mixture of the former inhabitants, with the presence of Huns, Gujars and later, in the time of the Hindu Shahis, a fraction of Indian population.

The Turk Shahis (Tou-kiue)

The Türk Shahiya kings, a cadet branch of the Kushanas, ruled over both Kabul and Gandhara until the rise of the Saffavids in the 9th century. The religion of these non-Muslim potentates seems to have been originally Buddhism, but fast reverting to Hinduism⁵³. The history of this Turkish family, whose founder was Barhatigin, can be traced back to at least 666 AD⁵⁴. They remained in power for nearly 177 years. The end of their rule in Kabul is dated to 843 on the basis of epigraphic evidence. According to the legend concerning the origin of the Türk-shahi dynasty of Kabul, as told by Al-Biruni in his "India", the founder of the dynasty hid in a cavern and then unexpectedly appeared before the people as a miraculous being, thus coming to power. It is clear that the story of Barhatigin, with its cavern motif, represents a late echo of the legend of origin of the Türks according to which their ancestors lived in a cavern⁵⁵. Barhatigin who had probably his base in Gandhara, attacked Kabul. The ruler of Kapisa was killed and Barhatigin proclaimed himself king of Kabul. According to the Chinese pilgrim Huei-ch'ao, who visited Gandhara between 723 and 729, "the father of the Türk king surrendered to the king of Chi-pin (Kapisa-Gandhara, including Kashmir) together with all sections of his people, with his soldiers and his horses. When the military force of the Türks strengthened

later, he killed the king of Chi-pin and made himself lord of the country"⁵⁶. According to the T'ang annals, the kings of Kapisa (Kabul) were dethroned at the end of the 7th century by the Turk Shahi who made Kabul their summer capital. Unabhandapura (Hund) was their winter capital. They had been converted to Hinduism and under their rule, science, art and culture of the northwestern Indian sub-continent continued to spread throughout Central Asia. Gandhara was part of the Kabul kingdom and was ruled by them. Till 745, the ruler of Kapisa was also the ruler of Uddiyana⁵⁷. The Turk Shahi Dynasty continued to rule for almost two hundred years and acted as a buffer zone between the Arab Empire and the rest of northern Pakistan area. They tried to maintain close relations with the Chinese in the hope of being protected from the Arabs. Ambassadors were sent to China with presents. China and Kashmir were not only worried about the growth of the Arab Empire, they also wanted to check the expansion of Tibet.

The Kingdom of Tibet

Talking about Tibet when speaking of Swat seems quite strange, but during a certain period Udyâna had common border with this empire, to Chitral and Gilgit. It is also to Tibet that Udyâna Buddhist scholars went to teach their faith, and it is from Tibet that pilgrims visited Swat during a period going up to the 15th century. In the 640s, the Chinese T'ang came to dominate the Oasis states of the Tarim. From the 660s onwards, Tibet began to dispute supremacy over the Gansu corridor and the Tarim with the T'ang. Thus a multilateral relationship between the T'ang, the Tibetans and many Türk confederations evolved in the western regions. At the same time, the Arabs accomplished their conquest of the Sassanian Empire in 651 and continued to push eastward⁵⁸. In 751, the Arabs in alliance with the Karluks and other Turkic peoples defeated the Chinese forces near the Talas River⁵⁹.

By 663, the Tibetan empire controlled the far northwestern reaches of the Tibetan plateau, where the Karakorum range becomes the Pamirs, the kingdom of Bolor, the kingdom of Wakhan in eastern Tukhâristân, and an area around Kashgar⁶⁰. The year 704 saw Tibetan and western Turkish cooperation in Tirmidh, a strategic

city of Tukhâristân on the Oxus river, which controlled the routes south to Balkh and north to the Iron Gate, the mountain pass to Sogdiana. For Tibetans, with the loss of the Tarim region to the Chinese, it was more important than ever to keep open the trade route via the Pamirs and Tukhâristân, and this trade route passed through the strategic stronghold of Tirmidh⁶¹.

To the north of Gandhara were two small states of great strategic importance: Great Po-lü (Great Bolor, or Baltistan) and Little Po-lü (Little Bolor, or the Gilgit valley). The territories along the Gilgit River, along the Indus and Shyok, east of the gorges of Rondu, formed the state of Bolor⁶². The routes leading through these countries were equally significant for T'ang China and Tibet, and as a consequence of the Arab conquest of Khurasan, the arduous Silk Route connecting India directly with the Tarim basin gained vital importance. The population of the two Bolor states (Po-lü) consisted of different ethnic elements: Tibetans, Dards and Burushaskis. The name Gilgit appears for the first time in this period in the Chinese sources. South of Bolor is the area of the Daradas. In earlier centuries it was united to a considerable political power including Swat, but in the 8th century the different tracts were independent, and only Ta-li-lo is widely known for its sanctuaries. This system existed at least between the journeys of Fa-hsien (403 AD) and Hwei-ch'ao (726 AD) ⁽⁶³⁾. Ta-li-lo (the valley of Darel, or the region up to Chilas), was a valley of considerable importance in Chinese times.

By the seventh-eighth century it had lost its former political importance, but was still famous on account of its huge and miraculous statue of Maitreya. In 717, the king of Bolor was awarded by a Chinese official decree the title of "King of Bolor", this indicated formal T'ang acceptance of Bolor as a state within the Chinese sphere of influence. A clear message was thus sent to Tibet: the Chinese intended to displace them as the dominant power in the region of the Karakorum, Pamir and Hindukush ranges⁶⁴.

Meanwhile, the Arabs also mounted a diplomatic offensive. In 717, the Arab caliph sent a declaration to the kings of Transoxiana, asking them to embrace Islam. The response was fairly positive. It seems quite likely that the Tibetans, who were included among the princes of Transoxiana, also received the Arab proposal. Envoys of Tibet asked the governor of Khurasan to send them someone who

would explain Islam to them. He sent to them an army which "penetrated deeply into the lands of the enemy- and these lands were located at the entrance of China". In August 15, 717 a Türgis-led army of Tibetans, Arabs and Türgis laid siege to Aksu and Turfan, both on the northern edge of the Tarim basin⁶⁵. The T'ang army, which was composed exclusively of ethnic Turks, drove them off. The Arabs escaped back to Islamic territory⁶⁶. In the following three years, the T'ang diplomatic offensive began to succeed. A host of peoples from Arab-dominated Khurasan sent embassies to China requesting help against the Arabs: Mairmargh and Samarkand in 718, Kumidh, Samarkand, Bukhara, Kapisa in 719, Wakhan, Udyâna, Khuttal, Chitral, Kashmir, Zabulistan, South Hindustan in 720, sent missions to the court of X'ian⁶⁷. In 720, the T'ang bestowed titles on the kings of Udyâna, Khuttal, and Chitral, supposedly as rewards for preventing the Arabs from invading the Chinese colonial empire in the Tarim region⁶⁸. Tibet conquered Skardu around 726. The conflicting Chinese and Tibetan interests led to China's military intervention in Gilgit and southern Chitral in 747, to replace the local ruler who was friendly with Tibet. Commanded by Kayo Hsien-chih, a Chinese general of Korean origin, the Chinese force won a decisive victory over the Tibetans and thus secured their routes to Khurasan and Gandhara⁶⁹.

Al-Ma'mûn, the Arab caliph of Baghdad, encouraged a Jihad against the very Central Asian nations with which he had just concluded peace, in 813-14. His campaigns were directed against the four states that had been at war with Al-Ma'mûn before 809-10: the kingdom of Kabul, the kingdom of Utrârbandah, the realm of the yagbhu of the Qarluqs, and the empire of the Qaghan of Tibet. The first to capitulate was the king of Kabul, who submitted and became a Muslim in 812-15. Next, campaign further east took place against Kashmir and Tibet⁷⁰.

Buddhism was introduced in Tibet during the reign of king Srong-tsan-gam-po, in the seventh century. Before the introduction of Buddhism the religion of the Tibetans was Bon-po, which had many similarities with other primitive religions. Some scholars believe that Bon-po is a variant of Shamanism. A decisive event in the history of Tibetan Buddhism was the adoption in 791 of Indian Buddhism as the state religion. It was the culmination of a process in which Indian Buddhism replaced not only the Bon-po religion but

also counteracted the influence in Tibet of the Chinese Ch'an tradition of Buddhism. gSal-snang, governor of a Tibetan province bordering Nepal brought in Indian books but also persuaded the great Mahayana teacher Santiraksita to spend some time in Tibet. He ordained seven monks to continue his work. On his departure, his place was taken by the towering figure of Padmasambhava (the son of the lotus) from Uddiyana (around 750). He was a famous Tantrist and exorcist. It is his teaching that constituted the doctrinal base of the old sect of the Red lamas. He drove out of the country the "evil spirits", i.e. the refractory followers of the folk religion and the Bon faith. He constructed the first monastic complex of bSam-yas (755?), and he prevented the evil spirits from destroying at night what had been built during the day⁷¹. The advance of Buddhism did not eliminate Bon-po beliefs, which were vigorously supported by some factions of the feudal nobility⁷².

The Hindu Shahiya

Turk Shahi rulers in Kabul were overthrown by their Brahmin officials, who established the Hindu Shahi Dynasty (around 870). They established their capital in Hund, on the Indus River. Hinduism was now the dominant religion of the area. The Hindu Shahi built great temples and filled them with Hindu idols. They ruled over a territory extending from Jalalabad (Afghanistan) to Multan, and Kashmir (1008). Jayapala of the Hindu Shahiya dynasty, which had in the 9th century wrested the Kabul River and Gandhara from a Turkish Shahiya, ruled the Punjab. The Hindu Shahi Kingdom probably consisted of a network of small feudal principalities in the fertile plains and valleys, while the pastoral people of the hills carried on their tribal organisation. New migrants from the west soon threatened the Brahmin rulers and their subjects. These were the Afghans tribes, who soon (700 to 1000 AD) were dominating the plains and spread into the Swat valley as well⁷³. The first mentions of the Afghan people appear only in the sixth and seventh centuries. Dards settled in the mountains in the east of modern Afghanistan and the north of modern Pakistan. In their descriptions of India, the "Purānas" speak of the Darada as the inhabitants of Kashmir and Gandhara. They are repeatedly mentioned in the "Rāmāyana" together with the Odra (the

Uddiyana). In Tibetan sources, the Darada are known as the Darta⁷⁴. Hindu Shahi rulers built fortresses to guard and tax the commerce of this area. Their ruins can be seen in the hills of Swat: at Malakand pass at Swat's southern entrance, on the range between Swat and Dir, in the hills around the small plain of Chakdara. The fact that they ruled Swat is proven by the discovery at Barikot of an inscription in Sanskrit⁷⁵.

With the Hindu Shahi, Mantrayana replaced Vajrayana in Swat in the 9th century. Tibetan pilgrims continued to come to Udiyana, known by them as Orgyan, even as late as the 16th century, in spite of the dangers which they were likely to meet on account of the risk of the journey itself and of the unfriendliness of the Muslims. One Tibetan manuscript is the travel by Orgyan pa to Swat after 1260, another one this from sTag ts'an ras pa, and the third is the travel of Buddhagupta that took place three centuries later. Contrary to the Chinese pilgrims, the texts are full of legendary and fantastic elements and the itinerary itself can hardly be followed from one place to another⁷⁶.

In central Afghanistan and in areas to the north of the Hindukush, ancient Kushana culture was still alive and the principal religion was Buddhism. In Bamiyan in the seventh century there were more than ten Buddhist monasteries and over 1000 monks. Kabul and its surrounding areas also had many buildings devoted to Buddhist and Hindu cults⁷⁷. Arab military action against Zabulistan and other principalities in what is now Afghanistan commenced during the conquest of Seistan⁷⁸. Operating from Seistan, which served as a forward base for their eastern campaigns, the Arabs succeeded in gaining a firm hold of the region of Zabul and Kabul only in 870, when the founder of the Seistan dynasty of the Saffarids invaded Kabul through Balḫ and Bamiyan⁷⁹. In the west a series of historical events led to the sudden rise of the Arabs. The T'ang, the Tibetans and the Arabs arose as major powers at almost the same time and embarked almost simultaneously on the road of expansion and conquest. The rivalry between the three major powers and several Turkic tribal confederations had a profound influence on the course of cultural developments in the succeeding centuries⁸⁰.

The Ghaznavids

The establishment of the Ghaznavid emirate in what is now Afghanistan in the last quarter of the 10th century represents the culmination of a process, which had begun in the Samanid emirate in Transoxania and Khurasan. The personal ambitions of the great military commanders had plunged the Samanid emirate into increasing crisis and chaos. It was these mutual rivalries of leading figures, which allowed the formation of the Ghaznavid emirate. Prominent among the disputing Turkish generals at the Samanid court in the middle years of the 10th century was the commander-in-chief, Alptegin (961). After different conflicts Alptegin left for the obscure town of Ghazni in Zabulistan. Sebuktigin, a Turk, who had been one of the most trusted personal slaves of Alptegin accompanied him to Ghazni. He was appointed Governor of Ghazni in 977; he was securely laying the foundation of an independent Ghaznavid state, which his son Mahmud was to erect into a supranational empire. He attacked the Hindu Shahiya, who held the Kabul river basin and the Punjab plains, and advanced as far as Peshawar. The tradition of winter plunder raids from the mountain rim of eastern Afghanistan down to the Indian plains now took shape⁸¹.

In 980, Afghanistan was a place where the people were Hindus and Buddhists. The name Afghanistan comes from *Upa-gana-stan* which means in Sanskrit "The place inhabited by allied tribes". The Pukhtun tribes were the descendants of the Pakhtai tribe mentioned in the Vedic literature and by Herodote. The literature begins to tell about them with the Ghaznavids, converted by them they were engaged in their armies and participated in their campaigns. The victory of Sebuktigin pushed the frontiers of the Hindu Shahi kingdom from Kabul to behind the Hindu Kush⁸². His son Mahmud succeeded to the Ghazni principality in 998. Mahmud went to war with the Hindu Shahiya Dynasty and almost every year until his death in 1030 led raids against the rich temple towns in northern and western India, using the wealth obtained from the raids to finance successful campaigns in Central Asia and build an empire there. He is known as an iconoclast (breaker of idols), and his place was called "dust of idols"⁸³.

The conquest of the Peshawar basin in 1001 marks the beginning of the Muslim invasions into northern India. The

Peshawar plain was annexed to the Ghaznavid kingdom, and the Afghan tribesmen in the Bannu area were soon subdued. Swat, Dir and Bajour, cut off from the eastern Hindu Shahi territories, succumbed quickly to Mahmud's army (1021?). Two thousand feet above the plain at Udigram in Swat stands a massive ruined fort. The grand staircase leading up to Raja Gira, the last Hindu defender of Swat, who was defeated after a long siege, built the fort. According to local tradition, Mahmud's commander Khushhal Khan died during this siege and is buried where the shrine of Pir Khushhal Khan Baba stands in a grove of trees. After the conquest of Swat, the Ghaznavids strengthened and extended the defences at Udigram. Other local forts and castles were also turned into garrison towns⁸⁴. The Hindu and Buddhist local population had no choice, either to convert to Islam or to be killed. The part of population, which did not convert to Islam, was driven into the mountains north of Madyan. Dilazak Afghans, allied to Mahmud, took over the land and settled there⁸⁵. The only but important remain from this period in Swat is the Ghaznavid mosque at Udigram. A team of the Italian Archeological Mission made its discovery in 1985⁸⁶. It was built in 1048-49, at a time when the Ghaznavid kingdom had entered a period of decadence. It is rectangular in plan, built with slabs of schist stone and stone blocks in the style called as Gandhara masonry. The facade is linked to three cylindrical tower buttresses, which reflect the tradition of the Hindu Shahi architecture, typical of the area. After Mahmud's raids, the proud name of Gandhara since 700 BC passes out of history⁸⁷. The Ghaznavid rule in Pakistan lasted for over hundred and seventy years (1010 to 1187). The Islamisation of the region begins, with Lahore as the eastern-most bastion Muslim power and as an outpost for further advance in the east. Ghazni, their capital, became a great centre of Islamic culture.

The Gurids

The decline of the Ghaznavids after 1100 was accentuated by the sack of Ghazni by the Shansabanis of Ghur (Afghanistan) and their ruler Ala'-ud-Din in 1150-51⁸⁸. The Gurids who inhabited the region between Ghazni and Herat, rose rapidly in power during the last half of the 12th century, partly because of the changing balance of power that resulted from the westward movement of the non-Muslim

Karakitai Türks⁸⁹ into the area dominated by the Seldjuk Turks, who had been the principal power in Iran and parts of Afghanistan during the previous fifty years. The Ghurid invasions of North India followed first the southern route to India through the Gumal pass. It was only after suffering a severe defeat at the hands of the Caulukya army of Gujarat that he turned to the northern route through the Khyber Pass⁹⁰.

It is from Ghazni that the Muslim power in India was established, and Muhammad of Ghur was its founder with armies largely made of Khilji (Iranian Turks, who entered Afghanistan in the 10th AD) and Afghans. Muhammad of Ghur deposed the last Ghaznavid ruler in 1186 and conquered Delhi in 1193. He completed his conquest with the occupation of different military outposts and then returned to Ghazni with a large hoard of treasures. In 1205 he suffered a severe defeat at Andkhui at the hands of the Khwarezm-shah. News of the defeat precipitated a rebellion by some of the sultan's followers in Punjab, and he was assassinated in Lahore in 1206. At the end of the 12th century and beginning of the 13th, the Ghurid state extended from Herat to Bengal and touched the borders of Tibet and Kashmir⁹¹.

Qutb-ud-Din Aybak, the first ruler of the so-called "Slave dynasty" assumed authority over the Ghurid possessions in India and moved from Delhi to Lahore, there he contested another of Muhammad of Ghur's slaves, Taj-ud-Din Yüdz of Ghazni, who also claimed his former master's Indian possessions. In 1208, Qutb-ud-Din defeated his rival and captured Ghazni but soon was driven out again. He died in 1210, after having established the foundation of an Indian Muslim state. Sultan Shams-ud-Din Iltumish, son-in-law and successor of Aybak from 1211 to 1236, who himself was a former slave (mamluk), established the Delhi sultanate, as the largest and most powerful of a number of competing states in North India. We do not know what was the situation in Swat in that period, but located in the mountains far away of the invaders roads, and impoverished by Mahmud's raids, it must have played a very small role.

The Mongol Period

In the following centuries, the Big Game took place among the Delhi Sultanate (1192-1526), the Mongols (Gengis Khan, Timur, the

Khanat of Chagatai) and the Mughal Empire (1526-1761). The Delhi sultanate ruled from 1192 to 1526 and had five dynasties in succession. First came the Slave dynasty (the slaves of Muhammad Ghori and their sons) that ruled from 1206 to 1290. The Khiljis who were originally Turks but identified as Afghans replaced this dynasty. During the reign of Ala-ud-Din Khilji (1296-1313) the sultanate briefly assumed the status of an Empire. He managed to fend off a series of Mongol attacks during the decade 1297-1306. The fall of the Khiljis was followed by a new dynasty founded by Tughlaq Ghazi Malik. The reign of Muhammad Ibn Tughlaq (1325-51) marked the high point of the sultanate and the beginning of its decline. By 1388 the decline of the sultanate was imminent; subsequent succession disputes and palace intrigues accelerated its pace. Timur invaded India in 1398, when he was in possession of a vast empire in the Middle East and Central Asia. The Tughlaqs were succeeded by the Sahyeds (1414-51), who were in reality deputies of Timur. The Sahyeds were then replaced by the Lodi's (a branch of the Ghalzai) who ruled from 1451 to 1526.

Gengis Khan, born in 1155, conquered North China and overran Korea. Next he turned to Central Asia. They defeated the Karakhitai and pursued the Khwarezm Shah⁹² across his empire until he managed to hide on a small island of the Caspian Sea, where he died in 1221. The Khwarezm Shah's son Jalaluddin was ready to carry on the struggle. He called for a Jihad against the pagan Mongols. He managed to raise an army in Afghanistan and to inflict a defeat upon the Mongols in the Ghazni area. Chingez Khan, who was then in Herat, swore to take revenge and besieged Bamiyan, where his grandson went killed. Furious, he took the fortress, killed everybody and destroyed Bamiyan. He advanced then in direction of Ghazni, where he won a battle against Jalaluddin and pursued him as far as the Indus River (1211). The same year, the Mongols destroyed Bukhara, Samarkand, Herat, Tus, Nishapur, and kill whole populations. Then the Mongols ravaged the rest of the Punjab including Lahore and Multan districts. Chingez Khan withdrew to the mountains when the weather began to grow hot. Chingez Khan died in 1227. On his death he bequeathed these provinces to his second son Chaghatai, but except for raids, one of which penetrated in 1240 as far as Lahore and destroyed it, Chaghatai and his successors seem to have thought the country too

poor and difficult to occupy or administer it. Mongols firmly in control of the Central Asian Silk Routes soon realised that it was more profitable to tax than to loot trading caravans.

By 1335, in the Central Asian Chaghatai territories, fratricide warfare had been common from the very beginning of Mongol rule. Some of the Mongols had converted to Islam (in the south), some to Lamaistic Buddhism (in the north), others to Nestorianism. Still others retained their old pagan ways. The khanat was divided into two parts in 1334. According to the historical maps, Swat was part of the Chaghatai Khanat, even if located on its southern border. At that time and according to the records of the Tibetan pilgrims, "as late as the 16th century that part of Asia was still considered as a kind of holy place worth visiting by the few Buddhist adepts still surviving in India, in spite of the dangers which they were likely to meet on account of the risk of the journey itself and of the unfriendliness of the Muslims. According to Buddhagupta the country in this time was known under the name of Ghazni"⁹³. Kashmir was also part of this Khanat and a Muslim king introduced Islam there in 1341. Kashmir was ruled by Chaghatai princes till 1586 when Akbar conquered it⁹⁴.

Rains failed for seven years between 1335 and 1342 causing one of the worst famines the sub-continent has ever known. In 1358 a big pest decimated these empires. In 1369, a Turk named Timur, usurped the Chaghatai power and got himself recognised as the Grand Amir of Transoxiana. He belonged to the Barlas tribe of Turcised Mongols, resident at Kesh south of Samarkand, and it was this city, which he made his capital and beautified by the splendid monuments that bear his name. He is the ancestor of Babur and the Mughal dynasty of Hindustan, and he and they are referred to as Chaghatais and Mughals, being the successors of power in that part of Chingez's empire. More savage than the Khwarezm Shah, more cultured than Chingez Khan, Timur reminds us more of Mahmud of Ghazni. It is said that when Timur reached Delhi in 1398, he ordered the execution of at least 50000 captives before the battle of Delhi and that the sack of the city was so devastating that practically everything of value was removed including those inhabitants who were not killed. In 1399 he left India. According to his historians, he attacked the Kafirs of the Hindukush in imitation of the exploits of Alexander the Great.

Under the Sayyids (1414-51) most of the NWFP remained under Timurids, as part of the Chaghatai Khanat and was ruled from Kabul. In 1451 the Delhi throne fell to an Afghan house, the Muslim Lodhi's, till 1526 when Babur overthrew them. The power of the Lodhi kings did not reach beyond the Indus. West of the Indus the authority remained in the hands of Timurid princes⁹⁵. From Mahmud of Ghazni period till the 17th century, the scarce documents and the literature we have, only speaks about sultans, rulers, kings, battles, raids, invasions. We do not know who are really the populations involved. Are they Afghan clans of herders, are they Mongol groups, are they Gandhari remnants of the pre-Muslim populations, are they Turks, Arabs, Hindu? The texts present different views, more based on ideology than real facts. We have to keep these uncertainties in mind in the following pages.

Babur and the Mughal Empire

Babur, a Chagatai Turk and nephew of Ulugh Beg laid the foundation of the Mughal Empire in 1526. He was a fifth-generation descendant of Timur on the side of his father, and a 14th-generation descendant of Genghis Khan. Babur took Kabul in 1504, Kandahar in 1522, the Punjab in 1524 and finally Delhi in 1526. At this period, when Babur decided to invade "Hindustan" (1505), he marched through the Khyber Pass and subdued the Afghan tribesmen at Kohat and Bannu. It was in this occasion that Babur came into contact with the Yousafzai and Tarkilanri. In retaliation for various inroads and the refusal of Malik Shah Mansur, ruler of the Yousafzai, to attend his court, he determined in January 1519 to invade Swat and chastise the Yousafzai. He chose to proceed by the Bajour⁹⁶ route, wishing also to punish its non-Afghan Gibari (Bibari) ruler who had been insolent to Ulugh Beg. He captured and destroyed the stronghold of the Bibari Sultan Mir Haider Ali, whom he killed with 3000 men. The women and children were made prisoners.

An interesting aspect of this event is the presence in Bajour of a stronghold able to shelter many thousand people. We do not know who built it, and we do not even know who are the people who defended it in that occasion. The testimonies are contradictory: Bajouris? Bibaris? Dilazaks⁹⁷. Was it the same fortress Alexander

the Great defeated? Was it a Hindu Shahi fort? Is it the same imposing Qila where the Nawab of Bajour used to live? The urban continuity of the place, from times more ancient than Alexander to now, or even to Babur's time, would be questionable but the subject of a very interesting debate. His success can be explained by the fact that Babur attacked with the help of new muskets, which the defenders had never seen before. The message was of intimidation to the Yousafzai. From Bajour he marched against the Yousafzai of Swat. He raided the Jandol valley, and encamped at the junction of Swat and Panjkorha rivers. He entered the area with Dilazak scouts and supporters who saw the imperial power of Babur as a weapon against their local enemies⁹⁸. There he received nominal submission of Malik Shah Mansur, the Yousafzai chief, and arranged to marry his daughter as a diplomatic means to keep the tribe in order. At the same time he imposed a tribute of grain, and exacted an agreement from them that they would not raid Upper Swat, whose ruler Sultan W'ais had taken the opportunity of Babur's presence in the valley to tender his submission. Babur returned to Kabul about 1520, where he received a deputation of the leading Yousafzai maliks, who disputed the question of the frontier with the Swatis. Babur's jirga settled that as far as Abuha (Lower Swat) should be Yousafzai territory and above that, Swati. In the decades before 1526, when Babur came down from Kabul to conquer Hindustan, the Peshawar valley served as a settler's frontier for pastoral Afghan clans from western Afghan tribal confederacies. These clans occupied the region between Khyber Pass and Indus River by displacing or dominating local rulers and agriculturalists. They divided the plains and the highland valleys north of the Peshawar among their main families and confederate allies⁹⁹. Babur died in 1530 and was succeeded by his son Humayun, who was forced to flee to Sindh in 1543, and the sovereignty passed into the hands of an Afghan. The Yousafzai availed them of Humayun's absence to cease paying the tribute, and encroached upon Upper Swat¹⁰⁰. Humayun came back in 1555; he occupied Lahore, Delhi and Agra.

The Yousafzais and Swat

During the latter half of the 15th century the Yusafzai and Utman khel appeared on the scene. Two divisions of a tribe, the Khakhai

and the Ghorai, were settled near Kandahar. A quarrel between them occurred about the grazing lands, which resulted in the defeat of the Khakhai, who were forced to move on towards Kabul, being joined in their migration by the Utman khel. At Kabul they flourished until the time of Ulugh Beg, the Chagatai Turk ruler in Kabul and uncle of Babur, by which time the Kakhai had got divided into three clans: Yusafzai, Gigiani and Tarkilanri. They openly defied Ulugh Beg, who failing to suppress the tribe by force resorted to treachery and succeeded in killing all the leading men at a feast, with the exception of Malik Sultan Shah, and his nephew, Malik Ahmad (1485). After this disaster the Kakhai fled from Kabul, the Yousafzai settling in Ningarhar, the Gigiani in Basawal, and the Tarkilanri in Lughman. The three tribes quarreled between each other for better land, the Yousafzai, the Utman Khel, the Muhammadzai, the Gadun, the Mandanr moved to the basin of Peshawar and Mardan. Around 1500, they joined forces with Malik Ahmad and drove beyond the Indus the Dilazak people who were settled there¹⁰¹.

The Dilazaks remain a mystery. In the genealogies they appear as Karlanris, and brothers of the Orakzais and Uthman khels. Babur refers to them and he calls them Afghans. They are said to have embraced Islam in the time of Mahmud and to have sent strong contingents with him in his Indian expeditions to Somnath and elsewhere. The Dilazaks themselves, according to these chronicles, had moved to Peshawar from Ningarhar and the west, some centuries before¹⁰². The Yusafzais's accounts describe them as "infidels", wine-bibbing and idolatrous race¹⁰³. For Bellew there are grounds for believing that they were originally of Scythic origin and came into their position here with the great irruption of the Jats and Katti, which in the 5th or 6th century drove the native Gandharians to emigrate westward to the Helmand valley¹⁰⁴. They invaded Peshawar in great force through the Khyber and very rapidly possessed themselves of the whole valley of the Indus and the foot of the northern hills, reducing the natives to subjection, or driving them into the mountain retreats of Buner, Swat and Bajour. They were an important and powerful people here, till defeated and driven across the Indus by the Yousafzai and Mahmand in the time of Mirza Ulugh Beg. The Yousafzai, after six years of constant warfare drove the Dilazaks across the Indus into Chach and Pakli¹⁰⁵ and thus

acquired full possession of the plain country, which lies between the Indus and Kabul rivers. In the Peshawar valley and Bajour the Yousafzai found the Dilazaks in possession of almost the whole region, together with some people called Dehqans (meaning tenants) occupation of Hashtnagar. The Dehqans were subjects to the Jahangari sultans of Swat, with capital at Manglaur, the last of whom, sultan W'ais, entered into some negotiations with Babur and was later driven across the Indus to Hazara by the Yusafzais. No authority has suggested that these were of Afghan or Pathan stock. By the 16th century the Yusafzai were in possession of Buner, Lower Swat, and the Panjkorha valley, the Gigianis and Tarkilanris had established themselves in Bajour, and the Uthman-khel in the country still occupied by them. The advent of these Afghan invaders infused Islam throughout these countries.

The Yusafzai began to look to the fertile valley of Swat, the ruler of which was Sultan W'ais whose power extended over Swat, Hazara and up to the borders of Kashmir. This sultan tendered a voluntary submission to Babur, claiming protection from the Yousafzai invaders. But it was not until after twelve years of bitter fighting that they succeeded in defeating the Swatis, who were forced to cross the Indus and settled in Hazara where they still live. Shortly afterwards the Yousafzai also conquered Dir and Buner. Under their leader Malik Ahmed and Sheikh Mali the land was occupied and divided among the clans of the Yousafzai. The Mandanr received Mardan and Swabi, the Nolzais Buner, the Malizais Dir and the Akozais the Swat valley (about 1550). At the same time Sheikh Mali introduced the Wesh system, which survived in Swat until the first quarter of the 20th century.

According to Elphinstone (1809, p. 319), the only author giving some details about the Swatis: "The Swautees, who are sometimes called Deggauns, appear to be of Indian origin. They formerly possessed a kingdom extending from the western branch of the Hydaspes, to near Jellallabad. They were gradually confined to narrower limits by the Afghaun tribes; and Swaut and Boonair, their last seats, were reduced by the Eusofzyies in the end of the fifteenth century. They are still very numerous in those countries". Bellew (1979, p. 67-71) gives a similar view: "in this twenty years war the Yousafzai exterminated some small sections of the natives, drove others across the Indus in one direction, and across the Kunar river

into Chitral and Kafiristan in the other, and subjugating the greater number to serfdom, converted them to the Muhammadan creed, and called them Hindki in distinction to the idolatrous Hindu. These Hindki were in all probability the representative of the remnant of the native Gandhari, who were subjugated by their Jat and other Scythic invaders in the 5th century AD. The converted Gandhari are now divided into two great sections, named Safi and Gandhari. Together they number about twelve thousand families, who are scattered about in small parties all over the country from Swat and Bajour to Lughman and Tagao. In most places they occupy a dependent or servile position...Being recent converts, they are extremely bigoted and fanatical, and furnish many aspirants to the Muhammadan priesthood, in the ranks of which some of them have risen to the dignity of saints. The late celebrated Akhund of Swat was a Gandharai, though he was generally called a Safai, because the latter name is commonly used by strangers as that of the two divisions of the people, just as the name Yousafzai is commonly used for Yusuf or Mandar, and Mali, the two great divisions of the people". This assertion by Bellew is quite strange, as in Mingora the Akhund is said to be of Gujar origin from the village of Jabrai. The Wali family claims to be from the Safi branch of the Mohmand tribe, while the Pukhtuns claim them to be Gujars. It is worth to say that Mohmand are considered with equal status, while Gujars are considered subordinate.

Olaf Caroe (1958, p. 180) writes: "The Yousafzai succeeded in occupying most of Lower Swat around 1525. It will be remembered that the Hashtnagar Dehqans owed allegiance to the Jahangiri king of Swat. After their defeat and expulsion from Hashtnagar they are said to have retired to Swat by way of the Morah pass leading to Tanra, where the lands of Mir Hinda, their leader were situated. They left a force on guard in the Morah and also occupied the Malakand, the Shakhkot and Charat passes. Sultan Awes, the ruler of Swat at Manglaur, had sought insurance against Yousafzai ambitions by contracting a marriage with Malik Ahmad's sister, but the lady had died. As soon as opportunity offered, the Yousafzai assembled their forces and endeavoured to enter Swat by the Morah pass, which several times they tried to force without success. They sent a party to recognise the Malakand, further to the west, and received a report that the garrison, under Sultan Awes himself, was

negligent and could easily be surprised. The chief portion of the force set out at night for the Malakand, finding the garrison asleep. Sultan Awes fled to Tanra”.

The ruse, by which the Yusufzai gained possession of Swat, is described by their historian Akhund Darweza Baba in his Memoirs (Tazkira). He relates how the Yousafzai sent their women and drummers with standards and tents to the foot of the easy Malakand pass to make demonstrations of forcing it, whilst their warriors entered the valley by the difficult and undefended pass of Skahkot. The Swatis finding their enemies in the heart of their country, fled in all directions to the fastnesses of their mountains, and from those inaccessible retreats, for twelve years, maintained obstinate guerrilla warfare, till finally the calamity of a dreadful famine drove them to submission. With the subjection of this people the two great divisions of the Yousafzai separated: Mandanr holding the plain country, and Mahi the mountains¹⁰⁶.

An early account by Elphinstone (1809) gives us some clearer idea of the situation in the Yousafzai area: “The Eusofzyes are a very numerous tribe, divided into many little communities, chiefly under democratic constitutions. They possess the extensive country between the Otmaunkhail Mountains and the Indus, Hindoo Coosh, and the river of Caubul, composed of the northern part of the plain of Peshawar, and the valleys of Punjcora, Swaut, and Boonere. The Eusofzyes have possessed these countries for upwards of three hundred years...but all the lower part of the valley of the Caubul, all the plain of Peshawar, with part of Bajour, Chuch, Huzaureh, and the countries east of them, as far as the Hydaspes, belonged to the Afghaun tribe of Dilazauk, which is now almost extirpated. The country between the Dilazauks and the range of Hindoo Coosh, on both sides of the Indus, formed the kingdom of Swaut, which was inhabited by a distinct nation, and ruled by Sultaun Oveiss, whose ancestors had long reigned over that country (p. 331). On the first arrival of the Eusofzyes, they threw themselves on the generosity of the Dilazauks, who assigned them the Doaube for their residence, but as their strength increased they seized on the Dilazauk part of Bajour and engaged in a war with that tribe, in which they deprived them of all possessions north of the Caubul river. They also expelled Sutaun Oveiss from his former possessions, and forced him to retire to the Caufir country, where he founded a new monarchy, which was

enjoyed for some generations by his descendants. (p. 332) The complete property of the soil was vested in each Yusufzai's clan, and the Swautees who remained, were reduced to the condition of villains, or, as the Eusofzyes call them Fakeers. The Fakeers are much more numerous than the Eusofzyes. The greatest part of them are Swautees... (p. 334)

In conclusion, we can assume that the Dilazaks were an Afghan tribe, semi-agriculturalist and livestock herders. They came to the region with Mahmud of Ghazni in the eleventh century, and were part of Babur's force against the Yusufzais. Swatis is a name given later on by the Yusufzais to the local people living in Swat. At the time of the Yusufzais' conquest, they must have been Muslims, as Malik Ahmad, the Yusufzais' chief, arranged the marriage of his sister to Sultan Awais family before attacking Swat. They probably spoke Pushtu as they still do, despite occupying a distant territory across the Indus with limited interaction with the Pukhtu speaking tribes and more interaction with the Hindki and Dard speaking people.

They were agriculturist and built complex irrigation systems, from which remains still exist¹⁰⁷. The water channel construction shows that they were better land users than the Yusufzai's people and were more prosperous. The traditional water channels used by the present population are mostly the remnants of the Swati people. The irrigation water channels from Fiza Ghat side to old Mingora village cropping land are also the remnants of them. Many signs of abandoned water channels in hardly accessible land show their well-developed agrarian culture. It is the colonisation of the region by the nomadic Yusufzais, better warriors than herdsmen, in the sixteenth century, which marks the end of this period, and the real beginning of the Muslim period in the area. It also marks the end of urban civilisations in the valley, phenomenon that was to increase by the Wesh system. The Yousafzai colonisation marks also the deletion; the obliteration of the past history and flourishing of the idea that nothing existed before them. It only the Western scholars, like A. Foucher (1901), Sir Aurel Stein (1929), and the Italian archaeologists (1956) who were to rediscover the pre-Muslim past.

During Swati rule Dard people were most probably non-believers and dominantly Hindu, frequent small scale Jihad against Dard might have a routine and probably continued even some time after Yousafzai occupation, The Madyan and Bisham territories

have been described to be taken through Jihad and are still owned by the descendants (Miangan) of that time Jihadi leader.

The Mughals

In Humayun's reign the Yousafzai advance was continued and they overran the Sheringal portion of Dir and Upper Swat as far as Ain. They rejected Humayun's yoke, and even Akbar could exact no more than a nominal submission¹⁰⁸. In 1555, Akbar succeeded his father Humayun. At the end of 1585, he sent two armies out of Attock. One worked to subjugate the Yousafzai in Buner, Swat and Bajour, and the other to conquer Kashmir and both failed. Most of an 8000 man force was lost in the Karakar pass in the unsuccessful attempt to invade Swat. After this the Mughal concentrated on controlling the Peshawar plains and the two routes to Kabul: one through Peshawar and the Khyber pass, the second through the Malakand pass, Chakdara and Bajour. Swat and Buner were left to the Yousafzai. The portion of Yousafzai tribes from the Peshawar's plain tendered a nominal submission in 1587¹⁰⁹. At about the end of 16th century the tribes living in Lughman, Bajour and Swat fought out the disputed question of their respective boundaries. The Yousafzai seized the opportunity to make an alliance with the Tarkilanri of Lughman. They seized the whole of Upper Swat, driving out the last remnants of the Swatis, and the Tarkilanri drove out the Dilazak and occupied the whole of Bajour¹¹⁰. The Pukhtun's practice of Pukhtunwali may have become more formalised in the early 17th century, as an alternative to the culture and heterodox religious beliefs of the encroaching Mughal Empire¹¹¹.

Akbar died in 1605; his son came to the throne and assumed the name of Muhammad Jehangir (1605-1627). Disputes between the Yousaf and Mandanr Yousafzai sub tribes, resulted in the Yusaf clan expelling the Mandanr clan from Bajour, Dir, Swat and Buner. According to the Pukhtuns themselves, the term Yousafzai only applies to the people of Dir, Swat, Buner and the Chamla valley. The Frontier area was relatively peaceful for most of Shah Jehan's reign (1627-57, so-called by the Europeans, "The Big Mughal" who built the Taj Mahal).

In 1658, Aurangzeb Alamgir came to the throne, and for some time things continued to be quiet. The Yousafzai with increasing

prosperity and the lapse of time, refused to pay revenue to Aurangzeb's representative at Peshawar. In 1667 a Yousafzai leader organised a force of about 5000 men and invaded Pakhli in Hazara district, forcing the Mughal officers to flee. Other Yousafzai bands began to carry out raids along the banks of the Kabul River in the Peshawar and Attock districts. Aurangzeb dispatched a force and the Pukhtuns occupying the plains were severely punished, their houses were burnt and their property was looted by the Mughal soldiers, following that the tribe promptly submitted and furnished hostages for future good behaviour (1670). Peace then prevailed in the Frontier till 1672, when an Afridi leader declared war on the Mughals. Now all the Frontier area was in rebellion. The Mughal government finally succeeded suppressing the rebellion in 1676, after most of the rebellion leadership had been assassinated at a gathering in Peshawar¹¹².

Shah Alam succeeded Aurangzeb, and was in turn followed by Muhammad Shah, whom the Yousafzai defied openly. Nadir Shah, a Turkish officer in the Persian army, had started challenging the Mughal throne at the beginning of the 18th century. In 1738 he marched through Ghazni, Kabul and the Khyber Pass to Peshawar, which surrendered and was laid waste. The defeat of the Mughal governors of Kabul and Peshawar meant an end to Mughal rule in the Frontier area; the former Mughal governor of Peshawar became one of Nadir Shah's important officers. Nadir Shah demanded the formal allegiance of the Yousafzai in the Peshawar area. On getting a point-blank refusal to his demand, he sent a Mughal force to coerce them. He did not leave until he had exacted a fine and taken hostages. An important effect of Nadir Shah's reign was the uprooting of a large number of these tribesmen, mostly Yousafzai, but also Afridis, who migrated to northern India and settled just east of Delhi. They established their own kingdom, called Rohilkhand¹¹³ to the east of Delhi and Agra, and were to play an important role in the power struggles of northern India for more than a century. Although neither these Afghan migrants from the Peshawar area to Rohilkhand, nor the Afghan officers from Kandahar and Kabul proved capable of building a new Muslim-led empire in the northern sub-continent, they did prevent the establishment of a Maratha empire in the north¹¹⁴.

The Afghan Empire

Nadir Shah was assassinated in 1747, and one of his Afghan officers, Ahmad Shah Abdali (Durrani) came into power. A large contingent of Yousafzai joined him in his campaigns against Lahore. The Mughal emperor Mohammed Shah repulsed the first Afghan invasion in 1748, but ceded Multan and Lahore following the second invasion in 1752. A third Afghan invasion took place in 1753 against Sikh raiding parties, and a fourth invasion in 1757 resulted in the destruction of Delhi. Durrani's endeavour was to create a state that would lie astride the major overland trade routes that passed from northern India to Central and Western Asia. In 1762, the Afghan empire formally stretched from east of the Indus to the Oxus in the west. The Frontier and Balochistan were now quite close to the centre of Afghan power, they had never been brought thoroughly under Mughal administrations. Ahmad Shah died in 1773 and was succeeded by his son Taimur, during his reign the tribes paid their tribute regularly. On his death in 1793, the power passed into the hands of the Barakzai dynasty¹⁵. Afghans power receded west to the Margalla pass and centred in Afghanistan, but included until 1818 the area that constitutes now NWFP. In 1809, one of the first Westerner to visit the Afghan empire, as part of an English diplomatic initiative to negotiate an alliance with the Afghan ruler against threatened French interference in Persia, was Montstuart Elphinstone. He visited the Afghan ruler's court in Peshawar and was impressed by what he saw as the high state of tribal affairs, or the Jirga system. This extended from hamlet representatives to the village jirga, to the khel or clan jirga, to the tribal jirga, to the Loya Jirga that advised the Amir of Kabul. Based on different reports, he published in 1815 a comprehensive monograph about the region. "The Berdooraunees possess the hills and valleys under Hindoo Coosh, and those connected with the range of Solimaun, together with the plains of Bajour and Peshawar. The Caufrs occupy the highest of the habitable hills. Hindoo subjects of the Afghauns, who feed large herds of buffaloes and flocks of goats, frequent the lower hills. The lowest hills are however, in some cases, inhabited and cultivated by the Afghauns themselves. Wheat, maize, and rice, are nearly equal in Peshawar, while the former preponderates in Bajour, and the latter in Swaut (p. 327)...the houses of the Eusofzye country,

have generally flat, terraced roofs. They consist of two rooms and an open porch. The inner room belongs to the women; the outer one is used for the men to sit in, and for the reception of visitors, but in hot weather the porch is used for these purposes...The women of the Eusofzyes are carefully concealed, and never leave their houses without putting on the cloak called a Boorka, which covers them from head to foot. The women do not work out of doors; those of the poorest men bring in water, but they always do so by night. The villages are built in streets, but without any particular regard to order. They are, however, very neat and clean (p. 347-8)". And Elphinstone goes on narrating the history of the Yusafzais, their battles against the Dilazaks, their social organisation, the wesh, and the continuous wars with their neighbours and between them. According to him, a famous saint among the Yusafzai, is said to have left his tribe a blessing and a curse, "That they should always be free, but that they should never be united" (p. 338).

The Sikh Interlude

The Sikhs invaded Kashmir and advanced on Peshawar in 1818. After a succession of struggles, terminating in 1823 by the battle of Nowshera, they finally completely wrested the main route through Peshawar Valley connecting Kabul with Delhi from the Afghans. A few years after the advance of the Sikhs, and during the height of Afghanistan's political anarchy, a new character appeared on the scene. This was Mir Sayad Ahmad; better known is these parts as Sayad Badshah. He styled himself Amin-ul-muminin, and for a brief period enjoyed a very successful career. With the view of re-establish the empire of Islam and to rid the Indian peninsula of its infidel peoples, the British and the Sikhs (Bellew 84). In Mecca he collected around him disciples and proclaimed a jihad against the infidels in India. He settled in Kandahar where he was joined by a few more followers, and proceeded to Kabul. With 300 fanatics he advanced to Peshawar, where not meeting with the active support he anticipated, he moved on to Yousafzai, where he met a friendly reception. In Buner, receiving promises of assistance in men and money from his supporters in Hindustan, he organised a band of Mujdhidins (Warrior of the Faith)... (Bellew 86). The Sikh army and the Sayad meet in Saidoh, the latter being dispersed with great loss. The Sayad

himself escaped and removed to Swat, where he found shelter at Bathkela (1827). He moved then in Takhtaband (Buner) where he was well received by the people. He busied himself preaching a jihad, but with little success.

He fought against Khadi Khan of Hund, but without success for neither party. He asked the mediation of Abdul Ghafur (later the Akhund of Swat), who by many years of hermit's life had acquired great influence over the people. As soon as separated of his guards, he seized the Akhund, retreated to the Khodokhail hills (Panjtar), and from this retreat he issued his proclamation as sovereign of the Yousafzai. But his commands and religious discipline soon proved too rigid for the tastes of the people, whilst the Sayyed further made himself obnoxious by insisting on the Yousafzai giving their daughters in marriage to his band of foreigners, a measure, which was distasteful to the proud Afghans, and soon resulted in the alienation of the whole tribe. Enraged at this show of disrespect, the Sayyed came down from Panjtar to punish the culprits. Chorgholai submitted, but Hoti and Mardan, persisting in their obstinacy, were attacked and burnt (1829). The Sayyed' increasing power alarmed Yar Mahommad Khan, the governor of Peshawar, who lost no time in marching with his army against his rival. The Sayyed' force is said not to have exceeded 600 fighting men, mostly Hindustanis. The 3000 men of Peshawar troops were defeated, and the Governor was killed. The Sayyed' followers, after this success, increased so rapidly that there was no room for them in Panjtar. The Sayyed moved to Amb, where they murdered over 6000 men. He also at this time gained a great number of adherents throughout the Peshawar district.

As soon as Sultan Mahommad Khan succeeded to his brother in the government of Peshawar, he made arrangements for avenging the death of his brother. The Sayyed' forces pursued the Peshawar forces as far as Hashtnagar without catching them up. After some more battles, the sultan invited the Sayyed to Peshawar to conclude peace. On arrival at the city, he took possession of the fort and assumed the government (1830). After a brief stay in Peshawar, the Sayyed returned to the Mahaban hills where he fixed his headquarters. From his retreat he circulated his decrees all over the country and collected the tithes in all the districts from Kohat to Tanawal. But his rule, being strictly according to the shariat, proved

most distasteful to the people. The Afghans decided on ridding themselves of their oppressors. A plot was formed in Peshawar. The scheme was to massacre all the Sayyed' agents. The conspiracy was carried out with complete success. The Sayyed moved across the Indus with the remnant of his band of Hindustanis and settled in the fort of Balakot in Hazara. He was hardly settled in this retreat, when in 1831, the Sikhs marched an army against him. The fort was captured after a severe fight and the Sayyed, together with 1300 Hindustanis, was slain (Bellew p. 84-94). The remnants of his army fled to the hills and settled in Takhtaband in Buner. Finally 300 "Mujahidins" left and settled in Sittanah, and in 1855 established a colony in Mangalthanah. In 1836, the Sikhs annexed Dera Ismail Khan, in 1837; Hari Singh occupied Jamrud and built a fort at the mouth of the Khyber Pass. In 1841 the Sikhs possess themselves of Attock¹⁶. When the British occupied Peshawar in 1849, the Swat Yousafzai became anxious of their independence and attempted to form a government of their own in order to preserve their independence. They made Sayyed Akbar Shah, the name proposed by Abdul Ghafoor alias Saidu Baba, their king. Sayyed Akbar Shah made Ghalagay his capital; he died in May 1857 after a reign of seven years. He was succeeded by his son Mir Mubarak Ali Shah, who was dethroned and expelled the country after only a few weeks reign, by the Swat tribes, who had long been impatient of his father's rule¹⁷.

The Akhund of Swat

Abdul Ghafur (Akhund of Swat) was born in Jabrai, a small shepherd's hamlet in Bar Swat, about 1794. As a shepherd boy he had ample time for meditation. At the age of 18, he left the village and went to the village of Barangolah where he learned the rudiments of his religion. He travelled from place to place; becoming the disciple of different saints, and soon rose to fame as a "Man of God" on account of his piety and abstinence. After years of encounters he moved up to Saidu, where the people gave him a portion of land for his own and his disciples' support. He married there a woman of the Naikbi khel division of the Akozai clan, and had by her two sons. It was said that the Akhund daily feed hundreds of visitors, cured them of all sorts of diseases, and granted their

desires. In outward appearance he was very poor, refusing the offerings of the devotees flocking to him from the adjacent countries (Bellew p.106). His doctrines were tolerant and liberal. He died in Saidu in 1877 at the ripe age of 93. "The Akhund may, however, be said to be the only leader whom the Yousafzai have universally acknowledged since their invasion of the Swat valley" (McMahon, p. 26).

The Akhund's two sons died and his four grandsons, termed the Mianguls, of whom the eldest was Sayed Badshah, resided in Saidu, where they were the custodians of the Akhund's shrine. They led the life of sporting country gentlemen, but conducted religious services in their grandfather's Masjid, where numerous disciples from all over India came all over the year, and offer large subscriptions. From these and the offerings made at the Saidu shrine the Mianguls derived a considerable income. They had free grants of land in many parts of Dir, Bajour, Swat and Sam Ranizai (McMahon 26). The Mianguls took an active part in promoting, with the Hadda Mullah, a fanatical rise ("The Pathan Uprising") against the British Government in 1897 (McMahon 26). The British made in 1895 the siege of Chitral, for this purpose they built a road through the Malakand pass, set up posts at the crossing of the Swat river and in Chitral and set up a permanent garrison there. In July 1897, the Mullah Mastan of Swat declared a jihad and marched south with his followers to the Malakand pass. Twenty thousand tribesmen attacked the British at Chakdara and in the pass, took 60 000 men to pacify and punish the tribal areas over the next three years, but the problem of controlling the tribal areas was by no means solved.

The Mad Fakir, also known as the Mad Mullah (Mullah Mastan), was known in Upper Swat by the name of the Sartor Fakir. He left Buner when young and went to India. He returned to Buner about 1895 and soon began to acquire a reputation of sanctity and piety, which made him widely known in the Swat and Indus Kohistan. His name is due to his fanaticism against the British. He took up his abode in 1897 at Landakai, where he obtained the reputation of having miraculous powers. At the spring of that year great endeavours had been made by the Hadda Mullah, the Mianguls of Saidu, and Sayed Akbar of Tirah to bring about a simultaneous and concerted rising along the border at the time of the annual Chitral Relief. Impatient to start Jihad, the Mad Mullah

swept down on the Malakand. His independent action took the tribes by surprise and instead of a simultaneous and general movement along the North-West Frontier there were only isolated uprisings. Wounded and defeated, the Fakir returned to the Indus Kohistan (McMahon 28). He made many subsequent attempts to raise another jihad and only succeeded in December 1898, when he attacked the Nawab of Dir, but was defeated. According to Akbar Ahmed, "The 'jihads' in the colonial encounters of the 19th century were at last grand and futile gesture of the 'traditionalist' forces of Islam tilting against the most powerful nations on earth. The inevitability of the outcome merely underlines the conceptualisation of the rationale contained in the "jihad" by its participants: the struggle is more important than victory; the principles more important than the objective"¹¹⁸. The ruler of neighbouring state, Dir occupied the territory on the right bank of River Swat and started collection of usher. The occupation and exaction made the people united. They made a common cause under a religious personality, Sandakai Mullah. At the expulsion of the Dir forces, the tribal elders invited the grand sons of Saidu baba, Miangul Abdul Wadud & his brother Shirin Jan, to become their rulers. They, however, did not accept for their own causes. So the people invited Sayyed Abdul Jabbar Shah from Sitana and made him their king in April 1915.

The Swat State ¹¹⁹

Sayyed Abdul Jabbar Shah ruled for two and half years. He was asked by the tribal Jirga to leave Swat in September 1917, due to politico-religious causes. Afterwards, Miangul Gulshazada Abdul Wadud was made the new ruler of Swat in the same month by the Jirga. He received the title of Akhund of Swat. He consolidated his state during the 1920s, organising the tribes along the east bank of the Swat River (territory formerly claimed by the Nawab of Dir), into a strong federation. The British looked the other way when the Akhund battled the Nawab of Amb (on the Indus) and took Buner in 1923. The British proclaimed him Wali of Swat in 1926, and in the 1930s, with British encouragement he extended his territory through Indus Kohistan up to Kashmir. He built forts up and down the valley, connected by phone, and established a small army and a number of schools.

He established his capital at his hereditary seat Saidu Sharif, 2 km in south of Mingora. The village of Mingora became the main business town. Badshah Sahib motivated the business class to built shops and restaurants in Mingora. He strategically kept his seating town aside from the major business activities and encouraged the people to make developments in Mingora. He linked the town with other large settlements. At the time of Sir Aurel Stein's visit in the 1920s, "Mingora was now the largest place in Upper Swat, quite a little town with its closely packed flat-roofed houses. Favoured by its situation near the present political centre of Upper Swat and of easy access from all directions, it seemed to be on the way to rivalling Thana as a modest commercial emporium. I found the long narrow lanes of its bazar packed not only with people from Upper Swat, but also with "Kohistanis" from Tôrwâl and the other high valleys on the headquarters of the Swat River. Saidu occupies a delightfully open position at the foot of the wooded spur descending from an outlier of Ilam and dividing two pretty side valleys. Amid a cluster of trees and pilgrim's rest houses the gilt-doomed structure could be seen which shelters the remains of the holy "Akhund". Around, on prominent hill-tops, high towers could be seen, quite medieval in appearance, designed to offer safe refuge in case of inter-tribal attacks or of sudden invasion from the Buner side"¹²⁰.

When Swat State came into being with new regional and global conditions in it's surrounding, the ruler of Swat concentrated on the consolidation process for more than ten years. The illiterate ruler introduced new concepts of administration and social justice. Though basic principals of justice were taken from Islamic judicial system but an appropriate space was kept for local tradition and customs while deciding the disputes and crimes. The state army was busy in expanding the state boundaries and elimination of opponents. They subjugated Shangla, Indus Kohistan, Buner, Madyan and Bahrain. But in some areas, Swat ruler faced problems due to the intervention of British authorities. When Swat force tried to enter into Kalam, beside a strong resistance from Kalamis, the British political agent ordered the Swat state to stop its assault. The Indian Viceroy declared Kalam a Tribal Agency, in order to resolve both claims of Chitral and Swat states over the area. This claim from Chitral was supported by Kalamis socio-economic relationships with Chitralis people: culturally they were close to each other, and

had trade and business relationships. To avoid conflict, the British declared Kalam a buffer zone, and thus received the status of an Agency. When in 1947, the British Empire was divided into Pakistan and India; the Swat forces entered into Kalam and captured this valley. This occupancy lasted only for seven years, and due to the intervention of the NWFP's governor, Kalam regained the status of Agency in 1954. The government of Pakistan established a separate fund for Kalam, and the ruler of Swat was appointed as the political agent of Pakistan. For this service he was paid 8000 Rupees per month. In 1969, when Swat state merged with Pakistan, Kalam kept its Agency status, but controlled by the Malakand district administration¹²¹.

In 1949 Badshah Sahib handed over the crown to his successor and elder son Miangul Jahanzeb. Miangul Jahanzeb was enlightened and well educated man. He gave new dimensions to the state administration and resource management. In the context of Mingora city he built new roads, established modern hotels ranging from first class to middle class levels and educational institutions and provided hostels to students of far-flung areas and down districts even. Miangul Jahanzeb, commonly known as Wali Sahib, developed segregated service availability on the main Saidu-Mingora Road, (college, hospitals and offices etc.) and constructed officer's colony on the east side hill slopes of Saidu-Mingora road and invited eminent educationists to the state for teaching. He introduced modern concepts of civic amenities by establishing town committee in 1956. He encouraged outsiders for investment in Mingora, particularly in silk industry and in this way provided job opportunities for the locals. The Wali facilitated the city with leisure opportunities like cinema, kindergarten and promoted traditional and modern musical shows. He established a bus terminal in the heart of the city and extended the roads network towards the barren hills in east of the city and introduced formal transport system in the city. Since the merger of Swat State all the successive governments did little addition to this road network. All such measures on one hand made the State strong and modern and on the other it turned Mingora to the only urban centre of the whole region. Town committee added special identity to Mingora as urban centre as it had provided civic services like water supply, street pavement and streetlights.

Merger with Pakistan and after

Due to a number of causes the Swat State was merged with Pakistan in July 1969. With the merger of Swat State many changes in administrative, judicial and political set-up occurred. In broader terms the impacts of the merger can be discussed in three areas. Till merger the state was governed under laws, having blend of Islamic and traditional touch. But after the merger, Government of Pakistan extended the colonial bureaucratic system for general administration. The administrative officers sent here were all aliens to the local traditions and customs. This system could not work efficiently and resulted in a chaotic situation where no one was willing to take responsibility for anything. People had started over-exploitation of natural resources. As sense of impunity developed among the people due to the new systems so they damaged some of the state's property. For instance all telephone cables installed by the ex-state machinery were taken away to homes. Different departments like police, education, health, communication, urban and rural development, forest, agriculture, irrigation and fisheries, etc, were established, with complicated administrative hierarchy. All these were made administrative subordinates to Deputy Commissioner.

Before the merger, whether just or unjust, decisions were quick, cheap and properly executed. But with the merger, the position took a U-turn. Regulation No 1 of 1969 merged the State with this much change only that powers and functions of the Rulers were ceased and these were delegated to a person, officer or authority appointed or empowered by the Provincial Government. All the old laws including regulations, orders, rules, notifications and customs, having the force of law, were kept continued in force and the status quo created confusion and uncertainty in the region. There were no clear-cut laws, rules and regulations and the administrative cum judicial officers used to define and pronounce the *Riwaj* (customs) according to their own will. The prolonged procedures, undue delay, great expenditures, high bribes, misuse of *riwaj* and the further deterioration by PATA Regulations highly aggrieved almost all the people of Swat. This resulted the hard-liners militant momentum for the enforcement of Islamic judicial laws. This movement name was *Tahrik-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat-e-Mohammadi* (TNSM). Along some of

the regular laws the government introduced Shariat Regulation 1998. But differences between the government and TNSM leaders appeared on the operational issues of this latest regulation.

Prior to the merger, migration of outsiders to Swat was restricted. In very special cases some could get permission to settle in Swat. After merger heavy influx of non-locals for trade or service created many social and economic problems. Meanwhile the leaders and representative of all political parties rushed to Swat in order to grip the maximum number of voters for the upcoming elections of 1970. As during state era all sort of political activities were prohibited, so after the merger all of a sudden politics started. This exercise produced leadership from middle class of the society. People of this area tasted for the first time Western democracy, which was not very adjustable with mode of the people and socio-political intolerance developed.

After merger, changes in Mingora city accelerated. Saidu Sharif was declared divisional headquarter of Malakand Division. Besides administration, all other divisional departments opened their offices in or around the city. Transport activities increased many folds. Migration of the people to the city increased. The performance of Mingora Municipal Committee (MMC), formed in 1956, declined and the MMC failed to provide civic services. Haphazard construction, encroachment upon roads as well as waterways started, while MMC could not develop bye-laws and rules to control the unplanned construction in the city. We can say that this was a predictable consequence of the change from the scale of a small independent principality ruled by one monarch, to the scale of a small town inside a nation-state, with little interest for the country as a whole. This has happened elsewhere in the world, with the change from functional independence to integration into a centralised state. This has been increased by the rapid demographic and economic development, resulting from the merger, and in the 1980s by the free tax system applied by the government in the valley.

Notes

- ¹ M. Sharif & B.K. Thapar 1994, p. 137, 148
- ² These languages represent, according to several scholars, the most ancient wave of the Indo-Aryan penetration in the region of Hindukush. See: J. Harmatta 1994, p. 357
- ³ East of Swat River, a few kilometres from the confluence of the Ghorband and the Indus rivers.
- ⁴ For more details, see: Giorgio Stacul 1987; and other articles from the Italian Archeological Excavations teams.
- ⁵ A. Foucher, 1942, p 7; J. Harmatta, 1994, p.374
- ⁶ A.H. Dani 1994, p. 403
- ⁷ Ibid, p. 416-417
- ⁸ Ibid, p. 418
- ⁹ Suvāstu, meaning "having good dwelling", which is the earliest indication we have as to the environmental properties of the present-day Swat valley.
- ¹⁰ *Rigveda* VIII, 19, 37; J. Hussain 1997, p. 27: "From their songs we know that the Aryans settled along the banks of the Swat River in the North, and the Gomal, Kuram and Kabul Rivers to the west. At Aligram on the Swat river, four miles west of Mingora, are settlements dating from the 17th century BC".
- ¹¹ Gandhara is a name of high antiquity, as it is mentioned in one of the Vedic hymns, and frequently in the Mahābhārata and other Sanskrit works. In very early times Gandhara extended to the country east of the Indus, where was situated one of its two capitals, Taxila. Gandhara is the native country of Panini, the well-known linguist who published his "Grammar of Sanskrit".
- ¹² Also called Asvadas, Apiasoi, by the Greek and Latin texts relating to Alexander the Great's life.
- ¹³ Sir Olaf Caroe, 1958, p. 33-38: Aparutai = Afridis, Sattagudai = Khataks, or Shitaks, Dadikai = Kakars (according to Bellew, quoted by O. Caroe, p. 38)
- ¹⁴ Denis Sinor 1990, p. 6
- ¹⁵ A. Foucher 1942
- ¹⁶ Called Guraios by Arrian, and Gauri in Sanskrit texts.
- ¹⁷ Sir Aurel Stein 1929, p. 43
- ¹⁸ The typical plan is compound of a small entrance giving way to a courtyard with the living rooms all around (not so different of present day houses). Along the streets were narrow rectangular spaces, sometimes with a small room on the opposite side to the entrance, others with eaves over the facade, probably shops. The rocky spur over

- the town, the castle, was urbanised in the middle of the V century AD after the abandonment of the lower town. The largest extension of the town was undertaken between the VII and X century AD. (see: IsMEO, Torino 1960)
- ¹⁹ Its ruins occupy a height near Ziarat Talash about 16 km north of Chakdara fort.
- ²⁰ A "stadia" is a unit measure in ancient Greece, of about 180 metres. Thus 25 stadia is 4500 metres.
- ²¹ There were 7000 Indian mercenaries at the service of the Queen of Massaga, which shows how the city was rich.
- ²² For details, see: A.H. Dani & P. Bernard 1994, pp.67-98
- ²³ The territories of Aria (Herat), Arachosia (Kandahar), Paropanisadae (Kabul) and Gedrosia (Balochistan), source: R.C. Majumdar 1951, p. 60
- ²⁴ UNESCO vol. III, p. 438
- ²⁵ Sir Aurel Stein, 1929, p. 13
- ²⁶ UNESCO, vol. III, p. 489
- ²⁷ The only inscription referring to Menander has been found in Bajaur.
- ²⁸ UNESCO, vol. III, p. 486
- ²⁹ The determination of the Han rulers of China to keep the Central Asian nomadic tribes (Hsiung-nu, Wu-sun, Yüeh-chic) out of China forced these tribes in their search for fresh pastures to migrate southward and westward; a branch of them (the Ta Yüeh-chi) moved to the Aral sea, and this displaced the existing Sakas, who poured into Bactria and Parthia, and continued into the Indus valley.
- ³⁰ See: B.N.Puri 1994, p. 192. Coins of Maues and Kharosthi inscriptions of the Sakas have been found also in Swat.
- ³¹ J. Hussein, 1997, p. 62
- ³² As a patron of Buddhism, Kanishka is chiefly noted for having convened the fourth great Buddhist council in Kashmir that marked the beginnings of Mahayana Buddhism. He was a tolerant king and his coins show that he honoured the Zoroastrian, Greek, and Brahmanic deities as well as the Buddha. During his reign contacts with the Roman Empire led to a significant increase in trade and the exchange of ideas. It is during his reign that the Gandhara School of art, fusion of eastern and western influences in images of the Buddha, was developed.
- ³³ B.A. Litvinskyn 1994, p. 306
- ³⁴ J. Hussein, 1997, p. 68
- ³⁵ Si-Yü-Ki, *Buddhist records of the Western World*, Samuel Beal, London 1884, 2 vol.
- ³⁶ Which would mean that they still retained the original form of

Buddhist doctrines, and were not yet influenced by the later form of the Mahayana.

- ³⁷ "This kingdom may be identified with the country of Swat. It probably included the district to the west of this river and bordering on the Cabul river. It is included by later Buddhist writers in the country of Udyana", S. Beal 1869, p. 28, note 2. This could also mean that Udyana was not Swat, and was a larger country, further in the north, centred on Darel/Chilas, into which Swat was included later.
- ³⁸ A Chinese measure, about 576 m. 5000 li= 2880 km. This figure looks impossible, it would mean a diameter of about 918 km.
- ³⁹ *The life of Hiuen-Tsiang* by Samuel Beal, New Delhi 1973; *On Yuan Chwang's travels in India (629-645 AD)* by Thomas Watters, London Royal Asiatic Society 1904; *Travels of Fah-Hian and Sung-Yun, Buddhist pilgrims from China to India (400 AD and 518 AD)*, by Samuel Beal, London 1869
- ⁴⁰ Samuel Beal 1884, Book III, p. 119-135. Udyana probably covered the whole hill region south of the Hindu-kush and the Dard country from Chitral to the Indus.
- ⁴¹ In Fa-Hian's time the people of the country were all followers of the Little Vehicle. Probably the re-introduction of Buddhist doctrine after the persecution had been affected by teachers of the Mahâyana school.
- ⁴² 1 li=576 m, 16 li= 9216 m, radius = 1467 m, diameter= 2934 m, about 3 km. Size= about 9km², this surface can only be found in Mingora. This was also the view of the Italian archeologists, who think that Manglaor was Burkada, the largest Buddhist site in Mingora.
- ⁴³ According to the Italian archeologists, Manglavor (Mungali) is probably Butkada, i.e. Mingora.
- ⁴⁴ Sir Aurel Stein, 1929, p. 15-6
- ⁴⁵ R. A. Litvinsky 1996, p. 135-6
- ⁴⁶ S. Beal 1869, p. 26, note 1
- ⁴⁷ Olaf Caroe 1958, p. 83-4
- ⁴⁸ Ibid, p. 367
- ⁴⁹ J. Hussein, 1997, p. 76
- ⁵⁰ Unesco III, p. 370-3
- ⁵¹ A.H. Dani, B.A. Litvinsky, M.H. Zamir Safi 1996, p. 170
- ⁵² O. Caroe 1958, p. 84-6
- ⁵³ Ibid, p. 101
- ⁵⁴ Also called Shahiya, dynasty of some 60 rulers who governed the Kabul valley and the old province of Gandhara from the decline of the Kushana empire. The word Shahi, the title of the rulers, is related to the old Kushana form Shao, or "king". The dynasty probably descended from the Kushanas, or Turks (Tarushkas). Nothing is recorded of their

history until the last king, Lagaturman, whose reign continued at the end of the 9th century and who was thrown in prison by his minister, a Brahman named Kallar. Kallar then usurped the throne and founded a new dynasty, the Hindu Shahi, which ruled the area at the time of Mahmud's invasion of India from Ghazna in 1001. The Shabis maintained a hopeless resistance against Mahmud's forces but fell in 1021. They were so thoroughly extinguished that 30 years later the commentator Kalhana said that men wondered whether they had ever existed (Encyclopaedia Britannica)

- ⁵⁵ UNESCO, vol. III, p. 375
- ⁵⁶ Ibid, p. 375
- ⁵⁷ Ibid, p. 389
- ⁵⁸ Ibid, p. 349
- ⁵⁹ Kyrgyzstan. "While the battle in itself was of minor importance, its ramifications on the future were very significant. The Arabs were put in a position to extend their Islamic influence throughout central Asia and its Silk routes. The T'ang lost a good amount of power and their westward advance was halted". (Kim Wentzler, Dec. 1998)
- ⁶⁰ Christopher I. Beckwith 1987, p. 30
- ⁶¹ Ibid, p. 66-69
- ⁶² Karl Jettmar 1977, p. 421
- ⁶³ Ibid, p. 421
- ⁶⁴ C.I. Beckwith 1987, p. 87
- ⁶⁵ Located in the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region of Northwest China, also called Taklamakan desert. The northern edge of it, on the foot of the Tianshan mountains, shelter Kashgar, Turfan, Donhuang, oasis on the northern Silk route. The Kunlunshan mountains on the south, mark the Tibet borders.
- ⁶⁶ Ibid, p. 88
- ⁶⁷ Ibid, p. 89
- ⁶⁸ Ibid, p. 91
- ⁶⁹ UNESCO, vol. III, p. 383
- ⁷⁰ Jettmar 1977, p. 160
- ⁷¹ D. Sinor 1990, p. 384
- ⁷² UNESCO, vol. II, p. 364
- ⁷³ J. Hussein, 1997, p. 85
- ⁷⁴ UNESCO, vol. III, p. 385
- ⁷⁵ O. Caroe 1958, p. 111
- ⁷⁶ G. Tucci 1997, p. 1-58
- ⁷⁷ UNESCO, vol. III, p. 472
- ⁷⁸ Border lowland region of SW Afghanistan and E Iran. In the 2nd-3rd C. AD. It was held by the Scythians and was called Sakastan. From the

4th-7th C. AD, the region was the centre of Zoroastrian worship. Sistan prospered under the Arabs from the 8th C. until 1383, when Mongol conquerors ended it. The area was disputed between Persia and Afghanistan from the 16th to early 20th C.

⁷⁹ Ibid, p. 470-74

⁸⁰ Ibid, p. 474

⁸¹ C.E. Bosworth 1998, p. 96-8

⁸² Hindu Kush means "Killer of Hindus", a name given by Mahmud of Ghazni to describe the number of Hindus who died on their way into Afghanistan to a life of captivity. (*Encyclopedia Britannica*)

⁸³ The Ghaznavids were orthodox Sunnis of the Hanafi school. Sebuktigin favoured the conservative, literalist Karrâmiya sect, which promoted the extermination of all non-Muslims, including anyone whom they considered to be a heretic. Mahmud himself showed some sympathy for it. J. Hussein 1997, p. 123. About this sect see C. E. Bosworth 1963, p. 165-6, 175, 185-9, 214

⁸⁴ J. Hussein, 1997, p. 131

⁸⁵ According to O. Caroe 1958, p. 173, the Dilazaks were Karlani Pukhtuns who came from Khyber. H. W. Bellew 1864, p. 65, says that they were of Indian origin "They were a wine-bidding and idolatrous race when the Yusufzais first came in contact with them". But the declarations of Yusufzais have to be taken with suspicion. Furthermore the Dalazak according to many elders followed the Shafi School of Islamic thought indicating relatively stronger connections with the Arab invaders. Many Dalazak people available in few areas of Mardan province still predominantly follow the Shafi School of jurisprudence. The Yusufzai on the contrary follow the Hanfi (Iranian background) School.

⁸⁶ Majid Hussain, Tahir Saeed 2001, vol. XLIX, n°1, p. 65-72 and Umberto Serrato 10-22/1974-86, p. 57-62

⁸⁷ J. Hussein, 1997, p. 118

⁸⁸ Its inhabitants had been converted to Islam by Mahmud of Ghazni in 1020

⁸⁹ Name given by the Turks and the Seldjucks to a branch of the Khitan tribes, which in the 12th century founded a vast empire in Central Asia (1137-1218). The Khitan were a Mongol people from Manchuria. Buddhists, they defeated the Muslim Seldjuk Turks in 1137-41 and occupied all territories around Amu-Daria and Syr-Daria. They formed thus a kind of Mongol aristocracy of Chinese culture mixed with Muslim Turkish populations. In 1204, Ala-ad-Din Muhammad, the Khwarezm shah asked the Karakhitai to help him to repulse the Gurids. Their empire disappeared under the pressure of the Chingez Khan

armies in 1218.

⁹⁰ *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 2001

⁹¹ K.A. Nizami 1998, p. 184

⁹² Historic region along the Amu Darya (Oxus river) of Turkistan, in the territories of present-day Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. From the late 11th to the early 13th century, Khwarezm was ruled by an independent dynasty, the Khwarezm-shahs, and thereafter it was ruled successively by the Mongols, Timurids, and Shayabanids until the early 16th century, when it became the centre of the Khanate of Khiva under the Uzbek Ilbar dynasty (*Encyclopedia Britannica*, 2001)

⁹³ G. Tucci 1997, p. 4

⁹⁴ Georges Forster 1802, p. 296

⁹⁵ The above notes are taken from O. Caroe, 1958 and Nichols, 2001

⁹⁶ Tradition says that Bajaur belonged to a tribe called Arab up to the time of the Pathan conquest. They paid tribute to the sovereigns of Hindustan. They are now peopled by the Tarkilanri, who are akin to their neighbours the Yusufzai. They entered the country about the end of the 16th century, in: A.H. McMahon & Lt. A.D.G. Ramsay 1901 (reprint 1981), p. 8

⁹⁷ Nichols (p. 9) only speaks of "non-Yusufzais", Caroe (p. 159) speaks of "Gibari", McMahon (p. 61) speaks of "Bibari", Bellew (p. 61) speaks of "Dilazaks".

⁹⁸ In the "Babur-nama" written by Babur in Chagathai Turkish, it is not written who were the people defending the fortress. He only says that "the population was composed of rebel enemies to Islam", p. 39 vol. II, *Mémoires de Baber*, Paris 1875

⁹⁹ Robert Nichols 2001, p. XIV

¹⁰⁰ Ibid, p. 61-2

¹⁰¹ A.H. McMahon & A.D.G. Ramsay 1901 (reprint 1981), p. 58-60

¹⁰² O. Caroe, 1958, p. 173-176

¹⁰³ H.W. Bellew 1864 (reprint 1994), p. 65

¹⁰⁴ H.W. Bellew 1979, p. 65

¹⁰⁵ Ibid, p. 65-66

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, p. 68-9

¹⁰⁷ The Swati at present time in Hazara District, while residing during 500 years mixed with Hindu speaking people, are bilingual: they speak both Pashto and Hindi. When they are residing in isolated areas they still speak pure Pashto and their traditions are almost essentially Pukhtun.

¹⁰⁸ NWFP 1991, p. 217

¹⁰⁹ For details about these events, see: R.C. Majumdar 1984, p. 148-151; and G.B. Malleson 1878, p. 191-6

¹¹⁰ McMahon, 1901, p. 64

- ¹¹¹ Nichols, 2001, p. 26-28
- ¹¹² For details, see: R.C. Majumdar, 1984, p. 231-3
- ¹¹³ Elphinstone 1809, p. 350
- ¹¹⁴ The Marathas, alien plunderers from the South, tried to dominate the Mughal court. They were stubbornly contested by the Afghans for the control over Delhi and north India.
- ¹¹⁵ McMahon 1901, p. 67
- ¹¹⁶ H.W. Bellew, 1864, p. 83
- ¹¹⁷ Ibid, p. 97
- ¹¹⁸ Akbar Ahmed 1976, p. 93, 95, 109
- ¹¹⁹ For details about this period, see the remarkable research work done by Sultan-i-Rome, Matta, Swat (PhD in History, 2001) and his research occasional paper for the FNRS/IUED research: *Merger of Swat with Pakistan: Causes and Effects*, Modern Asia Research Centre, HEI, University of Geneva, Occasional Papers n° 14, April 1999
- ¹²⁰ Sir Aurel Stein, 1929, p. 63-65
- ¹²¹ Information given by Fazal Subhan, EPS, 1999

Chapter Three

The Urban Area

Mingora is situated in a depression surrounded from three sides by low elevation mountains (east, south and west), while the Swat River flows toward the north of the city. It is located at an elevation of 915 meters above mean sea level (Ali 1985), situated in the southern half of the Swat Valley and in the medium rainfall zone. The temperature remains bearable throughout the year. During winter, there is occasional snowfall, which usually melts away on the same day, while during summer the temperature occasionally rises above 37°C during June-July. The months of July and August are the hot and humid months. While June is the dry hot month. October and November are dry autumn months and March, April and May are rainy spring months (Begum et al., 1995). However the precipitation pattern, particularly from February to April, has gradually modified toward more drought since 1998 until in 2001-2 the city received sufficient rainfall during winter.

According to the district census report 1998, the total population of Mingora was 174,669 occupying an area of 27 sq. kilometres. The city is situated at an elevation of 2936 ft above mean sea level occupying a depression approximately one mile wide between Kheta (4515 ft elevation) toward east and Kosa hills (4605 ft elevation) toward southwest of the city. The Sharara Mountains are located toward the south, while the Swat River flows toward the north of the city (Ali, 1974). Hence the city is surrounded from three sides by mountains and hills and one side by the river:

Saidu-Mingora road joins Mingora, the commercial centre and Saidu Sharif the administrative centre that emerged as twin

complementary towns after emergence of the State and developed with State consolidation in due course of time. Saidu Sharif contains all the local and regional administrative and social services and is gradually extending toward Marghuzar valley in the direction of Shagai. Saidu Sharif contains a central residential area comprising old Kacha houses in the surroundings of the shrine of Akhund of Swat¹, surrounded by a combination of public and private houses. Saidu Sharif is also joined with Grand Trunk (GT) Road leading to Peshawar via Amankot, bypassing Mingora. Mingora initially developed around the present Main Bazaar. However in the early 1960s, the New Road was constructed and is at present serving as the main trade centre of the city. The growth of Mingora is in the direction of Jambil valley, along the Madayan road and along the Kanjo road and toward Qambar on the main road leading to Peshawar.

Social Geography

The most important commercially active Pukhtun sub-clan in the valley is that occupying the Tappa Babozai. In Babozai the proportion of ethnic Pukhtun is comparatively lower than the rest of the valley and may not be more than ten percent of the total population. Mingora was the main village of Aka-Maruf and Bamikhel divisions of Babozai sub-clan. Aka-Maruf is further subdivided into Julikhel, Mohammadkhel, Langarkhel, Boostankhel, Mirkhankhel and Katakhel. The Bamikhel is similarly subdivided into Fatehkhankhel, Isakhel, Daulatkhel, Mirkhel, Burhankhel and Haqdadkhel. Aka-Maruf also occupies Ingaro Dherai, while Bamikhel occupies Naway Kalay. Abakhel division of Babozai sub-clan occupies the Amankot area as well as Qambar, Takhtaband, Piraman Dherai and Takhtaband areas presently in the suburbs of Mingora. Abakhel is subdivided into Daulatkhel, Usmankhel, Mirakhel, Pirkhel and Muthkhel.

The development of Mingora into urban territory led to the influx of immigrants, not only from the surrounding rural areas, but also from down the country. The residing of the population having different social backgrounds in a single street/locality within the city is gradually leading to the emergence of new urban culture and the rural based ethnic social bifurcation no more remains valid in its true

sense. However, the main cultural influence in the city is still from the Swat Valley inhabitants, constituting majority of the immigrants. Most of the professional class immigrants from the rural area tend to adopt their ethnic profession on commercial lines, although many observed to deviate, as there are no political obligations or social limitations for doing so in the urban territory. The modern sector urban professions are availed by almost all jobless social groups without any discrimination, while the wage labour is left for the most disadvantaged groups of the rural territory. In Mingora, as the classical nature of social relations of productions prevailing in the rural areas is no more effective, the result is the subsequent gradual change in social behaviour of the rural immigrants. In contrast to the rural area, the household level social interaction in the cities, even in the immediate neighbourhood, are either non-existent or very formal and superficial in nature. For the female members of immigrant families, the urban environment becomes particularly suffocating in the absence of any economic involvement. While periodically visiting the native rural area, the immigrants also transfer some of the urban norms to the rural areas and a process of gradual social transformation is initiated.

During the Second World War, hundreds of Turk refugee families, most probably from the Balkans, took refuge in Mingora. They occupied the area under present Star Market. The main activity adopted by them was selling the long boots. They stayed in Mingora for 2-3 years and then returned to their native land. After establishment of silk industry, many labour families from Punjab migrated to the city. They mainly resided in Rahim Abad and Mingora, occupying the rented houses. Most of the Punjabi families have now returned to their native land after the collapse of the silk industry, while some have opted for permanent settlement adopting other technical professions.

In the previous ten years different Afghan tribes from the areas surrounding Kabul also shifted to Mingora and are now residing in different neighbourhoods of Mingora, occupying rented accommodation. Several sister families hire a group of houses in different territories and usually a few families reside in a single house each occupying a different room. The main immigrants are from the rural areas surrounding Kabul including Bagram, Charikar, Jablussiraj, Gulbahar and other areas in Laghman province. The approximately

650 immigrant families that moved into the city, mainly include the Pukhtu speaking Kochi⁵ tribe. This tribe while retaining permanent settlement in the above named territories traditionally practiced transhumance with Balkhi⁶ sheep flocks between Afghanistan and Pakistan. Gradually some of the sub tribes settled in a dispersed manner in various towns in the NWFP. The sub-tribes settled in Mingora mainly include Akakhel, Sikandarkhel, Salimkhel, Kharooti and Zadrán.

Settlement Patterns

Different types of settlement patterns can be observed in Mingora based upon social classification and utility. There is a combination of traditional and modern styles and transition between the two. The big official buildings and residences of the privileged class, such as the Jehanzeb College, hostels, residences of the Wali family and his ministers, are typically Victorian in style and are influenced by colonial architecture. Small shops, predominantly Pakha at present, are built along the entire length of both sides of the roads inside the city and its suburbs. Periodically there are secondary tributary markets along the Main Bazaar, New Road, GT Road, Madayan Road and Kanjo Road inside the city limits. The labour immigrant residences occupying mainly the sloping hillside are particularly small sized, at the most with one or two rooms of 9-16 square meters each, and a small courtyard with or without verandah. There usually exist a small latrine cum bathroom, however separate kitchen is occasionally available. The interior of the room sidewalls are sometimes plastered with cement, while the floor usually remain Kacha. Such houses mostly contain independent immigrant families. The older component villages of Mingora also occasionally contain entirely Kacha houses.

Between the markets in the city centre and the labour immigrants' hillside settlements are the middle class residential areas. The middle class residences contain a large variety of styles and a combination of traditional and modern architecture and are almost entirely Pakha. Separate kitchens and multiple bathrooms are common with extended families living together. A commercial central area surrounded by middle class residential areas and a subsequent steep sloped settlement zone occupied mainly by labour

immigrants from the surrounding valley, and therefore, characterise the settlement pattern in Mingora city.

Two perennial streams coming from Jambil (southeast) and Marghuzar valley (southwest) joins together in the modern city centre creating a Y-shaped trisection of the city creating three main physical land divisions. The main land division, thus emerged consist of (a) Mingora, Naway Kalay and Ingaro Dherai toward the east and northeast sides; (b) Makan Bagh, Gulkada, College Colony, Saidu Sharif, and Shagai toward the south side; and (c) Faizabad, Amankot, and Rahim Abad toward the west side.

Toward the exterior in all the three directions, the inner most rings is the stream bank, mainly containing flood-exposed colonies with mostly rented houses occupied by technical labour class, particularly near the main junction. Toward the side valleys, however, the stream bank has residential/farming use. The consecutive ring, previously comprising marsh or irrigated field has been converted on 'A' side to main commercial markets and on 'B' side into main service area (hospitals, education institution and playgrounds etc). On 'C' side the land is partly still cultivated, partly occupied by residential/commercial area and partly covered through General Bus Stand. Main roads in the city mostly pass through this ring. Toward the Swat riverside (Takhtaband and Ingaro Dherai) most of the land is still under cultivation, but is being gradually occupied by city expansion. The subsequent ring of raised gentle area in almost all the directions comprises the original village sites where now mainly the residential colonies of middle income class are situated. The drains are available and the approach paths are wider and mostly Pakha. Separate kitchens, bathrooms and latrines are available in almost every house either occupied by the landowner or rented out to middle income group. The reason for concentration of a particular income group at a particular locality is that when the well-off start construction in a particular locality, the other rushes to the area and the land price goes up. The weaker segments avail the opportunity by selling the land at higher prices for new house construction at a cheaper and mostly steeper or remote locality plus saving money for investment.

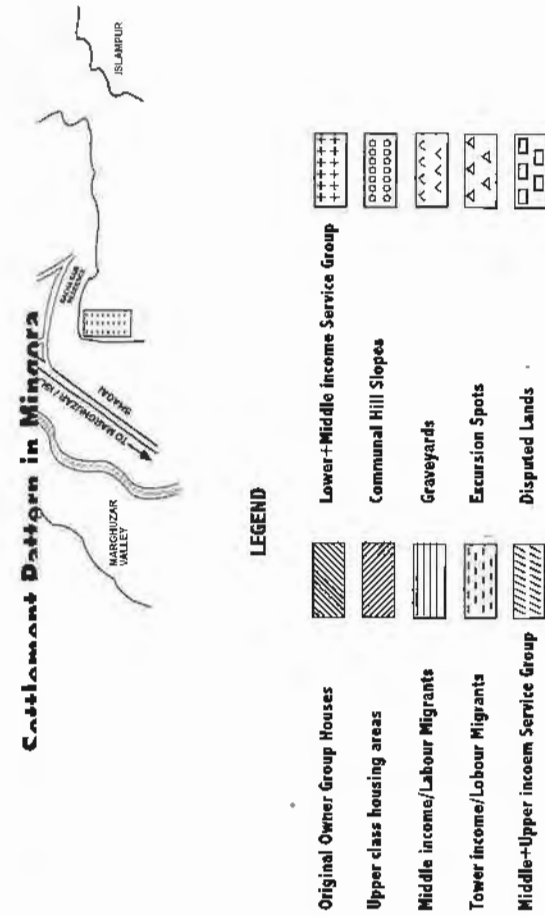
Three big playgrounds were established on main Saidu-Mingora road and a golf ground at Kabal. Children parks were established at College Colony, Fiza Ghat and Rahim Abad. The service sector

comprising medical and veterinary hospitals, degree college for boys, secondary schools for boys and girls, orphan girls' hostel and technical training centre (Maskan), police station and municipality with a public library. Modern residential colonies for serving people were established at Saidu Sharif and on the land between Mingora and Saidu Sharif. The main administration offices, civil works department, district jail and judicial departments were established at Saidu Sharif.

Despite rapid development Mingora still possess the traditional rural character. The elite dominate the feudal city by controlling the main religious, political, administrative and social functions. The spatial manifestation of this control was the wealthy, exclusive central core surrounded by an extensive area of the poor settlement. Similarly, the proliferation of shantytown is more a function of rural distress and high rates of demographic growth than of urban processes per se (Gilbert and Gugler, 1995⁷). The outermost ring, mostly on steep hill slopes, contains the rural labour immigrants' colonies mainly constructed on the purchased land. The construction style of residences (particularly of the rural tenants) is different from that of the rural area. The sedentary Gujars mostly occupy, along with their herds, the Barani⁸ hillside lands for mixed type cattle for commercial utility or lease the most fertile lands on the riverside for buffalo commercial milk production. They supply milk for the greater proportion of population involved in off-farm business activity with out their own herd. Before the inception of the state, a particular area in every village was selected for residential construction, mainly on the less productive land sites. All the population resided in the joined consolidated villages mainly for security. After permanent settlement and improved security after consolidation, every land owner was free to construct house anywhere on his owned land. With the passage of time more and more fertile lands were occupied by residential accommodation, particularly by the remittance earned by the immigrants.

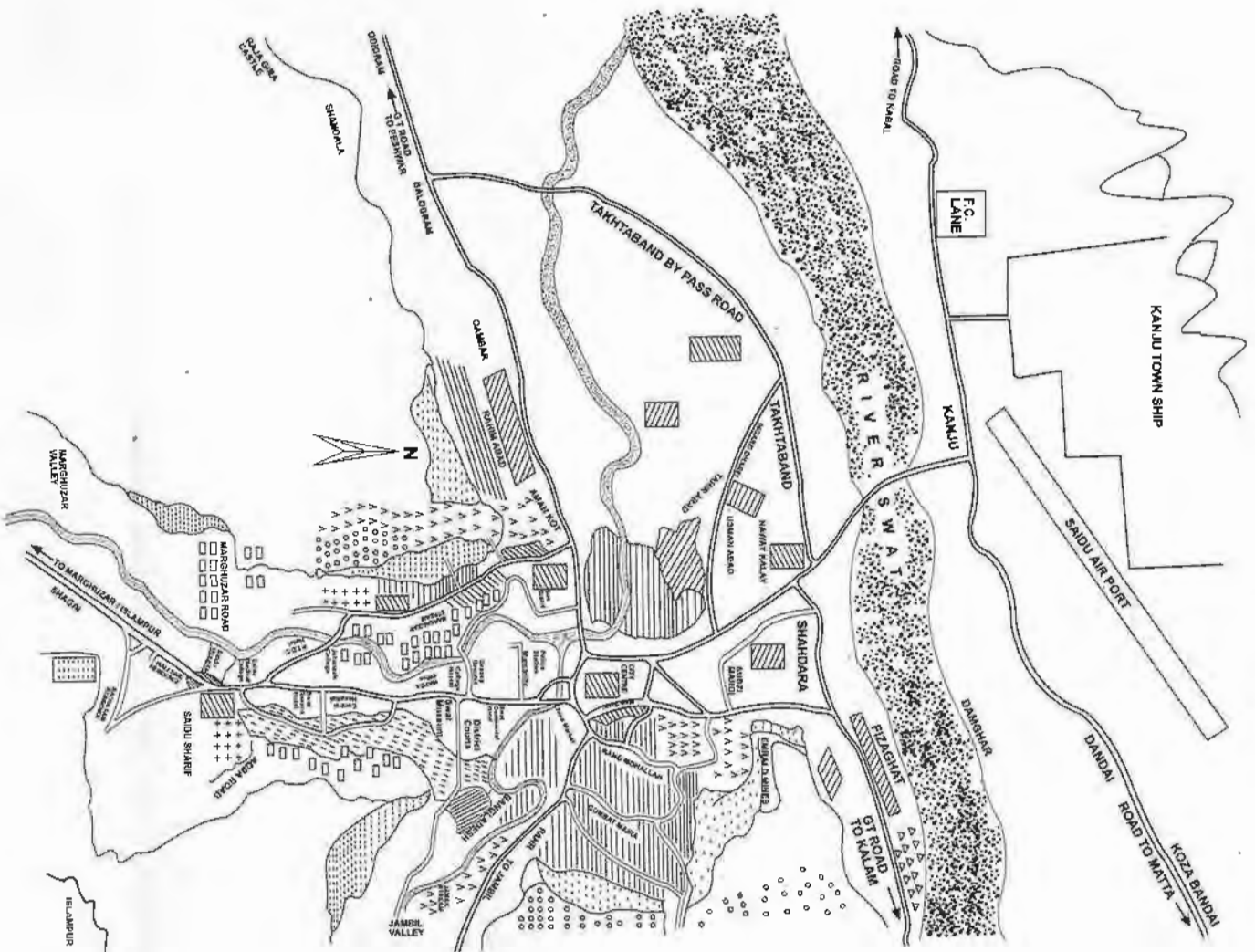
Links of Mingora with its Surroundings

The Tangas (horse-driven two wheel cart) were the early conveyance introduced in the plain area of the valley, probably during the middle of nineteenth century. The Swat valley was subsequently connected



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Settlement Pattern in Mingora



LEGEND

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| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Original Owner Group Houses Upper class housing areas Middle income/Labour Migrants Tower income/Labour Migrants Middle+Upper Income Service Group | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lower+Middle Income Service Group Communal Hill Slopes Graveyards Excursion Spots Disputed Lands |
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through a Tanga road with the valley of Peshawar. Tanga service was established through the Malakand pass (Dargai and Thana) during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. During the Buddhist period three cart roads through Malakand, Shahkot and Charhath were available and probably routinely used, but were abandoned during the Pukhtun occupation. The Buddhist cart road passing through Malakand was repaired and British promoted establishment of a regular Tanga service. The service was gradually established from Peshawar to Mardan, then Dargai, Thana and finally to Mingora during the first quarter of twentieth century.

Mingora is linked with the cities of Mardan, Peshawar, and Islamabad through the GT Road⁹. There also exists a small airport for fokker flights (60 passengers capacity) to Islamabad and Peshawar. Mingora is linked with the rest of the valley and regional towns in the surrounding regions through different levels of road network.

Settlements in the region developed when the administrative sub-centres for the surrounding regions were established in Timergara (district headquarter of Lower Dir), Dir (district headquarter of Upper Dir and the headquarter of merged Dir State), and Bajour (agency head quarter of Bajour). The establishment of administrative centre subsequently led to segregation of social and public services. These services generally included the highest education institutions like intermediate or degree colleges, district headquarter hospital, district and session courts, banks and main communication centres. Such segregation subsequently led to more inflow of people from the surrounding regions with subsequent initiation of economic activities and the process of urbanisation gathered momentum. There also exist other smaller towns with no such administrative segregation, for example the establishment of the town of Batkhela was the result of its situation on the main junction of Peshawar plains, Dir/Bajour valley and Swat valley and not on the basis of administrative centrality. Similarly, the main town of Sawarhai in Buner is also developing because of its geographical location. The town of Pacha Kalay in Buner has flourished manly because of the presence of the shrine of Pir Baba and that of Kalam, Bahrain and Madayan on the basis of tourism. Mingora is linked with the entire surrounding regional towns through roads and telecommunication services.

Parallel road runs from Mingora downward and upward on both sides of River Swat. The road of the eastern bank leads to Totakan in the south and to Bagh Dherai just south of Madayan toward the north. The road of the eastern bank is the main GT Road, while the western bank road is the ordinary service road¹⁰. Both the roads are linked through bridges near Totakan, Chakdara, Barikot, Khwazakhela and Bagh Dherai. The western bank road gives out branches to the tributary valleys of Sakhra, Matta, Shawar, Nikipikhel and Khazana. The link road¹¹ leading to Nikipikhel area gives away a secondary road linking the area with the valley of Adinzai via Tutano Bandai and joins with the GT Road leading to Bajour, Dir and Chitral. This GT Road originates and crosses the river at Pul-Sawkai¹² from the downward GT Road. The upward GT Road leading to Kalam give away branches to the valleys of Chail, Bishigram, Miandam, Malam Jaba, and Banjout. Near Khwazakhela an ordinary service road is separated from the upward GT Road and lead to Bisham, where it joins the Karakoram highway leading to China. This road gives away subsequent link roads to Pooran/Martoong, Lilaunai, Chakaisar and Shahpur. An ordinary service road is separated from downward GT Road at Barikot and leads to Buner district. At Batkhela the downward GT Road divert from the riverbank to cross the Malakand pass and link with the National Highway at Mardan. A link road however still advances along the eastern bank of the river to Totakan and Qulangai and crosses the Qulangai pass to Kot and joins the main GT Road at Dargai down the Malakand pass.

At Thana two link roads branch out from the downward GT Road. One leading to Palai, through Charhath pass, subsequently connects with the road network of southern part of Malakand agency and Mardan district. The other proceeds to the village of Dheri Alladand, again joining the downward GT Road at Amandara near Batkhela. At Mingora two link roads lead to Jambil and Marghuzar/Islampur side valleys. The link road leading to Jambil is going to be extended to Buner soon and will shorten the distance between the two regions by at least 40 percent. The upward GT Road beyond Madayan crosses the river and subsequently proceeds through the western bank of river Swat and ends at Kalam in Swat Kohistan. After reaching Kalam two link roads branch out, one leading to Ushu, Matiltan and Mahodand (northeast) and the

other to Utrore, Gabral and Bella (north west). The Utrore valley link road is going to be extended to Tal Lamotai area in Dir Kohistan.

Notes

- ¹ Ali. U, (1985) *Settlement Pattern in Swat Valley*. PhD Thesis, Department of Geography, University of Peshawar, Pakistan
- ² Begum. T, Nizamuddin, Sharifullah, F. Shaheen and A. Raisani (1995) *Swat Valley Flood of 1995: Causes, Effects, Perception, Responses and Remedies*. A Geo-morphological Survey Report. Department of Geography, University of Peshawar Pakistan
- ³ Ali. U (1974) *Land Use and Urban Patterns in Mingora City, Swat*. M.Sc. Thesis, Department of Geography, University of Peshawar.
- ⁴ The grandfather of first Wali of Swat and a famous saint
- ⁵ Kochis are also known as Galzai in Afghanistan, basically transhumant people moving with their fat-tail sheep flocks (adopted to semi-arid and arid environment) and Camels (for carrying luggage) between the upland pastures of Hindukush mountains in the surroundings of Kabul in summer and Plains of Peshawar, Bannu, Dera Ismail Khan and suburbs of Qandahar in Southern Afghanistan during winter, casually extending up to Potohar plateau in the north of Punjab. While traveling across the difficult terrain between Central Asian region and Indian sub-continent, they also gradually adopted the cloth trade. After temporary settlement in a territory during transhumance, both the male and female family members used to sell the clothes (at door to door level retail) in the surrounding rural areas.
- ⁶ Fat-tailed heavy breed of sheep derives its name from Balkh region in the north of Afghanistan south of the Amu River.
- ⁷ Gilbert. A and J. Gugler. 1995. *Cities, poverty and development* (2nd Ed) Oxford University Press Inc., New York.
- ⁸ Rain-fed lands.
- ⁹ Used for heavy traffic and goods transaction
- ¹⁰ Used for medium level traffic and load transaction
- ¹¹ Used only for access to the area and occasional load transaction.
- ¹² A settlement between Thana and Batkhela

Chapter Four

The Pukhtun Society

Socio-political and cultural changes in traditional Pukhtun society in Swat Valley speeded up during the twentieth century: From a completely tribal society at the start of the twentieth century, the area occupied by ethnic Pukhtuns¹, i.e. the valley bottom in particular, was predominantly urbanised by the end of the century. Mountain ecology partly shaped the Pukhtun identity, political strategy and economic structure (Barth, 1969²). After shifting from a relatively dry and harsh environment to a more fertile valley of Swat, the traditional Pukhtun society in general assumed a classical structure, most probably under the influence of Indian classical civilisation, by subjugating the defeated residents and acquiring their subordinate working class. The Yousafzai Pukhtuns, after expulsion from Kabul during 1485³, migrated to Peshawar valley and eventually became master of all the land in Swat valley during 1515 AD, when they invaded the area and expelled the Swati Pukhtuns⁴, the previous occupants of the region having an established state structure with their head quarter at Manglawar (Ahmad 1976⁵). The artisans (potter, carpenter, blacksmith, weaver) probably stayed with the newly migrated Yousafzai Pukhtuns. The Swati who remained in the area were reduced to the conditions of paupers⁶ (Faqirs), without any property (Elphinstone, 1972⁷).

Pukhtunwali - The Tribal Code

Traditional societies have produced a rich, flexible legal systems well adapted to local circumstances. Indigenous law offers the population

residing in a particular environment, a range of suitable solutions to their needs (Verhelst, 1992⁸). After occupying the valley no regular government was established, but a communal tribal structure was adopted, maintained by the traditional Pukhtu codes. The value orientation on which Pukhtunwali is based, emphasises male autonomy, self-expression and aggressiveness (Barth, 1969). These customary codes were equally applicable to most of the subordinate tribes as well (Ahmed 1980⁹). No Pukhtun was master of another. He was not bounded by tedious rules that could defile him. Pukhtunwali was the core of Pukhtun social behaviour. The larger rules of Islam were often reduced to formal prayers. Apart from the codes of Pukhtu every Pukhtun was largely free to organise his life for himself. Above all, in a traditional sense, the Pukhtuns were free in the most profound political sense. They interpreted for action the fundamental requirements of Pukhtunwali (McMahon et al., 1901¹⁰). For example, there is still little social shame attached to the act of smuggling, which is illegal. If a person smuggles, that is his own business. Society may not approve, but will not act against him as long as he does not violate the Pukhtunwali (Ahmed 1980). The main codes of Pukhtunwali included:

- Badal (Revenge) is one of the primary laws. It is to be wrecked, regardless of cost, time and space. According to a proverb: "Who does not give a blow for a pinch, is not a Pukhtun".
- Tarboorwali (Agnate rivalry involving patri-lateral parallel male cousins usually of that generation). Pukhtun tribal society has codified agnatic rivalry and numerous normative behaviours may be understood in this context.
- Tor (Black) used in cases where the chastity of a woman is compromised. Every Pukhtun is obliged to kill both the male and female involved in Tor, to remove the dot of Tor to become Spin (White). Spin is the opposite of Tor and is the process through which guilt in Tor is mitigated.
- Paighoor (evocation of shame through constant pressure on woman at the water collecting place Goodar and men in the Hujra) is a powerful social mechanism for conformity. The evocation is made for non-Pukhtun conduct and mainly given by agnatic kin (Tarboor).
- Swarah¹¹ is the wedding of a female in compensation to the aggrieved party as a precondition for the truce, particularly after

- committing a murder.
- Mailmastia (Hospitality) is one of the stronger traditions, and considered as a sign of dignity and honour. The misers (Shoom) are hated in the Pukhtun traditions. Apart from providing food and shelter, it also includes protection to the life, property and honour of the guest.
- Pannah (Asylum) is the taking of refuge by someone trying to escape from his enemy. Every Pukhtun is obliged to provide Pannah to the seekers, even if the seeker is his personal enemy.
- Nanawatee is another important code.¹² It is the act of supplication by visiting the opponent's house and asking for forgiveness, usually with Holy Quran. The female members of the household and religious class supporters also accompany the delegation. Honouring the act by showing reciprocal magnanimity is valued as a sign of dignity.
- Namooos (Honour) mainly include the promise, chastity of woman, defense of the Faqir and those availing Pannah.
- Nang (defending the honour) is pure democracy for the Pukhtun and limits the growth of individual power. Through the code of Nang every Pukhtun is obliged to care for the honor and dignity of his Faqir (tenants or other leasing his house) and those who take refuge with him and support his agnates and friends. Nangwali is more holistically prevalent among the Pukhtun residing in dry hilly region, while in plain fertile area the opposing concept of Tarboorwali is more dominant (Ahmed, 1976).
- Jirga (Elders' assembly) is the regulatory mechanism to decide specific issues, whose decisions are binding on parties in conflicts.
- Tiga (Truce) is the stone placed at the venue of decisions made in a Jirga, when it is constituted in special circumstances comprising equal number of elders from both conflicting parties, with or without a facilitator group (Ahmad 1980). The Tiga is often time bound and temporary in nature. For example two enemies may suspend their animosity temporarily during external aggression for the time being.
- Badraga (Escort) is another important social obligation, wherein an enemy is escorted for his safe passage through the territory.
- Lakhkar is the assembling of fighting youth of Pukhtun along

with their own weapons/ammunition and fighting servants (Tayar Khore¹³) in the form of troops to fight the opposing factions.

Political System and Leadership

Territorial Organisation and Development of Human Settlement

The Watan¹⁴ of Swat was divided into a hierarchy of physical subdivision traditionally called Tapa¹⁵. The proportion of landowner population in different Tapas has been estimated to vary from 10-30 per cent (Barth, 1959a). Each Tapa contained a main village occupied by the leading Pukhtun segments called Da Masharai Zay¹⁶. Such a village possessed the ownership of at least half of the total land in the territory with four or five other smaller villages strategically dispersed, located and occupied by different sub-sections of clan occupying a Tapa. In many situations the main subsections are equally dispersed in different bigger villages or otherwise the different smaller villages contain only one sub-clan each.

Within the main village different sub-clans occupy different wards. Most of the villages possess 2-4 such wards (Palau/Cham¹⁷) but the larger villages may contain more. The wards are the unit of administration and political life and may contain 500-2000 people or 50-300 houses tied together through a reciprocal welfare mechanism on the occasion of sorrow and celebrations. Those participating in the welfare mechanism all called the members of the Tal¹⁸. Even the political opponents may be members of the same Tal. Each Palau usually contains a single Hujra¹⁹ named after the occupant Pukhtun sub-clan or, when there are more prominent leaders, may contain more than one and then named after the leader. In return for the numerous pleasures and benefits of a Hujra membership, the small landowners/non-landowner villagers are obliged to submit to the presiding Khan authority and thus forfeit an unspecified part of their political freedom. On the other hand, it is not compulsory for a person to be a member of any Hujra and many villagers may opt to remain uncommitted. Both the option have apparent advantages and

disadvantages, however practically most of the villagers compromise by making a nominal contact with a particular landowner and thus comes within his sphere of influence (Barth, 1959a).

The Pukhtun tribal society is generally characterised by rural level social organisations. The Tal can be considered as the basic unit of integrated social system containing the entire welfare characteristics of the segmentary society. The village containing many Tal is the subsequent level of organisation, less integrated socially but more economical through weaker economic actors like Hindu/Sikh and Paracha. The religious class mostly acts in conflict resolving mechanisms among different Tals in a village and also among different villages. Inception of still broader level of regional organisation at Tapa level existed but has been significantly weakened by Dalla politics. Different Dallahs within the same village and among different villages recurrently fought with each others and were prohibitive to evolution of a regional level organisation. Even in the later stages two large village-wise dispersed Dallahs evolved throughout the Swat Valley, but did not compromise on a regional level integrity. Such system was prohibitive to evolution of an urbanised territory. The subsequent lack of peace at regional level prevented the main economic actors to promote economic activities, which could lead to the emergence of an urban centre. The available economic actors were politically weaker and were unable to subsequently invest their earnings due to fear of Pukhtun warlords. The Pukhtun and religious landowners on the other hand considered trade as a shameful activity²⁰. Finally the circulatory land tenure system of Wesh was characterised by transitional stay at a single locality and prevented erection of durable buildings for commercial activities. Communication other than trekking was almost entirely absent and the remains of Buddhist cart tracks were abandoned and never used, hence massive goods transactions were also not possible. All these factors were prohibitive to urbanisation and kept the rural and tribal society intact.

A house is the basic unit of economic and social life. Households maintaining it as an independent economic unit occupy a house. Its members work together, pool their income, may cook jointly and possess a formal male head. The landless usually have elementary²¹ families, while the relatively bigger landowners mostly have nucleated²² families. The formal head represents the house at

any external forum and may take any decision on behalf of the house. All the members occupying the house are obliged to follow the decision taken by the formal head (Lindholm, 1996).

State Organisation and Political Power

The landowner Pukhtun serves as political patrons to all the segments residing in his ward. There is no concept of central authority and permanent obligation to serve a particular warlord. On the other hand, within a ward or Tal, a Khan has to be a worthy Pukhtun to deserve the obedience of his men in return for honor, generous rewards and some times land grants. When the ability of a leader wanes or when he dies, another man capable of filling the role, and not necessarily a close relative of old leader, replaces him. Furthermore, leaders possess no judicial powers. They lead by suggestion and force of their character and could be disobeyed at any time (Lindholm, 1996). In many localities, certain men among the Pukhtun are accepted as leaders and spokesmen for the group mainly on the basis of their ability and experience. They subsequently become able within narrow bounds to direct the activities of their fellows. These leaders are called Maliks. For the additional burden to serve the increasing hospitality on behalf of the community, they are provided with additional land unit in the form of Sarai. They have variably worked as the men to communicate with any external force on behalf of the community they represent. The Malikship in majority of situations stays within the same family (Spain, 1963).

Before the establishment of the State and during the early period, the local society was built on economic interdependence and political clientage. The tenants and artisans lease land and carried out labour contract in exchange of grains with the landowner Pukhtuus. The landless class and small landholders among Pukhtuns served as political followers of the Pukhtuns landlord leaders or Khans. The leaders in turn were dependent on having large and effective following to serve them under threat and in battles. The mutual interdependence created a soft term social interrelationship between the leaders and followers, getting more strength through loyalty and devotion. To further enhance this mutual interrelationship on sustainable basis, the Khans²³ were

obliged to practice a suitable mixture of protection, coercion, hospitality and largesse, focusing on feasting, companionship and group control in the Hujra through the codes of Pukhtunwali. The Khans were judged against the ideals of the weight, solidity, forcefulness, hospitality and manhood. Followers on the other hand, are quick to abandon a loosing Khan and join a rising leader. The result was a combination of strong leaders and volatile followers. Neighbouring Khans, particularly the agnate kin, were the general competitors for land, following and influence. A Pukhtun profit might theoretically be increased in two ways, i.e. either they combine to exploit the non-owners or snatch estate from other landowners. The second option was commonly adopted as the non-owners were already living barely above subsistence level and depended on Khan's hospitality. Secondly, the landowners could not maintain themselves as a group being several times lesser in number than the non-owners and hence not able to sustain their reaction (Barth, 1959a).

The religious group provides regional leaders during periods of threats. Being neutral in the Dalla politics they are mostly agreed upon to be the leaders and as mediators in local conflicts. A Mulla that is a chief person at a mosque and leads the congregation in prayer is called Imam. Mulla plays a significant role in mass mobilisation and opinion-making. Apart from leading the prayers, he also provides religious education to children. Manjawars are the custodians of shrines and they receive tributes in the name of saints.

The Power Game

Besides pitting their local followers against each other, each Khan also seeks reciprocal support of distant Khans against their close rivals leading to the formation of dispersed reciprocally reinforcing factional groups called Dalla (Barth 1985). Dallahs remain involved in the power game of the village with simultaneous rise and fall. When one Dalla obtains extraordinary power, the other Dallahs in the surrounding area get united and reduce its power. However, at any particular time in a particular area there exists a powerful faction (Bande Dalla²³) and a less powerful one (Lande Dalla²⁴). The Jirga of the Bande Dalla for the time being rules all the matter concerning a village. Gradually by a compelling systemic logic the dispersed alliances are built up into two grand Dallahs,

throughout the valley²⁵ (Barth, 1959a). The Dallah play a decisive role in the power politics of the valley even now. Subjectively, the Dallah has only one purpose, i.e. to allow the participants to defeat and destroy his Tarboor. On the other hand, Tarboor though enemies at one time are also one's reliable allies when a more distant opponent appears. Hence the unity and opposition shifts into one another simultaneously according to circumstances. There is no ideological content, nor is a sense of loyalty towards the Dallah and simultaneous shifting between the Dallah is therefore a common phenomenon.

Before the emergence of the State, Swat was a society of heroes, battles, courage and betrayal. The Dallah system and relative equality among Pukhtuns did not allow the evolution of a central administrative organisation. On the other hand, the pride of Lande Dallah occasionally led them to intrigue with some neighbouring ruler²⁶ to help them suppress the Bande Dallah to redress the balance of power. However, when the helping ruler tried to impose his authority and taxes, both the rival Dallahs opted to unite against the invader. After the expulsion of the invader the Dallahs begin a fresh war as the prestige of both the parties again equalised (Lindholm, 1996²⁷). The landowner Khans received surpluses from the tenants and used to spend all they had in factional fighting, Mailmastia, weapon purchase and keeping Tayar Khore for his factional fighting (Khan, 1962).

On one hand, the survival of a tribe depended upon its unity and the surrounding tribes always waited for internal conflicts to emerge, to make their invasion possible. The 'might is right' policy in the surrounding areas also demanded the ever ready and ever-practicing fighters, particularly those claiming and defending the productive natural resource base ownership. Hence a balance between unity and diversity was necessary to maintain the sovereignty, power and resource ownership and at the same time difficult to maintain. The regular factional fighting among the sister clans was hence an obligation to keep them prepared, keep the subordinate tribes pressed and prevented from any possible revolt from their side. On the other hand, the factional fighting made the valley extremely vulnerable to external threats at regional level.

Before the start of the century no formal or non-formal state authority in the valley existed since the invasion of Yousafzai tribe.

The only valid institution was Jirga, the centuries old forum and assembly where issues of common interest were discussed and decided by consensus. The Jirga did not possess a monolithic, uniform identity, but function in different forms under different sets of laws, both statutory and customary (Ali, 1998²⁸). The jurisdiction of Jirga included all community functions, both public and private. It exercised executive, judicial, and legislative functions and frequently acted as an instrument for arbitration or conciliation (Spain, 1963²⁹). In working out the proper settlement, the Jirga members were obliged to consider the requirement of Pukhtunwali (Ahmad, 1976). A family within a village breaching the rules of the tribe or committing a crime was put to trial in a Jirga and those not abiding to the decision were punished in different ways.

Besides providing religious services, different Istanadars³⁰ were also invited off and on to decide a dispute, if the Jirga of both parties could not mutually settle it. In situations of external threat, the person of holy status among the religious leaders was able to unite the opposing Dallahs to follow him on the ewe of Jihad. The Pukhtuns also used to put all their belongings in the houses of Miangan during opponents' aggression, or expulsion from the village.

Subordinate Classes: Origin and Role

Tenants and Agricultural Labour

The tenants either were the Gujars, the remnants of defeated Swati and Dalazak tribes³¹ or the local Pukhtuns after losing their land ownership. However, some of the tenants also belonged to the Khatak, Mohmand and Kohistani tribes, who migrated from their mostly barren areas due to poverty (Elphinstone, 1972) or after losing their lands due to animosity. They are obliged to adopt this labour-intensive profession, as they neither had the ethnic artisan background for any less laborious technical profession nor they are inclined to adopt, for being considered low-grade professions. Tenants, with few family male and female labour force not able to effectively perform the tenancy worked as agricultural labourers. The tenancy was either communal or personal in nature.

The Gujars and Ajar are the communal tenants mostly utilising the Shamilaat³² land, providing agreed upon lease amount to the Tal

leader that is in turn distributed among the shareholders. The Ajars also bring occasionally a buck/ram or woolen shawl/cap for effective Tal member on his own will (Naray). The personal tenancy contracts are generally of three broader types: Ijaragar³³ are the tenants paying a rent mostly in kind for the use of land based upon the net productivity of land. Brakha-Khore³⁴ receive a share in the crop. They are generally given one third to one fourth of the total grain yield, in case seeds, manure and plough bulls, are arranged by landowners. Otherwise they receive half the share. The share in crop residues is however not fixed. In some areas these completely go to tenants, in order to retain land fertility (the tenant livestock remains at the owner's farm, produce manure for use. Daiqan are simply agricultural labourer given land, tools and manure and one fifth of the total produce.

The agricultural labour is of two types. The first type (Mazdoor) completely remain attached to the land owner, household helping him during farming, bringing firewood for him, and his share for Hujra. He, along with his family, helps him during harvesting, sowing, weed thinning, threshing, delivery of maize and wheat grain to and fro of the water mill and carrying out mud plaster on roofs before the onset of winter rains along with other off and on activities. His family members also work inside the house of the land owner. He and his family in turn receive all their needs including food, cloths and residing place annexed to the land owner's house. Later on the Mazdoor while residing away from the farmer home, performs the job in return for annual salary or piece of land plus some other facilities. The second type of agricultural labour is the buffalo labourer (Maikhba). He is provided with specific amount of maize per buffalo, plus residential house and specific amount of loan money (Mushaqat). The Maikhba could not leave the job until he returns the money or the new owner is ready to return his loan. The Maikhba is allowed to maintain one buffalo for his own family, using the owner's feed and forage. Maikhba with the ethnic background of Gujars are preferred because of their professional efficiency and skill. Faqirs are users of the rain-fed infertile lands providing a fixed amount of grain and family labour to the land owners for specified labour days during Harh, Assu and Manay seasons (Barth, 1959a). They are additionally obliged to bring firewood of landowner share to the Tal Mosque (Darh) along with the oily roots of Pines (Litkay)

particularly for fuel. The subordinate tribes of a particular Pukhtun clan are jointly termed as Pargana.

Among communal labourer the cattle herder was called Ghoba. He used to collect cattle of whole village for grazing on the common hillside grazing land early in the morning and bring these back during evening. He received specific amount of grains in return from every household containing cattle. Early in the morning each household gathered the cattle on a common ground at the boundary of the village called Panghaley. From Panghaley the Ghoba used to lead livestock to the communal grazing land toward the hillside, while returning back in the evening. Before the initiation of the process of urbanisation, the present Taj Chowk was the Panghaley of Mingora village. The present Malook Abad and Gumbat Maira up to Pataney was the communal grazing area of Mingora village. Kakhay was another communal seasonal grain receiving labourer, with the duty of preventing free grazing livestock from consuming the crops. His role was to get hold of the unauthorised crop consuming livestock and inform the landowner accordingly, who in turn received the crop losses from the livestock owners, conversely he would be held responsible for the menace. The Obowarhay was the water carrier to the Mosque for ablution and water for spray in the courtyards of Hujra during summer employed in areas with remote water source. Akhund was the mosque labourer for cleaning, lightning and heating during winter in cooler regions. The Larba was another mosque labourer, routinely bringing firewood for the mosque particularly in cooler regions. The Larba were employed for the mosque when the forests were near. However, with the gradual remoteness of the forest, the alternative mechanism was Darh. At a transitional phase, however both worked, the Larba collecting the dried smaller branches, while Darh contained more hard wood.

Artisans

The artisanal services were traditionally provided in return for a specific amount of grains. Each village and sometime different Khels in big villages had one family of carpenters (Tarkan). Apart from doing all the woodwork in houses or mosque construction, preparing wooden tools and large wooden boxes Tarkan prepared the frames for Kat³⁵ and Katkey³⁶. Another professional called

Daroozgar made the legs of Kat and Katkey. Different types of woods were used for different utensils and equipment based on hardness and elasticity of the concerned wood. The prepared frames were subsequently delivered to another professional group called Shakhel. The Shakhel used to weave the frame with leather threads. These Shakhel, apart from their professional efficiency in leather making were also the music specialists. They were specially invited on different ceremonies for performing vocal art.

The Inger's duty was to make and sharpen agricultural, shooting and fighting equipment. In small villages the same person did both the activities of carpenter and smith, indicating their single evolutionary background. Some of Ingers also leased the water channels and used to install indigenous water running wheat/maize-grinding mills (Jranda) and rice de-hulling mills (Paikoo) on commercial lines. They provided the service in return for share (Maz) in grains brought to the mill. The lease amount was also mostly provided to the owners in the form of grain. Another category of Jranda was the Jranda of the Tal (Belonging to the specified community), where in some areas the Jradagarhey (the mill operator and grain collector) used to collect the grains from every household and receive Maz in return for the whole service. Some Jranda could function through out the year (mostly on main riverside), while others were seasonal, only functional during summer (inside some side valleys). When the seasonal Jranda could not work, the Paracha of the village used to bring the grains to far away riverside Jranda.

The Paracha are of two types i.e. the external or long distance traders and the luggage transporters from the towns down the country. The internal Paracha residing in the village, transport different commodities within the village. They transport mud for plastering roofs and walls of houses. The grains are delivered and collected back from water mills. Their main activity is however the transport of grains gathered in the field (Draman) after crop threshing (Ghobal) to the house stores (Kandu). They also deliver manure (Sara) from the compost (Dairan) to the fields. Every village or groups of hamlets have their own internal Paracha. Some Paracha families remained specifically involved in long distance trade of common salt and raw sugar (Gurh) and were not dependent on the work for food system of the traditional rural society. They

established mule back trade links between Gilgit, Chitral, Mardan and Peshawar for common salt, Gurh, seeds used in curry powder, dry fruits, honey, butter-oil and medicinal plants up to the early part of 20th century. In this manner they earned a lot of money, but could not invest it mainly because of the fear of Pukhtuns. Under local traditions they were also not able to purchase land.

The barbers (Nai), apart from their role as hair dresser/beard shaver, also perform the duties of informer for different meetings and ceremonies and are then termed Qasabgar. They used to beat drum before the march for attack (Lakhkar) during Pukhtu times to inform the people to assemble. Those particularly selected for the purpose are called Dam. They also use to beat the drums on the occasion of wedding, male-child birth, and male-child circumcisions and on Eid-ul-Azha morning (annual religious festival). The male child circumcision is an important duty of Nai. The Nai also cook rice and meat in large utensils called Daig during various ceremonies. The cooking of Daig is however not particularly specified to Nai only. In some areas Inger and Tarkan also perform the cooking service. The aged females of Nai's are called Nayanrha. Apart from playing the role of messengers between families and conveying gifts among relatives and friendly families, they prepare the bride and carry out necessary makeup on her wedding. The Nayanrha also carried out hair massaging with simple oil and tie up the hair (Kamsai) of the Pukhtun females. Almost every kheī had their independent family of Nai. The Nai, apart from their routine grain share, also received supplementary grants in shape of money on wedding days from the bridegrooms guests, while fumigating special leaves (Nazar Panra) in front of them in order to avoid the bad sight (Pazar Mati).

The Kulals are the potters and they make both polished and unpolished baked-clay utensils for water storage, drinking, eating and cooking purposes, while Joulagan³⁷ are the weavers. They exchanged their crafts for grains. Zargar is the goldsmith and Tili the oil presser. Jalawan or Manrkay is the ferryman and reside in the villages lying near the crossing points on the main river. Batyar is another key person in the rural society, who cooks maize in hot dry sand on grain share basis in a large metallic pot fixed in the mud above a fire place (Bat) and is a very popular actor among the rural children. The cotton threader (Nandaap) is a mobile artisan with a

base in any particular village. He routinely visits different villages and hamlets, taking his cotton threading equipment (Daindot) with him, and threshes the compacted cotton for re-use inside the sleeping covers and pillows before the onset of winter. In bigger villages there are however, permanently settled Nandaap. Another mobile professional is called Banjara. He visits different villages with a basket of petty makeup and other daily use item to sell these in exchange for eggs and grains etc. Sarkhamar is the tailor, while Chamyar or Moochi are the leather worker and shoemakers and these professions emerged late during the nineteenth century. Koochwani is the horse cart (Tanga) drivers and were introduced after the road access to the valley was extended.

Hindus and Sikhs residing in the valley are the village level traders (Banrhia). Even after converting to Islam they continue the business activity. The trade is considered as a low-grade activity and no Pukhtun was ready in the past to do the job even during extreme poverty. The profession was blamed for making the people lethargic with subsequent inability to fight. The livestock traders are called Saudagar. Different tenants and Gujars from the down area have adopted the profession. They periodically visit the area to purchase livestock and shift these to the nearest livestock market. The livestock trade is called Baipar and possession of livestock is termed wealth (Maal). During the absence of individual land ownership, those who possessed large number of livestock were considered wealthier (Maaldar).

General Living Conditions

The values, institutions and behaviour pattern as well as modes of production in traditional systems are full of potential for creating alternative models of societies (Verhelst, 1992). In the tribal society due to the lack of centralised state authority, the rural level institutions become even more important. The frequency of community level interactions remains comparatively high and the kinship/ neighbourhood reciprocal relations are stronger.

Large joint families are common in the landowner group on ward basis rather than on household basis³⁸ and the authority mostly remains with the grandfather outside the family and grandmother inside the family. All the minors in a family unit are obliged to obey

the directives given by the elders. The interests of component families are often given up in the interest of larger families and moving out of the main family is considered an act against male dignity and his subjugation to his wife. Birth of a male child, circumcision, marriage and death are the main gathering occasions (Gham Khadee) and attendance and absence from them indicate political alliance and social status (Ahmad 1980). The Tal is the main solid unit of social integration and social integration above this unit at a broader level is occasional and temporary in nature.

Condolence (Gham)

Gham is the main condolence occasion and all the relatives, friends and neighbours are obliged to attend it. The male members of the affected family assemble at the mosque or Hujra of the Tal and attend those coming for praying for the peace of soul of the deceased (Lasneva). The duration of Lasneva in most situations is three days, when all the main family members suspend all other activities and make themselves available for Lasneva. The female visitors similarly attend the house of the deceased and condole to the female family members. Attending the Gham is the most important social obligation. All attending the Lasneva are obliged to initiate a common prayer (Dua) for blessing the soul of the deceased. The households in the Tal are obliged to provide food to all the coming guests during three days of Lasneva and no cooking is allowed for three days in the house of deceased. After three days, the number of visitors gradually decreases and only those not informed well in time have sporadic attendance.

After death the deceased is given bath and the body is wrapped in two meters long white cloth called Kafan. At the same time, the Tal members prepare the grave (Qabar) for the deceased. The dead body (Marhay) is delivered in a procession to the last prayer place (Janazgah), a mosque, or any open ground near graveyard. The last prayer (Da Janazay Moonz) is offered, while assembling after the Mulla with marhay placed in front. After the last prayer, the deceased relatives deliver money to the poor and religious class (Skhat). When the dead body is placed in the burial place (Lahad) inside the Qabar, and covered with slab and subsequently with clay, the local Mulla delivers a religious speech, particularly emphasising on the non-permanence of life, while reminding the good work done

by the deceased. At last, a joint prayer is offered at the grave and all return from the graveyard. The Mulla is also given a particular amount of money after the occasion. On the subsequent three or four days, the female relatives visit the grave and recite the Holy Quran (Khatam), while sitting around the grave for the eternal peace of the deceased soul.

If permitted by the weather, the funeral is usually delayed until most of the family members arrive for the last sight; however, all this usually concludes within 24 hours, the earlier the better. The female relatives, during the period of *Lasneva* weep loudly, while reciting the associations with the deceased (*Gharhey*). The close relatives also deliver food material (sugar, Ghee, rice, etc) or cash money to the deceased family to facilitate them in serving the subsequent visitors. All the clothes and wearing of the deceased are distributed among the poor families in the surrounding area. The debt of the deceased is also arranged and returned by the family members after *lasneva*. After the three days *lasneva*, on the subsequent Friday the deceased family offer *Khairat*³⁹. The practice of *Khairat* is repeated on each Friday until the Friday coming after or near the fortieth day, when a bigger *Khairat* is arranged (*Salwaikhtama*). On the occasion, all attending the *lasneva* are invited and one or two buffalo/cow are slaughtered and cooked with rice to serve them during lunch. In older days, the relatives and friends coming from distant areas used to bring a buck for *Khairat*, while coming for condolence.

Celebrations (Khadee)

Khadee include marriage (*Wada*), birth of male child, male child circumcisions (*Sunnat*), and first head shaving of the child (*Sarkalay*). At *Sunnat* and *Sarkalay* mostly the maternal lineage of the child is more actively involved and the event is participated mainly by female relatives. The ceremony of *Wada* is participated by all relatives and is considered the most important celebratory event in the life, particularly the first marriage⁴⁰.

Once the future spouse has been chosen, through relatives or intermediaries, it is followed by the event of formal engagement (*Kojdan*) in the woman house. At the *Kojdan*, both the parties agree on the amount of *Mahar*⁴¹, and bride price (*Da Sar Paisay*) based upon the economic status of the families involved, and some payment on behalf of the bride price is made to the girl's parents.

The subsequent stage is *Khpa Artha*⁴², wherein the boy goes to see his future parent-in-laws, but not his future wife. *Prekun* is the final payment of bride price, which is given at the wedding. Mulla of the nearby mosque recites the marriage contract (*Nikah*) either at the occasion of *Kojdan* or later on at the occasion of actual wedding ceremony. *Wada* is the ceremonial removal of woman from her natal home to that of her husband and accompanied by bride procession (*Janj*). All the clan members, *Tal* members, relatives and friends are invited either through self-visit or by sending the *Nai* for attending the occasion. Festivities continue at the occasion for a day or two at the husband house. Almost all the wedding day expenditures are born by the boy's family. The girl's household's on the other hand is obliged to arrange almost all the household items for the new family (*Jahaiz/Saman*).

The boy himself is not supposed to accompany the *Janj*. The bridegroom party along with the *Janj* also carries the *Jahaiz/Saman*. The music of *Doul/Surna* also is displayed along the wedding procession, while the bridegroom's younger relatives dance in order to celebrate the occasion. The boy's family provides food on the wedding day, before or after the *Janj*, mainly depending upon the distance between the two houses. Nowadays, sometimes food is provided on two simultaneous days for different economic groups/social groups. On the third or seventh day of wedding, the girl's mother in the boy's house displays the *Jahaiz*. The occasion is called *Owama*. All the boy's female relatives are invited and special gift packages are delivered to the boy's nearest family relatives. Special dishes are prepared on the occasion by the bridegroom's family. The common relatives generally receive a piece of clothes, soap and handkerchief as gift. The female relatives of the girl's family are obliged to help in arranging such gift before or on the wedding day.

On the birth of a male child, all the relatives visit to congratulate for the new baby and deliver gifts. On *Sarkalay* the wife's parents arrange swing (*Zangoo*), child clothes and child bed plus some gifts for the child relatives. On *Sunnat* all the relatives, particularly the females, are invited and provided with gifts by the child's parents. During all such ceremonies, the house arranges special dishes.

Different religious festivals are occasions of family associations. The brothers visit their sisters to give them greetings of the holy day.

The boy also visits the father-in-law house on two Eids. On the Eid days the graveyard is specifically visited in the morning to payers are tributes to the deceased family members and pray is offered for eternal piece of the deceased. Another family association religious day is called Shawqadar⁴³.

Visiting Patients and Relatives

Tapous⁴⁴ (to visit a patient) is an obligation in the Pukhtun society. When someone among the relatives is sick, those coming for showing their concern bring with them money or other food items depending upon the degree of association. The frequency of visit also depends on the degree of association. For the blood relatives, the female family members are also obliged to visit. Tapous is generally the foremost obligation for the formal or non-formal association and those having social or political relations. The degree of remoteness of residences is another variable affecting the Tapous mechanism.

Pukhtena⁴⁵ is the periodic visit of father, mother, brothers and sisters to each other houses after separation. For the father and brothers of a married girl, Pukhtena is considered compulsory. Pukhtena provides a sense of security to the married daughter and sister at the husband's house. The lack of such visit usually leads to Paighoor from the side of husband relatives.

Food, Dress, Games and Music

In the plain area the landowner group possessing Sholgara, routinely cook rice mixed with pulses at lunch or dinner to consume along butter oil, milk and yogurt. Whey, yogurt, pulses (Ghala), and Saba are consumed along wheat/corn bread during the second time. Whey mixed with cold, cooked rice (Ugra) was utilised during breakfast, when no tea was yet introduced. A special dish comprising rice cooked mixed with special weed during spring was called Wargaly. The hillside sloping rural population exclusively use maize bread throughout the day along with whey, yogurt, pulses, and Saba⁴⁶ (green leaf vegetable). The Saba is more frequently used in sloping areas. The hillside residents describe twenty-seven different herbs including weeds, used for cooking Saba during different seasons.

One or two pair of clothes per person was at the most available Pukhtu period. The main wearing included the hand woven cotton clothes (Khamta). The cotton made Sadder⁴⁷, having multiple utilities, is commonly put on the shoulder during summer, while a similar size of woolen Sadder called Sharhai is worn over during winter. Different types of head wearing including caps and turbans, indicative of the social status or religious knowledge are also frequently used⁴⁸. The female clothes are bright in colours, and were quite heavy consuming 12-16 meters cloth in the past. During the summer season 1-1.5 meters wide head wear (Lupatta) and winter worn woolen head wear sadder, are obligatory for females. While proceeding out of their house, the females are obliged to wear 2.5-3.0 meters long and 1.0-1.5 meter wide piece of clothe (Parhoney) to cover all her body and dressing. The clothes were changed not less than on monthly basis. Female used different types of ornaments, mostly made of silver and occasionally of gold⁴⁹.

Wheat/rice straw summer footwear (Da Droozzi Paizar) and the winter footwear consisting of woolen clothe tied around the foot and legs (Paitaway) were common in the past. The work in agricultural fields was carried out mostly barefooted. Paitaway were worn during long journey particularly during winter, while special leather shoes (Panrhain) were worn during summer or while attending a ceremony. The female youth used to wear wooden sandal called Kanraway, while the more privileged social status male and female used to wear the Panrhain. Male members used the straw footwear within the village, while females used Kanraway.

The common indigenous games children used to play included gender based, age group based and season based specified games. Some games were exercise games played by male teenagers⁵⁰ while other were mixed gender games for minors⁵¹ or female children⁵². Male teenagers and adult community members played Qat (Chess like game) during free time. The games of Ghal Bacha (thief and king game) and Gwatai (locating a hidden ring in many hands) are the evening and late night games for the youth and teenagers particularly played during the winter inside the Hujra. Hunting is more common among Pukhtun, Kohistani, and Gujar/Ajars and includes fishing, hunting of migratory birds, wild ruminants and wild carnivores. The child and teenager use Leenda⁵³ for hunting the sparrows and other smaller birds. The arrow/bow was used for wild

ruminant hunting. A small axe (Tabargai) was the fighting instrument for wild animals with the Gujar/Ajar and Kohistani.

In many Hujra in the late hours the indigenous musical instrument are played. The main musical instruments are Rabab⁵⁴, Sitaar⁵⁵ and Mangey⁵⁶ accompanied by different folk songs⁵⁷. The Tambal, a very light leather hand-beating drum is the main musical instrument used by female folk during marriages. The female family members of the bridegroom family start occasional singing in groups, weeks before the actual marriage event, while playing the Tambal. The Surna (oral flute like instrument) and Damama (leather drum with earthen base) are played on the proper wedding day at the doors of the bride and bridegroom houses by Nai, while receiving tributes and the young females to boy's family dance of its rhythm inside the bride's house. The Dole (double-sided leather drums) and Surna are played along the wedding procession, while the younger male relatives dance to the rhythm. The flute (Shpailai) is traditionally played and mastered mostly by shepherds. Another entertainment activity was practiced inside the mosque by the knowledge seekers (Taliban). After the last prayer of the day (Isha) the Taliban used to sing and dance (Atanr) inside the Mosque, while beating the water pot or metallic drinking pot and was keenly observed by the rural youth. The practice has, however, now been abandoned under the influence of dominating religious leaders.

Marriages

The Pukhtuns traditionally marry their sons and daughters into most of the religious groups, while with the subordinate groups like Gujars, tenants and artisans they wed only one way, i.e. they only take their daughters and do not give their own daughters to them. Polygamy, nowadays found occasionally, was a usual practice and more than one wives were quite common. Divorce was a hated phenomenon and almost non-existent in the society. Separation between husband and wife was not uncommon; however, it did not involve divorce. In this arrangement the wife would spend the rest of her life at her father's house and the husband would bear her essential expenses. Marriage could occur during the whole year except the months of Ramadan⁵⁸, Muharram⁵⁹ and Rabi-ul-Awal⁶⁰, but particularly during spring and autumn. Inter-marriages among

different artisan ethnic families were rare; rather, a particular artisan family in one village preferred to establish marital relations with the family of the same artisan group in the other village. However, marriages among different artisan groups of same social status also casually existed. The Mullan established marital relations with all social groups except Nai and Shakhel. The knowledge status and general character of the Mullan family were the primary criteria. The marital relations between Pukhtun and Kohistani were rare, however, these were more common among Pukhtuns, Miangan, Sahibzadgan and Sayyed. Pukhtun society allows the marriage of equals, give their daughters to their superiors and avoid giving them to their inferiors, although one may take women from their inferiors (Barth, 1959a).

In earlier days, newborn girls were in many situations non-formally engaged. Violation of this verbal and non-formal engagement involved the entire Badal and Tor sequence on the assumption that girl was considered married. The exchange marriages, particularly among agnatic kin, were also common. The sister or daughter was given for a sister or daughter. A brother usually married his dead brother's wife. It kept the women inside the husband's family just like family honour or properties (Ahmed 1980). Moreover, a widow might also opt to live alone with in the family for the sake of her children (Kwantun). The stepfather is never expected to own the orphan like his own children.

Pukhtun Family and the Role of Gender

Pukhtuns give importance to males and presuppose their authority over females in all situations. In the family the husband and father has the authority and controls the social intercourse of the family members. The male member of the family controls all the property and may act physically to enforce his authority. Leaving a woman without being given a legal divorce⁶¹ and dis-inheriting her children are his formal rights, though rarely asserted. A mother has no rights that she could transfer to her children either in her marital or natal home. The attitudes toward marriage and woman find further expression in the strict seclusion of women in Swat. She neither can act as legal individual nor does she control any productive resource. The birth of a male child is preferred and celebrated, as the family

with more sons is perceived to be more powerful. On marriage, the woman becomes part of the husband's group and authority over her is transferred from her father to her husband. She may not leave the home without her husband's permission, normally receives no share in inheritance and cannot appeal to her brother or father to protect her against her husband. The wider ties established through marriages among the different Pukhtun families are thus very weak. On the other hand, the bond of marriage is very strong. Divorce is regarded as shameful and in fact considered an abuse for the practicing males.

The relation between man and woman never remain consistent and with the passage of time, the woman gradually obtains power. Her position becomes stronger with her sons, an array of daughters-in-law to supervise and control, and the gradual inability of her husband to possess energy and heart for further fighting. Men often seek the advice of their shrewd mothers, possessing a lot of experience in family politics. Strong willed wives dominate many powerful older men in their homes (Lindholm, 1996).

The main role of the female folk is maintenance of family institution. Within the limits prescribed by the customs, most of the Pukhtun women direct the substantial domestic affairs of their men and play significant role in arranging marriages and family alliances (Ahmad, 1980). These may be facilitated through direct personal involvement or through intermediaries. A large number of women in the villages play the role of intermediaries and can strongly advocate their viewpoint within the frame of local customs. The Nayanrha's role is to deliver messages and exchange gifts among the relative families, thus acting as the main channel of establishing family relations. The Pukhtun women also bear the physical burden of Mailmastia. Many Pukhtuns have succeeded to a higher social status, as a result of their wives' ability and industry in running their kitchen. The women are as fanatically devoted to the codes of Pukhtunwali as their men and are frequently important factors on urging the obligation of Badal on their lazy and reluctant males (Spain 1963).

In the traditional rural society, the female youth visited the spring or other water-collecting place for washing the clothes and collecting water for drinking and other uses in the household. These places were called Goodar. The spring available near the present

Cheena market (Ghwarai Cheena) and surrounding areas on the bank of Jambil stream was the common Goodar of Mingora village. The young females visited Goodar in groups with their clay pitchers (Mangey) on specific timing during the day, especially in the afternoon. Many romantic legends have been associated with Goodar and Mangey in the Pukhtu literature. Before the establishment of road network, the female and male folk used to visit the shrines of Saidu Baba and Pir Baba in groups while playing Tambal and singing folk songs and covering dozens of miles on foot during late spring season. The collection of multi-herbaceous Saba by the female folk was another traditional outing activity for female folk during early spring.

In the traditional rural societies the women equally share the workload. The rearing of livestock is almost completely a female activity, particularly among the hillside residents. It includes feeding, milking, cleaning, watering of livestock, and harvesting of forage from the field boundaries and hillside. She also spreads manure in the field and performs sowing, weed thinning, harvesting and threshing with weed thinning and manure spreading being her exclusive activities. Among the hillside families (Gujars, Ajars and tenants), she arranges the firewood and made dung cakes for subsequent fuel use. She carries out all the cooking and cleaning of household. Sewing and cloth washing are the activities exclusively performed by the females. Plastering of the entire house interior and roof with Khatta and making extended shelves in the Mandaw for placing the daily use utensil, are the traditional activities exclusively performed by women. She also decorates the rooms and mandaw by making different designs with colored clay. In remote areas with difficult access to Jrandā, woman used to grind the wheat through Maichan⁶².

With increasing departure of male members for remittance earning, the women are becoming increasingly over burdened as well as empowered in decision-making. The system of Purdah (the veil) is almost never cared for within the village. In most of the villages the neighbours are normally close relatives. The nucleated rural population, whether relatives or non-relatives conceived different households as part of the community as brothers and sisters. The concept of Purdah becomes valid outside the rural area, particularly in the urban areas where the neighbours mostly belong

to different areas and even different cultures. Within the village they do not observe Purdah as such, but tend to withdraw at the sight of a male stranger. However, utmost care is observed by females to avoid direct confrontation with unrelated males. This includes visiting each other houses during evening and avoiding traveling along the common male sitting places.

After giving birth to a child, the mother is not allowed to take bath until the fortieth day after the delivery. This period is called Salwaikhti. During Salwaikhti special protein rich diet (mostly boiled chicken) is offered to the mother and she is allowed to consume only boiled water. On the fortieth day, the mother takes the first bath and returns to the routine life. Until then, she is not allowed to carry out routine household work. The child is breast-fed until the next baby comes. The care during Salwaikhti is, however, available only to landowners and other settled groups. The transhumant Gujar and Ajar women would give birth to a child, while traveling to and from upland pastures. She is obliged to start traveling again after resting at a particular locality for not more than an hour or two.

Among the landowners particularly, and sometime among other settled groups too, when the young girl marries, her mother usually instructs her to gain power over her husband and prevent him to have power over her. For men an ideal wife is docile, quiet and submissive, but it happens very rarely. Because men and women alike are instructed in their formative years in the pride of their own patrilinity, there is an automatic hostility built into the marriage relations, for each partner considers his or her own patrilinity superior to that of the other. The insult some time does not remain restricted to the individuals and may become open. The arguments and fights in many situations regularly flare up between husband and wife, between wife and her mother/sister-in-laws, while children of the compound are continually squabbling. Adults make no attempt to prevent children witnessing their fights or overhearing the accompanying stream of dirty abuses. In majority of the situations, however, the life of subordinate segments is so hard that they cannot find time for such fighting. Some households are famous for such open fighting particularly among the owner-user group. The Khan, Malak and Sayyed households, in general, avoid eruption of open fighting.

Adults do not intervene in children's disputes except ordering them to be quiet and reduce the noise. The parents' job is to train the

child to respect the elders, obey the order of parents and to behave properly. Failure to comply with is met with immediate anger and a variety of physical punishment. The mother never prevents her sons from beating her daughter, since it prepares her daughter for her future home and her son for handling his future wife. Much more is expected from little girl than little boys in terms of self-development and ability to work hard. Girls readily learn cooking, washing, care of babies and other household work. Boys on the other hand tend to remain babies for much longer, being cared by their mothers and older sisters like little princes. Among the Pukhtuns in particular, the teenage boys gradually become member of teenagers gang of his own ward, often engaged in fighting with other similar gangs in other wards or villages, in order to get experience, develop his character and the fighting ability. All children learn to be fearless, to accept violence as normal and to be essentially aggressive and self-seeking while dealing with others. A parent frequently makes promises to a child without any intention of keeping them. The child thus soon learns that trust is an unaffordable luxury in Pukhtun society (Lindholm, 1996). The male children of the subordinate classes, on the other hand, are obliged to work hard, as much as their adults according to their capacity, hence they get evolved in the practical life from the very beginning.

Changes with the Inception of the State

With the inception of the state, the organisation of the society was not overthrown, but an imprecise character of the ruler was introduced for the centralised, moderating and coordinating activity. As compelled by the social structure, the creation of a ruler necessitated "riding a tiger" game, with particularly superior skills in the two party games. The power of Khans was perpetually balanced by the power of other Khans, leading to a balance of power between different Dallas. The power of large Dallas was reduced, by dealing with different Dalla at regional or village level during Bacha Saib times. The Wali Saib's policy subsequently represented a conscious shift from maintaining a balance between the Dallas, into progressively localising and pulverising the Dallas. The State therefore progressively reduced the power and prominence of the Khans (Barth, 1985).

The rural artisan were still performing activities in the traditional framework and the rural institutions of Jirga and Hujra were still in place. Rather, the cruel behaviour of big landlords was diluted to a significant extent. In Mingora, however, the old traditional classical social structure was significantly shattered and the growing businessmen emerged as the new main actors. The local landowners also gradually realised the new situation and started investment in the modern sector, although mainly limited to the construction of markets and houses for rent. The organisation of the Swat State was designed to articulate with the larger society in a manner suited to regulate and stimulate activities. It assured its own perpetuation by harnessing the local level organisation and energies for the State and community as a whole. Taxes were collected on the local produce (Usher⁶³) and initially invested in providing communication infrastructure, education, health and other welfare services (Barth 1985).

The Walis were fully aware of the nature of Pukhtun political system and social organisation and they were capable to exploit this knowledge. Their tactics were based upon the classic tradition of divide and rule. They invaded different areas only after allying with the weaker block to tilt the balance in their own favour. The population was completely disarmed, the communications improved and the Wesh system abolished by the first Wali. Part of taxes received by the Khans was diverted to the state treasury in the form of Usher. The Walis thus bypassed the Khans to establish direct relationship with the landless farmers. Loyal Khans were rewarded, while the rebellions were punished in different ways (Ahmad, 1976). The Walis' great success can be attributed in part to their unique freedom to effect such changes of alliance (Barth, 1959b).

Soon after the departure of British, the Bacha Saib retired from the office in favour of his elder son Miangul Jehanzeb (Wali Saib), in 1949. He was a brilliant modern ruler and contributed a lot to the physical development of the valley on modern lines. The inputs mainly related to the development of infrastructure (roads, telephone etc.), formal education extension, and creation of health facilities in almost every corner of the valley. He also established a system of formal courts in different regions of the valley. There were clear and established rules for judicial decisions, tribal sanctions and

several forms of voluntary labour. The village life apparently remained peaceful, organised and prosperous (Barth 1985) mainly due to the reduced factional fighting and increased investment opportunities on permanently distributed lands. On the other hand, with the establishment of the State, the traditional values of weight, solidity, forcefulness, hospitality and manhood for respect were reduced and those with flattering attitude occupied the higher social status with the due support of Wali Saib, leading to gradual moral degradation at the cost of physical prosperity.

During 1950 the feudal system of forced labour (Bigaar) was abolished. According to the autobiography of the Wali Saib (Barth 1985) he had decided to break the feudal system, wherein all the common people were obliged to contribute to the Khan's Hujra to entertain his guest and retainers at the expense of the whole population of their ward and village. However, such abolition could not yield much, as most of the common people were still economically dependent on the Khans. The agricultural labour had, however, partially become cash based, mainly due to the gradual extension of market economy or opening up of the completely internalised production system. More and more areas were brought under cultivation by investing in agricultural sector. On the other hand the integrity of the rural society was significantly reduced.

Land Ownership and Conflicts

Throughout the local history, those living in the dry and harsh environment mostly subjugated those living in friendly environment with an easygoing attitude. Hence, India mainly with settled agriculture throughout its history was subsequently occupied by the tribes from Afghanistan and Central Asian region with nomadic and transhumance way of life. The nomadic way of life is characterised by free use of all the land with no need of private land ownership. The transhumance with set seasonal residence was perhaps the first step to sedentarisation, while resource management frequently required a combination of private and communal land ownership because of more permanent recurrent occupation of the area. During evolution to subsistence mixed farming system with permanent residences at a single locality, more intensive land management desired private ownership of land.

Before occupying the Swat valley, the Yousafzai Pukhtuns most probably spent a nomadic/transhumant way of life inside Afghanistan. After occupying the valley they got the additional option of mixed farming subsistence agriculture. The land tenure system of Wesh adopted by these Pukhtuns was a sort of transhumance without seasonality compulsion. Sheikh Malli was probably aware of the conflict creation outcome of the private land ownership⁶⁵, hence he kept the ownership communal and circulatory in nature. This was probably this land tenure system, which enabled the clan to successfully maintain the resource ownership without a centralised state structure for more than four hundred years. At the end of nineteenth century the repeatedly distributing land-shares among the agnate kin had fueled the rivalries to the limits of social disruption and had led to form grand dispersed alliances in the form of Dallas. Different Dallas repeatedly used to fight each other, inviting outside support to obtain power over the rival Dalla. When the neighbourhood circumstances compelled the tribe to establish a centralised state during the first quarter of the twentieth century, the land ownership transformed tremendously afterward.

Wesh System and Land Ownership

After conquering the Swat the Yousafzais devised an ownership pattern of revolving communal land tenure. The land tenure system was called Wesh, meaning distribution. The land was previously held in few hands, and later divided among the descendent family groups called Khels. The land shares were fixed for different families according to the distribution codes of Sheikh Malli, a Pukhtun scholar who migrated along the Yousafzai tribe from Afghanistan and devised the land ownership and distribution rules for them. The initial land shares were most probably fixed either in accordance with the male members of the family (Sarhi sar Wesh) or the number of cooking places (Da Loogi Wesh).

The circulatory land share of a particular Khel was called Dautar, comprising shares in different geographical niches available in the area (cultivable, barren and hillside etc.). After occupying the valley, all the land was divided between the subdivisions of tribe. The land estate given to different main subdivisions was called Tapa, for example the Tapa of Babozai, Ranizai and Baizai etc. The idea

behind such rotation was to give chances to each family to benefit from the best resource for some time. Also, the absolute distribution was avoided in order to prevent infusion of individualism and promote the equity and unity in the tribe. The Wesh was at different levels. In the 1st level or Tapa-level Wesh, large Khels of the tribe used to exchange their areas after every 5-10 years. The set pairs of Tapa-level Wesh during the nineteenth century were between Sebuji-Nikpikhel, Shamizai-Adinzai, Abakhel-Khankhel, Musakhel-Maturizai, Azikhel-Chakaisar, Babozai-Pooran and Jinkikhel-Kana. Ghorband belonged to no body and was open to occupation by any forceful segment. The 2nd level or village level Wesh was within a Tapa, for example, the two main sections of Nikpikhel used to alternate riverside territory and tributary valleys on 10 years' term. Each of these sections was subdivided into three subsections corresponding to the three secondary segments of each primary segment. These units of land were allotted by the casting of lots (Khasanrhey). In this system the inhabitants of a complete village used to exchange their landed estate and residences with the village of the sister segment. The 3rd level of Wesh was within the village on household basis and different villages were obliged to evolve their own Wesh mechanism according to the geography of the land estate. The 3rd level of Wesh was simultaneously carried out after the second level of Wesh, wherein the land within the village was distributed on household level according to its share (Brakha⁶⁶). Individual people did not own land piece per se, rather owned a particular number of shares in the overall landed estate of their Khels. Any person possessing a share in a Dautar was called Dautari (Barth, 1959a).

The Tapa-level Wesh system ended arbitrarily, as the different areas were unequal and the powerful segment subsequently decided to permanently occupy the bigger areas. The other Wesh inside each area however continued (Barth 1985). During the 1st and 2nd level of Wesh almost all the immovable property was exchanged including built houses, cultivated land, communal lands and Hujras. The landowners used to move, while the tenants and technical population were probably obliged to stay (Bertken et al 1999) to welcome their new masters⁶⁶. The subsequent Wesh within the village among different households involved the land distribution mostly on Wand basis. Each household possessed a land share in

different qualitative or geographical land units in each village called Wand. Hence the land ownership of each household was fragmented in different Wands⁶⁶. Through the phenomenon of Wand, the village level lands were divided into land sites each potentially capable of producing the same kind, proportion and abundance of vegetation (Archer & Smeins, 1993). The individual household Brakha was measured in upper Swat in Rupai or Paisay and lower Swat in Paccha, Pao, Sarhay or Taura. The Brakha was not necessarily a compact piece of land, but was often composed of dispersed plots in several Wands.

To compensate those whose services to the Khels or village were of value (by sword or prayer), some portions of the land were excluded from the Wesh. These portions were called Sarai. These were sometime given to a Khan with outstanding leadership qualities and hospitality, but more frequently to the Istanadar class including Sayyeds, Akhunzadgan, Sahibzadgan and Miangan. The Sarai lands were either situated on the boundaries of two Khels (in many situations acted as a buffer zone) or the less fertile far away lands. Some times these religious groups possessed equal land to the Pukhtuns in a particular locality. The Miangan of Sar-Sardarey and Mianguls of Saidu Sharif hence emerged as the politically powerful religious groups during the first quarter of the 20th century (Barth, 1985). Different Khels used to give such shares to a single saint simultaneously. Hence a single saint had such shares in different valleys and they subsequently divided it among their kins. The Istanadar, however, did not necessarily belong to Sayyed family, but other clan member, obtaining spiritual knowledge and character of meditation, could also use the title (occasionally) and receive such Sarai. Mianguls Abdul Ghafoor alias Saidu Baba, the grand father of the first Wali of Swat was also such a non-Sayyed Istanadar and was granted Sarai at Saidu and Marghuzar valley.

The Kohistami Dard tribe occupied the Kohistan area beyond Bahrain. They are believed to be the previous occupants of Swat valley before Swati Pukhtun invaded the area with the Mahmood of Ghazni and pushed the Kohistanis to the area beyond Bahrain. Initially they used the presently occupied area as common pastureland, with subsequent sporadic uni-seasonal cultivated areas. They subsequently distributed the cultivated land on number of male members in a family or number of cooking places. The land

distribution was however non-circulatory in nature. The area between Kaidam and Peshmal was claimed by the Gujars and occupied/utilised by them. The Gujars distributed their lands in a manner similar to the Kohistani. The Gujars in the down valley leased the hillside lands and provided lease mostly in kind, e.g. butter oil, along manure, to the owner family. The Ajars leased the hillside communal grazing lands during winter. They provided specified number of rams or bucks to the owner family, along with a special woolen shawl (Sharhai) or carpet (Lamsey) along with manure.

Emergence of the State and Abolition of Wesh

Before the beginning of the twentieth century the situation in the neighbourhood of Swat Valley had significantly changed. The British had reached the southern part of the valley. The British recognised the Khan of Dir as the ruler of Dir State (Nawab). The local Pukhtuns were divided in different small Dallas repeatedly quarreling with each other. The influence of the Nawab on the west side valleys (Kabal, Matta and Shamoza) was increasing day by day. He consequently started claiming the west side of River Swat as his territory. Some of the Dallas were repeatedly inviting him to make their faction stronger. He was encouraging the people residing on the boundary of Swat and Dir valleys for assaults on the residents of Swat valleys. These events compelled the residents of Swat to establish their own organised state for their survival in the face of changing political events in the neighbourhood of the valley. But the problem was that one Pukhtun clan was not ready to accept the superiority of its sister clan by granting it the rulership. At last all the Khels concluded that the rulership should be given to a neutral Istanadar family. Consequently the ground for establishment of Swat State was prepared. After a short adjustment period Miangul Abdul Wadood Bacha Saib became the first Wali of Swat State in 1917⁶⁷.

Before 1917, part of lower Swat comprising Baizai and Swat Ranizai were brought under the influence of British and were part of the then officially declared Malakand Agency. Soon after the assumption of the office by Bacha Saib, another southern part, Adinzai, was snatched by the Nawab of Dir in a long lasting battle.

while the British had declared the valley of Kalam as part of Chitral. Hence at the time of inception of the State, Swat valley was divided into four administrative units with different rules and regulations. These events significantly weakened the institution of Wesh. The Tapa level Wesh had already been abandoned and only close relative clans were exchanging their lands. The British had also announced the abolition of Wesh in the areas under their control. The residents of Adinzai, who routinely used to exchange their land with their sister clan of Shamizai (present Matta Tehsil) were not able to do so due to growing tension between the states of Dir and Swat. Consequently Bacha Saib froze down the circulatory Wesh system in 1920-1926 and in permanent settlement the land was divided village by village in village meetings (Barth 1985).

After abolition of circulatory Wesh system, each shareholder was now able to sell out his Dautar (cultivated land and share in communal land or Shamilaat) throughout the valley, but only to the landowner sections (Pukhtun, Sayyed and Miangan). This led to evolution of big landlord, with the due support of the State. The relatively prominent Pukhtuns, either with the consent of the weak landowners or forcefully, purchased the Dautar causing expansion in their landed estate. The subsequent classification of Pukhtuns on the basis of land holdings and wealth after abolition of Wesh further disintegrated and weakened them. During the Bacha Saib period land ownership was never considered so advantageous. In many instances landownership was transferred in return for recruitment to an office in the State. Availability of the State authority was considered more advantageous in the rural society than landownership by some Pukhtuns due to craze for political domination at every cost. As a result the decline of absolute Pukhtun dominance began.

Before the emergence of the Swat State, during the tribal period the natural resource base was not effectively managed. The lack of permanent ownership prevented the temporary owners of an area to carry out more durable development of the occupied portion of land. Despite knowing the potential of the area for orchard production, no plantation was carried out, as they themselves would not be able to consume the fruits. They never even knew the potential occupants of the land or the house they occupy. Even residential houses were made on temporary basis, just able to fulfill

their ad-hoc requirements. The forest was never cared for because it was considered temporary occupation/ownership. The reason for the forest to remain intact was the almost 10 times lower population, hence limited fuel wood requirement and lower accessibility from the down area timber market. Even at the end of nineteenth century the Kakakhel Mian of Nowshera transported timber from the valley either free of cost or paying nominal price to the landowners round about one rupee per tree (McMahon 1901). In fact natural resource base was considered as free for all commodity, hence its conservation was never cared for.

Limited efforts were carried out to bring additional land under cultivation. The older water channels were repaired and limited numbers of irrigation channels were constructed. During the early State time, however, the communal ownership was more helpful for easy extension of social services. The Wali was able to pass the new road through any area he considered physically suitable as the used land was equally distributed among the shareholders of the land. The schools, hospitals and dispensaries were constructed on the most feasible sites in the village and no money was spent on the purchase of land for the building. After the permanent settlement the infrastructure development gradually became difficult. No socially acceptable mechanism for smooth infrastructure development was evolved. After the State merger most of the infrastructure development has thus usually been carried out at less feasible places.

The Bacha Saib era was that of the State consolidation. After State consolidation, he further expanded the State limits up to the banks of the River Indus. The British duly supported him. All the State area was strengthened at the cost of strong rural institution and dominance of Pukhtun authority. The circulatory land tenure was transformed into permanent land tenure and the environment for investment in land development was created. The relative uniformity in land distribution among the Pukhtun landowners was lost and social/authority stratification occurred from the State centre in a hierarchical manner against previously centred at rural level. The rural societies were not urbanised during the Bacha Saib period, but announcing Mingora/Saidu as the declared business/administrative centre, the process of urbanisation was set forth.

Changes in Land Ownership with State Consolidation

The Wesh system was frozen during the Bacha Saib time, but village by village land distribution in a justified manner took a long time. However, before assuming the office by Wali Saib it was almost completed. The freezing of Wesh system provided new opportunities for medium and long-term investment in agriculture and housing development. Conflicts on land ownership had initiated between villages and within villages, particularly among Pukhtun cousins. The rain-fed hillside land units were, however, still leased by tenants in the old fashion and on nearly similar terms. The management of communal shrub/forest land was jointly carried out with the transhumant herders (Ajars). The Ajars used to protect these areas from illegal tree harvesting, and only pruning of the trees with sickle were allowed. The activity was also complementary to their own survival by the availability of more browses for their goats during winter. These Ajars were also obliged to pay lease amount and provide manure to the landowner, on the basis of mutual agreement with them. They also provided Ushr to the state authority in return for the arrangement carried out for protection of natural resource used by them. Such Ushr comprised one sheep/goat per flock of hundred sheep and two kilogram of butter oil per lactating buffalo.

Relaxation of land transaction system made some Pukhtun landless and other landlords. Some big Khans evolved in the process, by purchasing land shares from their clan members, either with the consent of the landowners, by force or through conspiracy with overt or covert help of the State authorities. The State authorities were obliged to make use of the feudal system in this manner in order to maintain the State (Barth 1985) and make the State allies stronger economically as compared to their opponents (divide and rule). This resulted in the emergence of classes within the Pukhtuns and as a consequence their integrity was weakened. The army and police force provided job opportunities to the landless Pukhtuns while the formally educated Pukhtuns along with Miangan and Sayyeds sooner or later got recruited in different State services particularly as school teachers. The illiterate non-professional poor adopted other newly evolved technical opportunities and became masons, electricians and drivers.

Land Ownership in Urban Territory

The area surrounding Mingora on the left side of River Swat was the Dautar of Babozai section of Yousafzai tribe. The Babozai occupied the land in Shangla area as well and in Wesh the Mingora surroundings and Pooran/Martoong areas of Shangla were exchanged simultaneously. Both these areas were connected through Kalail Pass and Malam Jaba. The Babozai landed estate extended from the graveyard of Manyar (20 km downstream of Mingora) and up to the Manglawar Bridge and the ridge of Sar-Sardarey inside the Manglawar Valley. The entire tributary valleys were included in this landed estate. Some areas were given as Sarai to Miangan like in Spal Bandai, Sar-Sardarey, Panr, Amankot, Saidu and Panjigram areas while later on others were given to Akhund of Swat, at Saidu, Guligram and probably at Watkey by the Babozai section. The rest were redistributed among the different sub-sections of the tribe through periodic casting of lots.

With the abolition of Wesh, two sub-sections of the Babozai tribe became the sole owners of the landed estate surrounding Mingora. Aka Maruf/Bamikhel and Abakhel/Baratkhel. The total Dautar in the surroundings of Mingora from Manyar to Manglawar was initially divided into two parts. One part including Mingora proper, Manglawar, Banjout, Jambil, Kokarai, Islampur, and Ingaro Dherai came into possession of Aka Maruf/Bamikhel, and the other part including Odigram, Gogdara, Tindodog, Panjigram, Balogram, Qambar, Takhtaband, Kuladher, Rahim Abad (old name Sar' nai) Amankot (Old name Katalai) Saidu, and Marghuzar valley, except Islampur, came into possession of Abakhel/Bharat Khel.

The total landed estate of Babozai was comprised 640 brakha. The Aka Maruf and Bamikhel became the right holders of 160 brakha each, however, they distributed the landed estate in an intermingled manner. In each village both the main Khels maintained landownership. The 160 shares of landed estate of Mingora contained dispersed ownership of both Aka Maruf and Bamikhel. The Minglore village with 64 Brakha was equally divided, with Bar Minglore occupied by Aka Maruf and Bamikhel occupied Koz Minglore. Jambil, with 14 Brakha, was given to Aka Maruf. Kokarai (32 Brakha) and Dangram (14 Brakha) were given to Bamikhel. Ingaro Dherai came under the ownership of Aka Maruf,

while Naway Kalay and Watkey went to Bamikhel. The Abakhel and Baratkhel on the other hand separated their 160 shares each, occupying different areas. Odigram, Panjigram, Gogdara, Tindodog, Gulbandai, Marghuzar and Sharatrap came under the ownership of Baratkhel with their main centre at Odigram. White Guligram, Chitawarh, Batorha, Spalbandai, Saidu, Amankot, Rahim Abad, Balogram, Takhtaband, Kuladher and Qambar went to Abakhel with their main centre at Qambar. The result was that the Aka Maruf, Bamikhel and Abakhel became the main landowners in the territory of Mingora and the Baratkhel opted to move outside the territorial limits of present Mingora, before the initiation of the process of urbanisation. During the early days of the State the Paracha purchased part of Dautar from Aka Maruf and Bamikhel, and they became the owners of 40 Brakha in the Dautar of Mingora village containing 20 Brakha of Aka Maruf and 20 Brakha in the Dautar of Bamikhel. After sometime the Bamikhel refused to admit the shares of Paracha and redistributed the 20 brakha among them from the Dautar given to Paracha. The Paracha being weaker politically were not able to re-establish their claim. The Aka-Maruf however did not follow their brothers and admitted the claim.

In Babozai area, Bacha Saib himself was the main purchaser of land, particularly in the vicinity of Amankot and Saidu Sharif. Bacha Saib purchased/received as gifts most of the land in Marghuzar valley, almost all the land in Saidu, agricultural land in Amankot and hillside land/rain-fed land in the present College Colony belonging to the Pukhtuns of Amankot, hillside land in Malam Jaba and sporadic ownership in other parts of the valley. Later on Paracha and some of the high-ranking officials in the Bacha Saib cabinet also purchased landed estate from the Babozai section in the surroundings of Mingora. The Paracha mostly purchased the shares in Dautar; while the State officials purchased particular land sites⁶⁸. The permanent land distribution (Tooriran Wesh) also paved the way to construction of more durable residential houses not only in Mingora, but also throughout the valley. Wazirs (ministers) of Bacha Saib purchased the land on the left (west) side of Saidu-Mingora road between the central hospital and Makan Bagh. The existing General Bus Stand was the Sarai granted to Umara Khan of Panjigram, who subsequently sold it to Bacha Saib. Bacha Saib established a fruit and vegetable garden on his purchased land in

Amankot (107 kanals) and different types of orchards and vegetables were grown for his own use and to serve the guests. After purchasing almost all of the land at Saidu, the resident Pukhtun families subsequently shifted to Amankot, Qambar and Balogram. After political differences with the Wazirs, their purchased land was also confiscated by Bacha Saib and was declared as state land.

With the initiation of the process of urbanisation in Mingora, Parachas evolved as the new traders and roads and building contractors. They used to lend daily use items and money to the Pukhtuns and when they could not pay back, they would sell out a share in their Dautar to them. They purchased lands in the suburbs of Mingora with the special sanction of the State authorities. The Wali also promoted establishment of markets in the newly evolving urban centre of Mingora. The Pukhtuns of Mingora were the main group having ownership of such markets. No Kacha (mud walled with mud plastered roofs) markets were allowed and no outsider was allowed to purchase land and construct markets in Mingora. In the southern parts of Swat Valley (upper part of Malakand Agency and Adinzai Tehsil of Dir district) the changes in land ownership were more gradual and the feudal system much stronger than prevailed in Swat State, particularly after 1960. After Merger of the State the urban expansion of Mingora gained momentum. In Mingora the local Pukhtuns sold the steep hillside land away from the access road to the lower income wage labour immigrant groups, while the intermediate-earning retailers purchased the gently sloping foothills. The money received in return was predominantly spent on construction of markets in Mingora, followed by construction for residence and renting out. The Paracha and Zargar also competed with Pukhtuns in construction of markets, as they had already invested some of the money earned through business in purchase of land.

The land ownership in the vicinity of Mingora played a decisive role in the direction of its expansion. The Abakhel had already lost most of their landed estate to Bacha Saib, while the land controlled by Walis got disputed among the government, Wali family, tenant occupants and the Abakhels, hence the urban expansion toward Saidu Sharif, Amankot and Qambar slowed down after the merger and was directed to the surrounding territory of Mingora. With the gradual rise in land prices, the landed property in the surrounding

areas of Mingora increased in worth and as a result the Aka Maruf and Bamikhel tremendously prospered and subsequently became politically organised. The government scheme to launch the Kanju Township scheme could get little attention despite its most feasible geographical location. The main reason seems to be that land belonged to Nikpikhel and the economical actors of Mingora (Aka Maruf, Bamikhel and Paracha) never wanted to increase commercial value of the land out side their own territory. The land ownership pattern in Mingora is going to guide the expansion of Mingora to the geographically less feasible sides to the east of Mingora, i.e., Fiza ghat, Sangota, Minglore and Dangram, as well as to the Ingaro Dherai and riverside in the west and not beyond that due to the landownership patterns.

State Merger and Land Ownership Conflicts

After the departure of President General Ayub Khan as a result of strong public agitation, General Yahya Khan came into power. Just after coming into power General Yahya Khan announced the merger of the Swat State on the 28th of July 1969. In the West Pakistan four provinces were simultaneously created with Swat and its neighbourhood falling in Malakand Division of the Northwest Frontier Province. The rule of General Yahya did not last very long. general elections were held during November 1970. Bhutto won the majority in West Pakistan and Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rahman in East Pakistan. The political marginalisation of the residents of the then East Pakistan by the bureaucratic and military regimes and political role Bhutto and Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rahman played led to the dismemberment of the country and creation of Bangladesh. Consequently Bhutto took over as President on the 20th December 1971.

After the merger, the Bureaucracy posted in the district continued to use the Jirga according to their will, particularly in conflict resolution. During 1973, when Bhutto visited Swat, he officially announced the abolition of Jirga system. In the mean time the Pukhtuns who sold their land to or gifted it to the ancestors of the ex-Wali also filed civil suites in different courts, with the plea that these lands were actually confiscated by the ex-rulers without their willingness. The land reforms act was introduced in 1974, preventing

forced evacuation of the tenants from land. These events completely collapsed the structure of the rural society and new land ownership pattern emerged, although the Pukhtuns were still in possession of most of the land.

The refusal of the tenants in some southern part of the valley like other parts of the province, to pay rent to the owners, led to armed encounters, several with bloodshed, between the landowners and tenants. Tenants in Mardan and Malakand had organised themselves politically under the slogan of peasant movement called Kissan Tehrik. Tenants used to purchase land during the Bhutto times mainly with the consent of the owner in upper Swat valley. In Tehsil Adinzai of Dir district and upper part of Malakand Agency the Kissan Tehrik was however more effective than upper Swat and the land over there were occupied by force with the ownership claim. In general, the Pukhtun landowners suffered more than the religious class landowners, due to the fact that the Pukhtuns were absent landlords in majority of situation, while religious group mostly occupied the areas under their ownership. On the eastern side of the River Swat in the present Swat district, Gujars claimed the ownership of the lands occupied by them, and already disputed ownership between ex-Wali and Khans. Most of the lands on mount Ilum were in this category. Gujars also organised themselves, particularly in Malakand Division, under their own independent ethnic political group (Gujar Qaumi Tehrik). The landowners willingly or unwillingly sold their hillside rain-fed lands primarily to its occupants, although in later stages they received large sums of sale money in return for such land sale primarily due to increased remittances inflow.

The former royal family could not maintain the land purchased by Bacha Saib and most of the land in Marghuzar valley was willingly or unwillingly left to the tenant and Gujars occupying it. The second Wali of Swat abandoned the orchard and vegetable farm at Amankot and leased it to his officials in return for their services. After merger the occupants claimed the land. The Pukhtun who had sold out the land to Bacha Saib, particularly the Abakhel and Baratkhel, also filed claim suites in different courts on the land sold out to Bacha Saib during his regime. The Wali family also started selling out the remaining land as the ownership documents were with him and the occupation was with the tenant. Hence those

Table 4.1. Purchased landownership of the communal hillside land by different social segments during different periods

Name of Village	Total land (Acres)	Purchased Owner ship (%)	Number of Families With Purchased Ownership									
			State Time			Bhutto Time			Present Time			
			Aj	Gu	Te	Aj	Gu	Te	Aj	Gu	Te	
Kohai	435	76	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	55
Gado	2657	73	-	1	-	-	-	-	25	8	-	-
Dadahara	1552	68	-	-	-	-	-	-	15	-	-	-
Parrai	3250	55	-	-	40	13	-	120	-	-	-	-
Koza	3538	50	-	-	-	-	2	2	3	-	-	-
Bandai			-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kanjo	1212	55	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-
		Total	-	1	45	16	2	120	43	8	55	

Aj: Ajars, Gu: Gujars, Te: Tenants

Source: Leede et al., 1999)⁹⁹

opting to purchase the land were obliged to deal with the three parties, i.e. the Wali family, the occupants and the Pukhtun, claiming the ownership on the plea that the ex-Wali had forcefully confiscated their land. The purchase was on the basis of occupation without any legal claim as the registrar was not able to legalise the transaction because of claim suites in different courts.

After the merger, the ban on sale of land to the poorer segments and non-locals was abolished. During the Bhutto regime (1971-77), in particular, major changes in land ownership occurred. The non-locals particularly purchased land in Mingora, while the tenants and Gujars, who had migrated abroad, started purchasing land on the hillside through remittance money. The Pukhtuns were then ready to sell hillside land occupied by the tenants and Gujars, to get rid of the occupancy disputes, common throughout the country. The fragmented land ownership of every household in different Wands further complemented the process, as in some places the household share in a particular Wand was very small and economically not feasible either for self-cultivation or share cropping, particularly in remote and inaccessible areas. The subsequent fragmentation of such lands among kin further reduced the sizes of different Wand land shares, hence were either sold to the bordering owners in the accessible irrigated lands or to tenants and Ajars on the remote hill side rain-fed lands. At times different householders who had land shares in the same Wands, used to exchange their shares, so that one

household would acquire the land shares of both the families at one Wand and vice versa leading to the land ownership consolidation.

The change in hillside land ownership during different periods is evident in the results of a case study carried out during 1999 in six different villages on the western side of River Swat in the main Swat Valley. The data of the case study (Table 4.1) clearly reveals that in almost all the villages at least more than half of the hillside land has been under the purchased ownership. The proportion of land sold was however not uniform in different villages. The main purchasers were the tenants followed by Ajars while Gujars in majority of situations have opted to occupy the hillside land illegally and many land disputes among the Pukhtun and Gujars are still under way. The main period of purchase is during and after Bhutto era, however the process got initiated during Bhutto's government and keeping in view the time scale it can be concluded that the rate of shift in ownership was more rapid during the Bhutto era.

The recruitment of labour force for the newly evolving oil rich Gulf countries further improved the land purchasing power of tenants and Gujars. About 8 per cent of the Gujars are now with purchased ownership of land in the valley (Leede et al 1999). Most of the money earned by tenants and Gujars through remittances was spent on purchase of land and construction of houses. In Kuhai, a village in Shanozai area on the right bank of River Swat 55 tenant families purchased 85 per cent of the total hillside during Bhutto time. Similarly in Gado village 80 per cent of the hillside was sold to the transhumant herders (Ajars). In Kanjo village 10 per cent of the land has been sold to Ajars, while in other villages no land was sold. The sale of land to the tenants, Ajars and Gujars is however not uniform in nature. The Pukhtuns have now tasted the availability of cash money and are gradually selling their faraway hillside rain-fed lands (Leede et al 1999).

Present Land Ownership Pattern

The fear of tenants illegally claiming the land ownership gradually faded away after the Bhutto era leading to the reluctance of landowners, particularly in the main Swat valley, to sell their remaining hillside lands any more. Also, the remittance money was significantly reduced due to the saturation of non-technical wage

labour sector in the Middle East. Furthermore, General Zia-ul-Haq had anti-socialist ideas and was assisting the Jihad inside Afghanistan against Soviet Union, hence never favoured the ownership claims by the tenant and strongly discouraged such claims. During the era of Zia-ul-Haq the extension of communications, particularly the opening of the roads to the interior of the narrow valleys, made the landowner group in the narrow valley lethargic. The remote lands previously routinely visited by the Pukhtun landowners on foot or horse back were then the stories of the past for the new generation, hence the sale of land in the narrow side valleys was still in bloom. This was further facilitated by the addiction of Pukhtuns landowners to maintain their previous living standards, i.e. Mailmastia and agnatic rivalries, along with rising expenses on wedding ceremonies to show off their wealth. For fulfilling all these requirements they are obliged to gradually sellout, particularly the hillside land. The landowner Pukhtuns have gradually become limited to the narrow valley bottom, i.e. to the land surrounding their household, while the hillside lands are predominantly going to the purchased ownership of tenants, Gujars and Ajars. The prices of land have also risen very sharply since the Zia-ul-Haq regime mainly due to increased competition among remittance earners for land purchase.

During the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, being at the fore front Pakistan was supported monetarily with open heart by almost all the western countries. The communication improvement in the area during the same era also promoted tourism in the valley. Narcotic trade was also simultaneously promoted in the area and the flow of such money to the region was enormous. Most of the money earned by the residents of the tribal area bordering Afghanistan through the trafficking of drugs was invested in the tourism industry, particularly in Kalam. The reason behind such investment was the absence of taxation in the area, lack of accountability for black money and available environment for huge investment in the tourism industry. The land was mainly purchased in Kalam situated towards the north of the valley in Kohistan area. Consequently, a large number of hotels were erected in Kalam, with some such hotels in Mingora, Madyan and Bahraim as well. In Kalam the land on the main roadside has now mostly been sold to the outsiders. The Kohistani people also used fraud during land transaction in the

absence of valid settlement or ownership record. Some other people from the seller's own family or an outsider Kohistani submit the claim of ownership to the same piece of land in the court, mostly with the covert approval of the landowners. The lingering on of the ownership disputes compels the purchaser to give some money to the other parties as well. After the Zia-ul-Haq regime the transaction of land significantly slowed down mainly due to such frauds, gradual decrease in drug trafficking money and saturation of the area for hotels.

The gradually deminishing remittance earning, saturation of non-farm formal and non-formal service sector and diminishing investment opportunities have slowed down the pace of land transaction. The land ownership conflicts blooming during the Bhutto time have also been significantly reduced. It reveals that another ownership level is approaching with relative stability. The land is also gradually becoming a more precious commodity in the face of the ever-increasing population. With the gradual extension of market economy, more and more lands are now commercially exploited through orchards and off-season vegetables. The purchase of hillside land by the tenants and Gujars led to more effective land management as compared to the tenancy based occupation. The extension of market economy and the use of land for cash crops resulted in increased use of marginal areas otherwise not feasible for crop production. On the other hand in the urbanised territory the most productive fertile land is being converted into concrete buildings, hence becoming unproductive.

Another consequence of the extending market economy was the opening of internalised farming system. Commercial cultivators used most of the lands for marketable production usually through temporary lease. The chemical fertilisers containing macro soil nutrients were used to accrue as much output from the land as possible. In this manner the trace nutrients were mined out, leaving the land increasingly dependent on the external inputs with diminishing native fertility. The fragmentation of hillside land and distribution of common hillside land subsequently left little room at hillside for transhumant herders, particularly at lower elevation during winter. This led to the reduced number of small ruminants produced in the valley. The upland pastures are hence nowadays under used with resulting decrease of natural manure for land

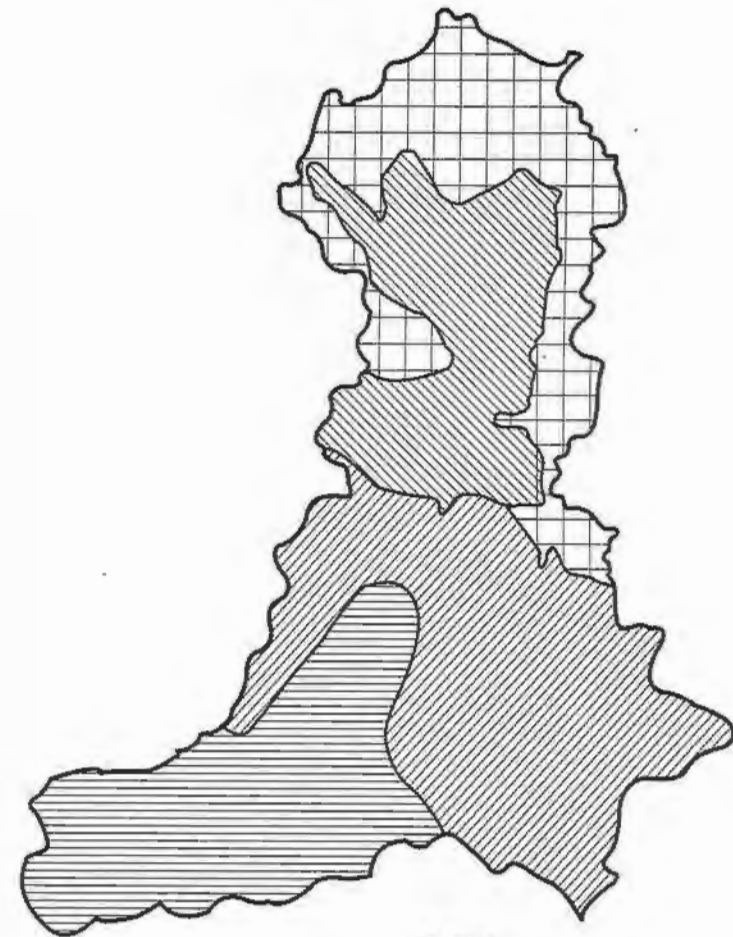
fertility. On the other hand, the closure of trekking routes and afforestation on rangelands utilised by herders during transaction lead to earlier arrival of the herders at upland pastures. The result is quantitative and qualitative degradation of land and vegetation.

Relations with Afghanistan





The Yousafzais residing in Swat valley became part of the grand Afghan alliance in 1749 AD during the time of Ahmad Shah Abdali. They were then represented in the Grand Tribal Assembly of Afghans (Loya Jirga) in Kabul. However, after Ahmad Shah Abdali the links gradually cooled down (Khan 1962). Before the British encroachment into the valley i.e. 1895, most of the big Khans in the Valley used to pay periodic visits to Kabul. The pretext was of tendering their homage to the Amir to obtain grants of money from him and some persons were more or less regularly receiving annual allowances from the Amir of Afghanistan. After 1893, the Amir had ceased to pay many of these allowances. The Anglo-Afghan Agreement on Durand line during 1893 demarcated the respective sphere of influence of the two governments among the frontier tribes, placed the inhabitants of Swat Valley on the British side of the line. Under the Agreement, the Amir of Afghanistan was to cease to have political relations with these tribes. The influence of Afghanistan was neither great before 1893, nor the Amir ceased his efforts to maintain influence over the valley afterward. Besides, many of the local Khans, due to family quarrels or other reasons, were obliged to take refuge in Afghanistan. There were also many men employed throughout the valley as Afghan spies, some by the Afghan officials in Kunarh and others by the Amir's Agent in Peshawar (McMahon, *et al* 1901).

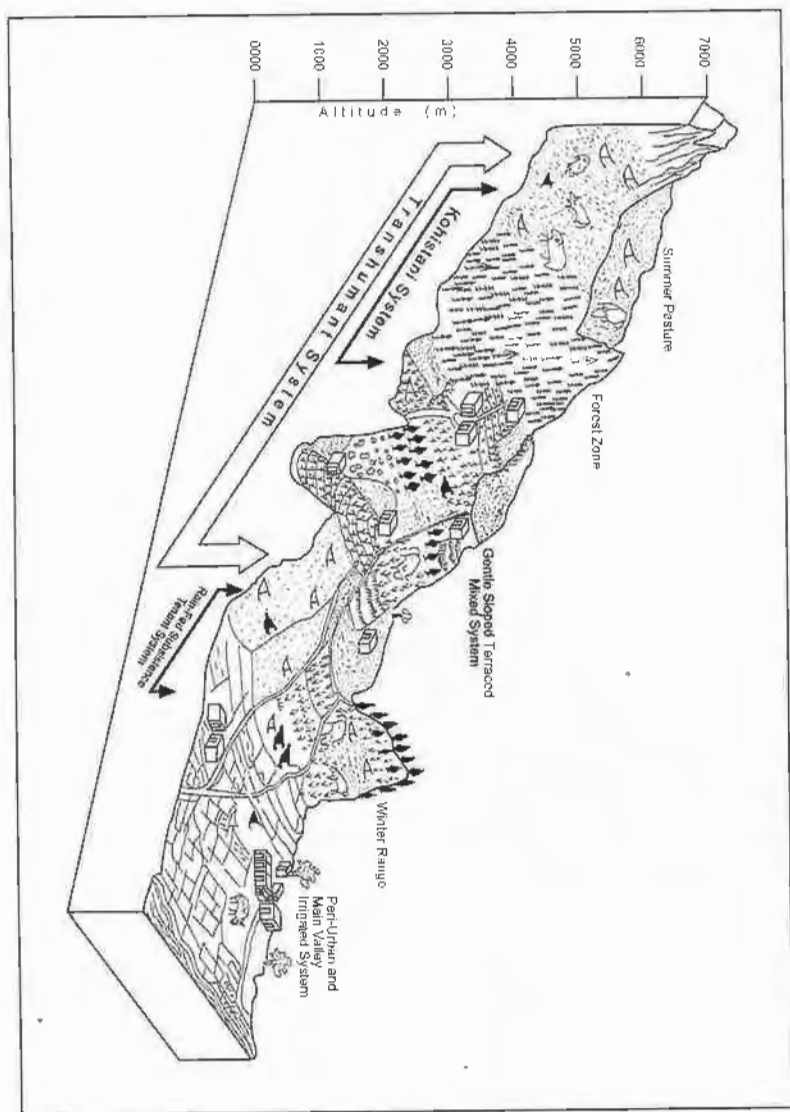
The local Jirgas used to send their representatives to the Loya Jirga (Grand tribal Assembly) in Afghanistan. After establishment of Durand line such representation ceased to exist or remain valid. However, being evolved through the same historical process, the collective behaviour of almost all the Afghans, including those in the Swat valley, is similar. They speak the same language, have same religion and dress, have the same codes of Pukhtunwali and are affected by the same tribal social structure. Although the political relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan may still fluctuate for

Ecological zones in Swat Valley



LEGEND

- | | |
|---|---|
|  | Semi-arid subtropical zone |
|  | Sub-humid subtropical to temperate zone |
|  | semi and temperate zone |
|  | Sub-alpine and alpine zone |



Eco-Zoning of the Farming Systems in Swat Valley



The muleteer (Paracha) still plays a crucial role in rural areas for goods transportation



Traditional wooden watch tower was a part of the Pukhtun house during the era of factional fighting among the tribes



A veranda with wooden pillars inside a traditional house



Herder's children on the street



Audas khana, or bathroom for women and children inside the tenant house. Men use the communal Charchobai attached to the mosques.



Interior of a traditional house. Wall plastering and decorating work on the beams used to be carried out by women.



Handicrafts: statues of Buddha to cater to tourists



From tradition to modernity: stones are being replaced with bricks in house construction



A settlement of migrant labourers in Mingora on the sloping area



The traditional tenant/Gujar house comprises a single room without veranda and courtyard.



Harsh winter at high elevation necessitates counter-seasonal strategies and seasonal migration.



Boys and girls traditionally graze the livestock. Women manage livestock throughout her life, while boys shift to other activities.



Wood and stone are being replaced with brick and cement as construction material.



Wooden beams and carved pillars inside a traditional house



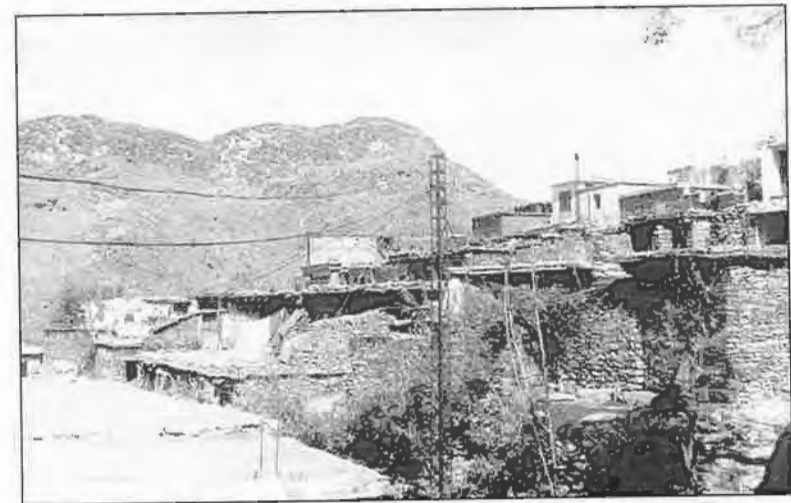
Collective forage harvesting is becoming a story of the past



River Swat flowing through the main valley is the backbone of agrarian economy and large settlements are concentrated on its banks.



Mingora city centre bustles with life



Traditional housing pattern can still be seen on the hillside slopes in narrow side valleys.



Unplanned city growth is resulting in the loss of the most productive land in the periphery.



Extending off-season vegetable production in Kohistan area is bringing economic prosperity, but lack of soil nutrient management is gradually degrading the soil.



Transitional houses of transhumant herders (Ajars) without proper doors or plastering



Wool is abundant but processing facilities do not exist



Upland pastoral areas are under utilised nowadays due to closure of winter grazing lands for afforestation



A public gathering of Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Islam in Mingora



Valley still has virgin panoramic views with tremendous potential for environment-friendly eco-tourism.

different reasons, the social relations between the residents of both the countries are not much affected. A formal border have existed between the two countries; however, it was never given any importance by the residents on either side of the line, mainly because of the existence of a tribal buffer zone facilitating such cross border social relations.

Another link developed with Afghanistan after the emergence of Pakistan is the smuggled goods and ammunition trade relations. The Afghanistan being a land locked country carry out transit trade mostly through Pakistan and rarely through Iran. Being a free market with no duty on the goods, the cheaper imported goods are smuggled through Bajaur Agency and sold to the tourists from down the country. Established, and probably strong, smuggling channels of these products to the rest of Pakistan through the Mingora market also exist. The ammunition smuggling particularly boomed during the Zia-ul-Haq military regime during the era of Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. Although limited numbers of refugees camps were established in the lower Swat Valley, the direct pressure was limited until they gradually occupied the local trade during the recent past. Those migrated from Afghanistan nowadays dominantly control the trade of cloth in Mingora. The strict measures adopted for duty imposition on Pak-China border significantly reduced the direct trade between Mingora and China. It, however, favoured the Afghani traders, as they were able to smuggle the Chinese commodities more easily via Afghanistan. During the recent past the flow of non-custom paid vehicles from Afghanistan has also become significant.

Dominance of Religious Groups

The people of Swat Valley almost entirely belong to Hanafi⁷⁰ sect, one of the four main Sunni schools of religious law. Three main points of Hanafi school are of particular interest. First, the school is characterised by a tendency toward human intellect in clarification and interpretation of the revelation, hence fully equipped with the tools to bring together the Islamic traditions with the modern life. Second, the links of the school with the Shia⁷¹ school of theology are exceedingly significant in understanding the extent and depth of interaction between the both. Third, being a

Persian is a distant characteristic of Imam Abu Hanifah's character (Gohari, 2000⁷²).

Before the inception of the State, the tribal people were not deeply religious or individually fanatical, although they were easily susceptible to the influence of religious leaders, able to exploit their superstitious nature and generate collective fanaticism. The rivalry between the chiefs of different religious groups was in most instances very keen and not necessarily amicable. They did not hesitate to call each other non-believers (Kafirs). The common people did not take more than a passing interest in the religious rivalries. However, the followers of each religious leader (comprising no more than five per cent of the population) threw themselves into the quarrels of their chiefs and resort to violence, when discrepancy in number seemed to hold out reasonable hope of success (McMahon et al., 1901). The social development of the Hujra in Pukhtun society created a sort of structural balance with the village mosque. Due to repeated external interventions in favour of centralised institutions, the rural institutions collapsed and no alternative was provided to give advice and monitor the functioning of the society (Ahmad 1976). The collapse of rural institution led to gradually increasing influence of religious groups.

During the State time the justice system was efficient and even serious cases did not take more than weeks to be decided. The system of justice was a combination of Islamic justice code and the traditional codes of Pukhtunwali, hence worked quite well. After the merger, the Pakistani rules and regulations were extended to the area. The procedures for provision of justice became extraordinarily lengthy requiring years to make decision on even the simplest cases. The lack of land settlement system facilitated the opportunists to file suits with the newly established administration. Gradually the new courts came to be perceived as a harassing tools for opponents. Anyone intending to harass another person simply filed a suit in any Pakistani court against claiming ownership of his undisputed land or even his personal house. The victim would require dozens of years and thousands of rupees to defend the claim of his own property. Still the end result might be that both the parties would settle the dispute out of court. Such events led the frustrated common people to turn to different religious groups. A number of different religious groups had sprung up in the society as a result of

political changes all over the Islamic world and particularly the sub-continent. These groups included Deobandi, Ahl-e-Hadith, Barelwi, Jamat-e-Islami and Tableeghi Jamat. These groups initially influenced the acting Mulla and subsequently the society as a whole. A brief account of different groups is given to provide better insight in understanding the role of religious groups in the Swat valley's socio-political system.

The Deobandi sect, established by Maulana Rashid Ahmad, Maulana Mohammad Qasim and others in 1867, claimed to basically teach Dars-e-Nizami⁷³ and claimed to be the sole custodians of the Hanafi principals of religion, but they were in fact more dominated by the principals of Shah Waliullah⁷⁴ and Ahl-e-Hadith. They reverted their emphasis on rational studies or Maqulat (Logic, Philosophy and Mathematics) in favour of Manqulat (Hadith, Quran, and methods of offering prayers). The school became the main learning seat of the acting Mulla of almost all the Pukhtun areas including Swat valley, who subsequently opened Madrassas in the mosques. Majority of the acting Imams of the mosques in the region belong to Deobandi sect. People openly declare themselves Deobandi and considered the term synonymous to the Hanafi sect (Metcalf, 1989⁷⁵).

The Ahl-e-Hadith justified their focus on Hadith by denying the legitimacy of the classic work of the four major law schools. Like Deobandi, the Ahl-e-Hadith opposed the Sufism of the shrines and the customs of the Shia. They prohibited all pilgrimage, even that to the grave of the Holy Prophet. Ahl-e-Hadith continuously denied the influence of Arabic based Waliabi school, pointing that the later group was Hanbali⁷⁶ in law and they emphasised rather their links to Shah Waliullah. In the Swat Valley at present the school is greatly supported by wealthy Sheikh of Arab peninsula and different Ahl-e-Hadith Madrassas have been supported, but so far it has not gained any sizable public support.

The Barelwi sect, claiming itself to be the true custodian of the Hanafi school, comprises the Pukhtuns migrated to India during the Mughal era. The main initiator of the sect was Maulana Ahmad Raza Khan Barelwi (1858-1921) and the school can be viewed as an outcome of the resistance of traditional religious approach to the emerging influence of Deobandi and Ahl-e-Hadith. They mainly insisted on the place of the Prophet as light (Noor), ever present and

observant (Hazir-o-Nazir). The Barelwi believed in the secret hierarchy of saints, whose presence in every age sustained the universe. According to them the power of Sufi continued after their death as they had in life and the dead saints could see through the light of God (Noor-e-Khuda). The influence of Barelwi was mainly in the rural Punjab and Sindh and to some extent in the tribal area of NWFP. The influence of Barelwi is limited in Swat Valley (Metcalfe, 1989).

Jamat-e-Islami is a pre-partition religious political group that reportedly opposed the creation of Pakistan. After independence the Jamat-e-Islami could not succeed in obtaining sizeable political support in the country despite their strong political organisation. They always participated in the general election with almost the strongest and most organised political campaign throughout the country, but always obtained less than 2 per cent of seats in national and provincial assemblies. Among all the religious groups in the country, they have the most moderate ideas, favouring most of the modern development concepts, family planning and female education. The party is organised in a classical fashion, having a most affiliated core group (Rukan) and subsequent support groups (Hami). Strict democratic behaviour is observed inside the party during all levels of party elections⁷⁷. The common people in general blame them for more hypocritical approach in their personal dealings. In fact the local people want to see an ideal character in those basing their politics on religion, which is not always available. In the surroundings of Swat valley i.e. in Dir and Buner however, they possess significant political influence, where they had gained the political influence mainly through Dalla politics.

Having previous experience of rapid and free justice with subsequent motivation of religious sentiments, a Jamat-e-Islami rebellion belonging to Dir area, Sufi Mohammed started armed Islamic law enforcement movement, Tehrik-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat-e-Mohammadi (TNSM), in Dir, Swat and Kohistan valleys. The movement rapidly got momentum and during 1994 the movement workers forcefully occupied all the administrative offices. Although the situation was brought under control, however, the common people got a chance to express their dissatisfaction over the on going system of justice. The other religious political groups in the region extend limited support to the movement. They particularly blame

Jamat-e-Islami and Tableeghi Jamat to be their main rival and hurdle in the enforcement of Islamic law on the style practiced by Taliban in Afghanistan. The influence of TNSM has greatly reduced after the events of the last quarter of 2001 in Afghanistan due to the role played by them.

Tableeghi Jamat is considered the least controversial religious movement participated by all and periodically followed by the members of almost all the political groups but rarely by Jamat-e-Islami and Tehrik-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat-e-Mohammadi, and never participated by the Barelwi School of thoughts. Their main emphasis is on discussing the reward of preaching and prayer (Fazail). They never discuss the issues and problems (Masail) and never motivate the people for Jihad. They are liked mainly because of their non-political behaviour. The common people predominantly believe the religion and politics, as two different and distant areas hence traditionally never favour the politically motivated religious groups. On almost every alternate day Tableeghi people knock every door, and the people are invited to nearby mosque for preaching the Fazail. After preaching the people are requested to spare some time ranging from three days to one year on their own expenses for Tableegh within the country and abroad. Almost every big village now contains a preaching mansion (Tableeghi Markaz) and attended by all affiliated to the movement on the night between Thursday and Friday. They believe that their own character would be mended automatically while preaching to others. They do not consider a good character as a pre-requisite to preaching.

A temporary organisation may be built around persons of less established sanctity, like the acting Mulla, depending on the presence of fundamental conflict in the region. The initiator then rides the crest of the wave and his role gradually vanishes when the issue is settled (Barth, 1959). The political scenario in Afghanistan during the late 1980s led to such an empowerment of religious groups, with due political and monetary support from the western countries. The phenomenon played a crucial role in strongly promoting the religious fanaticism in the area. The Mullan motivated their followers for the Jihad against Communists, and the rural population of Swat Valley got strongly involved in the Afghanistan affairs. The refugees coming from Afghanistan were also provided State welcome and different guerrilla war training

camps were created in lower Swat valley, Dir, Chitral and other tribal Pukhtun areas through various religious groups involved in Afghan politics and Jihad. The western capitalistic allies, being the main motivating forces for the Jihad in Afghanistan, duly supported even the religious schools (Darul-Ulooms) politically and financially. Different opposing religious groups were simultaneously financed and provided with heavy ammunition for the purpose that in case they won the Jihad, they could immediately start civil war within themselves. After the Jihad in Afghanistan against the Russian occupation forces was over the subsequent civil war resulted in the control of Taliban. The Kashmir freedom movement got momentum. The Ahl-e-Hadith school of thought, supported by Saudi Arabia, also introduced armed movements like Lashkar-e-Tayyiba. Jaish-e-Mohammed, is another freedom fighting movement. Both the groups have established offices at several locations, used for fighters' recruitment and collection of donations for the Jihad in Kashmir.

Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Islam another religious political group comprising the qualified leadership from Darul-Ulooms, belongs to the Deobandi sect. They are the main supporters of Taliban and the Taliban being their pupils in Darul-Ulooms are following their interpretation of religion. They have no democratic party system and the leaders are usually chosen from the elderly and more experienced Darul-Ulooms certified priests (Ulema-e-Din) of the bigger mosques. This party existed in united India, with the name of Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Hind, strongly opposing the movement of Pakistan. The political group is less influential in the Swat valley as compared to Jamat-e-Islami but, being custodians of the Deobandi school, they have deeper root in the belief system through the role of acting Mulla. They have strong political relation with the Taliban and used to send political delegations and fanatic fighters to support the Taliban movement. The rise of Taliban was facilitated, apart from the international great game for weilding influence in Central Asia, by the frustration of the common Afghans with the continuously fighting religious warlords for political authority over the country. The Pukhtuns of Afghanistan, though comprising the biggest group of the Afghan population, were kept outside the power game and the acting Mulla of Deobandi sect played a dominant role in the rise of Taliban, partly because of the ethnic dominance of Pukhtun among the Taliban.

Influence of Donors

Different donor assisted project have been executed in the Swat Valley after the mid 1970s. The Swiss and Dutch were the main donors executing projects mainly through grants. The main assistance was in agricultural and forestry sectors. The main grant projects included Dutch assisted PATA, Range Management, Social Forestry and Environment Rehabilitation Projects, the Swiss assisted Kalam Integrated Development Project and Tutti-Frutti Project, the Austria assisted Malam Jaba Afforestation Project and the Japan assisted JICA project. Different projects assisted by UNDP on education, health and conservation are also being executed or are in the pipeline for the region. The different loaned projects included the ADB assisted Livestock Production Extension Project, Forestry Sector Project and in Rural Development the Malakand Rural Development Project (MRDP).

Beside the development plans of different target-oriented projects, the main interaction with the society was through the village organisations, specially facilitated by Male and Female Social Organisers, oriented mainly toward the project objectives. Such organisations were established on generalised lines, having a formally elected chairman and secretary, with their main duties to decide the village level issues related to the project. Such social organisers if even knew the internal political structure could not effectively accommodate it on sustainable basis in the process of local level community organisation. The objectives of the process of such organisation were narrow e.g. afforestation on the communal hillside, for which support services relating to other local activities were provided on cost sharing basis e.g. water supply and communications and in return for their support for the project objectives. In such a process of community organisation the prospect of sustainable involvement in the process after termination of the project could hardly be hoped.

Most of the projects concentrate their activities on accessible areas mainly due to easy access and easy subsequent monitoring. In these areas the State institutions are more intervening and the intrinsic social organisation is weakened. The remote areas where more benefits could be distributed on sustainable basis are ignored. Even in such areas the more outspoken and progressive members are

provided with the greater amount of benefits, further alienating the relatively reserve members of the community at the cost of sustainability. Those recruited in the project staff mostly belongs to urban areas, having no any previous exposure to the particular rural society. In the mean time the attitude of such personnel toward the rural society remains as a knowledge administrator rather than knowledge sharer. The female extension workers are particularly monitored thoroughly by the rural community. The appearance and dress of the female social workers almost exclusively belonging to the urban area raise doubts in the male dominated rural society. The dominance of religious class in the rural society is more antagonistic, especially to gender intervention.

The consequences of donor projects for the urban territory of Mingora however significantly differ than that for the rural society. The building owners leasing their areas to donors receive far more than the market rate. The hotels receive more business from subsequent workshops, seminars, and consultant visits. Many among the literate urbanites get recruited in such projects on better salaries mainly on the basis of their previous links with responsible authorities. The peri-urban areas and environment receive initial attention due to easy access hence contributing to urban environment. The intervention of religious class remains less effective in urban territories like Mingora due to relative emphasis on economic activities rather than traditions. Some of the main projects executed through the support of different donors that influenced the local environment are given below.

Forest Projects

The Forestry related projects were the main projects that worked in the region for longer duration after the merger of the State. Their main offices were principally located in Mingora territorial limits and the project staff worked with the rural communities in the surrounding valleys. The impact on the surrounding rural physical, social and economic environment reciprocally affected the local urban environment as well. While the Watershed Management Project (WMP) was principally functional in Swat through the Forest Department, the Malakand Social Forestry Project started its activities in 1987 in Malakand and Dir areas. During 1990s, a Range

Management Project (RMP) was subsequently annexed with the Social Forestry Sector, when it was realised that afforestation on some of the communal lands would increase the grazing pressure on the remaining area. The main objective of the Social Forestry Project (SFP) remained to make the Forest Department people-oriented through involving the local communities in afforestation activities and management of the natural resources. Initially the SFP was launched in Malakand Agency and Dir District, however during its subsequent phase it was extended to Swat, Buner and Chitral Districts under the name of Environmental Rehabilitation Project (ERP). The Social Forestry Project (SFP) devised a Village land-use Planning (VLUP) procedure and the ERP adopted the procedure during implementation phase. The VLUP was claimed to be a tool to assist the local population with the development and implementation of management plans. The aim was to increase and sustain the productivity of natural vegetation of privately and jointly owned hillside and farmlands for the economic or other benefits of the farmer⁸⁰. Different village level community organisations were created to facilitate the process.

The short-term objectives of the RMP (1989-1992) included assisting and empowering the Forest Department (FD) and community in improvement and management of range and pasture lands. The review of the project revealed improper technical interventions, insufficient identification of target groups and unwise selection of forage species for propagation on the native rangelands. Hence the project could not obtain its objectives⁸¹.

Another recently launched project in the region is the Forestry Sector Project (FSP). The project has three main objectives. The first objective is to protect and improve the hilly and mountainous environment of the NWFP, thereby raising the productivity of private, community and government lands that are suitable for trees, fodder and other crops. The second objective is to utilise social forestry approach that provide for active participation of the beneficiaries in the design, planning and execution of project related activities. The third objective is that the project would contribute to government goals of expanding the country forest resources.

The project is supposed to carry out:

(i) **Institutional reform** (forest policy, legal reforms, constituting of forestry commission and forestry roundtable, restructuring of

forest department and civil society involvement in forest management

(ii) **Capacity building** (Forest Department Staff, training of NGOs, CBOs and VDCs and training of tree farmers)

(iii) **Field development** (integrated resource management planning/ village land use planning, afforestation, rangelands, farm forestry) (Anon., 2000).

The Forestry roundtable that was supposed to provide equitable representation to different stakeholders is unsuccessful as it lacked due representation of the actual resource users. The weakest segments, i.e. the land-users, have nominally been given representation. In practice, the timber users are sitting in the roundtable. The reason given is that the actual forest owners are not willing to sit in the roundtable in equal capacity to their subordinate users.

A case study was conducted by ERP during 1998 in collaboration with the department of Livestock and Dairy Development and Forest Department in six villages on the left bank of River Swat. The study revealed that out of the total afforested areas of the hill side (63 per cent), 15 per cent afforestation was carried out by Water Shed Management Project, 55 per cent by Forest Development Corporation, and 40 per cent carried out by ERP. Fifty-five per cent of the traditional winter grazing land in Swat and Buner was reduced due to afforestation activities. The flock size of the transhumant herders reduced from 340 to 200 sheep and goats per flock. Many of the traditional trekking routes of transhumant herders were blocked by afforestation activities and they are now obliged to proceed by main road requiring three people per flock for protection compared to the previous one-person requirement per flock. Many of the herders were obliged to leave the profession and ended as daily wage labourers in Mingora. The project hence worked to fuel the poverty and further marginalising the already marginalised social group.

A masters level study²² revealed that many of the transhumant herders nowadays proceed by trucks to the upland pasture or through the road with minimum halts on the way in contrast to the previous system of spending one to one and a half month in one-

way movement. Hence they reach the upland pastures 15-25 days earlier than their scheduled time. The vegetation at the upland pasture does not get enough time to shoot out and these pastures are degrading despite under stocking due to earlier utilisation. The transhumant herders also reach earlier on their back journey in a similar way to the lowland rangelands with similar consequences and additional overcrowding on the already diminishing rangelands (Khaksar 2000). The forest fire incidences are increasing. To investigate the political consequences of afforestation activities on the communal grazing lands. A survey (Asghar 2001²³) was carried out in four different villages in the vicinity of Khwazakhela in the upper Swat valley. According to the results 50 per cent of the owners reported worsened relationship between landowners and rangeland-users, while among the live stock herders 90 per cent reported worsened relationship between owners and rangeland-users after afforestation.

Sarhad Provincial Conservation Strategy (SPCS)

The Government of NWFP, supported actively by IUCN and funded by the SDC, started a consultative process with different stockholders in 1992 as a first step toward Sarhad Provincial Conservation Strategy (SPCS). The SPCS worked on preparation of environmental profile, awareness raising and institutional strengthening. The strategic planning phase was completed in 1996 and published as a formal document. The document reflects present priorities in the area of sustainable human development, its flexibility to incorporate policy change, legal reforms and structural institution improvements. The strategy is proposed for regular revision and re-writing every five years.

The priority areas of SPCS include governance and capacity development, poverty alleviation, urban environment and sustainable cities, sustainable industrial development, natural resources management, bio-diversity conservation and cultural heritage and sustainable tourism. The SPCS very clearly states that the major reasons for urban growth are population growth and rural poverty. The SPCS suggest that future policies and programmes should be designed to guide urbanisation into suitable location and acceptable form and to distribute growth and development more

evenly throughout towns and cities. Initiation of the community based urban development programmes is suggested to improve the coordination, cooperation and communication among various organisations at different tiers of city management. District level conservation strategies have so far been prepared for the district of Chitral and Abbottabad and for the remaining districts, the strategies are in progress.

Provincially Administered Tribal Area (PATA) Project

The main offices of the PATA project existed in Mingora and the main objectives were to increase the living standards and increase agricultural production on a sustainable basis of mainly small-scale male and female farmers in Malakand Division. Based on the results of hydro-geological studies the project was formulated in 1984-85. The project started for a period of four years in 1986. The project objectives were redefined during December 1987 and the first phase got extended up to December 1991. The second phase started simultaneously in January 1992 and terminated after a short extension in June 1996.

The project had its origin in the Pakistan-Netherlands Groundwater Development Project initiated in 1979 and executed by WAPDA Hydrology Directorate and TNO-GDV Institute for Applied Sciences of the Netherlands. The Directorates of Agriculture Extension and On-Farm Water Management were the executing agencies, while Planning Environment and Development Department of the Government of NWFP was the sponsoring agency. The project activities were concentrated in the southern half of the division in different districts excluding Chitral.

Despite the fact that the project carried out huge investment in the community level agricultural infrastructure and other basic services, the project lacked an effective mechanism to sustain it through respective communities after project termination. Different CBO's created for the purpose were just to achieve physical targets. Majority of the infrastructure erected deteriorated rapidly due to lack of ownership by the community²⁴.

Kalam Integrated Development Project (KIDP)

The KIDP mainly worked in Kalam area, however during winter the offices were shifted to Mingora. It was primarily a forest project aiming at an economically sustainable management of forestry resources in Kalam area. However it was realised very soon that the community could only be mobilised to fulfill the objectives if it tackles the issue of forest conservation following an integrated approach. Hence other support services, including infrastructure development and agricultural activities, were also undertaken side by side. To achieve the project objectives the main emphases was on local institution building, village development support programmes, resource development and network development. During the initial phase the project intervention were almost completely in line with the priorities of local population.

When the intervention was being planned there were very few hotels and the Kalamis were mainly mono-seasonal subsistence level agriculturists, while forest was endangered through illegal harvesting. Although Kalam was a renowned tourist spot since long, the rapid economic growth for Kalam was due to the fact that road leading from Bahrain to Kalam was blacktopped in the early 1980s, making journey more comfortable and less time consuming. This coincided with the initiation of Kalam Integrated Development Project (KIDP), which started in 1982 with the support of the SDC. While the provincial government improved the main Bahrain-Kalam Road, the KIDP also developed a number of small shingle roads. This opened up the valley to the tourism leading to the change in priorities of local population. Previously there were only four hotels each accommodating the guests of different status, but from mid-1980s and onward there was a rapid growth in hotel construction, and now there are about 150 hotels. The lack of building control mechanism and unsustainable policy of industrialisation have created more economic as well as environmental problems for the Kalam area in particular.

The KIDP mandate was then not flexible enough to change its priorities according to the changed priorities of local population. Off-season vegetable promotion and road development were in line with the demand of growing tourist industry, however eco-tourism promotion was not accommodated in the development process. The

local community was, however, empowered to realise the importance of forest for their survival and they erected many community based check posts that successfully curtailed the illegal timber smuggling. The tremendous increase in hotel construction work on the other hand demanded huge amount of timber for construction as well as furniture, hence the net result of resource conservation was probably non-significant as the hotel construction process contributed, indirectly, to deforestation. Large areas of forest have also been probably cleared for agricultural purposes. This trend continues even today.

Another weak point for the KIDP was the limited activities for livestock promotion. The upland pastoral areas in the vicinity of Kalam are visited by tens of thousands of livestock from down areas during summer, and the milk produced at these pastures is transformed into milk products. On the other hand the growing hotel industry during the same period, import fresh/packed milk worth millions of rupees, during each season from down the country. Effective linkages could have possibly been developed between the both leading to more effective land-use. Of the entire interventions the off-season vegetable production still continues, however it is also coupled with reduced crop residues in the form of corn stalks. The increased commercial output of off-season vegetables brought prosperity to the area and to Mingora due to increased trade through its vegetable market. On the other hand, it gradually led to decrease number of livestock with subsequent little manure for cropland. The ultimate result is the continuous nutrient mining from land leading to gradual loss of fertility. Now the off-season vegetables are produced but only with the increasing inputs of pesticides and chemical fertilisers.

Tutti Frutti Project and Project for Horticultural Promotion (PHP)

The Tutti Frutti Project initially known as Pak/Swiss Malakand Fruit and Vegetable Development Project (MFVDP) possessed the objective of writing out a master plan (horticultural scenario) for the Malakand Division. The plan was supposed to describe in detail the prevailing conditions of fruit and vegetable production, identify constraints and describe ways of alleviating the bottlenecks. These

objectives were to be achieved by data collection, using both consultants and project staff and by testing and evaluating methods of production, marketing, extension and adoptive research practically. The initial pilot phase of the project commenced in July 1988.

Despite its limitations, the project significantly contributed to the introduction of new varieties of fruits like strawberry and cherry. Different almond and grapes varieties have also been successfully extended and the project has contributed to the extension of new varieties in apple. It has carried out orchards marketing research and has contributed to the skill development of local professional and scientists through local and abroad training. The project has now been redefined under the name of Project for Horticultural Promotion (PHP) and has extended to the rest of the province through the financial support of the SDC. The project has started its activities since 1998 and is intending to carry out activities in partnership with the NGOs and established CBOs. It has indirectly promoted orchard and vegetable trade through Mingora fruit and vegetable market.

Malakand Rural Development Project (MRDP)

The MRDP includes the whole of the Swat valley in the project area. The main objective of the project is the 'Reduction of rural poverty by enhancing household income and living standards, particularly for the small holders, tenants and landless (rural poor).

The project implementation support is to be provided through establishment of Project Management Unit (PMU), with necessary staffing, office equipment, service vehicles and operational expenditure. The services of a Rural Support Programme are to be procured to undertake community mobilisation.

The planning, implementation, administration, monitoring, reporting and coordination are the jobs carried out at PMU, headed by a Project Director. Different programme managers support the Project Director (PD) to carry out different sectoral tasks. The operational arrangement includes establishment of 10 social organisation units at sub-divisional level to cover 1000 rural settlements. A male social organiser, a female social organiser and a field engineer staff these units. The tasks of the unit are to:

- mobilise communities;
- coordinate integrated village planning and implementation;
- review and report the progress;
- recommend release of fund to implementing agencies.

The main objectives of the project emphasise the rural poor; however, the rural poor mainly reside outside the main village, while the main villages are occupied by the relatively well-off and socially privileged Pukhtuns and Miangan.

The project has adopted the traditional bureaucratic approach however the social organisation units if properly established may play a leading role in the achieving the project objectives. This may direct the micro level inputs to sustainable, effective and environment friendly long-term regional development.

Community Infrastructure Project (CIP)

Emerging out of an extensive shelter review, supported by the World Bank and the SDC in the early 1990s, and incorporating the lessons of a pilot phase, the community infrastructure project is being implemented by the Government of NWFP since 1995. The project has concentrated on community development and providing/upgrading basic infrastructure in 55 low-income communities throughout the province. The social side funding was provided by the SDC in the form of grant, while World Bank provided loan for infrastructure development. In the Swat Valley the villages selected for the first phase included Munjaee (Adinzai), Islampur, Kanjo, Kota, Ghalagay and Madyan. The new areas included during the second phase include Bahrain and Ouch (Adinzai).

The main goal of the project is to increase the productivity of low-income communities in the province by improving their living conditions through provision of basic infrastructure.

The CIP components include water supply and sanitation, street paving, drainage, flood protection, solid waste disposal points and construction of roads. The social infrastructure provides the entry point for health and hygiene promotion, links to micro finance, community capacity building and the strengthening of local government to collaborate with the communities. Communities provide free of cost land and 20 per cent up-front share of capital

costs of physical infrastructure and 100 per cent of the operation and maintenance costs.

In some peri-urban surroundings of Mingora the project significantly contributed to infrastructure development and provision of basic facilities. Despite some successes in many areas, the shortcomings include the less effective infrastructure planning and lack of process for minimising environmental risks. In many localities the already available village organisation with due recognition of social welfare department were ignored and duplicate rival organisations were created with subjective approach. The inefficiency in service delivery as with other government organisation, though less intensive, does exist in CIP as well.

River Swat Conservation Project

Tourism promotion and extending urbanisation without any planning led to increasing pollution and encroachment of River Swat. To counteract the process the Environmental Protection Society (EPS) initiated the project with the support of the UNDP through Small Grants Programme of Global Environmental Facility. The project started in September 1998 and is due for termination during 2002. The main objectives included information collection about the ecology of River Swat and identifying/quantifying sources of water pollution; creating awareness in the relevant communities about consequences of water pollution; generating information about aquatic life of River Swat; promoting and coordinating collective actions among selected communities and relevant government agencies for conservation of the River; and appropriate riverside land zoning and emphasising constructions accordingly

To meet these objectives the process of social mobilisation was initiated. In this connection three different villages Chalyar, Tikdarai and Panr were initially selected for evolving workable system for sewerage and solid waste management that are to be extended to other villages subsequently. Social mobilisation at sub-divisional level has also been initiated simultaneously for conservation of the river. Evaluation of existing level of pollution of the main river and tributary streams is underway in order to identify the main hazardous regions. Ecological survey of the main river and tributary

valleys is also under process to evaluate the impact of pollution on the aquatic life to facilitate appropriate actions. Awareness campaign is carried out through media, seminars, workshops and roundtables. Motivational material is also extensively used for creating awareness. The River Swat Conservation Act initiated by the project has been adopted as River Conservation Act for the whole province. Coordination among different stakeholders e.g., government agencies and hotels association, has been promoted to prevent illegal encroachment into the river and its tributaries. The project is hoped to significantly contribute to the conservation of River Swat.

Project for Conservation of Freshwater Network

A feasibility study was conducted by WWF-Pakistan during 1999 to protect freshwater network comprising mainly the River Swat, its tributaries and other smaller streams in the region. The study revealed that many freshwater fish species are at the verge of extinction due to lack of awareness, river pollution and fishing practices like electrocution, poisoning and dynamiting. To explore the possibility of community participation in protecting the ecosystem, the project was started in January 2000, with the following objectives:

- To strengthen community participation in protecting freshwater ecosystem
- To create awareness among school children residing along the River Swat
- To establish linkages with and networking of NGOs working for the conservation of fresh water network

During three years duration of the project the following activities were carried out for conservation of fish fauna:

- Thirty fish conservation committees established all along the river network;
- Education programme started in ten different schools;
- Nature clubs established in ten schools;
- Workshops/ seminars held for school teachers, local community and fishermen.

Urban Planning and Management Support Project (UPMSP)

The Urban Planning and Management Support Project (UPMSP) was initiated in Mingora with the support of Swiss National Foundation for Scientific Research (SNF), Geneva, and the SDC, Islamabad, in 1996. It was an action research project and the hypothesis of the research was that 'The control of urban environmental problems needs an improvement of the process of governance. The process is easier to organise in middle sized cities, due to existence of a better potential of community involvement, to a manageable size and lower complexity, which give the opportunity to all different actors to participate in the process'.

The EPS was chosen to co-ordinate the research work. For the purpose an Urban Resource Centre was developed within EPS. The team consisted of architects, planners, social workers and computer operators. Different research partners contacted included Department of Architecture and Planning, Dawood College Karachi, Department of Geography, University of Peshawar, and Department of Civil Engineering, University of Engineering and Technology, Peshawar, to send students for field research in coordination with the UPMSP. South-south network of experts in the urban improvement theme was activated to provide further support to the team. The IUED research group in Geneva, working on the theme of intermediary cities management, acted as co-coordinator between the different partners in Pakistan. The UPMSP began to work with local CBOs in order to help them define their needs and to give them the opportunities of training in the field of urban and environmental management.

Different government and social actors responsible for urban environment management were involved during action research. For example a tripartite partnership was developed among Mingora Municipal Committee, EPS and CBOs for solid and liquid waste management in the city. The next step was working on sanitation. The research team, keeping in view the traditional Jirga, worked to create separate men and women roundtables as a forum for debate on the city issues. Representatives of all the major political parties, trader federations, and government line agencies, CBOs and ex-councilors were included in the debates. The action was aimed to fill

the gap of suspended local political institutions. The team worked to develop conceptual master plan for the next 25 years.

After termination of the project, many activities initiated at the EPS still continues. Worth mentioning are the activities of technical unit that has in many places in Mingora city initiated support system for development of infrastructure through other agencies with the local communities. They have completed the conceptual plan for Mingora city sewerage system and waste management and in some situations other intermediary cities in the country have utilised their expertise for community based sewerage management. The round tables established during research process continued to remain active after termination of the project and contributed to fill the gap of community representation during the period when no formal community representative forum existed in the city. The research support mechanism is still active and four students have completed their master level research on local urban and rural issues⁸⁵.

Notes

- ¹ Ethnic Pukhtun mainly occupy the fertile base of the main valley and tributary valleys south of Madyan.
- ² Barth, F. (1969) "Introduction of Pathan Identity and its maintenance," in *Ethnic groups and Boundaries: The social organization of culture differences*. Allen and Unwin, London.
- ³ See Chapter Two.
- ⁴ See Chapter Two.
- ⁵ Ahmad, A. S. (1976). *Millennium and Charisma among Pathans: A critical essay in social anthropology*. (1st Edition) Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, 39 Store Street, London.
- ⁶ Meaning dependent
- ⁷ Elphinstone, S (1972) *An account of the Kingdom of Caubul* (Vol-1) Oxford University Press Karachi.
- ⁸ Verhelst, T. G (1992) *No life without roots: Culture and Development*. Zed Books Ltd, London and New Jersey.
- ⁹ Ahmad, A. S (1980) *Pukhtun economy and society: traditional structure and economic development in a tribal society*. Rontledge and Kegan Paul, London.
- ¹⁰ McMahon, A. H. and A. D. G. Ramsay (1981). *Report on the tribes of Dir, Swat and Bajour together with the Utman-Khel and Som Ranizai*.

Saeed Book Bank, Peshawar Pakistan.

- ¹¹ Literally meaning a girl on a horse back shifted from the defeated to the victorious side
- ¹² Supplication, by visiting the opponent house and requesting to forgive, usually with the Holy Quran plus some livestock.
- ¹³ The duty of Tayar Khore was to attend the Hujra of the khan, provided services to his guests and serving as his bodyguard or his definite followers in his Lakhkar. Despite the lack of cash money with them, they kept from dozens to hundreds of Tayar Khore. The Tayar Khore did not keep their own household but lived as dependent around Khans.
- ¹⁴ Meaning homeland or simply territory
- ¹⁵ Thirteen such Tapas corresponded containing different segmentary groups of Pukhtun landowners each having a total (Pukhtun+non-Pukhtun) population ranging from 50,000 to 2,00,000 and an area of 500 to 2000 square km. The different Tapas include Adinzai, Shamozaï, Nikpikhel, Sebujni and Shamizai on the western bank of River Swat and Ranizai, Baizai, Musakhel, Abakhel, Babozai, Maturizai, Azikhel and Jinkikhel. Akhunkhel are the religious group occupying both banks at the Northern limit of the proper Swat valley.
- ¹⁶ Meaning leadership base.
- ¹⁷ Palau is the ward governed by Yousafzai chief, while a non-Yousafzai mainly religious group governs a Cham.
- ¹⁸ Meaning attachment
- ¹⁹ A common sitting, eating and gathering place, where guest are also entertained.
- ²⁰ The trade was viewed as an activity antagonising fighting spirit necessary for survival in Pukhtun tribal society.
- ²¹ Containing a husband, wife, children and other dependents (aged father/mother or widows)
- ²² Extended patrilineal families, until the death of the common ancestor controlling estate.
- ²³ Upper or super ordinate
- ²⁴ Lower or subordinate
- ²⁵ According to a local elder of lower swat (Khwaja Malak of Adinzai who politically remained quite active in the first half of the twentieth century), the Dalla politics was important in the tribal society for the survival of the Pukhtuns as the masters. This avoided any possible revolt and kept the more populous tenant and Gujars obliged to accept the subordinate position. The subordinate tribes were not allowed to possess arms and they remained under the protection of the landowners.

- 26 Mostly the ruler of Dir.
- 27 Lindholm, C. (1996) *Frontier Perspectives: Essays in comparative Anthropology*. Oxford University Press, Karachi, Pakistan.
- 28 Ali, S. S (1998) "Access to Justice in the Informal sector", in Khan, D. S (ed) *The informal sector in Pakistan*. Vanguard Books (Pvt) Ltd, Pakistan. Pp 23-63.
- 29 Spain, J. W. (1963) *The Pathan Borderland*. Safdar Mehdi, Indus Publication Fareed Chambers Karachi.
- 30 Istanadar is the joint term used for different religious leaders mainly the descendant of saints with a proven worth of settling disputes. They were able to cross freely from one warring camp. This privilege however did not prevent them to carry arms at other times.
- 31 Swatis are claimed by many to be from Hindu origin, however it does not seem appropriate. They spoke Pukhtu, at the times of Yousafzai invasion, despite the fact being surrounded by Kohistani, Kashmiri and Potohari people from three sides, while the Gujar after living with the Pukhtun for more than 500 years, still speak Gujri (a midified form of Punjabi). Dalazak are claimed to be Tajik, if it is true, they may have resided with Pukhtun for many centuries leading to transformation of their language.
- 32 Undistributed/communal land.
- 33 Meaning land renter.
- 34 Meaning Share eater.
- 35 The bed used for sleeping.
- 36 Seat used by females during cooking and washing.
- 37 Spiders are called Joulagan in Pukhtu and the weaving of net probably led to the derivation of this name.
- 38 A house generally comprised a single large room or at the most two rooms. After marriage separate room constructed for the new family annexed to the patrilateral room or house, hence the ward was actually the extension of the household and multiplication of dependents.
- 39 Food offered to the poor and neighbours.
- 40 More than one marriage was more common among Pukhtuns; however, their incidence has been tremendously reduced.
- 41 Money, land and jewelry provided to the girl, by the boy family under the Islamic law.
- 42 The open movement of feet.
- 43 Celebrated a few days before the holy month of Ramazan.
- 44 Meaning enquiry about casual happening like illness and injury.
- 45 Routine visit to the relatives just to indicate their association or fulfilling any requirement.
- 46 Cooked herbs.

- 47 One and a half meter wide and two and a half meter long plain piece of cloth.
- 48 Kohistanis always used the woolen cap (Pakoul), while it was used during winter in Pukhtun areas. During summer the cotton cap (Topai) was routinely used in the main Pukhtun areas. The elderly peoples used different types of turbans on different occasions. The Shamla and Loongai were worn, while attending a Jirga or ceremonial occasions. The Mullan worn different types of turbans (Patkey) indicative of their religious knowledge, received from the religious institutions after qualification.
- 49 The gold ornaments were only available to the Khans females. The earrings (Walai), the nose ring (Paizwan), the nose nails (Maikhaki), different types of necklaces (Amail and Ogai) and forehead ornament (Tika) were quite commonly used. All females almost exclusively wore Silver/gold or glass-made bangles, while silver made foot ornament (Paikarhey) were occasionally used. Gold/silver rings (Gwatai) were used by both the genders.
- 50 For example, Skhay (wrestling with one foot held above the ground), Kabadi (wrestling while with-holding respiration) and Maira Daba (base ball like game) were the exercise-full games for daytime specifically for teenager's male children with Skhay and Kabadi viewed with interest by the adult male members as well.
- 51 Pat-patounay (hide and seek) was the summer evening game, while Shalghati or Karkhai (Hidden lines made by one team, while the other seeking it) was a daytime game.
- 52 Chilo (a pebble is moved in lineated areas with one foot, with the other held above the ground) and Mirghati (pebble playing with hand) were specifically female children day games.
- 53 Rubber pebble through for hunting small birds during summer.
- 54 Tendon made string instruments resembling guitar.
- 55 Metallic wire string instruments resembling guitar.
- 56 Clay water pot, with cloth or rubber tied over the opening and used as drum.
- 57 The main traditional folk songs included Badala, Tappa, Charbaita, Rubae, Lobha, Nimakai and Bagatai (differed in poetic style, length and number of phrases and contents). These terms are hardly familiar to the new Pukhtun generation particularly those residing in the urban territories.
- 58 The holy month of fasting.
- 59 The holy month wherein most of the grandsons of the Holy Prophet were massacred at the battle of Karbala.
- 60 The holy month of birth and passing away of the Holy Prophet.

- ⁶¹ Preventing her to re-marry.
- ⁶² A hand driven stone wheel for grinding the grains.
- ⁶³ One tenth of the total gross produce of individual farmer. A sort of Islamic Tax.
- ⁶⁴ Share comprising individual Pukhtun household in different qualitative land units.
- ⁶⁵ The most probable adopted procedure might be that the subordinate segments directly related to the natural resource base stayed, while the others like Nai's and Shakhel moved with the landowners.
- ⁶⁶ A Wand is a land piece with specific characteristics and location e.g. A Wand may be situated on the riverside containing Brakha of different land owners, while another Wand may composed of rain-fed lands.
- ⁶⁷ See Chapter Two for details.
- ⁶⁸ Land without its annexure in rain-fed and hillside land hence sold was called Kwanday.
- ⁶⁹ Leede, B.M., Inam-ur-Rahim and J. Wind. (1999) *Nomadic Graziers and Hillside development. A case study in Swat and Buner*. Environmental Rehabilitation Project, Malakand Division.
- ⁷⁰ The school incorporated the legal opinions of the ancient Iraqi schools of Al-Kofa and Basra. The Hanafid legal system developed from the teachings of Theologian and Jurisprudent Imam Abu Hanifah (700-767) and became the official system of Islamic legal interpretation for the Abbasids, Seljuqs and Ottomans. In spite the fact that Hanafid acknowledge Quran and Hadith as primary source of law, they are also noted for the acceptance of personal opinion in the absence of precedent. The school predominates in central Asia, Indo-Pakistan, Turkey and countries of Former Ottoman Empire. His Iranian origin and more emphasis on logical interpretation, his school was sometimes erroneously denounced (particularly in the Arab world) as the school of Rai (Independent opinion) as opposed to that of Hadith.
- ⁷¹ The followers of Ali and Imam Jaffar Sadique.
- ⁷² Gohari, M.I. (2000) *The Taliban's ascent to power*. Oxford University Press, Karachi, Pakistan.
- ⁷³ An important group of the Ulema of the eighteenth century were those associated with Farangi Mahal in Lucknow (a mansion built by a French adventurer during Mughal era given on revenue free tenure by the Shia Nawab of Oudh for the school, who also patronised the school), where Dars-e-Nizami was devised as an agreed course for the Qazis and Muftis (Judiciary and Bureaucracy) working in courts of different smaller Muslim Kingdoms in the sub-continent. Dars-e-Nizami was devised under the direction of Mnlla Nizam-ud-Din (d. 1748). It typically included a number of books on various subjects of

- Manqulat (Arabic grammar, logic, philosophy, mathematics, rhetoric, Fiqh, and theology). Quran and Hadith were only marginally studied, the former through two commentaries and the later through one abridgment. They did not eschew Sufi experience and they represented in attenuated form the style of religious leadership that had flourished under the Mughuls and did not possessed popular reforms characteristics. They did not consciously seek a more independent position for themselves by addressing a more widely based audience, rather they focused on technical kind of scholarship as evident from their emphasis on Maqulat.
- ⁷⁴ A religious scholar greatly influenced by Wahabi school of Arab peninsula.
- ⁷⁵ Metcalf, B.D. (1989) *Islamic Revival in British India: Deoband, 1860-1900*. Royal Book Agency. 7737, Saddar. Karachi Pakistan.
- ⁷⁶ One of the four basic schools of jurisprudence
- ⁷⁷ The common people have fantastic ideas regarding the general behaviour of those attached to the religious movement. They may afford a person of mediocre character in other (non-religious) political groups, but they will strongly object those belonging to the religious group even for their slight misconduct.
- ⁷⁸ A tribal territory bordering Paktia province of Afghanistan.
- ⁷⁹ An intermediary city in the southern tropical plains of NWFP.
- ⁸⁰ Manual for VLUP, Training Series 5-A 1994, Social Forestry Project.
- ⁸¹ Review of the Range Management Project technical report No. 1/1992).
- ⁸² Khaksar (1999) *Utilization of natural vegetation by transhumants of Malakand Division*. M. Sc. Thesis, Department of Forestry, Range Management and Wildlife. University of Agriculture Faisalabad.
- ⁸³ Asghar (2001) *Socio-economic impact of afforestation on land use, animals and people (a case study of selected villages in Tehsil Khwazakhela, district Swat)*. M. Sc thesis, Institute of development studies, Faculty of rural social sciences, NWFP Agricultural University, Peshawar. Pakistan.
- ⁸⁴ It has become customary that the donor projects under their subjective approach readily find members for the so called Village Organisations while working with a particular community, however these organisations rapidly collapse after termination of the project as these do not possess any indigenous socio-political base.
- ⁸⁵ For details see Hisam, Zeenat and Alain Viaro (2002), *Mingora: The Unplanned City: Dynamics of Development and Public Participation*. City Press, Karachi.

Chapter Five

Pukhtun Culture and Modernity

Before the inception of the Swat State the most populous village in the valley was Thana, containing no more than 600 houses. It was the first main village while entering the valley from Peshawar plains. Thana is situated at the junction of Swat and Dir Valleys. With the onset of the twentieth century, the valley lost its political unity and parts of the valley came in the sphere of influence of the British and the Nawab of Dir. Emergence of the State led to the establishment of administrative centre for the major portion of the valley. The evolution of centralised authority and establishment of administrative centre at Saidu Sharif led to more frequent visits of the population from surrounding regions. Abolishment of Wesh and permanent land settlement enabled the landowners to erect more permanent structures on their landed estate and generated the base for the development of urban centre near the political centre in the valley. Main infrastructure e.g., schools, hospitals, courts, further promoted the process of urbanisation. The most important factor which facilitated urbanisation during the State period was, however, the prevailing peace through the entire region. The subsequent establishment of road network emerging from the administrative centre provided the final platform for evolution of the main urban centre in Mingora.

The gradual growth of Mingora generated economic opportunities with subsequent wealth accumulation by the business class. Hence the old inequalities based on character of hospitality and manhood were replaced by new inequalities based on wealth differences. This also modified the social character and promoted

individualism and a race for wealth rather than a race for manhood, solidity and physical power. The flatterers gathered around the rulers also got wealthier in due course and the mutually cooperative tribal character of the society was tremendously transformed, although the physical development, peace and prosperity were quite evident during the State times. The result was a gradual evolution of a specific urbanised culture, retaining some traditions and acquiring some new characters.

Till the merger of the Swat State, Saidu Sharif remained the administrative centre and Mingora a commercial centre. The only shops available in Saidu Sharif were for the visitors of the shrine of Saidu Baba'. The approach to shrine and its immediate surroundings have been retained in their original shape. An area of about two kilometer surrounding the shrine comprised those settled in the area during the Akhund time and was subsequently related to the shrine after his death. Many of them migrated from the surrounding rural area to the shrine due to poverty. At Saidu Baba shrine a significant proportion of the money contributed by the visitors was spent on regular provision of food to all the visitors and other needy people free of cost (Langar). Some of the poorest then established Kacha residences that subsequently converted into permanent settlement after the merger of the State. These people comprised the majority of population of Saidu Sharif. Other social segments also resided in Saidu Sharif like Sayyed and Miangan. During second Wali time the specific area was encircled through a triangular road in such a manner that both sides of the entire road were left for modern buildings, while the native local structures were encapsulated in its original form.

External to the native triangle was the residential colonies for the State employees. The main Saidu-Mingora roadside contained all the State offices and subsequent off the main road were residential areas. Offices and residences represented a mixture of native and Victorian architecture. Different categories of officials were allotted accommodation according to their rank in the hierarchy of the State structure. "A" category residences were for the high-ranking officers, while "D" was for the lowest categories. A and B type residences were constructed in two and one kanals, while C and D in half and one-fourth kanal respectively. The lowest category official residences contained at least two rooms of not less than 16

square meters each, with a kitchen, verandah, latrine, bathroom and a courtyard. Almost all the State structures in Saidu Sharif and Mingora were Pakha and all coloured yellow, being the official color. The style of State residences motivated the economically well-off residents to replace their native structure with the modern one.

The main dividing point between Saidu and Mingora were the grassy grounds². Saidu Sharif contained no commercial shops and the residents were obliged to travel to Mingora for daily purchase of household items. In Mingora, Nishat Chowk, and the Main Bazaar were the main business areas, containing vegetable, food, grains, clothe, medicines and general item shops and cafeterias used by the residents of Mingora and Saidu Sharif and tourists. The Kanjo road between Green Chowk and Taj Chowk was the emerging wholesale market for the surrounding rural areas in the valley. The New Road, Naway Kalay Road, Madayan Road and Kwazakhela Road were then of intermediate importance from commercial point of view. Naway Kalay, Panr and Amankot were considered separate villages retaining their classical rural structure. Till the merger, the Pukhtun resided inside Mingora in different Palau surrounded by subordinate social segments just like in the remaining rural areas of the valley. The landowner Khan resided in large houses (1-2 kanals), while the common Pukhtun/artisans and tenants resided in small Kacha houses mostly comprising a single large room, a verandah and a courtyard. The main difference observed was the emerging commercial activities, construction of residences for rent, and the dominance of economically prosperous Paracha and to some extent Zargar groups. The State authority was more visible in Mingora than the remaining parts of the valley. The construction of Pakha house on the style of State construction got initiated during mid-1950s. At the time of the merger the proportion of Pakha houses in the city centre might have reached 15 per cent of the total houses predominantly occupied by those having political affiliation with the State authorities.

Although a master plan for Mingora city was not conceptualised, however the construction style, drainage system and stratification of facilities were satisfactory according to the level of development of the city. The physical growth and development of Mingora was more or less regulated till the merger of the State in 1969. The main reason was that the region was viewed as a unit and

symbiotic relations between the developing urban centre and the surrounding rural areas were identified and promoted. Haphazard construction of shops and markets was not allowed. Construction of only well designed shops was allowed on the roadside. The footpaths in almost all the streets within the city were paved with stones and drains were constructed along all these footpaths. Blacktop roads were extended to almost all the sub valleys. The available education, health and communication facilities were well balanced, properly distributed and according to the demand of the region. In fact the service delivery system was relatively more effective and efficient (Barth, 1985) in comparison to those in the surrounding regions.

The pace of urbanisation would have not been much different in case of non-merger of the State, however the merger led to unregulated growth of the city without any planning or monitoring mechanism. The communication infrastructure in the surrounding valley was already laid down during the later State era; however, the growth of economic activities was yet to be initiated. After the merger of the Swat State in 1969, the process of urbanisation and the disorganised urban development gained momentum. The main factors that contributed to this were as follows:

- Saidu Sharif was declared as the administrative head quarter not only for the entire Swat valley, but also for Dir, Chitral and Bajour regions being part of Malakand Division.
- The policy-making and planning mechanisms for the urban centre previously available at local level became a provincial issue and was shifted to Peshawar.
- The regulated land ownership pattern, wherein only the local Pukhtuns, Sayyeds and Miangan were allowed to hold the land ownership, vanished. Not only the disadvantaged segments belonging to the valley could purchase the land but also those migrated from down the country for labour and trades were now able to purchase the land in the valley.
- The tenants and Gujars in the rural area started claiming the ownership of the leased lands. The process led to the disruption of old rural social contract, based on regulated land ownership and resource utilisation patterns and facilitated infusion of urbanisation to the surrounding rural territory.
- The tremendous remittance earning opportunities in the newly evolved oil-rich Gulf states during the early 1980s were

predominantly availed by the disadvantaged segments of the rural areas and the money earned was invested mainly in the purchase of land and construction of modern houses. The increasing population and diminishing returns from native products compared to non-farm occupations increased dependence on the market rather than the natural resource base.

- The utility of the traditional institutions of Jirga and Hujra was significantly reduced. Whole of the rural population, previously utilising the internalised conflict resolving mechanism, were now obliged to approach the newly established, centralised conflict resolving mechanism in the formal courts, hence more visits to the urban centre and increased subsequent rural urban interaction.
- The common resources including forest and brush-lands were communally utilised in a sustainable manner till the State merger and different social groups had a well regulated, uniform and equitable access to these resources. The political events after the merger initiated the looting of common resources and most of the sloping communal lands previously full of trees and shrubs became completely barren. Almost every (low to medium income) household used to visit the accessible hillside and harvested every tree and shrub that came in its way. After the standing biomass was harvested, the roots were also excavated subsequently. Sooner the approachable hillsides were completely denuded of vegetation. This reduced the carrying capacity of natural resource base and the affected people, particularly the poorest among them, were obliged to look for work in urban centres.

In 1917, Mingora contained three hundred houses, fourteen shops and six mosques. The population of Mingora was less than 14 thousands in 1951 that rose to 20 thousands in 1961. In 1972 the population of Mingora was 38.5 thousands and in 1981 the population of Mingora was 88 thousands. In 1964 the number of shops were 1500 and in 1981 the number rose to 4,000 shops. The figures clearly indicate the rapid rate of growth after the State merger. During the course of its expansion, Mingora was raised to the status of a town committee in 1962 and to municipal committee in 1976 (Ali, 1992³).

After the merger, the migrants from the down districts for service, commerce and trade, and the migrants from the

surrounding rural areas added new dimensions to the sociology of Mingora, and the process of alienation of Mingora from its native and traditional social structure was initiated. When the population mainly comprised the local migrants, no significant change in traditions was observed in comparison to the surrounding rural localities. However, when a significant proportion of the urban population was from different parts of the country, social transformation of the city began. General observation was that the migrants from the down areas felt more secure in the local urban environment and many among them opted for permanent settlement. The population of native people is at present limited to main Mingora⁴, lower Amankot and Naway Kalay. Rahim Abad, upper Amankot, Gumbat Maira, Malook Abad, Landay Kas, Watkey Shahdara, Bangladesh, Makan Bagh, Shagai and Gulkada are predominantly resided by the migrants from the surrounding valley and down districts. The migrants from the Punjab province predominantly occupied Rahim Abad. The native inhabitants of Mingora at present may comprise no more than 10 per cent of the total urban population.

The diverse sociology affected living styles, hobbies, dresses and food. In a sense Mingora acted as an agent of modernity and subsequent social transformation in the surrounding territory as well. The transformation process is however dynamic in nature with a trend toward modernity. The accelerated transformation caused different level of social development to be available at the same time and at the same locality. Within territorial limits of Mingora nomadism, transhumance, sedentary agriculture and those adopting entirely modern sector jobs can be observed, each with different frame of thinking and activity. Despite the fact that many hotels and cafeterias have opened in Mingora, they have not so far replaced Hujra. Baithak to some extent, has replaced Hujra. Different age groups form a combination and visit a single Baithak⁵ in the evening. They also arrange joint tour to a picnic spot on holidays. Such groups may include members doing different activities, but have a similar approach towards different matters. In Baithak there is no formal leader like the Khan in the Hujra. All the members of such groups equally share all the expenses, whether they sit in the Baithak or go on an excursion trip.

Main Swat Valley and Tributary Valleys

Apart from the city of Mingora, the centre of main economic activity, there also exist an array of small towns on both sides of the River Swat. The towns with dominant commercial activities include Kalam, Khwazakhela, Matta, Thana and Batkhela. These towns act as sub-centres for the surrounding villages, occupying the narrow side valleys and rain-fed areas. In different seasons, a different kind of production and marketing activity proceeds in these towns each having a defined surrounding zone of influence. Some valleys are important for off-season vegetables production and orchards, while others have the potential for tourism or are famous for timber production.

In Swat district only one locality is classified as urban, that is Mingora. The increase in population of Mingora as well as the remaining rural territory is higher than the average figures for the province and the country as evident from Table 1.1. In Mingora and Swat the household size and population growth rates are higher than the province and the country. Main contributor to such increase is however the inclusion of previous peri-urban settlements in the municipal limits besides indigenous multiplication and migration. This is an indication of urban explosion that took place in the valley after 1980.

In the Swat valley the main towns and villages are situated on both sides of River Swat and are interconnected through roads and telecommunication services. The villages of Chakdara, Shamoza, Kabal, Kanjo, Koza Bandai, Bara Bandai, Ningualai, Matta, Durushkhela, Bahrain and Kalam are situated on the western bank. On the eastern bank of the river the villages of Totakan, Khar, Batkhela, Thana, Kota, Barikot, Ghalagay, Manyar, Odigram, Balogram and Qambar are lying in the south of Mingora, while

Table 1.1. Population of Swat district 1998

Area	Population 1981	Population 1998	Household size	Growth rate %	Growth rate urban	Growth rate rural
Mingora	88,678	1,74,469	8.87	4.10	4.10	-
Swat	7,15,938	12,49,572	8.60	3.33	4.10	3.21
NWFP	1,10,61,328	1,75,54,467	7.60	2.75	3.46	2.62
Pakistan	8,42,53,644	13,65,79,571	6.60	2.45	3.45	2.45

Source: Census 1998,

villages of Manglawar, Charbagh, Khwazakhela, Fatehpur and Madyan are lying in the north of Mingora. Saidu Sharif served as the political headquarter of the district since the inception of State, and maintained that status till the merger of the State. With the subsequent growth of Mingora after State merger it was included in the municipal limits and now it is considered as part of Mingora urban territory.

The villages of Matta, Khwazakhela and Batkhela have attained the status of towns, based on their suitable locations for commercial activities, while Kalam has attained the status of town purely on the basis of tourism. Another important town attaining commercial status, Bisham⁷⁷, is situated in Shangla region. Village of Thana has become a town on the basis of its historical role in Pukhtun society as well as its role in providing formal education. A century earlier it was the biggest village in the valley. The growing villages with a commerce potential include Chuprial, Barikot, Chakdara and Kabal. The larger villages have larger zones and vice versa. These zones are mainly in the form of either scattered houses or hamlets on the surrounding hill slopes or in the form of still smaller villages situated further inside the corresponding tributary valleys.

The other populous villages lying in the eastern side valleys include Dheri Alladand and Dheri Julagram lying on the southern boundaries of the valley and Ooch lying near Chakdara toward Bajour and Dir district. To the western side of the River, populous villages are in the side valley, while on the left (eastern) side the populous villages are in the main valley on the riverside. Villages in the side valley near Kabal are Deolai, Shah Dherai, Tutano Bandai and Dardiyal. The side valley villages near Matta include Chuprial, Shawar, Biha Rorhingar and Sakhra Nawkhara. Miandam is another important village near Fatehpur with touristic potential. Lilaunai, Chakaisar, Shahpur, Shang, Maira, Pooran, Martoong and Karorha are the important villages in Shangla region.

Table 1.2 indicates the main populous villages in Swat valley and their distance from Mingora (including Shangla, and parts of Malakand Agency and Dir district). On the basis of population the main compact settlements following Mingora are Batkhela, Thana, Dheri Alladand, Charbagh, Shawar, Koza Bandai, Manglawar, Dheri Julagram and Kanjo. On the basis of commerce Batkhela, Matta, Bisham, Khwazakhela, Kalam, Thana, Chuprial, Kanjo, Bahrain, Madyan, Barikot, Karorha and Kabal follow Mingora.

Table: 1.2. Location, population, distance (from Mingora) of main villages in District Swat

Name of Village	Location	Distance in Km from Mingora (Approx)	Population (1998 census)
Kota	LBD	22	14059
Barikot	LBD	16	12106
Ghalagay	LBD	12	11269
Odigram	LBD	9	12497
Manglawar	LBU	8	17812
Charbagh	LBU	11	23970
Dakorhak	LBU	14	10025
Khwazakhela	LEU	21	12908
Madayan	LBU	56	11036
Kokarai	LSU	8	13319
Kabal	RBO	9	11968
Kanjo	RBO	3	16598
Koza Bandai	RBU	9	18800
Matta	RBU	21	10778
Gwalarai/Rorhingar	RSU	30	10991
Shawar	RSU	30	20163
Biha	RSU	32	16250
Chuprial	RSU	26	12663
Dardiyal	RSO	22	10029
Shahdherai	RSO	19	14848
Tutano Bandai	RSO	19	10534
Koza Deolai	RSO	17	10517
Thana	RBD	35	40515
Totakan	RBD	55	11568
Khar	RBD	48	11808
Dheri Alladand	RSD	42	32506
Dheri Julagram	RSD	51	17355
Batkhela	RBD	42	43179
Ooch	LSD	58	14199
Lilaunai	SHN	50	14735
Shahpur	SHN	75	10070
Maira	SHN	110	10534
Shang	SHN	105	10917
Chakaisar	SHN	102	11082

Source: District Census Reports, 1998

R=Right (western) side of the River Swat, B=Situated on the river bank
 S=Side Valley L=Left (eastern) side of the River Swat
 D=Down Stream SHN= Shangla U=Upstream
 O=Just on opposite side to Mingora

The demarcation line between urban and rural territories is not very sharp. However, it can be generally concluded that the valley bottom all along the River Swat may be classified as physically urbanised territory. On social grounds, almost all the territory except

Mingora is rural in nature. Even in Mingora, the rural traditions still have influence but are gradually fading away. The sphere of influence of the populous villages comprising the valley ends and faraway gentle to steep hill slopes, usually in the form of individually scattered houses and hamlets, may be termed as pure rural territory. The demarcation is, however, not static in nature, but dynamic, always favouring the urbanisation at the cost of rural territory. Most of the villages surrounding Mingora, on both sides of the river, are now hardly five kilometers apart from each other. Villages of Kanjo and Balogram may join the city formally or non-formally, in no more time than five years, while Kabal and Odigram up to Barikot in the south without out mountain barriers are the subsequent potential candidates for inclusion in the municipal limits. Due to exploding population and growing urbanisation, occupying the most precious land of the valley, the previously self-sufficient area in food, with sizable surpluses for export⁷⁸, has now predominantly become dependent on food items shifted from down the country with no visible hopes for reversal of the process.

Housing

The houses built in the main valley, particularly on the roadside, are predominantly Pakha⁷⁹, and mainly belong to the Pukhtun/religious class landowners, with separate kitchens and toilets. The housing pattern before the abolishment of Wesh⁸⁰ system was the simplest, i.e., mainly comprising a single large room and in rare situation more than one room, depending on the size of family and social status⁸¹. Extended patrilineal families residing in a single compound were rare. Rather, occupying a ward by patrilineal families with strong interactive wards were more common. The housing was simple and labour force abundantly available for the landowner group being trendsetters for the subordinate classes. The hillside houses were mostly without verandah and courtyard, while the plain territory houses commonly possessed both of these. The transitional use of the houses and their redistribution through Wesh, the prohibited long term investment in the housing sector. The Wesh abolishment led to gradual replacement with more permanent and expanded housing pattern, although still predominantly Kacha⁸². Table 1.3 indicates the percentage of different housing units with

Table 1.3. General Housing Patterns in different Administrative units compared with Mingora

	% Houses with one room	% Houses with 2-4 rooms	% Houses with +5 rooms	Average rooms/ house	Persons residing/ rooms
Mingora	18.0	69.0	13.1	2.7	3.4
Swat District	23.0	67.9	9.1	2.5	3.5
Shangla	31.0	64.5	4.5	2.1	3.9
Malakand	18.9	68.7	12.4	2.8	3.2
Lower Dir	19.0	66.0	15.0	2.9	3.2

number of rooms and average number of persons per room as shown in the official housing statistics data for 1998.

The primitive traditional residence structure during Wesh time was generally similar for different landowner groups. The modern houses could hardly be generalised. However, the housing style commonly adopted by landowners is the transformation of the old housing pattern adopted after Wesh abolishment, from Kacha to Pakha. It is hence generally fashioned as, 2-4 rooms in one row with a veranda in the front with a common kitchen and a latrine. The independent drawing/guest room (Baithak⁸³) with landowner houses at the cost of common Hujra is becoming more common with the weakening traditional social structure particularly after state merger and due to remittances inflow in the region. The remittance money earned by the tenants is invested in land purchase, hence is transferred to the landowner group, who in turn invest the same in construction of shops or personal residence.

The facilities available in the houses of different social groups also vary tremendously. The remittance money, political awareness and access to the urban centre significantly affect the availability of facilities at different houses. The availability of kitchen, bathrooms, latrine and access to drinking water sources for different administrative units of Swat Valley during 1998 are given in Table 1.4. The facilities were in general highest for Mingora, followed by Malakand, Swat, Shangla and Adinzai areas of lower Dir in decreasing order of availability. A corner in the surrounding fields is normally used as female toilet in the hillside houses, while the plain area houses of the landowner group mostly contain a toilet, comprising an enclosed area without a roof in a remote corner of the courtyard only for women. The main reasons are the compact

Table. 1.4. Percent Housing Facilities in different Administrative units compared with Mingora

Attributes		Mingora	Swat	Shangla	Malakand	Lower Dir
Kitchen	Separate	37.0	22.5	23.5	35.9	19.8
	Shared	24.0	19.2	5.9	22.9	13.0
	None	39.1	58.3	70.6	41.2	67.2
Bathroom	Separate	46.2	31.9	37.1	36.7	27.9
	Shared	34.7	25.1	7.9	24.2	14.8
	None	19.1	43.0	55.0	39.1	57.3
Latrine	Separate	41.9	16.3	11.1	29.8	15.3
	Shared	34.1	13.9	2.5	21.6	7.7
	None	24.0	69.8	86.4	48.6	77.0
Drinking Water Source	Pipe	79.0	28.9	26.7	34.1	49.8
	Hand pump/well	16.0	17.9	2.7	56.1	18.6
	Ponds	0.5	4.3	2.0	1.2	2.5
	Others	4.4	49.0	68.6	8.6	28.1

settlement pattern and remoteness of the croplands. Men residing in both plain and hillside used to visit the remote corner and cropland areas as toilet and minors used to defecate on the compost or anywhere in the street or drain. Men used to take their bath in the mosque bathrooms (Charchobai⁸⁴) or common springs.

The dependence on remittances than on native resources caused negligence to the land utility for food. Construction is rapidly turning the most fertile land both in rural and urban territories into concrete structures. The newly built houses of even lower middle class mostly possess a shared kitchen, bathroom and latrine. The remoteness from the main road generally corresponds to increasing concentration of traditional houses and lack of basic housing facilities.

In the traditional Pukhtun houses the corner of main veranda (Mandaw⁸⁵) is mainly used as summer kitchen with a Chargai⁸⁶. Another Chargai also exist in one corner of main sleeping room used as winter kitchen. A smaller side veranda (Da Sang Mandaw⁸⁷) mostly served as storehouse for grain and fuel. The houses of leading Pukhtuns also contained firing towers (Braj⁸⁸) during Pukhtu⁸⁹ times. Sociology and relief of the area affected the housing pattern. The traditional houses of the tenants and Gujars occupying steep slopes/rain-fed areas, are mostly without a boundary wall kept open toward the valley giving a view of the down valley. It commonly comprises a single large room, accommodating all the family. There

are Chargai and women ablution and bath place (Audas Khana⁹⁰) in the darkest corner of the room. In the plain areas, there also exist a medium to large courtyard, surrounded by 10-15 feet high boundary wall (Barth, 1959a⁹¹), containing at one end a bath/toilet while at the other the entrance room of the house (Daiodai⁹²). Sometime a separate Baithak exists at one corner of the house; however, most of the guests are entertained in the Hujra⁹³. In the bigger villages, different landowner sister families occupy a particular ward (Palau/Cham⁹⁴) with a single common Hujra and mosque. The settlement pattern is gradually modified with the initiation of sloping area with less extensive compact settlements and dominance of hamlets and independent houses. In double storey houses the lower story with or without veranda courtyard is used as family house, while the upper portion is used as guest room or grain storehouse. The roof of the ground floor is used as courtyard for the upper accommodation. On the steeper slopes, a three storey planning is adopted with the lowest storey used as cattle shed and feed store.

The material used in roof structure of the traditional houses of both plains and hillside include, one large wooden beam (Bash⁹⁵) placed in the centre of the roof at right angle with the main entrance to the room, supported by an elaborately carved central wooden pillar (Stan⁹⁶) with a base (Pandai⁹⁷) and a support wooden piece at the top (Saroutay⁹⁸). Two side-beams placed parallel to the central beam lies over the sidewalls. Above the three main-beams the sub-beams (Karhai⁹⁹) are placed across six inches apart. Karhai are covered initially with oak leaves, then with clay and finally plastered with wheat straw clay mixture (Khatta¹⁰⁰).

Typically two feet broad rough stone masonry walls, that contained wooden pillars at each corner and wooden beams horizontally fixed throughout the length of wall structure, are placed in pairs interiorly and exteriorly to provide strength to the wall structure. With the initial division of the family, a separation is made through a 2-3 inches broad Bithar¹⁰¹ erected at right angle of the door, crosses three fourth of the room width and initiated from the back wall opposing the door. The main door is still jointly used. All the anterior of the room sides and exterior walls facing the courtyard are plastered with Khatta while the remaining exterior is kept bare. The initial intervention toward modernity was the separation of livestock from the rest of the family, creating a four square feet

window (Tambagai¹⁰²) in the front wall and then a Mandaw, particularly in hillside houses.

In the narrow side valleys, the landowners mostly occupy the valley bottom or most fertile and gentle slopes. The small settlements occupy the non-productive ridge easily accessible to the cultivation terraces. The cattle shed in such areas is usually established at the farm for easy manure access. The housing pattern of the landowners in general resembles to those occupying the plain areas in the main valley except a multi-storey architecture and smaller courtyards. The Gujars¹⁰³ and tenants, when residing in narrow valleys have their cattle shed inside houses and sometimes inside their sleeping room. The residences of Ajars¹⁰⁴ and Gujars most often consist of a single room for the entire family and stored fodder, while another room is for the livestock. The tenants and professionals have now become the sporadic purchased landowners particularly after mid seventies. They opt to construct a Pakha house even in remote areas, if having one or more family members are working abroad. Otherwise they still reside in the kacha houses with wooden beam roofs and mud walls, with no kitchen, bathroom and latrine. The cattle shed is either inside the house or annexed to it.

In the Kohistan area the settlement is mainly confined to the valley bottom, comprising much smaller settlements or hamlets. The sloping hillside is mostly covered with natural forest. Part of the local population and almost all of the livestock is shifted during summer for 3-4 month and utilise the natural resource base through a finely tuned shifting settlement pattern. The Ajars and Gujars also have their transitional multiple summer settlements well suited to their herding system. They shift their settlements with the herd movement. The transitional accommodation mostly consists of single kacha room used both for the pregnant or lactating herd members and for the entire family.

At the upland pastoral areas even more primitive housing system can be seen i.e. some wooden branches placed in tilt at the side of bigger trees stem, covered with pines needles and the triangular underneath is used as residence. The floor is covered with dried pine needles and contains a Chargai at the centre. At different elevations the herders have sister clan hamlet (Banda¹⁰⁵) at suitable grazing locations, with 10-20 houses and a mosque also used as community centre. The Kohistani landowners also have sporadic

and similar independent settlements at upland pastures. The landowner Kohistanis at Kalam and Utrora visit the upland pastures more often due to easy accessibility, while the Kohistani residing at Bahrain rarely visit the upland pasture due to difficult access. After the middle of August the downward movement of the transhumant families is initiated. Sheep and goat herder families occupy the upper limits at each pastoral area with relatively steep topography, whereas cattle and buffalo herders occupy the lower gently sloping limits. In most situations, sheep and goat herders are usually the first occupants with late return, whereas the cattle and buffaloes herders are the late occupants with early return.

The recent Kohistani residences are typically closed accommodation: a large single room partitioned with wooden walls into four small cabins and a central corridor. More often two of these cabins are used for residence, third for livestock and the fourth as fodder store. With the growth of the family two additional rooms with one verandah are constructed over the roof. Their living standards were no better than transhumant herders, were some fifty years ago.

Notes

- 1 Bajour Valley lies to the west of lower Swat Valley and was probably a more prevalent route to India in ancient times than the Khyber pass, mainly due to easier and safer track and availability of water sources throughout its way.
- 2 Kunarh Valley lies to the west of Bajour Valley in the territory of present Afghanistan. It is linked through different low elevation passes with Bajour while to the North the it is continuous with the Chitral, lying parallel with the Wakhan Valley joining China, Central Asia and Afghanistan. To the west, the Valley posse different links with the Valley of Kabul, the Capital city of Afghanistan.
- 3 Hindukush Mountains occupy Central Asia, Afghanistan and Pakistani Territory to the west of River Indus. In Northern areas of Pakistan only the Gupis and Yasin Valley lies in Hindukush Mountain range, while Hunza, Skardu and Khanjarab are in the Karakoram Mountain range. The previous silk route reportedly passed through Hindukush and not through Karakoram and probably consisted of different sets of passes mainly crossing through Wakhan (Afghanistan), Chitral and

- Gupis/Yasin Valleys in Gilgit, all ending in the Swat Valley.
- ⁴ Stein. A (1928) *On Alexander's track to the Indus*. Reprinted in 1995 by Indus Publications, Farid Chambers, Karachi.
 - ⁵ See Chapter Two
 - ⁶ Malakand division include Swat, Malakand, Shangla, Buner, Dir and Chitral (Approximately 29,000 Km² area and almost entirely lying in mountainous region)
 - ⁷ Himalayan mountains extend from Kashmir and end at the eastern bank of River Indus
 - ⁸ Kohistan means land of mountains in Persian language. Three different Kohistan areas exist namely Indus Kohistan (both banks of River Indus from Chilas down to Bisham), Swat Kohistan in the north of Swat valley and Dir Kohistan at the north of Dir valley. The inhabitants of all the three areas are called Kohistani, believed to be from the same ethnic origin, except the portion on the eastern bank of Indus, having a language more similar to the residents of Northern area and Kashmir.
 - ⁹ Ahmad, H. and Sirajuddin (1996) *Ethno botanical profile of Swat*. Pro. First Train. Workshop Ethnob. Appl. Concer. NARC, Islamabad 202-211pp.
 - ¹⁰ Hinduraj means Hindu Kingdom is the name given to the part of Hindukush Mountains occupying Swat Dir and western bank Indus Kohistan.
 - ¹¹ Trans-Himalayas name is given on the basis of climate and vegetation similarity to that of Himalayan region.
 - ¹² Main town of Swat Kohistan famous for its scenic beauty.
 - ¹³ These streams rise from the Shandur or Mashabar range of Hindukush, where Gilgit, Chitral and Swat Kohistan joins.
 - ¹⁴ Madyan village is the border village between Kohistani people and Pukhtun people.
 - ¹⁵ Khwazakhela is a road junction in the north of Mingora, where roads from Shangla, Swat Kohistan, Matta valley and Mingora join together.
 - ¹⁶ A small village, where the valley of Swat terminates and the river from Dir join the River Swat.
 - ¹⁷ Name given to the river coming from Dir, Jandul and Bajour areas, containing comparatively less water than Swat River proper.
 - ¹⁸ Valley running along the entire length of western boundaries of Swat valley.
 - ¹⁹ Charsadda is a town in Peshawar valley and centre of Hashtnagar area, where River Swat joins with the River Kabul coming from the West. Charsadda is believed to be occupying the place of the prehistoric Gandhara town of Pushkalawati meaning the city of Lotus.
 - ²⁰ Abazoo is the name of the village situated in the vicinity where River

- Swat open up in to Hashtnagar plains after crossing a narrow zigzag gorge.
- ²¹ Arang Barang is the tribal territory occupied by Utman Khel tribe, a hardly accessible area and a difficult terrain to reside situated on the western bank of River Swat down Qulangai.
 - ²² After crossing Arang Barang territory the river enters the Mahmand tribal territory. Inside both the territories the river travels approximately a distance of 50 kilometers before opening at Abazoo.
 - ²³ End of February or start of March to mid May. Comes early in the low-lying areas and later in the upper elevation areas.
 - ²⁴ The dry summer from 15th May to the end of June or mid July. Wheat harvest and Maize sowing are carried out and movement to upland pastures start.
 - ²⁵ Wet summer from mid July to the end of August or mid September. Heavy rains and floods in proper Swat and dry season in Kohistan area.
 - ²⁶ Hay, maize and rice harvesting season, from mid September to Mid October.
 - ²⁷ Mid October to the mid or end of November, Shorter in high elevation areas and longer at valley bottom. Grain, hay, fodder and fuel-wood storage period for the subsequent months of winter
 - ²⁸ The winter season starting from mid November or early December and extend up to the end of February or mid March.
 - ²⁹ Rahim. I. 2000. *Identification, yield, palatability, and nutritional evaluation of consumable forage species at various elevations and aspects in Chagharzai Valley of Malakand Division in Trans-Himalayan range*. PhD Thesis, University of Agriculture Faisalabad, Pakistan.
 - ³⁰ Agency is the name given to the tribal territory, with limited extension of the Government of Pakistan rules and regulation. The total population of Swat Ranizai subdivision of Malakand Agency (traditional part of Swat valley) is 260,295 with an approximate total area of 700 km².
 - ³¹ Tehsil is part of subdivision. The population of Adinzai tehsil is 169,896 with an area of approximately 450 km². It is culturally and ethnically part of Swat valley but administratively it is part of lower Dir District.
 - ³² District comprises a geographical territory with an administrative centre formed either on the basis of area or population.
 - ³³ Anonymous. 1986. *Atlas of Pakistan*. Survey of Pakistan (3rd Ed), Government of Pakistan.
 - ³⁴ After being driven out from Swat Valley during 1515, the Swati tribe made persistent efforts through twelve years long guerrilla warfare to recover their lost territory, till finally the calamity of a dreadful drought

and calamity drew them to submission, after they had for a considerable time subsisted on the corpses of their own dead (Bellow. H. W. 1979. *The races of Afghanistan: A brief account of the principal nation inhabiting that country*. Reprinted by Song-e-Meel Publications, Lahore, Pakistan.

³⁵ Buner district remained part of Swat state, however the region was not included in the mobile land tenure system of Swat valley.

³⁶ Chitral is located to the north of the Swat valley, separated by high elevation mountains. The area is inhabited by Chitralli people, ethnically different from the inhabitants of the rest of Malakand Division. In the past it was probably one of the main route along with Wakhan joining China and Part of Central Asia bordering China with India and Persia.

³⁷ Gilgit lies to the Northeast of Swat and is part of Northern Areas. It is the main town on Karakoram Highway. Near Gilgit the three largest mountains of the world joins together i.e., Himalayas, Karakoram and Hindukush.

³⁸ Bajour is a tribal agency inhabited by Utman Khel, Salarzai and Mamund Pukhtun tribes. It is situated on the main historic route joining Kabul with Swat Valley. This route is presently used as Smuggling route for Chinese goods and automobiles.

³⁹ Tal and Lamotai are the two main villages of Dir Kohistan under the administrative control of Upper Dir district.

⁴⁰ Gupis/Yasin are the names of main villages as well as region lying to the North of Gilgit joining Gilgit with Chitral through famous Shandur Pass, the venue of upland Polo tournament.

⁴¹ Pir Baba situated in Pacha Kalay village of Buner, is the name given to the shrine of a saint of mid Mughal era, named Sayyed Ali Termizi.

⁴² One of three valleys of Shangla inhabited by Babozai tribe traditionally exchanged their land with their sister clan residing in the surroundings of Mingora after every ten years through Wesh system. For details see chapter three.

⁴³ Presently a mountainous winter sport and skiing resort 30 km to the east of Mingora.

⁴⁴ Panjkorha River is the name given to the river coming from Dir, Jandul and Bajour valleys and joins with the River Swat at Qulangai.

⁴⁵ Nikpikhel is the name given to the area surrounding Kabal, lying just opposite to Mingora on the Western bank of River Swat. Nikpikhel is connected with Adinzai through Tutano-Bandai and Asband, with Matta through Shalhand and Miankilay villages and with Dir through Dardiyal and Warai.

⁴⁶ See Chapter Two.

⁴⁷ Qaum is a politically important term, wherein the more populous landless segment is divided in to different Qaums, while almost all the Pukhtuns residing anywhere are considered a single Afghan Qaum.

⁴⁸ Including carpenter, blacksmith, muleteer, weaver etc,

⁴⁹ Ancestors of these tribes occupy the bordering Kunarh valley in Afghanistan.

⁵⁰ Mullan are the working priests in Mosques, not necessarily possessing a religious ethnicity. Singular is Mullah

⁵¹ Claiming to be the descendants of the Holy Prophet from paternal side

⁵² Descendants of the religious person having exceptional religious knowledge, particularly those possessing due acknowledgement from valid political authority like Nawab or kingdom chiefs

⁵³ Descendants of the religious person with exceptional spiritual power, although leading very simple life. Those specifically employed for cleaning Mosques were called Akhund, however different saints often adopted the job temporarily and the name often became symbolized for the spiritual leaders like Akhund of Swat or Akhund Darwaisa Baba. The descendants of Akhund Darwaisa Baba are however termed Akhunkhel rather than Akhunzadgan.

⁵⁴ See Chapter Two.

⁵⁵ A tribe residing in Mahmand Agency in the Northwest of Peshawar Valley.

⁵⁶ Tal is the name given to a community group including all the super ordinate and subordinate social segments residing in a particular village ward and having established reciprocal welfare mechanism, like same mosque, helping one another at the occasions of sorrow and celebrations (Gham Khaki)

⁵⁷ The tribe reside in Kalam proper and its surroundings, and is politically the most powerful tribe

⁵⁸ Shina is the language spoken in Gilgit region in the Northern Areas.

⁵⁹ Gabral lies in the extreme northwest of the Swat valley, while Kaidam-Peshmal lies between the Bahrain and Kalam.

⁶⁰ Gujri grammatically resembles North Indian Prakrat group of languages, however it has borrowed most of the nouns from Pukhtu language.

⁶¹ Punjabi is the group of languages spoken in Punjab region. In Punjab however different names are given to different dialects like Lahori, Pindiwal and so on.

⁶² Archer, S and F. E. Smeins. 1993. "Eco-system level processes", in Heitschmidt R. K. and J. W. Stuth. *Grazing Management: an ecological perspective*. Timber Press, Portland Oregon, USA

⁶³ The relatively far away irrigated and fertile lands mainly used for grain

- production, seldom managed by landowners and mainly by tenants.
- ⁶⁴ The NPK chemical fertilizers that causes immediate increased output of grains, but gradually leave the soil deficient in trace minerals
- ⁶⁵ In the past the poor peasants, mostly free of cost used to sow the Sadin in such areas for one time after obtaining verbal sanction from the landowners. The shrubby vegetation available is initially burnt to ashes and sown on "dig and put the grain" bases, without plough the land (Takdana).
- ⁶⁶ Dig and put the grain method without plough
- ⁶⁷ Maira also means stepmother, hence indicating the behavior of such lands.
- ⁶⁸ Akbar Ali (2000) *Livestock Management as affected by different management practices of various social groups of Babozai Tehsil of district Swat in NWFP*. (M.Sc. Hons. Thesis) Unpublished data, University of Agriculture Faisalabad. Pakistan
- ⁶⁹ The sale of milk is traditionally considered a shameful activity among the landowners.
- ⁷⁰ In the peri-urban hilly area toward Marghuzar and Jambil valleys, sporadic tenant based, mixed internalized farming prevails particularly on the rain-fed lands.
- ⁷¹ The feed composition not only varies for different classes of animals but also according to the level of production of individual animal.
- ⁷² DAI/EDC, Barani Development Project, June 1991
- ⁷³ Sprague. H. B. 1979. *Management of Rangelands and other grazing lands of the Tropics and subtropics for support of livestock production*. Technical series Bulletin No. 23, Agriculture Technology for Developing countries, Office of Agriculture Development support Bureau. Agency for International Development, Washington D.C. 20523
- ⁷⁴ A native Oak species
- ⁷⁵ Leede B.M and Inam-ur-Rahim. 1997. *Rang land Utilization in Malakand Division; over use or under use?* Paper presented at the international conference Livestock production held on Dec. 1997 at NARC, Islamabad.
- ⁷⁶ Butter oil
- ⁷⁷ A town situated on the bank of River Indus at the junction of Swat, Mansehra and Northern areas on the main Karakoram Highway leading to China. Bisham population is less than 10,000, and however its market is comparable to that of Batkhella. The inhabitants from the surrounding regions have opened commercial shops, while coming in the morning and returning back in the evening to their native villages.
- ⁷⁸ Informally known but never formally documented.
- ⁷⁹ Pakha means durable. The walls are made of bricks and the roof made

- of concrete. The walls are plastered with cement from anterior, and occasionally from exterior. The floor of the rooms and verandahs are usually plastered, while the courtyard is occasionally plastered.
- ⁸⁰ See Chapter Four.
- ⁸¹ The livestock herders and tenants having no remittances member mostly reside in single room houses. According to 1998 official census during 1981 the proportion of singled room houses in Shangla was 58.8%, which decreased to 31.0% during 1998. Similarly in Upper Malakand the proportion of singled roomed houses was 46.3% during 1981, which reduced to 18.9% during 1998. This proves that traditional housing pattern during Wesh time in rare situations might have contained more than one room.
- ⁸² Kacha is opposite of Pakha. The traditional mud plastered walls and
- ⁸³ The term has been borrowed from Hindi/Punjabi, meaning a sitting place.
- ⁸⁴ Charchobai is one or more common bathrooms for males inside most of the Tal mosque. These were particularly constructed in villages, where alternative arrangement like river, streams and springs are not common.
- ⁸⁵ Mandaw is typically 16-17 feet wide running all along the front of the row of main sleeping room
- ⁸⁶ Open depression in one corner of the Mandaw and inside the main sleeping room. There is no smoke outlet surrounded from all sides by sitting places, used both for cooking and heat purposes during winter.
- ⁸⁷ This Mandaw is generally half the width of the main Mandaw.
- ⁸⁸ Braj is squared room erected at double height of the normal room at one corner of a chief house or four quarters of a declared fort.
- ⁸⁹ See Chapter Four.
- ⁹⁰ Audas Khana is mad by placing two to four flat stones (2-3 Sq feet each) placed over sands and pebbles, with no outlet for water. The water was supposed to be absorbed downward. Minimum usage of water is insured at these places.
- ⁹¹ Barth, F. (1959a) *Political leadership among Swat Pathans*. Athlone Press London.
- ⁹² Daiodai is the house entrance room. It was common in the chiefs/Khan houses, where male servants received food from the household female servant for serving the guest. In many occasions it also serve as the fuel-wood store.
- ⁹³ Hujra is the common guesthouse of a particular Pukhtun sub-section residing in a compact locality. There exist at least two rooms, one for elders and the second one for youth.
- ⁹⁴ Palau is a village ward occupied by Pukhtun sub-section, while Cham

is the village ward occupied by religious class.

⁹⁵ Bash is the main supporting wooden beam, supporting all the load of the roof (Approximately 9X12 inches, when rectangular, and 18 inch diameter, when round shaped and 18 or more feet long depending on the size of the room). Two side Bash are placed parallel to the central Bash on the two main sidewalls of the room.

⁹⁶ Stan is the main supporting pillar of the Bash, erected exactly in the centre of small 16X16 feet room. In larger room there may be more than one Stan for example in mosques. Two other Stans are placed at both ends of the Bash inside the walls or anterior to it.

⁹⁷ Pandai is the wooden or stone made base of the Stan, 3-4 times of the diameter of the Stan. Its main purpose is to distribute the load on the underlying soil.

⁹⁸ Saroutay are placed beneath the Bash above all the Stans usually 4-5 feet in length and similar diameter to that of the Bash.

⁹⁹ Karhai has a diameter of 3 x 4 inches when rectangular, 5-6 inch in diameter when round shaped and 8-9 feet in length. They are placed above the Bash at its right angle, so that one end of Karhai comes over the main Bash and the other end at one of the side Bash.

¹⁰⁰ Khatta is the mixture of clay and pieces of wheat straw (Boos), used for plastering of roof to prevent leakage during winter and spring rains and anterior walls of the house.

¹⁰¹ Bithar is the initial room partition; the elastic wooden branches of Banjai tree are interwoven and plastered with Khatta on its both sides.

¹⁰² Only in houses with a courtyard raised above the ground.

¹⁰³ Gujars are the mainly cattle herders, when transhumant, or residing on sloping lands they have a herd of cows and mainly subsist on live animal sale and when sedentary and residing in the suburbs of main town, they shift to Buffaloes production and then subsist on milk sale predominantly.

¹⁰⁴ Ajars are the transhumant or nomadic sheep and goat herders. They shift to goats, when shrubs dominate the hillside and to sheep when grass dominates the hillside.

¹⁰⁵ Banda is the small transitional hamlet containing residence of 10-20 residences of flocks or herd owners, mostly with a joint paddock.

According to the survey results the rural areas have relatively higher social integrity and welfare mechanism and higher degree of positive interaction in comparison to the urban environment. The migrants are therefore required to adjust themselves in the new urban social environment. The social values in rural society are increasingly threatened by the infusions of market economy. Although rural life is still strongly colored by man-land interrelationships, it no longer exhibits many features of the past (Acharya and Agarwal, 1987¹⁹).

Notes

- ¹ Akhund of Swat is locally known as Saidu Baba, meaning the respectable person residing in Saidu.
- ² Grand playgrounds for different games including foot ball, hockey, volley ball, basket ball, squash and lawn tennis etc
- ³ Ali. U. (1992). *The evolution and pattern of Saidu-Mingora urban settlement in Swat valley.*
- ⁴ Area surrounded by Main Bazar, New Road, GT Road and Kanju Road.
- ⁵ A small guest-room annexed to most houses.
- ⁶ For example, the family of Khan Badar Inayat-Ullah Khan
- ⁷ The equity among the Pukhtuns necessary for maintaining the tribal social system vanished.
- ⁸ For example the family of Khan Badar of Jura
- ⁹ For details see chapter on Economics
- ¹⁰ During the military regime of Zia-ul-Haq, when the holy war in Afghanistan was at swing with due support of USA and its allies
- ¹¹ Trade, and other technical professions were considered shameful occupations for the landowner class. Hence those losing their lands either adopted the position of tenants or opted to migrate to other areas, where he could chose any activity for his subsistence. He either permanently settled in the new territory or periodically returned to his native land, but not in his previous capacity. Such migration has often recited in different folksongs, e.g. a typical stanza can be translated as "No one leave his homeland except either due to extreme poverty or when he loses his beloved to some one else".
- ¹² The landed estate of many Pukhtun families was not able to maintain their own family after frequent fragmentations among kin and

Pukhtuns with nominal or no land employed in State or Military bureaucracy were in much better position.

- ¹³ Different professional groups were possessing generally perceived behaviour patterns, e.g., Nai's were known for their behaviour of not able to maintain secrecy. Mullahs were known for their miser behaviour and Zargar for their cleverness. Different proverbs indicative of such behaviour get evolved and were known to every one.
- ¹⁴ For example the school teachers can easily be identified in a group of people as they more often discusses the revision of pay scales and salary grades, the clerks working in different offices have a generalized behavioral pattern and so on.
- ¹⁵ Such previous masters still remark about their previous subordinates, if they ever have a chance to pass by; "Even after earning money their behaviour will remain the same and money will not change their origin". The previous subordinates are well aware of such behaviour and in many instances willfully adopt the route to be seen by their previous masters.
- ¹⁶ See Chapter on Economics for further details.
- ¹⁷ Different social segments retain the main local leadership of parties; otherwise the common membership of all the political parties is a mixture of different social groups and not based on ethnicity. The leaders on the other hand in majority of situations do local political alignments with due consideration of ethnicity.
- ¹⁸ See Chapter Nine.
- ¹⁹ Acharya S.S. and N.L. Agarwal. 1987. *Agriculture Marketing in India*. Mohan Pramlani for Oxford and IBH Publishing Company, 66, Janpath, New Delhi, 11001

Chapter Six

Demography, Employment and Migration

Demography

According to the 1998 Census report, population in Swat valley is approximately 2.08 millions, occupying an area of roughly 8220 kilometres: The general population density is thus 253 persons/kilometers. The valley has been divided in different administrative units. Under prevailing administrative classification, the main part of the valley (65 per cent) is presently situated in Swat district, followed by 19.3 per cent in Shangla, 8.1 per cent in Malakand Agency and the remaining 7.6 per cent comprises Adinzai area lying in Lower Dir District. The population density is the highest in the unit administratively controlled by Malakand Agency (326 persons/km²), followed by Shangla and Adinzai (269 persons/km²). The Swat district proper has the lowest population density i.e., 236 persons/km², attributable mainly to a larger proportion of glaciated un-inhabited mountainous region in Swat Kohistan¹. The higher density in Shangla is attributable to the higher farming possibility on hill-slopes due to prevailing humid environment, hence higher population distribution. The ancestral increases in population also differ among these units. In Swat district it decreased from 3.83 per annum during 1972-81 to 3.37 during 1981-98. In Shangla it decreased from 4.10 per annum during 1972-81 to 3.30 during 1981-98. In Malakand unit, it decreased from 3.90 per annum during 1972-81 to 3.30 during 1981-98, whereas in Adinzai unit, it decreased from 4.57 per annum during 1972-81 to 3.42 during 1981-98. The proportion of disabled persons was 1.2 per

Table 6.1: Region wise population statistics In Swat Valley

Attributes	Regions in Swat Valley									
	Mingora Urban	Mingora Rural	Barikot	Kabal	Khwaza Khela	Matta	Adinzai	Upper Malakand	Shangla	Swat Kohistan
Total Population	1,73,868	1,16,342	1,31,720	2,44,142	2,14,875	2,51,368	1,69,896	2,17,116	4,34,563	1,25,247
Sex Ratio* (%)	111.7	111.0	103.8	107.0	106.7	101.9	102.8	105.7	106.1	104.4
Literacy ratio (%)	48.0	27.6	32.8	26.1	24.3	23.5	32.1	41.4	14.7	21.1
Primary-Matric (Male) %	20.8	12.2	15.3	14.5	12.6	12.7	15.9	18.9	7.4	11.2
Primary-Matric (Female) %	11.0	3.9	5.4	3.8	3.2	3.5	5.1	8.1	1.0	2.0
Matric + (Male) %	14.8	7.88	10.29	7.61	7.58	6.54	9.70	12.63	4.58	6.16
Matric + (Female) %	4.9	1.30	1.56	1.11	0.97	0.94	1.48	3.34	0.49	0.59
Population > 18 years %	47.2	45.4	45.8	45.9	46.3	45.5	42.7	44.7	46.3	45.7
Household Size	9.1	8.6	9.2	9.6	8.2	8.8	9.2	9.1	8.1	8.2
Potable Water Availability %	43.2	29.0	39.3	21.2	14.9	22.0	23.1	30.9	11.8	10.1
Electricity Availability %	93.6	61.4	73.9	71.1	63.3	64.7	81.9	78.6	15.2	44.0

Source: 1998 District Census Reports for Swat, Shangla, Lower Dir districts and Malakand Agency.**

* Number of males per hundred females

** Population Census Organization Statistics Division, Government of Pakistan Islamabad, 1999/2000

cent in Swat district, 1.9 per cent in Shangla district, and 1.72 per cent in Adinzai and 7.67 per cent in Malakand Agency.

Population Regions and Literacy Ratio

For better understanding of the process of urbanisation and demographic characteristics, the surrounding rural areas in the valley have been divided into nine regions. The immediate neighbourhood of the Mingora city, comprising mainly Marghuzar Valley, Jambil Valley, Malam Jaba/Banjout Valley, and from Charbagh to Balogram, is identified as Mingora rural. The two subsequent regions to north and South include Khwazakhela and Barikot. The two regions bordering Dir Valley across the river Swat include Matta and Kabal regions. The two southern furthest regions bordering Peshawar/Bajour Valley include Malakand and Adinzai regions. The northern and eastern furthest regions bordering high elevation mountainous ranges include Shangla and Swat Kohistan. The literacy ratio³ indicated for these regions clearly reveals the impact of urbanisation. The literacy ratio is the highest in Mingora, followed by the Malakand region³ bordering Peshawar Valley, hence getting influence from that region as well. The higher literacy ratio in malakand Agency is also attributable to the early establishment of schools by the British. The third place in between Malakand and Mingora is Barikot, which again is being influenced from both sides. The Adinzai region lies at the fourth position, while the rural area surrounding Mingora is at the fifth place. In the Mingora rural the side valleys are predominantly occupied by tenants and livestock herders relatively less inclined to formal education. The cornered regions of Kohistan and Shangla have the least literacy ratio in the entire valley.

The education from primary to matric level also follow the same pattern of literacy ratio, however the only deviation is the lower schooling in Mingora rural region in comparison to Matta, Kabal and Khwazakhela regions. The reason again might be the higher proportion of hilly region in the tributary valleys and higher proportion of tenant classes. For females, however, the level of primary education is higher in Mingora rural region than Kabal, Khwazakhela and Matta. The education qualification of matric and above generally follows nearly the same trend as for literacy ratio

and female primary education. The range of primary-matric levels for male are from 7.4 per cent to 20.8 per cent, and for female from 1.0 per cent to 11.0 per cent in different regions of the valley. The range of matric and above levels for male is from 4.58 per cent to 14.8 per cent, and for female from 0.49 per cent to 4.9 per cent. The highest levels are almost entirely for Mingora urban territory and the lowest levels for Shangla region.

Sex ratio is the highest in Mingora than the rest of the regions followed by the surrounding rural areas of Mingora. The higher proportion of males in comparison to females is attributable to male migration from different regions for service and labour to Mingora. Approximately half of the population in all regions is below 18 years of age. The household size varies from 8.1 to 9.6 persons per household in different regions. The highest household size is for Kabal region and the lowest for Shangla region. The reason may be the variable style of migration from both the territories. Migration from Kabal is characterised by long term migration; hence families are obliged to reside jointly. In Shangla the migration is principally seasonal and circular in nature hence more economic independence and rapid family separations after marriage. The relatively steeper topography for residence is also prohibitive for constructing larger family houses. The availability of potable water is highest in Mingora and lowest in Kohistan region followed by Shangla region. In these regions the households lie much scattered hence it is difficult to carry out water supply schemes. Secondly, larger proportions of natural springs are available and under traditional life style the females routinely visit these springs for collecting water. The facility of electricity is also the least available in Shangla district, followed by Kohistan and rural surroundings of Mingora. The relatively scattered settlement pattern in these regions is again prohibitive for extensive electrification. In Shangla, however, the residents have opted for erecting small hydel power generation on a self-help basis.

Population Distribution and Settlement Size

Population in Swat Valley is distributed among settlements of different sizes as shown in Table 6.2. On regional level, Mingora contains 8.36 per cent of population. Approximately 75 per cent of

Table 6.2: Population distribution on the basis of settlement size in Swat Valley

Attributes	Settlement Size											
	Mingora											
	40,000-50,000	50,000-60,000	60,000-70,000	70,000-80,000	80,000-90,000	90,000-1,00,000	1,00,000-1,50,000	1,50,000-2,00,000	2,00,000-3,00,000	3,00,000-5,00,000	5,00,000-1,00,000	less than 500
No. of villages	-	2	1	3	5	29	80	162	94	90	58	
Total Population	1,73,868	83,694	32,506	65,705	86,815	3,44,633	5,52,245	5,29,084	1,38,349	52,301	19,975	
Percent Population	8.36	4.03	1.56	3.16	4.18	16.58	26.56	25.45	6.65	2.52	0.96	
Literacy ratio	48.0	45.0	38.6	27.0	27.2	28.5	22.3	21.8	24.2	16.9	16.2	
Primary-Matric (Male)	20.8	18.9	17.3	14.6	16.9	14.2	11.6	11.6	12.4	9.1	7.8	
Primary-Matric (Female)	11.0	10.4	7.1	4.6	6.5	5.2	2.7	3.2	3.1	1.4	0.5	
Matric + (Male)	14.8	14.3	11.3	8.6	10.4	10.0	6.6	6.3	6.5	3.8	2.4	
Matric + (Female)	4.9	5.2	2.6	1.4	2.6	1.7	0.8	1.9	0.8	0.3	0.1	
Regional Proportion (%)												
Mingora Rural	-	-	-	-	15.3	22.9	25.2	30.0	6.6	-	-	-
Barikot	-	-	-	-	-	37.8	31.6	27.8	2.2	0.5	-	-
Kabal	-	-	-	-	14.5	28.7	40.4	13.9	2.5	-	-	-
Khwaza khela	-	-	-	12.2	11.6	34.6	32.8	8.4	0.4	-	-	-
Matta	-	-	-	8.3	6.7	18.9	35.7	29.4	1.1	-	-	-
Adinzal	-	-	-	-	-	11.2	4.0	34.2	42.1	5.2	3.2	-
Upper Malakand	33.8	13.1	14.1	7.0	13.7	8.4	11.8	2.8	1.8	0.5	-	-
Shangla	-	-	-	-	13.9	42.1	37.0	5.5	1.4	0.2	-	-
Swat Kohistan	-	-	-	-	18.6	22.1	39.5	15.5	3.2	1.1	-	-

Source: 1998 District Census Reports for Swat, Shangla, Lower Dir districts and Malakand Agency

the rural population resides in settlements having a population range of 1,000-15,000 inhabitants or roughly 100-1500 households. More than half of the population in the valley resides in the settlements ranging from 2,000 to 10,000. Two compact settlements of Thana and Batkhela have a population between 40,000 and 50,000 and one settlement (Dheri-Alladand) has a population in the range of 30,000 to 40,000. All the three bigger settlements lie in Malakand Agency. They have little dependence on Mingora for their commerce. Rather, Batkhela serves as the main commercial centre for the territory of the Swat valley lying in Malakand Agency and Adinzai. The settlements in the rest of the valley depend on Mingora mainly for their commerce.

The literacy ratio in general decreases with the reducing size of settlement except for a deviated effect for settlement range of 10,000-15,000 and settlement range of 1,000-2,000. The education status for male primary-matric, female primary-matric and male matric and above generally follows the trend of literacy ratio. The settlement of Thana and Batkhela has higher female education than Mingora, while Mingora is followed by settlement having 30,000-40,000 populations (again lying in Malakand Agency) and 15,000-20,000 populations. The level of education can, however, broadly be generalised in to high, medium and low categories on the basis of settlement size. The settlements having a population more than 30,000 can be classified at high level, among 1,000 to 30,000 at medium level and those with less than 1,000 can be classified as regions with low level of education and literacy ratio. It is worth mentioning that landowner segment usually resides in bigger settlements while tenants and grazers occupy smaller settlements.

Different regions in the valley possess variable proportion of different sized settlements. In the rural area surrounding Mingora more than 50 per cent population reside in compact settlements of 2,000 to 10,000 populations. In Barikot, Khwazakhela and Kabal regions 68 per cent residents occupy compact settlement of 5,000 to 15,000 populations. In Matta and Shangla more than 65 per cent residents occupy settlements of 2,000-10,000 populations, while in Adinzai 76 per cent residents occupy settlements of 1,000-5,000 populations. In Malakand more than 60 per cent residents occupy settlements of 20,000-50,000 populations. In Kohistan region 70 per cent residents occupy settlements of 2,000-15,000 populations.

In general the topography, precipitation, farming potential and location of a region dictates the distribution of population in different sized settlements. The wide, irrigated and plain lands in Malakand Agency are characterised by populous and relatively distant settlements, while the bordering rain-fed plains of Adinzai are characterised by least populous and closer settlements. The gentle to steep humid hilly region in Upper Swat and Shangla are generally characterised by medium level populous settlements. In Shangla the major proportion of population reside in scattered houses all over the hill-slopes, however these have been counted in the Census as one territorial unit and a single settlement despite dispersed small settlements of one to ten houses each.

Employment Characteristics in Mingora

Economically active population comprises the persons of ten years age and above engaged in some work for pay or profit including unpaid family helpers and those looking for work. The highest proportion of economically active males is in Shangla district, attributable to the higher rate of circulatory labour migration to coal mines and loading/un-loading, while the lowest rate is in Mingora. Nominal proportions of females are reported to be economically active; still the relatively higher proportion is noted for the Malakand Agency unit and Swat district rural unit, in comparison to the Mingora urban area. The females are mainly involved in domestic work; hence workload is categorised into external for males and internal for females under the local traditions⁹. The proportion of females involved in domestic work has been reported to be the lowest in Mingora and highest in Shangla. The reason may be that a comparatively higher proportion is involved in other activities, hence can be considered as an impact of urbanisation process. The trend indicates that although Mingora is rapidly urbanising physically, the traditional characteristics and behaviors are still predominantly rural. Furthermore, the process of urbanisation has created economic opportunities for the male population, but the females have been deprived of their traditional economic involvement.

The male students comprise a sizable proportion of the population with the highest proportion in Adinzai region and lowest in Shangla region. The female student comprises a relatively lesser

proportion of the population, and the highest figures are noted for Swat rural unit followed by Malakand Agency and the lowest figures in Adinzai area. The residents of Adinzai probably have in general a more fundamentalist approach and hence more opposition to female formal education, despite containing the highest proportion of male students in the valley. The proportion of unemployed males is higher than the economically active population in Mingora, while in the rural area of Swat district and Upper Malakand it is just below the proportion of economically active population. In Shangla and Adinzai, the proportion of unemployed males is lower than the economically active population. The figures clearly reveal the saturating status for employment in Mingora. The proportion of females seeking paid work within the customary framework is more than five times than the presently economically active female population in all units, except Adinzai, where a lesser proportion consider themselves unemployed. The proportion of population involved in activities other than above, for example, Tableegh (i.e. preaching Islam), or other household affairs is fairly high in Mingora, followed by Malakand and Swat rural and lowest in Shangla for both males and females.

Among the economically active male population more than half are self employed, followed by private employment. The autonomous bodies in general have the lowest job-providing potential. The employment in the government sector is more effectively availed by the residents of Malakand Agency followed by residents of Mingora. The least employment in government sector is for the residents of Shangla. The higher government employment in Malakand may be due to earlier infusion of government institutions in the area, while in Mingora it is due to concentration of administrative offices for the entire Malakand Division. Private employment is higher in Malakand Agency followed by Mingora, while the lowest private employment is in rural Swat.

Among the economically active female population, the higher proportion of self-employed women is in Adinzai area probably due to social restrictions for other types of economic activities. Shangla and Swat rural follow this. The proportion of women employed in government institutions is the highest in Mingora, followed by Malakand Agency and Adinzai and lowest in Shangla district. The private employment is also effectively availed by women in Mingora,

followed by Adinzai and Shangla and lowest in rural Swat. The proportion of unpaid workers among females is the highest in Malakand Agency, followed by Adinzai and rural Swat, and lowest in Mingora. The proportion of male employers is the highest in Malakand Agency and lowest in rural Swat. Among the female population the highest number of employers is in rural Swat followed by Shangla district. This indicates the general empowerment of females due to extensive migration of males to big cities, local mines and abroad, particularly in Mingora rural and Shangla.

The general employment situation in the valley reflects the dominant traditional character even in Mingora urban area. In the rural areas, where females share almost equal agriculture workload, their contribution is never recognised by males as an active economic participation. The residents of Shangla are more actively involved in economic activities and the area is relatively more marginalised and backward, with less share in government employment sector. More social restrictions on female participation in economic activities and formal education probably prevail in Adinzai region due to strong influence of religious leaders in contrast with the bordering region of Malakand Agency, where such restrictions are the least.

Migration

Seasonal or permanent migration from the harsh environment of the mountainous north to the southern plains is one of the most important historical realities affecting the civilisation of the subcontinent. The north-south migration from the prehistoric Vedic times still continues, but the character of migration has changed gradually according to the changing economic, social and political realities. In Swat valley internal and external migration for earning remittances is considered part of the routine life, and household without a migrated male could rarely be located, particularly in rural areas. Migration is considered necessary for taking advantages of the environmental level complementarities in the timings of production and income earning opportunities at the macro environmental level. On the other hand, increasing migration also creates problems for the urban areas. Furthermore, the migrants tended to be younger,

better educated and highly motivated, hence leaving the village the poorer in terms of human capital. Moreover, the majority of the migrants are male, the responsibility for agricultural in the village fall more heavily than ever on women, over burdening as well as empowering them in agricultural decision making (Gill 1991^o). Finally, rural-urban inequality brings large numbers of migrants from rural areas to the cities. They come to the cities where unemployment is widespread and underemployment common; their migration entails the loss of potential rural output in agricultural production as well as non-farm activities and they require more resources for their survival in the city than they would in the countryside. These three consequences of the large-scale rural-urban migration prompted by rural-urban inequality may be taken to define over-urbanisation. Any attempt to alleviate the problem of urban surplus labour has to confront the prospects that its very success will attract additional migrants from rural areas. The urban employment problems cannot be solved in the urban arena, unless it is sealed off by a break in the rural-urban connection.

The migration pattern in the Swat valley macro environment may be classified into internal migration and external migration. Internal migration include: (1) seasonal migration of nomadic pastorals for grazing; (2) casual migration for wage labour from one rural area to another rural area for temporary jobs within the Swat Valley macro environment, and; (3) daily, seasonal or permanent migration to Mingora city. The external migration includes labour migration to Middle East, working labour in the merchant navy and labour migration mainly for loading/unloading to the industries and coal mining centres as well as wage and transport labour in megacities down the country. In Malakand Division, the people residing in different ecological niches have sorted out different external zones for migration. The reason is that when any member from a particular rural area migrates and locates a reasonable job, he starts efforts to bring other relatives and friends as well. In this manner people from a specific ecological niche generally proceed to specified destination. After migration there also exists potential for access among migrants to a particular earning activity based upon their links and potential.

Among different social groups, the more well off proceeds to high pay-off areas, e.g. the well off people from Kabal region

proceeds for job in merchant navy as sailers, a high pay-off activity. The migration to Middle East is, however, quite evenly distributed in the southern parts of Malakand Division i.e. excluding Chitral and Kohistan. The poor people from steep slope of Shangla used to migrate for work in coal mines on seasonal basis in Punjab, Balochistan and Sindh provinces. This migration has been formalised in the sense that the contractors belonging to the supplying region facilitate the migration and bridges the gap between labour demand and supplies. Another industry having complementarities with the seasonal labour migration is the sugar industry, which is functional only during winter season. In this case there also exists a contractor and seasonal migrants through the contractor lease the loading, unloading and bulks storage labour. The main area for this migration is steep to gentle rain-fed hill slopes in the surroundings of Madyan, Matta and Kabal and Shangla regions. The local Punjabi and Sindhi labour is never inclined to perform these highly laborious and seasonal jobs particularly on the conditions at which the migrated labour from Swat valley is ready to do mainly due to seasonal compulsions. Most of the loading/unloading labourers in flour mills down the country and labourers involved in bread baking (Tandoor^o) also migrate from particular rural localities of Shangla district.

The people from hilly area of main Swat valley, mainly belonging to tenant groups, are usually engaged in transport labour in Karachi. The people from mountainous region of Shangla are engaged in dockyard loading/unloading labour. In Karachi the job opportunities in Sui Gas^o extension digging contracts, ship-breaking industry, watch guards at the villas of big businessmen and in high-rise residential complexes, construction labourers and factory workers are evenly availed by migrants from all the northern hillside territory of Swat valley and neighbouring regions. All these opportunities can be further classified into formal and non-formal working. Generally, half of the migrants return back seasonally while the remaining may return after three or four years in a shifting manner. The agriculture activities, including weed thinning, hoeing and watering and livestock rearing in such areas are now mainly carried out by female farmers, while male farmers migrate for seasonal labour after Maize harvest and return back at the time of wheat harvest. Harvesting is, however, an activity jointly conducted

by both male and female farmers. Also, during harvest season more labour is required in sloping hillside farming system in the hilly areas, hence labour is hired from other regions. In addition, the hired labour is also provided with food and residence throughout the harvesting season.

Migration abroad is considered as the first degree migration having high pay off but also having higher migration costs. The migration to Karachi for non-formal and formal activities is the second degree migration and is mainly limited to the owner-user groups with intermediate income. This is the migration with medium pay-off and medium migration costs. The labour migration to Mingora can be classed as third degree labour migration and is usually limited to physically weak, less motivated and most marginalised (tenants). The middle class owner users also migrate to Mingora but for technical activities having high pay-off while the relatively more well off come to Mingora for business. The motivated tenants also migrate for working in the coal mines and loading/unloading labour in sugar mills, however such migration is almost exclusively seasonal in nature.

The owners, tenants and grazers occupy different ecological niches and have differential excess to resources and the poorer segments in each of these social groups have adopted different occupations in Mingora. Also, the distance from the Mingora city has a bearing on their occupations. The rural poor from nearby hill slopes come on daily basis while those from relatively remote areas come on seasonal or permanent basis. Daily migrating labourers mainly come from the surrounding 15-20 kilometer radius, while settled labour migrants come from relatively far away remote areas. The labour settled in Mingora usually have the chance to select the less laborious jobs. On the other hand, the daily migrants have the advantage of looking after their farming activities off and on, despite the fact that they may only locate highly laborious jobs with little pay off in the urban sector. The shopkeepers and people engaged in formal services also migrate on a daily basis from 25-40 km radius. Those from the remote areas usually settle in Mingora, visiting their village monthly or weekly. The shopkeepers and servicemen can afford the daily migration from relatively remote areas.

Oversees Migration and Trends

Migration abroad involve high migration costs and is generally prevalent in the social segments possessing some saleable assets like land or livestock or have a relative or family member already abroad. Migration to the Middle East is generally more equally distributed mainly on the basis of array of links provided by the early migrants in the 1970s⁹. The remaining migration venues on the other hand are more regional in nature and availed by specific social groups and residents of a particular geographical unit, depending on the links and the migration cost. Among different social groups, the more well off proceeds to high pay off areas e.g., the well off people from Kabal region proceeds for job in merchant navy as shipman, a high pay-off activity. The landowners from Buner have become highly concentrated in Southeast Asian countries particularly Malaysia. Migration to Middle East has been decreasing after 1990, while migration to European countries is increasing.

After migration a variable potential for access to different earning activities exist, based upon their links and skills. Migrants from Malakand region include limited number of skilled persons. The main skill adopted after migration to the Middle East is driving, followed by masonry and automobile mechanics. All these skills are either learnt through the local informal sector, or a migrant may gradually shift from non-skilled to skilled labour while working abroad. The plumbers, electricians and refrigeration mechanics can rarely be located among the migrants from Malakand region. The migrants to South East Asia have almost entirely adopted the activity of mobile cloth retailers. The migrants to Europe and America mainly comprise unskilled labour and very few are graduate engineers/physicians or surgeons. The unskilled labour migrating to Europe and America initially adopt the activity of seaman on merchant navy ships and then opt to stay at the port of a European or North American country legally or illegally and become an unskilled labour over there.

The migration to the Middle East, initiated during the early 1970s predominantly comprised unskilled masonry and load carrier labour. The reason was that just after independence, and due to rapid increase in oil income, the Gulf States needed huge construction work. Within subsequent ten years most of the construction work was completed and the demand for construction labour gradually

declined. A gradual replacement of construction labour with agricultural labourers, drivers, watchers, painters and sweepers was subsequently initiated among the Malakand migrants. The Malakand migrants, due to a number of reasons¹⁰, could not occupy the modern skilled sector employment opportunities evolved thereafter. After 1990 with the initiation of the Gulf crisis¹¹ the labour salaries in the Middle East were significantly reduced and approximately one third of the labour migrants were obliged to return to their homeland. The increasing manpower competition from Indian, Korean and Bangladeshi migrants further deteriorated the remittances earning situation for migrants from Malakand region. According to a survey in Barikot area with an approximate population of 12,000, the total number of 723 migrants to Middle East has been reduced by 27 per cent since 1990.

Migration to Southeast Asia was limited to the residents of Toor Warsak, Elai and Anghapur villages in Buner. After the mid 1980s Southeast Asian migration tremendously increased and initially expanded to Buner and then gradually to Malakand and Swat. Such migration is now also at a recessive trend after 1997 due to changes in the immigration policies of the Southeast Asian countries and subsequent economic crises. Employment in merchant navy was originally limited to the residents of Nikpikhel region of Swat in the surroundings of Kabal. However, it has now gradually been extending to the rest of Nikpikhel in particular and other neighbouring regions inside Swat in general. The merchant navy labourers are now gradually basing themselves in different European countries and they are acting as pull factor for further migration. Direct overseas migration to the western countries through the links of early migrants is increasing. On the other hand, migration to Middle East has tremendously slowed down and many migrants are returning back to their homeland. The increasing migration to European countries and America need capacity enhancement support, while the returning migrants from Middle East need rehabilitation support.

Remittances: Utility and Impact

According to estimates of local informal remittances money deliverers (hundi wala) the overseas workers send on a monthly basis

Rs 15,000-25,000 on average for routine domestic utilities depending upon the family size, requirements and earning potential of the worker. Such money is almost entirely sent through informal money delivery system (hundi). The hundi system delivers 11-17 per cent higher exchange rates for foreign currency, as compared to formal banking system. Its delivery is prompt and involves limited formalities. The system has now firmly established its trustworthiness among migrants. This money is spent almost entirely without saving by the migrants' dependents. The migrants however use to save part of the remittances money with him and also borrows additional money from co-workers, while returning to homeland on long leave.

The utmost priority for spending the saved remittances is construction of a big residence (sufficient for at least two subsequent generations), construction of shops on main roadside or street side, wedding of youngsters, purchase of land, purchase of weapons/conveyance and occasionally trade. The general experience is that the investment in trade by migrants involving daily or monthly revolving of money rarely succeeds. The reason is that the actual earner remains outside the country and those left at home are either younger, inexperienced, less responsible or not in the direct lineage of the earning person. He therefore opts to invest in land purchase or concrete buildings with limited chances of misappropriation. It is also routinely observed that those primarily investing on constructing a large concrete villa during migration tenure, on returning to their homeland have nothing to support themselves. Most of their youngsters, due to lack of effective domestic monitoring system, grow up with irresponsible attitudes and behavior and the returning migrants are obliged to face domestic disputes and depend for the rest of their life on the sale of assets if any.

While the dependence on remittances has tremendously grown the indigenous agriculture is gradually becoming secondary or tertiary activity. Land is viewed as a saleable asset only, or a zone for future residence construction. Most of the limited fertile lands available in the valley are increasingly encroached by concrete buildings. Due to the local political system of factional competition and traditions of personal exposure a large sum of remittance money is spent on weapon and conveyance purchase.

Many among the previous subordinates¹² became better off than many of their previous masters on the basis of remittances earning. They were, however, neither sufficiently equipped for taking advantages of the evolving modern sector, nor any support mechanism was devised to enhance their capacity in a reciprocally beneficial manner despite possessing enormous remittances money. Apart from capacity enhancement training, there is a need to explore the investment venues and to devise support mechanism for investing the remittance money in environment friendly productive activities.

Origin of Migrants and their Occupation in Mingora

The population of Mingora city mainly comprises migrants shifted to the city from different areas, but mainly from the surrounding valleys. The original population of the city has become limited to a few mohallas. These mohallas were independent villages in the past, 2-4 kilometres apart from one another. These included Saidu Sharif, Mingora, Panr, Amankot (Katailai), Naway Kalay, Ingaro Dherai and Takhta Band. With the establishment of political centre in Saidu Sharif and subsequent trade centre in Mingora, these villages extended and subsequently merged in order to accommodate the increasing migrants coming to the city for trade or in search of employment. The occupations of these migrants in the city differs on the basis of their potential (technical know-how, education, physique etc.), duration of stay and ethnic background. Those having occupational background of barbers, carpenters and blacksmiths, usually stick to their work, while the tenants and owner users shift to the technical activities in the modern sector.

Migration to Mingora from regions outside the Swat valley has not been formally documented, however it might probably be no more than five percent of the total migrant population. The major proportion of such migrants is from down districts (Peshawar, Mardan and tribal areas) mainly for trade and services. A sizable proportion of Afghan transhumant cloth retailers/sheep herders have also settled in Mingora after the mid 1980s. A minor proportion of migrants from Punjab for silk industries has settled after the collapse of the industry since the early 1990s, while the majority has opted for shifting to other cities of the country. The flourishing

tourist industry has also motivated investors from tribal belt (drug money), Peshawar and Mardan Punjab after mid 1980s. Tax holiday and lack of customs regulations have also facilitated migration of a few industrialists from Punjab and Sindh to invest, principally in cosmetics industry (highest tax and custom duty imposed items down the country).

According to the FNRS survey¹³, the migrants coming for daily wage labour have been observed to be mainly coming from the hill slopes of Charbagh Tehsil including whole of Malam Jaba valley, the hill slopes surrounding Deolai, Banjout and Gwarathhai (in the suburbs of Manglawar), Islampur and Marghuzar valley, Kokarai and Jambil valley and Odigram. All of these areas are away from Mingora city centre at a distance of not more than 15 kilometre. Also, the migrants for daily wage labour mainly belonged to the tenant class. However, some wage labour used to come from the gentle slope rain-fed and irrigated plain areas, like Odigram, and a few belonged to owner user class as well. In some situations, the migrants from a specific area are clustered at a particular place or adopt a specific wage labour activity e.g., the wage labour working in different services stations, mainly belonged to Shingrai, a tenant village near Mingora. The majority of the daily migrating wage labour remains involved in loading/unloading and construction work. The intensity of a particular daily wage labour activity may also vary temporally. In summer, more jobs are available in construction work and commercial agriculture in the suburbs of the city.

The wage labour settled in Mingora city mainly belonged to the far away hill slopes, beyond Matta, Khwazakhela, Shangla, Buner and Dir districts. In Mingora these labour occupy Kacha houses at the hill slopes extension at Gulkada, Malook Abad, Faizabad, Sethi Mill Mohalla, Amankot, Shagai, Rahim Abad, Odigram and the stream bank areas exposed to flooding in Landika, and Wazir-e-Mall Mohalla. The settled wage labour usually succeeds in locating a less laborious and permanently available loading/unloading work in vegetable market and wholesale markets. The hawkers and technical class are the relatively early migrants who have gradually adopted this less laborious activity and most of the hawkers are the previous silk mill labour while most of the technical sector labourers are the children of early migrated labour settled in Mingora. The hawkers in

Mingora city mainly occupy Mohalla Ahmad Khan, Mohalla Akhtar Abad, Naway Kalay, Watkey and Amankot.

The professional labourers¹⁴ have mainly migrated to Mingora from Fatehpur, Khwazakhela, Matta, Kabal, Barikot and other small towns of the main valley. Although they are evenly distributed in Mingora city for their activity and residence, they are mainly concentrated in Bacha Mohalla, Gulkada, Hajibaba, Ishaq Mohalla and Naway Kalay.

The service class used to migrate from Matta, Khwazakhela, Barikot, Thana, Chungai, Islampur, Kabal, Kanjo, Panr, Odigram and Qambar on daily basis. In other situations they have a hired or purchased accommodation mainly in the college colony, Faizabad, Gulkada, Hajibaba, Mohalla Khoona Gul, Akhtar Abad, Malook Abad, Raja Abad, Rang Mohalla, Shagai and Saidu Sharif. They mainly have an owner, owner user or religious back ground. The tenants and grazers usually have little chances, resources and inclination for obtaining education for their children; hence, their share in the service sector is negligible. Apart from the service in the public sector, the private sector, particularly the private schools, are providing job to the unemployed and educated youth from rural as well as urban areas.

The shopkeepers mainly belong to the irrigated valley and include the owner users and muleteers (Paracha). They have reportedly shifted from Odigram, Koza and Bara Bandai, Kanjo, Charbagh, Kabal, Matta and Khwazakhela area. The original Paracha of Mingora are involved in trade and nowadays they are among the most well-off traders of Mingora. These shopkeepers have either settled themselves in Mohalla Akram Khan, Landay Kas, Malook Abad, Sethi Mill Mohalla and Shagai, or proceed to their native villages on daily basis.

Different categories of people enjoy differential access to earning opportunities. This is obvious in geographical terms: the better opportunities tend to be concentrated in urban areas, inaccessible to those who are beyond commuting distance. The local labour market is fragmented in a variety of ways as well. Three major sources of fragmentation stand out: labour markets are stratified by education, segmented by patronage, and segregated by gender. Wages and benefits, job security, social security, and working conditions stratify the urban labour force. This stratification is highly

visible as it translates into differences in dress, mode of transport, and housing. The labour market appears composed of distinct layers of earning opportunities. Formal education qualifications are usually a prerequisite for entrance to various levels. Most migrants obtain assistance from urban contacts. The urban host, in order to help the new arrivals, to relieve the burden of procuring housing and sometimes food to them, has good reason to find him work. Thus migrants who have secured employment, introduce their relatives and community members to their firms. Many employers find such family brokerage convenient and even advantageous. They know that skills and knowledge are not as important for many positions as other qualities: dependability, potential for training, persistence and initiative. Because of such particularistic recruitment patterns, migrants of common origin tend to cluster in certain jobs and trades. (Gilbert and Gugler, 1995¹⁵)

With the gradual growth of the city the increasing job and trade opportunities not only pull the labour from the surrounding rural area, but also from other towns and cities. The regulated land purchase and employment policy during state times kept the migration to Mingora predominantly localised. On the other hand, ex-State authorities also facilitated the establishment of power looms silk industry and facilitated the custom free import of the silk for the purpose. For running the industry, the mill labourers and technicians from different areas of Punjab were the earliest external migrants, coming since 1966 and continued even after the merger. In 1992 the industry collapsed as a result of changing import and export policies of the government. This left thousands of local employees and the migrant technicians from Punjab jobless and they were compelled to return or change their earning occupation mostly with decreased pay-off. The technical labour from Punjab and the factory workers migrated from the local macro-environment, mostly leased their residences in Rahim Abad, Qambar and Amankot areas. After the merger the local State authority collapsed and there was a rush of migrants from local and other macro-environments to the city. The traders from down districts, particularly from Mardan, Peshawar and the adjacent tribal area also shifted to Mingora for better income-earning opportunities. However, the main migrants from these regions belonged to the technical class. The modern sector technicians used to open workshops for various activities

(automobile, refrigeration, electronics etc.) in the city and these workshops served as schools for the children of local labourers for learning the skills. The gradually emerged technical class migrants mainly settled in Watkey, Shahdara and Naway Kalay. The technical class working in Mingora also migrates on daily basis from the surrounding nearby towns in the plain areas like, Charbagh, Kanjo, Qambar and Kabal. However, they are mainly the offsprings of settled migrants residing in Watkey Shahdara, Naway Kalay, Rahim Abad, Amankot, Saidu Sharif and Bangladesh Mohallas.

Reasons for Migration

According to Norton and Alwang (1993¹⁶), migration to urban centres is a natural reflection of the economic transformation from agriculture to industry. People move to urban areas because of the prospects of increased income opportunities, landlessness and rural poverty. Although living costs are higher in urban areas, migrants are pushed out of the rural areas by poverty, seasonality and deprivation and pulled to cities by hope and opportunities. According to the FNRS survey, for the wage labour coming on daily basis to Mingora the main compelling factor for migration is the increased labour and less income in the rural area. For technical class, hawkers and wage labour settled in Mingora, the main compelling reason is the lack of income opportunities in the rural areas. The artisans can hardly accrue any extra income in the rural areas on the basis of their occupational competence hence they are never satisfied with income available in rural sector. For shopkeepers, the investment opportunities in Mingora are more important, while for service class the search for better living conditions in Mingora is the main compelling reason for migration. Hence for the daily migrating wage labour, technicians, hawkers and settled wage labourers the push factor from rural area is more important, while for the shopkeepers and service class pull factor by the city is the dominant reason for migration.

Lack of income opportunities in the rural area reveals the saturation of traditional rural agriculture sector at least during the off-season. This in turn decreases the bargaining power of the rural labour and they are compelled to work more for lower returns. As a result they adopt part time urban employment, while residing in the

neighbourhoods of the urban centres or migrate on seasonal/permanent basis, while belonging to the remote rural areas. Among wage labour settled in the city, animosity in the rural area is also indicated one of the reasons for migration. Animosity (tribal or family feuds) in the local traditions involves higher security costs in the rural area. Hence the poor families involved in animosity are compelled to migrate to urban centres, where along higher security, labour opportunities can also be availed simultaneously. Sale of land in the rural area for emergency cash requirement, due to decreasing economic returns from crop sector have also been reported by daily migrating wage labour, hawkers, shopkeepers and service class as one of the reasons for migration. Shopkeepers might have mainly sold the land for investment in the urban area. For the remaining categories, however, when there is a demand for urgent cash, e.g. funeral costs, prolonged diseases and marriages, some of the productive assets (land and livestock) are sold or at least leased out to cope with the need. After the occasion the farmer residing in the rural area is compelled to do more work to make up his losses, or at least to sustain the basic needs for survival. As poverty increases, the increasing burden makes him more vulnerable to such calamities and at last he ends as wage labour for survival. Investment in the city has also been reported as one of the main pull factors for shopkeepers, technical labour, hawkers, and service class and for overseas immigrants after their return. Migration, for the creation of extra income, due to land exhaustion and family expansion is mainly limited to service class. While migration due to other family reasons, such as establishment of family relations in the city, education and migration with other family members, was limited to service class and hawkers.

The findings of the FNRS survey indicated that the majority of the rural landowners migrate to create extra income while the majority of the owner-users and tenants indicates more labour and less income in the native area as the main reason for their migration to Mingora. The sale of land for owner-users and lack of land for occupation on share cropping basis, and lack of income opportunities in rural areas for tenants are indicated as the important compelling reasons for their migration to Mingora. The decrease in land for tenancy may be because of increasing fragmentation of lands due to population pressure. The lack of income opportunity in

the rural area may be due to lack of economic viability of the traditional agriculture sector. Hence the tenants who are obliged to produce for themselves as well as the landowners are no more able to make their living hence opt to migrate. A sizable proportion of landowners also indicated lack of income opportunities in rural areas as one of the compelling reason for their migration. For the landowners the lack of income opportunities in rural area is probably perceived at another level, i.e. in comparative sense with modern sector. They are in better position to observe the increasing economic opportunities in the urban sector and they do not find any comparable potential in any rural enterprise. Most of the owner/users are the second group in economic status to the landowner groups, but equal in traditional social status. They also indicated lack of income opportunities in rural areas as the main compelling reason for their migration. The main reason for their migration seems to be the lack of economic viability of the traditional agricultural sector due to increasing input costs. For owners the agriculture sector provided surpluses from tenants, hence they can sustain better with appropriate secondary occupation. However, for owner users the economic returns are more crucial for their survival. The artisans traditionally served the landowners through out the year in return for specified amount of grains and could not obtain extra income in return for their professional competency. In the urban area, however, enormous economic opportunities were available, where they could hope for more returns, while practicing their craft on a commercial basis.

According to the FRNS survey, for the residents of steep slopes and plain rural territories, the main reason for migration was creation of extra income in Mingora for their families. For the residents of gentle sloped rain-fed zone, the main reason for migration was perceived as the lack of income opportunities in the rural areas. The level of perception of creating extra income may however differ among those belonging to steep slopes and plain areas, as for the residents of steep slopes the creation of extra income was a basic need while for the residents of the plain irrigated area it may be for economic prosperity. The residents of steep slopes also seem to be more affected by seasonality in production. Most of the working men migrate routinely on seasonal or semi-permanent basis to the urban and other industrial sectors down the country.

This is usually necessary in order to create extra income for coping with seasonality. For the tenants of the gentle slopes the lack of income opportunities in the rural area was the main compelling reason for migration. Tenants in such areas mainly depend on rain fed agriculture on sharecropping basis while leasing the lands of absent landlords residing in valley bottom (owner group). Low moisture retention capacity of leased sloping lands compels the tenants to migrate to Mingora and other urban areas for fulfilling their basic family requirements. Animosity is also perceived as one of the reasons for migration for the gentle rain-fed sloped residents. The gentle rain-fed slopes are the areas where the sale and purchase of land are at its peak, hence more disputes and animosities. Some of the small landowners and owner users obliged to sell most of their assets to the remittance earner to bear the costs of animosity and at the end tend to migrate to the cities for survival. The landowners of plain irrigated areas on the other hand mainly migrate to generate extra incomes; hence they are mainly pulled by the urban sector and they usually opt to avail a relatively high pay-off income opportunity in Mingora.

Schuh (1982¹⁷) has indicated that the causes of out-migration are important in evaluating its consequences. Usually the younger, the more skilled, motivated and better-educated population migrates which is debilitating to a region. A region therefore, becomes vulnerable to lose the very resources that could re-establish its vitality. He also indicated the need to explore positive interaction between agriculture and non-agriculture economic sector within the rural sectors e.g. dispersing industrial activities geographically, and generating local jobs may allow the local farmers to continue farming part time, ultimately leading to increased regional income. To decrease the pressure of such migrants on Mingora, the narrow side valleys requires particular attention for promotion of tourism, effective counter seasonal strategies and sustainable improvement in production of their resources. This can generate local income opportunities and the migrants' pressure on Mingora can be reduced. In Mingora, where these migrants are residing on the steep slopes hillside areas, provision of technical training to their children will support their next generation to be more useful and productive. Similarly, training in embroidery, handicrafts and other such activities can also support their females to supplement the family

income. The migrants from plain areas of the valley usually come to Mingora for business and investment and due to the comparatively better financial status, their females might not be interested in getting handicrafts training. However, the male members can be facilitated, by advancing them loans for promotion of their existing businesses.

Relation of Permanent Migrants with their Native Areas

In general the household, rather than the individual, tends to be the relevant decision maker about migration. Family members are obliged to allocate their labour between rural and urban sectors, to maximise their income, which in turn is allocated between rural and urban goods, so as to maximise the utility. The decision to migrate is taken in a family context, and relatives, co-ethnics, and friends assist the migratory move. In many cases, migration is not just a 'once for all' move. Rather, there are a series of moves over a lifetime. Such a migratory career has to be understood with reference to family and community. Young adults predominate among migrants in search of employment. They are usually unmarried; and even when married, they have less at stake in the rural areas than their elders. They frequently lack control over resources, land in particular, and wield little power in local affairs. To put it into more general terms, they are at a transitional stage between adolescence and adulthood, not yet firmly committed to an adult role in the local setting. In that respect, they enjoy an advantage in the urban economy for their adaptability in the urban environment. Further more, if migration can entail accepting marginal earnings with the prospects of eventually increasing them, then the potential rewards are highest for the young starting on a lifetime urban career.

In the initial stages the migration is characterised by circulating rather than permanence, where the migrants maintain their families in the rural areas, returning back periodically and sending remittances to it. However, the urban sector because of its non-seasonal labour requirement generally requires labour on permanent basis. As a result the migrants gradually base themselves in the city slums, causally returning to the rural areas. The relations with the native area however differs among the migrants on the basis of their occupation in the city, duration of stay in the city, potential, ethnic

background and geography of their native area. The man who leaves his family behind, subsequently decides to bring them to join him. The family that expects to return to its community of origin eventually settles down in the city. Changes in migratory status typically strengthen the commitment to the place of destination. They are affected, however, by changing circumstances in both the urban environment and the community of origin, for example deteriorating urban conditions may force men to send their families to the village. Frequently a wide range of relatives can be drawn on to help pay for education for the future migrants, provide a home for children who are sent to towns to go to schools, offer the newly arrived migrants shelter and food for a while, take care of parents and assist wife and children who stay behind. The extended family thus acts as an agent of urbanisation. Some employment sectors possess the potential of providing conditions that encourage migrants to bring their wives and children. Long-term migration hence replaces circular migration. Most urban dwellers identified with their rural home, felt that they belonged there and affirmed their allegiance. The home community conversely referred to the men in the city as 'our sons abroad' or 'our sons in the city'. They were expected to maintain contact and to return eventually. Only a few had broken contact altogether, and the hope that they would return one day was not abandoned until word of their death was received (Gilbert and Gugler, 1995). When an migrant gets settled in the urban area with his family, his ties with the original rural area weakens gradually. Although the migrants have long historical attachment with the rural areas, with the gradual improvement in their earning potential in Mingora, their ambition to proceed back to the rural areas gradually weakens. However, because of the increasing unemployment in smaller cities like Mingora, the migrants intend to proceed further down to big cities in order to maximise their income. On the other hand the rising unemployment in the city also makes him reluctant to bring other relatives to Mingora.

According to the FNRS survey, the majority of migrants neither wanted to go back to the rural area for settlement nor intended to bring other relatives to the city. Also, most of the migrants wished to proceed further down to big cities or abroad for earning remittances. The highest response for intending to go back to the rural area for

settlement was among the daily wage labourers followed by settled labourers, service class and hawkers respectively. The shopkeepers, artisans and technical labourers showed the least intention to return back for settlement to the rural area. The highest response of daily wage labourer to go back to the rural areas for settlement may be due to the decreasing job potential in and increasing competition in locating jobs in Mingora. The migrating day wage labourers proceed early in the morning from their villages, and wait at the main centres of the city for any employer to come, but only a limited number of them get employed, while most of them return to their villages without earning any money.

The higher intention for returning to their native areas in service class may also be due to decreasing job potential of their status in Mingora in comparison to increasing number of jobless literate youth. The artisans, technical labourers and shopkeepers had the lowest response for going back to the rural area mainly because of high pay off for their labour and job security. The technical labourer were also more motivated for further migration because of their greater hopes about effective utility of their skills in a much wider technical ground for work in big cities down the country. The wage labourer on the other hand, intended to migrate due to the reason that pay off for the wage labour is comparatively higher in the big cities. The lowest response for bringing other friends and relatives to Mingora among daily wage labourer may be due to decreasing jobs as well as the increasing sensitivity of day wage labourers to increasing competition for the job. Technical labourer and hawkers had the highest intention for bringing other relatives to Mingora, more probably due to the capacities of these sectors for accommodating migrants. The intention for going further down for work was the highest between technical labourers and settled labourers. The technical labourer intended to go abroad or to big cities because of the higher possible returns for their work. While the settled labourer have already served most of their relations with their original area, hence they are ready to proceed further down to earn a better living. The lowest intention among shopkeepers for further migration indicates their relatively higher degree of satisfaction with the working conditions in Mingora. Comparatively lower proportion of service class intended to proceed further down in search of better job opportunities. This may be due to their higher

level of awareness about the potential risks in down ward migration and secured environment of the existing job, although with comparatively little pay off. The hawkers, mostly having a previous experience in silk industry, never had any other technical know how to obtain less laborious job down the country, hence contended with their present job.

The reluctance of most of the settled artisan migrants in Mingora to go back to the rural areas for settlement indicates the gradually decreasing relations with the native rural areas, while unwillingness to bring other relatives to the city indicates the decreasing job opportunities in Mingora. The main reason may be the closure of power looms and saturation of the formal service providing potential. The highest proportion wishing to go back to the rural area for settlement was among the landowners followed by owner-users. The tenants and artisans never intend to go back to the village for settlement. The reason may be that they neither have any economic opportunities available to them in the rural areas nor they have any status in the rural society, hence they are the most inclined group in the rural areas intending for permanent migration to Mingora or other cities. The landowners and owner-users on the other hand have their roots firmly established in the rural back ground and they might be having lower inclination to work on conditions on which the tenants can offer their services. The highest response among the professionals to bring other relatives to the city as well, indicates that these sectors still possess the potential for accommodating the migrants.

The migrant from steep slopes had the highest intention for going back to the village for settlement followed by plain areas, while those from the gentle slope had the lowest intention. The intention to bring other relatives to Mingora was also the highest among those belonging to steep slopes followed by plain area. The migrants belonging to gentle slopes had the lowest intention to bring their relatives and friends to Mingora for work. The intention to proceed further down for work was the lowest among those belonging to plain areas and highest among those belonging to steep slopes. The reason may be the already established phenomenon of the regular migration pattern for the steep slopes residents under the compulsion of seasonality in production. Furthermore, the migrant from the steep slopes having an internalised mixed farming system,

more equity and welfare mechanism and relatively intact social system, have a stronger attraction for its original inhabitants. On the other hand the extension of commercial crops to the plain area provides relatively better on farm employment opportunities during sowing, hoeing, spraying, weed thinning and harvesting. Hoeing, spraying and weed thinning are more intensively required for commercial crops than subsistence crops. However, in case of rain fed gentle slopes, the sale and purchase of lands is more frequent and the proportion of land left for lease with tenants is decreasing. On the other hand purchased ownership/self cultivation is increasing, hence the tenants, who have lost their base in the rural area, are reluctant to go back and are more inclined to permanent settlement, or further migration.

Notes

- ¹ The Kohistan unit approximately occupies more than half of the area of Swat district and approximately double the area of Shangla unit, however only contain 11.4 percent population of the total rural areas in Swat district and roughly one fourth of the population of Shangla area (population density approximately 45 persons/km²). The population density of rural Swat excluding Kohistan is approximately 340 persons/km² and is the highest or at least comparable to that of Malakand Agency.
- ² Indicates the ability of a person to read in any language or at least could write his own name.
- ³ The high literacy ratio in Malakand, Barikot and Adinzai is also attributable to the role of the British, who opened the first school in Thana village, a central place for these regions during 1904. In Thana village the literacy rate is the highest of the entire rural areas in the valley. Before the emergence of the State the residents of Swat and Dir valleys used to reside in Thana for education purposes, when it was the largest settlement in the entire valley.
- ⁴ The slightly better literacy ratio of Kohistan in comparison to Shangla is attributable to the fact that the region of Madyan up to Jarray village has been included in Kohistan region. The mainly religious group residing in and around Madyan is relatively more literate than many parts of the Swat valley.

- ⁵ The part played in rural agriculture by female, is not considered economically active contribution by mainly male informants during the Census process
- ⁶ Gill J.G. 1991. *Seasonality and Agriculture in the developing world*. Published by Cambridge University Press, Cambridge
- ⁷ A clay made oven to cook bread.
- ⁸ Sui is the name of place in Balochistan, where initial natural gas fields were brought into operation
- ⁹ Free of cost recruitment made the unbiased opportunity available to all the social groups, with the exception of Kohistan and Chitral areas.
- ¹⁰ Rural background, socio-cultural factors, lack of formal education, lack of awareness about prevailing skill learning opportunities.
- ¹¹ Iraqi occupation of Kuwait, Operation Desert Storm by allied forces and subsequent increase in defense expenditure.
- ¹² The landless segment particularly the rural artisans traditionally residing jointly in the main villages with the landowner and mostly residing within 25 km radius of Mingora, invested their household remittances earnings in Mingora. They opened in majority of situations wholesale or retail shops in Mingora, while residing in their native villages.
- ¹³ Source: Rahim. I. (2000) *Labour Migration from the Macro-Environment and Agriculture Marketing System in Mingora*, joint research activity of FNRS and EPS, Swat.
- ¹⁴ Those traditionally working as barbers, carpenter, potters etc. The main difference between artisans and technical workers is that the artisans are the traditional rural technical workers having an ethnic background for that activity like barbers, carpenters, blacksmith, potters etc. On the other hand, technical workers include those who have adopted some technical skills in modern sector. These skills are of non-traditional nature, involving new technology, e.g. automobile mechanics, plumbers and electricians etc.
- ¹⁵ Gilbert. A and J. Gugler (1995) *Cities, Poverty and Development* (2nd Ed) Oxford University Press Inc., New York
- ¹⁶ Norton G.W. and J. Alwang. 1993. *Introduction to Economics of Agricultural Development*. MC Graw-Hill, Inc. New York.
- ¹⁷ Schuh G. E. (1982) "Out migration, rural productivity and the distribution of income", in R.H. Tabot, *Migration and the labor market in developing countries*. Westview Press Inc, Colorado

Chapter Seven

Urbanisation: Physical and Environmental Changes

Initiation of Urbanisation

Before the emergence of the State, Mingora was a village like other small villages in the valley bottom. In 1917 the village occupied only 0.60 square kilometre built-up area, in the surroundings of present Main Bazaar with approximately 600 households¹ and a population between 5000-6000 people. Cultivated fields surrounded the Mingora village on three sides (north, east and west), while in the south there were ponds and marshes made by Jambil stream and the entry to Mingora was across these marshes and streams.

Just before the State era, there was no hotel and the visitors to the village used to eat and spend the night in the Hujras belonging to the local Pukhtuns. The traditional Wesh system hindered the construction of more stable residences and shops and hence urbanisation. With the consolidation of the State, Badshah Saib built offices and buildings like arsenal, central prison, State guest houses and grains depot at Saidu Sharif utilising the granted and purchased land. Mingora and Saidu Sharif were independent villages three kilometres apart with agricultural fields and barren lands in between. During the State times, in Saidu Sharif only bona-fide residents were allowed to built houses and migrants even from Mingora were not allowed to construct residential or commercial buildings. Badshah Saib promoted trade in Mingora and the built up area and markets extended, particularly after the abolition of the Wesh system.

In 1949, the total built up area of Mingora increased to 1.07 kilometre square. From 1949 onward, the town grew more rapidly. In 1949 Badshah Saib handed over the crown to his successor and elder son Miangul Jahenzeb. Miangul Jahenzeb was enlightened and educated man. He gave new dimensions to the State administration and resource management. In the context of Mingora city he built new roads, promoted modern hotels ranging from first class to middle class level, established educational institutions and provided hostels to students of far-flung areas and neighbouring regions. He encouraged outsiders for investment in Mingora, particularly in silk industry and in this way provided job opportunities for the locals. All such measures, on one hand, made the State strong and modern, and on the other turned Mingora into the only urban centre of the whole region. The total population of the Mingora in 1951 was 13,648². In 1961 the population of the city increased to 19,830³.

After the State merger in 1969, the population of the town rapidly grew due to influx of immigrants from other regions and enhancement of political status of the city. In 1972 the population of Mingora was reported to be 38,499⁴. In 1974 the total built up area of Mingora increased to 8.19 kilometre square (Ali 1974). According to 1981 census, the total population of Mingora increased to 88,078⁵. According to the 1998 census the total built up area of the Mingora has increased to 27 square kilometres⁶ and the city obtained the level of an intermediary city having a population of 1,74,669 people.

Growth of the City after the Merger

Till the merger, Mingora was a small town with well-regulated trade activities for the entire State and mainly contained native population, some labour immigrants from the surrounding rural areas and technicians from down the country. At the time of merger the population of Mingora proper might have been round about 35 thousands, however population of Saidu Sharif, Amankot, Rahim Abad, Ingaro Dherai, Takhtaband, etc, that probably jointly contained as much additional population, were not considered part of Mingora. The main reason was that these settlements remained one to two kilometres apart with cropland or barren land lying in between these settlements. The present city can broadly be assumed to be the result of the increasing radii of each of these component

villages and the gradually decreasing gaps were subsequently filled by the segregated and emerging trade activity, for example the gap between Naway Kalay and Mingora was filled with building material trade activity, and between Rahim Abad and Mingora with vehicle bargain trade activity. Hence it can be concluded that the geographical location of the component villages and their territorial distribution before the merger directed the present manner of physical extension of Mingora. Furthermore, the increasing population of the city after the merger does not reflect purely the multiplication of indigenous population of Mingora *per se*. The inclusion of the surrounding villages, like Naway Kalay, Saidu Sharif, Amankot, Rahim Abad and Watkey etc inside urban territorial limits probably caused the main supplement to population, while increasing immigration and the indigenous increase in population may be the other incremental causes for the five time increase in population during thirty years after merger.

The main impact on physical growth of Mingora after the merger may be mainly attributed to enhanced political status of the city. Mingora-Saidu became the divisional headquarter for the whole of Malakand territory, including the previous princely states of Dir and Chitral, and tribal territories of Malakand and Bajour. Another important impact was that of the deregulation of property transaction, that at once motivated a large number of landowners to sell their land within the territorial limits of Mingora. The resultant reduced land prices caused influx of outsider investors in estate purchase, market buildings and subsequent renting out. The indigenous landowners residing in Mingora also started investing in construction of new markets that gradually filled out the green spaces in the urban fringes and worked to reduce distance between the component villages. The free for all opportunity to erect new structures was also utilised for building new silk industrial units, particularly during the initial years after the State merger.

With the merger, the centre of planning and decision making shifted from local level to the provincial and federal level. This complicated the process of physical growth of Mingora. The centralised planning and decision-making process for urban infrastructure was no more in coordination with the physical growth of the city. There were no urban planners, building control legislation and mechanism to evaluate the needed inputs in

infrastructure corresponding to the physical growth of the city. The net result was that the existing infrastructure was no more able to cope with the growing population and commerce, hence led to overcrowding around existing infrastructure, creating environmental problems.

Road Network and Consequences of City's Growth

The business activities got momentum when Mingora was linked with other settlements by roads. In 1923, when the available road link to Thana was extended to Mingora, the city was connected with the rest of the region. Within few years roads from Mingora to Buner and Madyan were built. From the main roads, secondary and tertiary roads were constructed to link small settlements with Mingora. After re-construction of Main Bazaar in 1944, subsequent extension of roads took place from both ends of the Main Bazaar mainly toward the north, west and south sides. From the western end the extensions were toward newly constructed Saidu and Mingora bridges connecting Mingora with the political centre of Saidu Sharif and down country respectively, and these roads were much wider than the nine metre wide road passing through the Main Bazaar. From the eastern end of Taj Chowk the extension of roads was toward the Kanju Bridge as well as Madyan. The Kanju road connected Mingora with the region lying across the river, while the Madyan Road was extended via Fiza Ghat to Khwaza Khela and Madyan. The Kanju Road and Grand Trunk (GT) Road extension from Main Bazaar Road created roughly a "U" shape with the Main Bazaar serving as the base and the present road and Kanju road serving as its wings. The two ends of the "U" were subsequently connected through the "New Road" in 1959 creating a rectangular shaped road network all around the main old village of Mingora. For construction of the New Road the Wali demolished a lot of settlements in its way. The Pukhtuns of Mingora strongly objected to this act, however the Wali was determined to construct the road. He convinced the Pukhtuns regarding the future commercial importance of their property and this was proved later.

The New Road was further extended towards the north to meet the Madyan Road near Watkey, hence creating an adjacent triangle to the rectangular shaped main town settlement. From the Taj

Chowk and Sabzi Mandi Chowk a relatively wider bypass was constructed before the construction of the New Road. From the bypass interlinked secondary roads were subsequently extended to Gumbat Maira and present Malook Abad though the region lacked habitation at that time. A seven kilometre road network was constructed in this barren hillside land in order to divert the growth of the city in this direction, so that fertile land could be prevented from occupation by buildings. The Amankot Road was also constructed during this time as a bypass directly leading to Saidu Sharif. Takhtaband bypass was the last road constructed by the State authorities in order to divert the direct traffic between the interior of the valley and down country, and reduce the traffic load on the roads inside Mingora. Since the merger of the Swat State all the successive governments added only nominally to the road network. The road network in the present municipal limit has been extended to about 28 kilometres at the time of the State merger, when the population of the city was approximately 35 thousands and the number of households was probably less than four thousands. After the merger in the span of thirty years, the population has increased to 179 thousands and the number of household to more than 20 thousands. The road network inside Mingora has increased only from 28 kilometres to 35 kilometres. This seven-kilometre road increase is also the blind end narrow approach road in the Amankot and Takhtaband areas that has little utility for reducing traffic congestion of the city. The existing road framework in the city centre is of rectangular shape, where three roads namely, New Road, Main Bazaar and Dak-khana Road are running from north to south. Two other roads (GT Road and Takhta Band Bypass) bisect these roads at 90 degree angle.

With the increasing population, there was corresponding increase in public transport. Also the city growth led to increased economic activity and increased daily inflow of people and goods in the city. It might not be an exaggeration manifold to say that the number of vehicles passing daily through the city has increased by not less than 30 times to the level existing at the time of the merger. The result is noise pollution and increasing amount of smoke and dust at the main commercial centres of the city. The width of these roads ranges from 9 metres to 18 metres and there is an average flow of 1955 PCU/hr against national standard of 1000-1500 PCU/hr,

hence many roads operate above capacity. The average concentration of carbon monoxide is 9280 micro grams and is four times higher than that of Peshawar and other cities of the province.

Another dimension of the problem is that the city lacks off-street parking facilities, except a recently established informal private parking place at Green Chowk, accommodating 30-40 cars, and a formal parking place within the city administrative zone for official vehicles. Roadside and road junctions are therefore used for parking. In peak hours the situation becomes uncontrollable for traffic police and traffic jams are a regular phenomenon during peak hours. Almost all the thirteen junctions situated inside the city lack traffic signals. To provide ad hoc relief, some roads are used for one-way traffic, while from others the public transport has been diverted. No long term planning for addressing the issues of urban traffic and transport has ever been carried out through the formal sector and all the measures carried out are based on ad-hocism and the traffic problems in the city are growing day by day. There is overcrowding of business activities and congested settlements are depending on the existing network. The lack of balance between the road capacity and bulk of traffic is putting pressure on the environmental fabric of the city. Particularly the city centre is rapidly losing its commercial utility due to narrow roads and difficult possibility for road extension due to nature of property ownership⁷. The city is extending disproportionately in the direction of the GT Road leading to Peshawar, Matta, Madyan, Jambil and Marghuzar valley. This phenomenon has caused disproportionate growth of the city. Most of the emerging trade activities are now increasingly based on the relatively wider roads leading outward from the city i.e., Peshawar Road, Matta Road and Madyan Road. While toward the narrow side valleys of Jambil and Marghuzar, residential colonies are gradually extending.

Impact of Shifting of Bus Terminals and Vegetable Market

The second Wali established bus terminus, Green Adda⁸, in the heart of the city at the meeting point of Kanju Road and New Road during the early 1960s. The bus stand could hardly accommodate a total of fifteen buses. The total trans-regional bus services did not do

more than ten round trips per day, so the service provided by the stand was adequate. The Wali subsequently initiated a bus service, Swat Travel Service, for Peshawar and Lahore from this terminus. Bus services for the interior of the valley were subsequently initiated from this terminus. On the GT Road from the existing site of Pamir Hotel another private bus terminus in the name of Mingora Travel Service was subsequently established, a few years before the State merger, to meet the increasing transport requirements. These two terminals provided service till the merger of State. The travel services also served to generate food and beverage services, grain and general retail shops, and hotels and cafés in the surroundings, hence worked to generate additional focal marketing points in addition to the Main Bazaar.

After the merger those recruited in State services were incorporated in regular government services of Pakistan. In addition a large number of government servants from down districts were transferred to the newly created Swat district. In addition to the general public, those serving in Dir, Chitral, Malakand and Bajour visited in increasing number to the divisional headquarter off and on. The phenomenon led to increase travel to and from Mingora. The existing travel services were not able to cope with the increasing demand, hence two new travel services evolved just after merger in the name of Yousaf Travel Service and Jamal Travel Service with their termini set up on New Road and GT Road establishing their own zones of influence in the surrounding areas. The Swat Travel Service and Mingora Travel Services were subsequently abandoned due to different reasons and the Green Bus Terminus was then only utilised for bus service to the interior of the valley, while the new termini for Yousaf Travel Service and Jamal Travel Service were for travel to outside regions down the country. Consequently the markets surrounding the Green Bus Terminus adopted the trade in the goods required for consumption in the interior of the valley, while the markets surrounding the new terminals served tourists. Despite the fact that the terminals were shifted after a few years to the present General Bus Stand, the initiated commercial activities continued on sustainable basis and are still in place. The markets surrounding Green Bus Terminus (present Green Square) have developed into wholesale markets of goods for utility in the interior of the valley to feed the secondary commercial nuclei of the valley.

A terminus for Government Transport Service was established in Makan Bagh, but for short duration, hence could not initiate an active commercial zone in its surrounding.

The present General Bus Stand on the GT Road in Amankot started functioning in 1974. It initially accommodated the entire interior and exterior travel services and all the terminals inside the city were shifted to the General Bus Stand. However, the Stand was only able to accommodate the transport for the next ten years and the growing travel demand led to the development of two other bus termini in Banr area on Kanju/Airport road and Watkey on Madyan/Khwazakhela road. These termini created further commerce zones and many of the previous commerce zones are now transforming their activities. Additional Suzuki and Datsun (small pickups meant for carrying loads but used locally for public transport) stands have been established in the recent past in the vicinity of the three main bus terminals and other areas. The existing bus terminals are no more able to accommodate the increasing demand of the city, however only ad hoc and short-term solution to the transport problems are usually proposed and the complexity of the problem is gradually increasing.

Fruits and vegetables were initially sold at scattered shops during the early stage of urbanisation. When the post Office Road was constructed during the early 1960s, the sale activity of fruit and vegetables was segregated through State authorities' intervention at the junction of GT Road and Main Bazaar. The square is still known with the name of Zarha Sabzi Mandi Chowk (old vegetable market square). Retail fruit and vegetable traders still predominantly occupy the shops available at the square. During the early 1980s, when the trade activity at the present site was no more feasible and was causing traffic blockade, the fruit and vegetable market was shifted to the fringes of the city in Watkey after a specific market place was constructed for the purpose. The fertile irrigated lands surrounding the fruit and vegetable market have now entirely been converted into goods transport service stands, workshops, auto stores and tyre shops, particularly for heavy vehicles.

Markets and Commerce

The present Main Bazaar is the preliminary commercial area of the

old village of Mingora. Just after the initiation of the State in the early 1920s it comprised a few mud walled shops with wooden beam roofs. Some of these shops were open veranda type without doors while the remaining were closed shops and not necessarily joined together. To the open shop relatively limited quantities of saleable commodities like clothes, raw sugar and common salt were brought during day time and again shifted in the evening to the residential houses. The Bazaar started from the present Zarha Sabzi Mandi Chowk and extended to present day Taj Chowk. The spaces gradually started to fill up with new shops with the consolidation of State. The total length of Bazaar was no more than five hundred metres and its width was about three metres so as to allow the passage of two loaded mules coming from opposite direction. Wooden beams covered with dried tree leaves were occasionally put across the facing shops for shade. The shops were one or two feet above the ground level of the central path. The muddy central path was also used as the main drainage for the Bazaar and it was difficult to travel through it during rainy season due to its sticky and slippery mud. The present Taj Chowk, previously used as Panghalay (cattle collecting place for villagers of Mingora for sending to the surrounding rangelands through a community herder), was a recognised mule and donkey stand for transaction of goods (Mandahai) to the interior of the valley. The Parachas were the main mule back traders and used to spend the night and cook their own food in the veranda surrounding the mud walled Mandahai.

With the initiation and consolidation of the State in the period from 1917 to 1930 the village of Mingora gradually adopted the status of main business town, mainly because of its location in the vicinity of newly established political centre of the valley. During this period, Badshah Saib motivated the business class to built shops and restaurant in Mingora. He strategically kept his seating town aside from the major business activities and encouraged the people to make developments in Mingora. Mingora was gradually linked with other large settlements in the valley that worked to further promote the commercial status of the emerging town. In order to make Mingora a big business centre, Badshah Saib invited people of different professions from other cities like Mardan and Peshawar to establish business. For instance, Badshah Saib called a butcher family to Mingora for opening of meat shops and Chipli Kabab

restaurant. Badshah Saib announced contractual system for the supply of salt to Swat and he gave the contract to a local businessmen belonging to Paracha family. He also introduced octroi system for the first time and awarded octroi contract to another Paracha family. It is important to note that by that time no one among the Pukhtun families were ready to open shop for business as it was deemed against the honour of Pukhtuns. That is why only Hindus and Parachas were doing business.

In May 1944, a fire broke out in the Main Bazaar and most of the shops were burnt to ashes. After the fire, the State authorities provided monetary support to the affectees. The monetary support was given mainly in the form of concrete building materials for reconstruction of the shops. The shop owners were motivated to construct well-designed concrete shops and to leave an eight metres wide road in between with covered drain on both sides of the blacktopped road. A sizable parking place for mules and hand-carts (Katairha) was left in the centre of re-constructed market. This reconstruction served as the starting point for the establishment of modern Mingora and the other markets gradually developed inside the city as an extension to the newly built Main Bazaar (Roukhan, F.M.). The Main Bazaar was subsequently extended toward riverside at both ends and the New Road joined the new extensions at present Suhrah Khan Chowk and Green Chowk. These two new squares created the points from where further extension of commercial activities toward the exterior in all directions followed. This extension led to rather balanced distribution of different commercial activities during the initial extension of the town.

The interior of the rectangle gradually became the main commercial centre of the city. Most of the residences of traditional landowners were shifted into the fringes of the city and were replaced with unplanned shop markets at the ground floor and rented residences at the first and occasionally the second floor. Despite the fact that the traditional Kacha single storey residences were converted into concrete multi storey (two and at the most three storey) buildings, no designing was either carried out and each landowner built the structure according to his own wisdom and planning. The result is the multiplicity of ill planned constructed market throughout the interior of the rectangle. The traditional two-metre zigzag footpaths were never widened and straightened, and

almost all the structures have occasionally more than two metres wide access at the ground level. At the first floor the buildings usually possess one-foot extension on both the sides of such access, hence further narrow down the footpaths and the resultant reduced sunlight with increasing storeys. Toward the exterior of the rectangle the situation is comparatively better. The approaches are comparatively wider (three metres) and straight as to allow access of small cars and the buildings are less congested on gentle sloped lands and planes. The subsequent steep hillside settlements are even more congested than the city centre and the foot accesses even narrower. Lower category unskilled labour immigrants from the surrounding mountains occupy these cheaper settlements on steep hillside slopes.

After transformation of Mingora into the main urban territory in its rural surroundings, its gradual growth created non-farm-earning opportunities for the under privileged social segments residing in Mingora as well as the surrounding rural areas. Construction and wage labour were among the initial labour activities created. The subsequent earning activities were in the emerging technical sector, while the service sector also gradually emerged particularly due to the location of administrative centre near the city. The wage labour for construction and loading unloading consisted of tenant immigrants from the surrounding hilly areas. The modern sector technical labour migrated from the big cities down the country and started their own business by opening workshops. The promotion of silk industrial units led to further improvement of the commercial status of the city. Another main activity that boosted the commerce in the city was the emerging tourism that was tremendously promoted during the time of the second Wali. This led to the emergence of hotels and handicrafts markets in the city. After the State merger when the territory emerged as the main urban centre for whole of Malakand region containing 3-4 millions people, auto workshops sprang up serving the entire region.

Under the existing situation on the Kana Baba road, previously a bypass on the northern side of the city towards the riverside, the automobile workshops are concentrated. Around the central Green Square, different wholesale markets of rural based requirements are concentrated. On and around the GT Road, New Road and Main Bazaar, the tourist goods shops and markets abound. The main

Mingora-Peshawar road in Rahim Abad is predominantly occupied by the vehicle bargain centres, while in the Naway Kalay there are a few property bargain centres, being on the approach road to the slowly emerging Kanju Township. The building material stores are also concentrated on the Kanju Road, again because of Kanju Town and more remittances/orchards money earning areas in Nikpikhel and Matta valleys on the other side of the River Swat. The previous vegetable market was annexed to the western entrance of Main Bazaar. However, during the mid 1980s the market was shifted to Watkey.

The shifting of the vegetable market to Watkey toward the east side of the city on the main Mingora-Kalam road resulted in creation of goods transport service activities in its vicinity. Different auto stores and tyre shops came up near goods transport stands on the main Chabagh/Khwaza khela Road. The previously cropped zone surrounded by the Airport Road, Charbagh/Khwaza khela Road, Watkey Road, and Kana Baba Road is now almost completely occupied by automobile workshops with sub-zonal concentration for trucks, jeeps and cars, etc. The meat/mutton shops, spread throughout the city before mid 1980, were concentrated at two places, one besides New Road and the other around Main Bazaar. The four main trades markets i.e. Main Bazaar, New Road, Kanju Road and GT Roads surrounds the old traditional town of Mingora, and the area has now been exclusively converted to old shoes markets (Kabarh) and cloth markets. Gwarai Cheena was the main traditional spring, visited by women for collection of drinking water. The surrounding region of the spring has now been converted into the famous Cheena Market for womenfolk and mainly contains shops for clothe, make-up items, bangles and crockery. The trade activity from Mingora extends in a hierarchical manner to small villages through big villages and towns. However, the farmers while visiting Mingora directly purchase goods from Mingora. The big landowners have shifted their residences mainly to the fertile or scenic city suburbs, converting their own houses into markets. The consequence is that the city's social system and social relation of production have been significantly modified as compared to the surrounding rural areas simultaneously affecting each other. The Mingora-Saidu Sharif Road has been developed as service area surrounded by residential

colonies of the service and literate class. On the most fertile riverside peri-urban areas of Ingaro Dherai and Takhtaband, the brick kilns are concentrated.

New Hotels and Tourist Markets

With the establishment of road network throughout the valley the utility of mule and donkey stand for transaction of goods (Mandahai) was lost and the site was subsequently converted into the first modern hotel Taj Hotel of the valley during the early 1930s. Another hotel for traditional visitors was subsequently constructed with the name of Malak Hotel at the western end of Main Bazaar. Tariq and Standard Hotels were subsequently constructed in Makan Bagh area during the late 1950s. When the Wazirs left the area due to political reasons, their residence was subsequently converted into an elite hotel (present Swat Serena Hotel). Palace Hotel in Naway Kalay on Kanju road, Rainbow Hotel on New Road and Abasim Hotel in Green Square were the subsequent important modern hotels opened in Mingora. At the time of the merger there were two elite class hotels, 12 medium class modern sector hotels and 7 traditional hotels in Mingora. Apart from these, there were five modern café and approximately 30 traditional cafés in Mingora urban territory. Almost all the elite class as well as the traditional hotels consisted of single storey buildings, while the modern sector hotels comprised two to four storey buildings. After the merger, the traditional hotels were gradually abolished and converted into retail shops. On the other hand the number of modern sector hotels gradually increased. The middle level modern sector hotels are scattered throughout the city, while the new elite class hotels are constructed in the city suburbs particularly in the Fiza Ghat area on the riverside. The descendants of the Wali family have also rented out the winter residence of Badshah Saib at Aqba Saidu Sharif and the summer residence at Marghuzar for hoteling with the name of White Palace and Royal Palace respectively.

Before the merger, the Swat valley was a tax free zone and even after the merger tax and custom rules have not been extended to the whole of Malakand region including the territory of Mingora. Malakand division contains a long border with Afghanistan with

many regular and trekking routes. As a consequence, a lot of non-custom paid electronic goods are smuggled into the territory. With the increasing number of tourists, coming from down the country, the market of smuggled electronic goods got a boost in Mingora. The tourists, while visiting the valley during summer, purchased limited quantity of such goods for domestic use at cheaper prices as these were either not allowed for import or imported with high custom duty in the rest of the country. During the State era the Japanese electronics reached the market via Afghanistan and after the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan the cheaper Russian goods flooded the Mingora market. During recent times the cheaper Chinese goods are more commonly available in the local markets along with the Japanese and Korean goods.

The Main Bazaar at present has entirely been converted into smuggled electronics, crockery and cloth retail market while the GT Road and New Road partially contains shops for such goods. There might be more than 300 shops available for these goods (excluding Chinese goods) at different locations in Mingora. For the Chinese goods different isolated markets have been established each containing 10-50 shops. Six different off the road Chinese goods market, containing shops for hosiery, crockery, interior decoration pieces, cloth and electronics, are functioning at present in different localities in Mingora. Local handicrafts and embroidery are the other items of tourist interest. Most of the national and international tourists visiting Mingora, purchase woolen and cotton handicrafts, from different shops in Mingora. The handicrafts shops are located on GT Road, New Road and Main Bazaar.

Housing System

The initial courts during Bacha Saib period were established in the present Banr area on the airport Road in a traditional building and the initial police station existed in two Kacha shops near the present Nishat Chowk. The present Makan Bagh area, Grassy Ground and the area up to the Central Hospital on the main Saidu Mingora road was cultivated land under the purchased ownership of the Wazirs (Ministers of Bacha Saib). When the Wazirs left the State due to political reasons, the land was confiscated in the State's name and subsequently hostels, hospitals, state offices and playgrounds

occupied the area. The site, where the Municipality and the police station building exists, was a famous orchard garden extending up to the east bank of Marghuzar stream (Rokhan. F.M.). The fertile lands on Amankot side, west bank of the Marghuzar stream comprising 430 was purchased by Bacha Saib from the Pukhtuns of Amankot and was used as the State owned farm for orchard, vegetables and grain production. During the time of Wali Saib's legislations were in place for restricted construction on fertile lands. The tree harvesting was strictly regulated and there was a ban on shooting birds in the cropland area.

Construction of some of the residential and office buildings on modern style were initiated during the late 1930s and early 1940s. These included the residences of the Wali and Wazirs and a few State buildings for hospitals and schools in Saidu Sharif. Such buildings were either of Victorian style or a combination of traditional and Victorian style. White Palace, Marghuzar, the Senior Wazir residence (present Swat Serena Hotel) and Jahanzeb College were the main Victorian style buildings. The residences of the State officers constructed in the early 1940s were the Victorian-traditional admixtures constructed in the vicinity of Saidu Sharif. The construction material used was the local stone masonry plastered from the interior with cement and wooden beam roof or galvanised asbestos sheets. Those employed in the State service occupied the modern accommodation, however the local elites maintained their traditional housing style.

Miangul Jahanzeb, the second Wali of Swat State after assuming the office, developed segregated service on the main Saidu-Mingora Road (college, hospitals and offices etc.), constructed officers' colony on the east side hill slopes of Saidu-Mingora road and invited eminent educationists, sometimes from down the country, to the State for teaching in the local college. Almost all the buildings built on Saidu-Mingora road were of modern style with concrete roof. A campaign was initiated to transform all the old buildings in the vicinity of Saidu Sharif. During the late 1950s and early 1960s in almost all the sizable villages of the State, beautiful modern style buildings for schools and hospitals were constructed. The yellow colour was declared as the official colour for the State owned building. Modern rest houses were constructed in almost every corner of the State during the time of the second Wali of Swat.

Such rapid construction work throughout the State motivated the local elite to adopt the style for construction of their residences and Hujras. These constructions revealed an excellent combination of the traditional and modern styles. The modern facilities were accommodated in the traditional type houses. The initial adaptation included incorporation of windows and ventilators in the drawing and bedrooms followed by separate latrines and bathrooms, separate kitchens and grassy lawns with flowering plants. Such transitions were however mainly limited to the landed elite and businessmen. The poor people residing in Mingora, Saidu Sharif or rural areas lived in the old traditional houses.

Quality of Pre and Post Merger State Buildings

Some of the offices and residences for officers and officials were constructed during the time of the first Wali, however majority of such buildings were constructed during the time of the second Wali. During the first Wali's period the buildings were constructed under direct supervision of the State authorities. The traditional style of construction was more dominant and the durability of construction was given more emphasis than the outlook. Almost all the buildings were single storey, while cemented stone masonry walls and wooden beam roofs mostly covered with mud and cement characterised the construction style and occasionally asbestos sheets. During the earlier days of the State the traditional style was adopted, hence the stone walls of the buildings were interwoven with wooden beams to give strength to the construction work. The police and State army fortresses are the typical example of such construction work. During the era of the second Wali the traditional style was almost completely replaced with modern style and the outlook of the building got more emphasis although durability was also given due emphasis. Two storey buildings were constructed more frequently, especially in case of school buildings. Concrete roofs replaced the wooden beam roofs and in spite of placing wooden beams inside stonewalls, bricks/stone-walls without wooden beams plastered with cement dominated the construction. The security risks, more common during first Wali's time, gave rise to fortified and secured buildings, while during the second Wali's time due to decreased security risks from local tribes, the buildings became more open in

appearance.

The second Wali, in spite of direct supervision, carried out construction through contractors. However, every building was taken over by the State authorities after personal examination by the Wali himself. Although there existed a building department with a graduate engineer and some civil diploma holders, most of the designs were personally approved by the Wali himself. The most dominant drawback noticed in multi-storey buildings was the weak foundation provision in relation to the load of the buildings in many situations. Cracks have appeared in many multi-storey buildings of the second Wali time after State merger mainly because of weak foundations. The buildings were probably not inspected during work on the foundation, but after completion of the building, hence the masonry work, the quality of cement and finishing of the building received more attention. The three-storey building of Jahanzeb College and two storey building of Middle School Amankot can be quoted as examples of weak foundations. On the other hand, single-storey buildings did quite well and are still in place.

After the State merger when the Pakistan Building Department replaced the Swat State Building Department, the construction work become more expensive and the quality of work further deteriorated due to the absolute lack of objective monitoring system. Also, the construction design no more represented the local traditions and needs and finishing was not maintained. The design work for a building pertaining to a particular department was carried out at Islamabad or Peshawar and after approval, the design was adopted throughout the country or the province. Consideration for the local customs or alterations keeping in view the local needs was either not allowed or cared for by the local construction authorities. For example, under local customs no window to the exterior of a house is considered suitable. However, being part of the dictated design every government officer's residence contained such windows mostly at their own expense. Almost all the occupants subsequently closed these windows. The estimates for construction work are deliberately kept higher to allow for more than 30 per cent illegal commission for the hierarchy of the building department officers. Additional surpluses are then obtained from the contractor at the cost of deteriorated building quality. For example, an overseer may allow a contractor to use a combination of cement sand shingle for

foundation work at 1:4:8 in spite of recommended proportion of 1:2:4.

Office Buildings, Officers' colonies and Labour Colonies

During the early State era the offices were constructed in Saidu Sharif, while the authority was vested to the traditional tribal leaders. The fortified structures were constructed to ensure security against possible rebellions. Subsequently, offices and residences for territorial administrators were constructed mostly in the traditional manner. Construction of colonies for officers were subsequently initiated at Saidu Sharif after gradual consolidation of the State.

After assumption of office by the second Wali, modern construction work was initiated at different localities, particularly on the land between Saidu Sharif and Mingora. Office buildings and officers' residential colonies occupied the two-kilometre long strip lying on both sides of Saidu-Mingora road under the purchased ownership of Wali or confiscated from Wazirs. Different residences classified into A, B, C and D categories were given to different officers depending on their position. A category residences were given to doctors and professors, etc, and D category to the low salaried, mostly illiterate personnel like peons and watchmen. Approximately one thousand different categories of residences were constructed in and around Saidu Sharif during the second Wali time.

After the merger there was a rush of different departments functioning at district and divisional level to occupy different state buildings. Initially deputy Commissioner of Swat District occupied the Wali's personal office, while Saidu hostel, after evacuating the students was occupied by commissioner Malakand Division. Offices for Construction and Works Department and Education Department were established in the already existing office buildings with similar functions while the remaining departments were housed in rented facilities. The already existing State time official residences were able to provide accommodation to limited number of civil servants in different departments, hence most of them were obliged to search for rented accommodation. Gradually a few departments (mainly Irrigation Department and Agriculture departments) started

constructing their own offices and residential colonies for their staff. However, the majority utilised rented offices. Eight years after the State merger, a huge building to accommodate all the district level offices and courts got initiated and the construction was carried out on Saidu-Mingora Road in front of the Grassy Ground. A residential colony for officers was simultaneously constructed in the vicinity of District Headquarters to accommodate officers of different departments. At the same time many of the vacant plots in the officers' colony were also utilised constructing building for different offices and residential accommodation. A site for construction of labour colony was purchased in Panr area just after the merger but the residences were constructed twenty years later.

At present, approximately three thousand official residential accommodations are available including the State time construction. These are mostly concentrated in Gulkada and on main Saidu-Mingora road. The Panr area is the second venue of the State buildings. The Panr area buildings include labour colony and two different technical colleges. In Gulkada area the District Headquarters, Irrigation Colony, Poly-Trade Training Institute and a Degree College for Girls are important buildings constructed by the government after the State merger.

Trends in Rental Housing Development

Prior to merger Kacha houses were traditionally built by the landowners for tenants in different Mohallas of the city or component villages. The tenants in return were obliged to provide labour force mainly in agriculture and domestic sectors. With the gradual extension of marketing, the non-farm labour also started migrating to the city and many of them occupied some of these houses in return for nominal rent. With the initiation of silk industry during the early 1960s, the rental houses for technical and non-technical labour became more common and trend for investing in rental houses construction got initiated. The main venues for mill labourer rental houses were Rahim Abad and Amankot areas. For non-farm commerce labour rental houses were developed in Watkey, Banr, Malook Abad and Gumbat Maira areas.

After the merger there was an influx of formal service sector migrants from down district to serve for specific tenure in different

government departments. The existing State buildings were not sufficient to accommodate the new inflow of officers. The existing buildings could hardly accommodate 15 per cent of the incoming government servants. The demand led to manifold increase in monthly rents. The rent increase motivated the local landowners to sell their remote lands and invest the money in construction. As a consequence on most of the vacant plots in and surrounding Mingora construction for renting was initiated. For offices, mainly the hotels located in less commercial areas were initially utilised, but soon well-facilitated rental houses and construction of office accommodation boomed to meet the increasing demand. Such construction was especially prominent in Makan Bagh, Landay Kas, Gulkada, Shagai, Watkey Shahdara and Saidu Sharif. The demand for rental houses would have been saturated in the mid 1980s, but the influx of Afghan refugees and increasing immigration of local people from the surrounding rural areas raised the demand for rented accommodation.

Concept of Modern Housing Schemes

Development authorities for promotion of modern housing schemes were initially established in provincial capitals and mega-cities of the country. Sarhad Development Authority is working in the province since early 1970s. Subsequently development authorities were established at regional level including Peshawar Development Authority (PDA), Kohat Development Authority (KDA), Mardan Development Authority (MDA), Hazara Development Authority (HAD), Dera Ismail Khan Development Authority (DDA) and Malakand Division Development Authority (MDDA). Initially these authorities were active due to encouragement at government level, but gradually the financial crises prevailing in the country slowed down the pace of new housing schemes through these authorities.

The policy laid out for such housing schemes include initial investment in land purchase and part of basic infrastructure development like roads, sewerage, telephone lines and electricity etc., The individual plots on developed land are subsequently allotted to applicants through ballot and the cost incurred in land purchase, planning, infrastructure development along with some

overhead charges and surpluses is recovered from the allottees in installments or occasionally in lump sum. The allottees are obliged to carry out construction according to the design duly approved by the development authorities. The aim of such schemes is to motivate the public and private sectors to invest in such projects so that urban development could be directed according to the housing needs of modern times. Kanju Township Scheme is one such housing scheme developed in the vicinity of Mingora urban territory.

Kanju Township Scheme

The scheme was approved in 1991, with an estimated cost of 428.840 millions Pakistani rupees 561.34 acres of land was procured for the first phase of the scheme. An additional amount of 40.750 million Pakistani rupees were subsequently allocated for purchase of additional 178.625 acres for the second phase of the scheme. The land was purchased from the Pukhtuns and Istanadars of Kanju.

The development of the modern housing scheme for the city extension across the river, on one hand broadened the narrow ethnic characteristics of the city, while on the other hand it slowed down the development of the Township itself. Before the development of the Kanju Township, Mingora was considered to belong to Babozai sub-section of Yousafzai Pukhtuns. Also the subsections residing on the same side of the river were ethnically and historically closer. On many occasions the residents of both the banks remained under different political administration. The extension of Mingora on both sides of the river is expected to help in eliminating this bifurcation. Being wealthier in the region the Pukhtuns and Parachas of Mingora have shown little interest in purchase of land in the new housing scheme, hence this has kept the prices of the plots lower, and the

Table 7.1: Percent regional allocation of plots in Kanju Township housing scheme Phase-1

Size of Plot (Marla)	Number allotted	Mingora urban territory	Malakand excluding Mingora	NWFP excluding Malakand	Punjab province	Sindh province	Balochistan province	Overseas Pakistanis
20	741	28%	13%	43%	10%	1.4%	0.3%	4%
10	1040	29%	9%	52%	6%	1.3%	0.2%	3%
5	1471	16%	6%	66%	6%	2%	0.1%	4%
3	508	11%	5%	67%	12%	3%	0.4%	2%
Total	3719	798	313	2161	284	70	8	85

buyers are predominantly the non-locals.

In Phase-1 of the scheme, a total of 4203 plots were included. The particular feature of the allotment policy was the fixed quotas for different regions, as shown in Table 7.1. The logic behind the allocation policy was neither clear, nor the authority was able to find out applicants from the desired regions. Hence the left out plots were sold gradually in open auction. Even the recipients of the plots under the above quota procedure subsequently sold out the purchased plots to the residents of the Malakand region. Still the residents of Mingora proportionately possess limited number of plots and different plots belong to the resident of surrounding territories particularly the overseas Pakistanis, business class and service class.

The allotment would have been more rapid and the middle-income group would have benefitted if the distribution of quota could be limited mainly to Malakand Division, and quota for each region was distributed among service sector, Overseas Pakistanis, business people, farmers and labour. The other necessary condition would have been the availability of facility of monthly or annual installments and soft term loan, particularly to the allottees of service sector and labour group. The Kanju Township is provided with partial amenities and infrastructure. Roads, electricity, water supply and drains are provided and land for town hall, playground, hospital and school have been allocated, but these are yet to be developed. For recreation, four small children parks have been developed. However, playgrounds have not been developed so far. Land has been allocated for commercial centres, mosques and gymnasium but these are yet to be developed.

The construction work has been initiated, but the majority of the people involved in construction are non-local and those migrated from down areas for business or service. The local residents have purchased the plots but for commercial purposes. In general, they are not inclined to build their own residences inside the township, as they are not willing to leave their original areas.

Housing Schemes in the Informal Sector

The development of silk industrial units led to the development of small non-formal housing schemes to accommodate the technical

labour from Punjab and non-technical labour migrated from the surrounding rural areas. Such housing schemes were in many situations not provided with any facility like water supply or drainage, and mainly comprised 1-3 small brick-walled rooms with a small toilet and with or without a separate kitchen, small verandah and a small courtyard. Each scheme contained 10-50 houses. Such schemes are generally concentrated in Rahim Abad, Qambar, Panr and Amankot, previously containing majority of the silk industrial units.

A local businessman named Haji Malook initiated a similar large-scale housing scheme for labour immigrants from the surrounding mountains in Malook Abad after the State merger. He purchased a large hillside area from the Pukhtuns of Mingora and started construction of mostly single-roomed cheaper accommodation without toilet, kitchen or verandah but with a courtyard. He used to reinvest the procured rent money for constructing new houses one above the other on the sloping hillside land. In this manner he was able to construct a non-formal housing unit containing more than hundred houses for rent. During subsequent years Haji Malook and others were able to purchase the hillside in the vicinity of the existing housing scheme and gradually added new houses with improved facilities.

After the State merger the increasing demand for rented accommodation of service class led to the development of small rental housing units in different localities. Housing units comprising 4-20 houses with all modern housing facilities are dispersed throughout the city. Apart from available facilities, rent of these houses was also dependent on the accessibility to the commercial and office areas. Some modern housing units were also procured by various donor-assisted projects personnel, working in Malakand Division, for offices as well as residences on heavy rents, particularly in the vicinity Saidu Sharif.

Municipality and Physical development

Miangul Jahanzeb introduced modern concepts of civic amenities by establishing Mingora Town Committee in 1956. A regular office building for the Town Committee (later termed Municipality) was established in 1962. The Municipality added special identity to

Mingora as an urban centre and provided civic services like water supply, street pavement and streetlights (Ali 1974). One lac (0.1 million) rupees were given to the Municipality from the lease amount of Emerald mines for developmental expenditure, while variable amount of octroi generated further revenue for developmental activities (Rokhan F.M.). The non-developmental expenditures of the Municipality were borne by the State treasury. The establishment of road network, during the 1960s, significantly enhanced the trading potential of the city and hence the Municipality income. After the merger, Saidu Sharif, Naway Kalay, Watkey and Gumbat Maira were also included in the Town Committee limits and in 1976 some more surrounding villages including Amankot, Rahim Abad and Shagai were also included and the status of Town Committee was raised to Municipal Committee. The municipal limits have now engulfed Takhtaband and Ingaro-dherai and this expansion generally occurred at the expense of arable land.

Street Pavement and Drainage System

Till the middle of the 1950s, streets inside the traditional towns of Mingora were 1-2 metres wide and the sewage drains from the houses directly opened in the street. Hence the streets were used both as path and drains. The drains ended up in two large ponds in the vicinity of the village. The street pavement inside the city was initiated on the style of Buddhist settlements of the ancient times. The streets were paved with stone sheets obtained from the hill on the eastern side of Saidu Sharif. The 2-3 inches thick and 1-4 square feet wide stone sheets were excavated from the area and placed by masons covering the streets from the above and leaving the drains on one side of the streets. The first street paved was the street connecting the centre of Main Bazaar with the Post Office Road. In this street, cement was used to cover the spaces between the stones, however when the Wali visited the street, he observed that no cement was needed to fill the spaces and spaces were filled with pebbles and stone pieces and that worked well (F.M. Rokhan).

Despite the fact that drains were arranged in different streets, no effective sewerage system was arranged. It was probably assumed that being located on a sloping area no drainage problems were

likely to occur that could cause problem to the residents of different wards. In many situations these drains were opened into natural hillside contours that subsequently opened into Jambil and Marghuzar streams. Nominal sewerage was drained into these streams as most of the water was absorbed before reaching the streams. Some medium sized drains were constructed in few situations, particularly on the sides of newly constructed roads that directly opened into these streams. The sink of the streams at that time was probably able to accommodate the amount of waste water produced in the town, as it apparently caused no harm to the aquatic fauna and flora down the stream and the water was used for cloth and utensil wash and irrigation without any problem. Fishing was carried out down the stream till late 1970s. Also, limited waste water was produced inside the houses as most of the households were obliged to bring water for drinking and washing from the water reservoirs and springs and no direct water supply pipes facilities were available. After the State merger and with the emergence of the elected committee, the number of tubewells increased sixfold leading to increased amount of liquid waste. The amount of liquid waste poured into Jambil and Marghuzar streams consequently increased and from that period onward, the problem with the water quality, drainage system and stream pollution started multiplying inside Mingora.

Water Supply Reservoirs and Services

The main source of drinking and household use water till 1950 was the spring on the bank of Jambil stream (Gwarai Cheena). Almost all the households in Mingora used to collect water in clay pitchers (10-15 litres capacity) by female youth. Every household depending on the number of household members routinely used two to four pitchers full of water every day. In Saidu Sharif and Amankot similar springs, and in some situation open wells, were used for collecting water for domestic use. At Watkey, Naway Kalay and Ingaro Dherai areas the river and well water was commonly used. During the early 1950s, when electricity was made available in Mingora, two tubewells were constructed, one at the eastern end of the town and the other at the northern end. From these tubewells water was not distributed to different households, rather these

contained multiple taps, from where water was collected in the same manner as from the springs. A third tubewell was tried at the centre of the city, in the vicinity of Katarha, but was abandoned when the quality of water was found to be sub-standard, most probably due to seepage from the nearby pond, where waste water from the surrounding households were collected.

Three tubewells were subsequently constructed on Saidu Mingora Road to provide water to the college, hostels, hospitals and officers residences. However, in these areas water was distributed through pipes to different localities. One tubewell in Saidu Sharif proper was for the use of the Wali's family and his servants. For the Wali's house however a pipeline from a spring in Marghuzar valley delivered water. All the reservoirs were constructed over the place of bore and almost all of these tubewells are still supplying water to the destined areas. The reservoirs of these tubewell are usually double storey. The upper storey of the reservoir is closed and directly receives water from the well. The water collected at upper reservoir is then shifted to lower reservoir divided into different open compartments supplying water to different regions.

These tubewells served the entire city till 1980. During the early 1980s when public representatives to different municipal wards were elected for the first time, most of the municipal resources were diverted to water supply schemes. During the span of two to three years, thirty-two new tubewells were constructed. Water pipes were distributed in almost all the streets and majority of the households were provided water supply connections inside their houses. The previous system of collecting water from the springs or reservoirs vanished and free flow of water inside the houses led to the wasteful use of water. During this period the water supply to the town increased by more than ten times and consequently the amount of liquid wastes also increased proportionately.

Urbanisation and Environment

The rapid expansion of the city led to more fuel and timber requirements for cooking and construction. The phenomenon of city expansion on the one hand led to the development of housing units on the fragile banks of Jambil and Marghuzar streams, while on the other hand it resulted in rapid deforestation of the

surrounding mountains. Severe floods in July and August 1995 led to death of three people and 18 animals and complete or partial damage to 49 houses built on the bank of Jambil stream. Nine bridges built over the stream were washed away and six water mills were completely or partially damaged and a total of 206 acres of land destroyed¹⁰. The casual flooding in the local streams is a historical phenomenon, however occupation of stream banks with residential accommodation is exposing increasing number of household to flooding. Furthermore, deforestation has increased the incidence and intensity of flooding. The increased winter and summer temperature in the region, however, seems to be due to global warming and local variables might have played limited role if any. Diversion of liquid waste drains to the local streams is however a local phenomenon and has polluted the streams to the extent that the pungent smell can be felt even from a distance. The increased carbon particles and limited oxygen make the stream water unsuitable for aquatic fauna, while the increased quantity of solid waste and plastic in the stream makes the water unsuitable for irrigation purposes. The stream water was used for washing clothes, swimming and irrigation some twenty years back, however under present conditions the streams serve as the main city drains that empty into river Swat near Odigram.

The increasing non-farm urban population desires more market oriented production in the surrounding rural areas resulting into nutrient mining, heavy chemical fertilisation and increased use of pesticides as a result of unilateral nutrient harvesting and limited use of recycled organic matter. The increased amount of plastic material in solid waste is making the locally produced solid waste unsuitable for conversion into manure. Most of such solid waste is directly thrown into the river Swat or on the streamside for flushing by seasonal floods.

Increasing urban population and limited local employment opportunities is fueling poverty and powerlessness with the resultant social environmental problems. The State does not possess an efficient welfare mechanism and due to limited control over drug use, antibiotics are available to every one in the open market and can be obtained without proper prescription. Fake drugs and food items are routinely available particularly in the remote areas of the valley. The polluted underground water and irrational drug use is leading to

increased incidence of Hepatitis and other gastrointestinal diseases problems. The situation at city slums is particularly miserable where no drainage and paved streets are available.

City Growth and Physical Environment

At the time of initiation of the State, when the village of Mingora comprised no more than six hundred houses, no drainage system existed. The drains ended up in two large ponds in the vicinity of the village. These ponds were created in depressions made most probably through removal of mud for construction of houses by the Parachas in earlier times. Such collecting ponds naturally existed or were created in many villages of the valley with a flat topography through mud removal by Parachas. With the passage of time and gradual growth in population these ponds were gradually encircled by new settlements. These ponds initially dried up during dry summer, however when the number of settlements increased, these become permanent ponds. Females and children used the latrines available in houses and the excreta were thrown to the dump site outside each household on daily basis. The waste collected from the houses along with cattle dung and refuse were also thrown to these dump sites. The dump sites were routinely emptied twice a year by the Parachas who carried the deposit to the fields as manure before ploughing during dry summer and late autumn. Almost every household contained a cattle shed having 5-25 cattle gathered at the present Taj Chowk (Panghalay) early in the morning and dispatched to the hillside near present Malook Abad and Gumbat Maira for grazing through a joint cattle herder (Ghoba).

With the growing commerce and increasing number of settlements, the livestock number gradually reduced with the increase in non-farm occupations. Those without livestock and land used to throw the daily household solid waste to these ponds. As a result these pond filled up and gradually wayed occupied by extending settlements. The pond near the present meat market annexed to Main Bazaar dried earlier during the mid 1960s, while the pond in the centre of the village near New Road dried up during the mid 1970s. With the filling of the ponds the drain water from the town centre was poured out to the main Jambil stream. The dump sites lost their utility as manure when the proportion of plastic in the

solid waste gradually increased. After the early 1980s no dump site inside urban territory has been used for manure and since then many dump sites in the interior of the town have never been emptied. The new settlements almost entirely drain the liquid waste into the Jambil stream and at present almost all the wastewater of the city is drained into Jambil and Marghuzar streams. Those living beside the stream bank also throw the solid waste into these streams, while in the remote areas the heaps of solid waste are growing day by day. The municipal sweepers are not able to collect solid waste from the areas inside narrow streets mainly due to difficult access, limited work force, as well as ignorance by the citizens and municipal authorities.

Neither municipal workers collect solid wastes from the city slums nor any type of drainage facility is available in such areas. The liquid wastes are routinely drained in the unpaved open streets, hence the street act both for access to the residence and for drainage. In majority of the houses where no latrines are available, the children uses the streets for the purpose, while the elders use dump sites. Inside the houses, the wood is used as fuel with no proper outlet for smoke. Worms, digestive and respiratory diseases are therefore quite common in city slums.

Settlements Extension to Hazardous Areas

The Jambil and Marghuzar streams flowing through the centre of present urban territory of Mingora have historically known for their occasional flooding during wet summer (15 July-15 September). Just after entering the urban limits, the streams often changed the course of flow in the vicinity of their meeting points and frequently damaged the standing crops on the banks. Limited settlements existed historically on the stream banks and those existing at a small distance faced occasional destruction. The river passing through the middle of the valley also possessed similar characters and led to the evolution of settlements on relatively safer places away from the riverbanks. In many situations when the river changed its course, the settlements considered safer were prone to flooding. This character not only kept the span of the river wider, but the deepening of the furrow of the river flow at a particular line was also avoided from Baghdherai down to Totakan.

With the growing trade and subsequent population in Mingora, the poor labour emigrants purchased the plots for their houses either on the stream banks or sloping hillside due to relatively low prices. Both these areas possessed plus and minus points. The sloping land settlements have difficult access and lack facilities like streets and water supply, while the stream bank houses were easily accessible with more facilities but prone to occasional flooding. Two stream bank settlements in Mingora territorial limits are called Bangladesh. The wards of Bangladesh have been flooded at least five times since 1971 with heavy casualties and loss of property. However, the residents work again and again to repair the damaged houses, as no alternative exists.

Socio-political Environment and Entertainment

The Wali facilitated the emergence of entertainment facilities in the city like cinema, Children Parks. He also promoted traditional and modern musical shows. The city growth was gradual and reflected a combination of traditions and modernity. The tribal socio-political set-up was reduced to the extent that few inter or intra tribe fights were in practice. However, the opportunists surrounded the Wali and unlike his father his policy was to reduce the power of traditional Pukhtun leaders. The role of traditionally strong Pukhtuns became nominal and the opportunists occupied the key administrative positions. Consequently the new generation, particularly those living near the power centre, conceived opportunism to be the main way to rise to a high position. Many people started wearing western style clothes in order to please the Wali. Many poets emerged who wrote in praise of the Wali and his inceptors in return for cash prizes. This weakened the State socio-political foundations as these were against the Pukhtun tribal character and the silent majority of the locals and other adjacent areas did not endorse the system whole-heartedly.

The second Wali particularly promoted formal education and improved literacy rate played a significant role in moderating the tribal character throughout the valley. During the initial State era, the service sector partly comprised migrants from down the country, but they were gradually replaced by locals after availing higher education. After the merger, however, there was influx of down country immigrants into business and service sector. Some of these

immigrants returned to their areas, while most of them decided to stay, initially in the rented accommodation and subsequently constructing their own houses according to their status. The result was that the relative proportion of the immigrants particularly from within the valley, increased in the city population. The native city population was reduced to a minor fraction that still occupies the original village sites.

After the merger the influx of immigrants from down districts, of urbanisation and the weakening tribal character worked together to shape the present socio-political character of the Saidu-Mingora urban territory. The role of electronic media also played a decisive role to accelerate the process. On the other hand, different religious groups worked to decelerate the process, particularly after the State merger. Such religious groups utilised the opportunity when, during the Bhutto era, the traditional social structure based on the political role of Hujra and Jirga weakened throughout the region. As appropriate alternative institutions did not emerge, the mosque occupied the role. The absence of political institutions and influence of the mulla. However, their ambitions to reverse the process of change could not be materialised. Under existing conditions the urban territory contains an admixture of modern, moderate and traditional socio-political characters and Mingora is serving as a bridge between the modern values of the down cities and tribal socio-political character in the interior of the valley. Tourism development in the valley is further complementing the process.

Notes

- ¹ Bellew (1864) says that there are 500 houses in Mingora. In 1925, Sir Aurel Stein write "Mingora, now the largest place in Upper Swat, is quite a little town with its closely packed flat-roofed houses...favoured by its situation near the present political centre of Upper Swat and of easy access from all directions, seemed on the way to rivalling Thana (the former capital of the valley) as a modest commercial emporium" (Stein, 1929: 63). Saidu, the hereditary seat of the Badshah is now in course of rapid development into the capital of Upper Swat...Now white-terraced mansions of semi-european style have risen, since the

Badshah has made himself sole possessor of his grandfather's sacred inheritance and full master of all the land" (Stein, 1929: 65). When talking about Mingora till the 1980s it does not include parts of the Municipality, which have been added later on, i.e. Saidu, Nawakelai, Amankot, Shagai, Engarodaeri and Panr.

² Population and housing census of Pakistan, 1951

³ Population and housing census of Pakistan, 1961

⁴ Population and housing census of Pakistan, 1972

⁵ Population and housing census of Pakistan, 1981

⁶ Population and housing census of Pakistan, 1998

⁷ The small pieces of land on the roadside belong to different landowners. They have constructed different markets and have rented them out to different traders. The landowners are not willing to allow for road extension, as the extension will lead to loss of the property having commercial value and expose the land of other people to the roadside.

⁸ Bus Stand

⁹ Fazal Mahmood Rokhan is a local scholar and a writer of many booklets on history and culture of the region in Urdu and Pushtu. He is a bonafide resident of Mingora proper.

¹⁰ Different officials involved in building work have fixed and mutually agreed share in such commission. For example an Executive Engineer may have a fixed share of 5%, an Overseer would receive 2% and so on.

Chapter Eight

Administrative Organisation and Public Services

The federation of Pakistan contains four provinces¹ and, until recently, each province was further divided into administrative divisions. The divisional level, however, ceased to exist under the new devolution plan implemented in 2001. Within each division there were districts, containing one or more subdivisions (Tehsils), comprising urban and/or rural areas. The large urban areas sometimes comprise a Tehsil (e.g. Peshawar), a district (e.g. Lahore), or even an entire division (e.g. Karachi). Most of the legislative, planning and budgetary powers are either directly controlled at the federal or provincial level. The constitution has a list of subjects that are directly under the control of federation, such as defence, external affairs, telecommunication, railways, industries, water and power, oil/gas and minerals, import/export, excise and taxation, and ports/shipping services. There is also a Concurrent list of subjects being dealt with and legislated by both the federal and provincial government; however, in case of conflict between the two, the federal government, writ prevails. Law enforcing agencies too have federal and provincial chapters. The justice department has a similar style of hierarchy at federal, provincial, district and Tehsil level. Other subjects like education, agriculture, health, livestock, communication, forest, food, public health and local governments are handled by ministries at both federal and provincial level. However, they are mainly dealt with administratively at the provincial level.

Three levels of legislative bodies in the country are National Assembly, Senate and Provincial Assemblies. The members to the National and Provincial Assemblies are directly elected², who subsequently elect Prime Minister at the Federal (National Assembly) and Chief Minister at the Provincial (Provincial Assembly) level. Members of Federal and Provincial Assemblies elect Senate members, while President, being the head of State, is elected by the votes of all these three legislative bodies. People of Pakistan elect members to the legislative bodies at federal and provincial level, while a bureaucrat designated as secretary of the department controls the basic institutions including an array of social and economic services at provincial or federal level. The legislative bodies are thus elected to the centre, while non-elected bodies run the basic institutions. A bureaucrat called Deputy Commissioner administratively controlled each district. A Superintendent of Police at the district level heads the police department and most of the departments have their own district level heads. All the district level departments are monitored through their divisional, provincial or federal heads. In other words a central authority rules the masses through an elaborate bureaucracy, mostly comprising close relatives of landlords, industrialists and civil/military bureaucracy. Under the devolution plan, district assemblies nominate district Nazim to run the affairs of the district, while the post of Deputy Commissioner has been abolished and replaced by the District Coordination Officer (DCO) to coordinate the functioning of all the district level departments. The DCO heads the Executive District Officers (ECOs) who in turn supervise the activities through District Officers (DOs). The regular modifications in the system are however underway to adjust the new system to the ground realities. The District Assemblies, Tehsil Assemblies and Union Councils level institutions have been created; however the mechanism for the sharing of powers and responsibilities is still not clear. The current devolution plan is hoped to relieve the bureaucratic supremacy and initiate a process of basic changes that may lead to a more productive system.

The common citizen's main concern remains with the basic institutions, hence he and the member to the legislative bodies are least interested in the constitutional details. The efficiency of an elected member is measured by his ability to provide basic facilities

like roads, schools, hospitals and employment opportunities to his voters. The elected member thus views his seat in the assembly just as a means for provision of basic facilities required by his voters plus some personal gains. He rarely shows any interest in the legislative work carried out in the assembly and considers it just a formal obligation. Being a member of the ruling or opposition party, he is mostly obliged to vote in favour of his party, rarely evaluating the impact of legislation he is going to vote for. If chosen as a minister or advisor at provincial or federal level, the elected member is at an advantage compared to an ordinary member and can influence bureaucratic heads of institutions to favour him, his voters and his constituency. Ordinary elected member on the other hand can always be seen making requests to bureaucrats and ministers for achieving their objectives.

Planning is entirely carried out either at the federal or provincial level. At the district level very rarely a department has any information about the activities of the other department and each department thus acts in isolation. In many situations overlapping of activities is observed. One department, for example Road wing of C&W³ may approve blacktopping of an approach road after a long planning process and paper work, while at the same time the Telephone Department might have got approval for laying the cable on the side of the same approach road. Hence, one department digs out the road just completed by another department. Due to lack of effective public monitoring and evaluation mechanism every department considers common citizens as their subjects. This is particularly true of the departments dealing with general administration and law enforcement. The colonial rules and regulations are still intact and exercised by these authorities. A common citizen if, for example, faces a burglary at his house would always be reluctant to report to police station, as he would have to pay bribe for entering the first investigation report and throughout the process of investigation. Even if the burglar is identified, he would be seldom arrested. Rather the police official would deal with him and if the burglar can pay more bribe than the affected person, the police in many situations would facilitate him. The subordinate police officers are obliged to fulfil all the luxurious requirements of the upper bureaucratic officers at the cost of the public interest. The procedures in courts are not only lengthy, but corruption there is just

as common as in the police department. No mechanism for effective service delivery to the common citizen exists despite the existence of organisations for all sort of public, social and economic services. To fill the growing gap between the people and institutions many NGOs and CBOs have emerged, however the pace of change through such mechanisms is slower than the growing rate of institutional anarchy.

Judicial System

Before the inception of the State, the disputes were either settled by the assembly of elders (Jirga), or through the mediation of a religious group⁴. The ward within the village was the basic unit with strong social and political integration. The Hujra was the main venue where the ward leaders effectively settled petty disputes. The land disputes among the wards and between the villages were initially settled through Jirga. Failure of Jirga often resulted in intensive violence, and finally a religious person (Istanadar) was called to settle the dispute. The Istanadar in many situations had the wisdom to judiciously handle and settle the issue. Above the Istanadar no authority existed in socio-political context, hence if the dispute could not be resolved, the disputed land was left unoccupied until another resolution effort was carried out.

During the State times, initially the tribal institutions were utilised and were gradually replaced by the State institutions. Jirgas of different regions were asked to devise the rules to be followed by them. For implementation of these rules different judicial persons with some religious knowledge were posted by the State as Judges (Qazis). The court of the Wali was the final appellate station. All the disputes were decided within weeks according to the codes devised by the people themselves were a mixture of tribal customs and religious codes. The rules and procedures thus framed possessed the general approval of masses; however, questions were raised over the moral integrity of the appointed Qazis, and some of their biased decisions are still remembered. However, the general public remembers the State's judicial system with fondness mainly for its promptness and affordability.

The merger of the State brought institutional/judicial anarchy. Regulation No.1 of the 1969 Act merged the State, mentioning the ceasing of powers and functions of the Wali with subsequent

delegation to a bureaucrat appointed or empowered by the provincial government. All the State time regulations, orders, rules, notifications and customs having the force of law were kept in force. The State institutions were merged in the new structure and were renamed according to Pakistani nomenclature. The ex-ruler was replaced with a new ruler who was completely alienated from the socio-political situation in the region. The administrative cum judicial officers, trained through the colonial institutions in other parts of the country and posted in the territory after merger, defined and pronounced the customary laws according to their own will and personal interest. The colonial rules prevalent down the country were soon partially extended to the newly merged State and Civil and Sessions Judges were transferred from down districts and posted in different subdivisions of the new district. The people of the area were disappointed by the technicalities and complexities of the new system, the lengthy procedures, inordinate delays and costly and defective investigation processes and their faith was consequently lost in the new system. Meanwhile, under the new constitution of 1973, the Malakand Division as a whole was pronounced as Provincially Administered Tribal Areas (PATA), hence the valley was placed under the exclusive control of the Governor of NWFP and President of Pakistan.

The Government of NWFP in 1975 enforced the NWFP Criminal Law (special provision) Ordinance 1975, PATA⁶ Regulations II 1975, NWFP Civil Procedures (Special Provision) Ordinance 1975 in Swat. A Deputy Commissioner under the new rules could refer an offence for trial or the resolution of a dispute to a tribunal consisting of three members with one being government official. Later on, Regulation No 4 of 1976 replaced the tribunal with Jirga and the Deputy Commissioner was authorised to constitute a Jirga and refer the question of guilt or innocence of a person or any civil dispute to such a Jirga for decision or findings. The Deputy Commissioner was however not bound by the decision of the Jirga⁷. These regulations and ordinances not only failed to satisfy the needs of the people, but they were subsequently challenged in Peshawar High Court under Article 5 of the Constitution, for their violation of the said Article. The High Court decided in favour of the suite in 1990, while the Supreme Court withheld the decision. Meanwhile Tehrik-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat-e-

Mohammadi (Movement for the enforcement of Mohammadan Law, or TNSM) initiated a campaign for the enforcement of Sharia laws in Malakand Division, as they thought that the Pakistani judicial system did not suit the region. The movement was active and demanding change in the judicial system until the war against Taliban. The Pakistan government subsequently banned the organisation and sealed its offices due to the role his leaders played during the war. Under the pressure of movement the Government initially introduced Nifaz-i-Shariat Regulation and then Nifaz-i-Adl regulation; however, none of these has brought any visible change in the judicial system, nor has it satisfied the activists of the TNSM. The common people are still obliged to use an informal Jirga system for conflict resolution. Normally one of the opposing parties initially file suite in the court, and when a dozen years have passed, he is compelled to resolve the (Civil) conflict through the elders and finally submit a joint application to the court that they have mutually settled the matter out of court (Razi Nama).

Public Services

Education Systems

In the Swat valley, just like the rest of Pakistan, one can categorise the education system in three broad areas. Different institutions are independently involved in providing different types of education. Religious education has been prevalent for a long time in the society, while institutions for formal education started extending to the area under the British. Non-formal education has reached the region with the extending urbanisation.

Table: 8.1 Total Number of Schools with enrollment in Swat district during 1998

Type of School	Total Number	Enrollment
Primary Schools (male)	1017	106991
Primary School (female)	601	44410
Middle School (male)	69	5691
Middle School (female)	29	2319
High School (male)	56	21147
High School (female)	17	7242
Higher Secondary School (male)	10	6263
Higher Secondary School (female)	1	417

Source: Population Census 1998 District Report

Formal Education

In Swat valley there existed no formal education institutions before the start of the twentieth century. The British occupants in 1904 established the first formal primary school of the valley in Thana (lower Swat). This school was gradually to secondary level in 1938. The main courses taught included English, Mathematics, and Urdu. The aim of the British was to train lower class office workers for the expanding administrative network.

Even those obtaining technical education from engineering universities and polytechnic institutes aspire for jobs in government offices. In Swat valley for example, there may be hundreds of jobless mechanical engineers and diploma holders, but from among the hundreds of existing automobile workshops in the valley not even one is run by any technical graduate. Similarly, no agriculture graduate is ready to apply his knowledge to his own farm. The educational syllabus designed by the British was aimed to effectively run the colonial institutions. The system continued after the creation of Pakistan and was also extended to Swat by the Wali. The same education system still continues at school level with slight modifications. The modifications include the subject of geography and history of Pakistan aimed at extending the biased political views to the new generation, some science subjects with outdated theories and the subject of theology mainly containing Arabic and Islamic history and a few Arabic verses from the Holy Quran. The number of schools in Swat district is more than 1800 and the numbers of schools for female students is less than half of the total male schools. The figures do not include the schools situated in Shangla, Malakand and Dir areas containing part of the valley. In all categories of schools the number of girls is less than half of that of boys. With increasing level this difference further widens (at high school level to 30 per cent and higher secondary level to only 10 per cent). This indicates that the bonds of traditional system are still strong and the local social structure does not allow females access to formal education on equal footing.

The drawbacks of local formal education include its generalised nature. The rural population after obtaining preliminary formal education becomes alienated from the farming activities. After getting formal education the rural youth consider working in the field and rearing livestock as shameful activities. Hence while using

the rural resources for obtaining formal education, the well-bodied youth leave the areas in search of non-farm white-collar jobs in urban areas, thus leaving the rural areas increasingly poorer in human resources. The low return from farming sector due to high input prices and low output prices, to safeguard the interests of the urban population, has further fueled this alienation. From the primary level, under the existing education system, the children are obliged to learn English (international language), Urdu (national language), Arabic (religious language) and Pukhtu (mother language). For reading an English book, a child has to first learn its Urdu meanings (Urdu is as strange a language for a Pukhtun child as English) and then its Pukhtu meanings. These difficulties in obtaining formal education confuse the child and his prime learning age is wasted in learning four different languages. The standard of education is not uniform. There are different education institutions for people of different economic classes. The poorer segments utilise the services of government schools, while the well-off prefer private institutions. Not only the syllabus of government and private schools tremendously differs from each other, but also the syllabus of different private schools significantly differs from one another. The only uniformity is the multiplicity of languages in almost all government and private institutions. The primary school teaching is a low-paid job. If a person with formal education cannot find any other non-farm job, his last choice is to become a primary school teacher. Hence those not qualified for any other profession are left to teach. Such school teachers have no interest and no commitment to the teaching profession. These circumstances are making formal education a misery for children and their parents and a reason for people turning to madrassas. The only benefit of the present system of education is the provision of reading and writing skills, hence more exposure to information.

The standard of education in rural areas is even lower than the urban areas. According to a survey in rural areas of Swat valley, 16.22 per cent of the landowners had education up to primary level, 14.1 per cent up to middle level, 25.68 per cent up to matric level, 25.68 per cent up to higher secondary level, 7.43 per cent up to Bachelors level, 4.73 per cent up to Masters level, 19.59 per cent were illiterate at the time when they were interviewed. Among the tenants 5.43 per cent had education up to primary, 6.52 per cent up to middle,

4.35 per cent up to matric, 4.35 per cent up to higher secondary level and 1.09 per cent up to Bachelors level. No one among the tenants possessed education up to the Masters level and 82.61 per cent were illiterate. Almost all the livestock herders were illiterate. Even their children were not receiving the primary education. The results indicate comparatively more inclination of the landowners toward education. The main reason is that they can afford the expenses of education. They mostly live in accessible villages in the valley bottom. They either cultivate their own land or give it on share cropping to tenants and are usually more aware of the importance of education due to easy access to information. The tenants, on the other hand, occupy mostly the rain-fed hamlets in the surroundings of the main villages, hence little access to educational institutions. The tenants are also obliged to produce surpluses for the landowner in addition to their own family subsistence with the only available option of additional inputs of family labour. They therefore apply the entire available family members, including children, to the farming activity. Furthermore, they can hardly afford the education expenses. The transhumant herders farming system on the other hand is prohibitive to obtaining education. Their obligation to travel to different environmental niches in different seasons seems to be the main reason behind their almost absolute illiteracy.

Educational Facilities

The first primary school was established in Saidu-Mingora urban territory in 1925. The school was subsequently upgraded to the level of high school (Wadoodia High School, Saidu Sharif) in early 1940s. The first formal religious educational institution (Darul Uloom) was established in 1943 in Makan Bagh, Mingora. Jehanzeb College, established in 1952, was upgraded to the level of Graduate College in 1954. It served as the main institution for higher education in Swat valley. During 1950s a Christian mission school was established in the suburbs of Mingora (Sangota Public School) and today it is an established centre of quality education in the region. During recent years Sangota Public School has become a girls' school only. During the early 1960s three additional high schools for male and one high school for female students were established in Saidu Mingora urban territory. After the State merger, two existing high schools were upgraded to the level of higher

secondary schools and three additional high schools were established inside the limits of urban territory. A degree college for women and an additional degree college for men have also been established in the recent past. A large number of primary schools in formal sector have also been established after the State merger, particularly in the periphery.

Before 1980s no educational facility was available in the informal sector except Public School Sangota. The first private school established in the early 1980s was Marghuzar Public School. After mid 1980s the rate of establishment of private schools increased tremendously and at present almost every Mohalla of Mingora has at least one private school. A large number of private institutes are now available throughout the valley and delivering better education than the formal education institutions. Though majority of the teachers at government school are better qualified and receive higher salaries, the delivery of education and sense of responsibility is much lower than in the private schools.

In Mingora the Overseas Pakistanis Foundation established a poly-trade centre in 1980 that used to deliver short-term and long-term skill enhancement in different categories. The training programme has currently been suspended and most of the working staff relieved through golden shake hand programme in November 2000.

Three skill development institutes exist in the public sector in Mingora. The technical training centre is situated in Panr on Haji Baba road. The centre functions under the auspices of Directorate of Manpower and Training, Government of NWFP. The centre was established in 1984 and apart from regular shift, an evening shift also worked till mid 1990s, however the night shift was afterward abandoned due to paucity of funds. A total of nine technologies are taught at the centre including electrician, radio/TV, civil draftsman, refrigeration/air-conditioning, auto-mechanic, machinist, welder, plumber and carpenter. For training as electrician, civil draftsman, auto-mechanic and machinist the training course is of two years duration, while for radio/TV repair, refrigeration/air-conditioning, welding, plumbing and carpentry the course duration was one year. The prerequisite for electrician, radio/TV, civil draftsman, refrigeration/air-conditioning is matric with science, while for auto-mechanic, machinist, welder and plumber simple matric is preferred.

The Polytechnic Institute is attached to the Technical Training Centre. Regular three years diploma courses are offered in civil, mechanical and electrical technologies. The prerequisite qualification is F. Sc with mathematics and diploma is awarded after passing the examinations arranged by NWFP Board of Technical Education. The diploma holder become eligible for admission to the four-year courses of Bachelor of Technology offered at advanced technical education institutions in other parts of the country. Different vocational training centres for females run by social welfare department of provincial government provide handicraft training to females at different centres in Mingora, Charbagh and Odigram. The main training given in the centre include traditional embroidery, shawl making and tailoring. Such centres are losing their utility as they have failed to innovate. Many among such centres have been closed down due to paucity of funds.

There is a need is to integrate the curriculum of the Technical Training Centre and Poly Trade Centre and bring both under the same administration, monitoring and planning process. Training programme provided through rural level Vocational Training Centre of Social Welfare Department is also needed to be coordinated with the proposed training system.

Non-formal Education

In Swat valley, like the other parts of Pakistan, education is perceived to be equivalent to schooling. This has resulted in the perception of non-formal education as of secondary importance. It is generally perceived as a cultural hangover from the past. The centrality of non-formal education seems to have gotten buried under the demand for formal education and those without schooling are considered uneducated. In contrast, even those responsible for educating the future generation have not so far learnt to differentiate between possessiveness and ownership, one of the very first lessons of education. Such a perception has important implication for social relationships and values at large (Gilani, 1998). Education in the real sense on the other hand is least dependent on formal instruction, and it can be received in kitchen, workshop and farm (Gray, 1984⁹). The non-formal system of education is deeply rooted in the traditions of Pukhtun society; hence it is imperative to recognise its importance.

The primitive non-formal education in Pukhtun society was provided in Hujra. This was achieved through regular sharing of information, political dialogues and poetic stories told with music (Badala). The Tarkan, Inger and other professionals used to provide technical education to their offspring since the beginning of their childhood. The other seat of non-formal education is the mosque, where the Imam delivers lecture before Friday prayer on religious matters/social behavior and the male members of the society are obliged to attend. Another non-formal religious education is through Tableeghi Jamat which during recent past has obtained much popularity in almost all Pukhtun areas. Apart from these mechanism other types of education are also available locally that can be termed non-formal education.

The recently introduced media for non-formal education include the information/education provided through mass media i.e. radio, television, newspapers, and magazines. The radio is still the main media for the illiterate people of the far-flung rural areas, while television has recently gained popularity in the urbanised rural areas. The radio and television are directly under State supervision, while the print media is free to write any thing they want and consider necessary for increasing the number of their readers. The availability of television has also resulted in low attendance of Hujra in the rural areas, where as in urban areas the attendance of Hujra has diminished. The mass media technology is playing the leading role in the transformation of rural norms. The news broadcast on the state-controlled radio and television are not much believed by the community and people refer to the international indigenous language news broadcast channels like BBC Voice of America and Voice of Germany.

The learning of technical skills by children in different workshops is considered valuable in terms of earning potential. Almost every automobile, electrical engineering, refrigeration, painting, electronic appliances repair workshops have a non-formal mechanism of skill development. The children called Shagirds associate with an experienced elder called Ustad (teacher) The Shagirds are occasionally given part of earning during later stages of their learning. After spending 2-4 years in any technical workshop the Shagird opens his own workshop in the same city or another emerging town anywhere else, and subsequently becomes a teacher (Ustad) himself. In Mingora 80 per cent of the children working in

different technical workshops considered their activity of learning nature, while the rest 20 per cent considered the activity both as learning and earning. Almost all of them reported a gradual increase in their income with improvement in their skill. Ninety-two percent of the children reported their inclination to adopt the activity as their future career. Eighty two percent of the children working in these workshops originally belonged to the rural territory in the surroundings of Mingora, while the remaining 18 per cent belonged to the Mingora city proper. The annual incomes of the father of these children were less than Rs. 50,000 in 75 per cent cases. In 96 per cent situations fathers possessed less qualification than the matriculation level and were working as drivers, overseas labour or doing low category formal services in government or private sectors.

Religious Education

The religion of Islam in Yousafzais has been received through Sunni Turk dynasties. Hence almost all of them are Sunnis of the Hanfi School (Spain 1963). Almost every Muslim family considers it an obligation to send their children to mosques or houses of Mullan to become able to read the Holy Quran. The religious education was previously limited to Mullan, who used to provide religious education to their children. The religious group was not a closed group. The poorer segments of the society and the little respected ethnic groups after attending the religious schools (Madrassa) became Mullan. The main aim behind getting such education was to get out of the little respected ethnic background and marginality. The limited monetary inputs, required for getting religious education, further complemented this desire. The aim is to make them able to properly recite the Holy Quran in Arabic language without knowing its meanings or explanations, learn different methods of offering various prayers and the details of other rituals matters. After obtaining sufficient religious knowledge they search for jobs in newly established mosques in their own area, but more commonly in other regions, with no fear of exposure of their original ethnic background. There exist other knowledge seekers who opt to learn the Holy Quran by heart (Hafiz) and are subsequently termed Hafiz. They are much respected in society and they recite the Holy Quran during special evening prayers (Taraweeh) during the Holy month of fasting (Ramazan).

The other religious groups, particularly the Sayyeds occasionally obtain spiritual education from spiritual leaders (Sufi) and convey it to others. Other ethnic groups can also obtain the spiritual education. Some of the Sufis have played significant role in eliminating social evils and have significantly promoted social integrity. Their main emphasis remains on character building and behavior modification. These Sufis led most of the rebellion movements against the colonial occupants. The spiritual teacher is called Pir and the spiritual knowledge seekers are called Murid. Four different Sufi schools among Hanafis include Naqshbandia, Qadria, Chishtia and Suhurwardia. These, unlike the other religious segments, have great respect for one another. Their approach is logical and they are supposed to act with true spirit upon what they say and believe. The four schools mainly differ in their specialty of spiritual lessons, and a single seeker may opt to specialise lessons of different schools simultaneously. A large array of fake spiritualists play with the belief system of simple followers, while on the other hand the lack of interest in self exposure of real Sufis has decreased their sphere of influence and only a limited number of genuine Sufis could be traced in the region.

There is also gradual establishment of different Darul-Uloom in the area predominantly following the Deobandi School of thought. These institutions are established in the vicinity of the mosques. In some of these mosques, the locals through donations establish a hostel and one or two classrooms to start a Madrassah or Darul-Uloom. Some of the Darul-Uloom gradually promote formal teaching and different subject matter specialists are recruited, one of the famous of such Darul-Uloom is Darul-Uloom-e-Haqania in Akora Khatak near Nowshera. During the State time an official Darul-Uloom was also established in Makan Bagh near Mingora. The main subjects taught include Sarf-o-Nahv (the grammar of Arabic language with special reference to the Holy Quran), Adab (Arabic literature before the thirteenth century) and Sihah-e-Sitta (six books containing the saying of the Holy Prophet or Hadith).

The students are called Talib and those completing education are termed Fazils. A Talib may also opt to obtain specialty in a subject from one Darul-Uloom and in another subject from another Darul-Uloom. After obtaining basic knowledge in all the subjects, a Talib may choose any one field for his specialty. For example, he may

become Shaikhul-Hadith or Shaikhul-Quran. The time schedule is not very strict, an intelligent Talib can complete the advance courses in three years, otherwise it may take five or six years. Different schools of thoughts are gradually opening their own Darul-Uloom in the valley. Jamat-e-Islami has opened their Darul-Uloom in Sangota, Kalam and Thana, While the Ahl-e-Hadith (a religious school promoted by Saudi Arabia) has very recently opened many Darul-Uloom with monetary assistance of the Arabs in various parts of the valley. The schools of thought of Shiite, Ismailis and Parvaizis have little influence, if any in the valley. The particular feature of these religious groups, with the exception of Tableeghi Jamat, is that they never unite on a single platform, although they may join hands with the non-religious secular political groups particularly on the eve of election. They even do not offer prayers in each other's mosque. Because of their narrow approach, double standards, and lack of unity the common inhabitants in the valley are reluctant to elect the leaders of these religious groups. The people are more cautious about their traditional Dallah, which still possess more influence in the local politics rather than adopting a religious Dallah system.

Before and during the first half of the twentieth century, due to the lack of proper religious institution, added by limited communication, superstitious beliefs dominated particularly among the lower middle and poor segments. Different shrines were believed to be providing cure for different diseases and fulfilling specific ambitions. The female while visiting the Peer Baba (the most popular saint shrine in Buner) used to push the swing (Zangoo) to have a male child while the males used to fix pigs on the nearby ground to have more livestock. The Hisar Baba in Lower Swat was famous for curing abscesses. Different Mullans used to write sacred sentences on the piece of paper (Taweez) for particular wishes. The superstitious attitude has significantly reduced mainly due to religious education and improved approach to different sources of information.

Health Facilities

Before the inception of State the people were mainly dependent on locally produced medicinal plants for curing their illnesses. Different Eastern Medicines Specialists (Hakims) were practicing in particular

localities of the region and the people used to visit their clinics for serious illnesses. Nais were general surgeons for abscesses. The first allopathic dispensary in the valley was established at Chakdara in December 1896 by the then British Governor of Punjab, Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick through the formal request of Khan of Dir Nawab Sharif-Ullah Khan. The Nawab also donated a sum of Rs. 5000 for its development. The dispensary was demolished and looted during the subsequent religious uprising against the British (McMahan et al., 1901). Within the next ten years formal health facilities were provided to the public inside Chakdara Fort. Subsequently a dispensary was opened at Thana and later on a Tuberculosis Sanatorium was opened at Rangmala just North of Malakand around 1912.

After the inception of the State, health facilities were still predominantly indigenous in nature. Few dispensaries and a hospital were opened after the consolidation of the State. The second Wali extended health facilities to each and every corner of the State and the facilities available at Mingora were improved. Separate surgical, medical, tuberculosis, and child/mother care centres were created and up-to-date diagnostic facilities extended to the hospitals in Saidu Sharif. During the State times the health facilities were almost entirely provided free of cost. Smaller rural localities contained dispensaries with a dispenser, while sub-divisional headquarters contained hospitals. After the merger, the development pace of health facilities not only slowed down, but the service provision capability significantly suffered.

Although during the regime of General Zia-ul-Haq a hierarchy of hospitals, Rural Health Centres and Basic Health Units were extended throughout the region, however the service provision at all at these centres are not up to the satisfaction of the common citizen. Most of the practicing physicians and surgeons employed in the hospital have opened their private clinics as well and they consider the service inside the hospital as a tool to improve their clientele. In many situations they intentionally give little attention to their patient during official hours with an effort to direct them to their private clinics. In February 2002 the provincial government banned the private practice of all the doctors serving in government hospitals and advised them to be available at their hospitals in the afternoon to see patients in return for consultation fees which are to be distributed among the hospital, paramedical staff and the doctor. The hospitals

lack the facilities that are available in the private clinics, therefore it would take time to make the system work on a sustainable basis.

Another trend is that of herbal medicines. Any person can prepare and sell any thing type of medicine in the name of herbal medicine. No law is enforced for quality control of these medicines.

The Central Hospital at Saidu Sharif on main Saidu-Mingora road was the first health institution established in the valley in 1940. Initially only a general physician was posted and later on facilities for surgery were also created. Saidu hospital was subsequently established in 1956 at Saidu Sharif when the patient load increased above the capacity of the Central Hospital. These hospitals served the region under the jurisdiction of Swat State. During 1960s a separate wing for tuberculosis was established in the Central Hospital and a children's wing in Saidu Hospital. After the State merger both the hospitals were gradually upgraded, however service delivery significantly deteriorated. Gynecology, Ophthalmology, psychiatry and Orthopedics were gradually extended to these hospitals and both the hospitals were brought under joint administration under the name of Saidu Group of Hospitals. Land adjacent to the Saidu Hospital was purchased and the Paramedical Institute was established during the early 1980s. In 1999 the Institute was upgraded to Saidu Medical College and the Saidu Group of Hospitals was declared as teaching hospitals. Efforts are underway to further upgrade the Saidu Group of Hospitals that provide secondary and tertiary health facilities to the most of Malakand Division and part of Hazara Division.

According to 1998 census there are 22 specialists and 91 graduate doctors posted at Saidu Group of Hospitals. The total number of 497 beds includes 221 beds for females, 55 beds of children, 20 beds in private rooms and 201 beds for male patients. The prime disease treated in 2000 was gastroenteritis followed by respiratory tract infections. Majority of the patients visiting the Saidu Group of Hospitals were from the surrounding rural areas.

Apart from the above hospitals two other dispensaries in the Mingora municipal limits are Urban Dispensary Rang Mohalla and Urban Dispensary Amankot.

Apart from the public formal health services there exists a large number of private health facilities. Most of the specialist clinics are concentrated on Saidu-Mingora road. Many doctors and paramedics

have also established their clinics inside the Mohallas. The current bar on clinics of serving doctors has led to the closure of many clinics. However, the doctors with a successful private practice may soon decide to resign from government service in favour of their private clinics.

Other Services

A general post office is available at Saidu Sharif and a network of sub post offices exists throughout the valley. In places where sub post offices are not available, one of the primary school teachers or shopkeepers serves the purpose of mail delivery. Several private courier services have also established their branches in Mingora during the last five years. Magnet based telephone exchanges were extended during the State times to almost all villages throughout the valley and these were effectively utilised for administrative purposes, however digital telecommunication services have recently been extended throughout the valley and most of the rural areas are now directly connected with national and international telephone network. The telecommunication services improved particularly after the 1980s and recently internet facilities have also been extended to many parts of the valley. Internet and mobile phone services have also been extended in 2001 to Mingora.

Electricity is provided from the main grid system of the country to many parts of the valley; however small hydel power units are also fulfilling the energy needs in remote valleys, particularly in the Shangla region. The natural gas pipeline has recently been extended to Mingora and gas distribution at the household level is scheduled to be completed before the end of 2002. This will help in limiting the use of forest resources as fuel.

Government services are available for extension of agriculture and for treatment and vaccination of livestock throughout the valley. The agriculture and veterinary services were initially subsidised, however the subsidy was gradually withdrawn and at present the farmers are obliged to bear almost all the cost for these services. An Agricultural Research Station in the suburbs of Mingora carries out on-farm research on locally produced orchards and vegetables and have a close liaison with the hierarchy of agricultural research centres in the country. Veterinary diagnostic and research

laboratories actively take part in diagnosis of different categories of livestock diseases and have links with Veterinary research institutes in the country. The Agricultural Development Bank also provided short and long term loans to farmers; however the loan facility has been reduced due to paucity of funds.

Recreational Facilities

Grassy Ground in Makan Bagh is the only playground for the residents of Saidu-Mingora. Grounds for football, hockey, volleyball, basketball, tennis and squash are available, but football is more common. Almost all the surrounding rural areas had their own teams and different football tournaments are frequently arranged and participated. Cricket became popular during 1970s. A children's park was established in College Colony, Saidu Sharif, during the late 1960s and contained a few recreational facilities for children. Another picnic spot is near Rahimabad, containing a lake and facilities for boating. Another picnic spot is at Fiza Ghat that has been upgraded during Zia-ul-Haq era by elected municipal committee. Due to unplanned growth of the city no room is left for recreation facilities inside the city limits. In the proposed Kanjo Township, however, sufficient space is allocated for recreational activities.

Swat Cinema was built during late 1950s. Soon another cinema was initiated in a tent and both the cinemas attracted people from all the surrounding rural areas. Indian and English movies were routinely screened.

During the State times the profession of dancing ladies (Dama) prevailing in the traditional societies was promoted. During Eid days a fair was particularly arranged on the riverside near Mingora where all the Damas residing in Mingora used to dance in the open ground and the visitors from all over the province visited these fairs. Subsequently, it became a common custom to arrange dancing ladies during all types of celebrations including marriages, circumcision and sonetime male childbirth. After the State merger when the fundamentalists established their roots in the society particularly during Zia-ul-Haq's military regime, this entertainment got tremendous setback under the influence of religious groups and instead firing of AK-47 rifles was adopted during the arms influx during the Afghan resistance to Soviet occupation.

Public Transport ¹²

The 23 square kilometer area of Mingora city contains 35 kilometers roads (1.71 per cent). Most of the roads were constructed before the merger when the population of the city was less than a quarter of the present population¹³ and the number of vehicles still lower. The width of these roads ranges between 8 to 16 metres and there is an average flow of 1955 PCU/hour against the national standard of 1000-1500 PCU/hour. The traffic load increases during summer when there is rush of tourists and on every Thursday due to weekly livestock market. The average carbon monoxide concentration in Mingora has been reported to be four times higher than Peshawar. This is not because of the number of vehicles, but increased congestion attributable to narrow roads, lack of parking facility resulting in parking on the main roads, lack of signal on main junctions encroachment, improper location of bus terminals, and mix-up of fast and slow moving vehicles.

Public transport within the city includes rickshaws¹⁴ and Suzuki vans¹⁵, while buses¹⁶, mini-buses¹⁷, Hiace¹⁸, jeeps, Datsun¹⁹ and Suzuki vans travel to outside. According to a survey, 7020 vehicles enter or leave the city in a day. The three public transport terminals include General Bns Stand for cities in the south of the country²⁰. The Bani Bus Stand serves Matta and Nikpikhel regions (western side of river Swat) and Shahdara Bus terminus handles transport for Shangla, Swat Kohistan, Miandam, Malam Jaba and Shingrai areas (eastern side of river Swat). Till to-date, Mingora Municipal Committee operates these terminuses through contractors. Despite limited space for entrance and exit, public call offices, waiting rooms, security arrangements and other utilities and services are available at these terminals. Private transport stations have been reported to be 18 in number, scattered throughout the city, established without proper planning and official permission. Such stations lack basic utilities and have limited parking space. The number of such station is increasing day by day due to lack of planned transport system in the city.

Urban Governance in Mingora

The propensity toward urbanisation is determined by the difference in level of technical/mechanical progress of the rural and urban

territories. In Swat valley, topographical variations further narrow down the zones of urban development predominantly to the main valley. Urbanisation *per se* is not environmentally destructive. It provides regional level opportunity for cost effective supply of environmental and social infrastructure through economies of scale. However, due to physical buildup, intensive and careful management system is required for monitoring and organisation of the growth. Just as the rural institution of Jirga in the past effectively tackled the rural level socio-political issues and contributed to the sustainable continuity of rural social structure and its increasing absence disrupted the rural society, similarly the urban centre due to high population and activity concentration, requires a mechanism for effective handling of many times more complex physical, social and political situation. Due to the inability to mitigate the pressures through integrated environmental, economic and physical planning, one has to pay a very high opportunity cost in terms of environmental deterioration. Mingora like other urban centres in Pakistan face a combination of modern (traffic pollution) and traditional environmental risks (bacteriological and parasitic infections caused by inadequate and inefficient water supply and sanitation).

The overlapping functions and authority of different government institutions is a common phenomenon of the existing centralised planning process in Pakistan and is equally valid for Mingora. For instance, one of the main responsibilities of Mingora Municipal Committee (MMC) is the building control in the municipal limits. The Malakand Division Development Authority (MDDA) also claims this responsibility. The MDDA is however more resourceful in this connection. In the absence of delineation of responsibility at higher level, the officials of both the agencies attempt to attract builders to obtain the building permit from them along with a well-organised mechanism for specified amount of kickback for personal utility. The end result is a haphazard approval of building plans, without looking at the plan or the site. The Provincial Highway Authority (PHA) is another actor claiming authority (but rarely responsibility) over the roads in the municipal limits. All the main roads within the municipal limits of Mingora are supposed to be supervised by the the PHA. The MMC even if possess fund cannot repair the road, while for PHA the main priority are the main link roads joining the towns and cities.

Like most of the other State institutions, the municipality and related institutions officials are predominantly opportunity seekers. The elected council of the committee remained effective during the military regime of Zia-ul-Haq. During the period of political governments almost all of the elected local government institutions were kept dormant to favour the power ambitious central and provincial legislative members, who utilised the generated funds according to their own will. The central and provincial legislative members, when in power, constantly worked to postpone the local bodies' elections and these institutions remained under control of the civil bureaucracy. In such situations the funds generated at municipal level were pooled at the provincial level and utilised according to the priorities of central and provincial legislative members in their own political constituencies to please and compensate their political allies/Dalla. Even when the elected council was in place, all the available funds were distributed on ward basis, leaving little if any for the comprehensive development of the city. Almost the entire generated fund was utilised in petty ward wise works, ignoring macro level development needs.

Mingora Municipal Committee

The MMC used to function under the auspices of the NWFP Local Government Ordinance 1979. The Ordinance specified the electoral procedures, administrative structure, list of functions, taxation powers, etc. Further, the MMC operated under the supervision and regulation of the provincial Local Government and Rural Development Department (LGRDD) as well as the Deputy Commissioner; the latter being the field representative of the provincial government. The annual (or supplementary) budgets or tax rate changes passed by the municipal council could not take effect unless approved by the (district) Director of LGRDD. All development projects prepared by the municipality, except minor ones, were vetted and approved by the provincial Planning and Development (P&D) Department. The provincial government had the power to dismiss the elected chairman of the MMC, dissolve the elected Municipal Council and appoint an Administrator to run the affairs of the municipality. The NWFP Local Government Ordinance 1979 specified a compulsory and an optional list of functions. Compulsory functions include: water supply, sewerage,

drainage, sanitation, garbage disposal, public streets, street lighting, fire fighting, arbori-culture, school education, preventive health, slaughter house, and social welfare. Optional functions included curative health, public markets, animal husbandry, libraries, parks, playgrounds and gardens, and culture. Regulatory functions include farming and enforcement of bylaws for building control, traffic control, licensing of public vehicles, etc.

MMC having 20,000 houses was divided into 25 wards each represented by a councilor with additional two seats for women and one seat for minorities. The councilors elected a chairman to supervise the affairs of the committee. Under the current devolution plan Mingora has been divided into nine Union Councils each having 21 directly elected councilors including Nazim, Naib Nazim, labour/peasant representative with one third of the total councilors being women. The MMC is still functioning according to its previous administrative set-up but supervised by Tehsil Nazim through the Tehsil Municipal Officer. The MMCs in other comparable cities in the province have been declared to have a separate set-up under the name of Town Council. It is, however, hoped that the city will soon be declared a Town Council having an independent set-up.

Limitations of Local Government Institutions

In the local tribal society before the inception of State the local village and ward wise institutions were very elaborate, containing council of elders with administrative authority over land and artisans. It had power to settle local disputes and responsibility of village defense and organisation of works for public utility. In the absence of centralised structure these institutions were particularly strong and they often established transitional centralised structures in the events of external threats. The evolution of the Swat State was the consequence of such external threat that lingered on and with its consolidation weakened the institutions that led to its emergence. The Walis infused the central authority initially through incorporating the village elders in the hierarchical administrative structure and then gradually reduced their power by directly dealing with the subordinate rural segments.

The post independence government in Pakistan also supported the idea of local autonomy. They established councils for villages with 2,000-10,000 inhabitants in settled areas, however local

authorities were continually bypassed in development works, and many local councils disbanded and their function transferred to bureaucratic administrators. An important initiative undertaken during the Ayub regime was the introduction of Basic Democracy System, characterised by a hierarchy of councils and committees with direct election to the lowest local tiers and indirect election from these to the next higher council. The National Parliament and President were also to be elected by the Basic Democrats. However, only the lowest tier of union councils and town committees had elected chairpersons and the higher levels were presided over by bureaucrats. The Wali also nominated members to such institutions in the territory of the Swat State. From 1961, these local institutions were integrated into development administration at the local level in the settled territory. This transferred a significant degree of power to the local institutions. The Basic Democracy System was tainted from the beginning due to the desire of Ayub Khan to manipulate the electoral process in his favour, subsequently leading to the unpopularity of the system among the masses.

After the State merger in 1969 general elections to the provincial and national legislative assemblies were held and during the parliamentary period (1971-77) support for local government was introduced directly into the Constitution. Article 32 of the 1973 Constitution enjoins that the State "shall encourage local government institutions, composed of elected representatives of the area concerned and in such institutions special representation will be given to peasants, workers, and women". The constitution, however, does not recognise local government as a level of government. During Zia-ul Haq's period, Government Ordinance 1979 was enacted at the federal and provincial level. Urban, district and union councils were elected throughout the country and were permitted to elect their mayors and chairpersons. These institutions were actively involved in development activities; however, they were still lacking in autonomy and effectiveness. They depended upon the provincial governments for the bulk of their finances and were subject to supervision by provincial department of local government headed by a hierarchy of bureaucrats. They lacked the powers of making and implementing laws. The judicial system was not directly involved in coordination or other functions pertaining to local governments. The review and supervision of the actions of local

officials was under provincial administrative authority. After departure of the military regime when the civil government again came into power, the local bodies elections were repeatedly delayed mainly due to the pressure from the provincial and national assembly members as they considered local government as hurdle to their regional political monopoly. Another blow to the municipal receipts was the abolition of the Octroi system in the 1990s by the Nawaz Sharif government. This decision made the self sustainability of the municipal system impossible and the municipality became dependent on the political government even for the payment of electricity bills of street lights and tubewells.

Current Devolution Plan

The Local Government Ordinance 2001 provides for devolution of power from the provinces to the district. It aims to enable the provincial governments to manage their districts more efficiently and achieve the objectives of empowering the people at the grassroots level. The new system plans to integrate the rural and urban local bodies into a district local government and making the district bureaucracy responsible to it, creating only one line of authority in the district²¹. In the integrated three-tier structure, the union council is the bottom tier covering the rural and urban areas across the whole district. Each union council contains elected pair of Nazim /Naib Nazim, 12 general councilors (at least 4 women), 6 peasant/workers (at least 2 women) and one minority (non-Muslim) councilor. All the councilors have elected District and Tehsil Nazim/Niab Nazim. Union Nazims are members of the District Council and Naib Union Nazim of Tehsil Council. At every tier of local government women have representation while adequate representation has also been given to peasants, workers and minorities.

Tehsil council is the middle tier with Tehsil municipal officers/bodies working under the control of Tehsil Nazim supported by a Naib Nazim. At the top tier of the District Council there is a single integrated District Government headed by a District Nazim supported by a Naib Nazim. The district administration is responsible to the District Nazim through a District Coordination Officer (DCO). The DCO is supported by 12 Executive District Officer being heads of different sectors (agriculture, health,

education, constructions, information, environment, audit etc.) with a hierarchy of District and Assistant District Officers responsible for different sub-sectors. Police department is directly responsible to District Nazim. A District Public Safety Commission is supposed to prevent unlawful or motivated use of police by the District Nazim. If a Tehsil in any district becomes predominantly urbanised, it would be carved out of the district as a separate city district with self contained infrastructure of services, including the police. The intermediary and small cities are supposed to be provided with the town councils (comprising the union council members elected from the territorial limits of such cities).

Union Councils, Tehsil Councils and District Councils have committees to monitor the performance of the district government at their respective levels. Local government financial system envisages formula based fiscal transfers to the districts through provincial finance awards. In addition, the districts have been allowed local taxation from a specified list of taxes. Despite effective proposals at district level the upper level structure at the provincial and federal level is still to be worked out. Constitutional protection to the proposed system is yet to be provided. Work is going on to elaborate the mechanism for devolution of power from the federation to the provinces. Mechanisms for inter district and inter provincial relations might also be needed to be devised for the unity and integrity of the federation.

NGOs and their Limitations

The concept of non government organisation (NGO) and community based organisation (CBO) using modern tools in development was introduced with the initiation of social forestry projects. Initially, CBO's or VOs (village organisations) were subjectively created by different forestry related projects to achieve their targets of afforestation activities. The denuded hill slopes were communally owned; hence such projects were obliged to create VOs in the target villages. Establishment of two umbrellas NGOs were subsequently facilitated at the terminal point of the project period. The staff working in such projects was motivated to work in such NGOs and these still have strong links with the forest related technocracy of the country for securing community based projects. Examples of such

NGOs in the region include LASOONA, HUIJRA and CARAVAN etc. Some CBOs facilitated by the umbrella NGOs also evolved into smaller regional level NGOs during the process of its development.

The NGOs working in the regions are, however, not entirely into forest related activities and there are examples of gradual evolution of such organisation from the core of society itself, when the potentially motivated literate youth were compelled by the deteriorating social and political environment to address the issues collectively. Prominent among such NGOs in the region is Environmental Protection Society (EPS). The EPS, established in 1991 is a non-profit, non-ethnic and non-religious organisation concerned with the physical, social and cultural environment of the region. At the time of its formation it was envisaged to provide a forum for advocacy on environmental issues. With the passage of time, however, it was involved in natural resource management, human resource development, education, physical and social development and poverty alleviation. Research, advocacy and service delivery are the working strategies of the society. The EPS is linked with more than 150 CBOs in the region and has established linkages with national and international NGOs that include UNDP, SNPO, IUED, SDC, IUCN, NOVIB, WWF, OPP, SPO, SDPI, SUNGI, SRBC, URC, British Council and TVO. There is still a lot of room for improvement in the organisational planning and monitoring system of the EPS.

Except few, the establishment of most of the NGOs/CBOs working in the rural areas of Swat valley has been facilitated by the donor-assisted projects for facilitating afforestation on the communal lands. The CBOs or VOs comprising the landowners of the communal land, were formed and provided with infrastructure support in return for facilitating afforestation. In case of Swat Valley the social forestry activities are claimed to be more successful. The reason was that the ownership of the hillside was not established and was claimed by the State as well as by the Pukhtuns, while the livestock herders were the undisputed users. They used to pay nominal lease amount to the Pukhtun and tax on herd basis to the State. The Pukhtuns were not able to dislodge the users particularly after Bhutto time. Hence through afforestation on the communal lands, they were able to vacate the user, and confirm their ownership and the possession of the land. Almost all such work in the Swat

Table 8.1. CBOs Working in the Municipal Boundaries of Mingora

Ward No	Name of CBO	Location (Mohalla)	Year of Establishment	Focus of Activities	Kind of CBO
2	Mohallah Committee	Gul Bahar Colony/Bagh Mohalla	1985	• Burial and Post Burial arrangements	Socio Culture
3	Shabab Millt	Naway Kalay	1996	• Free Books Distribution • Blood Collection • Helping Poor • Free Medicines	Welfare
3	Falahi Tanzeem	Langar Khel Naway Kalay	1993	• Mosque Education • Sanitation • Free Medicines • Environment	Development
4	Falahi Tanzeem	Ingaro Dherai	1994	• Free Medicines	Welfare
5	Islahi Committee	Bani (New)	1982	• Social Welfare	Welfare
5	Falahi Tanzeem	Bani (Usman Abad)	1997	• Street Light • Supply Pipes • Social Work	Welfare
5	Islahi Committee	Bani (Usman Abad)	1998	• Social Welfare • Humanitarian	Welfare
5	Elder's Jirga	Bani (Tahir Abad)	1996	• Social Welfare	Socio Welfare
6	Pagham-i-Aman	Qazi Baba	1996	• Social Reform • Solution of Social Problems	Socio Welfare
6	Swat Scout Open Group	Qazi Baba	1998	• Social Work	Welfare
7	Islahi Tanzeem	Malook Abad	1998	• Mediation • Street Lights	Welfare
8	Khidmat Committee	Bahrama (Sharif Abad)	1996	• Social Welfare • Social Work	Welfare
10	Mohallah Committee	Qazi Baba		• Burial Arrangements	Socio Cultural
11	Islahi Committee	Chwarai Kanda	1991	• Mediation • Social Work	Welfare
14	Mohallah Committee	Mulla Baba		• Burial Arrangement	Socio Cultural
15	Islahi Tanzeem	Landay Kas Nawjawan Landay Kas	1998	• Social Organisation • Free Dispensary • Blood Donation • Guarding Mohallas • Anti narcotics	Development

15	Youth Friends	Landay Kas (Ayub Street)	1995	• Social Work • House Numbering	Welfare
16	Gul Kada	Gul Kada Khair Khwa	1997	• Mosque Services • Mediation • Street Repair	Development
16	Bangladesh Youth Front	Bangladesh	1995	• Distribution of att • Bridge construction	Development
16	Mohallah Committee	Gul Kada No. 2	1978	• Burial Services	Socio Cultural
17	Tehrik Islahi Committee	Aman Kot (Muthkhel)	1990	• Helping needy people	Welfare
17	Bangladesh Youth Organisation	Chinar Colony (Stadium Road)	1992	• Helping needy people	Welfare
22	Society Chinar Colony	Chinar Colony (Stadium Road)	1998	• Improvement of Street Condition • Construction of bridge	Development
23	Islahi Tanzeem	Mohalla Central Jail Saidu Sharif	1998	• Garbage dump construction	Development
23	Tali	Mohalla Central Jail Saidu Sharif	1940	• Burial Services	Socio Cultural
24	Tanzeem Bahbood Najawanan	Bar Kalay Saidu Sharif	1998	• Tuition Center	Development
24	Young Welfare Society	Saidu Sharif	1980	• Tuition Center • Typing Center	Development
25	Falahi Tanzeem (F.T.S) Shagai	Shagai	1996	• Welfare work • Improvement of Streets • Afforestation	Development

Source: Socio economic survey of UPMSP 1998

Valley was done on the communal land used by the transhumant herders. The CBOs formed in this way almost exclusively comprised the landowners residing in the main village, while those in the hillside hamlets being the main affected group. The landowners having no dependence on the hill side resource benefited. The process fueled the social polarisation among the landowners and the transhumant herders leading to degradation of social environment at the cost of rehabilitating physical environment. Different umbrella NGOs were dependent on the donors. The activities of most of such NGOs/CBOs faded away after the withdrawal of such support. Being facilitated for the fulfillment of specific sectoral objectives the role played by them in community mobilisation was also temporary in nature. On the other hand social polarisation

created during the process had a long lasting impact.

In the traditional society, such community based organisation is generally perceived as the agent facilitating the infusion of modern/western civilisation. The religious class particularly expresses its displeasure. The primitive tussle of conservatives and modern segments has been transformed under local environment into the NGOs/CBOs and religious class tussle for social leadership. The community based works facilitated by NGOs/CBOs without involving the religious class is conceived a challenge to the authority overtaken religious class after the collapse of the institution of Jirga.

The grassroots level CBOs play vital role in participatory development; however, in Mingora active and effective CBOs are scanty. The main reason may be that such organisations were not allowed during the State era and traditional as well as the State organised welfare mechanisms were effective enough to provide the desired facilities. Even after the merger it took a long time for the local inhabitants to realise the need for solving their own problems. Even when such organisations were formed were charity oriented. The CBOs formed afterward were usually built around a specific problem that pinched all the residents equally in a particular locality. After solution of the problem the interests of the people fizzled out and the organisation ceased to exist anymore. The list of the CBOs established in different wards (old political distribution) of municipal boundaries of Mingora along with their year of establishment and focus of activities is given in Table 8.1.

In Bangladesh Ward, an active CBO existed in 1996 when the locality was hit by flood. The area located on the bank of Jambil stream was badly damaged during summer monsoon rains. During the flood the suspension bridge connecting the area with Mingora washed away. A group of young people hence got together and organised an effective campaign for donations for re-construction of the washed away bridge. They held demonstrations and rallies in the city and forced the local administration to help them on priority basis. They succeeded to collect the required money in less than one-month time. However, after solution to the problem the organisation became inactive. For solid waste management programme, when the EPS contacted the office bearer of the association, they showed strong interest to facilitate the work and signed a contract with the EPS and the Municipal Committee. However, when the

implementation stage arrived, the CBO could not come up collectively due to severe differences over the leadership among the office bearers.

In Saidu Sharif a CBO formation was facilitated by the EPS for solid waste management. The CBO contributed in cash and kind. However, the initiation of physical work coincided with the proposed and later on postponed local bodies elections that disturbed the organisational structure of the newly formed CBO and the process was disrupted.

The traditional society whole-heartedly accommodates the NGOs/CBOs dealing with provision of formal education, health and welfare mechanism. However, religious segments consider their interventions challenging to the traditions and religion. Those working for the empowerment of female folk and advocacy are particularly resisted. The traditional Pukhtuns of the rural territory unconditionally support the religious class against those advocating for gender equity. Such opposition is the least in the urban territories followed by the peri-urban areas and the most in far-flung areas under the influence of religious groups. The reason for less opposition to the NGO in urban territory can be attributed to the different literacy rate and predominant base of the society on economics rather than on traditions.

Notes

- ¹ Sindh, Punjab, Balochistan and North West Frontier Province.
- ² The people residing in Swat valley elect 4 out of 240 members to the National Assembly and 12 out of 80 members to the Provincial Assembly.
- ³ Construction and Works Department.
- ⁴ A simple civil or criminal case may take dozens of years for decision.
- ⁵ Sultan-i-Rome. 1999. *Merger of Swat State with Pakistan: Causes and Effects*. MARC occasional papers.
- ⁶ Provincially Administered Tribal Area.
- ⁷ Prof. Ahmad Ali. (1999) "An analysis of Ni'az-e-Adl Law". Daily *Frontier Post*, Peshawar, 13-2-1999.
- ⁸ The data does not include the number of schools and enrollments for Malakand Agency, Shangla and Adinzai Tehsil in Dir district, being

part of traditional Swat valley but now part of other political administrative units.

9 Gray, J. G. (1984). *Rethinking American Education*. Wesleyan University Press, Middletown.

10 The only playgrounds in Mingora established during late 1950s on the lands vacated by the ex-ministers after their exile due to political reasons.

11 Da Chirrho Cinema existed only for a few years and was abandoned subsequently.

12 The data used in this section is taken from the report "Case Study Mingora" by EPS Swat

13 Mingora population was 38,499 (10.48 sq. km area) in 1970 as against 1, 73, 868 in 1998 (23 sq. km area). The expansion of the city has mainly occurred along the existing roads leading out of the city.

14 2-4 seats capacity

15 9-10 seats capacity

16 45-60 seats capacity

17 1-26 seats capacity

18 14-20 seats capacity

19 11-14 seats capacity

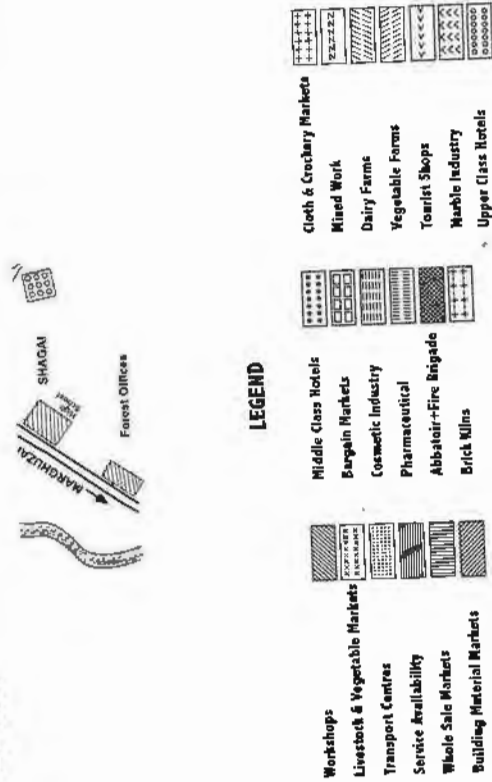
20 Karachi, Lahore, Rawalpindi and Peshawar.

21 Swat district has been divided into 65 Union Councils

22 The Afforestation carried out was thus mainly a political phenomenon and not perceived as a developmental or environmental rehabilitating activity by the local population.

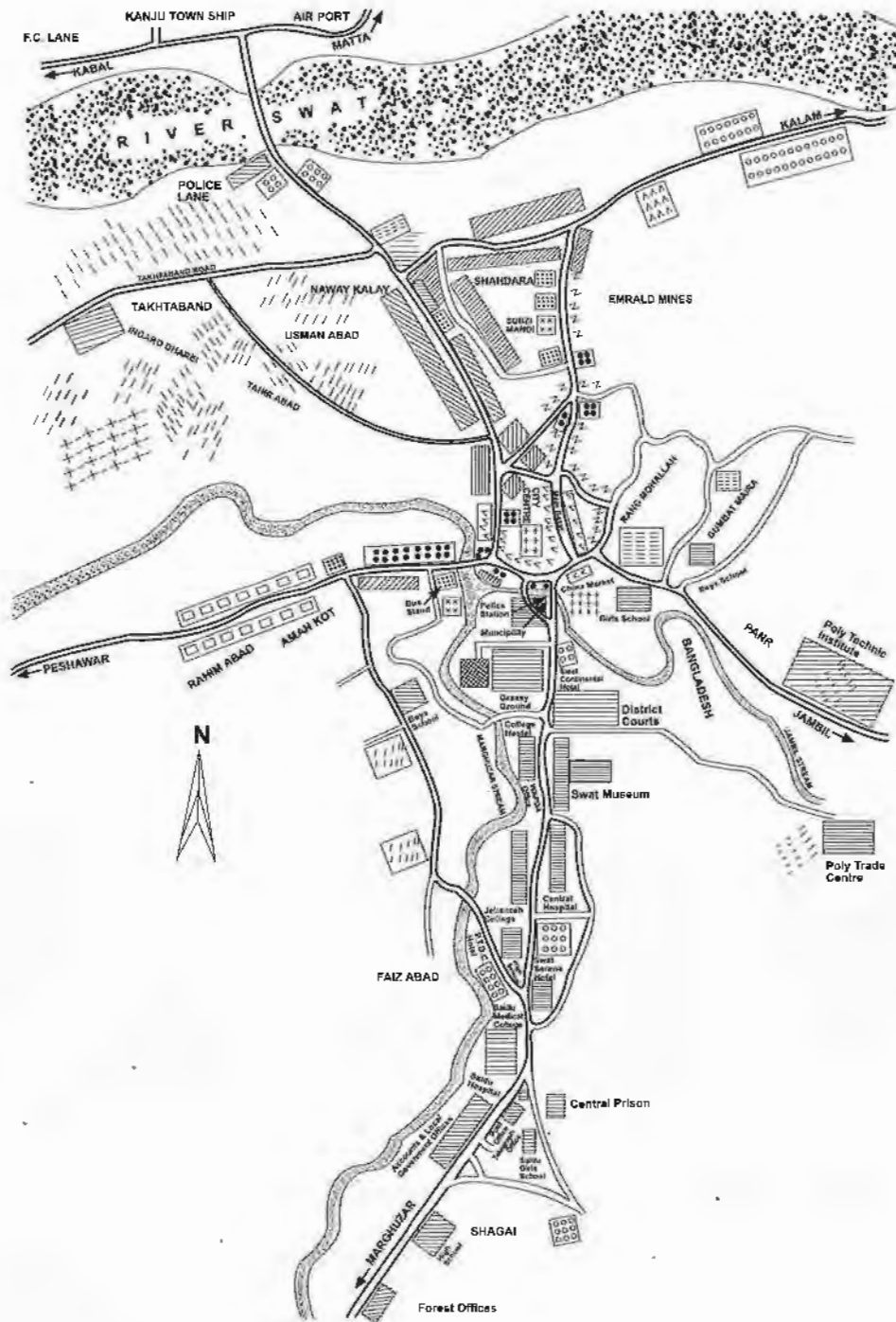
23 Name of a small settlement inside Mingora urban territory on the bank of a stream. The name was given due to repeated flooding in the settlement just like Bangladesh.

Economic Activity & Service Availability in Mingora



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Economic Activity & Service Availability in Mingora



LEGEND

Workshops		Middle Class Hotels		Cloth & Crockery Markets	
Livestock & Vegetable Markets		Bargain Markets		Mixed Work	
Transport Centres		Cosmetic Industry		Dairy Farms	
Service Availability		Pharmaceutical		Vegetable Farms	
Whole Sale Markets		Abattoir+Fire Brigade		Tourist Shops	
Building Material Markets		Brick Kilns		Marble Industry	
				Upper Class Hotels	

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Chapter Nine

Economic Activities

Agricultural Production and Marketing System

The Swat Valley farming systems are predominantly evolutionary adaptation to variable ecology, with superimposition of the influences of extending urbanisation and seasonal crop production complementarities with other ecological zones down the country. In the vicinity of Mingora, on both sides of river Swat in the valley bottom, the social relation of production for commercial farming system are predominantly market oriented, while on the rain-fed land and hillside terraces it is characteristically peasant-farming system. The peri-urban and sub-urban farming systems are characterised by vegetable production for urban utility and fodder for commercial dairy production. The food grain crops are also variably intermingled for the landowner subsistence requirement. The irrigated agriculture in the area is confined to the valley bottom and adjoining gentle slopes. The gentle slopes on mid hills are mainly used for rain fed (Barani) agriculture and grazing or covered with natural forest (Leede and Rahim, 1997').

According to Von Thinen's model, like other cities, Mingora has also gradually created concentric rings of agricultural production through modification of traditional subsistence farming in its surroundings. The mostly non-farm urban population derives food from these rings without participation in agricultural production by themselves. To fulfill the requirement of urban population, perishable crops, mainly vegetables, are produced in the innermost ring surrounding Mingora, semi-perishable in the subsequent ring, while the outermost ring is left for internalised, mixed farming

system for subsistence level production. These rings are gradually extending to the exteriors with the gradual growth of the city. Also, production zones bulge out along the main road for some distance beyond which the transportation costs and time factor make the perishable commodity production uneconomical. Differences in soil fertilities and topographic variation cause other bulges.

The deviation from the classical model in case of Mingora arises from the fact that the local macro environment possess huge seasonal complementarities with other macro environmental zones in the surroundings. Free market structure for perishable fruits and vegetables further complement the chances of such extension. Hence the off-season vegetables and orchards for market are also produced in relatively far away and hardly accessible areas as well. Potatoes, onions, tomatoes, turnips and various orchards like apple, persimmon, apricot etc. produced in the Swat valley are not only consumed in Mingora but are mainly transported to the Peshawar and Punjab markets. The relative heterogeneity in environment altitude, temperature and rainfall, across various meso environmental zones, within the macro environment of Swat, as well as with other macro environment, presents the greatest seasonal production potential and their marketing to other macro environmental zones.

Marketing of agricultural commodities varies from marketing of manufactured commodities because of the special characteristics of agriculture sector (perishability, seasonality of production, bulkiness, processing), which have a bearing on the market. Agricultural marketing is a process which starts with a decision to produce a saleable farm commodity. It involves all the aspects of market structure or system, both functional and institutional, based on technical and economic considerations. It includes pre and post harvest operations, assembling, grading, storage, transportation and distribution (Acharya and Agarwal, 1987²). The marketing system is essential for the development designed to benefit the population as a whole. Increased urbanisation leads to increased agricultural marketing. An efficient marketing system ensures higher levels of income for the farmers by reducing the number of middlemen or by restricting the commission on marketing service and the malpractices adopted by them. In contrast, extra surpluses are extracted from cultivators, who in turn are forced to extract surpluses from the environment leading to environmental degradation in the long run

(Blaikie 1989³) with the increasing role of surplus extraction. When the balance between labour input and product output is disturbed, farming becomes secondary instead of the primary activity.

The pricing policies of the government to impose a ceiling on grains and livestock products prices have compelled the farmers to produce these items for subsistence rather than for the market. However, the difficult access seems to be the other main reason making the marketable production of grains uneconomical for exchange. The external inputs for the subsistence farming are mainly realised through the remittances and labour migration. The live animal marketing, however, is mainly effected by pricing policies rather than transportation costs. The ability of livestock to reach the market on their own feet from far-flung areas makes transportation less important. On the other hand, livestock products marketing is mainly influenced by accessibility.

Land Utilisation and Farm Output

According to the NWFP Development Statistics 1995-96⁴, eighty per cent farms consist of less than five acres. The fragmentation of land is adversely affecting the percentage of tenancy and at present less than 20 per cent cultivable land is available for tenancy (Table 9.1).

Eighty-seven per cent cultivable land is used for grain production (Table 9.2) while out of the remaining thirteen percent cultivable land, 5 per cent is relegated to fodder corps, 3 per cent to vegetable production, 3 per cent to orchard, 1 per cent to pulses and 1 per cent to other crops such as tobacco and sugar cane etc.

The off-season vegetables are mainly produced in Kohistan area having a temperate environment. Potatoes, turnips and beans are the main winter crop of the down district, while in Kalam these are produced during summer. Only 15 per cent farmer are using tractors for plough while the remaining are still using draught animals mainly due to topographic constraints and fragmented land holdings. Most of the orchards are produced for commercial utility except pears and walnuts (Table 9.3).

According to livestock census 1996, the total number of goats in the valley are 0.23 million, cattle 0.26 million, Buffaloes 0.14 million and sheep 0.07 million. The cattle and the buffaloes are mostly kept in subsistence level mixed farming while traditional commercial

transhumant herders mainly own sheep and goats. According to the census data 7.1 per cent animal units in the valley are transhumant⁵, while the remaining are kept at subsistence level. Animals are herded usually per household and the traditional collective herding system is no more available for different reasons. The nomadic sheep and goat stockowners have an average flock size of 110 animals. A few cattle and equines are also included in their herd for meeting their milk and transportation requirement. The nomadic cattle and buffalo sub group have a herd size of 25 to 40 animals mostly including cattle and they depend for their livelihood on the sale of live animals and milk products (Armbruster, 1992⁶). In the peri urban area, the Gujars mostly keep buffaloes on commercial basis to fulfill the urban milk requirements. The sedentary Gujars may have a herd size of 15 to 50 animals, including buffaloes and cattle, and the herd size of sedentary agriculturist keeping livestock at subsistence level hardly exceeds 10 animals. In most situations buffaloes, sheep, goats and equines are included in a single herd. In the narrow side valleys approximately every alternate household, particularly those scattered on hill slopes, includes a pair of oxen in their cattle herds for plough.

Agriculture Marketing System

In the non-formal local orchards marketing system a middleman purchases an orchard area at the time of flowering. He then earns surpluses at the cost of risk. Some money is delivered to the owner in advance, while the rest is paid after or in the middle of the marketing season. There also exists a welfare mechanism between the middleman and the owner. In the year of severe draught, or unfavourable seasons, the owner usually shares with the middleman in order to minimise his losses hence contributing to sustainable market development. However, the welfare is unilateral, therefore in the years of good production and good market condition, the

Table 9.1. Farming Statistics in Swat District

Total Number of farms	92834
Average farm size	4.1 acre
Land operated by land owner	76%
Land operated by tenants	17%
Land operated by owner cum tenant	7%

Table 9.2. Land utilisation for subsistence level grain production

Crop	Land occupied	Per hectare production
Wheat	34%	1269 kg
Maize	46%	1211 kg
Rice	6%	2106 kg
Barley	1%	1183 kg

middleman never provides more than the lease money to the landowner or labour to give the welfare mechanism a strong, sound and sustainable base. A crop insurance system is therefore a primary requirement. It needs to be incorporated in the marketing system to minimise risk for actual producers. The local formal agricultural market in Mingora is not capable to accommodate local production and it neither has an efficient structural mechanism to play a role in marketing of the local production. Due to huge seasonal complementarities of Swat Valley with the macro environment of Punjab, the middleman directly transports the local produce to bigger markets in Punjab rarely involving the local market. The Mingora market principally serves for non-local fruit and vegetable imported for local consumption.

Vegetable Marketing System

Due to contrasting seasonal differences, onion, tomato and vegetable production of summer season start later in Swat Valley as compared to Peshawar and Punjab. The main winter vegetables are produced during summer as off-season vegetable (onion, turnip, peas etc.) in high elevation cooler areas of the valley. The vegetables are cultivated either by the landowners with small and medium level land

Table 9.3. Orchards production in Swat District *

Name of fruit tree	Total number of trees (in millions)	Present in compact form (%)
Orange	0.03	60
Apple	0.90	85
Loquat	0.40	85
Persimmon	0.09	70
Pears	0.07	8
Apricot	0.19	78
Walnuts	0.06	12
Peaches	0.07	45

* Source Census of Agriculture (1990) NWFP Provincial report, Agricultural census Organization, Govt. of Pakistan

holdings or by commercial tenants leasing the land for a single or multiple crop production season. For perishable and semi-perishable vegetables, however, the marketing pattern differs. A rural farmer acting as a middleman initially stores the semi-perishable vegetables like onion and potato, which are subsequently sold, mostly in bulk, to the middlemen coming from the bigger markets of the country and occasionally through Mingora fruit and vegetable market. The perishable vegetables are however sold out in small daily batches mostly through the Mingora fruit and vegetable market.

The main vegetables produced in Swat valley for export to down country include onion, tomatoes, potatoes and turnips. Onion and tomatoes are produced in the rural areas, particularly at main valley bottom, where as potatoes and turnips are the main off-season vegetables produced in Kohistan area. The main production and marketing seasons of these vegetables are: for onion from May to July, for tomatoes from June to December and for potato/turnip from August to October. In many cases, the local producers themselves shift these vegetables to different fruit and vegetable markets in Punjab. The vegetable market at Mingora is not capable enough to accommodate and effectively trade the local vegetable production. Only a sizable quantity of off-season winter vegetables and tomatoes are traded through the fruit and vegetable market of Mingora.

The vegetables market in Mingora have a zone of influence comprising District Swat, Northern Areas, Shangla and northern part of Buner. Malakand Agency, Dir and Chitral are relatively out of the influence of Mingora vegetable market. The local vegetable market available in those areas might be fulfilling the regional requirements. Also the Gilgit and Skardu are now coming under the influence of Mansehra vegetable market, mainly because of the existing poor road links of these areas across Shangla with Mingora. There is also a lack of direct transport service between Northern Areas and Mingora and the historical trade links between both areas are gradually diminishing due to poor communication through Shangla Pass. To re-establish vegetable trade linkage with Gilgit and Skardu it is crucial that the road leading to the Silk route be improved and properly repaired. The vegetable market of Mingora is now mainly serving the local city and its regional importance is gradually decreasing due to development of other small markets in Khwazakhela, Matta, Batkhela, Buner, Pacha Kalay and Timergara, etc.

Orchard Marketing System

The main perishable fruits produced in the regions include apples, persimmon, plum, apricot and pears. Apple is produced and marketed from July to October, persimmon during September to November, plum during May to September, Apricot during May to June and pears during June to November. Hence the summer and autumn seasons are the main active season in the market for indigenous commercial orchards. The pears are mostly consumed at subsistence level and very limited quantity of the fruit is used for commercial purposes. Twenty per cent of apple, 8 per cent of persimmon, 2 per cent of plum and 60 per cent of pears out of the total local saleable proportion reach the Mingora fruit and vegetable market. The markets of Punjab are relatively more organised as they have the capability to obtain the product from the farm through the middlemen bypassing the local Mingora fruit and vegetable market. In Gilgit, Shangla and Kalam, the local apple production is prohibitive to trading. However, the secondary markets of Peshawar, Mardan, Dir, Chitral and Malakand Agency obtain the apple from Mingora market. Apple is mainly produced in Matta Tehsil, plum and apricot are produced in the Swat valley down Khwazakhela and pears are produced in the upper Swat side valleys.

Many fruits are shifted to Swat Valley from other zones down the country. These include mangoes, oranges, melons, watermelons, cucumber, banana and grapes. Among the citrus fruit high quality orange is produced in Palai area of Malakand Agency, Barikot area in lower Swat and Khal/Rabbat area in Dir district, but mainly locally utilized. Large proportions of Oranges and Keno's are therefore shifted from Punjab. Orange produced in Malakand Agency and Dir is also shifted directly from the farm through the traders to Peshawar and Mardan and because of its high quality it is sold at much higher prices than the orange produced elsewhere in the country. Guava is mainly shifted from Punjab, however the best quality of Guava is produced in Kohat district south of Peshawar and Dargai area in Malakand Agency down Malakand Pass. Pomegranates and grapes are mainly shifted from Afghanistan and Balochistan (Quetta and Chaman areas). The local macro environment has the potentials of producing Almond, Pistachio, Grapes, Cherry, Pomegranate and Orange and the production and marketing of these fruits, needs promotion.

Marketing System for Grains and Other Edibles

Grain production is particularly important for mixed farming system where the peasant families utilise grains and their livestock depends on stalks/straws. The livestock in turn provide manure and draught power for plough. With nominal external inputs the return for the labour inputs are obtained in the form of grains and milk. The extension of cash crop has, however, ruptured this system, particularly in the more easily accessible areas and the dependency of the farmers producing cash crop is increasing on the market for purchasing grains and wheat. Still, majority of the farmers relegates some of their land for grain production to keep them self-sufficient. Sugar and pulses mainly come from the down area since long. Cotton seed cakes are transported from the southern Punjab for feeding the lactating animals as concentrate.

The wheat is mostly bought from Punjab for the urban and peri-urban population, while those residing in the remote areas utilise the locally produced wheat. The flour from Punjab is distributed through the State-managed quota system in the main city, surrounding rural area and towns. The extension of commercial cash crops is gradually extending the dependency of rural areas on purchased wheat/floor from Mingora market. Maize is produced locally and most of the local produce is utilised as staple food in the rural areas. However, some surplus from the local produce is sold at Mingora grain market. Rice is the main staple crop produced mainly on the riverbank. Most of the rice produced is consumed locally and the major proportion is produced in the zones surrounding the main towns of the valley. In each of these town local whole sale/purchase markets exist and the small shopkeepers from the surrounding zones purchase the rice from these towns instead of purchasing it from Mingora.

Livestock Marketing System

The livestock market in Mingora functions under the control of Mingora Municipal Committee on weekly basis. Every year the municipality auctions the livestock market to a contractor in open bidding. The contractor in turn collects the money from the livestock sellers and purchasers in the form of entry fee and sales fee. The livestock market in Mingora is leased out at an annual rate of 2.5 to 4.0 millions rupees. However, the Municipal Committee has never done anything to facilitate the livestock market. The contractor

arranges the market space, mostly on open ground with no loading/unloading, watering, feeding, and shade facilities. The government has imposed the prices for meat and mutton. However, the animals are never sold on quality and weight basis in the livestock market. The traders have free hand to purchase any animal on per head/flock bargain basis usually on his own terms. Seasonality significantly affects the livestock market and during various season the number, main production areas, demand and prices of different livestock species vary tremendously. Particularly during the autumn the markets are full of livestock hence the animals are sold at cheaper rates. The main reason is that the livestock owners need to remove his extra livestock units to decrease the feed burden during winter and to get some cash for storing food for families and concentrate feed for livestock to pass through the scarcity periods.

The number of cattle traded through the market remains at its highest during summer (676 Cattle/ week) followed by autumn (452) and spring (142 Cattle/ week). The lowest numbers are traded during winter season (102 cattle/week). The increase in trade during summer is mainly because of the increase in purchase of draught bull for plough before maize sowing in June and before wheat sowing in September. During spring and winter the main marketing of these animals proceed through the livestock market of Sawarai in Buner and Dargai in Malakand Agency. During summer the increase demand of plough bulls compels the traders to bring the bullock from other zones, while during autumn the traders shift these animals to other zones, the butchers of Mingora also purchases some cattle to maintain them for winter slaughter in some situations. The mainly poor urban population consumes beef. Beef is also utilized in increasing amounts in making "Chapli Kababs" throughout the year but particularly during winter and spring. The merchant brings majority of cattle, traded through the market during spring and summer (60 and 56% respectively), while the producers farmers brings majority of cattle during autumn and winter (80 and 100% respectively). During autumn the highest numbers of buffaloes are brought to the local livestock market for sale (668 buffaloes per week) followed by summer (480) and spring (270). The lowest number of buffaloes is marketed during winter (90). The merchants mainly bring the buffaloes from Punjab to the local market (60 & 79% respectively). While during autumn and winter the farmers themselves are the main sellers (80%).

The farmers mainly purchase the lactating buffaloes and pregnant buffaloes from the rural merchants, while the dry & old buffaloes are mainly sold to butchers for slaughter at approximately one third of its purchase price. The dry and expired working buffaloes bulls shifted from Punjab are the main source of meat utilized in Mingora as well as in the surrounding towns.

The sheep and goat are brought to the livestock market mainly by nomadic and transhumant herders. As the nomadic grazers have to shift to different ecological niches, the main areas of production also change with the season and their migration. During spring these grazers shift with their flocks to the valley side hill-slope scrub and rangelands of Malakand Agency, Buner and towards the south of Mingora, hence the number of incoming sheep and goat to the market decreases. Also, due to approaching forage abundance season at the upland pasture, the farmer needs to increase his flock size in order to accrue more benefits from the environment. He is, therefore, least inclined to downsize his flocks through sale of animals. Mainly the non-selected males are brought to the market for sale to meet the transaction costs to upland pastures. During autumn the number of sheep and goat brought to the market remains the highest (4-5 thousands sheep and goat/week) and 70 per cent of the trade proceeds through Mingora livestock market. This is followed by summer, spring and winter.

There also exist sub markets for livestock in Khwazakhela and Matta where most of the herders themselves bring these animals for sale. From Khwazakhela and Matta the small merchants purchase the animals from the herders and sell them to the bigger traders in Mingora market. The bigger traders pass on the purchased animals to the still bigger market at Nowshera, but mainly directly to Punjab.

Livestock Products Marketing System

The Gujars are the traditional milk producers and while residing in irrigated agricultural areas, they are engaged in commercial production of milk. The milk of buffaloes is preferred because of its high fat content and is, therefore, useful in yogurt and tea making, which are its main uses. In order to make cheap supplies for the urban population, the price ceiling on milk is imposed by the State through local administration. However, the commercial producers deviate from the pricing policy by mixing tap water with the milk.

The producer then supplies the pure milk to the consumer, if the consumer agrees to purchase milk on his terms and conditions.

There is no formal market for milk in Mingora and individual commercial producers bring their milk in separate containers through public transport to Mingora for sale. The female farmers of the Gujars families also carry the milk to different urban households, while the male Gujars carry the milk to various hotels, cafeterias and wholesale shops or opt to sell the milk on the footpaths around main squares. There is a great scope for milk marketing improvement if its transportation and collection is carried out on cooperative basis and its price structure is reformed.

The total wool traded through the market per season amounts to 2670 mounds (138 tones), with a total of three production seasons. 27% of the wool reaching the market is utilized in the local woolen handicrafts industry existing within the 20 km radius of Mingora City particularly in Islampur area. The total number of hides reaching the local market from the surrounding area has been estimated to the amount of 1100 mounds (1 mound = 50 kg) per year. All of skins are traded to Punjab for tanning and subsequent use in the leather industry. The total amount of eggs reaching daily to Mingora market is estimated to be 9000 dozen daily. Sixty percent of eggs are consumed in Mingora and its 20 km surrounding radius and the remaining shifted to surrounding remote areas. Eggs are shifted from Sindh and Punjab where as poultry is shifted from Peshawar valley, Mansehra and Punjab. The poultry market is generally less developed. Only in summer the poultry meat and eggs market volume rises due to influx of tourists. There exist a few very small broilers poultry farm, but there hardly exists any layers farm.

Non-Farm Produce and its Marketing

Timber

The total forest area has been reported as 0.25 million hectare. The timber production zone is mainly the Kohistan area, however the upper portions of high elevation mountain in the lower valley are also important. These particularly include the mountains of Ilum, Dwa Sarai, Malam Jaba, Shangla, Miandam, Madyan, Shin on the

east side of the valley and the high elevation mountains surrounding Sakhra, Chuprial, Shawar and Kabal on the west side of the valley. Forest resource is over-exploited mainly for fuel and timber. Most of the households in the valley still depend on trees as their main fuel resource. Though tree harvesting from the natural forest is banned, however, illegal harvesting practices have never been effectively controlled in the valley.

Most of the timber collected is mainly sold locally in Mingora and other small towns and a minor portion is also smuggled to Peshawar. The transaction of furniture is allowed under the rules; hence the wood harvested is initially utilised in making furniture that is subsequently shifted to Peshawar valley. Most of the fuel in the vicinity of Mingora is used in brick kiln, a few tobacco processing units and for cooking purposes. A large amount of fuel wood is also used for heating purposes during winter, however, its use for such purposes is more extensive at high elevation cooler regions. The natural gas is expected to be extended to Mingora at the end of the current year and would hopefully significantly contribute to the conservation of hillside vegetation, at least in the surroundings of Mingora.

Medicinal Plants

Pakistan is among the top eight countries of the world to export medicinal plants. The total export from the country is worth US\$ 5.45 millions with approximately more than 40 per cent share of Malakand Division. About 120 species of medicinal plants are collected from the forest area of Malakand division (mainly Swat Valley) and exported to national and international markets. The destinations of the export include Germany, Middle East, France and India. Approximately 5000 poor families of hillside dwellers are engaged in gathering of medicinal plants during spring and summer (Hussain and Sher 2001').

Due to the existence of almost all types of environment and elevations, the region can be termed as ideal for medicinal plants. Yet no efforts have so far been made to produce commercially any of these plant and those grow as wild plants are collected for commerce. Due to lack of conservation efforts and policy to properly exploit the resource, many species are endangered and are being driven to extinction. The main supply market for medicinal plants is Mingora

and Thakot (on the bank of Rive Indus in Shangla region) followed by Madyan, Kalam, Matta and Khwazakhela.

Mineral Production

According to the Geological Survey of Pakistan 1993, the main minerals available in the valley include iron, lead, nickel, chromium and corundum. The precious and semi precious stones available in the valley include emerald. The mineral production significantly contributes to the economy of the area. The mining potentials of the valley have, however, not so far been effectively exploited. China clay is excavated in Swat valley and the respective ceramics industrial unit has been installed near Nowshera. Limited quantities of produced quartz is shifted to Lahore for finishing and mainly exported abroad. Detailed survey of mineral resources in Swat valley has yet to be carried out. In some localities the source has been pointed out, but excavation is either uneconomical due to lack of access, or not possible due to lack of available machinery.

More than half of the marble in the country is excavated in Malakand region, mainly in Buner district. The Swat district and Shangla district contain reserves of marble. However, excavation of only special quality marble is carried out due to relatively high transportation cost involved in shifting it to the down country markets. The main destinations for locally produced marbles are Peshawar, Rawalpindi/Islamabad and Lahore. The cutting facilities available in the region are outdated and the marble, despite its excellent intrinsic quality, cannot get competitive prices due to substandard polishing. There are more than fifty marble cutting industries in Buner district and five cutting industries in Swat district. In Buner, in particular, the marble powder washed away during processing is drained into the open streams and the excess calcium carbonate is disturbing the soil mineral balance down the stream where the water is used for irrigation. The marble wastes are not properly disposed off and heaps of waste marbles remain visible in the vicinity of industrial units creating environmental problems. In Swat valley the marble industrial units are mainly located in the surroundings of Mingora, mainly by the streams or riverbanks and the excreted sludge is leading to increased pollution of the environment. There is a need to extend complementary recycling industries, such as chips powder and calcium related chemical industries.

Emerald Mines

The emerald excavation is under State control and the sale of polished gems is carried out through Gemstone Corporation of Pakistan. During the State times different wards in Mingora were given shares from the money earned from the sale of emerald and the money was mainly spent in development activities. The emerald mines in Mingora produced a significant portion of the State revenue, however after the State merger the mining activity was mostly reported to be in loss. Swat's emerald mine is closed since 1998 with no hope of its immediate opening. An engineer who worked with the firm claimed that the firm failed to get production due to its wrong method of digging. The government now proposes division of the area under mine in three portions in order to award contract to different parties by floating tenders on international basis. The mineral development department officials are unaware of the situation at the mine. Although the mine produces best emeralds in market but because of lack of cutting facilities, these emeralds fail to get their due price.

The first emerald deposits in the region were discovered in Mingora in 1958, when a farmer found some odd stones and sold them to a local stone dealer. It later caught the attention of the former ruler of Swat who regularised exploration and exploitation of the mine. The Wali used to grant these mines on yearly basis and the highest amount of bid recorded at that time was 1.5 million rupees that were equivalent to \$ 0.75 million. The emerald mine also produces a by-product used in ceramics costing \$ 350 per ton. The clay dug out to reach the main mine is sold at Rs 900 per tone which is again washed in river Swat (causing pollution) where the poor gather the left-out smaller gem pieces. These people who earn their livelihood from washing the clay are exposed to dangerous diseases. A centrifugal system of separation from talc can minimise the chances of disease and also make the job of separation emerald from clay easier.

After the State merger, the exploitation agency till March 1973 was Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation followed by Sarhad Development Authority till January 1976 and thereafter the mines remain closed till 1979 due to national/provincial propriety dispute over the mines. In February 1979 the mines were handed over to Gemstone Corporation of Pakistan with 50.5 and 49.5 per

cent shares respectively for federal and provincial governments. The corporation operated the mines up to July 1993 but badly failed to pursue and achieve its objectives, thereby sustained huge financial losses along with total erosion of royalty and equity. Afterward, the mines were given on lease to private sector. The mines were again closed during 1998 due to default by the leasing company and subsequent court cases⁸. During the period when the mine was under the Gemstone Corporation, mining was streamlined to a greater extent and was expanded up to 183 acres of land through regular tenders. The experience, however, failed due to the 'extravaganza' of the mine officials.⁹

According to the clarification issued by the Emerald Mining Company Ltd., the Government of NWFP cancelled the mining lease on 19 June 1998 and forcibly and illegally evicted the company on 20 June 1998 despite the fact that the company had paid all lease installments. The mining plan prepared by an advisor from the government of Federal Republic of Germany, included a major development work in the barren areas, which resulted in discoveries of emerald bearing zones called mine 3 and 4. The cut and polished Mingora emerald prices ranged from \$ 25 per carat for the very small sizes and up to \$ 250 per carat for larger sizes.¹⁰

*Brick Kilns*¹¹

Despite huge hard rock deposits in the region most of the construction is brick based. There are a few local kilns that do not meet the needs and a huge quantity of bricks are also transported from down districts to fulfill the growing demand of construction. The main reasons for brick use include lack of skilled stone work masons, limited space utilisation and low subsequent finishing costs. Out of the total of 25 brick kilns in the valley, 16 are located within three kilometres radius of Mingora. Fifteen kilns are located on the most fertile land of Ingaro Dherai/Takhtaband region at the riverside (northwest of Mingora), while one is located in Panr area at the hillside (southeast of Mingora).

Out of 23 operating brick kilns in the valley, ten are individually owned, eight are owned on partnership basis and five owned by families who inherited the kilns from their forefathers. Fourteen kiln owners in Babozai tehsil are landlords. The brick kiln owners established their organisation in 1974 to safeguard their collective

interests. The labourers working in the kilns formed their association in 1992.

The average per year production of the brick kilns in Swat valley is approximately 56 million bricks that cater to only 60 per cent of local demand. Nowadays most of the labourers involved in preliminary moulding of bricks are Afghans (54.2 per cent) and local Swati (25.0 per cent). The coal used in kilns was previously transported from Quetta, however nowadays it is brought from the newly discovered Chirat in the Peshawar valley and Kohat. Brick kilns consume 42.8 per cent of the total wood used in Mingora municipal limits contributing significantly to hard wood deforestation. Two kilns are reportedly using wasted tires and tubes as fuel in place of wood causing greater pollution. At present the brick kilns are utilising 1176 canals of most productive land in the vicinity of Mingora.

Hydel Power Generation

Each valley lying to the north of Mingora has the potential for fulfilling its own electricity requirement at least for lighting purpose, while the main river and its main tributaries have greater potential for power generation. Such power generation stations exist only in Kalam established with government support, while in Shangla a few small hydel power generation stations are functional in the private sector. The produced electricity is mainly used for lighting and rarely for other activities. In very few localities the electricity is used in woodwork and flour-grinding units. In Kohistan region, except Kalam, the population density is the lowest and most of the inhabitants spend transhumant life hence feel little need for permanent lighting arrangement. They are also the least exposed to modernity. On the other hand, the inhabitants of Shangla are permanently settled. In the recent past tourism has flourished in Kohistan and the State is investing in extending electricity through hydel power or from national grid to the region.

In Shangla, the residences are scattered mainly on hill slopes and the electricity from the national grid is supplied to limited area. The valleys are narrow and the streams are torrential, hence capable of power generation with limited investment. The indigenous technology is used with quarter to half cusec water channels and an average fall of 6-12 meters. Mostly the indigenous turbines are used and the power generation unit capacity of turbines ranges from

5,000-20,000 watts. In many areas two turbines are arranged for alternative use during day and night and each unit serves the lighting requirements of 50-100 houses. The households are charged at the rate of 20-40 rupees per tube light (20-40 watts) or fan plug. Each unit requires an investment of half up to one million rupees, mostly invested by a single family. In some localities power is used for flour grinding, cotton threading and woodwork during daytime, while at night it is used for lighting.

Wooden Antique Trade

Woodcarving has been practiced since long in the area and apart from furniture, wooden bins were commonly used for storage of clothes, pillows and blankets, grains and flour. All wooden furniture, bins and utensils were finely carved and rich households used to compete with each other in carving. The circulatory occupation of residences due to Wesh system was probably the main motivating factor for adopting the easily transportable wooden utensils for storage system. The landowners, due to their traditional Mailmastia and obligation to keep Tayar Khore for factional fighting, were obliged to arrange for storage of grains, flour and pillows, etc. The woodcarving inside the centuries old mosques can still be observed in many localities.

After permanent land settlement during the first quarter of the twentieth century when construction of privately owned residences was initiated, the wooden doors, windows, pillars and beams were extensively carved. The carving was particularly prominent on the main entrance door. The craft continued till the middle of the century with gradual decline after the infusion of the modern architecture during the era of second Wali of Swat. The need for grain and flour storage bins was reduced with the infusion of market economy.

With the flourishing tourism in the region the traditional woodcarving has become popular among visitors from abroad. The antique traders collect wooden carved pieces on throwaway prices from all corners of the region and earn a lot through the trade. At present dozens of antique shops can be seen throughout the length of the GT Road beyond Mingora, however most of the old carved possessions are diminishing and the trade can only be sustained if it evolves in to production of innovative artifacts.

Woolen Handicrafts Trade

Woolen cloth weavers are a traditionally recognised social group and the Swat made hand woven woolen blankets are famous throughout the Pukhtun territory. With the extending market economy and the introduction of cheap synthetic fiber, cotton and woolen cloth industrial products, it became hard for the local weavers to compete. Most of the weavers were forced to adopt other occupations. However, in some localities the weavers have stuck to their activities despite severe marketing constraints. With the passage of time these weavers have improved the quality and are able to produce a large array of varieties, grades and colours in their woolen handicrafts through innovative techniques. This has led to gradual improvement in marketing. The key example of such villages is Islampur in the vicinity of Mingora. According to an estimate the Islampur weavers produce handicrafts worth 120 million rupees per annum. They now utilise a sizable quantity of imported fine wool. The Islampur woolen handicrafts find their way to almost all the major cities of the country as well as to the Southeast Asian markets and earning a large sum of foreign exchange.

Embroidery is another handicraft activity prevalent in Mingora and its surrounding rural localities. A large variety of embroidered shawls and cloth pieces are now available in the market in the name of Swati embroidery. Tourism has played an evident role in the promotion of local handicrafts commerce. More than 200 handicraft shops exist in different tourist spots including Mingora, Madyan, Miandam, Bahrain, Kalam and Marghuzar.

Excavated Antiques Trade

Swat valley is rich in historical remains and ruins of ancient dwellings are scattered everywhere. It contains historical evidence of the presence of 1400 Buddhist monasteries on the banks of the River Swat that were ruined by White Huns in the sixth century AD. During the tribal era, almost all the visible monasteries were repeatedly dug by fortune seekers in order to explore gold or precious stones, while the sculptures were routinely damaged. Sometimes the remains were destroyed in order to obtain stone bricks from the walls and reuse them in new construction. The initial excavation of the ruins was carried out for Colonel Deane in 1897 in village Nal in the

southern part of the valley, and the recovered stone sculptures were subsequently shifted to Calcutta Museum (Stein, 1928).

When the locals got to know of the monetary worth of the sculptures, a new campaign for digging of the ruins started. The jewelers in Peshawar provided commercial links between diggers and international purchasers of the antiques. The phenomenon was particularly fueled by the occasional finding of very precious pieces worth millions of rupees. The initial digging experts who emerged in the process were the residents of Nal, who adopted the digging of ruins for the search of sculptures as their chief profession. Every person who identified a buried ruin area would call the digging experts from village Nal. During the second half of the twentieth century the illegal digging bloomed significantly in the southern part of the valley (Malakand Agency), while in the Swat State the second Wali controlled the process of excavation that significantly reduced the chances of illegal digging inside the State territory. The excavation was carried out under the supervision of Italian archeologist and these archeologists also reportedly used to purchase the stolen pieces of sculpture from the Mingora market.

After the State merger the control over digging was lost. Almost all the local jewelers and handicraft dealers working in Mingora got involved in antique business and an underground mafia gradually evolved having links with national and international antique dealers. The policy of the government toward preserving the historical treasure is not supportive and wherever a place with ruins of historical importance are located, the land is subsequently confiscated to be the property of the government without any compensation to the landowner. The landowner thus either opts to keep the ruins remain buried or dig out the area secretly through a deal with the professional diggers on the basis of share in the excavated sculptures. The professional diggers also arrange bribes for the local administrative authorities, if necessary.

Rise and Fall of the Silk Industry

After assumption of the office of the Wali, Miangul Jehanzeb invited the industrialists from other areas of the country to establish environment-friendly industrial units in the valley. Silk industry was considered an environment-friendly due to lack of liquid/gas

chemical emission, although it created enormous noise pollution. The economic justification for such units was generated by the tax-free import of synthetic fiber. No particular industrial zones were created in the city, and small and medium sized units were scattered throughout the city. The first silk industrial unit was established in the early 1960s in Amankot in the name of Bacha Saib Silk Mills by a retired army colonel belonging to Punjab, followed by another unit near the existing buildings of the Municipal Committees Mingora and Odigram. Afterward, silk industrial units got concentrated in Rahimabad and Qambar areas.

The promotion of silk industrial units in Mingora caused huge influx of non-technical young labour to the city. Most of the migrating labourers belonged to the subordinate social segments of the surrounding rural areas. The urbanisation impacts on social sector were already in progress due to extension of education, health, and communication facilities. In the mean time Mingora was also becoming the centre of goods delivery for the surrounding rural areas.

The ban on forced labour by the State authorities played a role in loosening the chains of classical rural structure, however, the rural poor were still dependent on the landowners. The opening of silk industry in Mingora provided them alternative earning opportunity. Soon the labour residential areas were established in Rahimabad where the landownership was mainly with the maternal uncles of the Wali Saib. Such immigration was rather gradual and according to the absorptive capacity of the rural society. After merger of the State and during the Bhutto period the infusion of socialist ideology resulted in the eruption of labour unions in different silk mills. There were frequent strikes and many of the mills closed down due to strained relationship between labour and mill owners. The mills where the main labour leadership was employed were particularly affected. The Bhutto government's order that if a mill was closed down without mechanical fault, the owner was obliged to pay to the labourer from his own pocket, further fueled the crisis. This decision was, however, applicable to medium and large industrial units. Consequently, many of the larger units sold their powerlooms to the smaller units containing 15-30 power-looms mainly established by the previous mill mechanics. These new smaller units spread to every corner of the city and even residential houses were utilised for setting up of power-looms.

After the Bhutto period the circumstances took a "U" turn in favour of the mill-owners. All the additional privileges provided to the labour were withdrawn. The war in Afghanistan in the 1980s provided new opportunities for the bloom of silk industry in the area. The transit trade was allowed without any restriction, with political aims to promote the economics of the bordering region to make them able to afford the pressure of Afghan refugees. The synthetic fiber was smuggled into the area through Afghan transit trade and was available at much cheaper price. For the first time the locals started tremendous investment in the silk industry. Many new silk mills were established in most of the roadside villages from Barikot up to Matta and Khwazakhela on both sides of the River Swat. The process continued till 1992-93, however it completely collapsed within days when during the Benazir Bhutto government synthetic fiber was excluded from the transit trade list for Afghanistan.

Before 1992 more than 20,000 job opportunities were available in the power loom silk industry in Mingora. The availability of non-custom paid synthetic fiber, smuggled via Afghanistan, and the relaxation in other taxes facilitated the establishment of 160 small medium sized silk mills in this far flung city, apart from thousands of household level power loom units. However, the subsequent ban on custom free import on synthetic fiber completely destroyed the industry and thousands of rural labourers were rendered jobless.

The consequences for both the mill-owners and mill labour were drastic. The local mill-owners still possessed their subsistence involvement, hence returned back to their previous farming activity. The power looms were sold in scrap and most of the buildings gradually demolished. Those belonging to Punjab returned back to their native land while a minor portion shifted to other technical activities or non-formal service sectors locally. The majority of the displaced occupants was however the mill labour, who neither had any saving nor any other technical know-how for other occupations. In majority of the cases, they adopted the hand-driven load-carrying carts in Mingora or ended up as daily wage workers.

City Growth and Economic Activities in Mingora

The Mingora-Saidu Sharif road has been developed as service area surrounded by service and literate class service colonies. On the most fertile riverside peri-urban areas of Ingaro Dherai and Takhtaband, the brick kilns are concentrated. These areas are also the main vegetable and milk supply areas for the city. On the Kana Baba road, previously a bypass road on the northern side of the city toward the riverside, the automobile workshops are concentrated. Around the city central Green Square, different wholesale markets of rural based requirements are concentrated. On and around the Grand Trunk road, New road and Main Bazaar (The most primitive market), the tourist goods shops and markets are more numerous.

The main Mingora-Peshawar road in Rahimabad is predominantly occupied by the transport bargain centres, while in the Naway Kalay there were a few property bargain centres, being on the approach road to the slowly emerging Kanjo Town. The building material stores are also concentrated on the Airport Road, mainly because of Kanjo Town and more remittances/Orchards money-earning areas in Nikpikhel and Matta valleys on the other side of the river Swat. The Vegetable Market previously existed annexed to the western entrance of Main Bazaar. However during mid eighties the market was shifted to Watkey.

The shifting of the vegetable market to Watkey toward the East Side of the city on main Mingora-Kalam road resulted in creation of Goods transport service activities in its vicinity. Different Auto Stores and Tire Shops are also frequent near Goods Transport stands on the main Charbagh/Khwazakhela road. The previously cropped zone surrounded by Airport road, Charbagh/Khwazakhela road, and Watkey Road and Kana Baba road has now almost completely occupied by automobile workshops with sub-zonal concentration for trucks, jeeps and cars etc. The meat/mutton shops, spread throughout the city before mid eighties, were concentrated at two places, one besides New Road and the other around Main Bazaar. The four main trades markets i.e. Main Bazaar, New Road, Kanjo Road and Grand Trunk Roads surrounds the old traditional town of Mingora, and the area has now been exclusively converted to Old Shoes Markets (Kabarh) and the female markets. The females' visits to these markets and purchases clothe, shoes, daily

household use utensils and makeup utilities by themselves. Ghwarai Cheena was the main traditional spring, visited by female for collection of drinking water. The surrounding region of the spring has now converted into the famous Cheena Market for female folk and mainly contain the shop for clothe, make-up items, ladies and child shoes, bangles and crockery.

After transformation of Mingora into the main urban territory in the rural surroundings of the valley, it's gradual growth created non-farm-earning opportunities. Construction and wage labour were among the initial activities created in the city. The subsequent earning activities were in the emerging technical sector, while the service sector also gradually emerged particularly due to location of administrative centre near the city. The wage labour for construction and loading unloading consisted of tenant emigrants from the surrounding hilly areas of the valley. The modern sector technical labour migrated from the big cities down the country and started their own business by opening workshops.

The service sector partly comprised of those shifted from down the country, however gradually replaced by the natives after availing higher education. After merger, however, there was again influx of down country immigrants into business and service sector. Some of these immigrants returned back, while most of them decided to stay initially in the rented accommodation and in many situations subsequently constructing their own houses according to their status. The result was that the relative proportion of the immigrant particularly from within the valley increased in the city population. The native city population still occupies the original constituent's village sites in Amankot, Main Bazaar Mingora, Naway Kalay and Saidu Sharif. The big original landowners have shifted their residences mainly to the fertile or scenic city suburbs, converting their own houses into markets. The consequence is that the city social system and social relation of production greatly differed from the surrounding rural areas simultaneously affecting each other.

Current Trends in Cloth Wholesale Trade

During the previous ten years on the main Grand Trunk road in Amankot, new clothe Whole Sale market known as Da Akakhel o Ada^{12a} has been established. The market serves as the main imported

China clothe centre for further distribution in the rest of the country. According to the estimates of the local traders, the daily volume of trade in the market is approximately worth 3-4 million rupees. The immigrants from Afghanistan have nearly an absolute monopoly on the trade in this market. Two different Kochi markets and a Barha market serve as the intermediate level retail/whole-sale Clothe markets in Mingora. Customs rules and regulations have not so far extended to Malakand region, hence once entered into the territory open sale and purchase of smuggled cloth and other goods can be carried out. An under ground network exist that arrange to transport the cloth to the anterior of the country.

When the cloth or other trade items are purchased in the western parts of China e.g. Sinkiang province, it is transported via Kirghizistan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan to Herat in Afghanistan. If the purchase is carried out in Southeastern port cities like Shangai, it is transported through sea to Bandar Abbas (Iran) and then through Islam Qala to Herat (Afghanistan). The containers loaded in Herat are unloaded in Jalalabad (Afghanistan). From Jalalabad the goods are shifted to Mingora through Asmar (Afghanistan), Binshai (a pass connecting Dir valley with Afghanistan) and Timergara (Dir District) in Jeeps or on mule back almost absolutely without any Custom/Import duty, but a minor amount of bribery surpluses for the local level administration. It takes 2-3 months for the goods to reach Mingora from the point of its purchase. Guarantee is given to the purchaser by the transporters and if some damage occurs on the route, the transporter is obliged to return full cost to the purchasers. At present per container transportation charges are 4-5 thousand dollars.

Role of Economic Actors

Almost all the main economic actors in the area have established their associations at two main levels. A geographic level association exist in different markets containing traders having entirely different businesses in order to tackle the market level issues for example Udyana Market Shopkeeper Association, Shalimar Market Shopkeeper Association and so on. The activity level association is established on the basis of particular businesses for example bookseller's Association, Transporters Association and Hotel Association etc. A particular trader is therefore member of both

associations. The Swat Traders Federation is a representative body of the activity-based associations.

The Federation activities mainly included settling issues with the Police, Municipality and the District Administration as well as dispute settlements with the property owners. During mid nineties politics get induced in the federation and as a result it got disintegrated into fractions on the basis of political affiliation having difference of opinion on some issues, while showing unity on other issues. The main aim of Trader Federation is however to work as pressures group for business community in the absence of their representation at any other level. At regional level there also exist Malakand Chambers of Commerce and Industry but having little influence or recognition.

During 1993-94 out of the total 77 small industrial units in Mingora and its suburbs 64 were silk industries unit, 4 chemical unit, 1 tobacco processing unit, 2 pharmaceutical unit, 1 soap factory, 1 ceramics factory, 1 factory for hosiery and 3 units of plastic and rubber industries. All the 64 silk industrial units have now been closed as a result of changing import export policies on synthetic fiber.

The Issue of Child Labour

In the traditional society the children mostly used to play significant role in the overall farming system. After attaining eight years age, while belonging to a peasant family the child particular role was in livestock grazing and watering or bringing fodder tree leaves for the lactating herd members. While having an artisan ethnic background, the children used to help his father to gradually learn the skill with the growing age.

The results of a recent survey in Mingora (Rahatullah, 2001^{12b}) revealed that majority of the workshop worker children contribute nominally to the family income (5-10 rupees per day). The majority of the Brick Kiln workers are among the highest contributors (20-40 rupees per day) to the daily family income. The Tea Café workers predominantly contribute 10-30 rupees daily, while Waste Material collectors contribute a variable amount. The less contribution of Workshop workers indicates the worker's family attitude is more toward learning rather than depending on child earning. On the other hand, those working in Brick Kilns provide substantially to

their family income. Those working in Brick Kilns are born of the parents involved in bonded labour, and are the recipients of advances in household emergencies from the Brick Kiln owners against their future family labour. The Tea Café workers having no any bonded obligation also contribute substantially to their family income. The Waste collectors/Vendors contribute variably to their family income depending upon the level of poverty of the family.

Almost all the Workshop workers indicated gradual increase in their income with increasing experience. Among the Workshop Workers 40% resided in rented houses while 60% had their own accommodation. Out of 40% rented houses, 70% were Kacha, while another 30% were Pakha. In case of own houses, 47% were Kacha, while the rest were Pakha. Ninety two percent of Workshop child workers indicated their intention to adopt the job as a future carrier. The rest 8% indicated their intention to proceed abroad for remittances earning.

In fifty three percent situations the fathers of workshop workers possessed some formal education (primary to metric mostly and rarely up to master level). The fathers of brick kiln working children were completely illiterate, while in case of tea café workers; only 13% among their fathers were literate up to primary level. Among the waste material collectors/vendors only 5% of their fathers were literate.

Role of Tourism

History of Tourism Development

Swat valley offers huge potentials for tourism because of its scenic beauty, variety of its environment and rich archeological and cultural heritage. The revival of tourism in the valley corresponds with the emergence of State and initiation of the process of urbanization of Mingora. Before partition the indigenous tourist mainly comprised of the formally educated class of Punjab and they had traditional links with Kashmir valley. The people of the country in general were reluctant to visit Swat along with their families due to security reasons. The growing family relations with the President Ayub Khan played and subsequent visit of Queen Elizabeth during early sixties with wide media coverage made the people down the country aware of the tourism potentials in the valley and the development of region as a tourist site was set forth. After mid

sixties the primary road network throughout the valley was established and the second Wali particularly encouraged the European tourists to visit the valley. The second Wali subsequently established State Rest Houses in different parts of the valley. Bagh Dherai¹³ was the second place, where hotels for tourists were established and was followed by Madyan, Bahrain and Kalam. There has been gradual growth of tourist flow after merger of state. The number of tourists visiting Swat valley were approximately 10,000 during 1981 and a gradual growth in the number was recorded thereafter till 1987 when the number of annual visitors reached approximately 40,000. The pace continued till 1991 with subsequent shoot up from 45,000 to more than 60,000 during 1992 and 90,000 during 1993¹⁴.

During the late sixties Madyan was the main tourist site, and Bahrain was the subsequent place to be developed. Just after merger Madyan was the main tourist avenue for the Pukhtun tourists, while Punjabi tourists mainly visited Bahrain. The growth of Kalam as a main tourist spot was initiated during early eighties due to extension of GT Road replacing ordinary service road, development of a small hydel power station supplying electricity to the main hotels and investment of black money by drug traffickers in hotels at Kalam. KIDP¹⁵ also developed a network of small shingle roads to the further anterior of the tributary valleys in the north of Kalam.

During early eighties work on Malam Jaba tourist resort was initiated with Austrian assistance at a distance of 40 Km to the north east of Mingora. The hotel was completed during 1989, however it could only be opened during 1998 due to bureaucratic hurdles. Bisham is another growing tourist transit place for tourist proceeding to northern areas and China through Karakoram Highway, despite its less friendly environment.

Role of Mingora in Tourism

Mingora play main role in tourism of the valley. It contains many hotels; tourist services centres and shops containing items of touristy interest. Mingora also contain markets of smuggled goods that are not allowed for sale down the country, hence of prime importance for Pakistani tourists. Beside these it serve as the main nucleus for different tourist spots in the valley.

The first tourist hotel in the valley was the Taj hotel¹⁶ in Mingora built during early thirties just after abolishment of Wesh system. The present Swat Serena was the old residence of the Wazirs¹⁷ and was converted into a tourist hotel after exile of his family due to political reasons during early forties. Tariq hotel¹⁸, Green hotel and Palace hotel were the subsequent hotels established during the time of second Wali in early fifties. The older middle class tourist hotels are sporadically scattered on Grand Trunk Road, Makan Bagh and New Road, while Swat Hotel (present Swat Serena) and Palace Hotel at Naway Kalay (now a public school) were the hotel for well-off people. The new middle class hotels are concentrated around General Bus Stand and high class tourist hotels are becoming concentrated on Mingora-Kalam road in Fiza Ghat on the banks of river Swat mainly because of moderate temperature due to river breeze during summer, when the city centre remains hot¹⁹. The older hotels either have been converted into markets, Advocates/Lawyers offices or retained as area specific hotel for local valley visitors. The Pakistani tourists visit the valley during summer and European visitors mainly during autumn season.

Mingora contains a museum with rich collection of locally excavated Gandhara sculptures rearranged and labeled to illustrate the Buddha's life story. The ethnographic section displays the finest examples of local embroidery, carved wood and tribal jewelry. An Italian architect, on the demand of the Wali, built the museum. Italians began archeological research in 1955, on proposal made by the Wali, who was a collector of antiquities. The museum served to house the finds of the archeological campaigns, but also the private collection of the Wali. In the 1990s, the museum was rehabilitated and the collections received a new presentation, with the help of the Japanese Government.

Table 9.1 Number of hotels at different tourist spots in Swat after State merger

S. No	Tourist Spot	1970-79	1980-87	1988-93	1994-99
1	Mingora	12	20	30	100
2	Kalam	4	9	20	150
3	Bahrain	7	8	10	30
4	Madyan	4	5	7	20
5	Miandam	2	3	3	15
6	Bagh Dherai	2	2	3	3
7	Bisham	-	1	5	16

Source: Hotel Association of Swat

The people from the mountainous rural areas of NWFP, Azad Kashmir and Northern Punjab routinely visit during spring season to the shrine of Saidu Sharif. Approximately 15-25 thousand visitors annually visit the shrine mainly belonging to the rural areas. Such people arrange a tour of the shrines including Saidu Baba, Pir Baba (Buner), Pira Abai (the shrine of the wife of Pir Baba), and Devana Baba (shrine of a disciple of Pir Baba in Buner). The pilgrims used to spent night inside the mosque courtyard and for eating they utilize the services of cheapest hotels in the surroundings.

Development of Services for Tourism

The prevailing peaceful environment throughout the valley during State times provided a sound foundation for tourism promotion in the valley. Construction of Saidu Airport at Kanjo further improved the links of the valley with major cities down the country. During early eighties Pakistan Tourism Development Corporation established its office at Saidu Sharif, providing information to the tourist and arranging tourist trips in collaboration with national and international tourism promoting agencies. The corporation also constructed international level hotels, motels and huts at Kalam, Miandam and very recently at Mankial (still under construction) and its own transport service between Saidu Sharif and Islamabad.

The Austrian government is also helping in promoting tourism in Swat valley. It initially worked on establishing a winter sports and summer resort at Malan Jaba with Skiing, Snow Scooters and Chair lifts facilities provision. It also contains an international level of 4-Star hotel and has started functioning since 1998. Another recent contribution of the Austrian government is the establishment of Pakistan Austrian Institute for Tourism and Hotel Management (PAITHOM) at Guli Bagh. A 4-Star hotel is annexed with the institute and it has just started its preliminary functions (March 2001). The institute will not only help in promoting tourism in Swat valley and its surrounding region, but will also help in providing better services throughout the country.

Afghan War and Tourism in Swat Valley

Before the merger of State the main tourists were the Europeans followed by visitors from Peshawar valley. Almost half of the tourists were European Hippies. The visitors from Pukhtun areas

occasionally utilized the hotels and mostly stayed with their friends. After State merger the tourists from Punjab and Sindh also started visiting the valley. One of the main activities during the seventies was the frequent visit by the Shooting teams of Film Industry. After mid seventies there was a sharp decline in European visitors and Film Industry people with subsequent increase in tourists from Punjab and Sindh.

The main reason for decline in European visitors was the initiation of Afghan War during the late eighties. The European tourist used to initiate their tour from India. After entering Pakistan they used to visit Swat and Chitral. Then they entered Afghanistan and via Iran and Turkey they used to return back to Europe. The more frequent Hippie visits were due to free availability of Hashish and cheaper hotels and food. The Islamic revolution in Iran served the initial link between Turkey and Afghanistan, while the subsequent initiation of Afghan War almost entirely vanished the tourist route. The regimen of General Zia-ul-Haq strongly promoted fundamentalism within the country as well. The Film Industry also received a set back due to different reasons and the visits of shooting teams to the region significantly reduced after early eighties.

The Afghan War also led to tremendous flow of money from Europe and America for the Holy War into the region and the communications throughout the province were tremendously improved. The Afghan Warlords also managed to promote drug trade and the flow of drug money into the region promoted tourist hotels particularly in Kalam area. The promotion of hotel facilities and communication strongly promoted the tourism in the valley, although the main tourists were the Punjabi and Sindhi and very rarely Europeans.

Potential and Problems

The valleys of Kalam, Malam Jaba, Madyan, Bahrain, Marghuzar and Miandam are established tourist sites in the valley, while Ilum Mountain, Jambil area; Chuprial, Sakhra and Shangla are the other areas having potentials for tourism promotion. The planned development of advanced communication to these sites will provide alternative tourist spots and will limit the further congestion at the already overcrowded sites like Kalam and Bahrain. Promotion of eco-tourism in the valley will not only promote the tourism in the

area but will also distribute the economic benefits more evenly. The improvement of road to Bisham will improve the link of the valley with the Northern Areas and China. A new road link linking Kalam with Terru in Northern Area through Dadarelli pass²⁰, if established will provide alternative easy access to Northern Areas, Shandur and Chitral and will tremendously promote the tourism on regional basis. Similar road links through Dardiyal in Nikpikhel area with Warai in Dir will shorten the distance between the two valleys by more than hundred percent and will add to the promotion of tourism. A similar link from Utrore in the north of Kalam with Tal Lamotai in Dir Kohistan and Matiltan in the east of Kalam with Kandia valley in Indus Kohistan are also needed for promotion of tourism on regional basis.

Despite the huge potential for tourism no regional planning for construction work is carried out. Any investor can purchase land at any place and erect building of his own choice, wherever he like. The riverside is the main preferred site and the already established venue is highly valued. As a result the most potential sites rapidly begin to be overcrowded with building and rapidly loose the attraction for the tourists. No environmental protection rules are in place and the hotels in many situations use to flush their latrines in the open river. The haphazard construction of hotels on riverbank hence leads to pollution and narrowing of the riverbed. Hotels are also constructed on forested hill slopes and leads to deforestation of the site. The result is the mushroom growth of hotels without caring for the overall environment and sustainable development of tourism. Kalam can be taken as a classical example that is rapidly losing its charm for tourists.

Notes

- ¹ Leede B.M and Inam-ur-Rahim. 1997. *Rang land Utilization in Malakand Division; over use or under use?* Paper presented at the international conference Livestock production held on Dec. 1997 at NARC, Islamabad.
- ² Acharya S.S. and N.L. Agarwal. 1987. *Agriculture Marketing in India*. Mohan Pramlani for Oxford and IBH Publishing Company, New Delhi.

- ³ Blaikie.1989. The Political economy of soil erosion in Developing countries. Published by Longman group Ltd. U.K.
- ⁴ Bureau of Statistics 1995-96. NWFP Development Statistics. Bureau of Statistics. Planning environment and Development Department. Govt. of NWFP.
- ⁵ 25% sheep, 16% goats, 4% cattle and 3.7% buffaloes of local livestock population.
- ⁶ Armbruster.T 1992. Report on range management. Tarbela- Mangla water shed management Project.
- ⁷ Hussain. F and H. Sher (2001). "Where have all wild medicinal plants diversity gone?" *Udyana Today*. A quarterly publication of Environmental Protection Society, Swat. Issue-1, Vol. 8, Pp 5-8.
- ⁸ Data provided by Iftikhar Khan local reporter of Daily *The News* Islamabad.
- ⁹ Daily *Dawn*, Karachi, 23 May 2000.
- ¹⁰ Daily *Dawn* Karachi, 30 May 2000.
- ¹¹ The data quoted in this section is quoted from Sharar S. A. (1995) *Study on Brick Kiln Situation in Swat* for GTZ-VSBK Project and Environmental Protection Society Swat.
- ^{12a} The name is derived from a tribe recently migrated from Afghanistan, for details see chapter on geographical context
- ^{12b} Rahatullah 2001. *Social and economic causes of child labour: a case study of Mingora district Swat*. M.Sc. thesis, Institute of development studies, faculty of rural social sciences, NWFP agricultural university Peshawar Pakistan.
- ¹³ A village 20 km to the north of Mingora on main Saidu-Kalam road.
- ¹⁴ Kalam Integrated Development Project, A Swiss project for the uplift of the area
- ¹⁵ Kalam Integrated Development Project, for details see Chapter Four, section "Influence of Donors."
- ¹⁶ The hotel is built on the spot of Muleteers trade centre before the State consolidation and is still used as a hotel
- ¹⁷ Two brothers of Chitralli origin, one senior minister and the other junior minister with the first Wali of Swat
- ¹⁸ Tariq hotel presently contains different offices on rent mainly those of advocates.
- ²⁰ For details see Chapter One.

Conclusion

A variety of topography, terrain and altitude make the Swat valley an ecological paradise. Throughout its previous history, the valley linked China with India/Persia and India with Central Asia and the Middle East, hence a variety of civilisations flourished and still entirely different languages and cultures are found at short distances from one another. The local society is traditionally built on economic interdependence and political clientage. The traditional activities are stratified along age, gender and ethnic lines, while all social groups depending upon access qualification occupy equally the emerging occupations. A house is the basic unit of economic and social life. Its members work together, pool their income, may cook jointly and possess a formal male head. The landless usually have elementary families, while the relatively bigger landowners mostly have nucleated families. Different ethnic groups occupy different environmental niches and their settlement patterns are specifically adapted to their natural resource use pattern. In general, the powerful are concentrated in the valley bottom, while the subordinate classes occupy the sloping areas. The process of urbanisation has led to evolution of concentric rings of different intermediary farming systems around Mingora depending upon access and topography.

Before the emergence of the State, Swat was a society of heroes, battles and betrayal. The Dalla system and relative equality among Pukhtuns did not allow the evolution of a central administrative organisation. A communal tribal structure was adopted, maintained by traditional Pukhtu codes. The value orientation on which Pukhtunwali is based emphasises male autonomy, self-expression and aggressiveness. These customary codes were equally applicable

to most of the subordinate tribes as well. No Pukhtun was master of another and everyone residing in the territory was independent. Pukhtunwali was the core of Pukhtuns' social behaviour. Apart from the codes of Pukhtu, every Pukhtun was largely free to organise his life for himself. Above all, with a traditional outlook, the Pukhtuns were free in the most profound political sense.

The Pukhtun tribal society is generally characterised by strong rural and weak regional level social organisations. The Tal can be considered as the basic unit of integrated social system containing the welfare characteristics of the segmentary society. The village containing many Tals is the subsequent level of organisation, less integrated socially, but more so economically through weaker economic actors, i.e. Hindu/Sikh, Paracha and artisans. Birth of a male child, circumcision, marriage and death are the main gathering occasions and attendance and absence from them indicate political alliance and social status. The religious class mostly acts in conflict resolving mechanisms among different Tals in a village and also among different villages. Inception of still broader level of regional organisation at Tapa level existed but significantly weakened by Dalla politics. Different Dallahs within the same village and among different villages recurrently fought with each other and were prohibitive to evolution of a regional level organisation. The subsequent lack of peace at regional level prevented the main economic actors to promote economic activities, which could lead to the emergence of an urban centre. The available economic actors were politically weaker and unable to invest their earnings due to the fear of Pukhtun warlords. The Pukhtun and religious landowners, on the other hand, considered trade as a shameful activity. Finally, the circulatory land tenure system of Wesh was characterised by transitional stay at a single locality and prevented erection of durable buildings for commercial activities.

In the traditional society, the landowner Pukhtun serves as a political patron to all the segments residing in his ward. There is no concept of central authority and permanent obligation to serve a particular warlord. On the other hand, within a ward or Tal, a Khan has to be a worthy Pukhtun, to deserve the obedience of his men in return for honour, generous rewards and sometimes land grants. When the ability of a leader wanes or when he dies, another man capable of filling the role, and not necessarily a close relative of the old leader, replaces him. Furthermore, leaders possess no judicial powers. They lead by suggestion and force of their character and could be disobeyed at any time. The religious groups serve as

transitional regional leaders during periods of threats. Being neutral in the Dalla politics the religious leaders were mostly agreed upon to be the mediators in local conflicts.

With the inception of the Swat State, the organisation of the society was not overthrown, but an imprecise character of a ruler was introduced for the centralised moderating and coordinating activity. As compelled by the social structure, the creation of a ruler necessitated "riding a tiger" game, with particularly superior skills in the two party games. The power of Khans was perpetually balanced by the power of other Khans, leading to a balance of power between different Dallahs.

Abolition of Wesh and the introduction of permanent land settlement enabled the landowners to erect more permanent structures on their landed estate and generated the base for the development of urban centre near the political centre in the valley. Main infrastructure, e.g. schools, hospitals, courts etc., further facilitated the process of urbanisation. The most important factor which promoted urbanisation during the State time was, however, the prevailing peace throughout the region. The subsequent establishment of road network provided the final platform for evolution of the main urban centre in the form of Mingora. The gradual growth of Mingora generated economic opportunities with subsequent wealth accumulation by the business class. Hence the old inequalities, based on the tribal values of hospitality and manhood, were replaced by new inequalities based on economic disparity. This also modified the social character and promoted individualism and a race for wealth. The mutually cooperative tribal character of the society was significantly transformed, although the physical development, peace and prosperity were evident during the State times. The result was a gradual evolution of a specific urbanised culture, retaining some of the characteristics of indigenous cultures and acquiring some new traits.

At the time of the merger into the Pakistan nation-state, the colonial rules and regulations prevalent in the country were soon extended to the newly created district and civil and session judges were transferred from other districts and posted in different subdivisions of the new one. The people of the area were disappointed at the technicalities and complexities of the new system, the lengthy procedures and inordinate delays, and costly and defective investigation processes. Meanwhile, a movement was initiated by a religious segment for the enforcement of Shariat laws in Malakand Division. Under the pressure of this movement the

government initially introduced Nifaz-e-Shariat Regulation and then Nifaz-e-i-Adl Regulation, but none of these has brought any visible change in the judicial system, nor has it satisfied the activist of the movement. The common people are still obliged to use the conflict resolving informal Jirga system and mediation by religious groups due to delayed decisions by the formal courts.

The influence of TNSM has now greatly reduced due to the role they played during the current US war in Afghanistan. The organisation has now been officially banned.

Spatial and temporal seasonal variation compels the residents to evolve a complex farming system and settlement pattern, based upon the provisions of relief, climate and labour requirements for obtaining a particular amount of output. The social stratification in the area indicates a group of big landowners (non-cultivators) and small landowners or owner-users residing in the main village along professional/artisan class (carpenter, blacksmith etc.) generally occupying the fertile, gentle and better-irrigated lands. The tenants are non-owners, making their living through leasing the least fertile hill slope rain-fed terraces or share cropping, and live in hamlets surrounding the main villages. The livestock herders occupy the sloping land niches having grazing and browsing potential for their livestock, while on irrigated lands they shift to milk animals. The transhumant or nomadic herders migrate between alpine pastures (summer) and low elevation range and scrublands (winter) in search of forage.

Different social groups have evolved their cropping pattern and herd composition according to the provision of natural resource base occupied by them. The communications in some area are still equine based and some areas are hardly accessible, leading to overused and underused sites depending upon accessibility. Multiple ecological niches are used to accrue a wide variety of products at different latitudinal levels for subsistence as well as for exchange (barter and monetary). There are clear zones of crop systems with respect to altitude, slope and aspect, water availability and soil conditions. Different ecological zones are inter-linked, constituting a multi-community subsistence unit. Production is mainly aimed for subsistence at household or community level. In different seasons different production and marketing activities proceed in villages and towns, each having a defined zone of influence in the form of hamlets and isolated houses. Some valleys are important for off-season vegetables and orchards, while others have potential for tourism or timber production. The process of urbanisation worked

to gradually externalise the traditional rural farming, contributing to soil nutrient mining and decreasing farm fertility.

The pricing policies of the government to impose a ceiling on grains and livestock products prices have compelled the farmers to produce these for subsistence rather than market. Due to inefficient market information system and lack of crop insurance mechanism, a large array of middlemen extract greater proportion of value from the produce. The farmer hence devotes the less motivated and less potential household labour to the task while planning household labour distribution. The difficult access also seems to be one of the main reasons making the marketable production of grains and perishable cash crops uneconomical due to high transportation costs, time and labour. The external inputs for the subsistence farming are mainly realised through the remittances. The mountainous environment, due to topographic constraints is usually more feasible for range based livestock production, however, the live animal marketing is mainly affected by pricing policies rather than transportation costs. On the other hand, the marketing of livestock products is influenced by accessibility and communications due to its high perishability. Furthermore, commercial livestock rearing is considered a shameful activity by those capable to invest. Another factor that makes the average family land unit non-feasible for commercial exploitation is land ownership fragmentation due to population explosion. Commercial production of orchards and off-season vegetables has been significantly promoted in the recent past in peri-urban/suburban areas and along the highways. The orchards and commercial vegetable production is limited to the main valley bottom (7 per cent of the total cultivated land).

In the traditional rural societies females equally share the workload. The rearing of livestock, its management and feeding, weed thinning, manure spreading and forage harvests are exclusive female activities among rural and hillside residents. The woman also helps in sowing, harvesting and threshing. Among poor hillside families she arranges the firewood and makes dung cakes for subsequent fuel use. With increasing overseas and internal migration of male youth, women are overburdened as well as empowered, particularly in rural areas. While residing in urban areas, when the male partner shift to non-farm earning activity the role of female becomes limited to indoor activities with reduced involvement with farming and the males are compelled to take up all the work. Some women, however, shift to handicraft and a minor proportion to restricted modern sector activities after obtaining some schooling.

In Swat Valley there existed no formal education institutions before the start of the twentieth century. In 1904, the British established in Thana (lower Swat) the first formal primary school in the valley. This school was gradually upgraded to secondary level in 1938. The main aim in education was to provide lower class office workers for their extending administration. Those who acquired school education were able to obtain non-farm white-collar jobs in the British institutions. The formal education is still viewed as a means to obtain non-farm, formal service in different government/private offices. The informally trained technicians carry out most of the private sector technical jobs.

Before 1992 more than 20,000 job opportunities were available in the power loom silk industry in Mingora. The availability of non-custom paid synthetic fiber, smuggled via Afghanistan and the relaxation in other formal taxes facilitated the establishment of 160 small medium sized silk mills apart from thousands of household level power loom units throughout the Swat valley and particularly in the surroundings of Mingora. However, the subsequent ban on custom free import on synthetic fiber completely destroyed the industry and thousands of rural laborers were rendered jobless.

The seasonality in production and urban biased pricing policies pave the way to internal migration and subsequently to external and overseas migration. Ever fragmenting small land holdings, low on-farm income and resulting financial constraints with the risk of uncertainly further complement the migration process. It is estimated that every alternative household contains an overseas migrant while every rural household contains more than one domestic migrant and household without a migrated male could hardly be located. Usually the younger, more skilled, motivated and better-educated population migrates which is debilitating to the region. The increasing migration is causing remittances dependent population explosion and lack of working labour during peak periods. Remittances are becoming the main source of livelihood. The traditional tribal behaviour, inflow of remittances and marginalised farming are jointly contributing to the mushroom growth of concrete structures on productive lands, increasing dependence on market and inefficient use of material resources.

Migration abroad involve high migration costs and is generally prevalent in the social segments possessing some saleable assets like land or livestock or having a relative or family member already abroad. The recruitment of labour force for Gulf countries improved the land purchasing power of landless tenants and Gujars during the

1970s and 1980s. The subsequent gradual reduction in remittances inflow, saturation of non-farm formal and informal local service sector and diminishing investment opportunities have significantly slowed down the pace of land transaction. The purchase of hillside land by the tenants and Gujars led to more effective land management as compared to the tenancy based occupation.

The availing of remittance-earning opportunities abroad, just after the State merger enabled the landowners to sell rain-fed land at higher prices to the subordinate groups. This changed the classical land ownership pattern, which was already shattered by the prevailing national political environment. The money obtained through the land sale is invested in construction of new houses, shops, celebrations, animosity, and sporadically in trade. Many among the previous subordinates became better off than their masters. They were, however, neither sufficiently equipped for taking advantages of the evolving modern sector, nor any mechanism was devised to enhance their capacity in a reciprocally beneficial manner.

Forest resource is overexploited mainly for fuel and construction. Most of the households in the valley still depend on trees as their main fuel resource. Though tree harvesting from the natural forest is banned, illegal harvesting practices have never been effectively controlled in the valley. Most of the timber collected is sold locally in Mingora and other small towns and also smuggled to Pesbawar. The transaction of furniture is allowed under the rules; hence the wood harvested is initially utilised in making furniture that is subsequently shifted to other regions. The local harvesters and carpenters mostly utilise the outdated traditional method while dealing with wood, hence a significant proportion is wasted and little value added to the final product.

The mineral production significantly contributes to the economy of the area. The mining potential of the valley, however, so far has not been effectively exploited. The marble processing industry is polluting the local streams and also most of the extracted marbles are wasted away due to outdated mining and processing technology. New emerald mines sites have been discovered, which could generate job opportunities, if new less polluting and more productive technologies would be introduced.

During the late 1990s, the trade through the Karakoram Highway was relaxed and most of the local businessmen promptly invested a lot of money in purchase of Chinese smuggled goods. The cloth trade particularly got a boost and most of the local urban inhabitants get involved in one way or the other in Chinese goods

business. However, after the army takeover during 1999 the trade with China was gradually regulated and the imposition of heavy import duty made the trade through this route less economical. The alternate route adopted was via Afghanistan and Central Asian states. The immigrants from Afghanistan have nearly an absolute monopoly on the trade in this wholesale cloth market.

There has been gradual growth of tourist inflow after the merger of State. At present a total of 334 tourist hotels are available in Swat valley, concentrated in Kalam, Mingora, Bahrain, Madayan, Miandam and Bisham. The lack of comprehensive regional tourism promotion policy is leading to environmental degradation. Despite huge potential for tourism no regional planning is carried out. As a result the most potential sites rapidly begin to be overcrowded with buildings and loose their attraction for the tourists. Investment in tourism is increasing and the hotels and markets are occupying without any control the key scenic sites with subsequent negative impact on environment. Kalam can be taken as a classical example of a place which is rapidly losing its charm for tourists: the views, the landscape, the complete natural environment have been destroyed for ugly, out of scale, huge buildings.

Since 1994, after the uprising of TNSM in Swat and Mingora, the tourism, especially the international one, has declined. But investors and government agencies still continue building of hotels (in Malam Jabba, Saidu). In Spring 2002, due to the political event in Afghanistan and the economic crisis in Pakistan, PIA flights did not serve the Saidu Airport.

The emerging trends include rapid disruption of the classical socio-political structure. The inflow of remittances is working to create new powerful segments in the rural structure. The influence of classical political leaders is gradually declining and the integrity of the rural socio-political units is vanishing. The scope of rural level welfare mechanism is diminishing and families are becoming more urban-centred. Villages in the bottom of the main valley are gradually merging with the villages along the roadside. Improved communication infrastructure is bringing modern approaches and relaxing the rigidity of the society. The target-oriented sectoral projects are promoting dependence on inflow of external resources. The Pukhtu language is gradually dominating the other languages and all the Gujars, Ajars and Kohistani are obliged to learn and speak Pukhtu. The use of Urdu and English being national and international languages is also gradually extending and many words are being borrowed by Pukhtu from these languages. Strong ethnic

artisanal classification is gradually losing its validity and the emerging modern sector occupations are open equally to different artisan groups. Urbanisation is gradually modifying the tribal behaviour of the society. The earning of remittances has modified to a great extent the classical behaviour of the society with more freedom of activity and expression to the previously subordinate social segment. The Pukhtun and Istanadar (religious group) are gradually losing authority and being the first in obtaining modern education, are better equipped for competition in the changed socio-political system.

The weakening of classical social structure is predominantly following the direction of urbanization. However, in remote areas with the rapidly extending market economy the power structure is stratifying along ethnic lines. In the emerging commercial areas like Kalam, the land ownership is shifting to outsider investors in hotel industry. The landowners now no more consider business as a hated activity, however they still prefer to remain away from the market place. The emergence of traders (Paracha and Zargar) in Mingora at a different level of political process no more seems to be replicable in other areas due to increasing competition from Pukhtun, Istandar and the remaining social segments. Those availing the chance to emerge among the subordinate segment are supporting their own patrilineity and in many situations wish to improve relations with the powerful segments.

The tremendous inflow of remittances mainly through the traditionally disadvantaged segments in some areas is opening new investment avenues and many among the subordinates have become better off than their previous masters. The subordinate segments are duly realising their freedom, while many among the previous masters are still trying to maintain their previous posture, ignoring the emerging realities. Migration to the Middle East has a decreasing trend after 1990, while migration to European countries is increasing. Such opportunities are predominantly availed by landowner groups unlike the Middle East opportunity that was equally utilised by all social segments.

The extension of labour-saving technologies like tractors and threshers into the traditional farming systems is reducing the need for collective labour and the tenants rendered jobless in the process are obliged to seek alternative earning opportunity in the urban sector. The process of urbanisation in Swat valley is working to gradually externalise the completely internalised traditional rural farming system. The process of urbanisation has led to the evolution

of gradually extending concentric rings of different farming system depending on their depth of interaction and level of communication with the city of Mingora.

The land ownership of rain-fed hillside is being gradually modified in favour of the disadvantaged. The traditional absent landlord are the main losers while the remittances earning tenants and grazers are the main purchasers. The increasing population is leading to fragmented ownership of land and is complementing the serge for non-farm occupations. With extending urbanisation, when the male partner shifts to non-farm earning activity, the female partner no more remains actively involved in economic activities in the new scenario mainly due to the fear of Tor and Paighoor. In the urban areas subsistence level livestock production is not feasible due to limited fodder and grazing land hence the role of immigrant female is limited to activities inside the house with less frequent visits to the native rural areas and less subsequent family interaction. The institution of extended/joint family is gradually weakening with the vanishing tribal social structure.

The rural society is unable to adjust to the emerging global realities and is rapidly disintegrating. The increasing rural poverty is compelling overexploitation of the natural resource base. The extension of market economy and land-use for cash crop is increasing the use of marginal areas for cropping and with subsequent gradual soil nutrient mining. Repeated incidences of diseases in both orchards and vegetables now require increased inputs in pesticides and other curative measures and the sector is gradually loosing its profitability due to lack of soil nutrients management.

The economic crisis in this part of NWFP which is the result of the general situation in the country, could also be a chance for the newly elected councilors to decide in which directions new sustainable development should take place for a better future. But for this, the new technocrats should go 'barefoot' in the field, discuss with the inhabitants and the CBOs, help them to define their needs and analyse the past failures. They should shed the traditional arrogance of the 'experts' completely external to their society, encourage the development of small projects suited to the site. They should also overcome the feudal paternalism, which is the base of political vote-catching in the region, and a hurdle to development projects.

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Errata

- Page 1 (first paragraph)** For ...«when they visited Swat (Stein, 1928⁴) on their way down to the Indian subcontinent.» read ...«when they visited Swat (Stein, 1928⁴) on their way down to the Indian subcontinent.»
- Page 17:** The heading «Main Swat Valley and Tributary Valleys» is the sub-heading of «Settlement Pattern» appearing on Page 15.
- Page 20:** The heading «Housing» is the sub-heading of «Settlement Pattern» appearing on Page 15.
- Page 38:** For ...«Dar-é-Hind, “the door to India, and reaches Taxila”¹⁵.» read ...«Dar-é-Hind, “the door to India”, and reaches Taxila¹⁵.»
- Page 43:** For ...«Development of scientific literature took place.» read ...«Development of scientific literature took place.»
- Page 135:** The heading «Land Ownership in Urban Territory» is the sub-heading of «Land Ownership and Conflicts» appearing on Page 127.
- Page 143 (Line 10):** For ...«deminishing.» read ...«diminishing.»
- Page 172 (Line 18):** For ...«visitorS.» read ...«visitors»
- Page 201 (Heading):** For ...«Employment Characteristics in Mingora » read ...«Employment Characteristics»
- Page 246:** The heading «Housing Schemes in the Informal Sector» is the main heading and not a sub-heading of «Concept of Modern Housing Schemes» appearing on Page 244.
- Page 247:** The heading «municipality and Physical Development» is the main heading and not a sub-heading of «Concept of Modern Housing Schemes» appearing on Page 244.
- Page 258 (Line 27):** For ...«(ECOs)» read ...«(EDOs)»
- Page 172 (Line 20):** For ...«Bani Bus Stand» read ...«Banr Bus Stand»