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Household's Livelihood Trajectories in the context of Man-made and Natural Disasters: A case study from Swat, Pakistan

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Abstract

The purpose of this case study is to explore livelihood trajectories in the context of man-made and natural disasters in three villages of Swat district, Pakistan. These three villages were deeply affected by an armed conflict between the Taliban and Pakistan Army from 2006 to 2009 separately by floods in 2010. This research is based on in-depth qualitative analysis of 24 households to trace out the changes in household welfare and livelihood security aftermath of armed conflict and floods.

The case evidence shows that majority of the households were facing declining livelihood security. Out of 24, only 7 households were found to cope with the crises while the remaining 17 were declining. The factors which enable coping households to maintain their livelihood security are international remittances, wealth, more male worker, government jobs and political connections. The factors which lead to the decline of majority of case households includes low or lack of livelihood diversification, human losses and injuries/illness especially the male worker, loss or sale of livestock. The most prominent responses induced by both the crises were internal as well as external migration for work. The medium and poor households were further pushed into more vulnerable conditions

The study households received relief assistances from government, NGO, and informal sources but at different extent. However, the large number of households with declining livelihoods security indicates the inadequacy or limitations of assistance. Informal support system was weakened by the crises due to the reduced capacity of the people to extend support to each other and the people were relying to get support from their relatives, friends and non relatives in other parts of the country.

Key Words: *Households, Livelihoods, Livelihoods Security, Armed Conflict, livelihood Trajectories, Swat, Pakistan, Taliban*

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Abbreviations and Glossary

ACTED	Agency for Technical Cooperation and Development
ADB	Asian Development Bank
CCPI	Center for Public Policy Research
CBO	Community Based Organization
FIFC	Fienstein International Famine Center
GTZ	German Technical Cooperation
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
KP	Khyber Pukhtunkhwa
NGOs	Non-governmental Organization
PDMA	Provincial Disaster Management Authority
UNHCR	United Nation High Commission for Refugee
UN-Habitat	United Nation Agency for Human Settlements
WFP	World Food Program
WB	World Bank
TNSM	Tehrik-ie- Nafazai Sharat Muhammadi
IPRI	Islamabad Policy Research Institute
<i>Qwam</i>	<i>It is a social term used for tribe or clan</i>
<i>Malak</i>	<i>Traditional village leader</i>
<i>Khairat</i>	<i>Giving food or money to poor as religious obligation</i>
<i>Zakaat</i>	<i>Obligatory payment made annually under Islamic law on certain kinds of property and used for charitable and religious purposes</i>
<i>Jirga</i>	<i>The traditional consultative institution and forum wherein issues of common interest as well as communal affairs are discussed and decided</i>

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Chapter1: Introduction

In developed as well as in developing countries, people face a wide variety of risks to their livelihood. Natural as well as man-made disasters have great potential to inflict human, economic and physical losses. For example, armed conflict or civil wars as man-made disasters result in three times as many deaths as inter-state wars between states since world war11 (Fearon and Laitin 2003 cited in Justino 2009). They have caused displacement of 20 to 25 millions of people in their own countries throughout the world (UN-HABITAT, 2004). Collier (1999) estimated that in Africa the average civil war reduces national GDP by around to 2.2 percent per annum. Similarly, in recent history the world has experienced devastating natural disasters in the form of 2004 Asian Tsunami, 2005 Pakistan Earthquake, 2005 Katrina Hurricane etc. These and others natural disasters brought serious negative consequences in term of human, economic and physical losses. For example, 2005 earthquake resulted in death of 73000 and rendered 2.8 homeless in Northern Pakistan (ADB and WB, 2005)

Man-made and natural disasters always have serious implications for livelihoods of the people affected. Some of the more common types of shocks that conflict brings include: interrupting food access or production, restricting access to agricultural or grazing land, restricting access to water and other natural resources. It also causes the labor market to collapse, preventing markets from operating, causing price spikes, or destroying or blocking market and trade routes, disrupting banking systems and government services, either as a result of capacity failure or deliberate action. Moreover, conflict frequently result in displacing civilians , stripping, burning or looting assets of marginalized or targeted groups, destroying infrastructure, encouraging or enabling sexual violence against women and girls, sabotaging ongoing development projects and deprive people of employment in these projects, as well as altering gender roles such that the vulnerability of the household is increased (USAID 2005 ; Hammond & Boudreau 2007).

People affected by conflict have two overriding concerns: surviving the immediate physical threats and overcoming long-term threats to their livelihoods (FIFC 2004). Whether the disruption to livelihoods is quick or protracted, households respond by adapting strategies to ensure the survival of the household (Young et. al. 2001; Jaspers and Shoham 2002). Households often show remarkable resilience and, even in extremely acute situations, pursue a strategy of balancing short term needs with longer term survival concerns (De Waal 1989; Lautze 1997). While livelihood strategies change in response to shifts in a household's access to assets, their effectiveness depends

on many external factors. Policies and institutions, both formal and informal, are powerful forces that either help or hinder access to assets. These include systems of governance, gender roles, ownership systems, religious doctrine, and cultural mores (Lautze 1997; FIFC 2004).

1.1 Study Background

Pakistan has been vulnerable to both man-made and natural disasters. Since independence, Pakistan fought three wars against India. There have been internal armed conflicts and disturbances for many years. These took place between Sunni and Shia Muslim; between the military and armed groups seeking autonomy in the province of Baluchistan. For the last decade, Pakistan has faced severe internal conflict in the form of terrorism in *Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa*¹ (KP) and the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA). This conflict caused severe human and economic losses. This is clear from the fact that 5000 people lost their lives and 10000 were injured between 2007 and 2008 (IPRI 2008). According to official estimates, Pakistan has suffered a loss of around \$ 35-40 billion since 2001 (Ali 2010).

Pakistan is also extremely vulnerable to natural disasters due to its geographical location. These disasters are mainly in the form of floods, earthquakes, drought, cyclones, storms, landslides etc. Historically floods are the most frequently occurring disasters and have caused tremendous damage to livelihood and infrastructure, with severe implications for livelihood security. In August 2010 floods in Indus River affected more than 20 million people, (over one-tenth of Pakistan's population) with over 1,980 reported deaths and nearly 2,946 injured. About 1.6 million homes have been destroyed, and thousands of acres of crops and agricultural lands have been damaged with major soil erosion happening in some areas (World Bank 2010).

Swat is one of the areas which also have been affected by armed conflict between Pakistan army and the *Taliban*² in 2009 and later on in August 2010 floods. The armed conflict caused displacement of 2 million people from Swat. The majority of these displaced families took refuge in host communities and Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) camps in Mardan and Swabi district (CPPR 2010)

¹ From 2010, the province was renamed from North West Frontier Province (NWFP) to “Khyber Pakhtunkhwa”

² In literature different names have been used for the Taliban in Pakistan. For example, Tehrik-i- Taliban Pakistan (TTP), Pakistan Taliban Movement (PTM), terrorist, Islamic militant and extremist. In this case study, Taliban refers to the followers of Swat based Tehrik-i-Nifaz-i-Shariat-i-Muhammadi (TNSM) headed by Sufi Muhammad and later on merged in to Tehrik-i-Taliban, Pakistan (TTP) under the leadership of Maulana Fazlullah (for detail see chapter 4)

Swat Valley is located approximately 160 kilometers northwest of Islamabad, the capital of Pakistan. The main sources of people's income are farming, remittances, tourism, trade and daily waging and services. Farming accounts for roughly 50% of the economic activities of the Swat district and is the major source of income for much of the rural population (CPPR 2010). Swat is famous for fruit and vegetable productions. According to Agricultural Statistics 2007-2008, Swat district produces 32% (vegetables) and 34% fruit of total production of Khyber Pukhtunkhwa (KP) Province. Due to the armed conflict total loss to the farming sector range from Rs. 19 billion to 22 billion has been estimated (Zahid 2010). Swat is also famous for tourism. There are 850 hotels and restaurants in which 15000 people were directly employed in terms of hotels owners and servants while 25000 were indirect employed in terms of suppliers and other business. This sector incurred a loss of 7.5 billion rupees in armed conflict (Zahid 2010). Apart from farming and tourism, silk and cosmetic manufacturing units were also provided employment opportunities for thousands of local people before the war but according to the Directorate of Industries, Commerce and labor, several industrial units were closed or shifted from the areas due to insecurity situations. In 2006 there were 290 industrial units in the area which were reduced to 150 in 2009, rendering thousands of workers unemployed (CPPR 2010). According to the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank preliminary damages and needs assessment report in 2009, the industrial sector incurred a loss of 153.38 million rupees. According to a Save the Children's (2009) rapid assessment report, household livelihoods were severely affected by the conflict, causing a decline in incomes. The average household income is estimated to have declined from Rs. 37,903 per month (or US \$457) to Rs. 10,198 per month (or US \$123) – a fall of 73 percent.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

This study has been conducted in Matta area of Swat district, Pakistan. This area were a strong hold of Taliban and therefore deeply affected by Pakistan army's military operation against Taliban in June 2009. The main reason behind this was that it share borders with Dir district which also remained a strong hold of the Taliban. Furthermore, the main training center of the Taliban was in the border area of Matta and Dir District. This armed conflict imposed a significant cost on villagers in term of human, physical and economic losses. The villagers were forced to leave their villages and became IDPs in other parts of the country for four months. The people returned to their homes after four months when government forces controlled the area in September 2009. The situation was further exacerbated in the August 2010 floods in area by washing away the fertile land covering the

fruit orchards and vegetable crops. After the wars and the floods people living in these villages are trying to restore their destroyed assets and revive their livelihoods. Several governmental and non-governmental organizations (International and National) are providing assistance to the people rebuild to their livelihood.

Given this experience, this study seeks to investigate how the 24 case households responded to these multiple shocks and with what effects for their livelihood security

1.3. Thesis Objectives and Research Questions

Thesis Objectives

The main objective of this thesis is to explore household livelihood trajectories in the context of man-made and natural disasters in three selected villages of district Swat, Pakistan. This will be achieved by investigating the following aspects:

- Examining the impacts of the armed conflict and floods on livelihoods of the study households and assessing the later capacity to cope and recover
- Assessing the contribution of governmental and non-governmental organization in supporting the recovery of livelihood of the conflict and floods affected households

Research Questions

The following questions will be explored to address the above mentioned objectives

- What have been the livelihood trajectories and welfare outcomes of the study households in the context of armed conflict and floods? How are these differentiated by socio economic position, community and context?
- What did the studied households do before the armed conflict and floods to gain their livelihoods? How these practices were affected by the crises? And what were the effects on the livelihood outcomes and the implications for the welfare of the studied households?
- What kinds of governmental and non-governmental organizations were working in the villages? What effects did their interventions have on the livelihoods security of the households?

1.4. Thesis Outline

This thesis consists of eight chapters. The second chapter develops the conceptual framework for the study, focusing on households, livelihoods and livelihoods security, coping strategies, vulnerability and risk and the livelihoods intervention in the emergency situation. The third chapter outlines the methodology. The fourth chapter presents the historical background of the armed conflict in the case study area. The fifth chapter describes the context of the villages and the effect of the armed conflict as well floods. The sixth chapter presents the case evidence of livelihood change, exploring patterns of coping and decline in the face of crises situations. The seventh chapter explores the effect of livelihood interventions of governmental and NGOs on the livelihood security. The final chapter presents a conclusion of the study.

Chapter 2: Conceptual Framework

This thesis engages with several concepts and theoretical frameworks to explore the research questions presented in the first chapter. This chapter is divided into four sections. The first section presents the key concepts of household, livelihoods, livelihood security and coping strategies. The second section will discuss vulnerability and risk. The third section discusses livelihood trajectories approach. The fourth section discusses interventions in emergencies.

2.1 Key Concepts and Terms

Household

This study has used ‘household’ as a unit of analysis. In spite of the fact that the phenomenon of ‘household’ is universal; there is no single standard definition for it. Defining the household represents an intractable theoretical problem (Messer 1983 cited in Mula 1999). Conventionally, the household is defined as a social group, which resides in the same place, shares the same meals, and makes joint or coordinated decisions over resource allocation and income pooling (Meillassous 1981, Ellis 1993 cited in Ellis 2000). This definition emphasizes co-residence as the key attribute of the household. However, the household as a social unit may sometimes have non-family members permanently in the residence. The alternative conception of the household place less emphasis on co-residence and recognize the role of non-resident family members in contributing to the wellbeing of the resident group (ibid). It has been argued that due to the importance of the kinship networks for household survival the family rather than the household is the appropriate social unit for livelihood research (Rruce and Lloyed 1997 cited in Ellis 2000). However, the social networks that are fostered by livelihood for livelihood security purposes may often be based on village ethnicity and other social ties that are not explicitly familial in content (Ellis 2000). Baber (1998) in his research in rural South Africa, utilizes four overlapping definitions of social units i.e. homestead units, family groups, co-resident units, and mutual support units. Homestead unit is the broadest social grouping which includes all the individuals who belongs to a particular rural homestead in the sense that they have the right to be based there and participate as full members of the grouping. Family groups are the sub-units of the homestead held together by bonds between individuals which are stronger than those with other groups within the homestead, for example, nuclear families. The co-resident unit comprised of all those living in the homestead on daily basis. The mutual support unit consists of the co-resident unit plus migrants who remit on a regular basis. According to Baber

(1998) “*the kinship composition of the homestead is mapped to the spatial nature of its livelihood sources, yielding four main combinations i.e. simple-resident (one family group, no migrants), simple dispersed (one family group, migrants) extended resident (multiple family groups, no migrants), and extended-dispersed (multiple family groups, migrants)*” (Ellis 2000). It is clear from above discussion that ‘household’ means different things to different people in different places

Within the local context of this case study area, the term ‘family’ is used for the nuclear family. A household may be comprised of one or more nuclear families living together and sharing income and expenditure with the inclusion of migrant members who make intermittent or regular contribution to household welfare where applicable (Baber 1998).

Livelihoods

In dictionaries, the word ‘livelihoods’ is frequently equated with the means of supporting human life (Merriam Webster Dictionary) or a means of living (Oxford Dictionary). The livelihood concept, however, covers more than that. A livelihood “*comprises the assets (natural, human, financial, and social capital), the activities and the access to these (mediated by institutions and social relations) that together determine the living gained by the individual or household*” (Ellis 2000, p.10). A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks, maintain its capability and assets, and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation (Chambers & Convey 1992). However, not all households are equal in their ability to cope with stresses and repeated shocks. Maxwell and Smith (1992) argued that poor people balance competing needs for asset preservation, income generation and present and future food supplies in complex ways

Household Livelihood Security

The concept of household livelihood security was developed from the issues related to household food and nutritional security. It was found that food security is but one subset of objectives of poor households; food security is only one of a whole range of factors that determine why the poor take decisions and spread risk, and how they finely balance competing interests in order to subsist in the short and longer term (Maxwell and Smith 1992). Food is understood to be only one of the priorities that people pursue. People are constantly required to balance food procurement against the satisfaction of other basic material and non-material needs (Maxwell and Frankenberger 1992). Household livelihood security is “*defined as adequate and sustainable access to income and*

resources to meet basic needs (including adequate access to food, potable water, health facilities, educational opportunities, housing, time for community participation and social integration". The risk of livelihood failure determines the level of vulnerability of a household to income, food, health and nutritional insecurity. Therefore, livelihoods are secure when households have secure ownership of, or access to, resources and income earning activities, including reserves and assets, to offset risks, ease shocks and meet contingencies (Chambers 1989).

Coping Strategies

Coping strategies are temporary responses employed by households in an effort to adjust or compensate for shock. Coping comprises tactics for maintaining consumption when confronted by disaster, such as drawing down on savings, using up food stocks, gifts from relatives, community transfers, migration, sales of livestock, sale or abandonment of fixed assets such as land, houses and so on (Ellis 2000, p. 62)

In the context of conflict, coping strategies could be seen as temporary responses to threat to lives, livelihoods and security, and may fluctuate over time (Jaspers et al 2007). The coping strategies can be divided into reversible and irreversible. The reversible coping strategies are those that do not cause permanent damage to livelihoods, for example, intensification or diversification of existing livelihood strategies (Scoones 1998). Unlike reversible, the irreversible coping strategies cause permanent damages, for instance, sale of productive assets, migration of whole families after destitutions (Corbbet 1988). Devereux (1999) terms irreversible strategies as survival strategies, as they actually reflect an inability to cope.

Strategies to protect livelihoods in conflict are often more limited than those employed in natural disasters. In conflict, people may be actively prevented in pursuing coping strategies: when assets are stolen or destroyed, labor opportunities are denied or food is withheld (de Wall 1989)

2.2 Risk and Vulnerability

In the last two decades, vulnerability received much attention and concerns with the situation of poverty faced by households not just today but also in future. The static view of poverty tended to provide snapshots of households in single point in time that failed to capture the dynamic forces influencing the livelihood security (Kantor & Pain 2011). The vulnerability concept is complex and capturing socio economic changes overtime rather than taking it with in specific time and defined as

exposure to risk of being or becoming poor (P. Glewwe and G. Hall 1995; Niala Kabeer 2002 cited in Kantor & Pain 2011).

Vulnerability is inextricably linked to risks and shocks. The occurrence of a shock has two types of impacts. The first is internal defenselessness that results from reduced resources and the second is external defenselessness that results from a fragile environment. Internal defenselessness results from idiosyncratic capacities, which are specific to households and individuals and determine how the impact of the shock is internalized. External defenselessness is the result of new risks that emerge in the environment surrounding the household after the conflict (Ahmed 2010)

An integral part of vulnerability, different institutions, academics and policy makers have defined risk in various ways. Risk can be defined as the probability of a loss happening (Kantor & Pain 2011); or it may be expectation of losses (physical, economic etc.) in the future ((Alwang et al 2001 cited in Ahmed 2010). While the first measures the probability of an event occurring, the latter measures, to an extent, the impact of that event i.e. the cost in terms of damages and losses incurred (Ahmed 2010). Households and individual vary in their capacities to respond to risk, leading to different livelihood outcomes (Kantor & Pain 2011). There are varieties of risk which individuals or households face, some of which affect well being more directly than others (Dercon 2000). Those risks which results in a fall of household income is called damaging fluctuations (Sinha and Lipton 1999). Sinha and Lipton identified six types of risks that cause damaging fluctuations. That included risks resulting from violence, natural disasters, harvest and seasonality, health, labor markets and price fluctuations. Existence of risks in itself can have a negative impact on household well-being because it prompts risk adverse behavior that forces households to invest in low risk; low returns activities (Norton et al 2001)

Shocks are sudden events that have the potential to impact livelihood security (Rahn 1996 citing in Ahmed 2010). Shocks occurs when risk manifest into events. They affect different group of people in different ways, depending upon existing level of well-being: the poorer the individual or household, the more negative potential impact of shock (Ahmed 2010).

Risk and vulnerability depend on the nature of shock and the coping strategies of a household. In some cases, people who have assets are more vulnerable than those who do not. For example, in armed conflict assets can be turned into life-threatening liabilities (Lautaz and Raven Roberts 2006). For example owning cattle or receiving remittances in an IDP camp may bolster resilience, but

having access to these also increases likelihood of being targeted. Assets ownership can therefore be a key determinant in vulnerability.

Vulnerability and risk are more complicated in the context of armed conflict than in emergencies brought on by economic crises and natural disasters. In armed conflict, the conflicting groups often intentionally destroy and/or exploit civilians and civilian's livelihood (de Waal 1993; Lautze 1997; Pain and Lautze 2002). Physical insecurity can render transport difficult or risky thereby affecting the trade and can hinder or halt agricultural production at both subsistence and the national levels which can result in livelihood insecurity in the affected area.

2.3 Livelihood Trajectory Approach:

This study used a 'Livelihood Trajectory' approach to explore how and why some study households were able to cope and maintain their livelihood security while majority of them experienced an erosion of their livelihood security. A livelihood trajectory approach allows the examination of an individual household's "*strategic behavior that is embedded in a historical repertoire, in social differentiation*" (de Haan and Zoomers 2005), and in perceptions of risk. Bagchi et al. (1998) use the term "livelihood trajectories" to describe and explain the direction and pattern of livelihoods of individuals or groups of people (e.g., households). According to de Haans and Zoomers (2005) the livelihood trajectory approach make use of life histories that allows a deeper penetration into the beliefs, needs, aspirations, and limitations of people's lives, but it is also contextualized in relation to power and institutions. An increasingly important application of the livelihood trajectory approach is in exploring the shocks and stresses that can affect livelihoods. The livelihood trajectory approach represents a dynamic standpoint on livelihoods, which takes into account success and failure (ibid).

2.4 Livelihoods Interventions in Emergencies

In any emergency, a variety of livelihoods interventions are possible, depending on the type of livelihoods affected and the nature of the risks facing different populations groups (Jaspars et al 2007). In general, the livelihood interventions are those that support the assets the people need to carry out their livelihood strategies and to support policies, process and institutions (Lautze and Stites 2003; Young et al 2007).

Food aid is always major component of humanitarian assistance. But now humanitarian agencies are increasingly using a variety of livelihoods interventions in both conflict situations and natural disasters, for example, income and cash transfers (grants, vouchers, and cash for work) (Harvey 2007). Provision of agricultural inputs is also the most common livelihood support intervention.

The livelihood interventions are loosely categorized into three overlapping phases that roughly correspond to immediate, short and long term needs of the affected populations. These three phases are livelihood provisioning, livelihood protection and livelihood promotion.

Box 1 A phased approach to livelihood programming

Livelihood provisioning

Livelihood provisioning is a set of relief based interventions that involve providing food and meeting other essential needs for households to maintain nutritional level and save lives. Interventions of this type usually entail food and health relief for people in an emergency or people who are chronically vulnerable.

Livelihood protection

Livelihood protection is a set of interventions that involve protecting household livelihood systems to prevent an erosion of productive assets and replacing or rebuilding productive assets. These types of interventions entail timely food and income transfers; infrastructure repair, rehabilitation, and improvements, carried out through food- or cash for-work or some other means; and replacement of assets such as tools, boats and seeds.

Livelihood promotion

Livelihood promotion is a set of development based interventions that involve improving the resilience of household livelihoods so that food and other basic needs can be met on a sustainable basis. Interventions of this type entail strategies such as diversifying livelihoods strategies; creating alternative income-generating activities; providing financial services, such as loans and insurance; and strengthening markets. Interventions of this type entail strategies such as diversifying livelihoods strategies; creating alternative income-generating activities; providing financial services, such as loans and insurance; and strengthening markets.

Adopted from T.R. Frankenberger and M.K. McCaston (1998)

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

This chapter consists of three sections. The first section describes the research approach and a brief description of the study villages and case households. The second section describes the tools used for data collection. The third section is about ethical issues faced during the field work

3.1 Research Approach

A qualitative Study

The main purpose of this study is to explore the household's livelihoods trajectories in the context of armed conflict between the Taliban and Pakistan army and the 2010 floods in three selected villages of Matta area of Swat district, Pakistan. This research focuses on an in depth qualitative analysis of selected case studies and generating conclusion from them. The tools used for data collection were household interviews, key informants interviews, focus group discussion and participant observations

Selection of the Villages Studied

The field work covers three villages in Matta area of Swat district. These three villages were selected because they were among the strong holds of Taliban and hence deeply affected in the armed operations of the Pakistan Army against Taliban in 2009 and later on in 2010 floods. The selection was done with the consultation of Literate Masses- a local level NGO providing assistance in the area.

Selection of the Study households

This study used a purposive sampling technique to select the sample. In purposive sampling, we sample with purpose in mind. The power of purposive sampling lies in selecting information rich-cases for in-depth analysis related to central issues being studied. Therefore, it was an appropriate technique to select those households affected in armed conflict and floods

Wealth ranking exercise has been carried out so that affected household from different wealth categories can be identified. At the start of the exercise, the villagers were asked to define the attributes and criteria of rich, medium and poor people in their village. Then they were asked to divide the households in the village as per criteria they developed (for detail see Annexure 1). A

total of 24 households, 8 per each village, from rich, medium and poor categories were identified and interviewed (See Table 2). All the respondents and village names were kept anonymous due to security concerns and specific codes were allotted to each respondent and village

The Key Characteristics of the study villages and households

In Figure 1 red colored area indicates geographical area of Swat district, in which the three study villages (A, B, C) are located, Table 1 shows some basics characteristics of the three villages and point out some key contrast between them. It shows that village B has more estimated household (450) compared to village C (350) and A (150). It also shows the difference among the total arable land available to people among the villages. It further shows that Village A relies more on remittances and agriculture while village B and C have a diverse income sources including shop keeping and business, agriculture, remittances, and daily waging. Village A suffered more in terms of human losses and other physical damages compared to B and C. Table 1 shows the size and composition of the eight sampled households in each village, listed by wealth group

Figure 1 Map of Pakistan – the red colored indicate District Swat



Table 1 Basic Characteristics of three villages

		Village A	Village B	Village C
1	Distance from Tehsil Header Quarter (in Kilometers)	15	5	18
3	Total Number of Estimated Households	250	1600	800
4	Main income sources	Remittances, Agriculture, daily waging, livestock	Shop Keeping and business, Agriculture, remittances, daily waging	Agriculture, , shop keeping and business daily waging
5	Total Estimated Arable Land (in Acres)	150	450	500
6	Total estimated Irrigated Land (in Acres)	100	240	350
7	Total estimated rain fed land (In Acres)	50	210	150
8	Damages in Armed Conflict			
	Houses Partially or Completely Damaged	70	20	35
	Human Losses	85	25	45
	People Displacement during the war	Complete Displacement	*Partial Displacement	Partial Displacement

Source: Focus group meetings and Database of Rural Welfare Organization and Khushobo Community Development Organizations in village B and C respectively

* In village B and C majority of the people displaced during armed operation while some remained trapped due to road blockage during the curfew

Table 2 Household Size and Composition by village and wealth group

Wealth Group	Village A households	Village B households	Village C households
1	A1 (28, J)	B1 (34, J)	C1 (24, J)
	A2 (23 J)	B2 (10, S)	C2 (34, J)
11	A3 (25,J)	B3 (20, J)	C3 (14, J)
	A4 (17, J)	B4 (10, S)	C4 (11, S)
	A5 (14,J)	B5 (10,S)	C5 (8, S)
111	A6 (8, S)	B6 (16, J)	C6 (11, J)
	A7 (9, S)	B7 (7, S)	C8 (13, J)
	A8 (8,S)	B8 (11, S)	C9 (8, S)

S= Single Household (Single household comprised of husband, wife and children and in some cases parents and unmarried sisters and brothers)

J= Joint Household (Joint Households comprised of parents, married sons and their children living together and sharing income and expenditure)

Within the local context of this case study area, the term ‘family’ is used for the nuclear family. A household may be comprised of one (single household) or more nuclear families (joint household) living together and sharing income and expenditure with the inclusion of migrant members who make intermittent or regular contribution to household welfare where applicable.

2.2 Data Collection

Primary Data Collection

The field data were collected in four weeks from April 25 to 25 May, 2011. With help of a local organization working in the area, an introductory visit in the first week of April was carried out to gain some familiarity with area and the villagers. Three different interviews guides were used for household, focus group discussion and key informant interviews. Three group discussions were conducted, one in each selected village. Seven key informant interviews with village elders and personnel of NGOs and government organizations were also carried out.

(a) Household Interviews

A total of 24 household interviews were conducted, 8 in each three villages. For household interviews a detailed interview guide were used. It identified key themes: household basic information, household composition and structure, household history, income sources and assets, changes in household assets after armed conflict, land and agricultural production, livestock holding, off farm income sources, non farm income sources, migration and remittances, social networks and connections, links with NGOs, governmental organization, informal system and the wider context. In majority cases household interviews were carried with the male household heads but in some cases interviews were conducted with other members of household due to the absence of the household head. Due to culture constraints in the study area, the researcher was not able to conduct interview with female members of the households that could improve the quality of field data by providing a balance view of the study household situation

(b) Focus Group Discussion

Three (3) group discussions with the head of the households were held prior to household interviews and key informant interview, one in each three villages. A separate interview guide was used having key themes: village demographics, history, infrastructure and services, land and agricultural production, livestock holding, income sources, off farm income sources, non farm income sources, migration and remittances, social networks and connection, links with governmental, NGOs and informal system. Focus group discussion is a useful qualitative research technique because it is cost effective in term of time and resources; it brings a sum of knowledge greater than any individual

insight and it provides opportunity for triangulation of information collected in individual and key informant interviews (Roche 1999 cited in Randel 2006).

(c) Key Informant Interviews

NGOs and government organization's Personnel

Four interviews were conducted with personnel of three NGOs and one government organization actively involved in providing relief assistance in both crises. The main purpose of these interviews was to get information about the type of relief assistance they have provided/are providing to affected people in the study villages. A separate interview guide was used for this purpose. These interviews were conducted with personnel of Provincial Disaster Management Authority (PDMA), Save the Children (US), Literate Masses and Agency for Technical Cooperation and Development (ACTED),

Village Elders

Three interviews with village elders one in each village were conducted. The main purpose of these interviews was to get information of the key events that had taken place in the village. It also aimed to get information about agricultural production, off farm and non farm income sources, migration trends, the assistance of NGOs, government organization and informal sources aftermath of armed conflict and flood. It was also helpful in providing information about the social structure of the village.

(d) Participant Observation

Participant observation is an important qualitative research method with roots in traditional ethnographic research whose objective is to help researchers learn the perspectives held by study populations (Family Health International 2005). During field work, the researcher spent three weeks in his field area with villagers and it gives him an opportunity to note people's behavior about the past and present situation of the area. It has been noted that people are still pessimistic about the future, for example, when asking a question from one of villager about the future of his village. He replied

“We are very confused about the future of our area. Now the security situation is very good due to the presence of Pakistan Army but once they withdraw from the area, Taliban can reappear.”

It has also been noted that still there is lack of trust among the people because they are making complain against each other to the Pakistan Army of being involved in anti – government activities. For example, Taliban killed five members of Malak family in village A. They thought that villagers did not help them against Taliban and started to complain to the army of the villagers supporting the Taliban. As a result many villagers were captured and killed at the end of the army operation³.

Secondary Data

Literature and data relevant to study objectives were collected from different sources. Books and journals and other literature including reports from International Non Governmental Organizations and the United Nation were used. Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC) (www.internal-displacement.org) and the Overseas Development Institute (ODI) (www.odi.org) have been utilized. Online reports of Provincial government and NGOs about damages and need assessments of armed conflict and floods were also used. Reports of different NGOs and Donor organization regarding household livelihood in the context of armed conflict were also used for theoretical guidance.

3.3 Research Ethics

When it comes to discussion about ethics in social research there are four issues formulated by Diener and Crandall (1978); whether there is harm to participants, whether there is a lack of informed consent, whether there is an invasion of privacy and whether deception is involved (Diener and Crandall 1978 ceted in Bryman 2004).

The research on household’s livelihood trajectories in the context of armed conflict and floods disasters was conducted considering the above mentioned ethical issues. Informed consent is a critical component in ethical research which uses human participants. Informed consent is a mechanism for ensuring that people understand what it means to participate in a particular research study so they can decide in a conscious, deliberate way whether they want to participate. Informed

³ Key Informant Interview in Village A

consent is one of the most important tools for ensuring respect for persons during research. During my field work the researcher always introduced himself as a student, the purpose of the research and then the participants were asked verbally for their willingness to participate in the interview or not. Privacy and confidentiality of the respondents was given high priority during the whole period of field work. It was noted that there is still lack of trust among the villagers. The villagers made complaints against each other to the army for being involved in anti government activities. Initially it was found that some respondents feel hesitation to talk with me and these respondents didn't want to disclose their names because of security reasons. Therefore, specific codes were allotted to each respondents and villages so to keep their privacy and confidentiality. The issue of deception which means when researchers represent their research as something other than what it is (Bryman 2004: 514). This issue was tackle by explaining that the researcher is studying in Sweden and came here to know the impacts of armed conflict and floods on the livelihoods of people at the start of interviews. The researcher always took verbal consent for audio or video recording of participants. It was highly sensitive in the research area because participants were reluctant to expose themselves because of the fear of Pakistan army which is constantly in search of the pro militants. Some of respondents refused to give photographs during interviews which were respected by researcher. There is always danger of raising expectation of people during research (Pratt and Lozios 1992). As the researcher made initial contacts in the villages through Literate Mass – a local organization working in the area, therefore initially the villagers took me as a NGO worker and were expecting some support from me. It is clear from the fact that on the first day of my visit in one of selected village, many villagers surrounded me and asking the purpose of my visit. Many of them quickly dispersed when I told them the purpose of my visit. So the researcher always tried to minimize the villager's expectations by explaining the real purpose of visit.

Chapter 4: Swat District and Context

The previous chapter discussed the methodology employed for conducting the study. This chapter provides an overview of District Swat. It also discusses the causes which contributed to the emergence of Taliban in the District. A brief description of displacement of the people during armed conflict will be presented. Furthermore, it also discusses how the August, 2010 floods added to the people problems already affected with armed conflict.

The District of Swat is part of the Malakand Division in the Province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP), Pakistan. It is located approximately 160 kilometers northwest of Islamabad, the capital of Pakistan. In 1967, the autonomous state of Swat merged into Pakistan and were given the status of District

4.1. Background of Swat Conflict

In the early 20th century Swat was mostly ruled by religious leaders. The Islamic state of Swat was first established in 1849 rule under Shariah law⁴ (Aziz 2010). However there was conflict with bordering state of Dir and the area remained disturbed from 1863 to 1915. In 1915 Syed Abudl Jabbar Khan was appointed the ruler by a local Jirga but had trouble exercising power. In 1917 another Jarga made Miangul Abdul Wadud as the new ruler. The British recognized the state in 1926 (Aziz 2010). In 1949, Mian Gul Abdul Wadud hands over the reins of the state to his son, Miangul Jahanzaib. This era is often viewed as the golden period in the history of Swat. Schools, hospitals, roads and communication systems were constructed under that era and there was generally peace and order in the valley (Khattak 2010). However, after the merger of state with Pakistan in 1969, there was little further development in the valley. The justice system, in which civil and criminal case alike were delayed for years, caused frustration in the people. When the Taliban came to power in Afghanistan, many Swatis were generally supportive, having viewed the Taliban as freedom fighters against the Soviets. This residual support for the Taliban in Afghanistan among the people of Swat Valley partially contributed to the rise of Sufi Muhammad (ibid)

Sufi Mohammad

Sign of trouble first appeared in Swat when radical the cleric Sufi Muhammad started Tehrik Nifaz-e-Shariat-e-Muhammadi (TNSM, or Movement for implementation of Sharia of Muhammad) in

⁴ Muslim or Islamic law, both civil and criminal justice as well as regulating individual conduct both personal and moral.

1989 (3). In early 1990's, Sufi Muhammad and his followers began relatively a peaceful campaign in favor of implementing Sharia law in the Swat valley, but gradually the movement become more militants. Sufi Mohammad and his followers started blockading in wake being unresponsive of the Pakistani government towards their demands. Eleven people were killed on May 1994, in clashes with security forces (Sultan-i- Rome 2010). The uprising ended in 1994 when the provincial government promulgated 'Provincially Administered Tribal Areas Regulation but it did not satisfy TNSM. The organization continued their struggle which resulted in promulgation of Nizam-i-Adl Regulation 1999, meaning "the implementation of justice-based system" which authorized Sharia in Malakand including Swat (Khattak 2010). The TNSM armed uprising was ceased after the agreement. The US invasion of Afghanistan after 9/11 terrorist attack brought Sufi Muhammad into a renewed position of power, and he led tribal militia, laskhar, of some 10,000 volunteers from Swat and the surrounding tribal areas to fight US forces in Afghanistan (Sardar 2009) The people of Swat and Dir were not happy with Sufi Muhammad for leading their relatives into Afghanistan war and held him responsible for the death of their relatives. Pakistani government arrested Sufi Mohammad and banned the TSNM

Maulana Fazlullah

Sufi Muhammad's arrest in 2001, left a vacuum in Swat militant movement. Sufi Muhammad so-in-law, who had fought with him in Afghanistan and spent 17 months in jail upon his return started preaching in a small mosque in Imam Dehri of Swat. At the start, he taught the Quran to children. Then he established 30 illegal radio stations through which he broadcast his teaching (Khattak 2010). He slowly and gradually earned support in the area. The people started donations and women of the valley even donated their jewelry. As his support grew, he started discouraging parents from sending their girls to school. He also spoke out against watching television and listening to music. He also started a campaign against polio vaccinations, which he called "a conspiracy of Jews and Christians to stunt the population of Muslims" (ibid)

Fazlullah also promised social justice for the people of Swat. Swatis, already fed up with inefficient judicial system, saw a ray of hope for revival in Fazlillah's speeches. He promised social parity, quick justice, and redistribution of property (Khattak 2010). The promise of land distribution attracted many people to his moment throughout Swat, which started capturing orchards, farms and other land from Khans, local leaders and landowners who had fled from the area in late 2008 after Fazlullah's men carried out several target killings against them. Initially, the people of Swat

provided moral support to Fazlullah but later on some of them took arms after being inspired by his sermons and many of these recruits were poor, illiterate and employed youth (ibid). In July 2007, Fazlullah declared jihad⁵ against the Pakistani army in retaliation for its operation in Red Mosque⁶ in Islamabad (Zafar 2011). Nevertheless, by the fall the 2007 Fazalullah had gained administrative control of Swat, setting up Islamic courts and attacking girls' schools. This was an alarming development for Pakistani government and so it started the military operation Rah-e-Haq.

Operation Rah-e-Haq (Just Path)

In November 2007, The Pakistan Army launched the first phase of operation Rahe-e Haq to dislodge Fazlullah and his men from the area. The Taliban vacated all the government buildings, police stations and other public places they had occupied and by the end of December had retreated into mountains (Amin 2007)

The Taliban continued their activities from the mountainous area, until the spring of 2008, when newly elected provincial government, led by secular Awami National Party (ANP), took office. The ANP, a secular Pushtun nationalist party, initiated a dialogue with the Taliban and released Sufi Muhammad from jail in April 2008 (BBC 2008). The two sides signed a 16 point agreement on May 21, 2008 (Kattak 2008). The essence of the agreement was that the government would implement the Islamic law in Swat while the Taliban would cease attacks on security forces and would not destroy any more property (ibid)

In June 2008, disagreements were started over the truce terms. Fazlullah insisted that the Pakistani government withdraw troops from Swat before he withdrew his fighters while the government

⁵Jihad has wider meaning and different kinds. Fighting in the way of Allah by means of arms (holy war fought for the cause of Islam against the non- Muslims) is one of its kinds and is mentioned as qital in the Holy Qur'an. With the overwhelming purposely use of the word jihad for its qital aspect only, its other aspects, kinds and dimensions remains hidden from the eyes of majority of the people around the globe

⁶From July 3-11, 2007, the government under Pervez Musharraf conducted a military operation against students in Lal Masjid and Jamia Hafsa complex in Islamabad. This operation came after various confrontations between authorities and militants led by Maulana Abdul Aziz and Abdul Rashid Gazi. The students were calling for the imposition of an Islamic system of governance. The army stormed the complex and the operation resulted in over 100 deaths, including those of female madrassa students. Since then, Lal Masjid had become a rallying cry for Islamic militants across Pakistan and some believe that it is directly correlated to the increase in suicide bombing

wanted Swat Taliban to disarm first. Fazlullah renounced the May 21 agreement and ordered his followers to attack Pakistani security forces. The killing of two officers of Inter-Services Intelligence Agency (ISI) prompted the army to start a new operation on June 29 (Dawn 2008) The second half of 2008 and the first months of 2009 was the worst period in recent history of Swat. Scores of schools were destroyed either by Taliban or during military operation, barbers were forbidden to shave men's beard, music was banned and 2 million people fled the area for other parts of the country (Waraich 2009). The writ of the government was restricted to Mingora while the rest of Swat was controlled by Taliban.

The prevailing situation compelled the Khyber Pukhtunkhwa government to enforce the Nizam-i-Adl Regulation, a new act implementing Sharia in Malakand including Swat district and another peace agreement was signed on February 15, 2009 (Khattak 2009). But this agreement also failed as the Taliban refused to lay down their arms and abandon the check posts across the valley. The Taliban continued the killing of government official and spread the violence to adjacent areas. They killed a district police office in lower Dir and five policemen in Upper Dir (Jan 2009). This alarming situation compelled the army to launch another operation

Operation Reh-e-Rasst (Right Path)

In late April 2009, Pakistan Army started its final and decisive operation Reh-e-Rasst against Taliban. Local people were asked beforehand to vacate the area and nearly 2.5 million arrived in Peshawar, Mardan, Nowshera, Charsadda and other cities to live in camps, with relatives and host families, and in rented houses. The operation resulted in the escape of Maulana Fazlullah and the arrest of Sufi Mohammad leaving administrative control of Swat to the army and government. The people of Swat returned their home after the Army claimed full control of the valley in late July, 2009

4.2. The Humanitarian Response

United Nations made an appeal of US\$ 680.1 million for the relief and rehabilitation of the affected people in Swat valley. The international community responded well to the appeal made by UN and provided US £ 5.40 million (Development Initiatives based on UN OCHA FTS 2010)

Government, UN agencies and several international and NGOs have provided or are providing relief and rehabilitation assistance in the form of food aid, shelter and protection, health, water and sanitation, compensation for human losses and house damages, restoration of livelihoods etc.

4.3 The 2010 Floods

While people were struggling to rehabilitate their livelihoods, the August 2010 devastating floods exacerbate the situation by destroying crops, eroding agricultural lands and killing cattle, the main income source for many families. According to an official from the ministry of food and agriculture, 100,000 acres of soil along the Swat River has been washed out; the official estimated it would take up to ten years to “restore the fertility of this critical area that feeds 50,000 people (Adam 2010). Furthermore, Roads and bridges in the area were swept away (Zafar 2011). According to ACTED rapid need assessment of 2010 floods conducted in 173 villages of Swat, 286 people lost their lives, 9450 house were completely swept away.

4.4. Conclusion

The Swat conflict has a long history. The main drivers behind the conflict were inefficient governance and judicial system in the area. This motivated the people to join TNSM and later on the Taliban for the implementation of Sharia Law in the area. The government signed a number of agreements with TNSM but all in vain due to one reason or another. After a series of operations, the Pakistan Army conducted massive operation in May 2009 which resulted in displacement of 2 million people from the area. The international community responded well to the appeal made by UN and provided assistance to the effected people. The situation was further exacerbated by the 2010 floods.

Chapter: 5 Description of the Study Villages

The previous chapter provided an historical background of the conflict in the Swat district. This chapter will discuss the socio economic situation of the villages. It also discusses the damages caused by conflict as well as floods and assistance provided by the state and NGOs.

5.1. The Study Villages

The three study villages are located in Tehsil Matta 54 km distant from the main city of Mingora

Village A

Village A is located 14 km away from the Tehsil headquarter Matta town. There are an estimated 250 households in the village. The village was established around 150 years ago when people from different tribes came in search of land. The main *qawms*⁷ living in the village are Malakans (yousafzai), Miangaan, Parachgan and Gujarans.

The main income sources of the people are remittances but agriculture and off farm work in the fruit picking season also contribute to the income. Migration both national and international remains the key livelihood diversification practice of the villagers. Back in 1970's people started to migrate to Middle East in search of work. From the early 1970's, people also migrated to Karachi in search for a better future. Seasonal migration is also common in poorer section of the village. The poor migrate annually for two months (from April to May) to Punjab and Azad Kashmir areas in wheat cutting season and for six months (from November to March) to Punjab and Sind Provinces for working in sugar mills. The village economy is relies on the remittances sent by household members working outside the village as was made clear by the 52 years old household head of A2 (23,J) during focus group discussion

“The majority of households in our village have one or two people who have migrated to the Middle East or Karachi for work. The pakka (cemented) houses you are seeing are built by the remittances sent by them. I have six brothers and three of them are working in Saudi Arabia and they regularly send me money to support our family.

⁷ In Pusthun culture, this is term used for tribe or clan

Figure 2 shows a view of village A



Source: Author

Agriculture is the second major source of income. Major crops produced are apple, apricot, plums, wheat, rice, maize and other vegetables. Since 2007, the income from fruit production was reduced due to lack of interest of contractors from other parts of the country because of the insecure situation in the village. This indirectly affected off-farm job opportunities for the poorer section of the village available in picking season. In 2010, the farmers expected income from their orchards but due to floods and tight security restriction imposed by Pakistan Army, they could not market their produce. Livestock rearing was also common, but only for the household's daily consumption, purpose by supplementing their food with milk, butter, oil etc. It has been found that six out of eight respondent households in the village lost or sold their animals at very low prices during the time of displacement.

Village A suffered more in terms of human and physical losses compared to Village B and C during the armed operation. At least 85 people lost their lives and seventy houses were burned down. The main reason behind this was that the two main Taliban leaders belonged to this village and they recruited many people of this village either by force or by willingness. For example, the elder son of household A7 which was one of poorest household of the village was captured by the Taliban and kept for three months in their private jail. Only later did they release him on the condition to work for them. After this he was forced to join the Taliban and disappeared during the armed operations. The army burned down his house and kept his father for seven months in a military cell for

investigation. The village received very little relief assistance from governmental organization and NGOs compared to village B and C. The reason for this was given by a participant in FGD:

“Our village suffered the most during the operation but unfortunately we got very little support from the government and NGOs. The reason for this was that the two main Taliban leaders belonged to this village. During the army operation the army faced tough resistance and lost personnel during the fighting. Due to this the government and the army labeled us as pro Taliban. The damaged houses you have observed were burned down by the army in retaliation. People who had political connections got compensation for the death of a person and their damaged houses but the majorities are still waiting for compensation. For example the head of AI (28, J) is an active member of the ruling political party he used his political influence and got compensation for his damaged house. They are ignoring our village. The NGOs are reluctant to work in our village because they army has made check posts and they do not easily allow outsiders to enter the area”

Fig 3 shows the house damaged in village A



Source: Author

Village B

Village B is situated 7 km away from Tehsil headquarter Matta town. It is larger than village A and C with an estimated 1600 households. The three main qawms living in the village are Malakans

(yousafzai), Miangan and Parachgaan and Engaraan (Black Smith). The village was formed almost 150 to 180 years ago.

Village B has a market with around 500 shops. The villagers mainly rely on local business for their income. Migration to the Middle East is also common as in village A. The people send money back home and invest in business. Seasonal migration also exists but not as much as village A. The local market provides work opportunities for the poor like loading and unloading, sales men etc. There is unequal distribution of land in village B. It is clear from the fact that 80 out of 250 acres irrigated belong to two households of the Malak qawm. It is believed that they captured these lands with help of local Patwari⁸ by giving them bribes. It is clear from the comments made by one of participants in a focus group discussion:

“From the years the Malakans have remained politically very influential in our village. They have strong relationships with others influential Khans of the areas. They also have strong connections with local administrations and they use them for their own interest. The land they owned today is mostly captured from other people with help of local Patwar⁸.”

The village had fewer damages in terms of human loss and physical destructions than the other villages but the financial losses were more compared to village A and C. All the market was closed for 6 months and the goods inside the shops was either looted or spoiled during the displacement. The business activities continued but at a very slow pace as the purchasing power was very low due to the conflict as described by the 30 years old male member of B (34, J) in interview:

“Before the conflict we had four shops located at the same place. Our average daily income from these shops was around Rs 8000. During the conflict we lost all our four shops because they were hit by a missile fired from an aircraft. Now I have only one shop which I started with the financial support of retailers. They trust me because of my previous good business relations with them. Now, my daily income is only Rs 800 because the purchasing power is very low due to the high inflation rate in the country in general and the armed conflict in particular.”

⁸ Patwari is term used for a land record officer at sub-division or Tehsil level

Almost 100 acres of orchards and rice fields were also washed away by the floods in Harnoi River in August, 2010.

The village has, however, developed strong connections with both governmental and NGOs especially after the armed conflict and the floods compared to village A. The main reason behind this is the presence of Rural Welfare Organization (RWO) - a village based organization (VBO) in the village. It facilitated the national and international organizations to implement their projects in village. Ten governmental and non-governmental organizations have implemented different types of projects to support people compared to village A in which only four organizations provided assistance. All the respondents in village B received compensation for human losses and house damaged while in village A, only 2 out of 8 case households were able to secure compensation.

Fig 4 A view of Market in village B



Source: Author

Village C

Village C is located 16 km away from the Tehsil Headquarter Matta town. There are an estimated 800 households in the village. An estimated 85% households of the village are Yousafzai qawm while the remaining 15% comprise of Gujran, Parachgaan, and Miangan.

The main income sources of the people are agriculture, petty trade, remittances and daily wages. The economy in village C is basically agrarian. It has 500 acres land compared to village A and B, which have 150 and 450 acres respectively. It is famous for apple, plum and apricot production.

Especially after the introduction of new apple, peach and apricot varieties by the government extension department in 1995, the horticulture practices in the village have increased. It is clear from the comments made by participants in a focus group discussion:

“Our village is famous for fruit production in the surrounding areas because we have very fertile land and sufficient water is available for our field. Thirty years back our forefathers used to cultivate wheat, maize, rice and fodder but there were very few apple gardens because it took very long time (at least 25 years) to start the production. But in 1995 the government agriculture extension department introduced new varieties of apple, apricot, plums, peach and persimmon which can start to produce within three years. As a result 95% of our village is covered with these orchards. In a good season, an average apple garden can earn Rs. 800,000/ acre).”

Village C has also a small market with around 100 shops which the people started to diversify their income sources. Unlike village A and B, international and seasonal migration was very low before the armed conflict but it has increased after the army operation against the Taliban and later on after the floods in 2010. The main reason behind this was that fruit production which is the main income source of 80% of the household was badly affected in the armed conflict and the floods. As stated by one of the 35 year male participant of the focus group discussion:

“Since 2008, we are not getting any income from our orchards. There was frequent curfew during 2008 and the orchards contractors were reluctant to purchase the ripe orchards as they usually did before. And the people were not able to market their produce due to the regular curfew. When army started operation against the Taliban in May 2009, it was the peak season and we left all the orchards un-attended as we all became IDPs for four months and as result we lost the whole produce. In 2010 when the security situation improved, all the villagers were desperately eying on these orchards for income but unfortunately our village received another shock in the form of flooding. Forty five acres of land covered with orchards were completely washed away by the devastating floods. And the rest of the produce was not marketed due to the destruction of roads and bridges. And now the people start to migrate to others parts of the country for work. Unlike before, in this year (2011), poor people went to Punjab province for the wheat cutting season to accumulate some wheat stock for the year. Many people borrowed money from their relatives and sold their wives jewelry to migrate to the Middle East and Malaysia for work”

Fig 5 shows apple orchard in village C



Source: Author

As with village B village C also got more attention in relief activities compared to village A. Qatar Charity, an international NGO, distributed cash Rs. 20,000/shop to fifty four (54) shopkeepers. Agriculture inputs including seeds, fruit plants, fertilizers and equipments were also provided by PDMA (Provincial Disaster Management Authority). ACTED, French based NGO and Literate Masses, a national level NGO implemented Cash for Work (CFW) projects, worth PKRs. 5 and 4 million respectively. The villagers also received monthly food ration for eight months under the World Food Program (WFP). UNHCR provided shelters for people whose houses have been completely destroyed. PDMA extended financial support of Rs.300, 000 per dead person and Rs. 400,000/ house damaged during the armed conflict. An individual philanthropist from India donated Rs.6 million for the reconstruction of a Mosque destroyed during the armed conflict.

Village A received less humanitarian assistance compared to village B and C. The reason behind this was strict mobility check imposed by army due to their perception of the village as a Taliban supporter. The presence of VCOs in village B and C proved beneficial for the attracting more NGOs to implement different projects

5.2. Conclusion

From the above discussion, it is concluded that all the three study villages varies in their livelihoods up to some extent. The economy in village A is mainly based on foreign remittances while village B and C were dependent on local business and agriculture respectively. Despite more human losses and physical damages and less assistance received from outside actors, village A found to be more resilient (out of 7 coping households 4 belong to village A) due to their dependences on remittances sent by the villagers (for more detail see chapter 6). While on the other hand, village B and C proved to be more vulnerable (13 out of 17 declining household belong to village B and C) due to their high dependences on local resources in the form of local business in village B and agriculture in village C(for more detail see chapter 6).

Chapter 6: Livelihood Trajectories of the Case Households

The previous chapter provides a detailed description of three villages. This chapter will explore and discuss the livelihood trajectories of the studied households. The main focus is on how and why some households were able to cope and maintain their livelihood security while others experienced an erosion of their livelihood security.

This chapter is divided into three sections. This first section is about the coping households. It explores the factors responsible for their ability to cope and maintain their livelihood security in the context of the armed conflict and floods. The second section is related to declining case households. It discusses in detail how and why the majority of the households studied experienced an erosion of their livelihood security. The last section summarize the chapter

6.1. Household's livelihood Trajectories

After the analysis of the study households it was found that out of 24, not a single household was able to improve its livelihood security in the aftermath of the armed conflict and floods. Only 7 were able to cope and maintain their livelihood security while the remaining 17 households experienced a decline.

6.2. Coping Households

A number of factors contributed to some of the case households being able to cope with and maintain their livelihood security. These factors will be discussed one by one in the following sections.

Wealth

It was found that wealthy households in the study villages bore the brunt of the armed conflict financially as well as human and physical losses. They were forced by the Taliban to support them financially and when refusing 5 of them lost their lives in village A⁹. Some of them had to leave the village due to the continuous demand of ransom from the Taliban. For example, the head of household A1 (28, J) in village A, was shot dead by refusing ransom to the Taliban. But in spite of

⁹ Key informant interview on May 2, 2011

this, A1(28, J) were able to cope with shock on the basis of their previous good economic position. As explained by his 35 years old son:

“Before 2006, our economic condition was very good. Our father was a hard working person. In 1988, he went to Saudi Arabia and spent 12 years as a foreman in an oil company and then came back to Pakistan in 2000. The money he earned was invested in whole sale medicine business in Mingora and Peshawar cities, where four of our household members are working. We had also apple and peach orchards on 10 acres, which supplemented our household income. My brother was politically very active and was a stern opponent of the Taliban ideology. He was an active member of local Jirga and wanted to mobilize the villagers against the Taliban but in vain. In retaliation the Taliban killed my father and burned down our house and cut down our orchards. Now, we are earning enough money from our business to survive but unfortunately we lost our beloved father.”

The household A1(28,J) suffered both human losses and physical damages but due their business, they were able to maintain their livelihood security in both the shocks

Migration

Migration to the Middle East for work was also an important factor helping to cope and sustained livelihood security of the two households A2 (23, J) and A3(25, J) in village A. Household A2 (23,J) is living as a joint family and have 23 members in their family. This household suffered from both the armed conflict and the floods. In military operation its house was burned by the army and they lost all household items³. Two buffalos worth of 200,000 PKRs were also killed. They also spent six months as IDPs with relatives in Karachi city. In the 2010 flood, the household lost 2 acres shulgari (rice field) which produced 25 mounds of rice enough for the whole year to eat. This household was able to sustain their livelihood security due to the remittances sent by their members in the Middle East. As explained by the 52 years old male household head.

“After the death of my father in 1985, as an elder among the brothers I had to quit my education and joined merchant navy as a sailor. After 15 years, I left the job and came back to my village. In 2003, I paid a visa fee of 250,000 PKRs and sent one of my brothers to Saudi Arabia for work. In 2006, when situation became tense in our village, the brother already working in Saudi Arabia sent two visas for our two younger brothers and now they are

working there for the last 5 years. My youngest brother is driving Diana (a vehicle used for the transport of goods) which I bought one year ago and has an average daily net income of 600 PKRs. We re-constructed our house which cost about 1.2 millions PKRs. The government paid us 400,000 PKRs as a compensation for our destroyed house but it was not enough even to build a single room. Therefore, I borrowed 500,000 PKRs from one of cousin living in Karachi”.

Though, household A2 (23, J) has suffered both in the armed conflict as well as in the floods but still it was able to cope with situations due to the remittances sent by his brother working abroad. Like A2 (23, J), A3 (25, J) also relied on the foreign remittances sent by their 4 members working in Dubai. They are running a burger shop in Dubai which they started in 2005.

The elder son of the households head recently came back on vacations said:

“We belong to Parachgaan qawm, which are mostly poor because the majority is landless and uneducated. From the years, the main profession of the Parachgaans is to transport people goods, agricultural commodities through the help of mules. The villagers paid us in kind (wheat, maize, and fruit) in harvesting season on which we had to spend the whole year. From the past twenty years the demand of our profession became very low because of road construction and now the people mostly use vehicle for transportation of goods. Our profession was always risky because of the danger of animal deaths through falling from mountains. In 1998, I lost four mules during illegal timber smuggling in Batagram. This incidence forced me to leave this profession. Then in 2001, I migrated illegally to Oman for work. After one year, I were captured and deported from Oman. In 2004, one of my friends in our village sent me a visa from Dubai for which I paid half of the visa fee (100,000 PKRs) and the remaining half was paid by my friend (which I paid to him later on). Initially, I worked in my friend shop as a sales man but later I opened my own shop and within two years I brought my other three brothers when the security situation in our village was bad. The Taliban forced the people to join or to support them financially. Therefore our family moved to Karachi in 2007 and came back to the village in 2010 when the security situation improved”.

Both A2(23, J) and A3(25, J) households were able to cope with the both crises due to remittances sent by their members in the Middle east.

Political Connections

Although, affiliation with political parties proved very dangerous before the army operation as the Taliban mostly targeted those who had prominent political affiliations. However, later on it also helped some households to cope with the situation. For example, the head of household B2 (10,

Table 3 Livelihood Trajectories of the Coping Households

Village Code	Wealth Group	Household	The main Contributing Factors
Village A	1	A1 (28, J)	Whole sale medicine business, four male worker
	1	A2(23,J)	Remittances from Middle East sent by three male worker, one member work as local transporter
	11	A3(25, J)	Remittances from Middle East sent by 4 members
	11	A4(17,J)	Three Salaried members + government pension
Village B	1	B2 (10, S)	Property business in Karachi city
	11	B4 (10,S)	Government Pension + Building construction +Political connections
Village C	1	C (34, J)	Three salaried members

S) of village B was a government employee in telecommunication department working as a line man having a monthly salary of 18,000 PKRs/month. He was also getting 10,000 PKRs/month as a rent for his 5 shops in village market. Being an active member of a local political party, he was on the hit list of the Taliban in the village. In 2008, he quit his job and migrated to Karachi to save his and his family member's lives. In 2009, he went to Malaysia for work and after passing almost two years, then came back to his village and started work as a building contractor. As an active political activist of the ruling political party, he used his political connections and got four government school building contracts that had been destroyed by the Taliban in his area. During an interview he claimed that he is associated with this political party since 20 years back but he did not receive any benefit from it. Instead he and his family suffered from the Taliban due to his political affiliation with a party which was against them. And now he thinks it is time to cash the opportunity and take some benefits from it.

Government/Salaried Jobs

Having a number of government salaried members also played a positive role in maintaining livelihood security for two case households. Households A4 (17, J) in village A and C1 (24, J) in village C have members with permanent jobs in the education department. For examples, household A4(17, J) is the most educated family in village A. The A4 (17, J) household head is a retired Head Master of the village high school for boys. All his four sons are well educated. His two elder sons are teaching in the village's high school while his younger son is doing job in the National Database and Registration Authority (NADRA) as an accountant. His youngest son is in the final year of civil engineering. Household A4 (17, J) is getting a regular income of 55,000 PKRs/month from salaries and pension. During the armed conflict, A4 (17, J) house and their household items were completely damaged by the army and later on they received 400,000 PKRs from PMDA as a compensation. The two oldest sons have also withdrawn 300,000 PKRs from their provident fund¹⁰ to rebuild their destroyed house.

Household C1 (24, J) in village C was also able to maintain livelihood security due to its three salaried members in education as well as in the banking sector. Two of their members are teachers in a government boy's primary school in the village while the elder member is working as a branch manager in the National Bank of Pakistan situated in Matta Town. This brings a permanent income of 75000 PKRs /months to the household. They have also 8 acres of apple and peach orchards but they are not getting any income from these during the past three years due to the armed conflict and floods. The house and *hujra*¹¹ of C1(24, J) were completely destroyed during the air bombardment in October, 2008. Although, they received compensation 400,000 PKRs for its house from PMDA, they have yet not started the reconstruction. Therefore, they took a loan of 1000,000 PKRs from a bank by mortgaging their land to rebuild their house.

6.3. Declining Households

Out of 24, 17 households experienced a decline in their livelihood security. Out of these 17 households, 7 belong to village C, 6 to village B and 4 to village A. The key features of these declining households are; low or no diversification of income sources, death or injuries/illness of the working members in conflict, less numbers of working people, low economic background etc.

¹⁰ A fund into which the employer and the employee both pay money regularly, so that when the employee retires, leaves the company, he or she receives a sum of money. The employee can withdraw a portion of the saved money at the time of his service after a specific period (Longman Business English Dictionary)

¹¹ A guests place.

Income Diversification

Low or lack of income diversification is one of the key features of declining households. The households that mostly relied on a single occupation experienced a decline in their livelihood. Such households were reported mostly in village B and C. In village C 7 out of 8 households relied on orchards for their livelihood. Since 2008, these households are hardly getting any income from these

Table 4 Households Livelihood Trajectories of Declining Households

Village	Wealth Group	Household	The main Contributing Factors
A	11	A5 (14, J)	Lack of livelihood diversification, main reliance on agriculture, getting no income from it from the previous three seasons, spent two year in Karachi due to life threats from Taliban +less male worker+ no compensation for damaged house
	111	A6 (8,S)	Lack of livelihood diversification, main reliance on orchards+ getting no income from it from the previous three seasons
	111	A7 (9 S)	Previous weak economic background, loss of house, mule (the lone earning source) +no compensation for damaged house +animals loss
	111	A8 (8,S)	Previous weak economic background, loss of son, house, and mule – the only earning source +no compensation for damaged house +animals
B	1	B1 (34, J)	Lack of livelihood diversification+ Mainly relied on shops destroyed during the conflict+ received compensation for damaged houses and shops but not enough
	11	B3 (20, J)	
	11	B5 (10,S)	loss of established business+ less male worker + spent three years in other city due to life threat from Taliban
	1	B6 (16,J)	Loss of whole sale fruit business + 3 male worker but not contributing enoug to household income + Debt burden
	1	B7 (7,S)	Loss of work as barber due to Taliban+ Death and injuries of household members + Illness
	1	B8 (11, S)	Previous weak economic background + Loss of barber shop + single male worker
C	1	C1 (24, J)	Death and injured household members + no income from orchards
	11	C3 (14, J)	Lack of livelihood diversification + mainly dependent on orchards + no income from the orchards from the previous three consecutive years
	11	C4 (11, S)	Lack of livelihood diversification + mainly dependent on orchards + no income from the orchards from the previous three consecutive years
	111	C5 (8, S)	Same as C4
	111	C6 (11,J)	Previous weak economic background + no income from orchards + loss of one male worker + damaged houses + received compensation for damaged house but not enough
	111	C7 (13, J)	Previous weak economic background + no income from orchard + lack on farm work opportunities
	111	C8 (8, S)	Previous weak economic background '+ no income from 2 jarib orchards + only one male worker

orchards. Thus, in village C, 7 out of 8 households experienced a decline in their livelihoods. The same was true to the shop keepers who totally relied on their shops for their income in village C. For example, B3(34, J) in village B, being one on of the wealthier households of village B, plunged

into economic crises, when his four shops and house were completely destroyed from a missile fired from a jet air plane in October 2008. As explained by the son of household head during interview.

“From 25 years, the main profession of our family is business. Before conflict, we had four shops in our village situated in the same place. These shops were the only source of income for our household. Our average daily income from those shops was 4,000 PKRs. Within seconds we lost our business established by our forefathers. Now we have started our business right from the scratch. We got some financial support from Qatar Charity and Save the Children of 60000 PKRs for our business but it was not enough to start. Now, we have reopened only one shop with the support of retailers with whom we have good relationship. We also received 400,000 PKRs from PDMA as a compensation for our destroyed house, but it was a too small amount to build a house. We sent two of our brothers to Dubai and Saudi Arabia. But due to the current financial crises in Dubai my brother lost his job and came back home. Now he is driving a passenger vehicle in Mingora city which we purchased on installments. His elder son is supporting him as a conductor.”

Household B4 (10, S) of village B also suffered a steep decline in their livelihood security when Taliban destroyed their shop. Their household head was a general councilor nominated in the local body election in 2005. Before the conflict, B4(10, S) had a well established general store with an average monthly income of 35,000 PKRs/month. As an anti Taliban political activist, the head of the B4(10,S) received life threats from the Taliban. Therefore they were forced to migrate from the village. The General Store- B4(10,S)’s only source of income- was bombed down by the Taliban. In 2010, the B4(10,S) sold their house and invest some money to re-open their shop. The elder son of the household B4(10,S) was forced to leave his education in order to help his father to run the shop in their village while his father is staying back in Wah Cantt ¹² and running a pity shop there.

Access/ Inaccess to Male Labor

Household size and composition also played an important role in determining the household’s capacity to cope and maintained its livelihood security in an unfavorable situation. In a majority of cases the households that had more male labor, were able to cope with the shocks of armed conflict and floods, as is in the cases of A1, A2, A3, B1, and B2. While the access to able-bodied male labor

¹² Wah Cantt is a small city located in the North West of Islamabad- the capital of Pakistan- at the distance of 50 Km

does not guarantee better livelihood opportunities and outcomes but, it still provides more choices for those respondents without this resource (Kantor & Pain, 2011 p.15). The case of Household B6 (16, J) having 3 male worker in village B does not illustrates this. The head of B6(16,J) is 65 years old person who have two sons. He explained his story in the following manner:

“In 1982, I migrated to Saudi Arab illegally and spent 8 years there in one stretch. Then I came back to my village and started to work as an orchards contractor. But in 1995 one of my brothers killed a person from another family in our village. As a result, our family migrated to Mardan¹³ and after spending 4 years there my family came back to our village when the conflict was resolved. Then I re-started my work as a contractor. But in 2007, my business started to decline due to the bad security situation and imposition of frequent curfew by the army. Then in 2009, I sent my elder son to Saudi Arab for work by borrowing money for his visa from my son-in- law. But after spending more than two years there, he didn’t send us a single penny. He is addicted to drugs and spends all the money for himself. My younger son is selling vegetable on handcart. Now I have to pay 1200,000 PKRs which I borrowed from people for my business. But at the moment I don’t have any other mean but to sell my house and pay all these loans”

Migration

From the years, migration is very common especially in village A and B and has increased in village C after the armed conflict. Nearly all the coping households have members in the Middle East which support their households by sending remittances and the importance of remittances have increased during the conflict and the floods. The majority of the declining households, however, didn’t have any member working outside the country before the armed conflict. However, in some case they have people who have migrated after the conflict and the floods. The reason behind this is economic as well as future security situation. For example the household head of A6(8,S) in village A took his elder son out from school and send him to Dubai. As his father explained it:

¹³ Mardan is a district in the Khyber Pukhtunkhwa Province of Pakistan

“In our village and surrounding areas, the Taliban has more influence on the young people. The majority of the Taliban supporters were between ages 14 to 30 years. At least 100 people mostly young men lost their lives in our village and surrounding area during and after the operation. Now the people are afraid of the future of their young generation and as a response they are sending their children to Karachi or the Middle East. I also send my elder son to Dubai while he was studying in high school. His mother was always worried about his future therefore we sold our buffalo to pay half fees of the visa and the remaining were paid by my son after four months. We know that his salary is not good but still we are happy that our son is secure now”.

Some case households in village C had to migrate due to declining opportunities in agriculture especially in the orchard sector during and after the conflict and the floods. For example household C3 (14, J) and C6 (11, J) send their members to Malaysia and Saudi Arabia for work after conflict and floods. Before the conflict their main income was from their orchards. As the head of household C3(14,J) illustrated it:

“We are doing farming since the time of our forefathers. We have apple and peach orchards on 8 acres. These orchards were the main source of our household income. But since 2007 we are hardly getting any income from these orchards. We have three male labors in our household. One of my brothers has a small grocery shop in the village but his business is going down day by day as the people are not able to pay the money for the goods they have purchased from him on credit basis. In 2010 we were expecting some income from our orchards but unfortunately due to the floods we were not able to sell it out due to road and bridge destruction. We lost our hope to get something from our orchards and therefore we sold out our wives jewelry and sent one brother to Malaysia for work in Dec. 2010. Now, he is sending money after every second months.”

Although migration has been a regular phenomenon for years, there is an increasing trend in seasonal migration has been reported in all the three villages after the armed conflict and the floods especially among the poor households. People in these households don't have resources to pay visa fees to go abroad and therefore opt for the opportunities available in other parts of the country. Before the armed conflict, orchard sectors provided local job opportunities for these people especially in the picking season. But these opportunities disappeared during these crises and as result more and more people started to migrate seasonally for work especially in the months of April and May for wheat cutting and from November to March for sugar cane crushing season in

Kashmir, Punjab and Sind provinces. From 2009, household C6 (11, J) and C8 (13, J) started to migrate to Punjab and Sind provinces for work in sugar cane crushing seasons. As explained by C8 (13, J) household head:

“Before the conflict we went only for wheat cutting season in Azad Kashmir and Punjab areas of Pakistan and from August to November we worked in orchards in our areas but from the previous two years there have been very few work opportunities available for us in our area. Therefore, we are also going to Punjab and Sind provinces to work in sugar mills in the months of November to March each year.”

Human Losses and Injuries/Illness:

The death and injuries of people in armed conflict has pushed four households into economic crises. Two permanent government employees of household C1 (28, J) were killed in the air bombardment in October, 2008 by the army. The household head explained his situation as:

“Armed conflict brought a complete disaster for our household. We lost our two elder brothers which changed the whole scenario for our household. They were government employees in the education department and Water and Power Development Authority (WAPDA). They brought 80,000 PKRs/month as salaries. I and my brother’s wife were seriously injured during the same bombardment. My old mother could not bear the loss of her sons and died of heart attack after four months. We received as 1200,000 PKRs as a compensation for my brother’s death and the house damaged but half of the money was used to repay the amount we had borrowed for the funerals and injured treatment. And now, our household income is mainly depending on the government pensions of our martyred brothers and the shuttering business which I am running from the previous six years.”

The head of Household B7(7,S) in village B also lost their two children when a mortar hit his house and he and his wife got seriously injured. The household head is a barber by cast. He was running his barber shop from 20 years back in the village market. In 2006, the Taliban banned shaving and warned all the barbers to stop making shaving people; otherwise, they would face serious consequences. He told his tragic story:

“One day when I was busy in my work, Taliban came and dragged me out of the shop. They beat me mercilessly and put all my equipments out and burned it. Then I borrowed 40,000 Rs

from my father-in-law and went to Oman illegally for work. There I worked hard day and night but unfortunately after eight months I had pain in my right leg and it became very difficult to continue to work. Therefore, I came back to home for treatment. I removed my elder son from school and re-opened a barber shop for him. In December 2008, a mortar hit my house, in which I lost two sons including my elder son running the barber shop. I and my wife also got seriously injured. I got 1200,000 as a compensation for the death of our sons and damaged house. I spent 300,000 PKRs for me and my wife treatment but still we have not fully recovered. My elder brother is also demanding a share of the amount I received as compensation. Now I am not able to do any work because of my poor health condition and I am worried about the future of my household.”

Loss and Sale of Animals

In the study area it was found that the villagers kept buffalos and cows to support their daily food consumption by using milk, yogurt, oil, cheese. The mules were using for transportation. About 70% of the case households reported that before the conflict they had kept buffalos or cows for milk and related products for their daily food consumptions. During the armed operation 75% of the case households sold (at less than half of the market price) their animals to finance their daily consumption needs while 15% reported that they had lost their animal in bombardment or burning down their house by the army especially in village A. Wealthier households were able to restock livestock as in the case of A2 in village A while the medium and poor households were not able to do so. The loss or sale of animals brought more pressure on the poor households as they now are dependent on market for those things (especially milk and oil) which they used to get them from their animals.

Households A6 (8, S) and A8 (9, S) in village A lost their mules which were the only source of income for their households. They used to transport people goods on their mules. Household A6 (8, S) lost their two mules when its house was burned down by the Army. The head of Household A6 (8, S) explained his miserable story like this:

“From our forefathers, our profession was to transport goods on mules. Before the conflict, I had two mules to transport goods and earn some money for my household. My elder son was also supporting me in my work. Before the armed operation, my elder son was captured by the Taliban and they kept him for three months in their private jail and later on forced him to join

them and he, eventually, disappeared during the operation. I also lost my both mules when my house was burned by the army. The army refuses me to register to get house compensation as they considered me to be a Taliban supporter. So I lost my son and the mules. Now I am working as a labor on the farm of our village Malak on a fixed salary of 3000 PKRs, which is not enough to fulfill basic needs of my eight members' household."

6.4. Summary

To sum up, the high number of declining households indicates an overall decline in household's livelihood security in the study villages. The factors which enabled the coping households to maintain their livelihood security are international remittances, wealth, more male workers, government jobs and political connection. The factors which lead to the decline of the majority of case households are: low or lack of livelihood diversification, human losses and injuries/illness especially among the male workers, and loss of livestock. Migration for work was found to be the most prominent response in both crises especially in village B and C. Those households which had enough resources sent their members abroad for work while others opted for local work opportunities available seasonally in different parts of the country. The case evidences also shows that almost all households belonged to medium and poor wealth categories were further pushed into more vulnerable positions

Chapter 7: Social Assistance and Aid Delivery

The previous chapters discussed the case household's livelihood trajectories in the context of armed conflict and floods. It also explained in detail the factors contributing to the coping as well as the declining households. This chapter will focus on the interventions and the extent to which they supported people livelihoods and infrastructure development aftermath of the armed conflict and floods.

During field interviews it was found that villagers have received assistance from state and non state actors as well as from informal sources. However, the large number of households with declining livelihoods security indicates the inadequacy or limitations of assistance.

7.1. State Assistance

In the study villages, it has been reported that government provide financial assistance of 25,000 PKRs /household during the displacement. However, some of the case households pointed out that they did not receive this amount due the lost or unavailability of the National Identity Card at the time of registration. The main beneficiaries of the government assistance were those households which suffered direct losses in the form of human death or house damage. It has been reported that the government provided compensation of 300,000 PKRs/person death and 400,000 and 150,000 PKRs for completely and partially damaged houses respectively. However, the compensation of damaged houses was not enough to rebuild the houses and the majority of the case households used alternative sources to finance their house reconstruction. The people did not receive any

compensation for the loss of household items and the animals that perished. In the flood emergency, the government provided agricultural inputs in the form of fertilizers, seeds/seedlings and tools to the farmers. The government also wrote off the agricultural loan of the farmers but this mainly benefited the large farmers. For example landlord of village A was one of the main beneficiaries by writing off 1800,000 PKRs payable loan

The government provided compensation on the basis of a survey conducted by the army which according to the participants of FGD in the village B and C was fair and based on reality and free of any political or Malak influence . However, in village A, participants claimed to have been discriminated made by the army as their village was ignored during the registration process. To

prevent corruption, the amount was transferred to the bank account of the household head. However, villagers were complaining of long delays.

7.2. NGOs Assistance

Several international and national non-governmental organizations also provided relief assistance in the s villages. The main organizations that worked or are working in the villages are: World Food Program (WFP), UNHCR, Save the Children (US), Qatar Charity, Literate Masses, Lassona, German Technical Organization (GTZ), Agency for Technical Corporation and Development (ACTED) .

WFP is mainly concern with food distribution. They provided food ration for 6 months when people returned to their homes in August, 2009. They also distributed food ration for 4 months after the 2010 floods. They also run nutrition project for school children by providing biscuit and oil for children and school teachers in village C. UNCHR provided shelters for the affected people in the armed conflict as well as in the floods. Qatar charity provided cash grants for shopkeepers in village B and C. For example, they distributed cash grants of 3.5 million PKRs in 174 shopkeepers in village B and C. Save the Children (US) also distributed cash grants of 10 million PKRs in 450 affected households in B and C. Literate Masses with the support of Action Aid Pakistan implemented three cash for work (CFW) projects worth of 6 million PKRs in all the study villages in the emergency phase of the armed conflict. GTZ started its activities in collaboration with the Literate Masses during flood emergency and has focused on infrastructure development. So far they have implemented four projects of water supply and irrigation schemes in village B and C.

From table 3 it has been obvious that compared to B and C, village A received the least o assistance during the armed conflict as well as during the floods. The main reason behind this was that two of the main Taliban Leaders belonged to this village and they got much support in the village and surrounding areas. During the operations the Pakistan Army faced tough resistance in the village and suffered casualties. As a result the villagers got the label of being Taliban supporters. After the operation, the army set up 4 check posts and the mobility of the villagers and the outsiders in the village were kept tight. Initially, only government departments and UN agencies provided assistance while other NGOs were reluctant to work in the village due to tight mobility check imposed by the army.

Table 5. Summary of Village Wise Assistance Provided by Government and NGOs

	Government	WFP	UNCHR	Save the Children (US)	Literate Masses	Qatar Charity	GiZ	ACTED
Village A	Compensation for Human losses and house damaged, Provision of agri inputs during flood emergency	Provision of food rations in the armed conflict and flood	Provision of Shelter	No Activity	Cash-for-work project + Seed Distribution + Poultry distribution	No activity	No activity	NO Activity
Village B	Same	same	same	Provision of cash grants	Cash for Work Project + Seed Distribution	Provision of cash grants for shopkeepers	Safe drinking water supply scheme, Construction of irrigation channel	Cash for Work Project
Village C	Same	Same	Same	same	Cash for Work Project + Seed Distribution +Poultry Distribution	same	Same	Cash for Work Project

This information was collected from/compiled by using the following sources:

Rural Welfare Organization, Khusbo Community Development Organization (KCDO), Field Interviews

7.3. The Effects of these Interventions on the Case Households.

During the interviews almost all respondents reported that they have received assistance in one form or another. It was also reported that all the households were eligible to receive assistance. All the respondents received food ration for eight months under the WFP program but the quantity of ration was fixed irrespective of the household size. Every household received a monthly food package including 50 kg flour, 4 kg sugar, 4 kg pulses and 4 kg oil but this package was enough to fulfill the food requirements of bigger households but only lasted for 10 days. The money injection under the Cash for Work and Cash grants projects implemented by different NGOs were also considered very important for the revival of economic activities in the villages but they were also limited in term of household coverage in each village. The compensation provided by governments for human losses and house damages were also reported limited in term of quantity and scope and the majority of the households still waiting for compensation. Furthermore, no compensation was provided for the damages of household items, human injuries and animal losses and consequently the majority of the respondents relied on informal assistance to cover the expenses. When asked about the importance of assistance provided by the state and the NGOs, a key informant in village C replied as

“Many organizations have provided assistance in our village and surrounding areas but the people problems are more to solve with these assistance. The main problem is that people are many and the assistance is not enough. This assistance is only for a short time and the people have to struggle themselves to rebuild their lives. And even wealthy people are always standing in lines to get assistance and even though they know that other people are in more need than they are but they have no shame. I have also noticed that they sell these things later on.”

7.4. Assistance from Informal Sources

During interviews it has been pointed out that informal assistance in the form of **Zakat**¹⁴ or **Khairat**¹⁵ has been reduced during and after the armed conflict as well the floods. As one of the respondent in village C said:

¹⁴ Giving food or money to poor as religious obligation

¹⁵ Obligatory payment made annually under Islamic law on certain kinds of property and used for charitable and religious purposes

“Before the armed conflict and the floods, the well off people of the village paid Zakat or Khairat to the poor people as their religious obligation. As all the people in the village were directly or indirectly affected in both crises, it reduced the capacity of well off villagers to do khairaat or pay Zakaat. Even the relatives living in the village are not in a position to extend support to each other as they did before in time of illness, marriages, conflict etc.”

Informal assistance was demonstrated during the people’s displacement in armed conflict. It has been reported that only 20% of the IDPs were accommodated in the government run refugee camps in Peshawar, Mardan, Swabi and Charsadda districts of Khyber Pukhtunkhwa province while 80% were accommodated by their relatives and non relatives (Pakistan Humanitarian Response Plan 2008-2009). The people shared houses, hujras, mosque and schools to accommodate the displaced people. The people also collected donations to provide food and other related items to the IDPs. As narrated by one of the participant in FGD in village B:

“We cannot forget the generosity and hospitality of our brothers. I spent 3 months in Mardan with a family. They accommodated my family in their hujra. They were not wealthy but still provided us with food, clothes, and other items necessary for our living.”

During interviews some of the respondents pointed out that they borrowed money from their relatives living in other parts of the country for house reconstruction and other purposes as in the case of A2(23,J). The A2(23,J) head explained:

“We have very a strong relationship with our relatives living in other parts of the country. We help each other financially at the occasion of marriages, death, and conflicts. My cousin living in Karachi provided us with accommodation as well as foods for three month during our displacement. I borrowed 500,000 PKRs from him for our house reconstruction. Five years back I also borrowed him 100,000 PKRs for his son marriage and in this way our relationship is getting stronger and stronger with the passage of time.”

However, this was not the case with the poorer households. For example, A6(8,S) head in village A said:

“My relatives living in Charsadda district are financially good. Even though they know that my family is in crises, they did not provide me any support. I lost my son, house and mule

during the conflict. I want to reconstruct my house but my relatives refuse to give me credit as they know that I will not be able to repay them. No one is ready to trust poor people like me.”

7.5. Aid Capture by Malaks

Aid captured by Malaks (village’s traditional leaders) has been reported in village A and B. Respondents in village A and B complained that government official and NGOs workers distributed relief and emergency aid through village Malaks and Malaks preferred mostly their relatives and political supporters in the village. For example, in village A, the Government, WFP and UNCHR provided relief and emergency support through the Malaks and they distributed the food ration and shelter among their relatives and political supporters. They also sold half of the agricultural inputs provided by the government during the flood emergency. However, their influence has been reduced by the presence of CBOs in village B and C. As explained by one of participants in FGD in village B

“At the initial stage of emergency, the government and UN agencies provided assistance through our village Malak. He is an important political figure in the area. He favors his relatives and his political supporters. Through CBO platform, we lodged complain against him in UNHCR and WFP regional offices. Then they and other NGOs provided assistance through CBO platform because it has developed credibility in the village by identifying and providing assistance to the people most in need from any quam(tribe or clan) of the village without any political discrimination.”

7.6. Summary

From the above discussion it can be concluded that villagers received assistance from state and non state actors. However, this assistance was not enough in quantity and coverage to fulfill the needs of the people. The higher incidence of declining households also shows the limitation of these interventions. Due to the limitation of formal assistance, the villagers relied on informal assistance or other sources to fulfill their needs

Chapter 8: Conclusion

Three research questions have structured this investigation into livelihood trajectories in the context of man-made and natural disasters in three villages of district Swat, Pakistan. These questions aimed to finding out what these trajectories have been and how and why they varied between households and villages, exploring how the case household's livelihoods affected and what were their implications for the welfare of households. It also aimed to assess the effect of assistance provided by outside actors on household livelihood security.

Evidences from chapter 4 shows that the households in the three study villages were differed in their main livelihoods sources. It was found that households in village A was mainly dependent on international remittances, village B economy was mainly based on local business while village C was agrarian.

The case evidence shows that out of 24 case households only 7 were able to maintain their livelihoods security while 17 faced decline. However, it can be varies among the three case villages. In 17 declining households 4 were found in Village A, 6 were in village B and 7 were in village C. The mains reason behind the higher incidence of declining households in village B and C seems to be the lack of livelihoods diversification as well as their reliance on local resources. For example in village C, all the declining households were relying on orchards which were badly affected in armed conflict and floods

The factors which enabled the coping households to maintain their livelihood security are international remittances, wealth, more male worker, government jobs and political connection. The factors which lead to the decline of majority of case households are: low or lack of livelihood diversification, human losses and injuries/illness especially the male worker, loss of livestock. Some of the declining households responded by sending one or two of the household abroad. However, some declining households who had not enough resources for international migration opts for local work opportunities available seasonally in other parts of the country. Those households whose main dependence was on agriculture especially orchards for their household income, had left no option for their income so they responded to migrate abroad or locally for work. The case evidences also shows that almost all the households belonged to medium and poor wealth categories were further pushed into more vulnerable situations.

The case study also shows that villagers received assistance from state and non state actors. However, this assistance was not enough in quantity and coverage to fulfill the needs of the people. The higher incidence of declining households also shows the limitation of these interventions. Due to the limitation of formal assistance, the villagers relied on informal assistance or other sources to fulfill their needs

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Annexure 1 Wealth Ranking Exercise in three selected villages

Village “A”

Wealth Categories	No. household member working in Middle East	Land size and Size of Orchard	Sources of income	Housing
Poor	No. member of household is working abroad	May one jirab or may not own land	Non farm labor Seasonal labor Off farm labor Khairat and Zakat	Kacha may or may not be owned
Medium	one member in Middle east	8 jirab land with orchard	Government jobs remittance shop keeping Income from orchards	Concreted and owned
Rich	More than one member working in middle east	20 jirab land with orchard	Whole sale business Remittances Income from orchards Government jobs	Concreted and owned

Village “B”

Wealth Categories	No. household member working in Middle East	Land size and Size of Orchard	Sources of income	Housing
Poor	No. member of household is working abroad	2 jirab land with no orchard	Non farm labor Off farm labor Khairat and Zakat	Kacha may or may not be owned
Medium	Having at least one person working in Middle east	8 jirab land with orchard	Government jobs Remittances Income from orchards	Concreted and owned

Rich	Have more than one household member working in Middle East	20 jirab land with orchard	Remittances Income from orchards Government jobs	Concreted and owned
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Village “c”

Wealth Categories	No. household member working in Middle East	Land size and Size of Orchard	Sources of income	Housing
Poor	No. member of household is working abroad	2 jirab land with no orchard	Non farm labor Off farm labor Khairat and Zakat	Kacha may or may not be owned
Medium	May or May not be member in Middle east	12 jirab land with orchard	Government jobs May be remittance, Shop keeping Income from orchards	Concreted and owned
Rich	One member working in middle east	15 jirab land with orchard	Remittances Shopkeeping Income from orchards Government jobs	Concreted and owned

