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Toward epistemic empowerment of indigenous youth

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Graduate Program in Education

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree in Doctor of Philosophy

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Toward epistemic empowerment of indigenous youth: Stakeholder perceptions of transformative knowledge creation in the Academic Development Programs of the Institute for Development Studies and Practices and its application in development of indigenous communities of Balochistan, Pakistan

(Thesis format: Monograph)

by

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Graduate Program in Educational Studies

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract

Using a grounded-theory approach this study critically examines a development education program of an NGO, the Institute for Development Studies and Practices (IDSP) in Balochistan, Pakistan. IDSP's Academic Development Program (ADP) is influenced by critical pedagogy, and post-colonial and post-modern studies. IDSP targets out-of-school youth and young adults of marginalized communities who are politically and socially conscious and looking for openings, inspirations, and direction to solve the issues confronting their communities.

In addition to grounded theory itself, theoretical perspectives used in this study include: postmodern critical theory, transformative learning theory, critical pedagogy, and post-colonial studies. Data sources include ADP-related documents and open-ended interviews with four IDSP administrators, three teachers, six female students, and eight male students. I used convenience, purposive, and theoretical sampling techniques to select my research participants. To analyze my data, I utilized two major analytical tools, "content analysis" and "constant comparison" throughout the research process.

The research findings reveal that ADP has developed critical consciousness in marginalized youth, improved their cultural self-esteem, enabled them to reclaim elements of their history and self-worth, and developed in them a sense of ownership and responsibility for their own knowledge. It has given them civic courage to raise their voice against exploitation, nepotism, and corruption and it has motivated them to connect with the world beyond their local region. Finally, it has enhanced their professional development capabilities.

This study traces a model of epistemic empowerment of indigenous youth across eight categories: (i) fostering critical imagination and analytical skills, (ii) strengthening connections with local culture, (iii) mastering professional skills, (iv) initiating praxis, (v) breaking the culture of silence, (vi) embracing ethically and socially responsible knowledge, (vii) encountering resistance in applying emancipatory ideas, and (viii) becoming "universal."

Case studies, particularly single case studies, are not generalizable in any sense to different contexts and time. However, the IDSP experience chronicled in this study through the eyes of direct stakeholders offers potential lessons for those who find themselves similarly situated in potentially comparable circumstances.

Keywords

Alternative notions of development, Balochistan, Critique on mainstream notions of development, Cultural self-esteem, Development education program, Decolonization, Epistemic empowerment, Emancipatory knowledges, Emancipatory actions, Emancipatory Transformation, Institute for Development Studies and Practices, Non-formal education, Postmodern critical theory, Transformative learning process, Traditional or indigenous communities

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1 Introduction

Youth in disadvantaged communities often lack resources needed to develop socially, cognitively, and emotionally (Martinek & Hellison, 1997); in turn, their hopes, expectations, and aspirations are negatively impacted by fear and lack of necessary capacities (Oyserman & Markus, 1990). With 61.9 million citizens aged 15–34, Pakistan currently has the largest cohort of young people in its history (Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, 2012-13); this demographic reality has serious implications for the provision of schooling, health services, and adequate jobs (Haque & Sultana, 2003). The majority of disadvantaged youth (above 60 percent) belong to rural, indigenous communities. Pakistan will face dire consequences if this vulnerable population remains uneducated and unskilled (Faizunnisa & Ikram, 2004). According to Thaver and Bhutta (2006), “[t]he unemployed youth of Pakistan, who see little hope in traditional politics or way[s] of governance, are attracted to the missionary zeal of the religious right wing” (p.12). It is argued that on one hand religious fundamentalism has fostered extremist ideology (Cohen, 2009) in indigenous communities, and, on the other, waves of Marxism have raised consciousness and expectations among the youth of these communities but have failed to solve development problems (Bakhteari, 1996).

In order to develop the capacities and potential of the target population, alienated young people, it is imperative to search for “openings” and alternatives that positively engage at-risk youth and offer them potential opportunities to play meaningful roles in mainstream development. Non-Government organizations (NGOs), foundations, and private-sector companies are among alternative “entities and individuals whose actions are effective at

discrediting violent ideology, isolating and marginalizing the extremists themselves, and creating alternatives for the at risk segment of the population, particularly the youth” (Cohen, 2009, p.60).

In the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, charitable self-help groups, inspired by religious faith or humanitarian concerns, have been in existence for a long time (Khan, 2001). However, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) working in the field of development and advocacy are a more recent phenomenon in Pakistan (Ghaus-Pasha, Jamal, & Iqbal, 2002). The foremost reason behind this emerging sector is the failure of a top-down, centralized approach to the planning and implementation of development programs at the grass-root level (Korten, 1980). Bottom-up and people-centered approaches to development are the key characteristics of the NGO sector. This sector is diverse in size, scope, program dimensions, and geographical coverage (Yousuf, Alam, Sarwar, & Ranjha, 2010). However, half of the 45,000 NGOs in Pakistan report “education of the out of school children and young people” as their main activity (Ghaus-Pasha, Jamal, & Iqbal, 2002). Most of these NGOS target youth and young adults by providing them religious, technical, and vocational education, and through programs of youth services and youth welfare.

The object of my analysis is an NGO, the Institute for Development Studies and Practices (IDSP), that aims “to develop a cadre of effective development thinkers, planners and practitioners at the grassroots level” (IDSP, 2004, p. 4) by initiating an Academic Development Program (ADP) in Balochistan. According to the founder of IDSP, Dr. Quratul Ain Bakhteari, one of the main purposes of establishing this institution is “to reduce exclusion of the majority of young people in Pakistan from mainstream education and livelihood opportunities in the country” (IDSP, 2010, p. 1).

1.1 Piquing My Interest

My prior one-year experience of living and working with the participants of ADP in 2005 motivated me to study IDSP's ADP courses in detail. Although in a traditional society such as Balochistan one might not expect to encounter young women engaged in community development work, I observed young men and women participating in community development activities, conducting group meetings, and interacting with NGO staff and government officials. I noticed that participants in this program were aware not only of local socio-economic issues but also of global development concepts and issues. They expressed their perceptions and beliefs through creative writing and performing the roles of mediator, mentor, coordinator, facilitator, and trainer within their families and communities, and even at the district-government level. These observations encouraged me to explore the knowledge creation or/and construction process in ADP courses as well as the impact and influence of these courses on the perceptions and community development practices of IDSP administrators, teachers, and students. The overarching goal of this study is to conceptualize an alternative model of development education that explains the influence of new and alternative knowledges on perceptions and practices of participating IDSP stakeholders (community-development workers).

1.1.1 My own positioning in this research study.

As a socio-economic researcher and practitioner I have been engaged in social-development processes in Pakistan since 1994. From 1994 to 1997, I observed from the perspective of a research assistant with a Masters degree in Economics, government economists (my employer) of my country planning social policies for national development. I learned their perspectives on educational and other social problems; their approaches to identifying these problems, their strategies for addressing social issues, and finally their style of disseminating and imposing their

own understanding and ideas at the macro-level. In 2000, I graduated from the M.Ed. program at the Faculty of Education of the University of Western Ontario. In this program, I learned a different way of knowing or understanding the world. Thereafter, I used a mainly interpretivist approach to understand educational and human development issues. From 2005 to 2007, I worked with local communities in rural areas of Balochistan and Sindh provinces. This particular experience further enriched my belief in the importance of natural inquiry in the social sciences. I not only came to know the local people's perspectives about educational and other social issues but I also realized my own incorrect perceptions and came to understand a pervasive myth about indigenous people and communities.

From my experience, I learned that the potential and capabilities of local people are consistently underestimated by dominant groups. Local culture, knowledge, priorities, and ways of living and being in society have always been marginalized. Local people's resistance to modernization is considered a sign of backwardness and ignorance. I have now come to see their questioning attitude and resistances, however, as an important strength. I have come to realize that local indigenous people have great potential and are eager to learn and work hard. I found local people cultured, less status-conscious than their urban, mainstream, formally educated counterparts, well aware of global and local politics and issues, and finally hard working. My working experience at IDSP, which rejects dominant notions and practices of development, and my own understanding of critical theories I studied during my PhD program, have helped me to understand local issues critically. I feel that I can distinguish and compare two distinct perspectives (mainstream and critical). In my view I am now in a better position to understand a particularly serious and fundamental educational problem from two different perspectives.

In the next paragraph, I will explain my personal positioning in this study. Being a middle-class citizen of a developing country, a Muslim woman, an immigrant, an international student, a researcher, an educator, a development practitioner, and a concerned citizen, I can relate to and understand the notions of critical pedagogy, postmodernism, and postmodern critical theory from my own life and the lives of social and cultural “others” who participated in this study.

The history of educational development in Pakistan has seen the impact of dominant ideologies on the “lower stratum” of society in forms such as extremism, violence, frustration. Educational policies and international development programs which are not rooted in local realities have failed to achieve their targets. As a development practitioner, researcher, friend of some local indigenous people, and concerned citizen, I want to study alternative development ideas and practices.

In IDSP, I saw alternative notions and practices of community development in action. I intended to come to a much more thorough understanding of and to analyze critically IDSP’s alternative ideas and practices by focusing on IDSP’s ADP program. I wanted to know the perceptions of knowledge creators and “knowledge emancipators” about the knowledge creation process and about knowledge itself, as constructed in the ADP program. In this research, I will not be co-constructing knowledge with my research participants; however, I will be engaged with my participants as intelligent subjects, and include space in my thesis for my own self-analysis or reflexivity. In the following section, I will attempt to deconstruct the idea of “rurality” as it applies to this study.

1.2 Getting Beyond Rural

Conventional development thinking has made a sharp distinction between urban and rural, but has paid relatively little attention to special dimensions of rural development (Wiggins & Proctor, 2001). Tacoli (1998) has questioned the importance of the rural-urban division by observing ever-increasing flows of goods, people, and ideas between city and remote areas. International development organizations such as the World Bank and UNESCO have also put emphasis on adopting a holistic approach for rural development particularly in developing countries. The World Bank (2001) urges rural-development specialists to define “what is rural” (p. ii) to World Bank education specialists. The Bank reports that “Rural development specialists might help education specialists in analyzing the rural space, both the physical and social/cultural environment, so that either national or targeted rural education projects take the particular rural environment into account in project design and implementation” (2001, p. 30). “Education for rural development: Towards new policy responses,” a joint publication of UNESCO and the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) (2003) observes that:

If we want to contribute to building a world where peace prevails over war and terrorism, and prosperity over poverty, the cost-effectiveness of international aid for education for rural people needs to be analyzed in the long term as part of a holistic approach. (2003, p. 24)

This shifting perspective is important for my research project. Since the inception of this project I have been looking for a terminology that captures not only the geographic location or socio-economic status of my research site but its historical and cultural aspects as well. The Government of Pakistan and international development organizations, in their planning and policy documents, use the term “rural areas”. The fact is that 85% of 6.5 million people of Balochistan

live in small, widely-scattered villages (Anzar, 1998); therefore, it is necessary to understand the dynamics and problems of this province by adopting a holistic approach. In the next section, I will present a holistic overview of Balochistan to explain its geographical, cultural, social, traditional, and historical characteristics.

1.3 Balochistan: A traditional society or indigenous community.

Balochistan is geographically the largest, least populated, and poorest of the four provinces of Pakistan. Its neighbouring countries are Iran to the west, Afghanistan and the Province of Khyber Pukhtunkhwa to the north, and Punjab and Sindh to the east; to the south is the Arabian Sea. The main languages in the province are Balochi, Pashto, and Brahui. The capital, and only city, is Quetta. The other towns and villages are all under-developed. The Baloch, Pashtuns, and Brahui form the major ethnic groups in the province. Balochistan is rich in mineral resources; it is the second major supplier, after Sindh province, of natural gas¹.

Fundamentally, Balochistan is a tribal society; it has its roots in nomadic and indigenous cultures of the region (Bakhteari & Kakar, 2005). “Although Balochistan culture is deeply patriarchal and conservative, it is a society in flux, or rather, a complex web of societies undergoing a complex variety of changes” (Paterson, 2005, p.14). Through the influence of mass media, mass transportation, and immigration into Balochistan, inhabitants are gradually becoming aware of social and economic changes taking place outside their communities and region. Many realize that, given the arid conditions of their territory, one of their greatest resources is their people, who must be educated to achieve a better life (World Bank, 1996).

Balochistan possesses a diverse cultural, ethnic and tribal configuration; therefore, pluralism is more vivid and generative in this province. According to Bakhteari and Kakar (2004), interesting harmony, uniformity and consistency exist in almost all of its cultural and

traditional norms. This uniformity is built around norms of sharing, cooperation, give-and-take, tolerance, mutual trust, respect, and a shared vision of the social decorum.

IDSP uses the term “traditional society” to define Balochistan. However, in the discourse of development, some critical theorists (Tucker and Sardar), consider this term a “myth” (Munck & O’Hearn, 1999). In their view, the term “traditional society” is “an invention of the European mind” (Tucker, 1999, p. 8). Tucker (1999) states that “In the real world there are no traditional societies, only ways of looking at societies as traditional. Yet myths of traditional societies and primitive cultures continue to be perpetuated uncritically by the discourses of development, anthropology and orientalism” (p. 8). Taking Tucker’s argument into consideration, I have decided to use the term “indigenous communities” to define the rural people of Balochistan.

In my view, the people of Balochistan, its history, culture, as well as challenges these people are facing today fulfill, to a large extent, the following United Nations (1996) definition of indigenous communities:

Indigenous communities, peoples and nations are those which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing in those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal systems. (Cited in Cruz, 2000, p. 232)

Balochistan was ruled by Medes, Greeks, Arabs, and Mughals over a long period. However, tribalism has always flourished in this province (Anzar, 1998); “it was only after Pakistan’s independence in 1947 that the tribal war lords were brought into the regular government constituency” (Raza, 1995 cited in Anzar, 1998, p. 55). According to Bakhteari and Kakar (2004), each traditional group in Balochistan maintains its identity and individuality and

the “traditional society” of Balochistan still possesses the strong social fabrics for challenging the injustices and inequalities. In my view, these characteristics and some others presented in the beginning of this section prove that rural communities in Balochistan should be acknowledged as “indigenous communities.”

1.4 Context: Institute for Development Studies and Practices (IDSP)

IDSP is a national human resource development institute. It was founded in January 1999 by a group of people who had working experience in Balochistan's emerging NGO sector. According to founding members of IDSP, this institute is an outcome of more than twenty-five years of work in community development. These members of IDSP wanted “to create a space where dominant development paradigms could be challenged; as a result, a critical and theoretically well-grounded generation of activists developed” (Paterson, 2008, p. 335).

IDSP strives “to relearn, regenerate, regain, and reclaim the indigenous values, practices, processes, and repressed knowledge based on local wisdom and knowledge” (IDSP, 2010, p. 1). IDSP firmly asserts that “every human being is equal and has the potential to create, develop, produce, generate, vitalize and revitalize processes, thoughts, and actions based on humility, humanism, trust, justice, truth, self, and mutual accountability and transparency” (IDSP, p. 1).

To create and develop young human resources at grass roots levels, IDSP offers two types of non-formal development studies courses under its Academic Development Program (ADP). The two main courses are (i) a “Development Studies Course” for both men and women and (ii) a “Mainstreaming Gender and Development (MGD) Course” for women only. IDSP’s Academic Development Program targets youth and young community development workers living in rural areas of Pakistan. Though IDSP delivers most of these courses in Baluchistan

province only, rural youth and community workers from other provinces can also attend these courses. Bakhteari and Kakar (2004) explain the purpose and function of these courses:

The core objective of establishing IDSP is to create and [develop] young human resources, by launching development studies courses . . . [rooted] in theory and practices. The young learners from all over the country, get through a deep reflective process of learning, de-learning and re-learning and understanding the process of critical thinking, creating their own concepts and practice it [*sic*]. They also study and analyze existing developmental programs. IDSP creates its own concepts for testing out innovation in building a civil society. (p. 21)

The main objective of my research is to understand the perceptions of IDSP teachers, students, and administrators regarding formation and application of transformative perspectives associated with IDSP, both in terms of their strength and their challenges.

1.5 Research Questions

This project will present a detailed, critical case analysis addressing four primary questions:

- What kinds of pertinent transformative perceptions and knowledge do actors who work in and administer the Academic Development Program (ADP) of IDSP construct? What kinds of pertinent transformative perceptions do participants create?
 - (i) How do these differ [from each other] and how do they overlap?
 - (ii) What assumptions regarding development, community development, and social change are contained in and fostered by IDSP?
- How can “indigenous knowledge” further this transformative knowledge-generation and learning process?
- How are these transformative perceptions constructed and enacted in the case of IDSP learners (course participants) and in the case of IDSP faculty?

- How does participation in the ADP of IDSP influence [IDSP stakeholders'] self-reported perceptions and practices of community development in Balochistan and, in particular, self-reported perceptions of participants' engagement in such development?

2 Theoretical Frameworks

Theory plays a primary role in understanding and explaining the world around us. It helps to organize our thoughts and entices us to reflect upon theoretical tools as new concepts emerge in a research project following in-depth data analysis. Sumner (2005) explains eloquently the role of theory in a research project, “A theory acts like a lens through which we can look at the world. That lens may be distorted or clear, dark or rose-colored, but it becomes a way of comprehending the inputs we constantly receive” (p. 32).

To select theoretical frameworks for this dissertation, I paid special attention to two aspects of this research project: 1) the theoretical bases of IDSP’s developmental work in the indigenous communities studied, and 2) theoretical understanding of the processes leading to transformative perceptions and related knowledge construction in its ADP courses and the influence of ADP teaching and learning practices on stakeholders’ perceptions and practices.

After carefully considering the IDSP’s critical stance on mainstream notions of development and its alternative approaches toward youth empowerment in development education programs, I concluded that a critical-theory framework was the most suitable research-theory tradition for my dissertation. Therefore, under the disciplines of development and adult education, I have chosen to combine and integrate Boaventura de Sousa Santos’s (1999) *Postmodern Critical Theory* and Jack Mezirow’s (1978) *Transformative Learning Theory*.

2.1 Postmodern Critical Theory

Boaventura de Sousa Santos (1999), a global legal scholar and professor of sociology at the School of Economics, University of Coimbra (Portugal), offers ideas of alternatives of knowledge and alternatives of actions within a “postmodern” critical theory to face the

challenges of under-development in the Global South. Taking up a central theme from his influential texts (see, for instance *Toward a Common Sense: Law, Science and Politics in the Paradigmatic Transition*, 1995), de Sousa Santos emphasized reinvention of emancipatory knowledge in the discourse of critical theory as it pertains to facing the challenges of under-development in the South (Munk & O’Hearn, 1999).

He believes that, in an era of paradigmatic transition, we are simply facing the consequences of modernity (Santos, 1995). In his view, the underdevelopment of the South is one of the major “modern problems for which there are no modern solutions” (Santos, 1999, p. 36). He proposes that “the disjunction between the modernity of the problems and the postmodernity of the possible solutions, that he designates as *oppositional postmodernism*, must be entirely assumed and turned into a starting point in order to face the challenges of constructing a postmodern critical theory” (Santos, 1999, p. 36).

According to Munk & O’Hearn (1999), Santo’s postmodern critical theory is an “attempt to reconstruct the idea and the practice of emancipatory social transformation” (Munk & O’Hearn, 1999, p. xv). “Social transformation” is a construct that is commonly used in the realm of critical theory and in discourses of adult education and post-development paradigms; however, in postmodern critical theory, emphasis is given to “emancipatory social transformation.” Santos (1999) believes “there are multiple faces of dominations and oppressions, and so [too of] the resistances to them;” therefore, he claims, “there is no single principle of social transformation” (p. 34). Further, he argues that many forms of domination have been overlooked by modern critical theory; therefore, he urges construction of a critical theory that is capable of addressing the need for inspiration “as a practice” for various cultures. He points out that:

In the absence of a single principle [of social transformation] it is not possible to gather all the resistance and all agents under the aegis of one common grand theory. More than a common theory, we need a theory of translation capable of making the different struggles mutually intelligible and allowing for the collective actors to talk about the oppressions they resist and the aspirations that mobilize them. (1999, p. 34)

In calling attention to the importance of diversity among different cultures and various counter-hegemonic global forces, Santos emphasizes the primordial importance of *contextual knowledge* in construction of postmodern critical theory. There is no doubt that recognition of diversity and its importance in addressing the problems of modernity in the 21st century have given the term “contextual knowledge” a central and crucial position in the discourse of development education.

2.1.1 Problems of development and knowledge.

Sardar (1999) stated that “the problem of development, is thus the problem of knowledge. It is a problem of discovering other ways of knowing, being and doing. It is a problem of how to be human in ways other than those of Europe” (p. 60). Santos (1999) also acknowledged that in the matrix of Eurocentric modernity two forms of knowledge, knowledge-as-regulation and knowledge-as-emancipation, are inscribed; however, he argued, “the truth is that knowledge-as-regulation ended up overriding knowledge-as-emancipation. This was a result of the way in which modern science became hegemonic and was thus institutionalized” (1999, p. 36).

However, to reconstruct alternative ideas and practices, Santos (1995, 1999, 2007) emphasized “reinvention of knowledge-as-emancipation” (p. 38) in the discourse of development.

The question is what are these alternative ideas and practices? Where do they actually exist? And who owns these alternatives? Explaining *functionalist sociology* that aims for an order of social regulation, and *Marxist sociology* that aims for social emancipation, Santos (2006) explicates meticulously the origin of alternative ideas and practices in his book *Rise of*

the Global Left: The World Social Forum and Beyond. In this book he introduces two new categories of sociologies in the spectrum of sociology, a *sociology of absences* that aims “to identify and valorize social experiences available in the world (p. 29) and a *sociology of emergences* that aims “to identify and enlarge the signs of possible future experiences, under the guise of tendencies and latencies that are actively ignored by hegemonic rationality and knowledge” (p. 29).

He defines *sociology of absences* as “an enquiry that aims to explain that what does not exist is in fact actively produced as non-existent, that is – as a non-credible alternative to what exists” (2006, p. 15). His argument of non-credible alternatives can be understood from his explications of “ignorance” which he defines as a “certain form of knowing” that is being ignored and discredited in the framework of knowledge production in the modern and celebratory postmodern paradigms. He insists that “There is no knowledge in general as there is no ignorance in general. What we ignore is always ignorance of a certain way of knowing; conversely what we know is always knowledge vis-à-vis a certain form of ignorance” (1999, p. 36). Santos strongly criticizes Eurocentric modernity and hegemonic globalization for “concealing or discrediting all the practices, agents and knowledge that are not accounted for by their criteria” (2006, p. 15). In his view, these discredited and concealed knowledges and practices are a “waste of social experience” (p.15) that, he emphasizes, must be interrogated to discover alternatives to what exists and causes major and a deep-seated problems. He argues that “The objective of the *sociology of absences* is to transform impossible into possible objects, absent into present objects, invisible or non-credible subjects into visible and credible subjects” (p. 15). According to Santos (1999) these discredited, absent, and invisible knowledges and

practices reside in those groups and societies that were subjugated by British and French colonialism. He observes tellingly that:

The global dominion of modern science as knowledge-as-regulation brought about the destruction of many forms of knowledge particularly those that were peculiar to peoples subjected to Western colonialism. Such destruction provoked silences that rendered unpronounceable the needs and aspirations of the peoples or social groups whose forms of knowledge were subjected to destruction. (1999, p. 39)

Santos' ideas of a sociology of absences (2006) and of epistemologies of absent knowledges and absent agents (2007) are useful in understanding IDSP's critical stance on dominant notions of development and its emphasis on revitalization of indigenous wisdom and ways of living. One of the core values of IDSP is to "relearn, regenerate, regain, and reclaim the indigenous values, practices, processes" (IDSP, 2010, p. 1). In the light of Santo's exploration of sociology of absences, I will discuss the strategies used for revitalization of indigenous knowledge, the role of indigenous knowledge in the transformative learning process in which IDSP engages its learners and faculty, and its impacts on IDSP stakeholders' transformed identities. As I anticipated, critical discussion by participants in this study regarding their own traditional values and practices not only exemplifies Santo's ideas of a sociology of absences, it also finds resonance with postmodern critical theory.

One of the research objectives of this study is closely associated with a central aim of the *sociology of emergences*, namely, to identify and study the signs of social experiences (as embodied in their perceptions and development practices) that have emerged in an indigenous society, in this case as a result of critical and transformative learning in the development education program of IDSP. Santo's *sociology of emergences*, in my view, is particularly intriguing and crucial for this study. Santos (2007) believes that, in the current period of transition, "[w]e have sufficient doubts about the past to imagine the future, but we live too much

in the present to accomplish the future in it” (p.42). The “present” that is defined as the age of information technology and scientific developments has incontestable influence on everyone’s life in the global north and global south as well. It is true that certain groups of people, particularly those who speak for the political “left,” in both the global south and global north criticize modernist and globalized ideas and practices; however, there are certain features of modern science and corporate globalization that they cannot or even do not want to resist in their daily lives. Participants in this study who have gone through a journey of critical-consciousness raising and reflective discourses in ADP courses are nonetheless living in this age and they are influenced by the entire spectrum of modern scientific developments. To some extent, they inevitably benefit from them. Their social experiences explained in this study illustrate Santos’s conception of a sociology of emergences in the postmodern critical theory. I suspected from the outset that the findings of my study might validate, but also to some degree contradict and extend, Santos’ position on the importance of sociologies of absences and emergences that he finds inevitable for “re-emergence of critical Utopia, that is to say the radical critique of present day reality and the aspiration to a better society” (Santos, 2006, p. 11).

Although Santos is very assertive regarding the sociology of absences and epistemology of absent knowledges in an emergent paradigm of postmodern development, in my view, he quite obviously does not intend to promote the classic idea of a “utopian society.” His emphases on conceptions of a sociology of emergences (2007) and critical utopia (2006), however, provide insights that might help enable realistic and critical change in contemporary society.

The key questions are who should identify these absent and non-credible knowledges, where should one search for them, and how — and to what degree — should they be revitalized, enlarged and brought to the status of credible knowledge. Also, after they are satisfactorily

identified, the crucial overarching question for study participants would be emancipation of both knowledge and actions, and, in particular, how best to pursue such emancipation at personal, community and global levels. Santos (1999, 2006, 2007), to some extent, has addressed these questions and concerns by privileging knowledge-as-emancipation as a central theme in the development of postmodern critical theory. In the next section, I explain Santo's concept of knowledge-as-emancipation and his arguments for reassessment of knowledge-as-emancipation in postmodern critical theory.

2.1.2 Knowledge-as-emancipation – A trajectory from colonialism to solidarity.

With regard to the conception of knowledge, Santos (2007) poses questions such as: “what it means to know, what counts as knowledge, and how is that knowledge produced.” (p. xxi). He explains, “Every act of knowing is a trajectory from a point A that we designate as ignorance to a point B that we designate as knowledge” (Santos, 1995, p. 25).

It is essential here to find the trajectory of knowledge-as-emancipation. According to Santos (1999), in this form of knowledge (knowledge-as-emancipation), the point of ignorance is *colonialism* and the point of knowledge is *solidarity*. He saw “colonialism” as “being the conception of other as object, hence not recognizing the other as subject” (1999, p. 37), while “solidarity” in his view is a form of knowledge in which the other is recognized “both as an equal whenever difference makes her or him inferior and as different whenever equality jeopardizes his or her identity” (2007, p. 428).

Santo's exploration of knowledge-as-emancipation further validates my decision to situate this study in the framework of postmodern critical theory. Recognition of “colonialism” as the point of ignorance in the trajectory of knowledge-as-emancipation is, in my view, a pre-condition for using postmodern critical theory in any research project. Such recognition shows

that emancipatory knowledges and practices in this sense can only be found in societies and groups which have experienced some form of colonial rule. My contention, however, is that simply experiencing colonialism might not be sufficient to lead eventually to reinvention of discredited knowledges and practices in “postcolonial” countries. In my view, emancipatory knowledges and practices can be searched for and revitalized in those postcolonial countries or parts of postcolonial countries where communities and groups of people have been, partially or fully, rejecting modern ideas or have been victims of modernization and corporate globalization — and recognize their victimization (Lukes, 2003).

Solidarity, in the trajectory of “knowledge-as-emancipation,” is defined as the point of knowledge. One “dictionary” definition of solidarity is “the support that people in a group give each other because they have the same opinions or goals” (Macmillan Online Dictionary, 2015). However, in postmodern critical theory, it is defined as a way of knowing where the other is brought up from the status of object to the subject of knowledge (Santos, 1999). These two definitions of solidarity seem mutually exclusive. In my view, Santos believes that by giving the “other” the status of *self-defining* subjects of knowledge, another community/world will emerge that will not only share goals but where diverse peoples will also support each other in achieving shared goals.

An overview of IDSP’s ADP reveals that the target audiences of ADP courses are the marginalized groups of Pakistan such as youth and women of traditional societies whom Santos would consider “other” viewed from the perspective of power elites in Pakistan. More precisely, how these groups are given the status of “producer of knowledge” (2007, p. 428) in ADP courses is the crucial question of this research project. Analysis of their perceptions and development practices, in this study, reveals the nature and dynamics of this group or what IDSP likes to call a

learning community/society. I examine whether and to what degree this group of people is following the principle of solidarity in the sense of supporting each other for shared goals. An important focus of the study is to identify and assess the goal of this group and how they are supporting each other in achieving shared goals. In the next section of this chapter I will discuss Santos' proposal to reinvent knowledge as "knowledge-as-emancipation."

2.1.3 Reinvention of knowledge-as-emancipation in postmodern critical theory.

The reinvention of knowledge-as-emancipation in postmodern critical theory, in Santos' view, "implies a revisitation of the principle of solidarity as well as of the principle of order" (1999, p. 38). The objective of this revisitation is "to further the production of knowledge-as-emancipation as an emancipatory common sense" (2007, p. 430). Such emancipatory common sense is defined as "a discriminating common sense (or unequally common, if you like), constructed so as to be appropriated in a privileged way by the oppressed, marginalized or excluded social groups, and actually strengthened by their emancipatory practice" (Santos, 2007, p. 430).

Santos (1999) conceived the principle of solidarity as "both the guiding principle and the always incomplete product of knowledge and normative action" (p. 38). According to Santos (2007), "This principle of incompleteness of all knowledges" will facilitate "the possibility of epistemological dialogue and debate among the different knowledges" (p. 429). In his view, such dialogues and confrontations among knowledges will create "confrontations and dialogues among the different processes through which practices that are ignorant in different ways turn into practices that are knowledgeable in different ways" (p. 429). This Santos (1995, 2007) calls "a new common sense" (2007, p. 429). To justify the principle of solidarity, he further claims that:

We are so used to conceiving of knowledge as a principle of order over things and people that we find it difficult to imagine a form of knowledge that might work as a principle of solidarity. However, such difficulty is a challenge that must be faced. . . . We need an alternative thinking of alternatives”. (Santos, 1999, p. 37)

Therefore, Santos (1999) believed that “there is no universal knowledge. There are knowledges – different ways of knowing” (p. 38). He urges search for different ways of being (absent agents), knowing (absent knowledges) and doing (non-science-based practices) in the South (1995, 1999, 2007). He insists that:

Both alternatives of knowledge and alternatives of action must be searched for, either where they have been most obviously suppressed or where they have managed to survive, in however marginalized or discredited a form. In either case, they have to be searched for in the South, the South being my metaphor for human suffering under global capitalism. (Santos, 1999, p. 38)

Balochistan, the site of this study, is considered the most underdeveloped part of Pakistan in term of socio-economic indicators (SPDC, 2005). The legacy of colonialism which still prevails in the Pakistani political and economic system has the most adverse effects on the traditional society of this province. The benefits of economic growth over the last 68 years have not spread evenly across all segments of Pakistani society. The people of Balochistan have not received an equitable or adequate share of their country’s economic development. The other reason, generally considered to be the most important, is their resistance towards modernity. In my view, this reason, generally considered as a weakness of this society, has provided a viable environment for IDSP to theorize and practice critical theories of development and education through its educational programs. As Santos (1999) also noted, “if we want alternatives, we must also want the society where such alternatives are possible” (p. 42).

With regard to the principle of order, in pursuit of knowledge-as-emancipation, Santos (1999) pleads for reassessment of ignorance in the trajectory of knowledge-as-regulation

(i.e., chaos). Specifically he insists on reassessing “chaos” as a form of knowledge rather than as a form of ignorance (1999).

In my view, reassessment of knowledge-as-regulation is the crucial feature of Santos’ postmodern critical theory. This reassessment shows that he does not intend to reject knowledge-as-regulation completely. Being realistic, he intends to include both knowledge-as-regulation and knowledge-as-emancipation in the emergent paradigm of development. In my view, Santos offers the idea of reinventing knowledge-as-emancipation to ameliorate the mistakes made in the past, while he offers reassessment of the principles of knowledge-as-regulation to create a balanced society.

In the next section, I examine the key characteristics of knowledge-as-emancipation.

2.1.3.1 Knowledge-as-emancipation is contextualized.

Santos (1999) believes that knowledge is not contextualized in modern science and modern critical theory. He contends that, “Modern science, and hence modern critical theory as well, resides in the assumption that knowledge is valid regardless of the condition that made it possible” (1999, p. 40). However, he declares that knowledge in postmodern critical theory is always contextualized. He posits:

Postmodern critical theory starts from the presupposition that knowledge is always contextualized by the conditions that make it possible and it only progresses so long as it changes such conditions in a progressive way. Thus knowledge-as-emancipation is earned by assuming the consequences of its impact. And that is why it is prudent, finite knowledge that keeps the scale of action as much as possible on a level with the scale of consequences. (1999, p. 40)

IDSP’s overall criticism of government’s planning and implementation of developmental projects, its critique of the formal schooling system, its belief in the richness of local knowledge and local people’s capabilities, and its more than 25 years working experience in the area of

community development in Balochistan, all suggest that this organization has an adequate understanding of local issues, challenges, priorities, and possibilities — in a word, of “context.” Ideally, the content of IDSP’s ADP courses must be developed in the context of local issues, knowledge, realities, and priorities. This study examines the extent to which constructed knowledge in IDSP courses is in fact contextualized by local conditions — or at least the extent to which participants perceive it to be so contextualized.

2.1.3.2 Knowledge-as-emancipation is a prudent knowledge.

Santos (1999) called “knowledge-as-emancipation” a prudent, finite knowledge; he designated it prudent because it is earned by assuming the consequences of its impacts. The central question that arises here is, how is knowledge-as-emancipation earned by assuming the consequences of its impact? Santos (1995), in his book *Toward a Common Sense: Law, Science and Politics in the Paradigmatic Transition*, answers this question by explaining the nature of prudence in this way:

Prudence has some family resemblances with pragmatism. To be pragmatic is to approach reality from W. James’ “last things,” that is, from consequences, and the shorter the distance between acts and consequences, the greater the accuracy of the judgement on validity. The near is to be privileged as the most decisive form of the real. (1995, p. 26)

Santos (1995) contended that reinvention of knowledge-as-emancipation in postmodern critical theory will create a certain degree of “chaos” (i.e., a point of ignorance in the trajectory of knowledge-as-order) as a consequence of the relative devaluing of knowledge-as-regulation. Santos (1995, 1999) recommended that this chaos should be reassessed “as a form of knowledge rather than ignorance” (1995, p. 26) in postmodern critical theory. He claimed:

Chaos invites us to a praxis that insists on immediate effects, and warns against distant effects, a style of action that privileges a transparent, localized connection between action and its consequences. That is, chaos invites us to a prudent knowledge. (1999, p. 26)

One of my main concerns regarding IDSP's development education courses is about the consequences of its impacts in the long run on the lives of IDSP teachers and learners. I presume that, with their newly constructed and regenerated knowledge, ideas, and practices, IDSP learners might face challenges in adjusting themselves to the prevailing society which remains unchanged in relevant ways. In my view these new or alternative ideologies/knowledge might develop a resistance among IDSP learners towards compliance with conventional ideas and practices. However, IDSP may also be nurturing and instilling in learners the capacity to face the consequences of their resistance toward compliance.

In this section, I have tried to relate Santos' claim -- knowledge-as-emancipation is a prudent knowledge -- to my study in the following way. In my view, the teaching of critical perspectives at grassroots levels will make IDSP learners conscious about possible forthcoming challenges and consequences of confronting conventional ideologies. However, the real challenge will not be to face establishment and conventional ideas but to bring about emancipatory social change in society. That change is possible through praxis, which is, taking action, not just writing more theory (Boje, 2001). Freire (2000) defined praxis in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* as "reflection and action upon the world in order to transform it" (p.100). Through praxis, oppressed people can acquire a critical awareness of their own condition, and, with their allies, struggle for liberation (Freire, 2000). Therefore, I set the ultimate goal of my research project as coming to understand my participants' perceptions of the nature, strategy, level of success, and challenges of IDSP praxis in the traditional society of Balochistan.

2.1.4 What is emancipation in "knowledge-as-emancipation"?

Emancipation and enlightenment are the twin aims and tasks of critical theory (Nielsen, 1992).

Emancipation means "freeing [agents] from that [hidden] coercion and putting them in a position

to determine where their true interests lie” (Nielsen, 1992, p. 267). Geuss (1981) stated that emancipation takes place when agents are “free of false consciousness--they have been enlightened--and [are now] free of self-imposed coercion--they have been emancipated” (p. 58).

In Santos’ (1995) view, “Emancipation cannot occur without a topic for emancipation” (p. 49). He elaborated on this observation by citing “the women’s liberation topic” as an example of the emancipatory topic in the feminist movement. He stated that “the women’s liberation topic, developed within the feminist movement, is accepted in communities networked around the household place, the workplace, the marketplace, the citizen place, the community place or the worldplace.” (p. 49). He further claimed that “Postmodern emancipatory knowledge is thus committed to developing a topic for emancipation in the different communities and their networks” (p. 49). In case of IDSP developmental work, I examine the “emancipatory topic” of IDSP’s long struggle for development of indigenous communities of Balochistan.

2.1.5 Implications and challenges of Postmodern Critical Theory.

The privileging of knowledge-as-emancipation in postmodern critical theory has three implications. These implications can be formulated as moving: (i) from monoculturalism towards multiculturalism, (ii) from heroic expertise to edifying knowledge, (iii) from professionalization of knowledge to reconstruction of possible alternatives (Santos, 1999).

All knowledge-as-emancipation in postmodern critical theory is necessarily multicultural (Santos, 1995, 1999). However, “The construction of multicultural knowledge faces two difficulties: silence and difference” (Santos, 1999, p. 39).

2.1.5.1 Silence.

Santos (1995, 1999) questions, “how is it possible to engage in a multicultural dialogue when some cultures were reduced to silence and their forms of seeing and knowing the world have become unpronounceable?” (1999, p. 39). Santos (1999) suggests that:

The unpronounceable silences and needs are graspable only by means of a sociology of absences capable of advancing through a comparison between the available hegemonic and counter-hegemonic discourses as well as through the analysis of the hierarchies among them and the empty spaces such hierarchies create. (p.39)

In the above statement Santos provided a strategy for breaking the pervasive culture of silence in oppressed societies. This idea of “hegemonic and counter-hegemonic discourse” has been presented by Sumner (2005) as well in her theoretical model of sustainability: globalization from below. According to Sumner, rural communities provide spaces for contesting hegemony through counter-hegemonic action. She noted that “people living in rural communities can begin to address their sustainability through their resistance or opposition to corporate globalization” (2005, p. 63).

Both authors provide a direction from which to study the teaching and learning process used in the courses of IDSP. For example, how is IDSP defining hegemony to its participants (members of marginalized groups)? Is resistance/counter-hegemony emerging through its learning processes? What new or alternative directions of development have IDSP learners taken in the wake of hegemonic and counter-hegemonic discourses.

2.1.5.2 Difference.

The second difficulty facing multicultural knowledge is difference (Santos, 1995, 1999).

According to Santos, “In the case of cross-cultural dialogue, the exchange is not only between different knowledges, but also between different cultures” (1995, p. 340). To overcome this challenge a need exists:

... for a theory of translation as an integral part of postmodern critical theory. It is through translation and what I call diatopical hermeneutics (Santos 1995: 340) that a need, an aspiration, a practice in a given culture can be made comprehensible and intelligible for another culture. Knowledge-as-emancipation does not aim at grand theory, rather at a theory of translation that may become the epistemological basis of emancipator practices, all of them

finite and incomplete and therefore sustainable only so long as they become networked. (Santos, 1999, p. 39)

This statement reveals another distinct characteristic of postmodern critical theory, an implicit or embedded theory of translation. Second, it shows how the problem of “difference” can be handled. It also illustrates what can be expected from programs that strive to (re-)invent knowledge-as-emancipation. Finally, this statement provides a rationale for my research as well.

I am personally inspired by IDSP learners’ awareness and their understanding of local issues, their community development work, and their confidence in themselves. This inspiration has now motivated me to study IDSP programs in depth. One of the reasons I wanted to study the IDSP program, in the beginning, was to find out what lessons other community-based organizations, researchers, and academia, working in social and cultural development of marginalized groups, can learn from ADP courses. It is due to this inspiration that I have focused on trying to learn whether and how IDSP’s ideas and practices might be translated in other areas of development and other cultures. In the future, this theory of translation or postmodern critical theory, in Santos’ words, will allow me “to identify a common ground in an indigenous struggle, a feminist struggle, an ecological struggle, etc., without erasing the autonomy and difference of each of them” (2007, p. xxvi).

Santo’s Postmodern Critical Theory has helped me to begin to frame the ontological assumptions and nature of IDSP’s programs. It enables me to consider the implications of these programs. His Critical Theory is useful to anticipate the challenges IDSP faculty members (teachers/mentors) might have faced during implementation of these programs.

In the next section, I will present the theoretical constructs of Jack Mezirow’s Transformative Learning Theory that helped me to understand the epistemological nature of IDSP’s developmental work in Balochistan through its ADP courses. This theory has helped me

to understand the knowledge construction process in ADP courses; it also helped me to understand the nature of both kinds of perceptions, one being challenged and the other being constructed, during the teaching and learning process in these courses.

2.2 Transformative Learning Theory

Jack Mezirow, an American sociologist and Emeritus professor of Adult and Continuing Education at Teachers College, Columbia University, introduced the concept of transformative learning in 1978 in a Journal article, *Transformative Perspectives*. In this article, he noted “a critical dimension of learning in adulthood that enables learners to recognize, assess, and modify the structures of assumptions and expectations that frame [their] tacit point of view and influence [their] thinking, beliefs, attitudes, and actions” (Mezirow, 2009, p. 18). He defines such transformative learning as:

an enhanced level of awareness of the context of one’s beliefs and feelings, a critique of their assumptions and particularly premises, an assessment of alternative perspectives, a decision to negate an old perspective in favor of a new one or to make a synthesis of old and new, an ability to take action based upon the new perspective., and a desire to fit the new perspective into the broader context. (Mezirow, 1991, p. 161)

The focus of transformative learning theory is adult learning and its primary audience is adult educators (Mezirow, 2009). The specific purpose of transformation theory is to explain the ways adult learning is structured and to determine the processes by which meaning perspectives, especially problematic frames of reference, are changed or transformed (Mezirow, 1991, 1995, 2009). According to Mezirow (1996), this theory “involves an analysis of the psycho-cultural process of making meaning, the nature of meaning structures and how they are transformed through reflection, rational discourse, and emancipatory action” (p. 39).

According to Mezirow (2000) his theory of Transformative Learning is influenced by several theoretical constructs of psychology and critical theory; mainly, it is influenced by

Thomas Khun's concept of *paradigm* (1962), Paulo Freire's concept of *conscientization* (1970), Jurgen Habermas's critical distinction between *communicative learning* and *instrumental learning* (1984), and the work of psychiatrist Roger Gould (1978). This theory in its reconstructivist approach "follows Chomsky, Piaget, Kohlberg, and most other psychologists who theorize about adult development" (Mezirow, 1991, p. xiii). However, this theory, Mezirow claims, is not a "systematic extension of an existing intellectual theory or tradition such as behaviorism, neo-Marxism, positivism, or psychological humanism" (1991, p. xiv).

2.2.1 Transformative learning: An evolving theory.

Transformative learning theory has been defined in several ways by Mezirow. He refers to it as a *process* by which learners transform their taken-for-granted frames (mind set, *status quo*) "to make them more inclusive, discriminating, open, emotionally capable of change, and reflective so that they may generate beliefs and opinions that will prove more true or justified to guide action" (Mezirow, 2000, p. 8). He considers it as *epistemology* in regard to understanding "how adults learn to reason for themselves . . . rather than act on the assimilated beliefs, values, feelings, and judgements of others" (Mezirow, 2009, p.23). He considers it a *transformative learning experience* that enable learners to "make an informed and reflective decision to act or not" (Mezirow, 2009, p. 23). It is defined also as a *constructivist theory* (Mezirow, 2009).

According to Mezirow:

As a reconstructive theory, it seeks to establish a general, abstract, and idealized model that explains the generic structure, dimensions, and dynamics of the learning process. Also, it does not undertake a definitive cultural critique, but it attempts to provide the model – constructs, language, categories, and dynamics – to enable others to understand how adults learn in various cultural settings. (2009, p. 21)

Occasionally, Mezirow (2000) refers to transformative learning theory as a *Transformation Theory* or *Transformation Theory of Adult Learning*. He states that

“transformation theory’s focus is on how we learn to negotiate and act on our own purposes, values, feelings, and meanings rather than those we have uncritically assimilated from others” (2000, p. 8). This transformative learning experience enables adult learners to gain greater control over their lives and make them socially responsible and clear-thinking decision makers.

In the late 90s, Mezirow claimed that his Transformation Theory represents an *emancipatory paradigm* because it “constitutes a dialectical synthesis of objectivist and interpretive paradigms” (Mezirow, 1996, p. 158). He concludes that:

Transformation Theory represents a dialectical synthesis of the objectivist learning assumptions of the rational tradition by incorporating the study of nomological regularities and the interpretive learning insights of the cognitive revolution by incorporating the concept of meaning structures, and a sensitivity to the importance of inclusion and interpretation of symbolic interaction. But Transformation Theory goes beyond the rational tradition and cognitive revolution to focus on a critically reflective emancipatory critique grounded in the very structures of intersubjective communicative competence. Through critical reflection, we become emancipated from communication that is distorted by cultural constraints on full free participation in discourse. (Mezirow, 1996, p. 165)

2.2.2 Core elements of Transformative Learning Theory.

An overview of transformative learning theory suggests that this theory consists of three core elements: *frames of reference* (meaning perspectives and meaning schemes), *perspective transformation* (revised or new meanings associated with experiences), and *reflective discourse* (critical reflection and rational discourse).

2.2.2.1 Frames of reference.

This element is defined in numerous ways in the discourse of transformative learning theory.

For example, it is defined as *a set of assumptions* through which learners understand experiences, shape expectations, and take action (Mezirow, 1997); it is defined as the *structure of assumptions and expectations* through which learners filter and make sense of their world (Mezirow, 1998); alternatively, it is defined as “rules, criteria, codes, language, schemata, cultural canons,

ideology, standards, or paradigms. Frames include personality traits and dispositions, genealogy, power allocation, world views, religious doctrines, aesthetic values, social movements, psychological schema or scripts, learning styles, and preference” (Mezirow, 2009, p. 22).

According to Mezirow (1996), a frame of reference is composed of two dimensions: a *meaning perspective* and a *meaning scheme*. A meaning perspective, also called habits of mind, he believes, consists of “broad, generalized, orienting predisposition” (Mezirow, 1996, p. 163).

It involves:

a set of psychocultural assumptions, . . . , that serve as one of three sets of codes significantly shaping sensation and delimiting perception and cognition: sociolinguistic, (e.g., social norms, cultural and language codes, ideologies, theories), psychological (e.g., repressed parental prohibitions which continue to block ways of feeling and acting, personality traits) and epistemic (e.g., learning, cognitive and intelligence styles, sensory learning preferences, focus on wholes or parts). (Mezirow, 1995, p. 42)

A meaning scheme, on the other hand, “is constituted by the cluster of beliefs, feelings, attitudes, and value judgements that accompany and shape an interpretation” (Mezirow, 1996, p. 163). According to Mezirow (1995), “our meaning perspectives become articulated in a meaning scheme” (p. 43). He defines such a scheme as:

the specific set of beliefs, knowledge, judgement, attitude, and feeling which shape a particular interpretation, as when we think of an Irishman, a cathedral, a grandmother, or a conservative or when we express a point of view, an ideal or a way of acting. Meaning schemes are specific belief systems. (p.43)

Both meaning perspectives and meaning schemes are the *structures of meaning* and they influence, shape, and delimit the horizon of our expectations and perceptions (Mezirow, 1995).

Mezirow (1991) asserts that transformation of *meaning schemes* can occur more frequently through reflection and it does not necessarily require critical self-reflection; however, the transformation of *meaning perspective* does not occur frequently and it “is more likely to

involve our sense of self and always involves critical reflection upon the distorted premises sustaining our structure of expectation” (p. 167).

Mezirow (1997) believes that our frames of reference are assimilated mostly through our culture “in the course of childhood through socialization and acculturation, most frequently during significant experiences with teachers, parents, and mentors” (Taylor, 2000, p. 288).

Mezirow specifically emphasizes two kinds of frames of reference in the development of transformative learning: *problematic frames of reference* (2009) and *more fully developed (more functional) frames of reference* (1996). Problematic frames of reference consist of those assumptions and expectations which generate problematic beliefs, values, feelings, practices and so forth (Mezirow, 2009) among individuals in a society. However, a problematic frame of reference is transformed when adult learners “become critically reflective of the premise of the problem and redefine it” (Mezirow, 2009, p. 23). A more fully developed (more functional) frame of reference is “more (i) inclusive, (ii) differentiating, (iii) permeable, (iv) directly reflective, and (v) integrative of experience” (Mezirow, 1996, p.163).

Mezirow (1997) suggests that “all adult educators should help learners foster transformative learning by becoming critically reflective of the assumptions and frames of reference of others (objective reframing) and of themselves (subjective reframing)” (p. 61). The core purpose of using critical reflection as a teaching approach in adult education programs is to rediscover power and help learners develop an awareness of agency to transform society and their own reality (Freire & Macedo, 1995 cited in Taylor, 2008). Other teaching approaches for fostering transformative learning are *problem posing* and a *horizontal student-teacher relationship* (Taylor, 2008).

2.2.2.2 Perspective transformation.

This element is central to transformative learning theory. It is founded on a predisposition that knowledge is not “out there” to be discovered but is created from interpretations and reinterpretations of an experience in the light of new information and experiences (Mezirow, 1996). Mezirow calls the reinterpretation and revised meaning of an experience perspective transformation (1990, p. 14). Mezirow (1991) defined perspective transformation as:

...the process of becoming critically aware of how and why our assumptions have come to constrain the way we perceive, understand, and feel about our world; changing these structures of habitual expectation to make possible a more inclusive, discriminating, and integrative perspective; and finally, making choices or otherwise acting upon these new understandings. (p. 167)

A “journey of perspective transformation” (Taylor, 2008) involves “(i) an empowered sense of self, (ii) more critical understanding of how one’s social relationships and cultures have shaped one’s beliefs and feelings, and (iii) more functional strategies and resources for taking action” (Mezirow, 1991, p. 161). Clark and Wilson (1991) have elaborated this journey of perspective transformation into three dimensions: psychological (changes in understanding of the self), convictional (revision of belief system), and behavioral (changes in life style).

2.2.2.2.1 Fundamental components for the process of perspective transformation.

According to Mezirow (2000), the process of perspective transformation begins with a “disorienting dilemma” (Mezirow, 1991) arising from “triggering events that occur to develop consciousness in response to demands from the environment” (Norell, 2012, p.26). In the next step, people engage in critical reflection and they re-examine assumptions they have made about themselves and their world. In the third step, people engage in reflective discourse to obtain consensual validation about their new or revised perspective. Finally, it becomes imperative for them to take emancipatory action. In other words, “not only seeing, but living the new

perspective is necessary” in the journey of perspective transformation. (Baumgartner, 2001, p. 16).

2.2.2.2.2 Phases of perspective transformation.

According to Mezirow (1991), perspective transformation occurs in the following 10 phases:

- 1) A disorienting dilemma
- 2) Self-examination
- 3) A critical assessment of assumptions
- 4) Recognition of a connection between one’s discontent and the process of transformation
- 5) Exploration of options for new roles, relationships, and action
- 6) Planning a course of action
- 7) Acquiring knowledge and skills for implementing one’s plan
- 8) Provisional trying of new roles
- 9) Building competence and self-confidence in new roles and relationships
- 10) A reintegration into one’s life on the basis of conditions dictated by one’s new perspective.

2.2.2.3 Reflective discourse.

This element plays a key role in the transformation theory of adult learning (Mezirow, 1998). It has proved an essential component for fostering transformative learning in adult, higher, and continuing education programs (Taylor, 2007). It “involves what the Greek Skeptics called *epoche*, a provisional suspension of judgment about the truth or falsity of, or the belief or disbelief in, ideas until a better determination can be made” (Mezirow, 2000, p. 13). It facilitates adult learners in reaching a tentative best judgment with clearer understanding (Mezirow, 2000,

p. 11). Basically, reflective discourse is the amalgamation of critical reflection and rational discourse.

Critical reflection “refers to questioning the integrity of deeply held assumptions and beliefs based on prior experience” (Taylor, 2009, p. 7). It is the process by which adult learners “learn to think by themselves rather than act on concepts, values, and beliefs of others” (Mezirow, 1998, p. 185). In this process, adult learners critically examine the validity of their own assumptions assimilated over years as well as the validity of those concepts, values, and actions which have been and continue to be communicated to them through others (families, books, religion, school, and media) (Mezirow, 1998). Taylor (2009) outlined three forms of reflection in the transformation of meaning perspectives: *content reflection* (reflective thoughts on what we perceive, think, feel, and act), *process reflection* (reflective thoughts on how we perform the functions of perceiving), and *premise reflection* (reflective thoughts on why we perceive).

The word discourse is defined in a number of ways in social sciences. In a common sense, it is a synonym of the word *speech* (Scott & Morrison, 2006), an *active dialogue* among participants (Mezirow, 2000), and it is used as a *tool and rule for new, alternative knowledge construction* in particular societies (Scott & Morrison, 2006). In the context of transformative learning theory, Mezirow (2000) defined it as a specialized form of dialogue which is used in “searching for a common understanding and assessment of the justification of an interpretation or belief . . . by weighting the supporting evidence and arguments and by examining alternative perspectives” (Mezirow, 2000, p. 10).

According to Mezirow (2000), although consensus building is an ongoing process, it is imperative for all participants engaged in a discourse to “have the will and readiness to seek

understanding and to reach some reasonable agreement” (p. 12). He stated that “Discourse is not based on winning arguments; it certainly involves finding agreement, welcoming difference, ‘trying on’ other points of view, identifying the common in the contradictory, tolerating the anxiety implicit in paradox, searching for synthesis, and reframing” (Mezirow, 2000, p. 12).

According to Mezirow (2000), effective participation in reflective discourse requires the following characteristics among all the participants including teachers and learners: emotional maturity, trust, solidarity, security, empathy, awareness, motivation, and control. Preconditions for free and full participation in reflective discourse or a transformative learning process include:

- 1) More accurate and complete information
- 2) Freedom from coercion and distorting self-deception
- 3) Openness to alternative points of view and empathy and concern about how other thinks and feel
- 4) The ability to weigh evidence and assess arguments objectively
- 5) Awareness of the context of ideas and taken-for-granted assumptions, including one’s own
- 6) Equal opportunity to participate in the various roles of discourse
- 7) Willingness to seek understanding, agreement, and a tentative best judgment as a test of validity until new perspectives, evidence, or arguments are encountered and validated through discourse as yielding a better judgment.

According to Mezirow (2009), these conditions of transformative learning process “reflect democratic ideals such as self-respect, respect for others, acceptance of the common good, and willingness to be open and engage diversity” (Mezirow, 2009, p. 20). Under these

ideal conditions, according to Mezirow (1991), educators should assist learners to do the following:

- Decontextualize
- Become more aware of the history, contexts (norms, codes, reaction patterns, perceptual filters), and consequences of their beliefs
- Become more reflective and critical in their assessment of both the content and the process of problem solving and of their own ways of participating in this process
- “Bracket” preconceived ideas and openly examine evidence and assess arguments
- Make better inferences, more appropriate generalizations, and more logically coherent arguments
- Be more open to the perspectives of others
- Rely less on psychological defense mechanisms and be more willing to accept the authority of provisional consensual validation of expressed ideas.

2.2.3 Transformation and social/political change.

Reviewing Mezirow’s scholarly work on adult learning Brookfield (2000) concludes that “transformation” in Mezirow’s adult learning theory “is a transformation in perspectives, in a frame of reference, in a personal paradigm, and in a habit of mind together with its resulting point-of-view. For him transformation thereby involves a fundamental reordering of assumptions” (p. 139).

In Brookfield’ view, “[a]n act of learning can be called transformative only if it involves a fundamental questioning and reordering of how one thinks or acts. If something is transformed, it is different from what it was before at a very basic level” (2000, p. 139).

According to Mezirow, “the transformation process *requires* that the learner take action against her oppressor, and, when appropriate, collective social action. The outcome often involves a reintegration with society; however, such a reintegration will be on the transformative learner’s own terms” (1997, p. 60). Mezirow (1991) considers such emancipatory actions the first step toward political change:

Transformation theory – and adult educators – can promise only to help in the first step of political change, emancipatory education that leads to personal transformation, and to share the belief that viable strategies for public change will evolve out of this. Social activist educators can help learners learn to analyze their common problems through participatory research and the tactics of collective social action. (1991, p. 210)

Over the last three decades transformative learning has been used as a leading adult learning theory in various disciplines and in a wide variety of contexts and circumstances (Fisher-Yoshida & Geller, 2009; Mezirow, 2009, Taylor, 2009). For example, it has been used for the nurturing soul (Dirkx, 1997), traumatic learning (Janik, 2005), women’s developmental stages of knowing (Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger & Tarule, 1986), human resource development (Brooks, 2004), and transnational leadership (Fisher-Yoshida & Geller, 2009). The findings of this study explain the pedagogical approach and practical strategies IDSP uses for transformation of youth and young community development workers into conscious and critical development thinkers, practitioners, and activists in disadvantaged communities of Pakistan.

Mezirow’s theory of transformative learning provides a lens for understanding processes for reframing problematic frames of references and for construction of transformed and transformative perspectives on the part of IDSP stakeholders in ADP courses. It can help in understanding the dynamics of their transformative learning experiences and the phenomena involved in creating critical and reflective community-development workers and leaders at grassroots levels.

Mezirow's discussion on "meaning perspectives" and "meaning schemes" helped me to understand and appreciate IDSP's emphasis on "self-actualization," "gender-sensitization," "re-visitation of indigenous knowledge," and "critical discourse on notions of development and purpose of education" in its ADP courses.

This theory provides a ground for understanding stakeholders' positions on their perspective transformation and their emancipatory actions in their personal and professional lives. It explains why IDSP stakeholders are at ease in bringing change at personal and family levels but face challenges when they seek to take potentially perspective-altering change initiatives to the macro level.

Mezirow's detailed discussion on creating transformative learning environments in the forms of horizontal relationship between teachers and students, a list of ideal preconditions for facilitating reflective discourses, and specific activities in adult-education programs provided a useful framework to study IDSP's ADP course structure, design, and learning environment.

Mezirow's claim that his Transformation Theory represents an *emancipatory paradigm*, because it "constitutes a dialectical synthesis of objectivist and interpretive paradigms" (Mezirow, 1996, p. 158) allows me to build a link between the two proposed theoretical frameworks of this dissertation. Both theories emphasize reconstruction of emancipatory knowledges and practices and their focus is on individuals and societies that have experienced some kind of disorienting dilemma (in case of transformative learning theory disorienting dilemmas represent people's personal tragedies, problematic beliefs and emotions, etc.; and in the case of postmodern critical theory, disorienting dilemmas encompass people's experiences of being colonized, oppressed, and victimized by modernization). In my view, the first theoretical framework, postmodern critical theory, identifies and explains the nature of the problem, and

proposes its possible solution while the second theoretical framework, Mezirows' Transformative Learning Theory, shows how to reach toward a solution of the problems.

Mezirow (1998) warned about the limitations of promoting critical reflection and discourse in adult-education programs in societies that perpetuate a problematic ideology such as terrorism or oppression in the name of religion, maintenance of an oppressive regime, or development of a mindlessly conformist work force. Pakistan is such a country, where in some segments of society, unthinking conformity is quite pervasive, including unfortunately uncritical conformity toward religion, "the establishment," and powerful individuals, for example, landlords and feudal lords at the community or village level. To maintain the *status quo*, people are not encouraged to express dissent in mainstream educational institutes, and thus they remain gullible. In the presence of such a hostile environment it is hard to imagine that a development-education program can promote critical reflection among young people of an indigenous community and facilitate development and gender discourses in an adult-education program. In light of IDSP stakeholders' perceptions the findings of this study take into account, within the theoretical bases outlined in this chapter, the rationale behind IDSP's initiative, as well as methodologies and major players involved. They also reveal the benefits and consequences that await program participants in light of the transformative mission of this initiative.

3 Literature Review

The focus of my research is a non-formal development-education program that employs alternative approaches to educate youth and young community-development workers of indigenous communities. In this section, I will discuss key alternative approaches to education used in underserved communities to educate marginalized groups for addressing development issues. Among such approaches are non-formal education (Manzoor & Coombs, 1974), popular education (Freire, 2000), place-based education (Smith, 2002), and indigenous education (Cajete, 1994). Following examination of these key alternative approaches to youth and adult education, I present the main features of approaches to development education focused on youth and young adults from disadvantaged communities.

3.1 Non-formal Education: An Overview

Non-formal education can usefully be defined as “any organized, systematic, educational activity carried on outside the framework of the formal system to provide selected types of learning to particular subgroups in the population, adults as well as children” (Coombs & Ahmed, 1974, p.8). According to Belle (1982), in the late 1960s and during the 1970s, non-formal education programs emerged as an alternative approach to education for some youth and adults in many developing countries. During that period, it became evident that formal education systems of developing countries had limited success in providing basic education to some segments of the population. In most of the developing countries, notable disparities in educational investment and achievement existed between urban and rural students, male and female students, and rich and poor students. To bridge these gaps or address what Israel (1973) called the “unfinished business of primary and secondary schools” (p. 26), development practitioners and educators introduced several non-formal or out-of-school educational programs to disadvantaged groups,

particularly to farmers, women, and out-of-school children and youth in underserved communities.

A significant body of literature on non-formal education (NFE) programs suggests that these programs, as compared to formal education programs, are more “cost-effective” (Coombs, 1985; Von Hahmann, 1978), “flexible” (Belle, 1985; Rogers, 2004), “relevant to the actual situation and needs of people” (Harris, 1994; Bernard & Gayfer, 1983), and able to provide spaces for creating linkages with family and other dimensions of community such as “social class, ethnic groups, and official bodies” (Bell, 1982).

However, sometimes NFE programs are viewed with disdain. They are referred to as a “cheap system” and “a second-rate system of learning” (Bernard and Gayfer, 1983). They are categorized as “uncoordinated” (Rogers, 2004), “ungraded, unstandardised, haphazard and circumstantial” (Bishop, 1989). Bernard and Gayfer (1983) state that both NFE systems and their audiences have low status within their respective national societies. According to Coombs and Ahmed (1973), non-formal education systems, unlike formal education systems “lack... prestige and marketable credentials” (p. 76) in society. He further states that “in rural areas especially,... [they lack] the access to governmental power centers enjoyed by urban programmers” (p. 76). Critiquing the shortcomings and practical problems of NFE programs in developing countries, Coombs (1985) argued that many types of NFE programs have limited survival power. He claims that “They start with enthusiasm, run for a while, and then disappear” (p. 91). Rogers (2004) argues that “NFE was a creation of Western aid agencies sent out like a dove to bring peace and harmony to a disunited international educational world, a panacea for all educational ills” (p. 37 -38).

3.1.1 Proliferation of NFE programs.

In the relevant literatures NFE programs are categorized in various ways. Belle (1982) categorizes non-formal education programs into two broad types: private for-profit and non-profit programs that can be either public or private. According to Belle (1982), a majority of for-profit programs are found in urban areas and they include programs such as “summer and vacation camps, pre-school, day-care and after-school clubs, music and artistic instructions, tutoring and counseling services, apprenticeship training and, of course, various forms of media including books, magazines, radio, and television” (p. 167). According to Belle (1982) non-profit non-formal education programs include principally “ethno-religious and political socialization activities” (p.167). According to him, across the world generally, some of these programs are associated with ethno-religious groups while others are linked with political- and social-action groups.

Non-formal education programs are also categorized according to their educational objectives. Overall, objectives underpinning these programs in developing countries include increasing adult-literacy rates by introducing adult-basic-education programs (Coombs & Ahmed, 1974), improving economic productivity through agricultural extension or farmer-training programs (Harris, 1994), reducing poverty by introducing functional-literacy programs to men and women (Ahmed, 2010), providing technical- and vocational-education programs for youth (Hoppers, 2006), and improving family life through education for women on general health issues, reproductive health, nutrition, family planning, and child care (Bernard & Gayfer, 1983).

In the literature, non-formal education is also recognized as an empowering process (Colletta, Ewing, & Todd, 1982; Bernard & Gayfer, 1983) that “enables people to critically

analyze their own life situation and to develop the skills required for acting to improve their situations” (Kindervatter, 1979 cited in Harris, 1994, p. 13). According to Colletta, Ewing, & Todd (1982), in programs of participatory non-formal education, “community members come together to identify problems, mobilize resources, and seek solutions” (p. 271). In other words, participatory non-formal education aims at making people agents of their own social change, not merely objects - “a way of working with the poor instead of for the poor” (Richards, 1985 cited in Harris, 1994, p.7).

In my view, the intended role and nature of NFE programs depend on the ideological positions of program founders and funders. Some NFE programs in developing countries were conceptualized from a conformist position (i.e., positions framed within established officially-sanctioned definitions of educational purpose and objectives) where the purpose was to achieve a hundred-percent literacy rate and universal primary education. The Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee’s (BRAC) Non Formal Education (NFE) program, which was launched in 1984 in rural areas of Bangladesh, is one relevant example. Over the period from 1980 to 2000, this program contributed greatly to improving girls’ enrollment at the primary level in Bangladesh from 43% to 79% (Sukontamarn, 2003). However, there is another stream of NFE programs which was conceptualized within a more “radical position;” this type of NFE program usually aims to create critical populations and communities that promote behavioral and social change (Belle, 1976).

3.1.2 NFE programs and changing development thinking and policies.

Rapid growth of NFE programs in developing countries during the 60s and 70s is strongly linked to “changes in development thinking and policies” (Coombs, 1985, p. 14) in those two decades.

During the 1960s “development came to be defined as ‘economic growth,’ measured statistically

by increases in a nation's GNP – the economist's loftiest aggregate" (p. 15). However, in the late 60s the GNP approach to economic growth was seriously challenged by many scholars. Chief among them was Noble-Prize winner Theodore Schultz (1966) who emphasized the need for human-resource development and investment in human capital (Dejene, 1980, p. 8). According to Dejene (1980) "Schultz also emphasized the need for a shift in priority in the development of skills from the urban-industrial sector to the rural-agricultural sector" (p. 9). Soon after the introduction of Schultz's (1966) "Human Capital Theory," NFE became an integral part of development planning efforts in Third World Countries. Schultz's emphasis on investment in human capital, particularly on people's education and health, to achieve high economic growth for national development has extensive policy implications in developing countries. According to Philip H. Coombs:

Education and training fitted neatly into this development theory and strategy. Economists generally agreed that the rapid expansion of the modern sector would require, in addition to a large infusion of physical capital and modern technologies, a greatly increased supply of educated manpower and modern skills. These, however, were in exceedingly short supply in the developing countries at the time and hence created a major bottleneck to economic growth. The obvious solution was to import and rapidly expand the modern educational and training models that had proved their worth in the industrially advanced countries. (1985, p. 15)

In Pakistan, as in many other developing country, numerous types of non-formal education programs were launched for out-of-school children and youth, and women and adults who had limited schooling or had never been in a school. However, despite its impressive growth in GNP and in foreign assistance for development education during the 60s and 70s, Pakistan's performance in the development of educational and other social indicators, particularly in rural areas, has been gloomy. The Social Policy and Development Centre (1998) states in its first annual report, "Social Development in Pakistan," that "Since independence,

Pakistan's strong economic performance has not been matched by a corresponding rise in its social development indicators" (1998, p. 15).

Pakistan was not alone in struggling with the complexities of socio-economic development; other developing countries were also confronting similar challenges. Coombs (1985) reports that a "majority of developing countries had indeed made impressive progress. . . . But the facts also revealed a shockingly lopsided and inequitable pattern of both economic and educational development. Among other things the urban-rural gap, far from narrowing, had widened" (Coombs, 1985, p. 16). He reports that, despite popular and political support for rapid educational expansion for national development of developing countries in the 70s, "800 million people in the developing world- 40 percent of the total- were living in absolute poverty" (1985, p. 16) in that decade. According to Coombs:

Recognition of these ugly realities spurred a critical reexamination of conventional development concepts, theories, and practices, and prompted a great debate over how they should be revised. One of the most important and far-reaching results was the rise and wide acceptance of a much broader, people-oriented notion of the nature and objectives of development, along with a broader view of education and its diverse roles in developing both individuals and the society. The basic objective of development, as perceived anew, was to improve people's quality of life – not just of some people but of *all* the people, with special emphasis on the poorest and most disadvantaged who had thus far been bypassed by development process. (1985, p. 19)

This people-oriented notion of development provides new ground to development theorists and development-education practitioners to review the NFE programs with a fresh perspective. This new approach to development not only *provides* a lens to review critically the performance, nature, rationales, processes, strengths, and weaknesses of NFE programs; it also enables practitioners and theorists to introduce some new concepts and practices for achieving the goal of human-centered development. In the next section, I will discuss some general

criticism of NFE programs and some of the specific concepts and practices that have emerged from broader criticism of NFE and development-education programs.

3.1.3 Criticism on NFE education programs.

NFE programs are heavily criticized because they tend to: i) depend entirely on external funding (Brenbeck, 1973 cited in Belle, 1976), ii) lack monitoring and evaluation (Israel, 1973), iii) take the form of short-term “projects” (Paulston, 1972 cited in Belle, 1976), iv) defy simple description and planning (Coombs, 1968), v) fail to investigate the needs and circumstances of the targeted clientele, and (vi) lack follow-up support to trainees (Coombs, 1985).

One major criticism related to limited success on the part of NFE programs in developing countries is their irrelevancy to the special circumstances of each local area (Israel, 1973; Ahmed, 2010) and, in particular, to basic and evolving needs and interests of the poor (Israel 1973; Coombs, 1985). In my view, from the beginning, there was a will and an effort to develop local-need-based NFE programs in rural areas, but the needs usually were defined by the urban-based Western experts who, in Coomb’s words, “are often unaware of what life is really like for people living in extreme poverty in remote rural areas” (1985, p. 272).

However, over time, failures in NFE programs and also the people-oriented notion of development itself made practitioners realize the importance of involving local people in all phases of project development from conceptualization to implementation and evaluation. In the 90s, community involvement and community participation became integral to nearly all development-education programs.

In the relevant literature, NFE programs, particularly for women, are criticized due to their limited focus on some basic skills for family development and improvement in economic productivity. According to Bernard and Gayfer (1983) women in NFE programs “are rarely

encouraged to confront and to change that system” (p 10). In an evaluation study of NFE programs targeting women's development in developing countries, they report that “Much emphasis [in NFE programs] goes on teaching women how to ‘cope’” (p. 10). They further elaborate on this argument as follows:

Much of nonformal education focuses simply on helping women improve only within the limited range of activities assigned to them by virtue of their sex. There appears to be little commitment to increasing the influence of women as a group and as citizens. Nor are women encouraged to analyze their situation and develop alternatives within a system that typically excludes them from the major decisions affecting their lives. . . . They [NFE programs] marginalize women, too, to the extent that they segregate them from the socio-economic mainstream. For example, small-scale craft production of income-generating schemes expose women to the national and international economy while, at the same time, confining them simply to the production of goods. By failing to give them access to management and marketing skills or to sources of their credit, such programs serve mainly to increase the dependency and vulnerability of women. Programs that confine activities for women to isolated, technical problems in the community, without an examination of the wider system and its implications, deny women the opportunity to take part in re-shaping the systems. (Bernard & Gayfer, 1983, p. 10)

The above-mentioned criticism of NFE and a recent body of literature in the field of development education put ample emphasis on promotion of “critical literacy” and “critical consciousness” (Ahmed, 2010) to combat poverty.

3.1.4 Emergence of ‘critical’-consciousness-raising in NFE.

Ahmed (2010), a prominent author in the area of non-formal education, drawing lessons from half a century of effort in this field, states that “National and international discourse suggests key areas of action. It is clear that any approach must be multi-pronged, paying due attention to functional literacy and promoting critical consciousness as the foundation for lifelong learning, thereby empowering people to help themselves” (p. 249).

Raising political and social consciousness, as an important objective of NFE programs, is however a new phenomenon in the arena of non-formal education. From the inception of NFE

programs, consciousness-raising emerged as one of its central objectives. However, this element was not given as much attention in NFE programs as other objectives (e.g., literacy and occupation-related skills) that tended to overshadow it. Bernard and Gayfer (1983) report that “insufficient attention is given to the education and consciousness-raising of middle class women, to the developing of their powers of analysis on social and economic realities” (p. 40). In my view, earlier in the emergence of NFE programs, the concept of “consciousness-raising” has limited scope; it was limited to the “better understanding of the surrounding world” (Coombs, 1985), that is, to understanding the existing socio-economic system and how best adapt to that given system. The definition of functional literacy in NFE proposed by Coombs (1985), however, argues for a much broader role; he insists that “Reading and writing should lead not only to elementary general knowledge but to training for work, increased productivity, a greater participation in civil life and a better understanding of the surrounding world, and should ultimately open the way to basic human culture” (p. 280). In my view, in the narrowly delimited literature on NFE that influenced the planning and designing of NFE programs in developing countries, what was lacking in explaining such consciousness-raising is the notion of creating capacity for “critical understanding” within disadvantaged groups.

This particular aspect of “development education” was identified and illuminated by some humanist critics in the 70s. According to Coombs (1985), the strongest critics of formal education such as Paulo Freire and Ivan Illich “saw non-formal education as narrowing the focus of education to a limited and basic utilitarian role” (p. 280) but “welcomed it as a means of breaking the monopoly of the formal system” (p. 23). The central construct of Paulo Freire’s theory of critical pedagogy is “conscientization,” that is raising “the individual consciousness, together with the awareness of others about the nature of oppression in their environment, and

the will to change it” (Dejene, 1980, p. 30). This educational approach later came to be called “popular education”.

In the field of development education and particularly in the area of non-formal education, the effectiveness of “critical consciousness-raising” in promoting adult learning has been broadly acknowledged. Ahmed (2010), for instance, insists upon its importance in development discourse “as the foundation for lifelong learning” (p. 249) and Bernard and Gayfer (1983) designate it as “a basic approach” (p. 2) for “genuine development of women” (p. 26). In an evaluation study Bernard and Gayfer (1983) conclude:

The lessons from practice increasingly reveal the effectiveness of a basic approach: the bringing together of women in groups around a common issue or need so that they can help each other learn how to look more critically at their lives and at what they wish to achieve. With this new awareness and learning skill, women are better able to organize the kind of collective action that builds on, and up, the confidence that is being acquired. When such consciousness-raising is integrated with other kinds of skill and functional learning, non-formal education ceases to be regarded as a second-rate adjunct to formal education, or a cheap alternative, and becomes an effective and continuing learning system in its own right. (Bernard & Gayfer, 1983, p. 9)

Recognition of critical consciousness raising as an important factor in development education has influenced academia and development practitioners. Over the last two decades, besides general education, family-development programs, and vocational and technical education programs for youth and adults, another stream of NFE programs has emerged that views “nonformal education as a contributor to individual behavioral change as well as social change” (Belle, 1982, p. 70). These programs are generally called “transformative learning” (Mezirow & Taylor, 2009) programs, “peace education” (Shapiro, 2000), and “social change education” (Choules, 2007), which aim for transformation in individuals and society; however, the scope of such programs is not limited to non-formal education; they have been discussed and studied in the context of adult and higher education in formal settings and systems as well.

Terminology such as “transformation” and “change” is not gaining popularity only in the field of education; recently, these terms were also acknowledged and used in an international workshop on the economic pillar of sustainable development and educational approaches during the mid-decade global review on the United Nations (UN) Decade of Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) that took place in 2009. Dr. Ahmed (2010) reports one of the highlights of this workshop: “Overall, the workshop underscored that ... transforming economic systems in order to promote sustainability requires that the education systems also be transformed, and vice versa” (p. 251). He further states that “As the civilizational tipping points that Lester Brown warned of approach, there is no need for the scale to tip in the wrong direction, provided that people are able to assess their situations, make appropriate choices and act on these choices” (2010, p. 252).

In some parts of the world, particularly in developing countries of Latin America, large numbers of non-formal Education programs, focusing on critical consciousness-raising of people to stimulate behavioral change on their part as well as social change in the society at large, were launched. Belle (1982) conducted a study on non-formal education programs in Latin America. I review his findings particular to social and behavioral changes in the following section.

3.1.5 Non-formal education and behavioral and social change.

Belle (1982) makes a strong argument regarding the utility of non-formal education for individual and social change. In his view, the effectiveness of non-formal education programs for accomplishing either of these outcomes depends on the particular characteristics of the programs, the context in which they operate, and most importantly, the socio-economic and ethno-religious background of the people targeted in the program. In his view, the usefulness of NFE programs is narrowly restricted by the targeted groups’ ethnic and socio-economic orientation. He is

confident of the potential potency of NFE programs in facilitating individual change *provided* “both teachers and learners (associated with the program) represent similar socio-economic and ethno-religious background” (1982, p. 174). However, with respect to NFE programs intended to promote social change, he is cautious about the potential for conflict if the direct stakeholders of the program (teachers and students) represent different socio-economic and ethno-religious backgrounds. He warns that:

When nonformal education is used across socio-economic or ethnic group boundaries to facilitate more radical change involving access to political and economic resources, however, the result is likely to be more frustrating. While individuals may still benefit in such instances, non-formal education can become rather impotent for groups, probably more impotent than formal schools, because of the political and economic barriers it must confront. (1982, p. 170-171)

Belle (1976) states that “Social change, therefore, implies not only an alteration in man’s behavior and in the relationship between that behavior and a respective human and physical environment, but it also requires an alteration in societal rules and structures enabling the new behavior and relationships to be established” (p. 188). He claims that “Latin America has provided several models for this kind of effort but few seem to be viable in the context of social change” (p. 188).

3.1.6 A major shift in development thinking for sustainable development: Embedding formal education within the contexts of non-formal education.

Since NFE programs were introduced as a complementary or supplementary system (Rogers, 2004 cited in Clarke & Feeny, 2007) of formal schooling, it was assumed that this system would play an important role in creating bridges between formal and non-formal schools system. One of the objectives for initiating the NFE programs particularly for out-of-school children and dropouts was to reintegrate them or make them re-join formal schools (Israel, 1973; Bishop,

1989; Coombs, 1985). In other words, NFE programs were playing the role of arbitrator between the targeted group and the formal school system. Some NFE programs that were able to achieve this specific objective, such as BRAC's NFE in Bangladesh. Asadullah and Chaudhury (2008) report in a World Bank policy research working paper that "90% of students who complete their primary schooling through BRAC continue into secondary education" (p. 5).

The general belief, therefore, about the role of such NFE programs was that they existed only to support the formal school system by giving more or less the same content knowledge that formal schools provide (Rogers, 2004) or by providing "additional content that is not normally found in formal education" (Rogers, 2004, p. 156). Despite all the criticism, the effectiveness of NFE programs in the area of adult education and lifelong learning for community development prompted development thinkers and practitioners to embrace the usefulness of NFE program in creating contextualized knowledge, behavioural change, and micro-level social change in society (Belle, 1976). One of the key research findings of the ICAE (International Council for Adult Education) Women's Project, launched in the seven Third World regions in 1980, supported the above argument. The authors of this project evaluation report concluded that:

It was clear as well that non-formal education as a field of theory and practice is still in a developmental stage and that, as a vehicle for development, can include a range of objectivities, methodologies and organizational responses. An overall idea began to emerge of non-formal education as a process grounded in the actual situation and needs of people, based on the individual as part of grouping, and involving analysis, reflection and cooperative action. When action is on community action [sic] for development, group-based learning appears as the most effective methodology; while change occurs first within small groups, these achievements move out to become part of a more systematic movement for change. (Bernard & Gayfer, 1983, p. 25)

Recently, a major shift in development thinking is noticeable with respect to the usefulness of NFE with regard to the formal education system. Guevara (2007) insists that

formal education shares a common context with non-formal education for sustainable development of poor countries. He argues that:

Instead of viewing formal and non-formal education as two distinct categories, whether along a spectrum or cross-fertilizing each other, it is possible to view schools or formal educational institutions as being embedded within the broader contexts that non-formal education arises from. This change in perspective is based on the arguments by education practitioners and global education policy documents that support the need for education to be responsive to context. . . . In addition, this re-conceptualization can provide valuable contributions to the growing concern for education quality, which is EFA [Education For All] goal 6 but also one of the four thrusts of the Education for Sustainable Development. The International Implementation Scheme of the DESD (Decade of Education for Sustainable Development) (UNESCO, 2005, p.27) identified one of the key characteristics of quality education as when ‘it takes into consideration the social, economic, and environmental contexts of a particular place (and as a result is) locally relevant and culturally appropriate’. (2007, p. 35-36)

Thus the international development community is now compelled to adapt the affective features of NFE programs in formal systems of education to solve the educational and developmental problems of vulnerable and disadvantaged groups who are a majority in “developing nations” and often live in absolute poverty.

3.2 Popular Education

The term popular education is used to refer the education of “popular classes” (Carrillo, 2010) which include peasants, youth and adults who either left school or never experienced schooling, the unemployed, the working class, lower middle class, women, indigenous people, “afro,” and poor. The foundational discourse of popular education suggests that popular education is explicitly targeted to serve marginalized groups of the society. Even in the 19th century, Mayhew (1850) wrote that “the diffusion of useful knowledge among mankind would infallibly dissipate those groundless fears which have banished much of happiness from the human family, and particularly among lower orders of society” (p. 245). In our own time, Alfonso Torres Carrillo (2010) recognizes popular education as “the union of politics and education toward the

emancipation of the marginalized classes of the society” (p. 202). The purpose of popular education might have evolved from “self-contained enlightenment” (Silver, 1965) to “emancipation” (Carrillo, 2010) but the targeted population has always been disadvantaged groups within society who were always in the majority although they were “minoritized” by the dominant groups and powerful institutions.

The term popular education gained prominence at the end of the first half of the 20th century through Paulo Freire’s work and his theory of Conscientization. From the Portuguese *conscientizaco*, Freire (2000) meant "learning to perceive social, political, and economic contradictions, and to take action against the oppressive elements of reality" (p. 35). He sought to create a pedagogy that assisted individuals and communities in taking charge of their own education and in confronting the oppressive structures of their lives (Eiben, 2008).

Rogers (2004) regards popular education as a form of “education that springs from the people” (p. 37). He insists that “Non-formal education was not a bottom-up creation: the only genuinely grassroots educational programme . . . was ‘popular education’ in Latin America which deserves detailed study of its own” (p. 37). In his view, popular education “enable[s] adults to act to transform their lifeworlds” (p. 32). He further states that “Education in this frame is thus aimed at social transformation, overcoming inequalities which traditional schooling is perpetuating and even strengthening” (p. 32).

Popular education, in current literature, is defined as “both theory and practice for social action” (Vio Grossi, 1981, p. 71); it is referred as a “problem solving/action taking methodology” (Harris, 1994, p. 9) used in adult-education programs; it is regarded as a “tool of liberation” for the oppressed (Dickinson, 2003, p. 219), as “the imagination of many social movements (Novelli & Ferus-Comelo, 2010, p. 56) in Latin America. Finally, it is recognized as

an “educational movement and pedagogical current” in the discourse of adult education (Carrillo, 2010, p. 196) in both formal and non-formal sectors.

Carrilo (2010) states that “During the past four decades, hundreds of groups, practices and projects have identified themselves as part of the “popular education” movement; however, this does not mean that there is one unique way to understand it” (p. 197). He further elaborates the *heterogeneity* (differences in educational provision, purposes, and take up) (Rogers, 2004, p. 32) of popular education by arguing that popular education is not “a homogenous block of ideas, actions, or research practices” (p. 198). He argues that:

the different political conjunctures of the continent, the particularities of the regions and nations, the diversity in themes and demographics recommend that popular education should be seen as a cultural field or scenario where different positions and concepts co-exist and occasionally enter in tension and conflict” (2010, p.198).

Despite the complex meaning of popular education and its various discourses and practices in the world, authors in this particular field have tried to present some defining characteristics of popular education to their readers. According to Vio Grossi (1981), the main characteristics and principles of popular education are as follows: it must be rooted in people’s everyday experience; it is a process of creating knowledge that involves investigation of new knowledge as well as validation of people’s own knowledge instead of a hierarchal transference of ideas; it is active and is based on the concept of praxis, or practice-theory-practice, which involves ongoing reflection and action; it avoids manipulation and is dialogical, it is horizontal and participative, a collective effort that encourages cooperation, solidarity and commitment; it is a flexible educational process of lifelong learning that adapts to the needs of the participants; it recognizes that nothing is static and is based on a dialectical perception of reality where contrary forces are acknowledged and used constructively.

In the discourse of adult education, popular education is prominent because it does not “give people solutions to their problems.” Rather “it poses problems for people to solve” (Beck & Purcell, 2010, p. 50). In popular education programs, marginalized groups are not only the targeted groups, they are also true participants/subjects in the process. According to Harris (1994), the aim of such programs is “to involve the people themselves in defining their own change” (p. 10). According to Beck and Purcell (2010), “Popular education provides a rigorous process for enabling individuals to come together, to reflect on themselves, their practice in the world, current needs and issues and to identify possibilities for change” (p. 13).

In the discourse of community-development education and social change, popular education is seen as a method for critical reflection (Beck & Purcell, 2010), personal transformation (Mezirow, 1993), and social transformation (Rogers, 2004). According to Beck and Purcell (2010), transformational practice in this form of education is based on a number of core ideas:

At a macro level it is of course about responding to social issues through promoting change. At an intellectual level transformational practice is concerned with questioning the nature and validity of knowledge. At a personal level the transformation is about helping us to learn and grow in a holistic rather than fragmented way. (p.53)

In general, popular education is about a shift in perspectives from naive consciousness to critical consciousness; it is about understanding power structure, recognizing hegemonic forces and challenging the hegemonic process; and finally, it is about generating transformative community-development practices on collective issues, “issues about which local people have passion and willingness to take some actions” (Beck & Purcell, 2010).

One important feature of popular education that distinguishes it from other forms of adult education lies in its approaches and process of knowledge production in education programs.

The key approaches and strategies employed in popular education programs are: (i) recuperating “popular history” or building a “history from the bottom” (Carrillo, 2010, p. 205) by reconstruction of “personal and collective memories” (Carrillo, 2010, p. 206), (ii) problem-posing methods in which participants are encouraged “to question the social reality in which they live, with all its injustices and contradictions, but which they experience as normality” (Beck & Purcell, 2010, p. 80), (iii) pursuing a more human and democratic environment (Lee & Balkwill, 1996; Beabout, 2008) where teachers and learners both trust each other and believe that their involvement will matter in the knowledge production process (Wink, 2000 cited in Beabout, 2008), (iv) learners and teachers entering into a dialogical process (Beabout, 2008) that Freire (1972) describes “as a form of revolutionary communication” (cited in Beck and Purcell, 2010, p. 81), an imperative for “true education” (Novelli & Ferus-Comelo, 2010, p. 56). In summary, popular education starts with experience, deepens analysis and adds new information and theory, involves the whole person as (s)he tries to become more fully human, confront oppression and privilege, work with, and not for people, respect people’s knowledge, and apply it to action (Lorry Olds, 2007, cited in Beck and Purcell, 2010). According to Harris (1994), teachers in a popular education model are usually referred to as facilitators, animators, change agents or coordinators, while students are referred to as participants, community members, or subjects.

According to Beck and Purcell (2010):

Neither does popular education consist simply of a collection of techniques; instead it requires commitments on behalf of the worker. A commitment to social justice is obvious but as importantly a commitment to submitting to an ongoing process of collective reflection and action in order to become more fully human. A realisation that we are not the finished article and that none of us knows anything fully may seem like a weakness but is in fact the strongest foundation youth and community workers can have. (p. 51).

Despite its revolutionary nature and transformative qualities popular education is being criticized on various grounds. Carrillo (2010) reports the following major areas of critique on popular education: (i) it has failed to produce expected results, (ii) it is weak in systemization of its techniques, (iii) over the years it “had become reduced to a community organizing options that lacked a pedagogical discourse, and had remained insensitive to the changes in the political and conceptual context of Latin America and the world” (Osorio, 2004, p. 9 cited in Carrillo, 2010, p. 207), (iv) and it lacked efficient strategies to dialogue with other thought perspectives. Dickinson (2003) acknowledges the role of popular education for the liberation of underserved; however, he criticizes the limitations of popular education in initiating the dialogue or mutually supportive efforts between the upper- and middle-classes in creating a fair and just society. He observes that:

Well-meaning people in the upper and middle classes need to join in to create a more fair and just society. They need to let go of some power as lower classes become empowered, but both need to work together. A spirit of celebration and common goals, help lift us out of the disparity of greediness vs. neediness. Society needs structures to develop the verbal skills to dialogue as well as respectful and functioning relationships committed to follow through. The crises in the world today are more critical than ever, with the threat of nuclear war and environmental devastation. People worry about Wall Street trading, but what about the despair of people who would bomb the center for stock market and kill themselves at the same time? The people, the folk, must include all of us, working together, for life to continue. (p. 219)

3.3 Indigenous Education

Indigenous education refers to the inclusion of indigenous knowledge, models, methods and content within formal and non-formal educational systems. Growing recognition and use of indigenous education methods is a response to the erosion and loss of indigenous knowledge and languages through the processes of colonialism (May & Aikman, 2003). Furthermore, it can enable indigenous communities to “reclaim and revalue their languages and cultures, and in so

doing, improve the educational success of indigenous students” (May & Aikman, 2003, p. 141).

Dhillon (2009) describes indigenous education as follows:

How indigenous education becomes represented as an academic discipline or understood as an avenue to enact political movement is directly related to competing traditions of what this field signifies in terms of potentially competing ideas about the construction of 'educational failure' for indigenous children and youth (that is, the location of the problem), the role and purpose of education for indigenous students, and subsequently, the design, substantive quality, and delivery of educational programs. (p.43-44)

Indigenous education can be best described as a pedagogical approach to educating that develops the whole child: intellectually, spiritually, emotionally and physically (Corbiere, 2000 cited in O'Connor, 2009). It has been suggested by many Indigenous scholars that indigenous education be holistic in nature, and strive to include learning objectives that address positive identity, self-determination, as well as cultural and ecological sustainability.

King & Schielmann (2004) provide an overview of different experiences in indigenous education. According to them, the key guiding principles of an indigenous education are: (i) education is connected to all aspects of life, the well-being of learners and the environment/land; (ii) a co-operative, interactive and reflexive learning-teaching process is promoted; (iii) indigenous community members, parents, and elders are consulted and involved; (iv) both formal and non-formal, as well as traditional and modern teaching methods are used; (v) the potential of learners is developed by examining the situation of indigenous communities, the starting point of indigenous education.

Cajete (1994) and McGregor (2009) agree that one of the defining characteristics of indigenous education is that it is inherently environmental. It is about learning and sharing one's lifeways to ensure proper relations with all of Creation (i.e., animals, forests, mountains, seas, rivers, the moon, the stars, wind, ... the environment). According to McGregor (2009),

indigenous teachings come not only from our parents, relatives, grandmothers and grandfathers, elders, teachers, communities and nations but also from Creation itself. Learners learn through visions, ceremonies, prayers, songs, dances and performances, intuitions, dreams and personal experiences (McGregor, 2009). According to Deborah McGregor (2009), indigenous education has a potential role in addressing the environmental challenges of the 21st century.

The key features and characteristics of indigenous education curricula, teachers, and teaching materials are described by King & Schielmann (2004). According to these scholars, indigenous education curricula: are designed with the active involvement of indigenous communities; gradually integrate indigenous and western forms of knowledge and ways of knowing; are place- and culture-based; include seasonal-environmental curricula and the use of local flora and fauna; and promote positive attitudes to indigenous languages and cultures among the non-indigenous population in order to promote understanding, tolerance and solidarity among different cultural groups. They state that teachers in indigenous education programs are: familiar with indigenous culture and language as well as national culture and language; respectful to indigenous concepts and values regarding education; use and create responsive and experiential teaching methods and material in co-operation and consultation with the indigenous community. According to these authors, teaching materials in indigenous education programs promote interactive learning and provide an accurate picture and fair information on indigenous cultures and ways of life. They are based on respect for the cultural values and specific relationship with nature of indigenous communities.

Cajete (1994) noted parallels between Freire's approach to education and indigenous education: the central place of dialogue; the collaborative role of students and teachers; and the location of knowledge with the people, rather than with experts. The central lesson that can be

learned from education in indigenous societies is that learning and teaching are organically woven into the fabric of daily life and are designed to bring children into thoughtful and responsible relationships with people and natural world (Dugan, 1993 cited in Eiben, 2008).

3.4 Place-Based Education

Place-based education is an approach to teaching that is grounded in the context of community, both natural and social. It connects place with self and community. The field has emerged from the strong roots laid by thirty years of environmental education in North America. The term only began to appear in the educational literature over the last fifteen years (Knapp, 1996; Orr, 1994; Raffan, 1993 cited in Gruenewald, 2003); however, progressive educators have promoted the concept for more than one-hundred years (O'Connor, 2009). Current discussion of place-based education includes attention to the study of regional and local cultures, local natural phenomena, community issues or problems, local economies and vocations, and community processes (Crowson, 2003).

According to Gruenewald (2003), "Like critical pedagogy, place-based education aims to empower people to act on their own situationality" (p.8). However, the emphasis in place-based education is not a discourse of revolutionary change but a discourse of rooted, empathetic experience (Sobel, 1996 cite in Gruenewald, 2003). It emphasizes learning experiences that allow students to become creators of knowledge rather than the consumers of knowledge created by others (Smith, 2002).

Place-based education usually includes conventional outdoor education methodologies to help students connect with their particular corners of the world (O'Connor, 2009). Its practices and purposes can be connected to experiential learning, contextual learning, problem-based learning, constructivism, outdoor education, indigenous education, environmental and ecological

education, bioregional education, democratic education, multicultural education, community-based education, critical pedagogy itself, as well as other approaches that are concerned with context and the value of learning from and nurturing specific places, communities, or regions (Gruenewald, 2003).

Since place-based education holds out the potential of resituating learning within the context of communities; “it helps overcome the alienation and isolation of individuals that have become hallmarks of modernity” (Smith, 2002, p. 594). The primary value of place-based education lies in the way that it reconnects rather than separates students from their own world. It helps individuals to experience the value they hold for others and allows communities to benefit from the commitment and contributions of their members (Smith, 2002).

Smith (2002) wrote, “Because place-based education is by its nature specific to particular locales, generic curricular models are inappropriate” (p. 587). Smith does, however, offer five approaches to place-based learning that can focus educational research on place-based practices: (i) local cultural studies, (ii) local nature studies, (iii) community issue-investigation and problem-solving, (iv) local internships and entrepreneurial opportunities, and (v) induction into community decision making.

O’Connor (2009) found the following characteristic patterns in place-based education approach: (i) it emerges from the particular attributes of a place (the content is specific to the geography, ecology, sociology, politics and other dynamics of that place); (ii) it is a multidisciplinary approach; (iii) it is experiential; (iv) it is reflective of an educational philosophy that is broader than the “learn to earn” method; (v) it connects place with self and community.

Advocates of place-based education approach argue that it is difficult for students to engage with larger global issues and generalized truths without some understanding of how these topics connect to their own local issues and more isolated truths. Therefore, in place-based education approach, the starting point is not the general and global, but the specific and local. Place-based educators must respond to and address not the world, but what the world already means to a particular people, from a specific community, in a distinct locale (Carnie, 2003 cited in O'Connor, 2009).

3.5 Key Features of Youth Development Programs in Underserved Communities

In this section of my literature review, I explain key features of those alternative educational programs which focus on development of youth and young adults in educationally underserved communities. The following key features are gleaned and integrated from numerous educational development and research programs:

- Local people and communities are directly involved in planning and decision-making
- Learning takes place in a variety of contexts in the natural environment and community
- Critical self-reflection, self-determination, self-awareness, self-esteem, dignity, confidence are the most common themes for “self-development”
- Reflective dialogues, counter-narratives, and storytelling are primary methods for teaching and learning
- Cultural revitalization is central in learning and community-development processes

- Creation of social-psychological infrastructure is a precondition for cultural revitalization and youth engagement in development processes
- Educational programs are responsive to diverse community needs, changing and evolving as individual and community needs change, while adapting to specific places and people
- Contextual learning, experiences from ordinary life, work, and leisure are encouraged. Field projects related to social or political issues are discussed. Acquisition of practical skills is encouraged.

Two of the features listed above are particularly central in most youth-development programs in underserved communities. The first is “self-concept” and second is “critical reflective dialogues, counternarratives, and storytelling”.

3.5.1 Self-concept.

“Self” is one quasi-universal theme that emerges in virtually every education-development program focusing on youth development or empowerment in underserved communities. There are numerous terms that were used as a suffix with the word “self” in the literature (a sort of lexicon of hyphenated “selves” reminiscent of the terms “hyphenated Canadian” or “hyphenated American” so widely used in North America), for example, “self-awareness” (Freire, 2000), “self-knowledge” (McKay, 2010; Walsh, 2008), “self-discovery” (Ranson, 1992), “self-introspective” (Dobson & Dobson, 1987), “self-reliance” (Nyerere, 1968 cited in Abdi, 2010; Colletta, Ewing, & Todd, 1982), “self-regulation” (Lerner, Theokas, & Jelicic, 2005), self-determination (Lee, 2007; Castagno & Brayboy, 2008), and “self-reflection” (Rubinstein-Avila, 2006) etc.

In discussing a research agenda for rural education Dobson and Dobson (1987) urge that a self-introspective perspective aids youth in analyzing their situation in life and ultimately in responding positively to understanding their reasons for being and their social status. McKay (2010) challenges prevalent master narratives and proposes critical race praxis for community development; he states that “self-knowledge” is essential for promoting democratic values of fairness, justice, and compassion in a society. He suggests that self-knowledge must first begin from both a historical and a contemporary context. In his view, “this type of reflection may then encourage resistance in one’s political community against ahistorical propaganda” (p. 31). Lerner, Theokas, and Jelcic (2005) believe that self-reflection and self-regulation are the bases of personal development particularly for youth; they further observe that:

Youth make choices and experiment with a variety of behaviors and experiences as they deal with the unique developmental challenges, opportunities, and risks associated with this period of life. For instance, identity development, a central construct, involves the regulation of relations between the person and the social/cultural context (p. 31)

Rubinstein-Avila (2006) argues that guided participation and youth’s systematic engagement with identity work was a successful recipe for promoting critical youth development – “a notion of youth development that not only acknowledges but also encourages youths’ reflection on the intersection of race, class, gender, and power” (p. 255). In this way, self-determination in education is defined as a right to decide and to teach Native children and youth what Native people believe is important (Lee, 2007).²

3.5.2 Reflective dialogues, counternarratives, storytelling.

Reflective dialogues, counternarratives, and storytelling are key research tools and teaching-learning methods in most indigenous-youth-development programs. Using a conceptual framework of mediated action theory Duncan (1996) analyzes the discourses of six Black high-

school students that connect the concepts of “space,” “place,” and “race.” She states that reflective dialogue “is shown to contribute to the pool of conceptual and material tools that enable youth to mediate development” (p. 147). Farnsworth (2010) acknowledges the importance of dialogue in teacher education for promoting culturally responsive teaching and community-based learning. Freire (1990) also emphasizes the centrality of dialogue in human experience and relates “utterance” to the social and material contexts within which it occurs. He states that “[authentic] dialogue creates a critical attitude (Jaspers). It is nourished by love, humility, hope, faith, and trust” (1973, p. 45). Apropos, he cites Jaspers:

Dialogue is the only way, not only in the vital questions of the political order, but in all the expressions of our being. Only by virtue of faith, however, does dialogue have power and meaning: by faith in man and his possibilities, by the faith that I can only become truly myself when other men also become themselves. (Karl Jaspers, as cited in Freire, 1973, p. 45)

Habermas’s concept of communicative action also provides a way of highlighting the importance of dialogue in attaining sustainable rural development (Sumner, 2005). Sumner (2005) claims that dialogue that is based on “communicative rationality” and aims to achieve sustainability can counter colonization of the life-world by creating opportunities for community members to participate in building their own well-being and sustainability.

Indigenous youth development/empowerment programs which use theoretical frameworks such as critical pedagogy, critical race theory, or critical pedagogy of place employ counter-narratives and storytelling as a method of naming one’s reality. According to McKay (2010), storytelling and counter-narratives in critical race theory “provide a context by which to convey, understand and transform established oppressive belief systems” (p. 30). He further observes that:

[T]he learner’s voice (i.e., storytelling and counternarratives) is critical to any movement of resistance. The use of critical pedagogy and critical race theory

gives permission to embrace their counternarratives.... Furthermore, acknowledging the power of voice, counternarratives can deconstruct demoralizing learned curriculum and reconstruct a curriculum that gives utterance to silenced consciousness. (2010, p, 36)

Rubinstein-Avila (2006) acknowledges the importance of individual and community stories in a community-based education model; this model was developed for Native American students and tested in Pueblo communities of the southwest United States. She states that:

“Findings underscore that rather than creating opportunities for urban youths to “escape” from their communities, youth programs ought to encourage youths to “read their world” as Freire advocates – encourage youths to delve in critical exploration of their communities from the inside out. By supporting participating youths to inquire, reflect upon, write, and rewrite their communities’ past, present, and especially future, their stories and the stories of their communities are no longer individual stories; they become “connected . . . to larger patterns of domination and resistance in a multicultural, global society” (Gruenewald 2003:5)”. (2006, p. 269)

Cajete (1994) also expresses storytelling as one of the foundational characteristics of indigenous education. He states that “Story, expressed through experience, myths, parables, and various forms of metaphor is an essential vehicle of indigenous learning” (p. 30).

4 Research Methodology

This study examines the perceptions and experiences of twenty-one IDSP stakeholders pertinent to their learning in ADP courses and to their practices in the field. I aimed to understand the “change” or “transformation” of young community-development workers who belonged to marginalized traditional communities. Their critical views, notable confidence, and emancipatory actions have challenged my existing perceptions about people of traditional communities. Accordingly, I wanted to understand the transformative learning process experienced by ADP students as well as the consequences of their transformation in the forms of benefits and challenges they are facing by living in the slow-to-change traditional and closed society from which they sprang. For this purpose I chose to employ a grounded-theory research approach.

A review of the literature on Grounded Theory (GT) reveals that this methodology has been used in various ways. Furthermore, many versions of grounded theory exist; however, the approach pioneered by Glaser and Strauss (1967) is now called “classic” grounded theory. The approach I used in collecting and analyzing data is close to the Glaserian version of GT.

Both the first and current generation of grounded theorists reflect consensus that theories provided to students in the fields of social-work and sociology do not cover all dimensions of social life. In 1967 Glaser and Strauss argued that “some theories of our predecessors, because of their lack of grounding in data, do not fit, or do not work, or are not sufficiently understandable to be used and are therefore useless in research, theoretical advance and practical application” (p. 11). In the same vein, Julianne S. Oktay’s (2012) recently published *Grounded Theory* argues persuasively that many of the theories used in social research and taught in social-work programs do not come from social-work practice and they “can be difficult to apply to

practice situations. Some are too abstract, while others are problematic because they are based on models of human behavior that differ from the social work focus on ‘person in environment’” (p. 4). Therefore, it is generally argued that GT methodology is used when existing theoretical frameworks are not available to substantively explain the phenomenon under study. In this study, my focus was on IDSP’s development practices which are firmly grounded in social-work *practice*. To my knowledge, with a single exception (Paterson, 2008), no research has been undertaken to specifically explain the context, process, impact, and consequences of transformative learning experiences in ADP. Therefore, the use of grounded theory in this research helped to further my understanding of phenomena reported as occurring in IDSP’s ADP courses.

Glaser and Strauss (1967) explained their rationale for the use and importance of grounded theory:

The great theorists have indeed given us models and guidelines for generating theory, so that with recent advances in data collection, conceptual systemization and analytic procedures, many of us can follow in their paths: from social research we can generate theories for new areas, as well as better theories for areas where previous ones do not work. (p.11)

This rationale shaped my decision to start with the two theories discussed in Chapter 2 to further my understanding the IDSP and its developmental practices in Balochistan. In light of these two theoretical frameworks, I came to understand the philosophical foundations of IDSP, and its methodologies. I learned that IDSP is actually practicing certain critical theories at the grass-root level, notably theories such as Paulo Freire’s critical pedagogy, Edward Said’s postcolonial theory, and Jack Mezirow’s transformative learning theories. These theories helped me understand the multiple groundings of the IDSP’s program.

The place of literature review in GT has been a controversial issue. From the beginning Glaser (1967, 1978, 2010) has advised his students and readers that it is better for Grounded Theorist to review literature *after* data analysis. However, in recently published books on grounded theory, writers have taken carefully considered positions in favour of literature review prior to data collection. For example, Oktay (2012) argued that “not doing a literature review could actually reduce theoretical sensitivity” (p. 47). For this and similar reasons, Urquhart (2013) advised “non-committal literature review” in research studies based on GT. As a novice in GT theory and methodology, I faced a problem in identifying relevant literature for my study. As a PhD candidate I was required to write and justify a literature review on my research area. This requirement led me directly to the problem involved in focusing on specific literature when identifying and writing the literature-review chapter of a grounded-theory study. Not unexpectedly, after data coding and analysis I found some important influences and considerations which were not part of my literature review; however, they must be discussed in the explanation of substantive theory. At this stage, I am able to understand Glaser’s emphasis on doing literature review after the data analysis, but, I cannot deny the importance and role of literature review prior to the data coding process. Throughout my data analysis, the literature review helped me in naming concepts, codes, and categories emerging from the field data during data collection and analysis process. Like other new grounded theorists, I agree with Dey (1993) that an “open mind” is not the same thing as an “empty mind.”

Also, the ultimate focus of my study was the *perceptions* of IDSP stakeholders, which begged the question “perceptions of what?” At the time of proposal writing I had already studied IDSP and its courses in some detail and formed a preliminary understanding of the key features and foci of the program. During field work I tried to get stakeholders’ perspectives on those

concepts that had emerged during initial analysis of IDSP documents, for example “their critique on notions of development and their views on revitalization of indigenous knowledge.” Further, in classical GT, researchers took six to eight months for data collection; as a PhD candidate it was impossible for me to spend such a long time in the field. Therefore, I focused on two core values of IDSP that, through my analysis of IDSP- and ADP-related documents, I found were enacted in the ADP courses. Preliminary analysis of documents and my own hunch regarding possible impacts of the course on stakeholders’ personal and professional lives helped in setting three interview guidelines for each group of IDSP stakeholders: administrators, teachers, and learners. The resulting themes of each interview guideline will be discussed in detail in the section on research procedure.

4.1 Data Collection: Procedure and Methods

Although IDSP offers ADP courses across Pakistan I decided to focus on IDSP learners from traditional communities of Balochistan. Several factors related to the IDSP and its courses contributed to my choice of Balochistan as a research site: (i) nearly 90% of IDSP graduates belong to the districts of Balochistan, (ii) IDSP’s ADP was conceived, designed, evolved, and initially delivered mainly in Balochistan, (iii) most IDSP learners are engaged in community-development work in various districts of Balochistan, (iv) IDSP teaching faculty (senior and existing) also consists of local people from Balochistan, and (v) ADP teaching and learning material, learners’ publications, ADP planning and reporting documents, and course-evaluation reports and studies are available only in the IDSP resource centre in Quetta.

4.1.1 Sample selection.

Literature on grounded-theory research reveals that all participants should have experienced the process under study (Creswell, 2007). Also, representation of the differently positioned

stakeholders who have been part of an overall process under study is essential to understand and explain the complete phenomenon. Since the stakeholders of ADP courses consisted of the founding members, administrators, teachers, and the students of IDSP, I included in this study one founding member of IDSP, now Director of the Institute, three administrators, three teachers, eight male learners and six female learners.

In a grounded-theory approach *theoretical sampling* or *purposive sampling* refers to selection of groups or categories to study on the basis of their relevance to the research questions (Mason, 1996). Therefore, keeping the nature of each research question at the centre of my considerations, I developed selection criteria for choosing the participants in this study (see Table 4-1).

Alongside the holistic purpose of this research study, namely to understand participants' transformative perceptions, other important objectives of this research related to understanding the conceptualization and delivery of courses. In order to achieve both objectives I used purposive sampling techniques for selecting IDSP administrators and teachers. Purposive sampling is a vital choice when "most of the random sample may be largely ignorant of particular issues and unable to comment on matters of interest to the researcher" (Cohen *et al.*, 2008, p. 115). Therefore, to understand the context, conceptual framework, purpose and objectives, design, delivery mechanism, and evolutionary process of ADP courses, I included one founding member and three other administrators of IDSP. In a similar manner, to understand the contents of teaching modules, purpose of teaching modules, teaching methodologies and strategies, and teaching and learning environment, I included three IDSP teachers in this study.

Table 4-1: Selection Criteria and Number of Research Participants

Research Participants (IDSP stakeholders)	Number of Research Participants	Selection Criteria
IDSP Administrators	4	IDSP fellows who were involved in the conceptualization, design, and implementation of ADP courses from their inception
IDSP Teachers	3	Teachers who have taught ADP course themes and modules at least five times
IDSP Learners (Males and Females)	14	The inclusion criteria for IDSP learners for both male and female are as follows: (i) They must have completed ADP courses in IDSP; (ii) They must have been engaged in community-development work in Balochistan for at least three years; (iii) They must be employed in government institutions, local NGOs, or international-development organizations; (iv) The selected learners can be associated with any field of development such as education, health, water supply, sanitation, youth and adolescent, women, environment, and skill and training; (v) They are willing to participate and can afford time to participate in interviews.

I used convenience and theoretical sampling technique to choose IDSP learners as participants in this study. First I used convenience sampling to choose five learners, three males and two females, by considering their willingness and their availability in Quetta city. Later, I used theoretical sampling to select the remaining nine IDSP learners. According to Creswell (2007), theoretical sampling is the most appropriate technique for conducting grounded-theory research as it allows one to add themes in the study until “theoretical saturation is reached” (p. 67).

4.1.2 The process of sample selection: strategic and tricky

The selection criteria were strictly followed in selecting each research participant. Nonetheless, choosing participants from each group was not very straightforward. From the beginning I took

some strategic decisions in choosing the research participants. In the following sections I will explain considerations that played critical roles in selecting each group of this study.

4.1.2.1 The selection process of IDSP administrators and teachers

With respect to the selection of IDSP teachers and administrators, there were a couple of unexpected challenges which I recognized as soon I reached the research site and met with prospective participants. For example, I learned that (i) most former IDSP senior faculty had left IDSP, (ii) IDSP stakeholders have multiple identities within the Institute, (iii) current IDSP teaching faculty, managers, and administrators were relatively new to the program and thus did not fulfill the selection criteria stated in Table 4-1.

To follow the selection criteria for IDSP teachers and administrators I decided to choose administrators and teachers from senior faculty members even if, at the time of interview, they did not occupy an administrative or teaching position in IDSP. I used the following rationale for this decision: (i) they have extensive experience in their respective positions, (ii) they were closely engaged with students whom I included in this study as IDSP learners, (iii) they have seen and experienced the evolving process of both IDSP course streams, DS and MGD, (iv) they have developed their own understandings on issues related to development, indigenous knowledge, indigenous-community issues, and education and empowerment of indigenous youth, and (v) they have limited but continuous association with IDSP as visiting teaching faculty in ADP's courses and as associates of IDSP. The basic profile of IDSP administrators and teachers with respect to their current education level, employer, designation, ethnicity, and their status in IDSP and in this study is given in Table 4-2.

Table 4-2: Basic Profile of IDSP Administrators and Teachers by education level, profession, designation, and their current status in IDSP and in this study

S. no	Names	Stakeholders' status in the study as IDSP	Year attended ADP Course	Current Education Level	Current Designation	Current Employer	Ethnicity
IDSP Administrators							
1	Dr. Quratul Ain Bakhteari	Founding Member	1998 - to date	Ph.D	Director	IDSP	Urdu Speaking
2	Nadir Baloch	Administrator	1998 - 2010	M.A.	Project Director	Save the Children	Brahui
3	Akbar Rizvi	Administrator	2000 -2011	M.A	Secretary	Primary Education Project	Punjabi
4	Wahid Khan	Administrator	1998 -2010	M.A.	Director	Centre for Youth Dev. & Activism	Pashtoon
IDSP Teachers							
1	Zaman Khan	Teacher	1999 - to date	M.Sc. in Physics	Lecturer & IDSP Fellow	IDSP & Balochistan University &	Pashtoon
2	Shafi Khan	Teacher	1999 -2009	M.Sc. in Physics	Project Director	CONCERN	Pashtoon
3	Safeena Zehri	Teacher	1999 - to date	M.A.	Associate Director	IDSP	Brahui

The second critical challenge I faced in selecting IDSP teachers and administrators related to their multiple role identities within the IDSP. During some initial interviews with IDSP faculty I learned that most of the IDSP faculty has been associated with the Institute and with its ADP courses in several capacities. For example, they entered IDSP as a learner in ADP courses; they then became teachers and later they served the Institute as managers and administrators as well. To deal with their multiple experiences I had to decide what would be their role status or classification in my study. Therefore, in informal meetings with them and in the beginning of their interviews I paid special attention to recognizing the area where their expertise is strongest. So, using my own judgment based upon this information, I categorized their status in my study as IDSP administrator, teacher, and learner. In the next section, I will explain the selection process of each group in detail.

Besides the selection criteria and considerations explained above I also followed the major themes and specific concepts emerging in the data-collection process when choosing the teachers, administrators and learners. Basically, I used my own judgment keeping in mind preliminary findings emerging from document analysis and initial-interview data. In the subsequent section on “data collection process” I explain how the initial document analysis and interviews played a crucial role in the process of selecting other IDSP stakeholders.

4.1.2.2 The selection process of IDSP learners.

On my arrival at the research site in June 2011, I first gathered information about all the graduates of IDSP who had participated in DS and MGD courses since 1998. For this purpose I had several meetings with the IDSP Director, IDSP Resource-Centre Manager, one former and two current employees of IDSP who were involved in collecting and developing an IDSP learners’ data base. It was hard to find an authentic and reliable data base on IDSP learners from

one single document or sources. The on-line data base of IDSP was under construction and the documents containing required data have overlapping and difficult-to-interpret information about ADP courses and their learners. So, I collected these data from different sources in different forms (“soft form” in Word and Excel files and “hard form” in reports and studies available at the IDSP Resource Centre). I verified the information given in all these documents by cross-comparison and by consulting two key research informants involved in building the data bases of IDSP learners. These data bases helped me to develop a basic profile of IDSP learners by their geographical locations and by gender (explained in detail in Chapter 5). By using information given in the data sets of both DS and MGD I developed a list of potential research participants consisting of forty learners. However, I finally, selected only fourteen IDSP learners from that list. Their basic profile by education level (current and at the time of admission in IDSP), current employment status, ethnicity, and current status in IDSP are given in Table 4-3.

In the first phase of interview sessions, I realized that learners’ ethnic and local background did not have any significant relevance in regard to their perceptions and practices. Therefore, in the selection process I paid attention to the interest of subsequent learners in my research, their willingness to share their perceptions and experiences, their diverse professional background, their personal interests and achievements, their socio-economic status, and their engagement in various kinds of developmental activities. I was interested to see whether, after completing the course, their diverse backgrounds, different experiences and their associations with distinct institutions have influenced their perceptions and practices. I wanted to examine the similarities and variations of their transformative perspectives on certain issues with respect to their existing status, position, associations, designation, and work. As a result of this approach, the distribution of IDSP learners by their geographic location, ethnicity, and gender in

Table 4-3: Basic Profile of IDSP Learners by Their education Levels (previous and current), Profession, and Designation

S. no	IDSP Learners	Year of Participation	Education Level		Current Designation	Current Employer	Ethnicity	Origin District
			Current	Before ADP				
IDSP Male Learners: DS Graduates								
1	Iqbal Khan	2005	M.Sc	B.A	Learning Co-ordinator	IDSP (Permanent)	Pashtoon	Killa Saifullah
2	Rashid Zehri	2001	M.A.	F.Sc	Regional General Manager	Balochistan Rural Support Program	Brahui	Khuzdar
3	Muhammad Ajaz	2007	M.A.	F.Sc	Social Activist	NGO (Temporary)	Balochi	Turbat
4	Muhammad Nadeem	1999	M.A.	B.A	Provincial Head	Hands (NGO)	Pashtoon	Zhob
5	Rafi Nisar	2000	M.A.	F.A	District Co-ordinator	IDSP (Temporary)	Lasi	Lasbella
6	Mehfooz Khan	1999	M.A	M.A	Lecturer	Government college	Pashtoon	Zhob
7	Naseem Baloch	2003	B.A., M.A	B.Com	District Manager	USAID - ED-LINKS Project	Baloch	Sibi
8	Arbaz Khan	1999	M.A.	M.A	Manger	IUCN	Pashtoon	Zhob
IDSP Female Learners: MGD Graduates								
9	Rabia Ali	2004	M.A.	Matric	Program Officer	BRAC (NGO)	Punjabi	Lasbella
10	Sabeen Baloch	2004	B.A., B.ED	Matric	School Teacher	Govt Primary School	Balochi	Lasbella
11	Fehmida Baloch	2006	Enrolled in B.A.	Middle pass	Research Associates	IDSP (Temporary)	Balochi	Sibi
12	Rafia Ahmed	2004	M.A	F.Sc	Data Validator	Befare	Hazara (Persian)	Quetta
13	Nafeesa Akhter	2003	B.A.	Matric	Research Associate	IDSP (Temporary)	Lasi	Lasbella
14	Abida Naseem	2007	Enrolled in B.A.	Matric	Research Associate	IDSP (Temporary)	Brahui	Khuzdar

this study is uneven and learners from some other districts which were not part of the earlier research plan have also participated in this research (see Table 4-3). Among the fourteen selected IDSP learners only five were, at the time of interview, employed by IDSP; however, only one among the five was employed on a permanent basis while the remaining four were employed on short-term projects (see Table 4-3).

4.1.3 Research methods.

In grounded-theory research, “anything that may shed light on questions under study” (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 5) can be involved in data collection procedures such as interviews, observations, government documents, video tapes, newspapers, letters, and books (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). In this qualitative study, I used two primary qualitative-research research methods: (i) document analysis and (ii) grounded-theory analysis of in-depth interviews with IDSP administrators, teachers, and students (Marshall & Rossman, 2006).

4.1.3.1 Document analysis.

IDSP- and ADP-related documents, available both on-line and onsite, played a major role in framing this research. I collected and analyzed several documents related to the conceptualization of ADP courses, as well as to their delivery and evaluation (both internal and external), as well as others that offered evidence of research participants’ actions in communities.

The main purpose of document analysis was to understand the theoretical underpinnings and delivery of ADP courses, for example, why these courses were launched, who conceptualized them, how they were designed and delivered, who were the targeted audience(s) of these courses, what was taught in them, what kind of teaching and learning material was used, and what kind of targeted objectives were achieved in these courses. Some other documents in

the forms of newspaper clippings, newspaper articles, journal articles, magazines, books, and videos were also collected and reviewed as artefacts of participants' actions.

Collection and analysis of data have been an on-going process in this research. They started at the time the research was first conceptualized and ended during the writing phase of the study. Several kinds of documents were collected throughout the research process. Important documents included: (i) the IDSP concept paper, (ii) third-party evaluation reports on ADP courses, (iii) one research paper on the MGD course (Paterson, 2008), (iv) IDSP project progress and completion reports submitted to donors supporting DS and MGD courses, (v) a list of teaching modules and themes used in DS and MGD courses, (vi) a complete list of IDSP graduates by gender and courses, (vii) IDSP quarterly and annual reports, (viii) IDSP quarterly magazines and journals, (ix) an IDSP study on MGD courses, (x) IDSP Newsletters, (xi) newspaper clippings related to research participants' activities, and (xii) participants' publications. A complete list of all documents collected in this research is attached as Appendix 4-A.

All these documents can be categorized as: (i) documents related to program conceptualization, description, and functions; (ii) reports and studies related to external and internal evaluation of ADP courses; and (iii) artefacts related to research participants' actions in the community-development work. Multiple documents were collected in each category. The purposes for collecting multiple documents for each category are stated in Table 4-4, most notably to ensure the reliability of data used for each category throughout the research process. There were several challenges that I faced as a researcher in collecting and analyzing the information from these documents. These challenges are explained in the section on "Limitations and challenges" in this chapter.

4.1.3.2 Interviews.

In-depth interviews with IDSP stakeholders played a crucial role in this qualitative research.

Exploration and understanding of IDSP stakeholders' transformative perceptions was the main purpose of conducting this research. However, participants' perceptions cannot be understood vividly or accurately without listening, probing, and examining their views, stories, life events, and actions in extended detail.

Table 4-4: List of Documents categorized by their purposes and sources

Category	Purpose
Documents related to program conceptualization, description, and functions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To understand the complete context of the ADP: background of each DS and MGD course, background of learners, background of founder and creators of the courses, background of the targeted communities - To identify and understand course contents and material - To understand the course design, structure, delivery mechanism, procedures and strategies
Data bases and reports related to external and internal evaluation of ADP courses, and the only available research study on the MGD course (Paterson, 2008)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To collect information on the background of all IDSP graduates who attended ADP courses - To verify statistics and information on IDSP learners and ADP courses given in internal and external evaluation reports, donors reports, data bases, and in research studies
Artefacts related to research participants' actions in community-development work	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To present and assess evidence of IDSP stakeholders' emancipatory knowledges and emancipatory actions

I conducted one-on-one interviews (Creswell, 2007) with each participant. Interviews were conducted in Urdu and transcribed in both Urdu and English. Each interview lasted approximately ninety minutes. All interviews were conducted following a written interview protocol (see Appendix 4-B) and recorded using a standard digital audio system with the permission of the participant. Each interview was guided by eight to nine questions. I used semi-

structured interviews with open-ended questions. Additional “probing” questions were asked during interviews.

Three separate semi-structured interview guidelines were used, one for administrators, one for teachers, and one for students. Each guideline was developed to focus on the core objective of this research, understanding the transformative perspectives of each participant, and on some specific objectives related to participants’ roles in the development and delivery of courses. The thematic focus of each interview guideline is presented in Table 4-5. For example, the administrators’ interview guideline focused on IDSP’s critique of mainstream notions of development, its mission in regard to decolonization and re-inhabitation of learners, the context of ADP, its conceptual framework, its design and structure, the delivery mechanism and evolutionary process of ADP, and finally ADP impacts on learners and the society of Balochistan.

The teacher interview guideline focused on teaching modules and main course themes, teaching methodologies and strategies, efforts to create an optimal teaching and learning environment that facilitated a transformative learning environment for the learners, the impact of courses on teachers and their learners, and challenges they and their learners have experienced since they have been associated with IDSP.

Student interview guidelines focussed mainly on their transformative perspectives on their own self, their subjective identities, their notions of development, and their traditional knowledge and practices. Questions related to influences that led them to embrace critical and alternative ideas were also included as well as questions regarding the challenges they faced in embracing and practicing alternative ideas in their personal and professional lives. Students

were asked to share the emancipatory actions they had taken at personal, family, and community levels to practice their transformative ideas.

Table 4-5: Thematic Focus of IDSP Stakeholders Interview Guidelines

Interview Guidelines	Specific Themes	General Theme
Administrators	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Context of ADP and IDSP - Conceptual Framework of ADP - Design, structure, and delivery mechanism of ADP 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Perspective transformations of notion of self, gendered identities and subjectivities, mainstream notion and practices of development, traditional knowledges and practices - Impact of courses on all stakeholders - Challenges stakeholders face in “their development practice” - Critique and suggestions on ADP and IDSP
Teachers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Teaching modules and contents - Teaching methodologies - Teaching and learning environment - Teaching and learning process 	
Students/Learners	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Journey of personal transformation and embrace of emancipatory knowledges - Emancipatory actions - Challenges in embracing and practicing emancipatory knowledges and actions 	

After compiling all the data at the research site I hired a local transcriber to prepare Urdu transcriptions of interviews. As I received the Urdu transcriptions I translated them into English. However, after doing ten Urdu transcriptions, the transcribers refused to do the remaining interviews. To deal with this issue I transcribed three more interviews in Urdu myself. Afterwards, I decided to stop the process of Urdu transcriptions and focused only on English-language translations. Therefore, only thirteen of twenty-one interviews were transcribed in Urdu while all twenty-one interviews were transcribed in English.

4.1.3.2.1 Interviews with IDSP administrators.

I interviewed one of the founding members of IDSP, Dr. Quratul Ain Bakhteari who wrote the conceptual paper leading to establishment of IDSP and launching its ADP Development Studies course in 1998. Currently, she is Director of the Institute. She explained in detail why she established the IDSP in Balochistan and the nature of the forces and environment that motivated her to initiate the ADP's DS course through establishment of the IDSP. She shared the conceptual framework that she envisioned for empowerment of youth from traditional and marginalized communities of Pakistan. She laid out the evolutionary processes of both ADP courses and the main theoretical underpinnings that have been used in designing the courses. She shared her views on IDSP's main critique on notions of development and IDSP's mission of revitalizing indigenous ways of living and being as a conscious informed citizen of the local and global community. She shared her views on the impacts of the courses on IDSP's learners and other stakeholders in terms of both the benefits and challenges they are experiencing.

The IDSP Director provided ample information regarding the context, concept, and design of the ADP courses. As a result I decided to interview only a single founding member of the IDSP instead of the three founding members that I had planned to interview in the proposal for my dissertation. Later, however, I interviewed three other administrators of IDSP who had been intensively involved in delivery, teaching, managing, and administering DS and MGD courses of ADP. At the time I interviewed them, all three administrators, Akbar Rizvi, Nadir Baloch, and Wahid Khan were no longer employed in IDSP. They held leading positions in education and social development, but in some other government and non-government organizations. Their current profile is given in Table 4-2.

The three administrators I interviewed responded in a variety of ways to the administrator-interview questions. However, they unanimously discussed the uniqueness of ADP courses in terms of its originality, its flexible delivery mechanism, its theory-practice-based structure, its transformative learning process, its capacity to engage students in ways they viewed as incredible, and its profound impacts on IDSP stakeholders.

4.1.3.2.2 Interviews with IDSP teachers.

In the planning phase of my dissertation I proposed to include six teachers in the sample considering the six teaching modules generally offered in ADP courses: (i) self, (ii) an introduction to the basic concept of the gender, (iii) colonial and imperialist bases leading development practices, (iv) critical pedagogy and radical education, (v) spirituality, culture, and social change, and (vi) participatory reflection and action. In the end, however, I interviewed only three teachers of ADP courses. In the field as I was proceeding with my interviews with learners I noted that learners mainly emphasized teaching themes and modules which played a significant role in reframing their perceptions. These particular modules were “Self,” “an introduction to the basic concept of the gender,” “colonial and imperialist bases leading development practices,” and “critical pedagogy and radical education.” Focusing on only these four teaching modules and themes I selected three IDSP teachers who had taught these three courses for more than eight years.

I interviewed one female teacher, Safeena Zehri. She had extensive experience teaching both the “Self” and “Gender” modules to both male and female students in ADP’s DS and MGD courses. Her interview was conducted in two separate sessions and each session lasted approximately ninety minutes. She entered IDSP as an Assistant Librarian with a matriculation certificate; however, at the time of the interview she was the Associate Director IDSP. Ms. Zehri

explained in detail the teaching method and strategies she has been using to teach the self and gender modules. She and the Director of IDSP also explained the reasons for including each module in the course (see discussion on pages 106 and 121 in the following chapter).

I interviewed one male teacher, Shafi Khan, who had taught the first core theme “colonial and imperialist bases leading development practices.” He entered IDSP as an auditing student with the degree of M.Sc. in Physics. He later became teacher/mentor in DS and MGD course. In some sessions of ADP courses, he was the co-instructor; he has served IDSP as a writer, editor, manager, and as Associate Director. At the time of the interview, however, he was not employed in IDSP. He left IDSP in 2006 but has been teaching courses since in IDSP as a visiting faculty member. Mr. Khan explained in his interview the rationale for including the first core theme in ADP. He explained the importance of his teaching module on the decolonization of IDSP learners (see discussion on pages 126 and 137 in subsequent chapters).

I interviewed another male teacher, Zaman Khan, who has taught “critical pedagogy and radical education” in several sessions of DS and MGD courses. He has been associated with IDSP since 1998. He also entered as a student in IDSP with a degree of M.Sc. Physics. He started teaching the second core theme of DS, “critical pedagogy and radical education,” as a Teaching Associate. His other main contribution to IDSP is translation of some critical scholars’ work into Urdu. He is also a Lecturer in Balochistan University. In 2010, he established his own NGO, IDRAAK (Consciousness), with the help of IDSP. He is enrolled in a PhD program in the University of Balochistan. In his interview Mr. Shah explained the importance of his teaching module in the context of Balochistan’s education system. He explained the main purpose of his courses, namely to increase student awareness of the role of main-stream

institutions such as schools and media in promoting exploitation and marginalization of traditional communities (see discussion on pages 126 and 163 in subsequent chapters).

4.1.3.2.3 Interviews with IDSP learners.

I interviewed eight male and six female learners. Their basic profile is given in Table 4-3. All male learners were participants of DS courses during 1998 to 2007; all female learners were participants of MGD courses during 2003 to 2007. At the time of the interviews three male learners (Iqbal Khan, Rafi Nisar, Muhammad Ajaz) were employed by IDSP (one was permanent while two were temporarily employed in short-term projects), four (Rashid Zehri, Muhammad Nadeem, Arbaz Khan, Naseem Baloch) were working in the non-government sector, and only one male learner was working in the government sector; he is a Lecturer in a government college. Three female learners (Fehmida Baloch, Nafeesa Akhter, Abida Naseem) were employed in IDSP (all three were employed in a short-term research project as research associates), two learners, Rabia Ali and Rafia Ahmed, were working in the NGO sector, and one learner, Sabeen Baloch, was working in a government school as a primary teacher.

IDSP male and female learners, besides their transformative perspectives on notions of development and traditional knowledges, shared enthusiastically their experiences of gender sensitization and self-transformation. They shared actions they have taken at personal, family and community levels to address the issues of gender discrimination, exploitation, corruption, nepotism and so forth. They recounted events in which they challenged authorities at family, work, and community levels. They explained the nature of challenges they have been facing since they graduated from IDSP in practicing their alternative ideas in new work places and in the communities. They shared their successes as well in influencing neighbours, family, and co-

workers with their innovative ideas (see discussion on pages 251 and 256 in a subsequent chapter).

4.1.4 Data Collection Process.

In grounded-theory research, data collection and analysis are interrelated processes (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). Analysis of data begins from the start because “it is used to direct the next interview and observations” (Corbin & Strauss, 1990, p. 6). In this study data were collected in two separate phases each of which lasted two months. The data collection process in the field is depicted in Figure 4-1 (see below).

In phase 1, I collected and analyzed documents related to IDSP and ADP such as IDSP conceptual papers, project reports, evaluation reports and studies, three popular DS themes, a list of teaching modules in DS and MGD courses since ADP was launched, and IDSP learners’ data bases. In this phase I conducted a total of nine interviews. I started the interviews with three male and two female learners by using a convenience sampling technique. Their interviews helped in improving the subsequent sample selection strategy and interview guidelines of both teachers and administrators.

In phase 2, I conducted a total of twelve interviews. I used purposive sampling to select the administrator and theoretical sampling to select the learners and teachers. However, I did not follow any particular order in conducting interviews in phase 2 as I had already finalized the sample selection strategy and interview guidelines in Phase 1. I interviewed two teachers, one administrator, four female learners, and five male learners. In this phase I also collected documents which were actually the artefacts of IDSP stakeholders’ development actions and

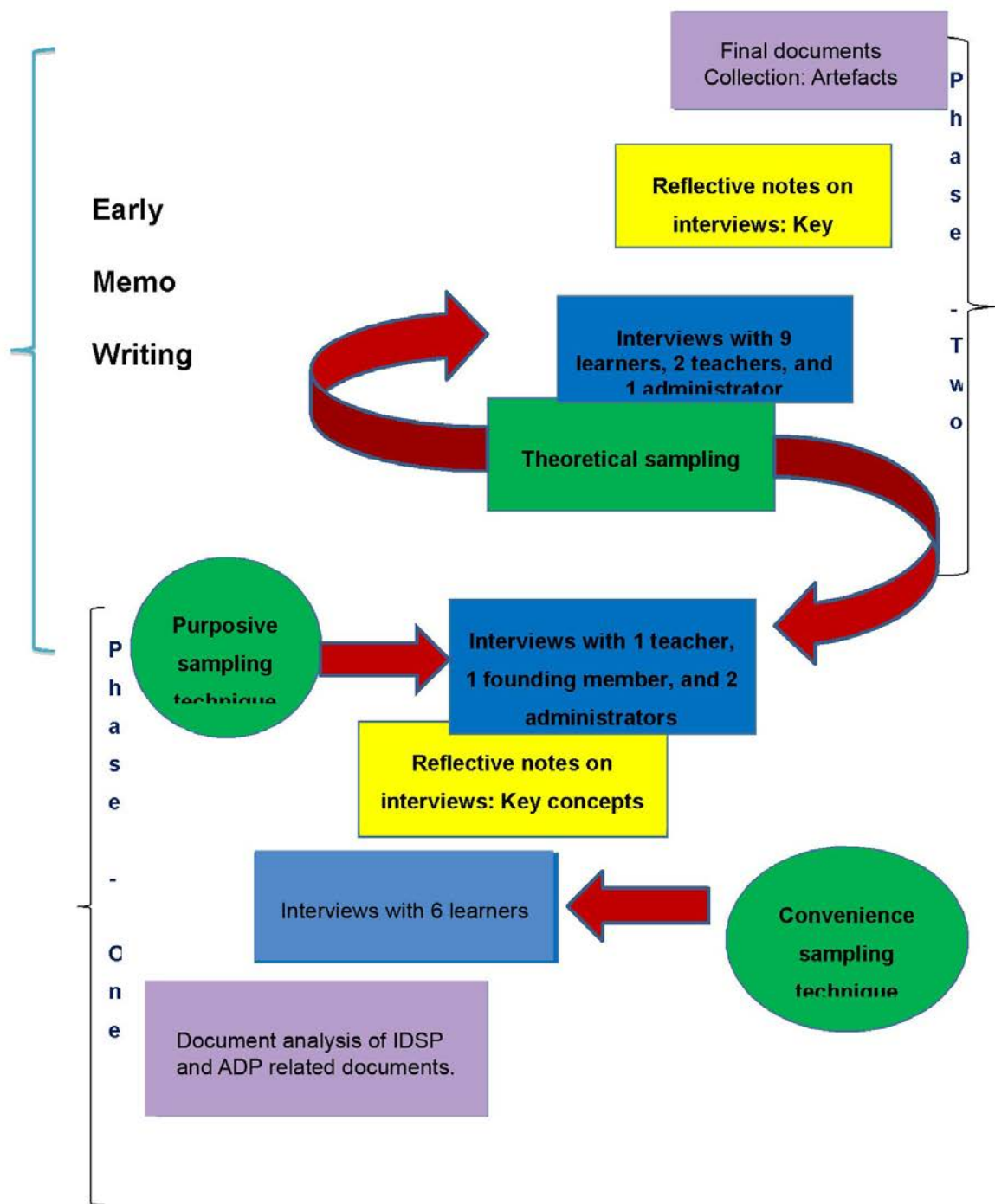


Figure 4-1: Data Collection Process in Phase 1 and Phase 2

initiatives. I stopped the interviews when I found significant repetition in emerging concepts and themes appearing in the research findings in my reflective memos indicating thematic saturation.

4.2 Data Analysis

Given the complexity of the research focus (i.e., transformative perspectives and actions), the complicated nature of the research process, and the extensive scope of data, I analyzed and organized the data in four different stages. All four stages are illustrated in Table 4-6.

Table 4-6: Stage of Data Analysis

	Stage 1	Stage 2	Stage 3	Stage 4
Phases of Data Analysis	During Data Collection	Substantive Coding: Open and Axial	Theoretical Coding	Selective Coding
Mode of data analysis	Manually	Digital: Atlas ti 5.0	Manually	Manually
Data Formation	Disassembling and Reassembling	Disassembling and Reassembling	Reassembling	Reassembling
Analytical Tools	Content Analysis and Constant Comparison Method	Constant Comparison Method	Content Analysis and Constant Comparison Method	Content Analysis
Phases of Memo Writing	Initial Memo Writing	Advanced Memo Writing	Theoretical Memo Writing	Theoretical Memo Writing

In stage one, I analyzed data on the basis of key concepts emerging in phase 1 and phase 2 (see Figure 4-1). At first, I pulled major themes from the interviews of male and female learners in phase 1. Then, in phase 2, I sought to identify all specific, relevant data and amalgamated the key concepts emerging across the individuals. Throughout the data-collection process in both phases I was taking field notes and writing reflective notes on each interview. I used the recorded interviews and field notes to write my reflective memos on emerging concepts and themes. Later, I reassembled the data into five different categories (see Table 4-7). These categories are context, content (nature of knowledge constructed in ADP), condition, learning

process, impact in the forms of emancipation through alternative knowledges and actions, and consequences, both positive and negative. These categories helped me axially code data in the next stage of data analysis. These categories revealed perceived cause-and-effect relationships in the data set. At this stage I manually analyzed data by reviewing the interview recording and transcriptions.

In stage two, I used Atlas ti 5.0 in the course of data analysis and organization. In the first round of this stage, I “read between the lines” of each interview transcription. I disassembled the data set into 150 open codes. Following the constant comparison method, in the second round, I reviewed the quotations under each open code and merged 150 open codes into 100 open codes. After substantive data coding I developed a framework in which I created the relationship between open coding, axial coding, and theoretical coding. The use of Atlas ti in this research gave me control over whole data set. I was able to retrieve data by themes, frequency, participants, families, and categories. However, the use of software made the research process slower for me; therefore, I decided to restrict its use to open coding, axial coding, data retrieval and data organization. The use of Atlas ti helped in developing a framework for data analysis in the third stage.

In stage 3, I retrieved the whole data set in an MS-Word file and divided it into 4 different sections keeping the main research questions and core categories at the centre of my focus: (i) course context, creation, evolution, contents, modules & themes, purpose, framework; (ii) transformative learning processes; (iii) perspective transformation; and (iv) emancipatory actions, implications, challenges and change. I retrieved the data for each core category and

Table 4-7: Key concepts by main categories that emerged across the individuals

Categories	Key Concepts
Context of IDSP stakeholders and IDSP'ADP courses	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Vibrant indigenous youth influenced by social and political situations and radical literature occurring [emerging] in neighbour countries 2. Indigenous people socially and politically aware 3. Learning and experiences of local community-development workers are discredited in the mainstream development sector of Balochistan
Contents of ADP	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4. Merger of critical perspectives and practices of development and education 5. Core themes and modules 6. Course design
Condition established to facilitate discourses	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 7. Optimal learning environment/ Active learning environment <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Resource material translated into Urdu ➤ Horizontal student-teacher relationship 8. Residential theoretical sessions 9. Field practices 10. No grading system
Processes adopted for facilitating discourses and constructing emancipatory knowledges	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 11. Self-actualization 12. Gender sensitization 13. Decolonization 14. Re-inhabitation 15. Conversion of negative feelings into positive attitudes and actions 16. Praxis 17. Networking with local people and local institutions
Impacts on stakeholders	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 18. Critique of mainstream notions of development and institutions of education 19. Constructed alternative perception of development 20. Reassessed the character and role of indigenous knowledges 21. Human capabilities developed 22. Character building as a result of embracing edifying knowledge 23. Personal change/positive change/transformation/self liberation 24. Change in career choices 25. Emancipatory actions at various levels
Consequences	<p><i>Positive changed occurred at micro level</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 26. Breaking the culture of silence at family level 27. Disseminating alternative knowledge at family and community levels 28. Acceptance of alternative ideas at family and community level 29. Committed to local issues and local people 30. HRD developed in Balochistan <p><i>Stakeholders challenges in practicing alternative ideas</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 31. New identity of learners is questioned: different name tags are given to IDSP fellows 32. Frequent changes in jobs 33. Misfit with government and mainstream institutions 34. Searching a balance between tradition and modernity 35. Dependence on foreign funding

jotted down the properties of each core category. These properties helped me understand levels in the theory and categories. This was the final stage of data reduction in which “major modifications reduce as underlying uniformities and properties of each category are discovered” (Cohen et.al., 2008, p. 494). In this stage the tone and contents of each chapter of the dissertation were set.

In stage 4, I identified the core code in the case of this research study as “An alternative development education model for empowerment³ of indigenous youth and genuine development of indigenous communities in Balochistan.” In this final stage I developed the relationship between the core code that is “empowerment of IDSP stakeholders as a result of their identity formation in IDSP’s ADP” and other core categories such as their problematic and unique context, the emancipatory development education program of IDSP, transformative learning processes consisting of discourses, deconstruction and reconstruction, de-learning and re-learning, and demystification and liberation, praxis, emancipation of transformative and alternative knowledges, emancipatory actions, and consequences of embracing and living such emancipatory knowledges.

4.3 Ethical Consideration

Keeping in mind that “Ethical considerations pervade the whole process of research” (Cohen *et al.*, 2008, p.57), throughout the research process I tried to respect ethical codes of honesty, compassion, openness, respect, and fairness. As a first step, I contacted the head of the institution, the Director of IDSP, to gain her approval for conducting my research on its ADP courses. After obtaining approval from her as well as from the non-medical research ethics board of Western University (see Appendix 4-C) I informed the IDSP Director and two administrators, who at the time led ADP’s Development Studies and MGD courses, about my

travel plan and anticipated research activities. On my arrival at Karachi, I first met the Director of IDSP and shared the details of my research activities with her. She promised to offer full support and offered me accommodation in the IDSP hostel and work space in an IDSP office. Realizing the particularly unstable political environment and poor law and order situation in Pakistan I accepted her offer with a condition that I would pay IDSP for expenses⁴ related to using their facilities.

After compiling a list of potential research participants, and with the help of an IDSP resource person, I personally contacted the research participants. I explained to them the purpose of my research, and requested their voluntary participation in the study. During the conversation I gave foremost priority to their interests and willingness to participate in the study, their availability for a one-on-one interview session, and their preferences of interview sites.

Sites for the interviews were mutually agreed upon between myself as researcher and the participants. Precisely because of my central concern with the issues of comfort and safety I readily accepted three withdrawals from scheduled interviews on the request of IDSP learners. Most of the research participants who were situated and working in Quetta city chose the IDSP office for the interview site. I conducted twelve interviews in the IDSP Quetta office, two interviews in Lourds Hotel Quetta, four interviews in the IDSP project office in Lasbella District, two interviews in the IDSP office in Karachi, and one interview in an IDSP temporary office in Ziarat district.

Prior to each interview I shared the letter of information (see Appendix 4-D) with them and received their written consent (see Appendix 4-E). I started each interview in a conversational mode. I avoided a narrow questions-and-answer mode; instead, I worked to create an open and comfortable environment in which participants could refresh their memories

and easily reflect on their learning experiences in ADP courses. I gave them ample space to reflect upon their perceptions and experiences in the course and in their community-development practices. It was amazing to see that some learners who started the interviews in an aggressive mood, due to some disagreements they had with IDSP on some of its initiatives and policy decisions, finished their interviews acknowledging that IDSP through its ADP courses had facilitated their learning the “truth” and in discovering important alternatives.

Throughout the research process I made every effort to act ethically with everyone in the research field. I tried to gain goodwill and cooperation from participants as well as from other IDSP staff with whom I was living in the IDSP hostel. I did my best to treat all my research participants with respect, dignity, and compassion. At the end of each interview session I thanked the participant and asked for her or his opinion about participation in the research.

To deal with issues of privacy and confidentiality I use pseudonyms to ensure, to the best of my ability, anonymity for participants. It was impossible, however, to conceal the identity of some participants (e.g., the director). The interviewees were put at minimal risk by stating that during any stage of their interview they could retract what they said, if they believed that a statement might cause them harm. The interviewees were also told that what they chose to say “off the record” would not be used in the research and would not be divulged to anyone in or outside the IDSP.

4.4 Delimitations and Challenges

Since research participants for this study were selected only from the district of Balochistan, the data in this study are highly contextualized to the Balochistan region. The specific outcome, that is, the particular alternative model of development education for empowerment of indigenous youth and genuine development of marginalized communities examined in the study cannot be

generalized; however, this model has potential to be adapted and used by other marginalized communities that have experienced colonization. IDSP's ADP model is not a standardized model; therefore it cannot be replicated. However, there are some particular aspects of this educational model that can be taken as inspiration; for example: its framework, its emphasis on both theory and practices, its strict positioning on principles of equality in every aspect of human existence including gender, ethnicity, and religion, its efforts to create horizontal relationships between teachers and students, its central focus on teaching students history, its strategy to give students both mainstream and critical perspectives, its emphasis on teaching critical perspectives, the absence of a grading system, networking, teaching skills, several modes of teaching, access to widely varying teaching, resources, and instructional media.

Long interviews as a means to understand transformative perceptions and actions, did have serious implication and challenges. The process of transcribing and translating all interviews into English consumed a significant amount of time and energy. Being a second-language speaker of English I had my doubts regarding my ability to translate ideas accurately into English. One step I took to minimize errors in my English rendering of the interviews was to use the services of a native speaker to review all the English transcriptions to locate errors.

IDSP is oriented toward a focus on "process" rather than "target or results;" its central focus is on "learning from the process" and then "taking action." This working philosophy was reflected across the spectrum of their work whether it was project programming or institution building. There is no doubt that this working principle helped IDSP in creating some very original and innovative projects, but it has made the whole process of documentation very complicated and messy. In such a context it is very hard for researchers to collect accurate information from relevant documents. Since IDSP does not follow uniform or standardized

procedures, its projects keep changing as they proceed or reach completion. It was hard to find in its archives the clear evidence and artefacts of the final product of its projects. To find statistics on its graduates from ADP courses, for instance, I had to consult a number of people and several documents. As a result, to understand the details of ADP courses such as their goals, objectives, strategies, and procedures I had to review multiple documents as these were slightly different for each cohort in terms of delivery and contents. To deal with such issues I consulted with many IDSP fellows, both former and current, and I verified the information with the research and evaluation reports undertaken to study IDSP's projects and program.

Since I was a novice in the field of grounded theory I faced several challenges throughout the research process. Grounded theory is an evolving research methodology and grounded theorists have used it in different ways. As a new grounded theorist a researcher tries to follow the research processes set out by pioneers of the methodology. However, as I entered the field I realized several challenges in practicing GT procedures explained by the founders of GT. I am certain that the nature of my research required grounded theory; however, my use of GT was not confined only to the specific methodology steps that Strauss or Corbin has suggested. Nonetheless, I am confident in saying that my research is grounded in the primary data and that I followed the principles and procedures of GT even if I used them in a different way and in a different order by employing specific strategies and borrowing some other research and analytical tools.

5 A Brief History and Description of IDSP's ADP

This chapter reviews the creation and development of IDSP and the ADP courses. First, I provide key features of ADP's courses and the profiles of both ADP courses including their objectives, operational strategies, and profiles of their participants. Next, I explain influences that played a key role in the creation of IDSP and ADP courses. I then describe the process by which ADP was created, its framework, and distinguishing features of its design. Finally, I elucidate the evolutionary process of ADP courses.

5.1 Key Features of ADP Courses

The following key features of ADP courses are clearly evident in documents⁵ analyzed in the course of the study and in interviews with research participants:

- ADP courses are divided into three sessions: a theoretical orientation session, a “practices” session, and a “reflective discourses and practices session.” The first and third sessions are the residential sessions during which learners study and live at the course site for at least 4 to 6 months.
- The course duration, on average, ranges from 9 to 12 months.
- All permanent faculty members of IDSP consist of local community practitioners including community-education promoters, community educators, or people working otherwise at the “grass-root level.”
- All faculty members have been and continue to be intensively involved in designing the course structure, in searching for and collecting teaching and learning materials and resources, in the selection of course participants, and in the process of course implementation.

- Some national and international intellectuals, scholars, and experts in the fields of imperialism, peace education, postmodern development, and women development played key roles in the creation of ADP courses and in the development of the first IDSP faculty.
- Since 1999, ADP has been led by its faculty members.
- There is no fixed curriculum for ADP courses.
- No academic credentials are required to attend ADP courses. However, during the learner-selection process, IDSP faculty focus on candidates' concern for and interest in social and community issues. For admission, a candidate has to submit and explain to the selection committee in the context of an interview process a "research/project idea" (s)he hopes to pursue.
- Cooperation, horizontal unity between teachers and students, equality among different ethnic and religious groups, and constructive male-female working relationships are core principles of ADP courses
- IDSP strongly discourages competitiveness in its program. Students who complete all the requirements of the course simply graduate from the institute. They are not given any grades or marks. At the end of the academic session they are awarded certificates in a graduation ceremony.

5.2 An overview of ADP's Development Studies & Mainstreaming Gender in Development (MGD) Courses

Since 1998 IDSP has offered nine Development Studies courses for both males and females in the Provinces of Balochistan and Sindh and six MGD courses for females of Balochistan only. According to my best estimate⁶ more than five-hundred young people have graduated from the

IDSP. Table 5-1 shows that between 1998 and 2011, almost two-hundred males and three-hundred twenty females have participated in the Development Studies and MGD courses of ADP.

Table 5-1: A Complete Profile of ADP Courses in Pakistan (1998-2011)

S. No	Course Type	Course year	Total number of participants	Male participants	Female participants
1	Development Studies (Pilot Testing)	1998	26	19	7
2	Development Studies	1999	24	22	2
3	Development Studies	2000	30	21	9
4	Development Studies	2001	46	33	13
5	Development Studies	2003	25	20	5
6	Mainstreaming Gender in Development	2003	20	0	20
7	Mainstreaming Gender in Development	2004-05	100	0	100
8	Development Studies	2005	30	30	0
9	Mainstreaming Gender in Development	2006	36	0	36
10	Mainstreaming Gender in Development	2007	40	0	40
11	Development Studies	2007	30	22	8
12	Mainstreaming Gender in Development	2008	37	0	37
13	Mainstreaming Gender in Development	2009	30	0	30
14	Development Studies	2010	18	11	7
15	Development Studies	2011	27	21	6
	Total number of IDSP Learners	-	519	199	320

Sources:

- (i) IDSP Resource Centre. (2009). IDSP'ADP Course History. IDSP Quetta Office.
- (ii) Database of IDSP's 10th and 11th Development Studies Courses, 2010-2011. IDSP Quetta Office.
- (iii) IDSP Resource Centre. (2011). MGD Database 2003-2007. IDSP Quetta Office.

Despite the fact that most ADP courses were offered in the capital city of Balochistan, Quetta, people from all over the country have participated in ADP courses. Almost four-hundred fifty-four males and females from eighteen districts of Balochistan, fifty-one males and females

from four districts of Sindh, seven males from four districts of Punjab, six males and females from four districts of Pakhtunkhwah, and one male student from FATA (Federally Administered Tribal Areas) came to IDSP to attend these courses (see Table 5-2).

Table 5-2: IDSP Learners Profile by Province (1998-2007)

Province	Number of Districts (IDSP Learners Location)	IDSP Learners (Total)	IDSP Learners (Male)	IDSP Learners (Female)
Balochistan	18	454	157	297
Pakhtunkhwah	4	6	4	2
Punjab	4	7	6	1
Sindh	15	51	31	20
FATA	1	1	1	0
Total IDSP Learners	-	519	199	320

Source:

- (i) IDSP Resource Centre. (2009). IDSP'ADP Course History. IDSP Quetta Office.
- (ii) Database of IDSP's 10th and 11th Development Studies Courses, 2010-2011. IDSP Quetta Office.
- (iii) IDSP Resource Centre. (2011). MGD Database 2003-2007. IDSP Quetta Office.
- (iv) Districts of Pakistan. Retrieved from <http://www.pakinformation.com/district.html>

5.2.1 Key features of Development Studies course.

IDSP Development Studies courses have been offered in the mode of “development projects.”

The major goals, objectives, and operational strategies of these projects are shown in Box 5-1.

These courses were offered to both males and females; however, female participation was very low in comparison to male participation (see Table 5-1). On average, the proportion of females enrolled has been less than 20% in Development Studies courses. According to one IDSP administrator, gender discourse was missing in the development studies courses of ADP.

Therefore, in 2003, IDSP decided to offer an MGD course designed only for the young women of Balochistan.

Box 5-1: Key Features of Development Studies Course

Objective

Develop a critical mass of highly motivated lifelong learners in different areas of development practices.

Operational Strategy

Theoretical Phase - 15 weeks

[The] Theoretical phase consists of mainly self-growth, gender and development concepts, critical analysis of broadly accepted ideas and practices of development, institutional analysis of [the] formal education system, socio-cultural and religious discourses, and alternative development approaches for social change.

During this phase students are given opportunity to improve their IT skills, English language skills, writing skills, and presentation skills.

Practice Phase – 20 weeks

In practice phase I, participants are assigned different field-related projects in their respective districts. At the end of the theoretical phase, practice phase II starts. In it participants are assigned field work in their home districts aimed at networking with local government and institutions and interacting with family and community members. At the end of [the] practice phase they develop a learning paper on their field project and present in a seminar in front of IDSP faculty and course participants.

Source:

- (i) IDSP An introduction: 10 years of IDSP (1998-2008). Retrieved on May 05, 2013 from <http://adp.yolasite.com/resources/Profile%20IDSP%20ten%20year%20PDF.pdf>
- (ii) IDSP Academic Prospectus: Academic profile of learning, defining the process and content. Retrieved on May 05, 2013 from http://adp.yolasite.com/resources/IDSP_Prospectus.pdf

5.2.2 Key features of MGD course.

MGD courses are also delivered within the framework of development projects. Basic information including the goal, objectives, and operational strategies of MGD projects is presented in Box 5-2. Since 2003, four MGD sessions have been undertaken in seven different districts of Balochistan.

Box 5-2: Key Features of ADP's MGD Course

Objectives

Develop human resources for pro-poor, pro-community development processes, build a cadre of young women professionals to spark public awareness on women issues at grassroots level and advocate such development planning at the district-government level.

Operational Strategy

Theoretical Phases – Approx. 6 months

Theory phase I consists mainly of self-growth, gender and development concepts, socio-cultural and religious pathologies, political economy of institutions, critical analysis of development practices, and alternative development approaches for social change.

Theory phase II is actually a capacity-building phase in which young women learn the skills of planning, budgeting, fund-raising, networking, and partnership-building. They learn how issues are turned into projects and how support groups are developed. In this theory phase, they study local government structure and its functions.

Practice Phase – Approx. 6 months

In practice phase I, participants are assigned different field-related projects in their respective districts. At the end of the second theoretical phase, practice phase II starts. In it participants are again assigned field work in their home districts for networking with local government and line departments, understanding women's participation in community and family decision making processes; and finally for conducting an issue-based seminar at the district level.

Sources:

- (i) A Policy Paper, "Women's Empowerment in Challenging Environments: A Case Study from Balochistan". Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex.
- (ii) Six Monthly Project Progress Report on "Human Resource Development for Mainstreaming Gender in Balochistan," IDSP-Pakistan.

Only young girls and women from Balochistan province have participated in these courses. According to a survey of MGD learners conducted by IDSP in 2010, almost two-hundred sixty-three women in Balochistan have graduated from MGD courses. A detailed profile of MGD graduates by their districts, age group, and current education level is given in Table 5-3. According to survey findings, women of ages fifteen to sixty-five participated in MGD courses. Table 5-3 shows that most of the participants of MGD courses were very young

(between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five years) and at the time of admission in MGD course most had completed their matriculation.

Table 5-3: MGD Graduates in Balochistan by Districts, Age Group, and Education Level (2003-2007)

Total Number of MGD Graduates by Districts	
Khuzdar	54
Mastung	32
Lasbella	15
Pishin	34
Sibi	40
Qilla Saifullah	14
Quetta	13
Total Number of MGD Graduates by Age Group	
15-20	67
21-25	91
26-30	36
31-35	6
36-40	1
41-45	1
Total Number of MGD Graduates by Education Level	
Elementary (Primary and Middle)	14
Secondary (Matriculation)	65
Higher Secondary (Intermediate)	55
B.A. or B.Sc.	52
M.A. or M.Sc.	16

Source:

(i) IDSP Resource Centre. (2011). MGD Database 2003-2007. IDSP Quetta Office.

5.2.3 A comparison between DS and MGD courses.

Within a short time period (2003 to 2007) a relatively large number of girls have graduated from the MGD course when compared to the number of male graduates from the Development Studies course. A significant influence contributing to high female participation rates is related to the design of the MGD project, which is structured into two phases. In the first phase, twenty young girls complete all the requirements of the course in one year and then, in the second phase, they became a “mentor” and teach the same course to one hundred young women in their respective districts for the same time period. In effect, the program uses a variation of the “train the

trainers” approach. In the following years, 2006 and 2007, two more sessions of MGD courses were offered at the district level in Balochistan and almost eighty more women participated in these. However, this is not the only characteristic that differentiates the MGD courses from the Development Studies courses; other differences played a major role in the success of MGD courses. For example, a shift in course contents occurred from critical-theoretical frameworks to “factual” and experience-based knowledges and practices, as well as a change in the structure of theoretical sessions in which the three original themes were broken down into modules, including some new modules related to gender, family history, and local government that were added to the MGD course. These changes in both ADP courses are discussed in detail in the next section of this chapter.

During their interviews, IDSP administrators and teachers mentioned some specific features of MGD courses that distinguished them from the Development Studies courses. They explained ways in which teaching women in MGD courses differed from teaching male students in Development Studies courses. In comparing the audience of both courses an IDSP administrator who served the institute as a Project Manager and teacher observed that, with respect to political background, women’s projects were very different, and in an interesting way. He pointed out that:

When we were working with young men we had to deal with their previous baggage like some of them were socialist, some were Islamists, and some were related to something else, but women in our course had not developed such baggage; therefore, there were not as many difficulties for us. Women’s issues were very genuine; their issues were related to internal families or outside families, extended families, and social issues. There was so much space for growth. (Akbar Rizvi)

One female teacher who teaches the “Self” and “Gender” modules in both MGD and Development Studies courses shared several examples to illustrate how teaching the “gender

module” to male groups is a different experience from teaching the same module to female groups in the MGD course:

Both males and females are taught the same material and contents and the procedure of teaching is also the same. The only difference is that I feel relaxed when I teach the gender module to female students; naturally I feel that I am talking about myself and since all the listeners are women they therefore pay full attention to the material. However, I have to be a bit conscious when I teach gender to males . . . Male students react mostly on those gender concepts which are related to religion. They bring on only those religious references which have provisions for males. They use religion to sustain their exploitation and oppression (exploitative and oppressive behaviour) of women. For example, the first question that comes from male students is always about “permission of four marriages for males in Islam.” I have been teaching the gender module for so many years, I swear to God that there is not a single session with male learners in which they had not raised this topic. Why don’t women raise or ask this question of four marriages? They don’t ask because they know this topic/issue is the one of the reasons for their oppression. But, men always raise this topic because they want to sustain it; they openly claim that it (four marriages) is allowed for us in our religion.

Another important feature of the MGD course that distinguishes it from the Development Studies course is related to the expectations of IDSP from its learners. According to the IDSP Director, one of the expectations IDSP holds for its learners is to build connections with people, communities, and public issues. In her view, when compared to male participants, female participants have been more successful in fulfilling this expectation. In support of that perception she observed that:

Girls are more rigorous than boys and intense in connecting with issues even after they have graduated and are working on their jobs. So my expectation from learners that they connect with society seems to be better fulfilled in the case of girls than it is in the case of male learners. There are many male learners who might fulfill this expectation but mostly I see this in women.

Another IDSP administrator also mentioned this specific feature of the MGD course; he explained how female participants’ capacity to build traditional connections helped in running the MGD course smoothly. In his view, the connections female participants build during the

courses were not borrowed from the West. According to him, “They (female IDSP learners) made their own building blocks, and the course ran its own way” (Akbar Rizvi). He further commented that this experience revealed the potential and capacity that tradition has for the growth of women in that society.

5.3 Key Influences Contributing to the Establishment of IDSP and Evolution of ADP Courses

After spending several years in the delivery of social and community-development projects in the different provinces of Pakistan, particularly ten years in Balochistan, Dr. Bakhterai, came to realize that the talent of youth in Pakistan has been misused by different vested-interest groups. Her first-hand working experience with young community-development workers of Balochistan provided her an opportunity to realize their true potential, their shortcomings and strength, their personal and family lives’ realities, their distinct cultures and traditions, and their personal, cultural, political, and economic issues.

Interviews with the founder of IDSP and analysis of IDSP-related documents reveal the influences of three key elements that stimulated the founder of IDSP and her team to establish IDSP as a non-profit institute for the purpose of launching a locally-based development education program in Balochistan. These factors are discussed in the following section and illustrated in Figure 5-1.

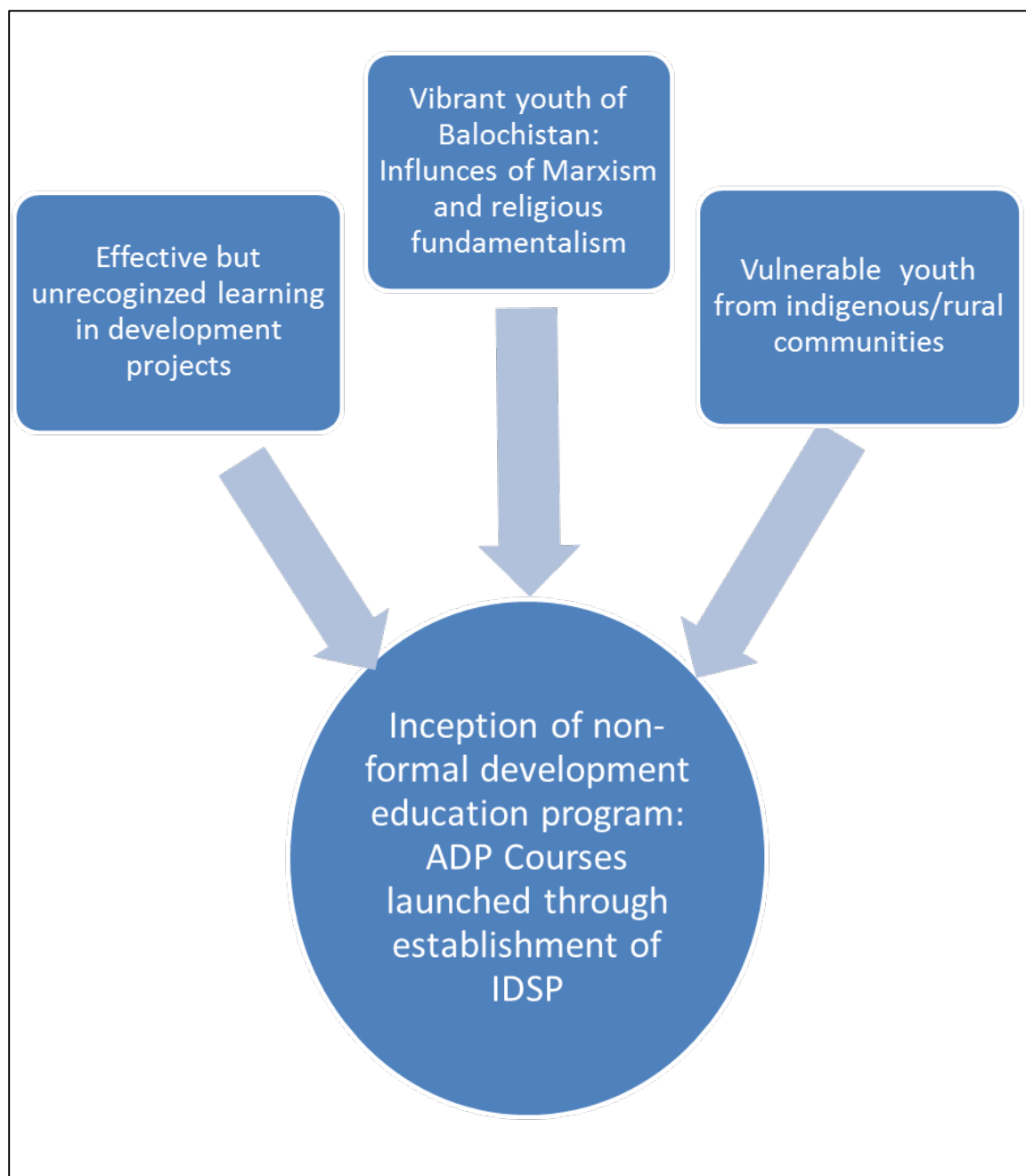


Figure 5-1: Key influences contributing to the establishment of IDSP and creation of ADP

5.3.1 Effective but unrecognized learning: A pitfall of short-term community-development projects.

Dr. Bakhteari, founder of IDSP, shared her working experience in community development in Pakistan when I asked about the rationale behind launching the ADP program. She said that during her community-development work she observed that community-development workers who had worked with her in Balochistan performed extremely well and left an important impact on the development projects in which they were involved; however, she felt that after the completion of the projects they had no future or permanent footing in the development sector.

Dr. Bakhteari explained:

During my development work in Baluchistan, I saw the young people of Balochistan doing incredible work in short-term development projects. These young people used to take full interest by working hard toward the accomplishment of such projects within a specified period; but unfortunately there were no acknowledgements of their learning or their labor/dedication on completing the projects. I saw them doing excellent work; they completed all phases of projects from planning to implementation, impact and assessment; they did excellent work. But their work cannot receive accreditation because it did not belong to the formal sector. "Because it was a project and you have been given salaries for doing your job, now it is completed, okay, good bye, now go home;" this is a common attitude towards the young community-development workers.

Dr. Bakhteari believes that during the implementation of projects, most community-development workers are highly engaged and go through a learning process. She argued, however, that such learning is always unrecognized in the development sector of Pakistan.

Reflecting on her development practices in community-development projects she observed:

It was not just community-development work that young people completed; their learning, practices, research, intellect, reflections, hard work and dedication was also part of that work. All of this is part of their learning but this learning cannot be accredited or recognized because they did not take the admission in your institution, or they were not graduated from the university or there was no space available, or there was no one to accredit that learning; therefore that learning is "pointless."

To give such learning accreditation and recognition Dr. Bakhteari saw the need to establish an academic institution. She recalled, “I felt an immense, sincere sentiment to establish an organization (IDSP) in order to create space or opportunities for youngsters, so that they may participate for their betterment.”

5.3.2 Sensitive geographic location of Balochistan: The vibrant background of the people of Balochistan.

The other significant factor contributing to the development of ADP courses is strongly linked with the vibrant background of the people of Balochistan. Almost all research participants as well as documents analyzed reveal that, in comparison with those from other parts of Pakistan, the people of Balochistan, particularly youth, were immensely influenced by successive waves of Marxism in Russia on the one hand and Islamic fundamentalism in Afghanistan and Iran on the other. These highly conflicting waves of social (including religious) and economic ideology have raised consciousness among them; however, according to Dr. Bakhteari, they have failed to solve their problems. Research participants stated that people of this province, because of their geographic location in the region, which makes them simultaneously neighbours of Afghanistan, Iran, and Russia, are more politically and socially aware than people from other parts of the country. One IDSP learner claimed that “everyone [in the course] knew what exploitation really is. You can consider this our strength or weakness but it is a fact that a child of this place is substantially more aware about political matters as compared to a child who lives in Karachi or Lahore” (Muhammad Nadeem).

In the early days of her development work in Balochistan Dr. Bakhteari had realized this distinct “situational awareness” of its people. In the concept paper of IDSP, submitted to the Asia Foundation in 1996 for assistance in establishing it, she presented this distinct feature of the

people of Balochistan as one of the key rationales for establishing the institute. In the concept paper for IDSP she summarized key dimensions of the problems to be addressed in the development sector of Baluchistan in the following way:

- Waves of Marxism and fundamentalism have raised consciousness among the youth but have failed to solve problems of development.
- Politically aware socially conscious young college and university graduates are now looking for ways to promote development, but are held back for lack of skills and credentials.

The reflections of IDSP stakeholders, particularly its learners, on what they learned in ADP courses validate the importance of and need for such courses in the traditional society of Balochistan. One learner who participated in the first course of Development Studies (DS) in 1998 shared his views on the relevancy of the course to the realities of people of Balochistan.

He recalled:

Although this course was theoretical, it emotionally touched the people of Balochistan because of their realities. There is a basic reason for our emotional attachment; it is associated with the geographical situation of Balochistan..... [The]USSR's invasion and its consequences in Afghanistan and the Islamic revolution in Iran left their impact on the people of Balochistan. So, [our] first time reading and discussing radical perspectives in the course motivated us to take ownership of those radical ideas. In other words, the soil was fertile for the IDSP..... Before taking this course, we were not clear; this course provided us opportunity to clarify our thoughts and perceptions about political changes happening at that time around us. For example, before the course, we (learners) could be easily labeled as Socialist or Communist if anyone of us talks about an Afghani Club or we could be easily labeled as a fundamentalist if we would have favored the Iranian revolution. At that time, youth were politically and socially aware; they were conscious, in other words; the seeds were ready for harvesting. So this course gave us some hope. (Muhammad Nadeem)

5.3.3 Indigenous youth with no prospects: The vulnerable state of youth in rural/indigenous communities.

The third influence that contributed to launching ADP through establishment of IDSP in Balochistan is the situation of youth in Pakistan who are at risk of becoming extremists and forever losing any possibility of pursuing an academic or professional career. This “radicalization trap” played a crucial role in clarifying the need for an alternative model of education in the form of ADP courses for the youth of rural or indigenous communities of Pakistan. The IDSP Director discussed in detail the vulnerable situation of indigenous youth in Pakistan. In her view, the youth of Pakistan are the greatest assets of the country but unfortunately this segment of the population has been misled by different vested interest groups and as a result, many Pakistani youth are involved in serious crimes of violence and extremism. In her interview she insisted passionately that:

We should not forget that the majority of these youngsters are the real assets of Pakistan. This is its own asset and it is not some kind of borrowing; they are neither aid nor loan from any foreign sources, and they are in majority. Since we had not provided them proper training, clear direction, love, and we did not pay attention to them and nurture them; now, you can see that they are being used in our neighboring countries for unlawful activities and to that extent being exploited like [disposable] tissue papers. They are not being used as table tissue paper that we use to clean our face and nose but the one we use in our bathrooms. They use them in the toilet and just flush them. This is the way in which our youth has been exploited. Jails are filled with them, roads are filled with their dead bodies, streets and desolate places are also filled with their dead bodies. This is what has happened. They all are young; old men are not being killed. They are our strength to whom we could not give proper guidance to convince them about wrong or right.

She blamed the public education system also for such crises. In her view, it is imperative for youth to understand their status in today’s social structure (Cote, 1996), and to be aware of the historical context of that status. She believes that the current education system of Pakistan has not only failed to provide youth clear direction for their career choices but it has also failed

to teach them their own history which, in her view, would have helped them understand their current situation in today's crisis.

Interviews with IDSP stakeholders (mainly its teachers and learners) on their background information validate the Director of IDSP's argument regarding lack of constructive guidance for youth in the formal education system and their inclination toward extremist and violent activities. Indeed some research participants openly acknowledged that, prior to attending ADP courses, they were inclined toward fundamentalist ideology and were attracted to joining some extremists groups. As one research participant put it:

Actually, we all were moving towards extremism; we were trying to do whatever was available at that time. To find our path we were ready to do anything. So, that is her huge favor to us that she gathered those young people who were sensitive about social issues, and that was actually the main qualification criteria she has set for admission in the Development Studies course. So, the people who were in this course were those who have lava inside them, who knew the differences but had no direction (Arbaz Khan).

The background information on IDSP stakeholders also reveals that most of the male learners, prior to attending IDSP, wanted to pursue a career, but, due to lack of proper guidance, faced problems in choosing a career path. Therefore, they were either pursuing multiple academic careers or they were switching career paths from one discipline to another. They stated that they faced numerous challenges in choosing a clear career path. For example one IDSP administrator who had been an IDSP learner before becoming a teacher and administrator in IDSP shared his challenges in pursuing an academic career. He recounted:

I was unhappy with so many things in my student life. I was involved in student activism and used to work in the newspaper in the evening; I used to write as well. When I was doing [my] B.Sc. I realized that what I was doing would not help me, therefore I decided to do a B.A. as well in economics and sociology. I chose these subjects because I was interested in economic and social issues. It did not really help me so I decided to go into the field of Law and I did Law. I thought that Law might be a way that would help me to fight for our rights. I

have always been involved in human rights activism since 1994. So, in that sense, I was going in a very reactionary mode, but the IDSP brought a positiveness and optimism to my thoughts. (Nadir Baloch)

It is evident that they were looking for guidance from whatever resources were available to them at that time. In their words, they lacked leadership and guidance in the environment in which they were living. Another learner shared his story and acknowledged IDSP's role in helping him achieve a professional career in the development sector of Balochistan. He said:

When I passed my Bachelor exams I met an Army captain; I asked him, when we were travelling together, what subject should I do my Masters in and he replied, in International Relations (IR); so, I did my Masters in IR. Another friend of mine advised me to take admission in law, so I took admission in Law as well. But it was Dr. Bakhteari who gave us a clear direction. Our lives have been influenced by her; she has made a contribution and we all acknowledge this. (Arbaz Khan)

These hard-core realities are evidence of failure in indigenous communities on the part of both the political and public-education systems but they laid the groundwork for IDSP to develop an alternative model of education for the youth of disadvantaged communities of Pakistan. As one of the IDSP learners observed eloquently, “youth of our community are looking for spaces and they are in search of a vision since they do not know where they should take direction.” In his view, IDSP provided them a learning space for creating their own visions and it has shown them the starting point of their journey. In the next section I describe the creation process of IDSP's ADP courses.

5.4 Creation of IDSP's Academic Development Program: A Merger of Critical Perspectives and Indigenous Community-Development Practices

IDSP's ADP is a unique alternative development-education program in terms of its creation process, design, and operational strategies. This course integrates community-development practices and critical theoretical perspectives. It came into existence when Dr. Quratul Ain

Bakhteari (a community-development practitioner) and Dr. Eqbal Ahmad (a critical theorist) decided to combine their specific and distinct expertise (her 25 years of community-development experiences in disadvantaged and marginalized communities of Pakistan and his 30 years of writing in the area of anti-imperialisms) in a non-formal development education program in Pakistan. Their detailed profiles are given in Box 5-3.

In 1994, Dr. Bakhteari met Dr. Ahmad at a seminar in Karachi, Pakistan. It was at a time when Dr. Bakhteari had received recognition in the international-development community for her ground-breaking Girls Education Project in Balochistan. Through this project in collaboration with her team she built more than 1800 girls' schools in 4000 villages of Balochistan. Successful implementation of this project broke one of the infamous myths about rural/traditional communities of Pakistan, namely that there is no demand for female education in rural/traditional communities of Balochistan. In the early 90s, Dr. Ahmad, on the request of then Prime Minister of Pakistan, Benazir Bhutto, returned to his country from the USA to establish in Islamabad a revolutionary university named Khaldunia. However, due to political interference, that university project never materialized, despite the fact that Dr. Ahmad had developed a complete plan incorporating all major and minor logistic details of Khaldunia.

After the seminar, Dr. Ahmad contacted Dr. Bakhteari to set up a meeting with her to learn more about her experiences in development work in Balochistan. At this meeting, she revealed her intention of creating a learning space (IDSP) in Balochistan for young people of Pakistan. She expressed her idea of a theory-practice based development-education program in which learners would be trained as development activists, practitioners, and thinkers.

Box 5-3: Basic Profiles of IDSP Director and Creator of ADP Core Themes

Dr. Eqbal Ahmad

Dr. Eqbal Ahmad was one of the major activist scholars of the 20th century (Barsamian, 2001). He was a historian, political scientist, anti-war activist, writer, and journalist. According to Dr. Edward Said (1999), “[h]e brought wisdom and integrity to the cause of oppressed peoples” (para,1).

Dr. Ahmad was born in India in 1934. He migrated to Pakistan in 1947. He moved to the USA in mid 50s to study American history, political science and Middle Eastern Studies. In early 60s, he went to Algeria, joined the National Liberation Front (NLF), and worked with Frantz Fanon (Barsamian, 2001). During the 60s, he taught history and political science at Cornell and Chicago. During the 70s, he was Senior Research Fellow at the Institution for Policy Studies. In 1982, he became the professor at Hampshire College, Massachusetts. He taught there until he became emeritus professor in 1998.⁷

Dr. Ahmad was one of the most vocal opponents on American policies in Vietnam, Cambodia, Palestine, and Afghanistan. He also critically analyzed those fundamentalists’ and nationalists’ ideologies in which promises of religion and nationalism are being abused by “their proponents descended into fundamentalism, chauvinism and provincialism” (Said, 1999, para. 2). “Terrorism”⁸ and “Jihad”⁹ are the subjects of his interest in the majority of his final writings and public lectures¹⁰ in which he defined both terms for both Muslims and Non-Muslims.

Dr. Ahmad was the companion of such diverse figures as Noam Chomsky, Edward Said, Howard Zinn, Ibrahim Abu-Lughod, Richard Falk, Fred Jameson, Alexander Cockburn and Daniel Berrigan. Edward Said (1999) called him “the shrewdest and most original anti-imperialist analyst of Asia and Africa”¹¹ while Noam Chomsky in an interview remembered him as a “responsible intellectual”¹² of the 20th century.

Dr. Quratulain Bakhtari

Dr. Quratul Ain Bakhtari is a community development practitioner and educationist in Pakistan. She began social work in a refugee camps after the '71 war in Pakistan. In the 80s, she led a UNICEF sponsored housing project installing pit latrines for three hundred thousand refugees in Orangi, Karachi (ASHOKA, 1999). In the mid 80s, she moved to Balochistan to launch a girls’ school movement. She established more than 1800 government girls’ primary schools in rural Balochistan, resulting in the enrollment of 200,000 girls — a record in Pakistan’s history (Bakhtari & Kakar, 2004). In 1998, she established the IDSP. In the words of Dr. Bakhtari, IDSP “is a movement that opens Learning Spaces for the young majority population of Pakistan to empower them for generating and regenerating responses to the existing challenges of education, learning, livelihood, peace and pluralism” (UdaipurTimes, 2012).

Since the inception of IDSP she has conceptualized and completed several community development projects in Balochistan. Her work has focused on education, sanitation, relief projects, and social activism. She was elected to the Asoka fellowship in 1999. She was the recipient of the Skoll Award for Social Entrepreneurship in 2006 (IDSP, 2006). She was one of the 100 prominent women in the world who were nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize in 2007.¹³

In her interview she explained why she put emphasis on including both theory and practice in the course design. She said one of the dilemmas of local community development is related to the fact that local people who become academics and professionals (i.e., familiar with theoretical traditions) eventually leave their communities and do not want to remain in touch with their roots. Conversely, people who do not possess any academic and professional degrees and work in development projects (“practicing” development education) with government and non-government agencies are being exploited in the development sector as development “labourers.” She noted:

At present he/she [a development worker] is working as a labourer or if he/she becomes an intellectual or manager then he/she does not want to touch his/her land (roots) and he/she connects himself/herself with the Western powers in order to obtain “vehicles” and projects.

She shared this concern with Dr. Ahmad as well and showed her interest in combining both theory and practice in one course. During that meeting, she told him that she knows the “practices” very well but she had trouble situating these practices in a theoretical framework. So, she requested that he provide a suitable theoretical framework grounded in community organization theory and in the philosophy of social change and development. Dr. Ahmad later developed the theoretical framework of ADP courses in the form of three core themes. These themes are still regularly taught in ADP courses. The themes are:

- Colonial and Imperialist Bases Leading Development Practices
- Critical Pedagogy and Radical Education
- Spirituality, Culture, and Social Change

As a result of mutual efforts the first ADP course, “Development Studies,” was launched in 1998 for both male and female community-development workers in two provinces of Pakistan, Balochistan and Punjab. In Balochistan it was implemented and executed by IDSP while in

Punjab it was launched by another NGO, the Society for the Advancement of Higher Education (SAHE). This first development-studies course in both provinces was funded by the Asia Foundation. However, after the first session, this course was discontinued in Punjab. Ever since, however, IDSP has been continuously offering DS and MGD courses in various districts of Balochistan and some parts of Sindh province.

5.5 Framework of ADP: Teaching and Learning Process

During their interviews the IDSP Director and administrators explained the teaching and learning process in ADP courses, explanations that helped me understand the overall conceptual framework of ADP. They repeatedly emphasized “self-actualization,” “building connection with communities,” and “understanding the world” in historical perspective. They explained the learning process in ADP courses as occurring in three stages:

Stage One:	Know your self
Stage Two:	Know your community and connect with your community
Stage Three:	Know the world

In short, the learning process in ADP courses expands from “self” to “globe.”

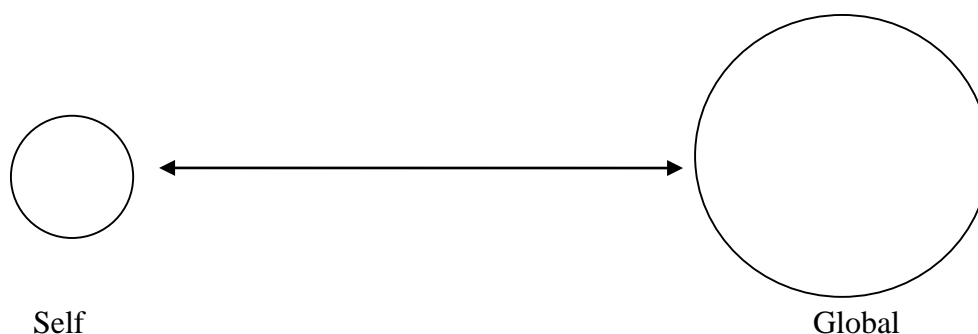


Figure 5-2: Learning Process in ADP Courses- Self to Globe

The founder and Director of IDSP shared the conceptual framework of ADP that she always had in her mind for the development or transformation of an individual in the ADP

courses in the following terms: “While establishing an organization, it was my dream that there should be a triangle in order to personify an individual.” She explained that in this triangle (see Figure 5-3) an individual would first construct his or her identity through *self-development* (left corner of the triangle) and *professional development* (right corner of triangle) and finally reach at the point where (s)he would be able to practice his or her own ideas by establishing an institution (apex of the triangle).

The IDSP Director explained in detail each component of this triangle (self-development, professional development and institution-building) and the overarching cumulative phenomenon/objective, namely, IDSP-learner identity formation. She stated that the identity of an IDSP learner should be formed in a way that would not boost her or his own ego; rather it should be formed so as to orient the learner toward planning for “others.” The emphasis is placed on “others.” And who are the relevant “others?” They are family, community, and marginalized groups of the community. She explained that in this triangle “young people will build a mirror and they will develop themselves by looking into that mirror. So, they should make the mirror and carefully consider the reflection in that mirror; and, who is the mirror — their people, their community, that is the mirror.”

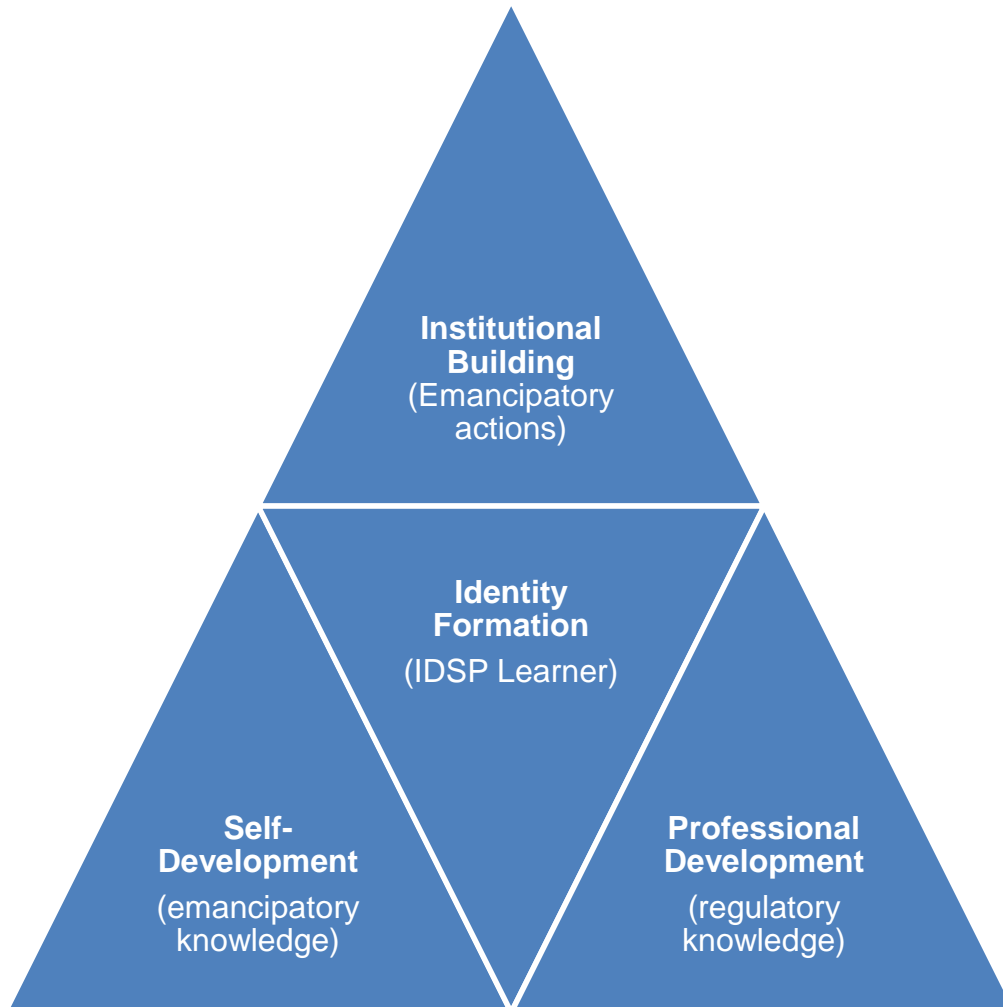


Figure 5-3: IDSP Framework of ADP

The first component of the triangle is self-development. In ADP, self-identity is first developed through a process of self-actualization in which participants in the courses revisit assumptions and beliefs they have embraced over the years about their own personality and identity. They identify their weaknesses and strengths and assess their actual potential. Then, by learning about dynamics of behaviour¹⁴ and communication skills, their “new self” starts to develop. However, the journey of self-development is furthered by participation in gender discourse, religious discourse,¹⁵ and development discourse and by constant interaction with

their own community during field assignments. Dr. Bakhteari interpreted the process of self-development as follows:

First, you should identify the weaknesses in your “self,” such as “ I am sentimental, sensitive or I become furious with petty matters;” therefore, you should first exercise control on “yourself ” and, if you are successful, then your “self” will be developed. Next, work with other people; by working with others you will feel different kinds of shocks which will make you stronger, and when you feel strong and “stop crying,” then your personality will emerge and your identity will be formed. After your identity formation you will be able to choose your profession and you will know what you want to do.

The second component of this triangle is professional development or professionalism.

The IDSP Director said that professionalism starts when the self is developed. In ADP, participants have to learn several kinds of skills such as writing, presentation, computer use, planning and budgeting, and organization and management of field activities. In ADP, a discrete module on communication skills and types of behaviour¹⁶ is taught to all participants to develop their public communication skills with co-workers, community members, and governmental officials.

The apex of this triangle is institution-building. The IDSP Director insisted that “we want our learners to learn institution-building.” She said that in ADP individuals come with their own ideas and they test out their ideas and work on them. She said that “though it [a learner idea] is not a big or special idea, not a perfect idea, gradually it starts to grow.” The IDSP Director believes that at some point learners should be able to theorize, research, and integrate their practices by themselves. She thinks that “these practices will create a fire and curiosity in them and they will be eager to know the impact of their work.” In her view, that curiosity and eagerness should lead them towards institution-building. However, the institution-building she envisioned for her learners is quite atypical. She clarified:

We want our learners to learn institution building but not typical institution-building; the institution building [that we want them to learn is one] in which you can house your own growing program and accommodate your own idea(s). And, for grooming your ideas, whatever the kind of capacity, whether you are doing it from your home or your car or sitting on a road or renting a room. There is no [necessary] condition; rather what is really important is the understanding of systems, how do systems work, what do I need to continue my idea; so that is the third point of triangulation, and then again it will connect with self and then you will reach professionalism. So that was the method we have created in our course for youth development.

The Director IDSP also characterized the ADP framework in the following seven steps:

1. Know yourself;
2. Know your community;
3. Develop programs and plans;
4. Develop partnership with the communities;
5. Implement of programs;
6. Monitor; and
7. Analyze.

She maintains that all seven steps are guided by theoretical frameworks developed in the first phase of ADP and that learners are equipped with several kinds of skills and capacities so they can perform effectively in their respective professions.

She relates that, over the years, IDSP faculty have come to realize that IDSP learners have become very strong and clear conceptually but they don't know how to put that conceptual clarity into action. She said that "now we have gone extensively into action because our theoretical framework has already been demystified." In her views, "mystery has ended" because of information flow in You Tube and other on-line resources.

5.6 Evolution of ADP

In light of information collected from IDSP documents and interviews of IDSP administrators and teachers I will explain the evolution of ADP courses as I have come to understand it.

According to administrators of IDSP, the first Development Studies course was intended as a pilot test and was offered under the title of “Introduction to Community Development.” It is also referred as the “1998 Community Development Program (CDP). This particular course encompassed three thematic areas, Participatory Action Research, Organizational Theory and Management, and understanding Power Structures. The target audience of this pilot test was community-development workers who possessed a Bachelor or Masters degree. One IDSP administrator who had participated in this course as a learner shared the details of this course as he recalled them:

[the] 1998 Community Development Program (CDP) played a very important role in the development of ADP. CDP provided a strong foundation of the ADP program. The CDP was analyzed in the context of one question, “what should be the basis of a learning program if it is developed in Pakistan.” In the analysis of CDP, practitioners, academicians, community activists, and personnel from the establishment were included. CDP helped us to design the structure of ADP. (Nadir Baloch)

The first community-development program was delivered by some non-local experts in the field of education and development. In 1999, IDSP launched the second Development Studies course at the national level. Students from all over the country participated in this offering of the course. During the same period, IDSP developed its first teaching faculty consisting of local people who had participated in the first two offerings of Development Studies.

According to IDSP teachers and administrators who participated in the study, their own theoretical contexts emerged as a result of their continuous and rigorous participation in ADP

courses. They stated that they themselves explored many new things by “digging” in the literature, facilitating the discourses in theoretical sessions of ADP courses, and supervising students’ field practices. Accordingly, they introduced several changes in the ADP courses over the years.

It is evident both from my document analysis and interviews of IDSP teachers that the theoretical sessions of ADP courses have been revised almost every session since 2001. The first major change occurred in the 2001 Development Studies course when the core themes, designed by Dr. Ahmad and taught continuously in its original form in the first three offerings of the Development Studies course, were refined and taught in the forms of modules. In subsequent offerings of the course, contents of course modules were either revised or removed from the courses and new modules were also introduced in almost every session of ADP courses. A summary of teaching modules/themes in each offering of the ADP course is presented in Appendix 5-A.

The evolutionary process of ADP courses can be divided into three phases: Problematization of broadly accepted ideas, refinement by tempering critical ideology, and balanced and need-based programming: becoming responsive to local, social, and political realities (see Appendix 5-A). These phases emerged as a result of my analysis of information collected about the teaching themes and modules offered in each session of ADP courses and on the basis of IDSP stakeholders’ responses about their views on learning in the theoretical sessions of each respective course. Interestingly, responses of IDSP learners who participated in the first three offerings of the Development Studies course differ, to some extent, from responses of learners who participated in the remaining sessions. In the next section, I will explain how the ADP course evolved from IDSP’s initial efforts to promote revolutionary ideas toward tempering

critical ideology and eventually reaching what I call a “balanced and need-based programming phase.”

5.6.1 Phase 1: Problematization of broadly accepted ideas.

Phase 1 consists of three development-studies offerings including the pilot-test version. In this phase, in theoretical sessions, a module of “self” and three core themes were taught in the original forms designed by Dr. Ahmad. The highlight of this phase consisted of critical theoretical perspectives that were included in three themes. A review of teaching materials used in these themes reveals that ideas of many of the most dominant critical scholars and theorists of the 20th century were shared and discussed in these themes, scholars including Howard Zinn, Noam Chomsky, Eduardo Galeano, Paulo Freire, Ivan Illich, and Henry Giroux and others. In addition, some prominent scholars and revolutionary leaders of the subcontinent such as Gandhi, Mubarak Ali, and Ashish Nandi were also introduced in the theoretical sessions of these early offerings of the ADP course.

An IDSP teacher who has taught Theme 1, Colonial and Imperialist Bases Leading Development Practices in ADP courses for several years stated that this “development” theme was studied within an historical perspective that explores how, after the Second World War, “development” has been used as a tool to maintain colonizers’ power structures; he recalled that “it was quite interesting; it was a combination of a little bit of history and a little bit of current affairs happening in [the] existing situation; it was a completely new thing” (Shafi Khan).

Theme 2, Critical Pedagogy and Radical Education, critically reviewed the formal education system of Pakistan and discussed ideas of critical pedagogy and notions of radical education. An IDSP teacher who has taught this theme for many years in ADP courses remarked that not only were alternative notions and models of education discussed in the course but

practices were also generated around this Theme, and hence around alternative notions and models of education.

In Theme 3, topics concerned with “spirituality,” “culture,” and “social change” were combined. Besides sharing their local experiences students explored their family history and critically reviewed various traditional practices. A key feature of this theme was attention to case studies of some popular social movements and to life struggles of revolutionary leaders like India’s Mahatma Gandhi, Iran’s Ali Shariati, Cuba’s Che Guevara, and America’s Martin Luther King. The teacher who taught this, Spirituality, Culture, and Social Change theme explained the reasons for teaching the autobiographies of these revolutionary leaders. He said that life histories of these leaders were studied in the light of one question, namely, “what is that thing which brings a spirit or power in a human;” “how does that internal transformation take place in a person?” (Nadir Baloch) IDSP stakeholders believe that this theme offered the solution to what was problematized in the first two themes.

According to IDSP stakeholders, these critical perspectives were authentically alternative to the perspectives embodied in mainstream notions of development and education. Furthermore, traditional culture was utilized and examined, probably for the first time in the history of development-education in Pakistan. These alternative perspectives were shared and discussed at the local level with the “common people” of indigenous communities. One IDSP teacher explained the challenges of teaching critical perspectives in ADP courses in this way:

I think there was no such professor in any university of Pakistan who . . . tried anew to uplift the life-related topics of exploitation, aggressiveness, civilization and economy. Theoretical essays and substantial literature was there from authors such as Marxists and humanists. But to investigate them in this way, or to question the imperialist forces and their new forms that have arisen before us, wasn’t ever critically analyzed that way. (Zaman Khan)

These critical perspectives facilitated several critical discourses in ADP and imparted radical/revolutionary ideas among the participants in the course. As a result of learning such critical and radical perspectives some of the IDSP learners during this phase reacted strongly against real or perceived collaboration with “the establishment.”

As a result of reviewing the teaching material used in the theoretical sessions of this phase and on the basis of responses of research participants who attended the course during this phase, I have labelled this phase the “Problematization of broadly accepted ideas” phase (see Appendix 5-A). One of the major reasons for imparting critical views in this phase, in my view, is related to the fact that this phase marked the establishment of IDSP and the educational content most sorely lacking in *status quo* educational programs and institutions. Therefore, at that time, ADP was heavily influenced by IDSP’s critical ideological views, notably, challenge “the power structure” as well as “dominant notions of development and practices.”

5.6.2 Phase 2: Refinement by tempering critical ideology.

This phase consists of two DS courses and two MGD courses. One of the key features of this phase is the introduction of an MGD course for females in ADP. In this phase major changes were implemented in the structure of the courses and in the contents of teaching materials of theoretical sessions as well. I noted earlier that the first major change occurred in the theoretical content of the 2001 session when core themes were restructured into modules. However, these themes were introduced by removing some radical material, such as de-schooling, from the contents of the courses. The second major change occurred in 2003 when an important “gender module” was introduced in ADP courses. However, in two remaining offerings (2003-04 and 2004-05) during this phase not only were existing modules further refined but a new module examined religious discourse, in particular, the Quran — what it is and is not.

In the course of their interviews, IDSP teachers pointed out that the contents of each theme started to evolve and be refined during this phase. Some IDSP learners, especially those who participated in phase 1 explicitly label this phase as a “normalization” phase in the evolution of ADP courses. They believe that their reflections and their reactions on applications of critical ideology in “the real world” actually played a crucial role in the refinement, or as they call it, “normalization” of contents of ADP courses.

After realizing the impact of critical perspectives in inciting aggressive reactions to Phase-1 content in the case of a few learners and because of the radical shift in those learners’ perceptions and attitude towards family, society, and their academic and career choices, IDSP faculty reviewed the core themes and removed some of the particularly radical topics from the course content. De-schooling, for example, was completely removed from the course. One IDSP administrator reported that:

a number of radical things have already been removed/reviewed. One radical topic was about de-schooling that has been improved by using some new things. Now, people are talking about “collective learning” and they have been connected with this idea. (Akber Rizvi)

IDSP stakeholders link the “normality” of the course as they refer to it with “reality.” It seems that this refinement phase emerged after the reality check of trying to follow revolutionary ideas in their daily lives. In the absence of viable alternatives for practice and action, IDSP learners of Phase 1 faced hard realities.

Not only was this phase refined and tempered or “normalized” in the sense participants used the term by removing some particularly incendiary radical topics from course content and by reducing the emotive power of critical discourses in the classroom, it was also tempered by including some need-based topics in the courses. Stakeholders in IDSP programming since 2001

report they tried to make the contents of the course relevant to local realities and needs. One teacher observed:

In 2001, these themes got refined and then modules grew out of these themes. I think courses/themes have been changed over time according to needs, which is a good thing. It can be seen as more realistic. The things we were teaching in the beginning were not frequently discussed by the media. There were very few people who were working in this area. We had to make special efforts to collect relevant material. Now, anyone can find that kind of material; it is not difficult. In my view, over time, this course has been refined. (Shafi Khan)

This observation reveals that new modules were introduced to address local needs and issues; however IDSP also introduced new modules to improve the scope of the course and better target the learner audience. For example, gender discrimination and disparities are the biggest social concern of indigenous communities; therefore, IDSP introduced a gender module in both Development Studies and MGD courses. IDSP introduced this module in 2003 to initiate a gender discourse in ADP courses because this discourse was missing in the first three Development Studies courses. In 2003, IDSP aimed to develop a cadre of young females in the development sector in order to reduce the gap between male and female participation in the development sector of Balochistan. IDSP faculty knew that it was imperative to teach gender issues to both male and female students in ADP courses to achieve the most desirable results; therefore, IDSP included it in both types of courses.

Following the same rationale for increased relevance, a module consisting of religious discourse was also introduced during this phase because religion formed part of almost each discussion facilitated in ADP courses whether it was development discourse, gender discourse, or discourse on tradition and culture. Also, some parts of Balochistan are strongly influenced by and associated with political religious groups; students from those parts of the province came to the course with their own political and religious ideologies. Another significant reason for

including a religious discourse was the fact that youth from religious minorities (Hindu, Christians) were also taking part in ADP courses. IDSP teachers reported that, to demystify some of the religious myths regarding non-Muslims, particularly pejorative myths, IDSP encouraged participation of religious minorities in the course and facilitated critical religious discourse among all students.

5.6.3 Phase 3: Balanced and Need-Based Programming: Becoming Responsive to Local, Social, and Political Realities.

This phase consists of two sessions of Development Studies courses and two sessions of MGD courses. During this phase all four sessions of Development Studies and MGD were offered at the district level in Balochistan province only. At this time, a total of nineteen modules were taught, the greatest number of modules offered in ADP since its inception. A cursory overview of the titles of modules offered in this phase shows that most of these modules were relevant to the political and social circumstances of the country at that time. For example, during this time period, Pakistani media was liberalized and private TV channels became available to the general population; therefore, a module dealing with the “media role” that was introduced in phase 2 became a permanent teaching module in phase 3. Also in pursuit of relevance, a “local governance” module was introduced in this phase after certain changes in the administrative structure of local government. Modules on “community development” and “basic health and guidance for health” introduced during this phase addressed issues of core interest to local communities. The module on “youth activism” was introduced to divert youth energies into positive and constructive activities.

A key feature of this phase is that the module of “Spirituality, Culture, and Social Change” was removed from the courses as a whole module. However, I concluded based upon my analysis of the content of recent offerings of both Development Studies and Mainstreaming

Gender Development programs, the main contents of this module were merged into other modules and discourse analyses. Statements of IDSP stakeholders and the overview of the modules taught in this phase reveal that most of the modules of this phase were based on needs of the communities, needs grounded in realities of their political and social circumstances, and in IDSP faculty's realistic understanding of theoretical constructs.

5.6.4 Influences that played a crucial role in the evolution of ADP.

Three key influences played a role in the evolution of ADP courses from 1998 to 2007: i) IDSP faculty's constant review of courses informed by participant feedback, ii) a new influx of information in the early 2000s due to open access to the internet and because of a media boom in Pakistan that occurred as a result of a significant degree of media deregulation at the national policy level, and iii) changes in Pakistan's overall socio-political scenario and in its local-governance system.

According to IDSP stakeholders, ADP courses have been reviewed every year in the light of the faculty's own reflections on their teaching and learning practices. These reviews have taken into account ongoing student feedback on courses as well as careful observation of students' reaction to and experiences with embracing and practicing critical ideas in their personal, academic, and professional lives. One administrator associated with IDSP since 1998 reflected that:

We, of course, used to review our learning practices each year and in the light of that review we used to analyze weaknesses and strengths of the course with the feedback of the learners, their actual practices, and the faculty's reviews. So, by using a feedback mechanism we used to design the next course, in this way, every year the course was improving. (Nadir Baloch)

Basically, IDSP firmly believes in "reflective practices" and continuously uses "learning-based" approach in community-development projects. Throughout the development sector

generally, NGOs use “outcome-based’ approaches to community-development projects and programs; however, in IDSP, emphasis is always put on the “process” — and especially on learning from development processes in which students/community workers become involved. One IDSP administrator observed: “We have never focused on outcomes that will result from this exercise; we focused only on the process.¹⁷ We thought that if the process gets better then the outcome will automatically get better” (Akbar Rizvi). The IDSP Director and other administrators of IDSP as well firmly believe in “reflective practices” and that is why ADP courses have not only been revised every year but the institutional structure of IDSP has also been restructured over the years to meet needs as “institutional learning” has occurred.

According to IDSP stakeholders, ADP courses have evolved due to their efforts to make course content more realistic and hence relevant. They stated that they tried to make IDSP courses realistic by addressing community needs and by adapting to changes happening in the development context. For example, the Musharraf regime introduced a new local-government ordinance in 2003. As well, Pakistani mass media was significantly liberalized in 2002. As a result, in subsequent course offerings IDSP included modules on the “local government system” and on “media and literacy” in the Development Studies and MGD courses. According to IDSP stakeholders, relevant contexts change at the time of each course delivery and play a crucial role in the effectiveness as well as in the evolutionary process of any development-education program. One IDSP administrator underlined the importance of “context”¹⁸ in the evolution of ADP courses:

The context sometimes changes with time. For example, eight years ago we were emphasizing poverty alleviation but currently “Peace and Youth” are the biggest issues of our society; five or ten years ago these issues were not that extreme. So, these elements are very important and must be considered in future IDSP courses. The course should be aligned with the changing context of the

society; courses should respond to the situation. A stagnant kind of course should not be taught. (Nadir Baloch)

5.7 Summary

In this chapter, I presented an overview and historical background of ADP courses. The statistics on IDSP graduates show that over the last fourteen years, on average, thirty-five students per year have graduated from the courses; this is a noticeable achievement in a country where only eight percent of the population of tertiary-attendance age participates in tertiary education (UNESCO, 2011). The most astonishing and encouraging aspect of ADP is the participation in large numbers of young females from the rural areas, particularly, from the traditional communities.

The idea of this development-education program was neither imported from the West nor imposed from any national or international development organization. It is a combination of theory, practice, and reflective practices. Although course contents have been revised, the structure of the program consisting of the theoretical phase and praxis has been strictly followed in each session. The original three themes developed by Dr. Ahmad have played a crucial role in facilitating the discourses on development, culture, formal education and wisdom, religion, and social change. The ADP's conceptual framework of youth empowerment is unique in terms of its emphasis on transformative understanding of the learner's "self" and inclusion of "other" in each aspect of learner's "identity formation." This framework, in my view, encompasses both emancipatory knowledge and regulatory knowledge, precisely the central argument of De Sousa Santos' (1999) Postmodern Critical Theory. In the next chapter, I focus on dynamics of three main discourses (development, gender, and indigenous knowledge and practices) facilitated in the courses.

6 Emancipatory Knowledges

This chapter focuses on IDSP stakeholders' transformative views on two key core values of IDSP, its aim to challenge mainstream and dominant notions of development and its efforts for revitalization of indigenous knowledge in the traditional society of Balochistan. The first section of this chapter presents IDSP stakeholders' critique and their alternative perceptions of the "notion of development." The second section explains IDSP stakeholders' perspective on transformation of their traditional culture and their views on revival of indigenous knowledge in Balochistan.

6.1 Section I: Perspective Transformation on Notions of Development

Before presenting IDSP stakeholders' alternative perceptions on notions of development it is necessary to ask why they took a stand against mainstream notions of development and development practices. In this section I present IDSP stakeholders' critical views. I then share their transformative perspectives on development.

6.1.1 Critique of mainstream development notions and practices

IDSP stakeholders explained the following problems they associate with the mainstream or Western notions of development. Such notions, they believe:

- i) are irrelevant to local realities; they are not applicable in rural communities of Pakistan;
- ii) are limited in perspective: they are fictitious, posing as universal truths when they are not;
- iii) are imposed, not evolved; people and systems were not prepared for globalization, certainly not for "instant globalization;" and
- iv) promote mainstream symbolic aspects of development.

6.1.1.1 Dominant and mainstream development is irrelevant to local realities.

IDSP stakeholders think that the dominant Western notion of development is not applicable in rural communities of Pakistan. They believe that these mainstream ideas force local people to introduce tremendous changes into their communities and life styles. One IDSP administrator said that, over the years, IDSP faculty had realized that “development at the local level will always be compromised no matter how impressive the development model that is being used” (Akbar Rizvi). In his views, local people will always try to change their areas to imitate cities just to fit that mainstream model of development.

IDSP administrators feel that, because of irrelevant models of development, people in local communities are constantly placed in a problematic state that they refer to as “the problem of underdevelopment.” According to one IDSP administrator this “problem of underdevelopment” becomes very complex when local people try to find a solution to it within the spectrum of mainstream notions and practices. He explained that, to overcome the problem of underdevelopment, one is supposed to think and act in a certain way that is usually referred to as modernization or Westernization. In his view, local people in Balochistan perceive modernization as the solution to their underdevelopment and they have expectations for and from this “solution.” He further added that local people think that “if they become this [modern] then their problem will be resolved” (Wahid Khan).

However, IDSP faculty believe that the mainstream notion of development and the lifestyle it promotes have “leakages” and perpetuate several issues in both Western and non-Western societies. According to IDSP faculty, what is needed is “to create a critical sense within people to understand that [although] these [dominant ideas and practices] are pursued...; they are

not genuine solutions” (Wahid Khan). Therefore, to understand this problem deeply, IDSP faculty facilitates development discourses around the following questions: can the western notion and process of development be acceptable or applicable in their society/community? If so, how can they localize mainstream ideas of development? How can they build up a notion of development within their own culture and traditions? (Shafi Khan) In their views, if local people would stop ignoring and suppressing their own local practices, which they have been doing for centuries, then alternative options will automatically emerge before them.

6.1.1.2 Dominant and mainstream development is not a universal truth.

In the view of IDSP stakeholders, the word “development,” in a general sense, has only a positive connotation. It is understood and promoted as a positive thing; therefore, all of its aspects were also understood very positively whether it was economic development or national development. For this they blame mainstream institutions, especially formal education systems and media. One IDSP teacher said that “we have been indoctrinated into the belief that ‘development’ can never be a negative thing and ‘development’ is only a positive thing and you cannot criticize that” (Shafi Khan).

IDSP faculty believe, however, that mainstream notions of development do not equate to a universal truth. They said that even before attending this course they had realized the narrowness, incompleteness, and limitations of mainstream notions of development. However, the knowledge they had about “development” prior to ADP courses, they acknowledged, was very limited. The critical perspectives on development in ADP courses had broadened their views and benefitted them in their community development practices. Shafi Khan emphasised that “it is very important, particularly for community development workers to broaden and

enhance their perspectives about development and not to enter this field with narrow ideas. It is essential for us to avoid narrow or mainstream ideas of development.”

6.1.1.3 Dominant and mainstream development was imposed; it did not evolve.

After realizing the strong views of IDSP stakeholders on dominant development perspectives and practices, I specifically asked about those features of mainstream development which have benefitted human lives through progress in medical science and which have brought significant changes in everyone’s life styles due to major scientific developments in assistive, information, and communication technologies. Interestingly, I received mixed responses from the research participants on such potentially positive outcomes of modern development. Almost all of them acknowledged the benefits of medical science and the valuable role of assistive, information, and communication technologies in contemporary human life. However, they strongly criticize scientific inventions that have been extensively used for killing humans. In the views of one IDSP teacher, “Science has identified the quick ways of killing people of this world.” In his views, “Science is presenting warfare as a form of game.” IDSP faculty undoubtedly accept the role of modern science in today’s world; however, there are certain things associated with modernization that they critique. As one participant put it, “Being a living human being we cannot reject modernity but there are certain aspects of modernity that we must see critically.”

The other major IDSP critique on modern scientific development and globalization is linked with weak or flawed rules and regulation which were used to introduce modern medical science and corporate globalization in Pakistan. With respect to medical science development, one learner said that developed countries have established a proper and strict system for marketing and distributing medicines; however, in Pakistan, governments have failed to

implement a transparent system. He said “In Pakistan, I can go to any medical store and buy any kind of medicine I want. I know in China (and in developed countries) without a doctor's prescription you cannot buy medicine from a drug store” (Naseem Baloch). In their views, the government of Pakistan has failed to institutionalize such transparency, which sometimes caused unbearable harm to common people.

Their mixed views toward modernization show that they do not — cannot in fact — deny its benefits, but nonetheless feel that it was imposed on them. They are in favor of it as long as it affects their lives through an evolutionary process. As one IDSP learner said very clearly, “I believe that a change always comes by evolutionary process/action. Change cannot be imposed, for example globalization was suddenly imposed on us; we were not prepared for that, [that’s why] there are negativities [associated with it]” (Rashid Zehri).

6.1.1.4 Mainstream development is symbolic development

There are some specific features of mainstream development that were deeply criticized by almost all research participants (IDSP administrators, teachers, and learners). In general, they describe these features as symbolic features of mainstream development such as modernization, capitalism, and materialistic development.

IDSP learners, in particular, criticized people’s and governments’ attitudes toward materialistic development. They criticized provincial and city governments’ investments in the construction of high-rise buildings, five-star hotels, shopping centres, bridges, and roads. They argued that materialistic development can easily catch people’s attention and that’s the reason governments focus on only this particular aspect of development. However, in their views, such materialistic development does not make any difference in a society where every month hundreds of people are killed in ethnic, political, and religious violence. They presented the

example of the city of Karachi, which is the hub of trade and considered the heart of the Pakistan, where many flyovers, bridges, and shopping centres have been built in the last few years; however, in this city every day, for almost a decade, dozens of people are murdered in targeted killings.

In their view, making a lot of money, building bungalows, buying expensive cars, and wearing Western clothing are not true development. In ADP courses they learned that such development is not real development and that it only favours modernization in the context of savage capitalism (Soros, 1998). IDSP administrators believe that modernization or westernization emphasizes symbolic and superficial things (“status symbols,” as it were) and does not allow people to question their own situation and understand the value and strengths of their own roots. IDSP wants its learners to construct their own model of development based on their own reality, and therefore believes it should not *be borrowed* from the West. According to the IDSP Director, the Western model of development is too expensive for this world to sustain. In her interview, she offered an idea of genuine development that she views as possible by reconnecting with one’s grounded realities:

Modernization or westernization is not bad provided it is done/built on your own; it is fine, if it is built on your own resources. It (modernization) should not be borrowed and it should not be superficial or emphasize only symbolic things; this is actually happening a lot right now and this is what they have to de-learn. The emphasis on [materialistically] symbolic things does not allow you to go into the deeper [questions and realities]. And how to come back to one’s original reality, that is one thing; all these things are coming and it is important to understand that journey.

6.1.2 Alternative notions of Development perceived by IDSP Stakeholders.

IDSP stakeholders explained their perceived notions of development in a variety of ways. For example, they explained it in terms of implications for the personal level, local level, and global

level. The IDSP Director explained it both in an ideological or philosophical form and in a practical or functional form.

When I asked, “what does it (development) mean to you? Or how do you define the word “development,” most participating IDSP learners (students), responded that real development is “development of your intellect.” However, most of the administrators relate the notion of development to humanism, humanist values, and humanity. Humanism and humanist values, in IDSP’s ADP, are defined in terms of humans’ unlimited potential for growth, human freedom and autonomy, of equity and equality, and of human responsibility both to self and others. Taylor and Cranton (2012) referred to these humanist values as humanist assumptions which, they claim, are “inherent in transformative learning theory” (p. 6).

In terms of development at the local level, all IDSP stakeholders put emphasis on pro-people and local-relevant development projects and programs. The IDSP Director and other administrators, in the light of their own community development practices, shared a philosophy of doing development education at the grass-root level. Their alternative notions of “development” focus on:

- intellectual development,
- humanism, humanist values, and humanity, and
- development relevant to local realities - local needs, local context, local agenda, local priorities.

6.1.2.1 Development as Intellectual Development.

“Intellectual development” was the most common response among all IDSP learners as their alternative notion of development. They emphasized development of critical and analytical minds in their society. While they were explaining this notion they were actually comparing it to

materialistically symbolic pursuits and goals (construction of high rise buildings, promoting high socio-economic status for some in society) and the agenda of Westernization or modernization at the center of mainstream development. Instead, they emphasized human development, but not in the sense in which it is generally understood in the field of national development and development education. For example, human development is generally taken as synonymous with educated, healthy, responsible “human resources” for increasing already high economic growth rates. IDSP learners instead emphasized human intellectual development, not specifically for development of the country, but for the sake of the individuals’ own enlightenment or liberation.

By the word “development” they refer to the following human capabilities: high level of intellect, critical thinking skills, combination of both intellect and personality development, conscience, thoughtfulness, wisdom, developing broader perspectives, adaptation of knowledge and skills, learning new things, cognitive development, emotional development, keeping one’s mind positive, clear and clean thinking, ability to convert negative things into positive things, giving awareness, bringing change, better understanding, mental progress, and understanding of systems (see Box 6-1).

IDSP learners argued that intellectual development based on critical thinking sets you free from false pre-conceived ideas and can become a primary source of change/transformation in you. One female learner believes that “real development occurs when you change by using your own mind or intellect” (Rabia Ali). In her view, this kind of change makes you active naturally and you act not because someone has told you to do so, but, now, because you understand that it

is necessary to take certain steps if you want to make any difference in your own life or the lives of others.

Box 6-1: Intellectual Development as an alternative notion of development

In my view, development means a person's level of intellect must be high, his or her critical thinking skills must be developed, and he/she must consider and acknowledge development as collective development rather than personal development. (Rafi Nisar: IDSP Learner)

Making more money or building a house is not development. A person should be developed intellectually too; his or her consciousness must be developed as well . . . he/she must be thoughtful and wise as well as conscious about the decisions (s)he makes in his/her life like what decision should be made and what should not be made. (Sabeen Baloch : IDSP Learner)

Only building high rise buildings, roads, and bungalows is not development; it is not [real] development. To develop intellect is real development. . . I think, adaptation of things/knowledge/skills with any respect is actual development. (Nafeesa Akhter: IDSP Learner)

One kind of development is intellectual or emotional or cognitive development like development of your own, to keep your mind positive, clear . . . There is another kind of development which is about giving awareness, bringing change, converting negative things into positive things, so, that was the kind that we studied here. . . bringing change, bringing change through using your mind, that's real development. When a person changes himself or herself then he or she will try to make efforts. (Rabia Ali: IDSP Learner)

Real progress is your mental progress. If you don't progress mentally, this (materialistic) development is of no use. For example, our leaders have money and degrees but they don't educate their citizens. They keep them limited. I think they are not developed. They will not develop so long as they don't change their mentality. . . I'll quote an example that if you are developed and if someone tries to misguide you, you won't follow him. You'll say that you are your own leader. As long as you keep following others, you'll never develop. (Fehmida Baloch: IDSP Learner)

In my thinking the power of mind is more than power of arms . . . To take man out of fear is mental development. (Rafia Ahmed: IDSP Learner)

Being an individual, everyone should study these systems, analyze them, and search a way forward that should benefit all [social] levels: self, family, and community; it should bring balance, equity, equality, and justice. (Iqbal Khan: IDSP Learner)

In the view of IDSP learners, the intellectual development of a person greatly reduces the probability that others will misguide you; one learner said you will not follow others blindly if

you are developed in a real sense. In her view, the development of intellect greatly enhances one's potential power over one's destiny; she said "you will never develop until you stop [blindly] following others" (Fehmida Baloch). IDSP learners believe in the power of a critical and analytical mind because it gives one strength to get control over one's own life. One female learner concluded "the power of mind is greater than the power of arms" (Rafia Ahmed).

IDSP learners were speaking from their own lived experiences. After the course, most of the participants, particularly learners, realized they had developed an enhanced capability for analytical and critical thinking which helped them both in their personal and professional lives. Their views on the importance of intellectual development reflected the critical development discourse facilitated in DS and MGD courses. As one IDSP administrator stated:

The basic purpose of the Development Studies course was to teach people not "to take things as they are (or as they appear)," and to enable them with strong critical skills and critical thinking, to make them conscious. Once you get the context, then, you can validate, reject, and improve any little action. So that was the basic purpose. (Wahid Khan)

I observed that their critical-thinking ability and intellectual strength have brought sustainability in their personalities and within their inner selves. I believe that sustainable development, which has been the core agenda of most development education programs and projects, should give attention to the sustainability of people's individual development. From the experientially grounded views of IDSP stakeholders, it seems that *sustainability must start from the sustainability of one's self*.

IDSP learners' advocacy for developing critical thinkers at grassroots levels is logically consistent with today's ugly reality in Pakistan where youth and people of traditional and tribal communities are being abused and destroyed by several political and religious extremist groups. In the views of IDSP stakeholders, people of such communities will be genuinely developed if

they are given critical awareness and taught “hidden knowledge,”¹⁹ if they are able to analyze every situation, ideology, action, happenings, and events, with a critical mind. With an analytical and critical mind they can choose their own path and no external or internal group would easily be able to exploit them.

6.1.2.2 Development as humanism, humanist values, humanity.

With regard to the concept and practices of development, IDSP stakeholders, particularly IDSP administrators, emphasized humanism, humanist values, and humanity. With respect to IDSP’s own position on the concept of “development” one administrator said:

There is a definition of development, but basically what really matters is how we look at it and what vision we have of it. Like if we say a society should be developed then what (things) will make it developed. Normally, in a typical way, the physical state and social conditions of that society should be better. For us (in IDSP) development should, most importantly, focus on human values or principles of humanity, for example the aspects of equality, justice, equal treatment; it should not promote discrimination and hatred. It should have (or portray) a human face. (Nadir Baloch)

He added that, to preserve socio-economic stability, provision of basic needs is necessary (infrastructural development); however, what is essential in the “project of development” is the element of “humanist values.” IDSP administrators and other stakeholders define the humanism or principles of humanity in the concept of development in following terms:

- It must acknowledge and respect diversity
- It must maintain peoples’ dignity
- Everyone must be treated equally
- Everyone must be respected
- Everyone must be heard and given voice
- It should not promote discrimination and hatred

- It should be pro-people
- It should not contain exploiting factors

IDSP administrators urged promotion of these principles of humanity in programs and projects of development education. They stated that it is imperative for development practitioners to raise their voice for incorporating these human values in all kinds of development programs. One administrator, Nadir Baloch, said that human values must be central to the framework under which development programs are designed. In his view, human-related development projects and programs, such as poverty reduction programs sponsored and shaped by international organizations and state institutions of education are useless if they cannot address issues of inequality and discrimination in a society.

The same IDSP administrator, informed by his long-term association with and ten years of working experience in IDSP, explained the concept of development that, in his view, IDSP has deployed in its development education programs and projects. He said:

So, the IDSP's concept of development, that you are asking for or what we have learned here in the IDSP by going through a learning process, is basically this: "how development programs in a society can help in the promotion of all those universal human principles for which all kinds of religions have advocated, for which all reformists of this world and people who have worked for justice and human equality have raised their voices." In our view, only a development program that promotes these values and implements these values within this perspective will be beneficial for a society. It should be rooted in these basic principles (Nadir Baloch).

IDSP learners too stressed teaching basic principles of humanity in development education programs. In their views, "development" means to be aware as a human being grounded in humanism and having firm belief in the value of humanity as a whole. In their views, human beings can only be called developed if they learn to value other human beings and humanity and if they able to acknowledge or "understand what righteous actually is" (Mehfooz

Khan). One learner said “To respect human values is actually the development. Otherwise, if the meaning of development is constructing high-rise building, roads, and bridges then Karachi should be the most developed place, but it is not” (Arbaz Khan).

In my view, the IDSP learners’ interpretation of humanism specifically includes the principles of openness and acceptance of others. Their approach to understanding the issue of inequality was practical and related to existing social issues in our society. Their intention in defining development in terms of creating faculties of openness and acceptance within people is an effort to address people’s rigid and hostile attitudes and perceptions toward “other” people because of their different religious background, ethnicity, sexual orientation, geographical location, socio-economic status, etc.. As one learner openly insisted:

All the nations in this world have the right to live independently following their own culture and religion. No one has a right to teach the lesson that you are poor; the people who are doing it — they are doing it for their own benefits..... All cultures must be alive in their nations. In your culture (Nazia), if covering your head is not necessary then I should not be critical to you. As such, if covering the whole body with a big piece of cloth is our culture then whatever it is, it is mine. This is going to be the last solution of this world. (Arbaz Khan)

Thus, IDSP learners might not directly speak about humanism or humanity in their definition of development; however, indirectly they did incorporate principles of humanity when they speak against exploitation, when they emphasize pro-people development projects, when they speak for basic human rights, and when they focus on positive aspects of development as in the following statements:

[Development is] in my view any kind of positive change. If a society is stagnant and if it goes from one state or mode to a second state or mode or progress from stage one to stage two positively and constructively, that would be development, that is my definition. . . . From my point of view “positive” means a family or a society moves from one stage to another stage in a civilized manner without engaging in any kind of subversion or extortion; change which contains minimum negativities and the lowest level of exploitation; change that has no

primary kind of exploiting factors in its roots or background. That I will feel is going towards change and towards development, and that is positive. (Rashid Zehri)

You know real development is the one that can fulfill human beings' basic needs, rights which are not available to them, right. (Rabia Ali)

I think development is a positive benefit directly to the people. If a road construction [project] only benefits a feudal [leader] and landlord then it is useless. As I was travelling on the Motor Way and when the Tool Plaza came into view I saw a notice written on it that "no vehicle is exempted from tax." I felt happy to see that everyone has to pay tax whether it is an Army officer or a common person. This kind of development can be considered positive development. From my point of view, development is positive [action] which benefits others whether it is medical science or any other field like education. (Naseem Baloch)

Every human being in a community must have access to all basic human rights; their basic needs of life must be fulfilled, and according to their instincts (natural talent/potential) they should be provided opportunities; and this is what I call development and the most important factor in it is the access to justice. (Iqbal Khan)

IDSP stakeholders urged that it is very important to highlight these human values in the concept of development and also in designing development projects; otherwise, anything encompassed in mainstream "Western" stereotypes of development will be considered as development by common people. One administrator, Nadir Baloch, said, "when a project comes from outside they think it is going to bring development; if infrastructure is being built they say development is happening; if bridges and roads are being constructed, they say development is coming."

IDSP stakeholders are not against building infrastructure and provision of basic human facilities for their communities. They acknowledge the importance of infrastructure, as well as technological, and communication development; however, their main focus is to give humanity, humanism, and humanist values the central place in the concept of development. In their view, "a society can function and grow only on the principles of humanity" (Nadir Baloch).

6.1.2.3 Development must be contextualized in local realities.

IDSP stakeholders also define the term “development” by making references to development projects run by government, non-government, and international development organizations in the province of Balochistan. Their concern and interest in community development projects and programs makes sense because thousands of development programs in the fields of education, health care, women’s development, child welfare, poverty reduction, rehabilitation, rural development, non-formal education, and so forth are currently operating in Balochistan. Besides some mega-projects of national and provincial governments (e.g., Balochistan Rural Support Program) and international development organizations (USAID, UNICEF, Concern, Save the Children, UNDP, CIDA) almost 1519 registered NGOs²⁰ are functioning in the development sector of Balochistan.

The focus of IDSP stakeholders’ conversations with respect to development programs in Balochistan consistently gravitated around one word, “localization.” Within this rubric, they criticized the role of global institutions such as the United Nations and other international-development organizations and institutions in the development sector of Pakistan. They argued that, in Balochistan, global institutions bring their own specific agenda and they influence the practices of all stakeholders in the development projects they sponsor and control. One administrator explained this and said “if the UN decides to declare a decade as [dedicated to] prevention of HIV, immediately all NGOs and development interventions start working on HIV” (Nadir Baloch). According to IDSP stakeholders, global institutions’ development agendas undermine local public issues by overwhelming and ignoring them. In their view, poverty, health, water resource management, women’s education, religious extremism, and ethnic violence are the basic issues of Balochistan. They argued that, in the presence of such issues,

one would expect to find development programs focused on environment, family planning, and charity schemes. Therefore, each aspect of any community development program, in the views of IDSP stakeholders, must be localized. From conceptualization of each program to its design, planning, budgeting, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation, they like to see local peoples' involvement at every stage of the program.

In the view of IDSP stakeholders, improvement or development will occur only if it is relevant to local realities. It is important to understand here what they mean by local relevancy or local realities. They mean that local resources, local capacity, local wisdom, local needs, local issues, local culture, local knowledge systems, local interventions, local human resources, local agendas, local priorities, local development indicators, local economic conditions, and the local political situation shape and delimit the success of all development projects. They urged that International Development Organizations (IDOs) incorporate local issues and local needs in all development interventions in Balochistan.

IDSP stakeholders argued that communities will “develop” when local resources are used in the implementation process of projects. They reproached international development projects that come with conditions that ignore local realities. They shared some examples of projects in which officials were instructed to buy vehicles from the West. In a similar vein, in some flood relief projects project leaders were instructed to buy food items only from the Islamabad (Capital of Pakistan) and certain international food companies instead of local vendors. However, IDSP stakeholders insisted upon using local markets. In their views, such initiatives destabilize the local economy when they could play a significant role in boosting it.

IDSP stakeholders repeatedly highlighted the importance of local peoples' involvement in each phase and stage of community development programs. They believe in the capabilities

of local people to pursue and execute any task of community development projects. One IDSP learner argued that people of local communities are capable of making their own decisions:

Communities must be involved and should have a partnership in all kinds of community development initiatives . . . they must be able to participate in the decision making process. They should be able to decide their own development. A third person/party should not make decisions on their behalf about their development; instead, they should be able to decide in which direction they want to go and what kind of work they want to do. (Rafi Nisar)

In this regard, they criticized the extensive involvement of outsiders or foreigners in development of projects and programs. According to one IDSP teacher, non-local consultants denigrate local practices in their project evaluation reports and leave a negative impression of local people and their culture in these reports. In their view, this approach to development and associated methodologies only benefits those who are already privileged, although it certainly exploits those local people whose issues are used for initiating these projects. One IDSP teacher stated with anguish that “A project that involves and represents local people’s views is still missing” (Shafi Khan).

In the case of IDSP, ADP is led by the IDSP Director who is a non-indigenous person. She was the one who conceptualized the ADP and supervised its eleven courses in Balochistan during the last fifteen years. From our conversation and her experiences, I learned that her family background played no significant role in the delivery of these courses. However, her in-depth understanding of local culture, her academic background (Masters and PhD in Social Studies), her professional background (serving war refugees and underserved communities in Karachi and Balochistan), her empathy for oppressed traditional people, her true desire for and dedication to the wellbeing of youth of Balochistan were factors which had played a significant role in establishment of IDSP and delivery of all ADP courses. Her experience suggests that non-

local people can become the part of indigenous community development provided they have sufficient knowledge about local culture and issues, possess relevant academic and professional background, and have the capability to connect with local people and achieve acceptance from the people in their community.

6.1.2.4 IDSP's ideology of development practices: A journey of moving from micro to macro & macro to micro

In the context of doing or practicing development in local communities of Balochistan, the IDSP Director and other participants shared their concerns regarding existing development practices. They particularly criticized the short duration of community development projects. In their views, such short-term projects leave a black hole at the ground level that causes new social problems in the communities. Focusing on this particular issue, the IDSP Director stated her own idea of community development practices.

According to her, the process of development has many dimensions. In her view, it is absolutely unethical and unprofessional for a development practitioner to complete one dimension and leave it without addressing other emerging dimensions. She said people who think they have completed their job after executing only one development project should not step into this field. From her own community development practices she explained the connection among the different small and mega projects that she created and executed in Balochistan. She gave the example of a mega-project of UNICEF in which she established almost 1800 girls' schools in Balochistan. Referring to the UNICEF project, she said:

I never think that if I have done my work at this scale so I have done a great project and it is done; no, this is not the way of doing work in the process of development. No, this is not an acceptable attitude that I have done it so now I should stay at home. Other dimensions will emerge from your development work and you are responsible to address those other dimensions; and, if you are not addressing other emerging dimensions then you should not step into the

development sector because you are creating a black hole. So, you have to complete the processes; this is your job to fulfill.

The IDSP Director explained her own philosophy of doing development work in local communities. She envisions community development practice as a journey of constant movement from a micro level to several macro levels (see Figure 6-1). In her view, it does not matter if a development project is small or big; what really matters is identifying the emerging dimensions of development in the process of development. Her philosophy of development practices is presented below in her own words:

I, after doing all this (PhD and building 2000 girls schools in Balochistan or breaking one of the myths about Balochistan) again want to return to the same unit. This is what I believe all the time – from point to macro and from macro to point (start from a point to reach to macro level and then again return to the point and go to macro). This has been the centre point of my life.

In her view, it is crucial for a development practitioner or group of development practitioners to come back to the point from which a development project started. She believes that a number of changes occur “on the ground” during a project creation and execution process; therefore, it becomes essential for the practitioners involved to take account of all the changes that have occurred and start addressing another dimension of the development from the same point. She argues:

I believe a lot of things do not stay the same when a unit or people at ground level reach the macro level; a number of changes happen, a lot of breakdowns occur, so you have to come back again to where it all started; so that brings continual refinement. For this my life is not enough because it is a process so new people should come and continue this process.

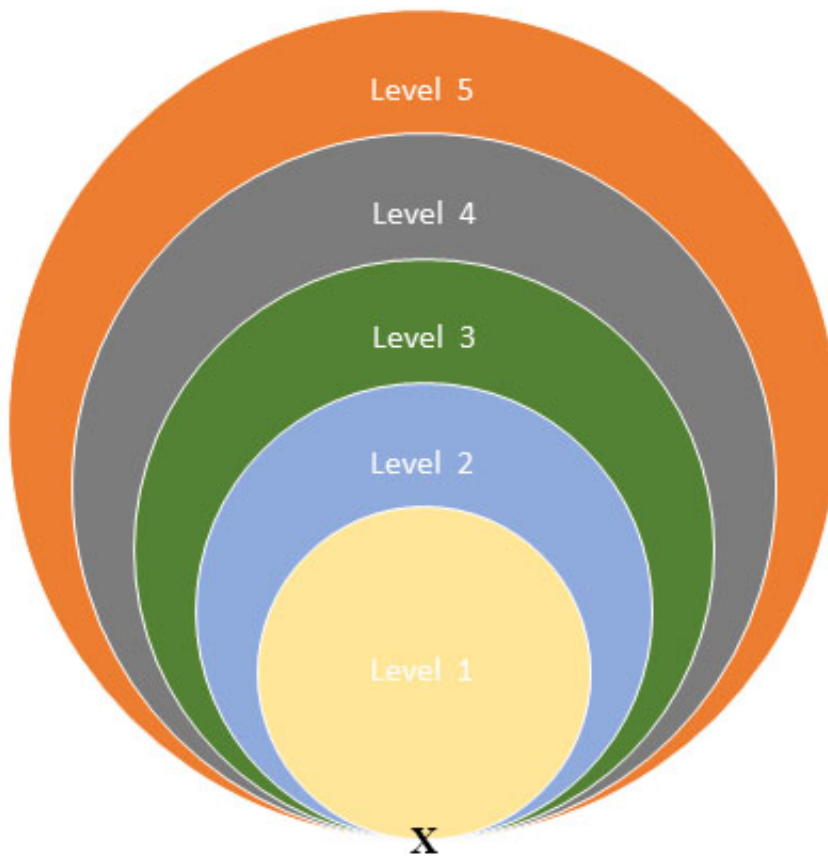


Figure 6-1: IDSP philosophy of Development practices

Her vision of development practices is captured in Figure 6-1. In this figure, different colours indicate different dimensions of the development. To show the journey of the development process I use circles of different sizes. These sizes do not reflect the scope of the development project; instead they show the significance or strength of grasping the development process. Each circle indicates completion of one cycle addressing one dimension of development. For example, Level 1 indicates that a development project was initiated from a “Point X” and reached completion the apex of the Level-1 circle; however, the practitioner will come back to the same Point X and start addressing another dimension from the same point and

take it to the macro level (i.e., the apex of level 2), but it again comes back to the Point X and continues its journey until a strong model of development will emerge.

This is the model of development that the IDSP Director has followed in her community and institutional development works. There is no evidence of whether other IDSP stakeholders also concur with this model of development (personal development, professional development, institutional building). However, there was only one female learner who mentioned this model, in terms of her vision of self-development, as the part of her life. She said that in the MGD course she learned that a strong self has emerged when an individual continuously follows the process of “breaking – gathering” your inner self. She said:

Our Director (Dr. Bakhtari) used to say that when you succeed in building a building, smash it, again assemble it and then smash it, so keep building it and smashing it; this practice will make you stronger and one day you will build a building that you, yourself will be surprised to look at it and you will not believe that you have made this building. So, that’s what she taught us, break your inner self and then again gather it, keep doing it. (Rabia Ali)

6.2 Perspective Transformation of Indigenous Knowledge

IDSP stakeholders’ criticism of mainstream notions of development, their emphasis on inclusion of local context and local realities in the notion of development, their belief in capabilities (both intellectual and professional) of local people, and their alternative notions of development, all of these, reveal that they have been both decolonized and reinhabited through transformative learning in IDSP. Their decolonization, understood as “a metaphor for the process of recognizing and dislodging dominant ideas, assumptions and ideologies as externally imposed,” (Smith and Katz ,1993 cited in Gruenewald, 2003, p. 71) and their reinhabitation, understood as “learning to live-in-place in an area that has been disrupted and injured through past exploitation,” (Gruenewald, 2003, p. 35) have played a significant role in the transformation of

their perspectives on indigenous knowledge (IK) (see Figure 6-2). As a result of family history exploration and critical discourses on traditional institutions and traditional values and practices in ADP courses, IDSP stakeholders' perceptions of IK are transformed. After the course, their beliefs regarding local wisdom and local people have strengthened; they have realized the significance of good local practices that have disappeared over the years; they have also come to view critically problematic traditional practices; they have identified influences that have polluted or compromised some traditional institutions, values and practices; they have learned to accept the culture of "other" ethnic groups; and finally, they are striving to become "universal" (Ahmad, 1998) by creating a balance between their traditional world and modern practices. These key research findings are outlined below and will be discussed in detail in the following sections.

- Ascertain belief on IK
- Critique weak/problematic traditional values and practices
- Strive to become "universal" – A constant struggle to balance two worlds, traditional and modern

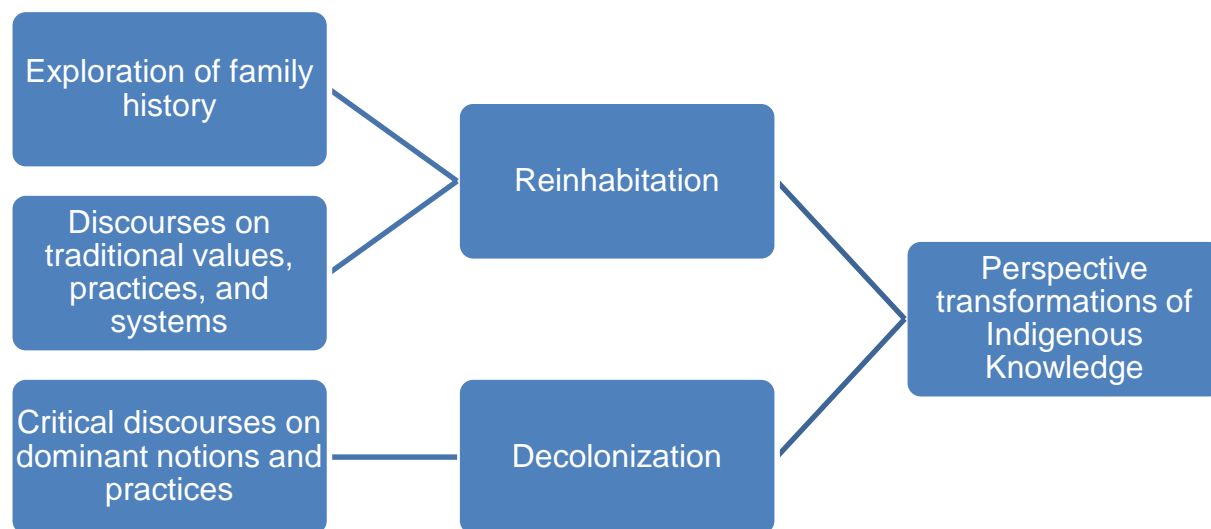


Figure 6-2: Process of Constructing Transformative Perspectives on Indigenous Knowledge

6.2.1 Ascertain belief on IK.

IDSP stakeholders acknowledged the existence of indigenous systems in Balochistan. They explained that IDSP's ADP courses have played a significant role in strengthening their beliefs in the existence and value of indigenous knowledge. This phrasing suggests that, even before coming to IDSP, stakeholders had some faith in their own culture; on the other hand, they might also have had doubts in its relevance and efficacy in current world systems. They confirmed that even before attending the course they had a very special connection with their culture, but at the same time they felt that local culture is a barrier to their development. They said that they were preoccupied by an uneasy feeling that always forced them to argue against local-culture-based stereotypes and locally biased approaches. However, learning in ADP courses helped them to understand the reasons behind their troubled relationship with local culture. As one administrator noted, "we learned that things like culture, religion, and so many other aspects [of life] are not the part of current dominant development discourse. For example, 'culture' is

generally considered a barrier to the development” (Nadir Baloch).

IDSP teachers claimed that gradually and slowly their students’ belief in indigenous knowledge got stronger. IDSP learners concurred with their teachers in this regard and asserted that during the courses everyone realized the important role that culture plays in the course of their lives. It is essential here to examine ways in which and the extent to which their belief in indigenous knowledge has strengthened.

During interviews IDSP stakeholders with much affection for their indigenous culture openly shared their sentiments relating to their local traditions, values, and practices. Some of these statements are collected below:

I, personally, adore indigenous ways and local practices. I still have my belief in them, and they are still close to my heart . . . We had a very special connection with our culture that was close to our heart . . . I still enjoy visiting my village and meeting my people over there. (Shafi Khan: IDSP Teacher)

The actual and important thing is to love your tradition and keep it alive . . . You should not hate your traditions; you must promote your traditions as much as possible. (Naseem Baloch: IDSP Learner)

I have a belief that if we will connect ourselves with our land and work on our land, then it will never let us go from its roots. We do not want to become only consumers; we have to become producers too, this is my belief. I love to sit and work with farmers. (Rashid Zehri: IDSP Learner)

We should never forget our history, we should never forget our culture. . . I like my culture a lot. I do not want to leave it. I want to live it. (Sabeen Baloch: IDSP Learner)

It [indigenous knowledge] is valid today and it will be valid tomorrow. (Arbaz Khan: IDSP Learner)

I liked this [indigenous knowledge] a lot. I hadn’t felt this interest for my roots before . . . I felt interested in my culture for the first time. For example, I was shy to wear my cultural dress before but now I proudly wear it. (Fehmida Baloch: IDSP Learner)

In these statements IDSP learners show love and respect for their culture. According to

these learners, they were taught the importance of indigenous knowledge only in the ADP courses. However, their belief in the importance of indigenous knowledge strengthened later when they further investigated the history of their family and local communities and when they reflected upon various aspects of their culture individually and in discussions with family, friends, and community members. On the one hand, the process of family and local history exploration with senior family and community members helped them to understand affinities with the culture and, on the other hand, it renewed their relationship with their family and community members. And this re-connection with their family and history actually restored their confidence in their own “self,” in their “existence,” and in their “roots.” As a result of it they have abandoned all the feelings of shame that had prevented them from embracing their culture fully with pride; they have overcome false fears that have always forbidden them to confront dominant groups; and they have removed those barriers that have been stopping them for so many years from becoming an active and effective part of a relevant and useful development process. According to the IDSP Director, after the course a participant feels a connection with the past and realizes that “I am connected, I have a past, I have roots and that [those] roots have a civilization.” She elaborated the implications of this connection for a learner and said that after the course:

You feel good wearing your own traditional clothes, you don't feel embarrassed that other people are speaking English and I am sitting like this, you don't feel embarrassed. Generally people feel embarrassed when they wear traditional clothes in a formal setting but after the ADP course they don't have [the] same feeling.

It is evident that ADP courses have given IDSP stakeholders knowledge and, most importantly, confidence and courage which make it easy for them to show their trust, respect, love, as well as critical views, regarding indigenous knowledge. According to one IDSP teacher

“the real benefit [of being part of ADP courses] I would say is that we understand ‘what things we should value, whom should we respect, and which practices we have to highlight’” (Shafi Khan).

Discourses on indigenous knowledge in ADP courses helped the participants to understand the actual status of indigenous knowledge. One IDSP learner, Rashid Zehri, explained the process of rejuvenation of indigenous knowledge in ADP courses by using an analogy of natural water and Coca Cola. He said that indigenous knowledge was around us but it has disappeared from our sights just as today Coke has taken the place of natural water. He referred to a story that he heard in the DS course from a resource person, Munir Fashey, who delivered a lecture on the importance of indigenous knowledge in a traditional society. He said:

... if you start to give ‘Coke’ in place of ‘water’ to a child, in the beginning the child will think to treat the Coke as a natural drink (water) but it will neither affect the status of water nor can the Coke be converted into a natural drink. Fashey says, the status of water will have to be restored in order to decrease the status of Coke. In this way, the child will identify water as a natural drink. Whatever we saw, read, and understood (in the course) was already available to us but it disappeared from the society in which we are living. We felt these things were new because previously they were not considered part of [legitimate] knowledge while these things were under discussion by many intellectuals and radical thinkers, not state-sponsored thinkers, in the entire world.

IDSP learners, after realizing the actual status of indigenous knowledge in their society and after the restoration of their belief in it, felt a responsibility to keep it alive by understanding its strengths and weaknesses, by owning it in its fullest form, by promoting it in all possible ways, and by addressing its problematic aspects (see Figure 6-3).

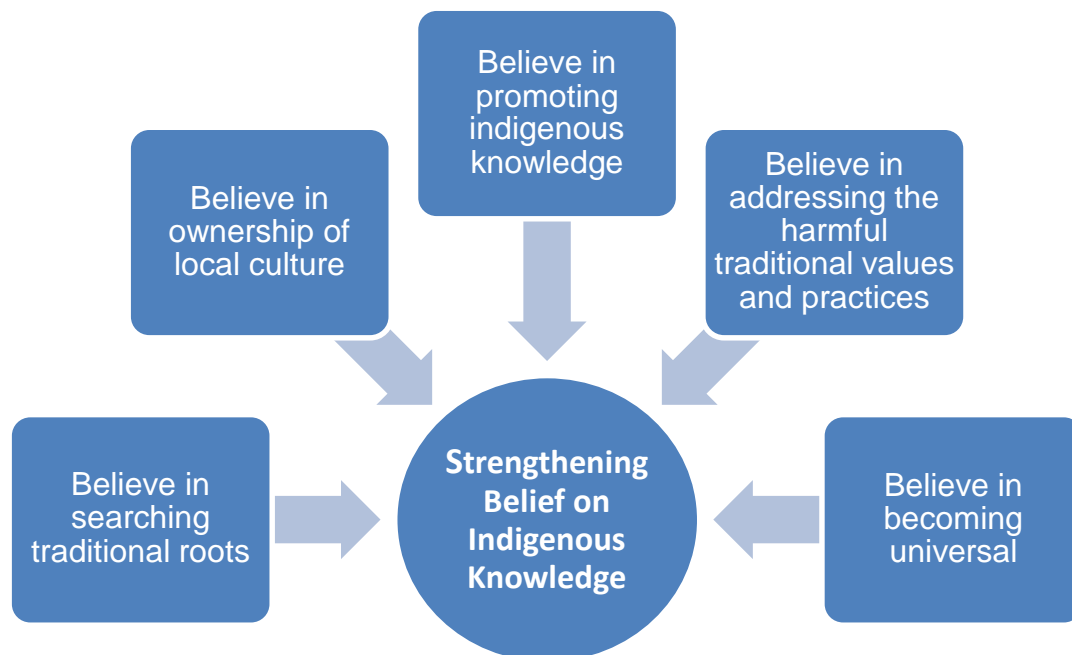


Figure 6-3: Ascertain Belief on Indigenous Knowledge

To ascertain belief in indigenous knowledge it is imperative for local people to own their local culture fully in both its weaknesses and strengths. During their interviews IDSP stakeholders discussed the issues of some traditional values of their culture that cause a great many problems at local, regional, and global levels. By realizing this bitter reality they have come to understand that they should not hate or disown their culture because of those issues; instead they should address these issues by revisiting the original causes of those problems.

Ownership of indigenous knowledge is equally important for the development of a balanced society, one that incorporates both tradition and modernity, particularly in the context of development in indigenous communities. The IDSP Director stated that in ADP courses IDSP faculty and students discuss the strengths of traditional values and try to connect these values with the current situation. She said “We teach them to learn how to balance or weigh these values by connecting with the current situation; these values should not be totally sold out. We

teach them how to avoid totally selling out traditional values.” This approach seems to be working with IDSP learners. For example, during her interview Naseem Baloch, an IDSP learner, said “See I have been satisfied now; I say that if I wear jeans/pants it does not mean that I am not Balochi.” This statement is quite powerful and important in the context of local people’s hostile attitude towards modernization. In the views of IDSP stakeholders, wearing modern dress or speaking English or Urdu will not kill their Pahtooniyet or Balochiyet unless they are ashamed of wearing their own traditional dresses and speaking their own local languages, and teaching their mother language to their children. In ADP courses, an important message was conveyed by the IDSP faculty, namely, “You can certainly be global but you must keep the connection with your local wisdom; by doing this you will not be misled” (Akbar Rizvi).

This perspective accepts that ownership of local culture is strongly linked with one’s intrinsic value system. Firm grounding in one’s own tradition can provide strong footing at any place even if one has to adopt a foreign life style. What is really important, as one learner said, is to love and respect your own culture and not be embarrassed speaking your own language and practicing your own traditions. In other words, people of any traditional society, minority, and “marginal” group should never hide or forget their own roots. This interestingly resonates with the advice that Dr. Ahmad once gave to students of developing countries in his address at the University of Colorado at Boulder in 1998. He advised them to live organically wherever they live; he added: “You should be universal but you can never be fully universal unless you know your own, unless you have your roots, unless you water it, fertilize it.”²¹

6.2.1.1 Belief in local wisdom and in the capabilities of local people.

“What really is wisdom?” “Does school provide wisdom?” “Where does wisdom actually exist?”

These are the kind of questions which IDSP stakeholders discussed in the second theme of ADP courses. In searching for answers to these questions they realize that mainstream institutions ignore and disregard their local wisdom. Reflecting upon their learning experiences in schools they discovered that local wisdom is invisible in any kind of academic settings in Balochistan. They came to realize that formal academic institutions not only ignore their indigenous knowledge; they actually disrespect it. They learned that hegemonic institutions devalue their indigenous knowledge as well as their local people, their local skills, and their family occupations. They do so even when they simply aim to promote only mainstream knowledge, skills, occupations, and professions in society. One IDSP administrator stated that “in our society, an educated person thinks that his father is illiterate and ignorant and the work that his father does is the work of ignorance or based on imperfect knowledge” (Wahid Khan).

They argued that the formal education system completely ignores the wisdom that their people have gained through their life time of experience when it calls the majority of their local people “illiterate” or “ignorant.” One IDSP teacher said “the knowledge of a few so called educated people is considered [the only real or valuable] knowledge” (Zaman Khan). They questioned a definition of literacy that emphasizes only one particular set of skills, notably reading and writing. According to them, this definition ignores all other kinds of skills a person can possess in his or her life. This narrow definition conveys the message that only people who go to schools are literate. IDSP stakeholders took this narrow vision very seriously in ADP courses when they analyzed the lives of their parents, family, and other significant community members. They realized the strength of their characters, their sacrifices for family and for good

causes, their experiences that were filled with hard work and struggles, and their wisdom in facing life challenges. They felt terrible when they realized that, despite having all these qualities, their parents and other local people were called “illiterate” and *Jahil* (ignorant) only because they did not know how to read and write. One IDSP learner, Rashid Zehri, patiently explained that:

When we were in schools, at that time, our expectation was that I will learn knowledge from here and I will get somewhere. Suppose, I give you an example, you were told that if your father has not attended a school, then he is an illiterate person and an illiterate person is like an ignorant /rude/uncivilized individual. This is the school’s definition, so, in other words calling some illiterate person “Jahil” (ignorant) is like calling names. My father has lived 70 years of life; he has a vast experience, he possesses a history in himself, but school designates him as an “ignorant/uncivilized” person. How could I designate him as an ignorant person when I have so much to learn from his life? He has confronted so many, different kinds of challenges in his life and he has solved them. I might face the same challenges in my life and [how to cope with them] that I have to learn from him . . . “Is my father an ignorant/uncivilized person or is he an institution for me?”

To deal with such issues they have adopted some simple rules in their lives; for example, most of the IDSP stakeholders, I noticed, during their conversation, in any formal and informal settings and in their writings as well, avoid using the word “illiterate,” if they are referring to local people who cannot read and write. They simply refer to them as people who do not have schooling experiences. Now they judge the capabilities of local people not on the basis of their academic credentials but on the contribution they have made in their lifetimes. In short, they have learned to appreciate the importance of other faculties and skills of human beings.

This discourse restored their confidence in the learning capabilities of local people as well. They realized that if, as part of a disadvantaged community, they can understand philosophical ideas and critical theories, then other members of their community can also do the same. One administrator claimed that “A common citizen, a common student, a common parent,

a common farmer, son of a common labourer can discuss the reasons for inequality in this society; he can understand the theoretical perspective behind this inequality” (Nadir Baloch), if he or she gets the opportunity to go through a transformative learning process and learns to “find the connections with an idea that promotes existing perceptions of inequality and injustice.”

It is evident that IDSP stakeholders now know the difference between schooling and local wisdom. They learn to explore the wisdom that resides in their society, in their elders and seniors, in their culture, in its art, its poetry, its literature, and its music. One IDSP administrator claimed that their learners learned to “recognize the value added-ness of local wisdom; therefore, they tried to capture it” (Wahid Khan) and respect it.

6.2.1.2 Belief in the fruitfulness of good traditional practices.

During the discussion on indigenous knowledge, IDSP stakeholders mention some specific traditional values and practices that were effective and beneficial for all segments of their communities. However, these practices, in their views, have disappeared from their society over the years. Among such practices “collectivism” and a “traditional judicial system” were brought up by most of the IDSP stakeholders. They explained these practices in detail and some others as well, particularly ones that were related to the women’s liberation and rights in the traditional society.

6.2.1.2.1 Collectivism (Usher).

The traditional practice “collectivism” commonly called *Usher* in the Baloch community is defined as a method of helping each other in all matters of life. Under this tradition, a person can ask for help from members of his community in various situations, for example, if he is renovating his house or watering his farm or needs others’ help in harvesting season, etc. In the Baloch culture, people of their community once came together and shared work collectively

without charging any money for their services. According to IDSP stakeholders a system of collective support and collective decision-making existed in their traditional society and almost all ethnic communities of their society used this system.

6.2.1.2.2 Traditional judicial system (*Jirga*).

The other important practice that IDSP learners usually discussed in ADP courses is the traditional judicial system called *Jirga*²² in the local language. In Balochistan it has been replaced by the British Court system. However, in some tribal settings, it still functions in some capacity but it is not as strong and protective as it was in the past. In the past, according to IDSP stakeholders, their judicial system was efficient and effective; it was designed and used to provide special protection to women, children, minorities, and all other vulnerable groups of the society. IDSP stakeholders explained this specific feature of the *Jirga* system by giving examples of some laws that were part of that system. One of the examples is stated below:

In the old tribal system, if a Baloch killed another Baloch he had to pay one hundred thousand rupees but if the culprit killed a Hindu then he had to pay eleven hundred thousand rupees. In this way, women, children, and others castes who had not much say in the tribal system were given special protection. (Muhammad Nadeem)

According to Shafi Khan, an IDSP teacher, with the passage of time such laws faded away from the traditional *Jirga* system, particularly after the imposition of the State Judicial System in Balochistan. The current judicial system was introduced by the British; it was expected to be efficient, effective, and stronger; however, according to IDSP stakeholders, it is not working properly in Balochistan. IDSP learners complained that, in the absence of an equitable justice system, inequality has grown in their society to a point where only weak, poor, and minorities suffer. They said we are living in a class system today where inequality prevails in each sector of society.

In this regard, during the gender and IK discourses, IDSP stakeholders compared the situation of women's status in society in the existing local culture with its situation in the past. They came to the conclusion that women's issues are extremely serious in the existing traditional society. They said that hundreds years ago women of their society had more freedom and respect, while in the existing culture they are struggling to exercise their basic human rights and freedom of choice. They claimed that, in the past, women of their society who had courage and potential for leadership attained the leading positions in their communities and were respected for their achievements. One teacher claimed that "150 years ago, if a woman had guts she could attain a leadership position. Society used to give a lot of respect to those women who had courage to come forward but now these kinds of these things have been contaminated" (Shafi Khan).

Discourses on good traditional practices, in my view, played a very significant role in strengthening IDSP stakeholders' belief in indigenous systems and indigenous ways of dealing with issues. They realized that their ancestors were following the virtues of sharing, helping, and co-operation in their daily lives which proved that their culture had roots in moral and ethical grounds worthy of respect. They understood that the traditional judicial system acted upon the virtues of equality and justice by providing social safety and protective walls to weak and vulnerable groups in the community. In other words, they discovered the goodness in their culture which eventually restored their confidence and trust in traditional society. In the next section, however, I present IDSP learners' critique of some weak and imperfect aspects of their traditional culture.

6.2.2 Critique of pathologies in traditional culture.

Balochistan is not only a traditional society; it is a tribal society as well. Keeping this context at the centre of their critique of the problematic aspects of traditional cultures, IDSP stakeholders shared their concerns on the imperfect aspects of their traditional culture. They had identified the following social issues as “pathologies of their tradition:” gender disparity and inequality, violence and extremism, lack of tolerance on matters of honor, a broken judicial system, feudalism, and extensive use of weapons in the Pashtun culture (see Figure 6-4).

6.2.2.1 Gender discrimination in a traditional society.

During the interviews IDSP female learners expressed their concerns with gender-specific roles and identities which their society has set for them. They explained painful experiences which they had to live because of such discriminatory role attributions and traditional norms and practices. However, it was intriguing to see that all the male research participants whether they were administrators, teachers, or learners, expressed with pain and sorrow serious concern with those cultural practices and traditions that severely discriminate against women in their society. Male and female participants discussed a range of “women’s issues” during their interviews. Some of these issues are explained below.

The society of Balochstan is a male-dominated society where males are taught to respect women; however, at the same time they are also given the message that they are superior to women. In some parts of this society, in fact, the birth of a female child is considered a curse on a family. According to one IDSP male learner, everyone in our society wishes for a son. He said that women who have two or three daughters are not treated with respect in their family.

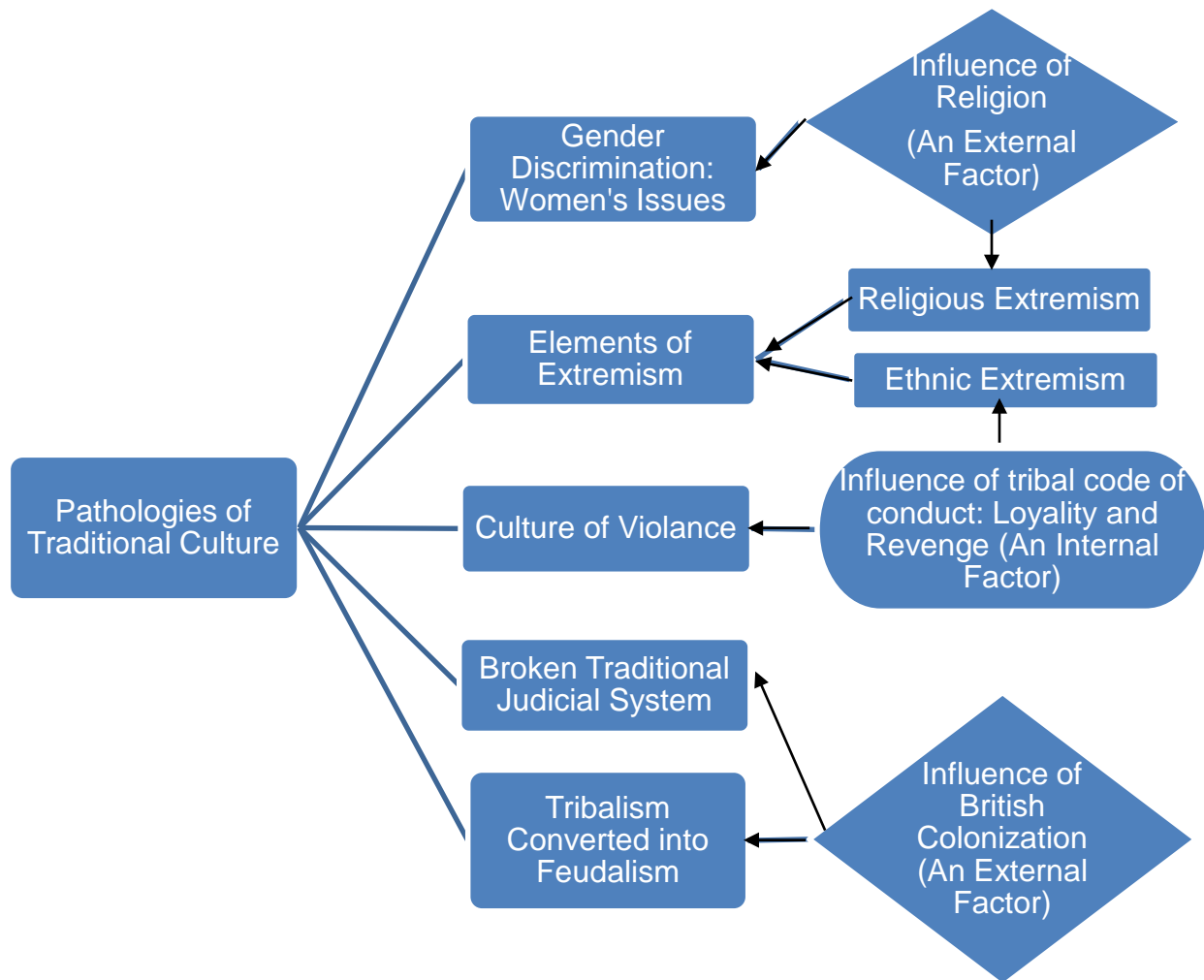


Figure 6-4: Pathologies of Traditional Culture

One IDSP teacher, Safeena Zehri, reported the particularly somber story of one female IDSP student. That student was the seventh or eighth daughter of her parents. At the time of her birth, family members decided to give her the name, *Khatima Bibi* which means the “enough already of girls” or “closure or end of female children in the family.” *Khatima bibi*, according to the teacher, shared tearfully how all her life her name kept reminding her that “she is the sign of

stop,” an unwanted child in her family. Later, during the course, she changed her name to *Noor Bibi* which means “Lady of Light.” Cases like this are a yardstick to understanding the status of tribal women, their sorrows, and the gravity of the challenges they have to face every day in their communities.

Besides limited opportunities for education and career choices, women of traditional societies have minimal participation in family decisions. They are not consulted even in decisions on their marriages. According to IDSP stakeholders, most of the marriages in their communities are arranged marriages. Parents generally choose life partners for their sons and daughters. In some families, parents arrange the marriage of their children at a very young age, sometimes during their childhood. Both male and female research participants raised this issue, because not only females but males also have to act upon this tradition. Sometimes highly qualified young men and women even those who possess Masters degrees have to obey their parents’ decision and marry someone with whom they have no compatibility.

With respect to the women’s marriage issue, IDSP stakeholders particularly mentioned a custom of *Valver* in Pashtun communities. This custom has been misused for years in this community. According to some Pashtun research participants, this custom was put in place with good intention. Under the original practice of *Valver*, on the occasion of a wedding, the family of groom or the groom himself has to give money to the bride or her family to purchase some essential items for their new home or to pay the wedding expenses. Unfortunately, this tradition has taken a very bad form in the existing culture. *Valver* is now considered the worst tradition of the Pashtun community, because some Pashtun parents sell their daughters in the name of marriage to strangers, notably to rich older men. According to one learner a similar custom exists in Baloch communities as well. However, this custom is now very unpopular among the

girls of these communities and they strongly resist this tradition now. One IDSP learner stated that “it is not fair to take money from any one and give your daughter in exchange. These girls are not goats and sheep, they are humans” (Nafeesa Akhter). Educated girls of these communities are now bringing awareness to parents of their communities of the need to end such shameful practices.

Another very critical issue which was raised particularly by the IDSP male stakeholders was the issue of the women’s veil in the existing culture. This particular issue had created numerous limitations for women of their society. During the exploration of their history and discourses on gender issues IDSP learners discovered that this veiling issue has no link with their tradition. Male stakeholders insisted that in their culture there was no concept of even building boundary walls around their houses. One male learner claimed that even now in the villages of Balochistan, people do not build boundary walls. He said “if you would come to our villages you will see that no one has a boundary wall. Some houses do not even have a veranda; they only have some rooms” (Rashid Zehri). Stakeholders noted that their ancestors were nomads and women used to travel with everyone. IDSP stakeholders believe that this issue of the veil arose when religion started to dominate the culture. In their view, women of their society are subjugated mainly due to amalgamation of religion with culture. They feel strongly that it is neither a traditional practice nor a true religious requirement; it is only a misinterpretation of some religious ideas by local religious leaders.

In this regard, they criticized both the *Mullah* (Mosque Imam) and tribal people; they accused these people of setting a double standard for women. They realized that, on one hand, women of their society are forced to use the veil by such religious and tribal leaders and, on the other hand, when it comes to work in the farms and fields then no one cares about their veil and

family honor. In other words, both tribal men and *Mullahs* are exploiting women for their own interests. In their view, to deal with such issues religion must be separated from the culture. One learner stated that “For personal interest they say it is prohibited in our religion and if religion gives some relaxation on that matter, then they say it is against our tribal culture” (Naseem Baloch).

IDSP stakeholders came to the conclusion that their women were better off in the past. However, in the existing cultural setting, gender equity is the weakest aspect of Balochistan’s traditional society. They believe this regression of gender equality has been advanced to further the agenda of a male-dominated society and subversion of women through quoting selective and biased religious narratives.

6.2.2.2 Elements of violence and extremism in tribal communities.

Both Pashtun and Baloch research participants acknowledged the existence of a culture of violence and elements of religious and political extremism in their existing cultural practices. They acknowledge that mainly women and young men of their communities become the victims of such violent activities. There were some Pashtun research participants who, with evident pain, discussed some traditional system of beliefs that, in their views, are killing their people all over Pakistan and Afghanistan. However, Baloch research participants claimed that the element of extremism was never part of their culture in the past. They argued that when their culture amalgamated with certain external ideologies certain pathological practices emerged in their culture.

Contrary to some Baloch research participants Pashtun research participants openly accepted some traditional norms that contain elements of violence in them. In this regard they shared some Pashtun proverbs that inculcate the use of weapons among Pashtuns. For example a

famous proverb that is commonly quoted to typify Pashtun culture is that “Weapons/guns are the jewel of a Pashtun man.” According to these stakeholders, such proverbs encourage, motivate, and compel the people of their community to seek and use guns. They stated that Pashtuns on most occasions show their feelings with the use of guns; even on happy occasions they start their celebrations with gunfire. One Pashtun IDSP learner, Mehfooz Khan, specifically mentioned this proverb and critically opposed it. In his view, such traditional norms are “the symbol of ignorance” and they “should be ended.” Referring to one of his famous Pashtun leaders, Bacha Khan, who is famous for promoting a non-violent movement in the region, he said “On one hand, all Pashtuns say that they are followers of Bacha Khan and on the other hand they love to talk about weapons” (Mehfooz Khan).

With deep sadness one IDSP administrator explained the killing of millions of Pashtuns in the series of battles and wars in Afghanistan. According to him, during the last thirty-five years, in twelve different battles and wars of Afghanistan, almost six million people have been killed, and among that six million, ninety-five percent were Pashtuns. He said that, in this region Pashtuns are killed in the name of Islam, in the name of Pashtuniat, and in the names of Afghaniyat, in the name of Sunnis or Shias, and so forth. He questioned these killings and asked why every phenomenon, whether it was social or religious became violent when it came here; he lamented:

Every phenomenon that came here, when it reached here became violent. All over the world you will find socialists, but the Pashtun Socialist is violent. All over the world you will find Shia and Sunni, but Pashtun Shia and Sunni are violent; what is the reason of it? (Wahid Khan)

He believes that the reasons are rooted in Pashtun traditional culture. In his view, it is imperative for him, his fellows, and other Pashtun intellectuals and activists in both Pakistan and

Afghanistan to first acknowledge the flaws and problems with the teaching of some traditional norms and then investigate these issues with an open mind. In this regard, he shared information on some organizations and Pashtun bodies in Pakistan and Afghanistan that are pursuing such issues through literacy forums. He stated “we have to help our people to rethink their own sense of being, their own identity as Pashtuns.”

Most of the participating IDSP stakeholders believe that their traditional culture has weakened over the years due to the influence of some external ideologies and dominant groups. In ADP courses, they tried to identify those weaknesses and also external forces that have influenced the local and indigenous systems. I will discuss these influences in the next section.

6.2.2.3 Two dominant-group ideologies that influenced local indigenous systems.

IDSP stakeholders believe that two main influences have reshaped their local culture: (i) western colonization and (ii) religion. IDSP stakeholders shared their thoughts on the impacts of these influences on their local culture. They noted that, during discourses on IK, they learned that the weaknesses of their tribal system provided spaces to external dominant groups to ruin certain important traditional institutions (see Figure 6-4).

6.2.2.3.1 Colonization of the subcontinent corrupted the tribal systems.

In their view, their tribal system converted into a feudal system during colonization of the subcontinent. They accused the British colonizer of dissociating the tribal leader from his people. In their view, to establish their governing system in the subcontinent English people needed the support of local people. To achieve this objective they targeted the heads of the tribes. They got the trust of the Sardar (head of the tribe) and eventually separated him from his people. So, the Sardar who was formerly their leader and protector became their feudal lord.

According to one IDSP learner, “in some areas it [Feudalism] has become a cancer and you cannot say/do anything about it” (Muhammad Nadeem).

They blame the British colonizers also for contaminating the traditional judicial system. They feel that the English corrupted their *Jirga* system when they introduced an imperial *Jirga* in which power was given to the feudal lords. According to them the feudal lords used their power against the local people. And because of this manipulation, the traditional judicial system lost acceptance on a large scale. IDSP stakeholders also acknowledge its bad reputation at the national level; one IDSP teacher said “I agree, it has a very bad reputation, and, I think, there is some reality in it. Wherever the *Jirga* system still existed such as at FATA site and even here, it has been manipulated a lot” (Shafi Khan).

6.2.2.3.2 Dominance of religion weakened the local culture.

Religion is the second critical factor that, IDSP stakeholders feel, has influenced severely their culture. They believe their culture weakened in those spots where religion dominated the culture or where culture amalgamated with the religion. However, when they refer to religion in this context, they actually refer the teaching of Mullahs (Imams of the local mosque) who, according to their own understanding, interpreted the Islam to the local people. They stated that first *Deo Bandi* Islam entered Balochistan from India and later political Islam came here in the form of *Tableeghi Jamat* (organized Islamic institutions supported by federal and provincial states). These religious phenomena severely affected two groups in society, women and youth. After the amalgamation of religion into the local culture, women’s status in society deteriorated while youth have become victims of religious fundamentalism and extremisms. According to one Baloch IDSP learner the element of extremism had never existed in Baloch society. However, now due to some extremist religious groups’ existence in Balochistan, dozens of people every

day are killed in the name of religion; daughters and sisters, for instance, are regularly murdered in the name of honor killing.

In their view, in the presence of extremist and fundamentalist religious ideologies their culture and indigenous knowledge could not have evolved naturally in a positive manner. They believe that their local institutions were in better shape prior to colonization and domination of religion. They think these institutions have been destroyed and contaminated and emphasize the need for their reform.

6.2.3 Conflicting views on revival of IK

I received mixed views on revival of indigenous knowledge from stakeholders of IDSP. Most of the research participants shared with pride how they have been trying to revive some of their traditional practices. For example, many research participants proudly shared experiences of wearing traditional dress, using traditional utensils, cutleries, and crockery at home and to serve their guests. Most of the IDSP stakeholders showed their satisfaction and happiness with IDSP's efforts to build a hostel and a campus of their Community Development University by using traditional methods of construction.

However, there were two IDSP administrators and three IDSP male learners who appeared not to be very enthusiastic about reviving such practices. In their view, these practices are symbolic aspects of their culture. They emphasized focusing on real, practical problems of their society such as addressing women's issues, a culture of violence, and religious and ethnic extremisms. As one IDSP Administrator put it:

The traditional practices that IDSP have practically revived are actually symbols of our culture; it is actually our symbolic culture. I say, these kinds of efforts are good; there is no detriment/harm of what they have just done in the IDSP office (IDSP builds residential offices by using traditional infrastructure and methods of mud-construction). It is a very valuable thing and I have a lot of respect for

that. But, I say, there are more serious things, what are those things? (Wahid Khan)

Another IDSP administrator who is Baloch criticized emphasis by the institute (IDSP) and its learners' on revival of only such symbolic aspects of their culture. He feels that the interpretation of indigenous knowledge and its purpose in the development were not defined clearly in the ADP courses. He said:

I feel that there is a communication problem in the interpretation of IK; the message has not been conveyed properly; either the reference point is not correct or sometimes some kind of misunderstanding must have been created during the process. And, what happens next is that an unnecessary romance with culture is created (in the course), instead of understanding the meaning of culture and development and the purpose of IK. So, as a result, the core essence of IK ends, destroyed somewhere, and only cosmetic values remain. (Nadir Baloch)

Most of the IDSP stakeholders believe in community development by an evolutionary process. They argue that things should be studied in the light of their evolution. In their view, it is not wise to regenerate old practices in the old form. There are certain aspects of modernization and modernity that are inevitable for them. This shared belief shows that they are not willing to reject modernization altogether for the sake of simply reviving old traditional practices. As one learner put it:

It is not possible for us to revert into our past. . . . It is not possible now for us to travel on donkeys. In the same way, we cannot give up watching TV and using refrigerators although it is possible to use these things in a right way. (Mehfooz Khan)

These stakeholders feel that new resources, innovations, and techniques should be used to fulfill everyone's needs. In their view, in the process of reinvention of indigenous knowledge, the element of innovation must be included. They believe that the essence or originality of indigenous knowledge must be kept but the techniques to revive it must be changed. One learner cited his own efforts to revive the old tradition of storytelling and how he changed the techniques

to revive this tradition in his community. He stated that:

Storytelling is one of the old traditions that grandparents used to teach; today, we watch TV only and do not have as many conversations with them, only if we feel it necessary. I used to write stories that I had heard from my grandparents; however, I have changed my style now. The change I see in myself is that now I want to give a natural touch to those old stories by giving them another different style as in the form of “drama” or an “article” that can be published. In this way, the indigenous knowledge that used to be given by storytelling I have changed into story writing. I have written a number of stories and some articles based on those old oral stories which I heard from my grandparents. (Rafi Nisar)

6.2.3.1 Romanticizing traditional culture is wrong.

IDSP administrators criticized IDSP for developing an unnecessary “romance” with the traditional culture within the institute and among its students. In their view, developing such a romance with traditional culture is wrong. They accepted that, in the beginning, they themselves were involved in the romance with the culture; however, later, they stated, they realized that this romance would not resolve their real issues. They claimed that they have abandoned that “romance” because they have come to understand their own experience that has taught them that there are some traditional customs that must be reformed. In this respect they cited some traditional customs that contained violent elements. One IDSP administrator stated that there are several stories in our communities that will tell you “how tradition kills people and then how it justifies that killing” (Wahid Khan).

According to Wahid Khan, people who defined the notion of tradition at the inception of IDSP, were affected by the notion of modernity. In his view, modernity itself is not only a big issue, it has its own political economy. He said that these people’s challenge is modernity while he said “my challenge is tradition which is eating me away and killing me.” He further explained this view and said that in the traditional society of Balochistan:

Every day, girls are murdered at their own homes; they are killing their mothers and sisters. Using the slogan of political rights, people feel free to kill Hazara, Pashtun, these ones and those ones. On a very common issue or argument people kill each other. My driver was telling me today that ‘a Rikshaw driver hit my vehicle so I went to him I slapped his face and I gathered 10 more people with me’. So, an issue that can be resolved very easily, within 5 minutes reaches a point where people start killing each other. (Wahid Khan)

So, according to him and another administrator, people within IDSP pursued the challenges they see in modernity but within a traditional society where local people are primarily affected by their tradition and culture. In their view this dichotomy has created a romance with traditional culture in society, but within a contemporary view of a traditional culture that lies in a pre-historic phase. They feel that IDSP over the years has strengthened this romanticized vision through their deliberations.

These administrators claimed that they have detached themselves from this discourse and now criticize those people who are “lost in a romance of old things.” They said that they feel irritated when they see people engaged in revival of traditional practices which are not needed anymore and which are not in the interest of their society, their women, and their domestic economy. One administrator, Nadir Baloch, insisted that:

We have been in an unnecessary romance of culture and indigenous knowledge in the IDSP and I myself might have been part of it. I will say again, I also might have done and said things in favor of indigenous knowledge, but, now I realize that it is not an encouraging thing especially in a society where extreme poverty and injustices already prevail due to cultural practices.

Therefore, these IDSP administrators now urge IDSP to redefine indigenous knowledge only in the context of community development. They explained their own interpretation of indigenous knowledge which I discuss in the next section.

6.2.3.2 IDSP must redefine the role of indigenous knowledge in the process of development.

These administrators believe it is imperative for IDSP and its stakeholders to redefine the role of indigenous knowledge in community development. There was no indication, however, that they are inclined towards rejecting indigenous knowledge altogether. Rather, they want IDSP and its learners to give attention to social issues caused by some traditional norms and practices. In their view, currently IDSP and its stakeholders are engaged in revival of cosmetic things. One administrator, in this regard, quoted the example of Gandhi and his philosophy; he said “people have done such injustice with Gandhi; they remember his Dhoti (a piece of cloth worn around the waist) and spinning wheel but they have forgotten all about his philosophy” (Nadir Baloch). In his view, IDSP and its stakeholders have shown a similar attitude towards the revival of IK in Balochistan which he personally found very irritating.

These administrators and learners urged IDSP to build consensus among all its stakeholders on the interpretation of indigenous knowledge in the process of development. Nadir Baloch explained his own concept of IK: “The concept of IK in my mind is how to live a life with natural harmony based on the values of sustainable resource management; how you can be close to nature.” Some other research participants also explained their interpretation of indigenous knowledge in the context of community development. In their views, it means:

- how people used to manage their “water supply system;”
- what was the sustainable way of doing “water management systems;”
- how people formerly managed their “live stocks” in a sustainable way;
- how they used to deal with “waste management systems;”
- the nature of their “plant protection methods”;

- how our ancestors dealt with “poverty” in the past; and
- how they responded to “poverty with collectivism.”

Besides reconciling their conflicting views on revival of indigenous knowledge, IDSP stakeholders are trying to become universal by keeping their traditions alive yet adopting certain aspects of modernity. In the next section, I explain why they want to be universal and how they are balancing two very different worlds.

6.2.4 Becoming “universal” – Striving for balancing of two worlds.

It is evident that teaching and learning processes in ADP courses have vigorously renewed IDSP stakeholders’ relationship with their traditional culture. However, this congenial transplantation²³ of tradition does not imply that they are against all kind of modern development. It was evident that they are anxious to develop and move forward in the future, but, by an evolutionary process and through enlightenment, not by any kind of imposition of ideas and world order (see Box 6-2).

From the beginning they were questioning their status of being a Pashtun, Baloch, or Lasi in today’s world. During critical discourse on modernization and waves of globalization in ADP courses, they kept asking their teachers what kind of life should they live: should they go back to caves, or start travelling on the camels, stop using electricity, or watching TV, etc.? These are questions that can be raised by anyone who listens to IDSP’s strong critical views on modernization. Whenever I shared IDSP’s stance on modern notions of development, I was asked several times by many people whether these people are against all kinds of scientific development. During the data collection process, I observed that some IDSP

Box 6-2: Becoming “Universal”

In my view, we cannot reject all aspects of modernity altogether. In fact, my belief has become stronger now that there are certain things that we can take and receive. (Shafi Khan: Teacher)

There are several things in our culture that prevent you from doing many things. It might be necessary to change with the time. It would have been better if some things in the culture had been flexible with the age, but there were also certain things that needed to be intact . . . One of the challenges is that we are not moving with the pace, with the technology, and with this changing world. (Muhammad Nadeem: Learner)

We cannot completely rebel against our culture. We need a kind of change in our culture that will be acceptable in the whole community. . . Keeping this age in mind, I think that the element of innovation should be included in reinvention of indigenous knowledge. These things are a bit old; its concept should remain but techniques need to be changed. (Rafi Nisar: Learner)

The actual and important thing is to love your tradition and keep it alive . . . If you have adapted new things in a positive manner then it does not mean at all that you have left your tradition . . . If we are avoiding positive aspects of modernization because we think that these are not the part of our tradition then we are ruining ourselves. . . You should not hate your traditions; you must promote your traditions as much as possible. And, also adapt to new things; if you will not do it then you will be left behind by the rest of the world. (Naseem Baloch: Learner)

We did not want to live only in the past, it was not like that. We were enlightened and knew how we have to live in the future. . . I do not want to keep my people in the past; I want them to be enlightened and approach the future. But how to prepare people for change, so they can slowly, slowly start working towards change and learn working together and [how to] sustain things. (Rashid Zehri: Learner)

Overall, the standard of living has improved due to globalization. You can connect to your brother easily even if he lives in America; the basic facilities like water and food are available to you now. So, there are both advantages and disadvantages to globalization. (Iqbal Khan: Learner)

One thing that we know is that we cannot change people’s attitude towards the use of cell phones because it is a facility and no one can argue with the benefits of it. (Abida Naseem: Learner)

We revisit the traditional and local values in our courses; we discuss the strengths of traditional values and try to connect these values with current situations. We teach them to learn how to balance or weigh these values by connecting with the current situation; these values should not be totally sold out. We teach them how to avoid totally selling out traditional values. (IDSP Director)

Whatever happens globally, to some extent, leaves effects at the local level. (Akbar Rizvi: Administrator)

stakeholders were inclined towards technological and scientific development; they were deeply interested in the use of modern means of communication and transportation; they were enthusiastic in regard to installing modern information technology facilities in their offices; they were keen to equip their homes with modern appliances and their offices with equipment and assistive technology; and they were eager to find the fastest means of communication for disseminating their message to their targeted audience.

Their critical views on modernization, their deep respect and love for their traditional culture, and their eagerness to embrace modern technology and scientific development, demonstrate undeniably that they are striving to balance two worlds. However, the interesting and encouraging aspect of this balance is the fact that these indigenous individuals are trying to live a balanced life without having any negative or degrading feelings for their traditional culture *per se*.

They do not intend to give up their traditional culture to become global citizens. In fact, in this particular case, their own world (traditional one) is highly valued in comparison to the other's (modern) world. They are attracted to some part of the modernity for four reasons: one, they want to be connected with the world; two, they want to succeed and compete in today's world; three, they want to change the poor socio-economic state of their people; and fourth, they see goodness in certain aspects of modernity which they want to adopt.

After the transformative learning offered in ADP courses the direction of this balance has altered. Prior to attending this course, IDSP stakeholders felt that their traditional culture had prevented them from developing in sync with the pace of a rapidly-changing world. At that time they were forced by dominant groups to approach the reality of modernity; they were doing it but with hesitation and a sense of guilt that they were betraying their traditional culture (see Figure

6-5). Now, after the course, they have realized that they have to live in the future by keeping their roots alive and by embracing selective aspects of modernity (see Figure 6-6). They have been liberated from a burdensome oppression and this liberation has changed the direction of this balance; now, their traditional culture is more esteemed than global or modern or Western ideas.

Here the question comes to mind of how this balance was achieved and taught in ADP courses. Besides strengthening IDSP learners' belief in traditional culture and revitalizing their relationship with their traditions, IDSP teachers tried to cultivate their attitude towards certain useful aspects of modernity. IDSP teachers, during their interview sessions, insisted that their purpose was not to teach their students to reject all aspects of modernity. Rather, they taught their students that they "should take and receive certain things" from the modern/Western world." In other words, IDSP learners were taught that they "should not accept everything." According to one IDSP teacher "first, there was a mentality to accept everything" (Shafi Khan). IDSP teachers claimed that this mentality has changed among IDSP stakeholders; he said, "Now, we have an opportunity to examine and review things first and then decide".

During their exposure visits in Pakistan and abroad they learned about the good aspects of other cultures. These exposures gave them great opportunity to analyze the pathologies of their culture such as gender discrimination, elements of violence and extremism, and lack of tolerance in their society. To address these issues, they are willing to change and learn from others; however, they do not want to just replicate others' ideas and practices; they want to do it *in their own ways without compromising traditional values and practices they value.*

This approach, in my view, has brought an inner peace within their personalities. They have better understanding of their tradition; they are committed to the people of their communities, and they are living in and working for their traditional communities.

Simultaneously, they are ready to succeed and prepared to compete with the others with a high level of confidence as they are intellectually developed and professionally equipped with the normative knowledge of modernity.

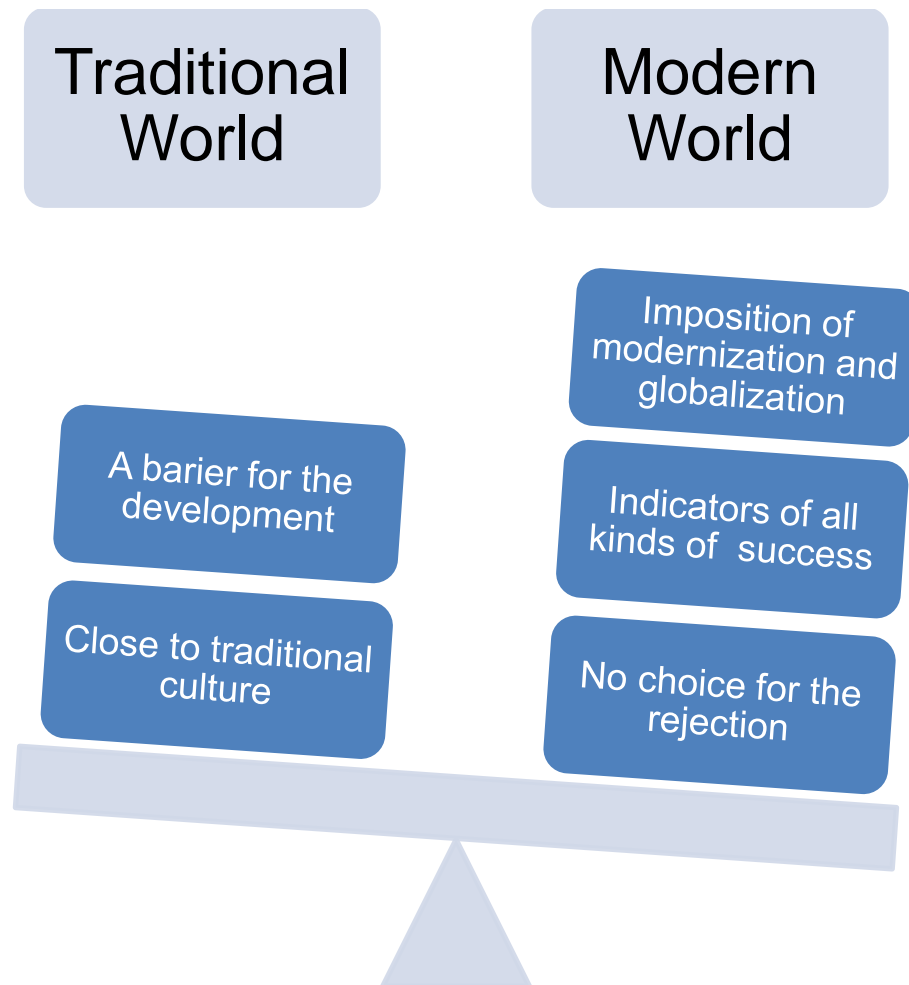


Figure 6-5: The Act of Balancing Two Worlds with Confusing and Hostile Attitude towards Both Worlds

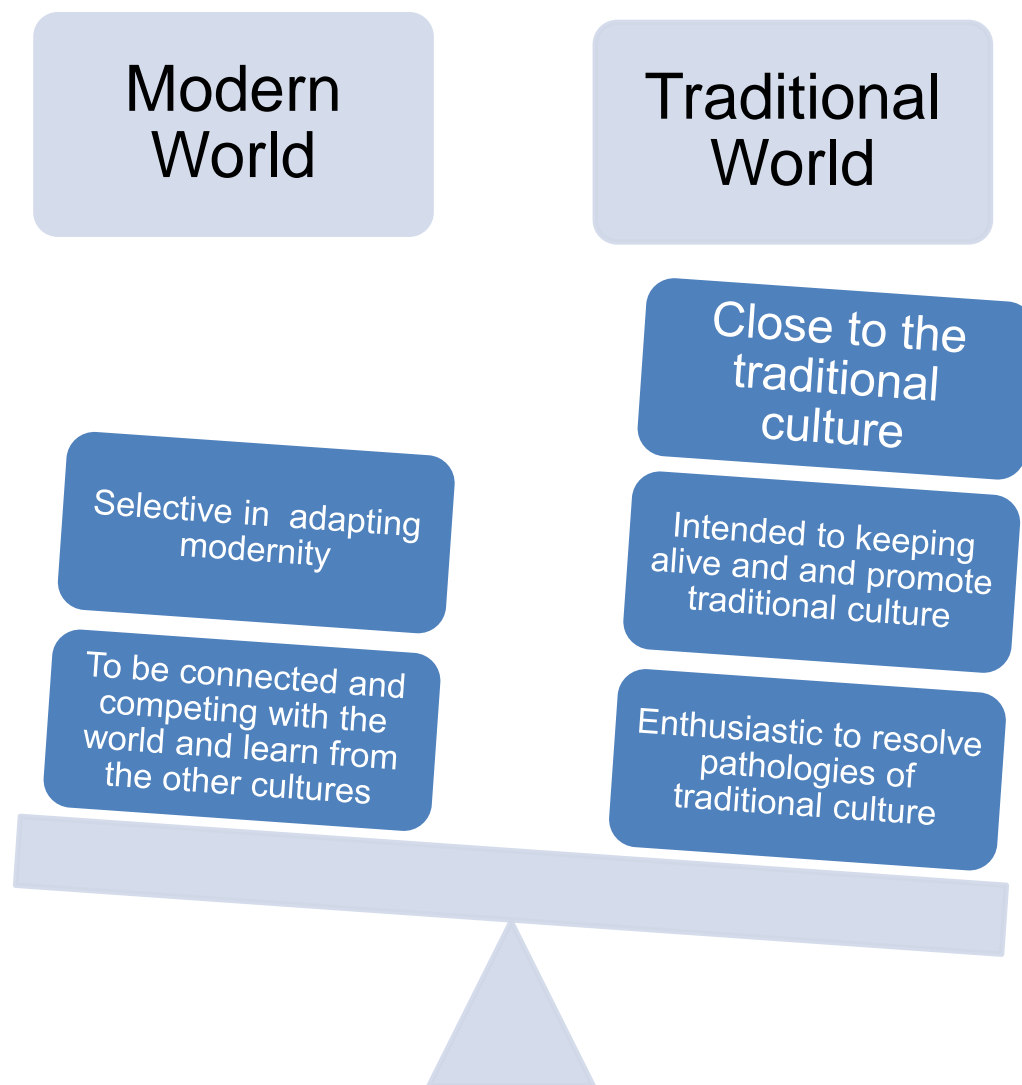


Figure 6-6: The Act of Balancing Two Worlds with Strong, Confident, and Critical Attitude towards Both Worlds

6.3 Summary

In this chapter IDSP stakeholders' critique and their alternatives notions of "development" as well as their personal views with regard to the practices of their "traditional culture" were discussed. At the level of personal development, they relate the notion of development to the intellectual development and critical imagination of the person. At the level of community development they rejected the idea of short-term development projects; and they defined

development as a multi-dimensional task that requires continuous effort and practice with developmental activities in a targeted community. At the community level, they relate the notion of development to the local context, local issues, local priorities, and local people as well. At the level of national and global development, they associate the notion of development with humanity, humanism, and universal values.

With respect to their perceptions on values and practices of their traditional culture it is evident that the ADP course has played a significant role in renewing their relationship with their traditional roots. Their critique on pathologies of their culture, their willingness to learn from other cultures, their openness to choose some specific aspects of modernity, and their commitment to revive good traditional practices and rectify the imperfect aspects of their culture, all these, reveal that ADP courses have given them a direction, and taught them how to succeed in today's world (keeping their ethnic identity intact) by combining some degree of "traditional identity" with careful and purposeful adoption and adaptation of modernity and mainstream practices.

7 Emancipatory Action: Successes and Shortfalls

Baumgartner (2001) believes that “action on... [a] new perspective is imperative;” for her, “not only seeing, but living... [a] new perspective is necessary” (p. 17). The purpose of this chapter is to understand in what ways IDSP stakeholders, particularly learners, believe their alternative perspectives have affected their personal and professional lives. To examine this question, I present in this chapter an overview of their intentional actions related to development, as they report them. In doing so I focus particularly on the actions that have affected their immediate lives and their social relations at the personal, professional, and community level. Basically, this chapter illuminates the influence of participants’ participation in ADP on self-reported perceptions of their engagement in community development practices, the main thrust of the final research question of this study.

7.1 Scope and Dynamics of Emancipatory Actions

The findings of this study show that the scope of emancipatory actions can vary in scale, significance, and effects. Rossman and Rallis (2003) argue that emancipatory knowledges “become a source of empowerment for individuals’ immediate daily lives and may affect larger oppressive social relations” (p. 23). My research findings also suggests that emancipatory action can be taken on a very small scale (e.g., a participant’s reflective decision to change her name — as in a case study reported in the previous chapter) to liberate oneself from long-standing depression and self-loathing. Of course, such action can be taken on a large scale, for instance a participant’s initiative in establishing a college for youth of his traditional community in order to foster activism and development by following non-traditional methods of teaching.

The significance of any action is determined by assessing the intensity and extended effects of that action on the related subject, field, and actors. In the case of emancipatory action,

the nature and sensitivity of the issue that is being addressed is crucial. In my view, a significant emancipatory action is one that produces relatively important, even surprising results regardless of its scale. For example, taking action against powerful and authoritative bodies, particularly on a large social, economic, or political platform, in order to address issues of corruption, exploitation, gender discrimination, and nepotism can be a significant act if it breaks the culture of silence in a conformist society. Actions taken at the micro level can be relatively as significant as action taken at the macro level, if they have positive effects even on one individual's life.

In terms of extended effects of emancipatory actions, I cannot claim that participants' actions have brought about large-scale change; examining large-scale, long-term impacts is beyond my capacity and, and in particular, beyond the scope of this research project. However, I can confirm that the emancipatory education provided by ADP courses has given its students the courage and voice to speak up against injustice.

In the following sections I will outline actions which participants took both individually and collectively. I have divided their actions into three levels in terms of scope: micro, meso, and macro (see Figure 7-1). Actions taken individually to address personal, family, and societal issues are reported as "micro level." Actions taken (individually or collectively) to confront some community issues on a small scale are reported as "meso level." Actions taken either at a national level or which received national attention are reported as "macro level."

7.2 Emancipatory actions at the micro level.

There are three major kinds of intentional micro-level actions reported by IDSP stakeholders.

The first type of action they took was at the family level where they worked to ensure their own and other female family members' involvement in the family decision-making process.

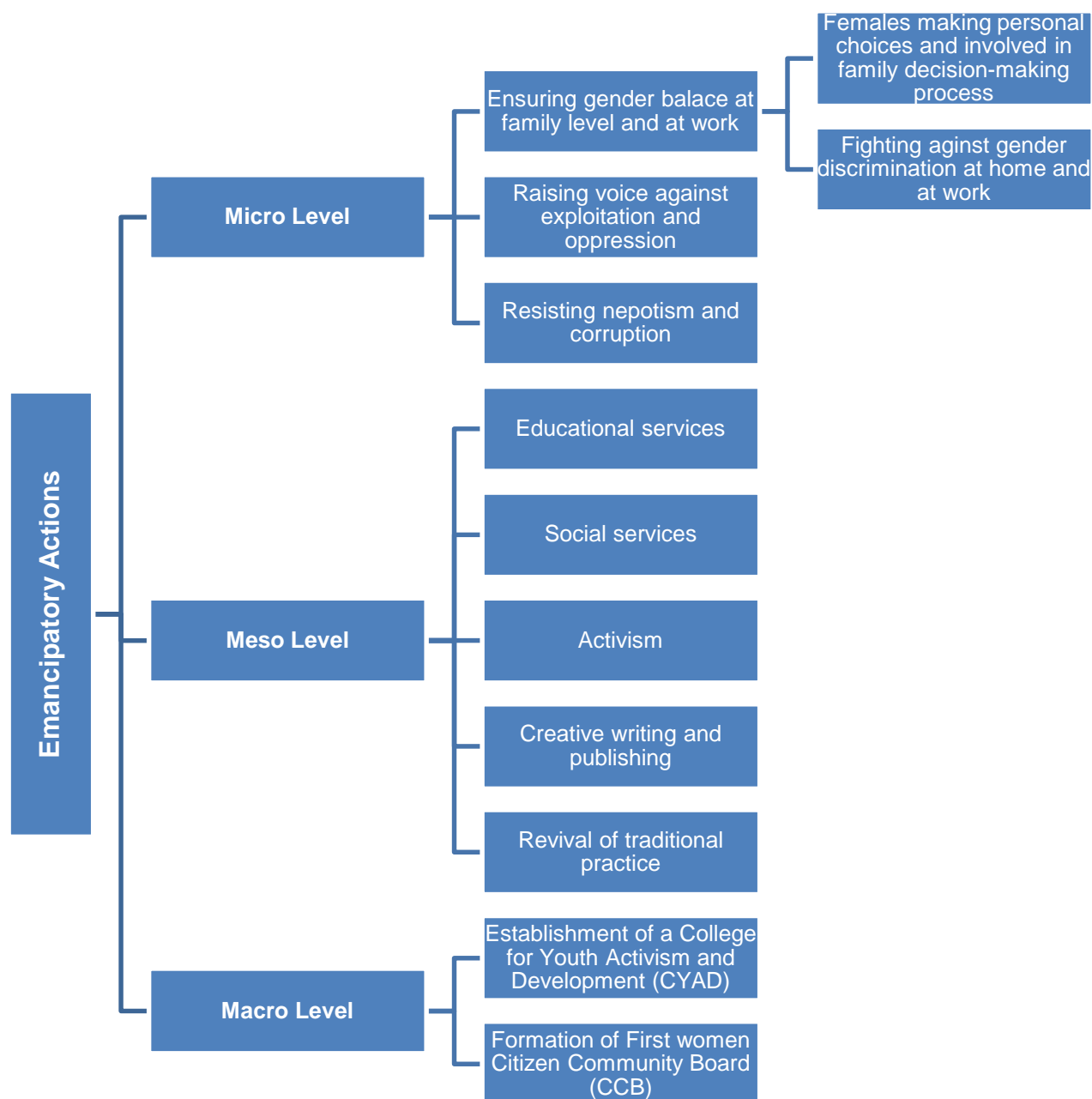


Figure 7-1: The Scope and Dynamics of Emancipatory Actions

The second important type of action they took was resisting gender discrimination by promoting gender balance at all levels, family, work, and community. The third category of their emancipatory actions is related to serious societal problems such as corruption, nepotism, oppression and exploitation of marginalized groups. This third category of emancipatory action relates to ethical decisions that they took to prevent themselves from taking part in any activity that could lead them into corruption or force them to exploit others. They took these actions because they did not want to compromise their personal integrity based on the humanitarian principles which they learned in ADP courses. I explain the details of these three key actions below.

7.2.1 Ensuring gender balance at family level and work.

The process of self-actualization and gender sensitization during the IDSP transformative learning process crystalized in learners' minds the injustice prevailing particularly at home and generally in society. After reframing their subjective and gendered identities, participants took bold steps to ensure gender balance in their families, work places, and community. They are trying to create gender balance in society by fighting against gender inequality through making appropriate personal choices, becoming involved in all family decisions, and sharing knowledge on gender issues with family and community members.

7.2.2 Females are making personal choices and getting involved in family decisions.

Research findings demonstrate that, after going through the gender sensitization phase in ADP courses, both male and female participants examined the role and status of female family members with a new understanding. They came to see clearly the male dominance in most family matters, particularly in the lack of voice and power of their mothers and other significant female family members in the family decision-making process. One male participant stated that,

when he returned home after completing the DS course, he realized that his father never involved his mother in any kind of family decision. He said that he observed his father took opinions from my uncles and even consulted his younger sons but he never asked for his wife's opinion, not even on important and sensitive family matters. He reported that he challenged his father in that regard and asked him to include his mother in all family decisions. According to him, he now always ensures his mother's presence and consideration of her opinions in important family matters. He said that "change starts from here; I started it from my home" (Rafi Nisar).

Female participants stated that during their studies at IDSP they shared their transformative knowledge, particularly on gender issues, with their parents. By transferring gender-sensitive knowledge they convinced their parents that they should be given freedom to make personal choices and be consulted on family decisions, particularly those related to their own lives. However, some female participants reported that becoming part of the family decision process involved long arguments with their parents. Sometimes they even had to face opposition from male relatives who have unwarranted and unnecessary influence over and interfere in the family matters. In most cases, these relatives opposed girls' education and career choices.

A recent evaluation study conducted by IDSP in 2012 on its MGD graduates, *Explore and study the impact of Mainstreaming Gender and Development courses of IDSP since 2003-2010 on its graduate learners of Balochistan*, reports that, after completing the course, sixty-three percent of the IDSP female graduates have resumed their education. Bypassing the teaching profession which is considered the "most suitable" profession for females, forty-three percent of female IDSP graduates decided to choose community development work by joining non-government organizations and by establishing self-employed skill-development centres

(Qambrani & Qambrani, 2012). Most of them, after the course, decided to join the higher-education institute, also an uncommon phenomenon in a traditional society.

According to all female participants, it was the authority and power of involvement in decision making that enabled them to change oppressive social relations at the family level. Most of the IDSP stakeholders in the study, particularly female participants, claim that they have brought gender balance to their home; furthermore they proudly assert that they are the reason for this change. In this regard, two female participants explained particularly striking changes in their fathers' behaviours. They stated that their fathers have played a vital role in supporting them in making their own choices and in ensuring females' say in family decisions. One female learner said "Earlier, it was not the rule of my family but now whenever he receives any wedding proposal for my sister or brother, he comes to them himself and asks for their will and [only] then accepts the proposal" (Rabia Ali). It was evident from the statements of some female participants that their fathers not only have supported them in creating greater gender balance at home, but, in fact, on several occasions, they have defended to relatives and other family members their daughters' personal choices and their involvement in family decisions.

Almost all participants, both male and female, acknowledged that "it is very difficult to bring change" (Rabia Ali) as it involves personal risks, genuine concerns for others, and confrontations. Participants reported that the authority and power of decision-making was the first and foremost factor that helped participants to bring any kind of change at family level. In the case of female participants, it was a matter of "taking" power while in the case of male participants it was about the giving or sharing their power with female family members.

7.2.3 Fighting against gender discrimination.

There were some female participants who said that at home their parents have always given preference to their sons over their daughters whether in feeding them or educating them. In their communities, in most families, boys are in a privileged position. Findings of this study reveal that at home, after the course, the participants struggled to lessen and end such discrimination.

The following account by a female participant depicts the dynamics of their arguments with parents and how their situational reality was altered in their favour at home:

As I learned in this course I talked to my mother and explained to her that as our brothers are human beings so are your daughters too. I told her that “we have the same rights as they do; you should give us the same love as you give our brothers.” My mother again shouted at me and said “yeah, you have become very educated now; where did you learn all this, you go outside and no wonder what you learn there.” But I kept telling her that “God has given you both sons and daughters. They are His blessings and you should treat both of them equally so whatever you are doing you should do for both of them.” So, slowly, slowly, my mother’s attitude towards us changed but it took her so many years to change. For a long period of time she fought with us but at last she changed. Now, she supports me in my decisions and if I ask her to go anywhere, even alone, she did not stop me and question me; earlier she did not allow us to go anywhere. Now, if I say that I don’t need to accompany my younger brother because he is so young and I have some work to do then she will not refuse and allows me to go by myself. Now, she has gained the belief that girls are also worthwhile and they can also study and work. (Sabeen Baloch)

At the family level, IDSP learners took different types of actions to reduce gender disparity. Their actions depended on the nature of the gender issue. In most cases, they have dialogues with family members, mostly with their parents, and sometimes with brothers and other dominating relatives such as uncles and male cousins. However, in some cases, besides dialogue, they have to take other necessary actions (for example, legal action) to attain affirmation of their own rights or the rights of other females. They asserted that, as a result of their dialogues with parents on gender sensitive issues, their parents’ attitudes toward them and their siblings have changed.

Most of the IDSP female graduates insisted that, not only at their own home but also at the community level during their field visits, they convey the message of gender equality, particularly to the mothers of their community. One particular female learner, who has been engaged in community-development projects since she graduated from IDSP in 2005, shared her method of conveying the message of gender equality:

I often convey a message to women that if your son is your one eye then your daughter is your other eye. If you are giving education to your son only and not to your daughter then it means that you have one eye with the light and one eye without the light. Both of them must be equal before you, you must provide education to both of them. So, I use this example for creating gender balance in their lives. (Rabia Ali)

According to female research participants, discourse on gender issues in ADP courses has affected their perceptions and personalities deeply. They claimed that consciously and unconsciously they have acted upon gender-relevant issues and events in their lives. However, despite continuous efforts, they face difficulties in fostering gender balance in the work place and at the community level. In their view, “people do not want to accept it [gender balance] . . . and they take it as a joke” (Rabia Ali). They explained that it was extremely hard for them to create gender balance outside the home boundaries. In their view, achieving gender balance in a traditional society is the most important but also the most difficult task. They said that, in their work places and in informal gatherings in their communities, they had always felt alone whenever they raised their voices on gender-sensitive issues or took a stand to defend their rights. They said that people in their offices and in their communities laugh at them and make fun of their views related to gender.

Male research participants also shared their efforts to promote gender balance in their own homes and in their work environment. Their statements on their intentional actions toward that end reveal that their vehemently-entrenched attitudes towards gender-specific

(stereotypically male) roles have changed. They have come to understand that the social reality specific to gendered identities and subjectivities is not the natural order of things. They claimed that now they participate in home chores while earlier it was a matter of honor and ego not to do so.

Some male learners who are married and have daughters shared courageous decisions they took to open the doors of new opportunities for their daughters. For example, one father allowed his teen-age daughter to travel to Quetta, Karachi, and Islamabad from his home town Sibi, to compete in an Intel computer-software project. He said that “being a member of a tribal society we used to think that a woman cannot become anything except a teacher;” he added:

If I had not done the IDSP course then I might have not permitted her to travel to Islamabad. But now I say that she can do whatever she wants to do and she must do it. She said she wants a computer and I immediately bought one for her. (Naseem Baloch)

This kind of changing attitude reported by male participants has improved the family dynamics of their homes in favour of women and children as well. Pashtoon and Baloch research participants discussing the family environment of a traditional family stated that in their families a huge communication gap exists between the father and children. Male research participants who have children said that, after their participation in ADP, their style of thinking has changed with respect to raising their children. They claimed that their children are very close to them now. They believe that now they are quite lenient parents as compared to other Baloch and Pashtoon parents. Without hesitation they admitted that their children can now demand anything from them.

In a similar vein, male participants shared ways in which they have tried to create gender balance in their work places. They stated that in their organizations they have always tried to recruit local females and oppose hiring non-local females. They further reported that they had

tried their best to provide local females a supportive working environment so they can become a source of inspiration for other local women. Most of the male learners are associated with the NGO sector; so, not surprisingly, they claimed that at every opportunity they encourage gender mainstreaming. They claimed that in all kinds of developmental activities they assured a fair representation of women. One male learner who has been involved in community development work for the last nineteen years stated that:

When we make official policies we always say that women should also be included; it is their right if we can make decisions then they should also be able to do the same. In every forum we try to involve women, for example, in programs and seminars where men are usually invited as speakers we invite females too as speakers; we want them to speak. If we organize a seminar on gender issues and don't give opportunities to women to speak their views, then it would be a huge contrast between our words and actions. (Rafi Nisar)

Contrary to female participants, male participants did not mention any challenges in reducing gender imbalance in work places. Instead they shared their efforts to introduce gender-sensitive policies and initiatives at work.

Both male and female participants raised one major, burning gender issue, the issue of forced marriages particularly at a very young age. There were some cases reported by both male and female participants in which they took careful but necessary actions to stop forced and premature marriages which were arranged at childhood. There was genuine risk involved in dealing with this issue as in some cases the male learner had to confront some very close and senior family members who are always given respect in a traditional society. In some situations, such confrontation can lead to enmity. However, IDSP male stakeholders not only resist such horrible traditional practices themselves, they also encouraged their daughters to resist such imposed decisions and traditional customs. One male learner explained how he taught his daughter to resist such peer pressure:

In my own home my brother-in-law, who has one son, wants to arrange a marriage proposal for his son with my daughter. My daughter and his son, both are very young. But they have started calling my daughter her daughter-in-law. . . I don't like this. That is why I talked to my sister and told her that "our children will decide for themselves about their marriages when they will grow up. . . Most of the time in these kinds of cases, when children grow up they refuse to get married and then chaos and enmity start within the family. I also advised my daughter that "you must stop them the next time they call you their daughter-in-law." I did this so she can get the [necessary] self-confidence and be able to take her decisions by herself. If I had not done the gender module (in the ADP course) I would have never been able to think like this. (Naseem Baloch)

These incidents prove that now male participants can see gender issues with a more open mind at both the family and office levels. Their courageous and non-conventional decisions and emancipatory actions are evidence of their actions to give their mothers, daughters, and female colleagues strength, voice, space, and rights in their society.

7.2.4 Raising one's voice against exploitation and oppression.

One important outcome of emancipatory education in ADP courses is the IDSP stakeholders' capacity to challenge agents of hegemonic institutions, unscrupulous employers, and supporters of oppressive social structures. Findings of this research reveal that, in many public forums and meetings, participants had openly criticized and challenged those meta-narratives, habits, and ways of being that have been major sources of exploitation and oppression of vulnerable members of society.

In de Sousa Santos's Postmodern Critical Theory, the existence of a culture of silence in postcolonial societies is considered one of the main difficulties preventing reinvention of alternative knowledges. All IDSP stakeholders also confirmed the presence of a culture of obedience and conformity in their communities. They said that this culture had made the common rural and tribal people believe that everything is fine in their social systems. One learner said that "Somehow we are taught/given a message to be silent and to be quiet on events

happening in the world or in a family or in our society or in our area. We are not allowed to question anything” (Muhammad Nadeem). They said that this culture of obedience and silence is reinforced so strongly that it is very hard for common people to challenge it. In the views of IDSP stakeholders, this hegemonic phenomenon has created a culture of fear within society so that people are afraid to speak up before powerful, authoritative, and dominant groups. According to one administrator, one basic task of ADP was to defeat that fear.

In this study, almost all research participants proclaim that they feel fearless when they present their critical views to powerful authorities and audiences. They said they know what they are saying is righteous and that is the reason they do not care about the consequences of their actions. Their shared stories suggest strongly that they never hesitated to speak up before anyone and in any forum whether it was a large coordination meeting at the district level or an informal gathering at the community level (see Box 7-1). One administrator reported that:

After being in IDSP we have gotten that courage and confidence which helps us to take a stand in front of anybody whether that person is an academician, secretary, or a powerful authority; we do not care that something bad will happen if we speak up. We have courage to stand up in a gathering of 100 or 200 people and speak up for the right thing and say that what you are saying is wrong and this is the fact. We can dialogue in any kind of forum. This is an important aspect/success of our course because, as I told you earlier, we don't have that kind of culture in our society where a common person in a forum of 200 people in a hotel meeting stands and disagrees with powerful people and shares the [relevant] facts. (Nadir Baloch)

IDSP teachers and administrators shared with pride their views on this particular outcome of the ADP. In their view, it is the most important aspect and success of the IDSP's ADP. They claimed that they have broken the culture of silence of their traditional society. They said it was surprising for the IDSP faculty as well as for the members of tribal communities to see common

Box 7-1: Challenging Authorities to Stop Exploitation and Oppression

For example, in certain situations I was not frightened to raise my voice; I was not afraid that this action of mine could take me down. For example, once, in a meeting I objected to the promotion of a junior staff member who recently joined the organization. I objected to his promotion not because of senior and junior hierarchy but due to his poor skills. So, this was the openness that I have, but I did it knowing that it can damage my career in this organization. I did it because in my view it was a wrong decision that the Director of that organization took, and that I have learned from the IDSP as I told you earlier how we criticized the whole administration of the IDSP in the EPP project. One should stand for the right/justice/truth even if the Director fires you. (Naseem Baloch: Male Learner)

There was a coordination meeting at the district level in which the District Commissionaire and District Nazim (Mayor) were presiding . . . ; so, one government official commented that the education system is a like a patient and everyone comes to try to make it better. I, immediately stood up and said “Sir, education is that kind of patient who is about to die but you are trying to make it alive on different injections; Unicef comes and injects it with furniture (or other resources), WHO comes and injects it by giving butter, NCHD injects it with teachers’ training . . . So it is alive on injections; don’t you feel, this patient should be dead by now. When this patient dies, then a new system will emerge which will be youthful, that system will function, this (present) system is a dead system. When you give it an injection, for a short time of period it will cough but eventually it will die.” So, I said all of this in a big forum and people know all of this, and, by the way, people do listen to you. (Rashid Zehri: Male Learner)

In Kohlu district where I employed some Pashtoon men there is a Baloch tribe, Bajarani; some people from that tribe came to me with weapons and complained that our Baloch people are dying and you are offering jobs to Pashtoon. So, they were trying to blackmail me. I offered to have a discussion with them instead of [listening to their attempts at] scaring me. I spoke to my officers and the District Commissioner of the district. I did not change my decision and took a firm stand; I took the risk for my employees. We have been practicing all of this in our professional life.(Arbaz Khan: Male Learner)

Recently, I attended a meeting in the provincial Education Department on evaluation of Balochistan’s scenario on education. One Education Officer asked NGO representatives to fill out a form, I stood up and said, “I was not expecting this . . . how can we, representatives of only 4 NGOs, represent the whole Balochistan”. When I raised that point, then the Education Officer laughed and said “She is Safeena Lehri and she does not care who is sitting in front of her, Secretary Education or Chief Minister. If she has to speak about what is right then she will speak in front of [the] whole forum”. . . So, sometimes I listen to these kinds of comments about me. People say to me that “you are a bit harsh” but they also say that “you are confident because you know what you are going to say”. (Safeena Zehri: Female Teacher)

people challenging the government and powerful authorities in public forums. One IDSP administrator said with astonishment “I don’t know which aspect of our programs gives our learners such courage that a common community worker will not hesitate to write a letter to the

Secretary Education” (Akbar Rizvi). IDSP stakeholders found it difficult to identify clearly those aspects of ADP that helped them to create such courageous capabilities within its learners. In their view, however, the IDSP’s empowering environment which is based on openness, sharing, feedback, reflective discourses, and principles of equality, has played a crucial role in giving its stakeholders this courage and confidence. As one IDSP administrator put it, in IDSP:

We never stopped anyone from writing anything neither did we put any communication protocol in place so that you cannot meet certain people. There was an environment in which they were free to share anything. People took so much interest and started working when, within a closed society, they found themselves in an open environment. (Akbar Rizvi)

Because of this type of human agency, IDSP faculty believe the contribution of IDSP learners is quite different from that of other players in the development sector in Balochistan. They claimed that their learners will always perform differently even if they have to work for mainstream institutions.

7.2.5 Resisting Nepotism and Corruption.

Nepotism and corruption are two major social evils rooted in Pakistani societies. In the latest Transparency International Annual Report (2012), Pakistan is ranked the 34th most corrupt country among 176 countries of the World. The findings of this study show that, on several occasions, IDSP stakeholders took actions to stop nepotism at their work places. Many stakeholders, on an individual basis, refuse to become the part of organizations where exploitation and corruption are unavoidable. On ethical grounds, they have set their career choices accordingly and have declined many attractive job offers.

I heard a widely-shared maxim from many IDSP learners, “if you cannot stop the exploitation, oppression, and corruption, then, at least, try not to become part of those institutions where these social evils cannot be avoided.” One IDSP learner said that his fellow course

participants clearly understood what social construction and change really is and how it can be furthered in society. In his view, the essence of this discourse was that you should not be part of the establishment and the mainstream system because they are corrupt and promote inequality in the society.

There were some research participants who reported that, from a very young age, they had desired to join the civil services. A few of them have joined civil services and are serving in their areas in the position of Deputy Commissionaire; however, two research participants explained that their dream of becoming a civil servant was completely changed after participation in ADP courses. After the course, these learners, despite peer pressure, refused to write the civil-service exams and chose to join non-government organizations. The following statements are evidence of their emancipatory decision and explain the rationale of their decisions:

I will give you an example that I usually share with people. During the course, I met the Chief Secretary of Balochistan and Secretary of Local Government. I had a discussion with them on the post-colonial bureaucratic structure of Pakistan. I showed them the receipt of my enrollment in PCS (Public Commission Services) exams but I told them that I will not appear in the PCS exams. They asked me “Why?” I answered that “I can only become an Assistant Commissionaire if I will complete the PCS; also, I could not survive in that system if I try to be honest. The Deputy Commissionaire would expect me to engage in dishonesty for him and be unjust with people.” By that time I had read the autobiography of Dr. Akhtar Hamid Khan in which he explained why he left the Civil Services and joined the development sector. So, I was inspired with Dr. Khan’s story as well. That is why I told both the Chief Secretary and Secretary Local Government that I would not join Civil Services because I would not be able to make my officers happy. (Arbaz Khan)

I had a discussion with the Chief Secretary of Balochistan at the Airport; at one point he said “why don’t you appear in Civil Services examinations?” I said “Why should I take that exam?” he said “you will become a government officer like me” I asked him “what do you do there with your own will? . . . I further said, “What can I offer in that corrupt system”? He said, “But I am not corrupt.” I said, “You are not corrupt but you are part of that corrupt system. Though you

are not a thief you are supporting a thief.” So I said all this in that way. (Rashid Zehri)

IDSP stakeholders stated that over the years their critical thinking, knowledge of truth, and their working experiences have helped them in setting their priorities, working principles, and boundaries for development. They said that they are now in a position where they can refuse a 50,000-rupee or 100,000-rupee salary package if they feel that in that organization they would have to compromise their working principles. Here are some statements that reveal their work ethics and principles:

I have been offered a very handsome salary in an organization, almost double my current salary, but I refused that offer since that job was against my nature . . . I will decline a high salary job if I know that, in that job, I would have to engage in exploitation. I can say that I have got the internal strength to refuse a high position in an organization where looting and corruption is common . . . I tell you, there are so many things that I consider when I choose a project of an organization. For example, I prefer to work for a project of an NGO that allocates 20% of its budget to operational costs (such as salaries) and 80% of its budget for the community. There are organizations that allocate 40% for salaries and only 60% for communities. So, I will prefer the one that spends only 20% on salaries and spends more money to facilitate the community. If someone can work for 20000 rupees then why are you paying 40000 rupees for the same work? So, here come the challenges, like I personally dislike the arrangements of expensive refreshments in community participation work. There are organizations which offer mineral bottled-water, food, and even cash money during community meetings in remote villages. (Muhammad Nadeem)

Right now, I am at a place where I am 80% following my thoughts and beliefs, I am mentally satisfied with the work I am doing here (in the IDSP Literacy Project). I have seen so many people who changed their jobs very frequently because they are not enjoying their work. However, in my case, because my mind/intellect/wisdom is with me that’s why I do not much care about the money even if it is less. I know that by following my wisdom I am doing work that is right. (Rafi Nisar)

I realized this when I was part of IDSP. I will never get into the [government] employment (or become part of establishment), so for that you have to take a risk as well which I took. After that things started building themselves, so it all depends on your trust because you don’t know from where God will help you. So, it has numerous aspects, you see. (Wahid Khan)

Although most IDSP learners have joined non-mainstream institutions, they are still facing issues of nepotism and corruption in their organizations. Both male and female participants reported that they have frequently switched their jobs in the NGO sector. They cited a couple of reasons including the short-term duration of the projects, highly-structured policies and operational plans, non-negotiable frameworks, the presence of a culture of corruption and nepotism, and excessive use of resources on non-developmental activities.

Besides refusing high-salary job offers from corrupt and oppressive organizations, on several occasions they tried to challenge their employers and co-workers who were engaging in nepotism by giving favours to their relatives, incompetent officers, and friends (see Box 7-2). Some learners stated that they resigned from their jobs because they found themselves in an environment where it was very hard for them to avoid taking bribes or where they noticed that developmental activities were going against the interest of the local people and the actual purpose of the project. IDSP stakeholders recounted that, in several community developments and flood-relief projects, they and other IDSP fellows have tremendous opportunities to make money and earn commissions, but they refused to do so (see Box 7-2).

IDSP faculty responding to my question regarding their expectations for IDSP students stated that the biggest challenge for their students is to challenge the standard practices of development. They said it is very difficult for them to do something which they dislike, which they believe is wrong, and which they know is not going to benefit the targeted audience. In the view of the IDSP Director “one of the biggest challenges for learners is to follow their perceptions and dreams and to put forward/apply/advance those ideas”.

Box 7-2: Resisting Nepotism and Corruption

As I told you, now I question things and when I do this people don't like it. . . On one occasion, the administration decided to rent a car that was available for [purchase at] 16000 rupees/month in an open market. The Director of that organization was interested in buying a car only from one of his relatives/friends . . . I objected to this decision because that person was renting the car for 20000 rupees. I argued that . . . there is no point to renting a car for such a high price when it is available [for purchase] at a cheaper price in the market. I suggested that we can rent a car from him only on condition that he will charge us the going market rate, that is, 16000 rupees. In my view, it was a good suggestion because we were giving him business. However, the Director got angry and the next day when he came he did not even shake my hand. (Naseem Baloch: Male Learner)

Once I had to recruit a driver in an office (NGO); so we received a number of CVs. For this little job I received telephone calls from some Ministers. I decided in the presence of God that I would not hire anyone on a Minister's recommendation. I took this stand because I know that anyone who is hired on someone's recommendations does not work even if he or she is good at that job; he will say that "I am the Minister's relative so send my salary to my home." That is why I decided firmly that I would not hire him. . . So, I resisted and I would resist to whatever level would be possible for me, and I have done it. (Arbaz Khan: Male Learner)

One learner of ours was working in a big NGO for a 100,000-rupee pay package but he quit it and went to his village and now he is working there at a comparatively low wage. (Zaman Khan: Teacher)

Yes, I resigned from ABCD . . . It is a national-level institution . . . The issue of literacy has not been covered as it should have been done. I first tried to cover it as it should be done in reality, but it was not happening there given the realities of the situation. They were not doing the right thing. (Rabia Ali: Female Learner)

After completing my Masters I applied to an international NGO and I got selected without any recommendation as a social organizer which is almost impossible nowadays. In that project all the staff members were accused of corruption and they were certainly involved in that corruption, but I was one of the staff members who were not accused of corruption . . . A project where some easy and good opportunities for making money were available but I did not commit such acts. So, this is what I did at the individual level. (Iqbal Khan: Male Learner)

Our two learners in ABCD organizations were engaged in a flood-relief project; many people in this project committed the crime of corruption but they did not. Recently I was in Islamabad where I met two of our learners who were working in a mega-project that has 20 or 25 million rupees procurement. Neither of them ever got a penny as a commission. So, I think, this is the strength . . . And, it is not like only IDSP has given this strength to them; there is an innate quality that already prevails in you that is your sense of ethics that IDSP may strengthen. (Wahid Khan: Administrator)

Their emancipatory action at the micro level has established a general perception of IDSP and its learners in the society of Balochistan, a perception that people from IDSP are not “normal,” “common,” and “ordinary” people. In the words of IDSP stakeholders they are defined as “different,” “unusual,” “radical,” “difficult,” “strange,” “weird,” “crazy,” “insane,” “revolutionary,” and “exceptional” people by their friends, family members, and development practitioners. Participants reported that some of their friends and family and community members questioned their new identity and made fun of their revolutionary ideas. They disliked their critique on modernization, the formal schooling system, and globalization. In the development sector, according to participants, people either like them a lot or completely reject them as soon as they find out that they come from IDSP. On one hand, they are in high demand in the NGO sector of Balochistan and, on the other hand, they are facing several challenges in finding a stable position in this sector. One learner said that, “people of other NGOs think that people who have been associated with IDSP have a different psyche” (Rafi Nisar). He said there are several people in the NGO sector who do not like this “psyche” and consequently they avoid employing IDSP learners in their development projects.

At a micro level, IDSP stakeholders’ individual reflective decisions and actions have brought significant positive changes. At the family level, they have been successful in creating a gender balance that has certainly changed the family dynamics in the favour of women. At the community level, their continuous resistance towards gender discrimination, oppression, exploitation, nepotism and, corruption has played a significant role in breaking the culture of silence of their society. The next section of this chapter will focus on those community-development initiatives that were undertaken on a small scale by IDSP and its stakeholders.

7.3 Emancipatory actions at the meso level.

During the discussion on alternative development practices, research participants shared details of some community initiatives that were either taken by them or by IDSP itself or other IDSP fellows who were not participants in this research. These initiatives are divided into five categories: educational services, social-service delivery, activism, creative writing and publishing, and revival of traditional practices.

During my field work, I gathered evidence of some of these actions, but, it was hard to collect evidence regarding those undertaken by non-participants in this study. The main purpose of explaining these actions here is to illustrate how emancipation of critical and alternative knowledge has influenced the developmental practices of IDSP Stakeholders.

7.3.1 Educational services.

IDSP stakeholders reported five key educational initiatives: (i) development of eight district education policies; (ii) a short-term non-formal education project for out-of-school children in the Sibi district (an intervention of IDSP); (iii) development of a textbook for out-of-school children; (iv) initiation of a home school for children and women in Lasbella District; (v) building a tuition academy for children and youth of Khuzdar District. Among these five, the first two initiatives were taken at the institutional level in IDSP while three others were undertaken by IDSP learners (see Table 7-1).

Education has always been a provincial responsibility in Pakistan but national education policy and the national curriculum has always been developed at the federal level with the consultation of provincial education ministries and other provincial educational bodies. In the view of IDSP stakeholders, neither national policy nor curriculum include the voice of the common people of Baluchistan.

Table 7-1: Emancipatory Actions at Meso Level

Initiatives	Self/Collective Action	Start Date	Current Status ²⁴	Target Audience
Educational Services				
Development of 8 District Education Policies	IDSP Collective Action	2005	Unknown	Local districts and local people
Develop a text book "Literacy for change (Zaanth Literacy Quaida) based on Freire's Critical Pedagogy" ²⁵	Self * ²⁶	2011	Functional	Children of rural areas
Pilot testing of non-formal education program for out-of-school children	IDSP Collective Action	2005	Dysfunctional	Youth of Nomad Families in Sibi District (out-of- school)
Home schools for children and women in District Lasbella	Self	2010	Functional	Children and Women (both in school and out of school)
Tuition academy for youth & children in Khuzdar	Learners Collective Action	2001-2007	Dysfunctional	Youth (in school and out of school)
Social Services				
Installation of water purification plant	Self *	2005	Functional	Local people of District Thar
MGD graduates established and led IDSP Women's campuses in 5 districts	IDSP Collective Action	2007	Functional	Local women (all ages)
Trained Women Councillors	IDSP Collective Action	2005-2006	Completed	Newly selected Women Councillors of rural areas
Establish skill development centres for local women	Self *	Un-known	Unknown	Local women
Formation of a Farmer association in Mirpurkhas	Self *	2002	Unknown	Farmers
Activism				
Launch a campaign on impact of Mirani Dam	Self	2011	Functional	Victims of Mirani Dam building
Honor killing case in Sibi	Self	2010	n.a.	Saved the life of one woman

Formed a Theatre group in Lasbella District	Learners Collective Action	2002	Dysfunctional	Local people, Local issues, and local NGOs
Protested against extra-judicial killings in Sindh	Learners Collective Action	2007	n.a. (one time activity)	Victims of extra-judicial killings
Creative Writing & Publishing				
Newspaper articles	Self	1998-2011	n.a.	People of Balochistan
Journal article published in IDSP magazines & Journal (see Appendix 7-A)	Self	1998-2011	n.a.	Development practitioners, activists, and academia
Revival of Traditional Practices				
Rehabilitation of Karazes	Self *	2010	Functional	Local People, farmers
IDSP mud-construction Project	IDSP	2010	Functional	Local People

The other four educational initiatives of IDSP and its learners (see Table 7-1) seem quite ordinary initiatives. For example, the establishment of “tuition academies” is a very common phenomenon in Pakistan. These academies serve only those students who are *already* enrolled in formal schools and colleges. Students attend these academies to improve their school learning and achieve higher grades on board exams. These mainstream tuition academies do not provide any services to those who are out-of-school. They fully follow the school and college curriculum. However, the tuition academy, the computer literacy centre and one home school that two IDSP learners mentioned, target both in-school and out-of-school children and youth, and women who have never been in school. These learners stated that they use non-traditional teaching approaches (such as mentoring) and content and curricula (local issues, gender issues, youth activism etc.) to engage their students in the learning process. They reported that, besides developing their students’ literacy and numeracy skills, these academies on a regular basis conduct sessions on some community and social issues. One of the learners who played an important role in the establishment and operation of the one Information Learning Centre (ILC) and a tuition academy (Learners Academy of Intellectuals) explained what was taught in these centres:

We used to talk about alternatives, we used to work with youth, and we used to discuss their roles and their issues. We were not trying to isolate them, we never advised them to leave school. No, since we ourselves were trying to understand and practice; therefore we were giving them tuition, e.g., tuition in English and Mathematics because we had skills in these subjects, so we used to teach these subjects. As a result, the students, who were back benchers [students who do not perform well in class activities and sit in the back rows] started taking first positions in the class. They were motivated; that’s why they used to come to us. Besides teaching their school subjects we used to have general discussions with them twice a week. In these discussions we used to talk about their role, their society, and their families . . . We formed youth forums there; we used to organize public assemblies as well. We also organized and facilitated dialogues with local governments and people to see what could be done, to understand the current issues and discuss possibilities for change. (Rashid Zehri)

Hundreds of non-formal schools exist in rural areas of Pakistan and hundreds of books have been published for school-age children. However, there are certain features of these IDSP initiatives that distinguish them from other NGOs initiatives such as:

- IDSP and its learners targeted specifically children, youth, and women who either had never attended school or had withdrawn from formal schools;
- They used non-traditional teaching approaches and methods such as a mentoring approach;
- Their purpose in teaching was not limited to the development of literacy and numeracy skills but also extended to creating consciousness on certain social issues such as gender, economic activities, accountability, governance, and violence, and extremism;
- They tried to make teaching content relevant to the realities of their students;
- These initiatives were taken *after* examining the local needs of the area.

7.3.2 Social services.

During the interviews, IDSP teachers and administrators shared information and perceptions on the contribution of IDSP and its learners in social-service delivery. They specifically mentioned the following five key self-initiatives in which their learners were intensively involved:

(i) installation of a water purification plant in a desert area; (ii) establishment of IDSP campuses for women in five districts of Balochistan; (iii) Training of newly selected women councillors; (iv) establishment of a skill-development centre for women; and (v) formation of a farmers' association in the district of Sindh.

Most of these initiatives were being undertaken by the IDSP and graduates who did not participate in this study. All of these initiatives operated at the local level. According to IDSP

teachers, these initiatives are good examples of alternative development practices by IDSP and its learners as they emerged “on the ground” as a result of their students’ interest in specific issues and needs of their local communities. In other words, these initiatives were not taken due to any national or international campaign in the field of community development.

For example, the water purification plant in Tharparkar was constructed because of one learner’s deep interest in understanding the reasons for extreme poverty in his district. According to one teacher, this specific learner in the DS course came to realize that poverty in his area cannot be alleviated through income-generating schemes and functional literacy programs. So, during the course he carried out a small research project on his area and found out that people of his area spent a major portion of their income on cure of diseases that are caused by drinking contaminated water. After identifying the root cause of the problem, he, with the help of IDSP, built connections with the relevant institutions and individuals such as a university and journalists. He continued his efforts to understand a solution to the problem and finally he was able to build a water-purification plant in his district.

The other three initiatives, building nine skill-development centres and five IDSP campuses in local areas and providing training to local women councillors were taken up and led by the female graduates of the MGD courses. According to one IDSP teacher, in the five IDSP campuses, besides access to literacy and computer skills, local women are given awareness of the consequences of forced marriages, issues of domestic violence, the importance of girls’ nutrition and women’s health, and on the issue of infants’ and mothers’ death and more. In this way MGD graduates provided training to newly-selected local women who were completely unaware of the local governance system and most of whom were also not educated. IDSP graduates

trained these aspiring councillors on budgeting, human rights, democracy, and their role in the newly established local governance system.

7.3.3 Activism

Four participants in this study stated that they have been involved in “activism” since they have graduated from the IDSP. One female learner shared a case of honour killing in which she was secretly involved in saving the life of an intended woman victim. In a similar vein, one Baloch male learner stated that he, along with other course participants, protested in front of a Press Club against extra-judicial killing in Sindh province.

A research participant from Lasbella District shared details of his initiative in forming a theatre in his district. He formed this theatre, named Amal (Action), with the help of twelve other local people in 2005. This theatre had performed mostly in an NGO’s advocacy campaign on health issues. This theatre group was functional for only four years. The main reasons for its disappearance are lack of resources and the dispersion of the founding members.

In my view, the most interesting case of activism reported by study participants is one learner’s efforts to launch a campaign on impacts of a dam on the local people of his area. This campaign was launched as a result of an IDSP learner’s impact study on the Mirani Dam that was built in the region of Makran. In this study he found flaws in the design and construction of the dam that later ruined the lives of hundreds of local people. That specific learner has written about this disaster in a provincial newspaper, Daily Intekhab. His campaign received substantial coverage from the print media (see images in Appendix 7-B). In fact, he has taken on the issue at the policy level as well. With the victims of Mirani Dam, he launched an official complaint to the Governor and Chief Secretary of Balochistan. With the support of IDSP, he presented the case of the Mirani Dam project in reputable policy institutions, such as the Sustainable

Development Policy Institute (SDPI), in Islamabad (see the newspaper clipping on his presentation in Appendix 7-C). With the support of a Senator, he got an opportunity to discuss the issue in a formal meeting of the Planning Commission of Pakistan. He also met with the Federal Minister of Power and Energy and requested him to help the victims of the Mirani Dam project. This campaign is still continuing.

7.3.4 Creative writing and publishing.

Participation in ADP courses has created and sharpened learners' writing skills. There are many IDSP learners who have written in local newspapers, newsletters, IDSP's quarterly published journals *Transformation* and *Aks ul amal (Reflective Actions)*, and in IDSP's other publications. An overview of their published articles and papers show that they pay attention to the issues of formal schooling, the health system, environment, food security, unemployment and extremism. They have also written on topics such as "modernity and human values," "democracy," the "role of media and schooling," "traditional values and practices," "imperialism," and "mother languages and globalization."

7.3.5 Revival of traditional practices.

There were two examples of revival of traditional practices which most of the research participants cited during their conversation on alternative practices: (i) rehabilitation of Karezes (a traditional water management system) in Pishin district and (ii) IDSP's mud-construction Project (a traditional architecture method of construction).

7.3.5.1 Rehabilitation of Karezes.

Karezes are used for irrigating crops and for meeting drinking and domestic requirements. They are "defined as man-made underground water management systems" (Ullah, 2012, p. 5). One student of the IDSP DS course rehabilitated a five-hundred-year-old Karazes in his district that had been dysfunctional since 1997 due to a severe drought in Balochistan. During the course, he

shared the problem of dysfunctional Karazes in his area and conducted a small study on this issue. Later, IDSP provided him with a fellowship to work on his idea. Under the supervision of an IDSP team and with the support and contribution of his community he initiated a cleaning of the wells of the Karazes. According to an IDSP report on the project, he hired fifteen labourers as well for this job, and, with the cleaning of the first few wells, water started to flow again in the Karazes. By the time all the wells were cleaned, sufficient water was available to irrigate crops and to fulfill the domestic needs of local people.

7.3.5.2 IDSP mud-construction project.

The second important traditional practice that research participants mentioned was the IDSP's mud-construction-projects initiative. In early 2000, IDSP intended to establish a Community Development University (CDU) in the city of Quetta. IDSP, following one of its core values of revival of traditional practices, decided to construct the main campus of CDU, Hannah Campus, by using traditional local practices. For this purpose, a preliminary base-line study was conducted to understand local construction structure and the life style of local people living in the neighbourhood of the campus. According to one IDSP administrator, IDSP and its team spent a year studying the area and the people of Hannah. In the process, according to him, they learned that local people use "mud structure." As a result, the final decision of IDSP was to build the Hanna campus with mud. This project is now under construction (see images of this project in Appendix 7-D).

Most of the IDSP stakeholders appreciate this effort of IDSP to ground its activities in local practice since they see it as an example of alternative practice and an effort to revive traditional practices. One administrator, despite his reservations on revival of symbolic aspects of traditional culture, said that "[i]t [local grounding] is a very valuable thing and I have a lot of

respect for that” (Wahid Khan). According to one IDSP learner, even those individuals and organizations that criticize the IDSP, acknowledge these initiatives and say “IDSP has done some (revolutionary) work” (Rashid Zehri).

At the meso level, it is difficult to assess the significance of emancipatory actions. There seems little doubt that all of them were undertaken out of community spirit and with good intentions using a non-traditional approach. However, it is also a fact that most of them are not operational. In fact, the current status of some actions is unknown. Among seven operational projects only two, revival of Karazes and installation of a water purification plant, seem significant since they have benefitted local people. The impact of the other five action projects is hard to assess because some of them are in their infancy and others had no evidence of extended benefits.

This limited success at the meso level has created frustration among some IDSP stakeholders. According to one teacher, because of these frustrations IDSP learners have built a love-hate relationship with IDSP. During my field work, I also came to understand that IDSP learners think of themselves as “change agents” and that they are proud to be that; at the same time, however, they are frustrated because they are facing several challenges in bringing about “change.” They shared with me their limitations in practicing their revolutionary and alternative ideas in the field. I noted moreover that whenever they face problems they expect IDSP to support and help them. However, the reality, as IDSP teachers and administrators pointed out, is that IDSP does not have sufficient resources to meet each learner’s needs for support.

IDSP administrators explained the sources they think create limitations in generating alternative practices and in providing services to IDSP graduates. Among many, the major limiting influence they mentioned is their dependency on external funding. The IDSP Director

observed “we are co-opted here, the whole country; we cannot survive without the foreign aid.” In such a context IDSP graduates who tried to take some self-initiatives in their community could not put their ideas into practice mainly due to financial constraints. According to one teacher, “a huge level of funding cannot be found at the institutional level” to support all the learners; however, in his view, “there are some other institutions that can support at the entrepreneurship level” (Shafi Khan).

Besides financial constraints IDSP learners and administrators mentioned some other barriers they perceive to generating alternative practices for both IDSP and its learners. According to one administrator, one of these conundrums is associated with the theoretical framework of the ADP. In his view, the “parameters used for theoretical analysis” (i.e., developed within a postmodern framework) in ADP courses could not be merged with the “resolving instruments”²⁷ which are necessarily developed within existing tradition and culture. He said that the first two themes of IDSP’s ADP courses,²⁸ which were developed under a postmodern framework, were very strong and much of academia was seriously engaged with those two themes, while the third theme,²⁹ which was developed completely around local traditions, was very weak and the academic subculture behind that theme was also very limited, weak, and found itself in a defensive position. As a result of this dichotomy and related tension, he believes, strong practices could not emerge in IDSP.

In the views of some other administrators and teachers, concrete practices could not emerge in IDSP because in ADP courses give an eighty percent weighting to theoretical sessions and only a twenty percent weighting to field practice. They believe that in the theoretical sessions IDSP faculty and students focus on the “romanticism of critical and revolutionary ideas;” however, in practice sessions, IDSP faculty did not follow through with learners in a

concrete and feasible manner. As a result of this cleavage between theory and practice, according to one administrator, over the last twelve years only “five or six concrete projects have been generated” in IDSP (Wahid Khan).

The last but not the least problem that this IDSP administrator cited as a key reason for generating few practical projects is the dysfunctional status of IDSP’s Learners and Community Support Program (LCSP). The whole purpose of this program, they told me, was to support post-course IDSP learners in implementing their emancipatory ideas, to develop a network of all IDSP graduates, build links with relevant local, national, and international institutions and organizations, and finally, to facilitate their graduates in connecting with a global network so they can influence policies and plans. However, according to IDSP administrators, the LCSP could not have emerged as a strong program “in the trenches” of practice. One IDSP administrator explained that, because of lack of resources, both human and capital, and lack of time commitment from IDSP administration and faculty, IDSP administration could not “scale-up” LCSP appropriately.

7.4 Emancipatory action at the macro level.

There are two specific initiatives of IDSP stakeholders that are pertinent to discussion here: (i) establishment of a College for Youth Activism and Development (CYAD) at the national level and (ii) establishment of Khawateen Ittehad Citizen Community Board (CCB) in the Lasbella District. My rationale for categorizing these initiatives as macro-level initiatives is that:

- Both initiatives were taken following a formal protocol;
- Both initiatives have legal status as they are registered under the Social Welfare Act 1963;

- CYAD was established with the intention of reaching out to youth of troubled areas at the national level while the CCB was established at the district level but has received recognition at the national level.

7.4.1 College for Youth Activism and Development (CYAD).

The founder of CYAD is an IDSP administrator who participated in this research. He established this organization in 2007. In his interview he explained key influences that led him to establish CYAD:

- His working experience in IDSP led him to study the issues of terrorism, extremism and Talibanization in the region which have severely affected the youth of his Pashtoon community;
- His teaching experiences in IDSP helped him to understand the phenomenon of youth, particularly adolescence. In his view, to work with and to work for youth “you have to understand the dynamics of adolescence, be sensitive to it, to the very notion of it, and to its fragility” (Wahid Khan);
- He was exposed to some very hard realities in which he learned that people who are trained as suicide bombers were transformed without their own intention. He said that with the help of some local people in troubled areas of Pakhtoonkhwah he managed to meet a group of people who were being trained as suicide bombers.

According to him, all these experiences taught him that the things that encouraged youth to become extremists, even to the point of acting as suicide bombers were not based on sophisticated philosophies. He concluded that “it was the delicacy of their age, and some psychological, emotional, and political factors which encouraged them to choose that path” (Wahid Khan). With this conclusion in hand, he felt the need for an institution or network of

individuals who could transform these fragile youth and reintegrate them with the society. To convert this idea into reality, with the support of IDSP, he established an office of CYAD in Quetta with a plan to reach out to 300 youth in troubled areas of Pakistan. According to him, instead of 300, CYAD was able to engage 1500 youth in a period of one year. Now, its own head office is in Quetta; two sub-offices have been created, one in Loralai and the other one in Swat; and one liaison office in Islamabad. An overview of CYAD's vision, objectives, values, and strategy is given in Box 7-3.

CYAD provides diverse opportunities for training to youth to manage and avert their radicalization towards extremism, to develop their leadership skills, and to expand their role in local-level planning, decision-making processes, and community development. It uses generative approaches that focus on participants' interests, needs, realities, and aspirations. Taking inspiration from IDSP's ADP framework, it also aims to revitalize participants' sense of belonging with their self, family, community and the world.

CYAD is similar to a virtual and distance-education institute as it engages its participants through various means: internship, volunteer work, workshops, training sessions, seminars, and student exchange programs. Its aim is to convey to youth effectively and efficiently the message of social reconstruction or positive transformation of their society — and engage them in it.

7.4.2 Khawateen Ittehad Citizen Community Board.

This particular initiative was the result of collective efforts by IDSP female learners in Lasbella District. A group of MGD course graduates who participated in the 2003 and 2005 courses decided to establish a local library for women of their area. This initiative was taken under a local government ordinance enacted in 2000 that encouraged local communities all over the Pakistan to establish Citizen Community Boards (CCBs) to address their local issues.

Box 7-3: An Overview of CYAD

CYAD's Vision

We envision a world free of exploitation and intimidation where youth's potential is fully harnessed.

CYAD's Mission Statement

CYAD is an oasis in a hostile world to cultivate youth's potential through diversified engagements that enable them to become effective leaders and citizens.

CYAD's Objectives

- To foster youth's learning and engagement for developing empathy and coexistence
- To professionalize youth's skills for livelihood and development
- To mainstream youth in a process of decision-making and effective civic participation
- To create new knowledge based on youth's concerns to influence policy change

CYAD's Values

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| 1. Respect for Diversity | 2. Zero tolerance for violence |
| 3. Accountability and respect | 4. Transparency with sense of fairness |
| 5. Openness with mutual sensitivity | 6. Fun and Creativity |
| 7. Modesty in use of resources | |

CYAD's Strategy

CYAAD uses a three-pronged strategy which consists of the following measures:

Training: Our training programs help youths to acquire skills of critical thinking which prevents them from the "social-toxin" of extremism and militancy.

Activism: The course of activism enables students to emerge as "locally engaged and globally connected" leaders and active citizens.

Preparation: The fellowship of our students prepares them for generating their own livelihood through a professional career and entrepreneurial work, hence making them productive and economically independent.

Source: http://www.cyaad.org.pk/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=56&Itemid=63

These female IDSP learners, following all required procedures and legal formalities, formed the first women's CCB in their area. IDSP helped them in the process of project development as well as in the provision of space for the library. It was the only library in the area that was established and managed by the local women. Soon it received recognition at the

national level from the Devolution Trust for Community Empowerment in Islamabad.

According to one IDSP teacher who was intensively involved in MGD courses, there were some other CCBs as well which were formed by female graduates of IDSP; however, *Khawateen Ittehad* CCB received great attention from the print and electronic media because it emerged as the first women's CCB in the history of Pakistan (see Appendix 7-E). Despite all that recognition and attention, however, this library was closed in 2007. The main reasons for this failure were lack of resources to bear the operational cost of the library and dispersion of the group members who initially established it.

7.5 Summary

It is evident that IDSP stakeholders constructed and embraced alternative or new knowledge in ADP courses, knowledge intended to improve their lives and community-development practices. The findings of this research exhibit that, at a micro level, they have been successful in bringing positive changes in their personal and family lives. However, in the workplace and at the community level they face several challenges in putting their emancipatory perspectives into practice. Despite the fact that some of their community actions were recognized at both provincial and national levels, it is hard to claim they have brought any major and significant changes at the macro level.

8 Emancipatory Social Transformation by Epistemic Empowerment of Indigenous Youth

The findings of this study confirm that IDSP's ADP provides a pragmatically feasible model of "epistemic empowerment of youth and community development workers in indigenous communities of Balochistan." Throughout the research process a sense of empowerment was widely evident among participants in this project. This pervasive sense of empowerment also emerged as a central phenomenon from analysis of both IDSP stakeholders' emancipatory perceptions and actions on the one hand, and their reflective discussions of personal transformation and development on the other. Descriptive analysis of IDSP- and ADP-related documents and content analysis of IDSP stakeholders' experiences of learning and living emancipatory knowledges provide a set of eight constituent components for "implanting" this conceptual model of "epistemic empowerment" in a disadvantaged community:

1. Fostering critical imagination and analytical skills
2. Strengthening connections with local culture and local people
3. Mastering professional skills to succeed in the field of community development
4. Initiating praxis
5. Breaking the culture of silence
6. Embracing and adopting ethically and socially responsible knowledge
7. Encountering and successfully overcoming resistance to applying emancipatory ideas
8. Becoming "universal" or hybrid humans

These components can be grouped heuristically into two domains: strategies of epistemic empowerment and consequences of epistemic empowerment. The resulting conceptual model of "epistemic empowerment of youth from traditional society" is presented in Figure 8-1.

8.1 Strategies of Epistemic Empowerment

As a result of my data analysis I identified four key components as successful strategies for epistemic empowerment within the context examined by this study. These are: (i) fostering critical thinking and analytical skills in indigenous youth, (ii) strengthening connections with local culture and people, (iii) mastering professional capabilities to succeed in the development sector of Balochistan and (iv) initiating praxis through field projects in local communities.

8.1.1 Fostering critical imagination and analytical skills.

During the study IDSP stakeholders repeatedly mentioned their ability for “reflective examination” and their “capacity of [sic] understanding” (Juan, 2009) the validity of mainstream ideologies, theories, and practices. They reported their ability to think critically and their analytical skills as the most prominent feature of their new identity as “IDSP learner.” In interviews during which they explained their own definition of “development” IDSP learners even link closely the very notion of development with “development of a critical and analytical mind.” This alternative notion of development is tied to their own personal experience of “feeling developed.” They recognized their development when exercising their intellectual power (or critical attitude) in understanding and gaining control over their lives. This feeling of development or self-empowerment, in my view, has also brought stability to their personalities.

However, with respect to creating a critical consciousness in youth and among adults,

Paulo Freire (1978) believes that:

One of the distinguishing traits of man is that only he can stand off from the world and the reality of things around him . . . And yet in their approach to the world, men have a preliminary moment in which the world, the objective reality doesn't come to them as a knowable object of their critical consciousness. In other words, in their spontaneous approach to the world, men's moral, basic attitude is not a critical, but an ingenious one. (p.297)

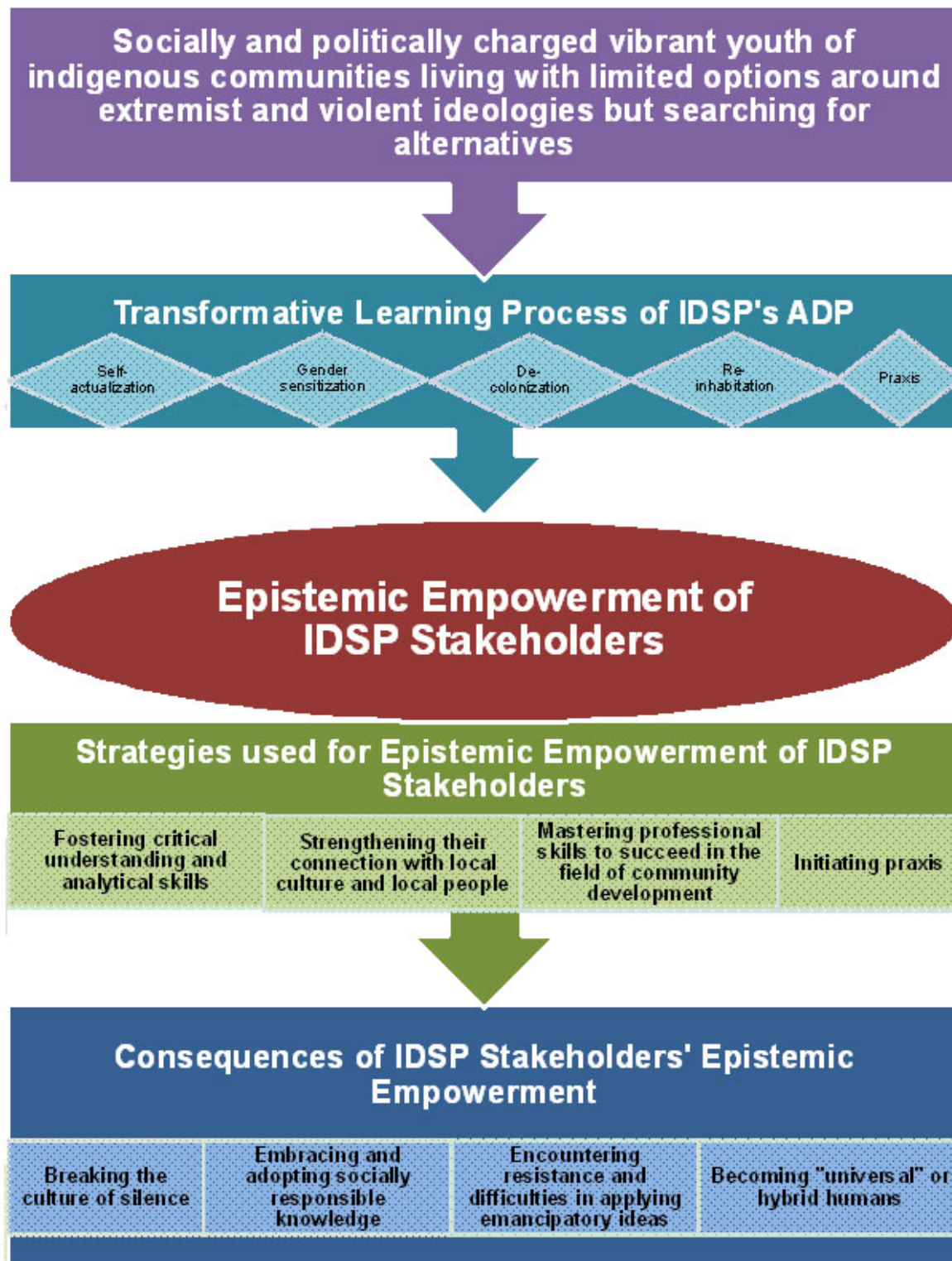


Figure 8-1: Conceptual Model of IDSP Stakeholders Epistemic Empowerment

Whether, and if so how, IDSP developed critical sense and analytical skills in indigenous youth of Balochistan who participated in its programs is an important question that was also one of the main thrusts of this study. Documentary analysis of ADP teaching and learning materials and content analysis of IDSP stakeholders' views on ADP course contents and teaching and learning processes revealed three key elements of ADP that played crucial roles in fostering learners' critical and analytical thinking; these are: (i) revisiting/reassessing history, (ii) presenting multiple perspectives particularly critical perspectives (that expose hidden knowledge and knowledge claims), and (iii) facilitating critical and reflective discourses.

8.1.1.1 Revisiting/Reassessing the history.

Freire (1978) once wrote:

Conscientisation is also a historical awareness. It is a critical insertion into history. It means that men take on a role as subjects making the world, remaking the world; it asks men to fashion their existence out of the material that life offers them. The more they are conscientised, the more they existed. (p.298)

In-depth analysis of teaching and learning processes in ADP reveals that the process of IDSP stakeholders' conscientisation within IDSP was also started by "critical insertion" into local, regional, and world history. "Critical reassessment of history" was a central and permanent theme of all ADP sessions. However, the process of re-learning history in IDSP starts from examination of one's personal history, moves to family and/or local history, and finally concludes with world history (see Figure 8-2). This educational approach is identified as a major exercise of decolonization in the anti-colonial and post-colonial literature. Dei (2010), analyzing education in light of Frantz Fanon's critical work, states that "[t]he whole project of educating the oppressed soul . . . must be to help learners not necessarily to 'receive' an education but to reclaim education that is about their past, history, sense of self-worth, and pride" (p. 24).

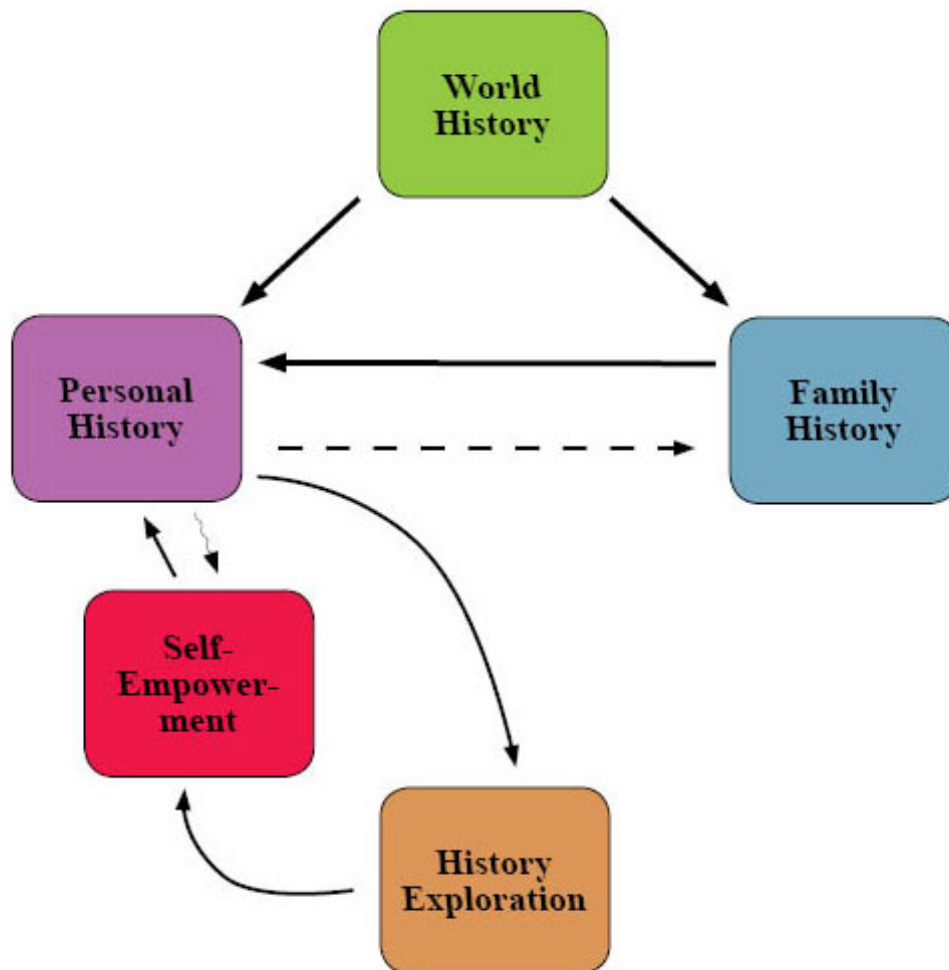


Figure 8-2: Self-transformation by History Exploration

Each ADP course starts with a module on “self.” At the beginning of this module, course participants, including teachers, share their life stories. In these stories they reflect upon their strengths, weaknesses, and on crucial life events that had profound impacts on their personalities. The most significant aspect of this activity is the fact that, for the first time in their lives in most cases, they thought critically about their personal traits, habits, and beliefs. By doing so they learned to analyze different aspects of their own personality, for example, their genuine interests, their actual potential, the weakest areas of their personalities, the things that have been troublesome for them and things which have been sources of inspiration and joy. In doing so,

they also recognized reasons behind and causes of their strengths and weaknesses. They critically assessed the context, nature, and causes of important life events that had had profound impacts on them.

Their critical scrutiny of their “self” was the first thing that started to build their capability to think critically and analytically. IDSP teachers and administrators called this phase of the course the “ice-breaking” phase. During this phase IDSP teachers and administrators provided supports to students in resolving deeply problematic and complex issues at the personal and family levels. According to the IDSP Director, this phase of self-actualization changed their sorrows into positive attitudes and courageous actions.

This process of “self-actualization” led to the next phase, “gender-sensitization,” in which they critically reviewed their historically and socially structured (Giroux, 2006) gendered identities and subjectivities (Naseem, 2010). Critical scrutiny of their self and analytical discourse on gender modified their “problematic frame of references” (Mezirow, 2009) into “a more fully developed (more functional) frame of reference” (Mezirow, 1996). This whole transformative learning process liberated their self and transformed their views about gendered identities and women’s passive and subjugated roles in society; in particular, it improved male stakeholders’ attitudes and their relationship with their female colleagues and family members. They have now become “reflexive practitioners” which Dei (2001) defines as learners who “frame [their] views of [themselves], others, and the world at large” through “critically reflecting upon” their understanding of “[their] inner self and cultural environment” (Dei, 2001, p. 22).

It was evident from IDSP stakeholders’ reflective views on their learning experiences in the “self” and “gender” modules that, in IDSP, their life histories were explored not only to recognize their shared experiences and to garner the sympathies of others which Giroux (2006)

referred to as “merely celebrat...[ing] one’s voice” (p. 62). Instead, this exploration of self and gender reflected recognition that “[t]he contradictory and complex histories and stories that give meanings to the lives of students are innocent and it is important that they be recognized for their contradictions as well as for their possibilities” (Giroux, 2006, p. 62). Besides sharing their life stories, IDSP stakeholders also learned to connect their “private troubles with larger public issues” (Giroux, 2012, p. 43). They critically analyzed their life experiences and “discursive and political positions” (Dei, 2010, p. 15) in relation to the dominant power structure in society reflected at the family, school, local, and national level. Their voices in IDSP, moreover, were not taken at face value but used to begin to “alter oppressive relations of power” (Giroux, 2006, p. 58) and to search alternative ways of being and living in the society.

The second-level history examined by IDSP students is their family history. They explored and reassessed their family history with the help of their parents, grandparents, and other suitably knowledgeable persons in their communities. Later they shared their family and local history with classmates and teachers in the form of presentations. These presentations build the grounds for dialogues among different cultures and ethnicities. They learned to identify similarities and differences among various ethnic cultures. They compared old and new local practices as well as advantages and disadvantages in traditional and modern practices. The main lesson they learned from exploration of their family history and reassessment of their traditional culture is that they have a respectable past that was built, for the most part, on laudable virtues. They realized that some aspects of their culture have been co-opted or polluted over two centuries due to colonization of the sub-continent and dominance of some religious narratives. As a result of this reassessment of family history they reconnected with their past and local history which helped them to find a “grounding in their culture, history, and community”

(Dei, 2010, p. 24). This whole process restored their confidence in indigenous ways of living and being. It enabled them to reclaim their “self-pride, self-worth, or sense of purpose” (Dei, 2010, p. 24). The process of reclaiming traditions, according to Giroux (2006), serves “to liberate and enlarge human possibilities . . . it serves to place people self-consciously in their histories by making them aware of the memories constituted in difference, struggle, and hope” (p. 48 -49)

The other significant impact of analyzing cultures of different ethnic groups in ADP is that it has changed attitudes and views about other cultures. Participants have learned to accept other cultures. They realized, as one learner said, that “culture has many colors and no color is bad” (Fehmida Baloch). Such tolerance creates an environment hospitable to multiculturalism and pluralism. This observation strongly resonates with Santo’s belief in one of the significant implications of the adoption of emancipatory knowledge. He said:

The adoption of knowledge-as-emancipation has three implications for the social sciences in general and for sociology in particular. The first one can be formulated as follows: from monoculturalism towards multiculturalism. Since solidarity is a form of knowledge that is acquired by means of the recognition of the other, the other can only be known as a producer of knowledge. Hence, all knowledge-as-emancipation is necessarily multicultural. (1999, p. 39)

That said, Santos (1999) later acknowledges that it is hard to engage people of different cultures in a multicultural dialogue. Nonetheless, the findings of this study show that IDSP has overcome this challenge by promoting a sense of plurality within all its stakeholders. One IDSP administrator claimed that “people have not just adopted that plurality, they have actually internalized it. Respect for others and diversity, such things have become the part of our lives now” (Wahid Khan).

The overarching level of history is world history, which IDSP reassesses in the ADP course mainly by using critical theories of “development” and “education.” Shapiro (2000)

concludes that “No education interested in the possibility of constructing a more peaceful world can omit an honest telling of this [world] history” (p. 2). According to IDSP stakeholders, the first thing they realized discussing world history is that the history they were taught in school had given them only one perspective. They build their own understanding by comparing critical perspectives on world-development history with mainstream perspectives. According to some IDSP stakeholders, through comparative analysis of these perspectives, they found “more plausible” interpretations of history.

World history in ADP was taught in the form of articles, movies, and documentaries. Participants learned about the history of Europe through study of pivotal events such as the French revolution. They also learned about American history in which the focus was on the civil rights movements and colonization of American Indians in the United States. Besides European and American history they learned and analyzed major historical events of the subcontinent (from Invasion of Mughal emperors to British colonization). The main purpose of teaching world history in ADP was similar to the purpose of a “pedagogy of justice” which Shapiro proposes as a means to create a peaceful society in the twenty-first century by teaching “students how societies create hierarchies that privilege the experience, culture, and humanity of some, and devalue that of others” (2000, p.1).

Dei (2010) observed that “[t]he project of reclaiming the past is an exercise in the restoration of what may be lacking in the present. History is relevant for the present” (p.24). In ADP, IDSP learners too, by analyzing their current situation in the contexts of important world events, began to understand the causes of long-standing frustrations they had been experiencing due to denigration of their dignity and denial of opportunity (Shapiro, 2000). In all three levels of history they compared their present with the past. They also compared their present situation

with the situations of other peoples and nations as well. In doing this comparative analysis, IDSP learners learned “about their status or position in today’s world crisis and world system” (Director IDSP). This critical analysis of history helped them understand the causes and complexities of crises and challenges they are facing today. Their self-esteem improved when they found out that in the past things were better in their traditional community and other nations have also faced challenges similar to those they are facing today. According to the IDSP Director, “If you fail to teach history, the inner portion of your consciousness will remain just like a dead person and they [people] will think that we have no history and we have always been like this.” Her argument resonates tellingly with the Dei’s statement that “[t]he past cannot simply be buried. It weighs continually on the present and the future. When we choose to live repressed histories, we lose part of our humanity” (2010, p. 24).

However, my hunch from the inception of this study was that knowing and understanding critical perspectives and reassessments of all levels of historical events (personal, local, global) would create negative feelings in learners. Bryan (2013) refers to this kind of teaching and learning methodology as a “pedagogy of discomfort.” IDSP stakeholders also confirmed that, during this process, students do experience uncomfortable feelings. For example, one learner reported that

the contents of the course were very important and to understand those contents which are not easy to understand . . . [y]ou have to go through a feeling of resistance (*Jaber*) because you realize that whatever you have read and [the beliefs and opinions of] those with whom you lived were wrong, all of that was wrong; it is not easy to tolerate so you go into self-guilt too . . . (S)he can go into a phase of depression, so would (s)he transform? . . . Personally, it is very hard to do; you have to be so hard on yourself. (Rashid Zehri)

However, it was evident from study findings that negative feelings (explicitly discussed by some IDSP stakeholders) caused by the pedagogy of discomfort were turned into positive

actions. There were two important elements which played a central role in bringing this positive change: learners' self-transformation and the rational critical discourse on historical events that occurred in the course of taking East and Islamic history. This particular strategy reduced the chances for a "counterdiscourse of reversal" (Spivak, G. cited in Andreotti, 2011, p. 46), that is, a pedagogical tool "valorizing East over West to encounter Orientalism" (p. 46). There are many fundamentalist and extremist groups in Pakistan and other parts of the Muslim World who facilitate such counterdiscourse that teaches disadvantaged young people to learn to mistrust the West and to romanticize the East and their religion. In IDSP, according to IDSP teachers, the historical discourse that starts with European history led students to question the history of East, for example the history of the pre-colonization period such as the Mughal emperors and some Islamic historical events. They critically analyzed the invasions of Muslims in the sub-continent and in other parts of the world such as Spain. This type of rational discourse neutralizes their resentment towards the West and colonizers. In my view, it is one of the most important and positive aspects of IDSP's ADP. Without such rational discourse many groups and organizations freely pursue the existing agenda of Talibalization in Pakistan by promoting hatred against the West and non-Muslims, and they never review their own actions critically and rationally. In IDSP, not only were the history of both East and West critically assessed but an effort was made "to focus only on the process of history instead of passing judgments on the results of historical events" (IDSP Director).

8.1.1.2 Presenting multiple perspectives.

Introduction of multiple perspectives to students in ADP played a crucial role in developing their critical and analytical thinking skills. IDSP in effect presented the "other side of the story" to indigenous youth who have been listening for a long time to narratives presented by mainstream

institutions. Dei (2001) and Giroux (2012) have argued that pedagogies and forms of knowledges that can help “youth in understanding their crises and that can shape their identities” (Giroux, 2012, p. xvii) are absent from traditional institutions such as schools and colleges. Dei (2001) argues that:

Over the years, we have witnessed the development of academic theories, pedagogies, and discourses that attempt to address, and account for, the variety of human experiences and diverse ideas about human growth and development. However, these ideas are not always apparent in the structure of schooling. (p. 3)

However, IDSP core themes that have also been a guiding source for all other sessions reveal that critical and alternative perspectives and theories, which are not usually discussed in mainstream institutions of Pakistan, *were* presented to IDSP learners. For example, the theoretical work of critical scholars such as Howard Zinn, Noam Chomsky, Edward Said, Ivan Illich, Ali Shariati, and Paulo Freire, were included in the core themes of ADP. Some classic literature on human nature and human psychology, for example *The Alchemist* (Coelho, 1998) and *The road less travelled: A new psychology of love, traditional values, and spiritual growth* (Scott, 1978), is also taught regularly in both ADP courses. In a similar vein autobiographies of revolutionary leaders such as Gandhi, Che-Guevera, and Martin Luther King are also included in teaching and learning material to facilitate discussions of social change. Besides such literature and other reading material, movies and documentaries on social issues and significant historical events were also shown and discussed in ADP courses. My hunch is that some of this ADP course contents may be introduced in the mainstream institutions as well, but, it is exceedingly unlikely they would be taught in a manner similar to the way in which they are discussed in IDSP courses.

Juan (2009) insists that “critique is obligated to point out not only the contradictions but also the possibilities of transformation” (p. xiii). ADP provided critical and alternative perspectives, information, and knowledge completely new to the students of IDSP. These critical perspectives challenged their preconceived ideas and revealed new possibilities to them. Living in struggling communities where they have been facing many challenges due to their “modes of resistance” (Dei, 2001, p. 19) to modernization and globalization, they readily embraced critical perspectives in a way difficult for people living in urban centres who mostly accept mainstream ideas promoted by mainstream institutions. Critical perspectives helped them in understanding the depth of their struggles and resistance and causes of their vulnerabilities; they strengthened their beliefs in their efforts to resist being overwhelmed by modernization and to keep their connection with their roots. Such perspectives opened their eyes and cleared away confusion they had experienced for years because of a continuous battle between the contradictory views of their traditional culture and modernization.

Alternative perspectives and revolutionary movements which proved to be successful in bringing social change in some societies have given IDSP stakeholders some hope and motivated them to take innovative and alternative initiatives in their own community. For example, political movements for liberation led by Gandhi, Malcom X, and Martin Luther King were discussed in courses. Life histories of political figures from various religious traditions such as Muhammad (Peace Be Upon Him), Gandhi, and Buddha were also taught and discussed in theoretical sessions of ADP courses.

The important lesson participants learned by doing comparative analysis of multiple perspectives is that they should never blindly follow only one group’s ideology. They made a “historical commitment” (Freire, 1978) that they would always try to search for alternative

perspectives on issues or ideas, including alternative religious, ethnic, and political views and that, by using their own consciousness, they would make their own decisions. This important lesson of teaching multiple perspectives validated Dei's argument for creating decolonizing learning spaces for oppressed communities:

For racialized minoritised students, education should not simply be about getting the learner to think through the inherited prisms and concepts that have emerged from Western intellectual and philosophical traditions. More important, learners must be able to think outside of dominant and oppressive traditions and discard the Eurocentric and hegemonic ways of knowing and acting. For minoritised students, this is what Asnate (2009) implies by asking students to search for their "own intellectual footing" in the Western academy. (Dei, 2010, p. 9)

8.1.1.3 Facilitating critical and reflective discourses.

Critical and reflective discourses are a key component of an emancipatory and transformative education program. They are also key to a transformation theory of adult learning (Mezirow, 1998). In IDSP, teachers of ADP courses facilitate many critical dialogues with students. In these dialogues and reflective discussions participants critically examine assumptions and beliefs that they had unintentionally accepted over the years both from society as a whole and from mainstream institutions. Critical scrutiny of their preconceived ideas demystified their assumptions and internalized beliefs about their personal, gendered, ethnic, and local identities.

The findings of this study show that four main kinds of discourses were facilitated in ADP courses: gender discourse, development discourse, discourse on traditional values and practices, and discourse on religion and/or spirituality. In these critical discourses IDSP facilitators deconstructed the notion of development, the idea of an educated person, facets of an ethnic identity, and the meanings of spirituality and related topics. As a result, IDSP participants developed their own transformative perspectives on these subjects.

In his writing on creating decolonizing learning spaces Dei (2010) states that the process of decolonization “begins by asking new critical questions that acknowledge differential levels of safety and security for diverse learners” (p. 8). It was evident from my interviews of IDSP teaching faculty that all discourses were facilitated by using a set of vital questions, for example, “ what really is development, ” “ what defines spirituality, ” “what is the purpose of education, ” and so forth. These kinds of questions provoked their thought processes and developed their intellectual capabilities. As well, such discourses initiated a process of deconstruction and reconstruction of ideas in IDSP.

IDSP facilitated the process of demystification and deconstruction not only by using critical discourses but also through reflective practices. IDSP demystified some preconceived ideas through some of its policy actions. For example, IDSP rejected the idea that only graduates of mainstream institutions are capable of writing a “thoughtful,” much less a “learned” paper. Tellingly, IDSP learners usually referred to their course papers as “*learning papers*.” They presented their ideas in a forum where learners themselves wrote insightful papers based on *their* praxis in local communities. As well, they presented *their* research findings in different forums in front of district government officials, education-department personnel, and other local NGOs. In this way the myth to which they had been subjected that indigenous culture is a barrier to their development was broken as they discovered the strengths of their traditional roots. The myth that different ethnic or religious groups cannot live or survive together was also shattered when learners of different ethnicities and religions lived together in the same IDSP residence for almost one year without any major conflict. Living and working experiences in which they acted upon principles of sharing and co-operation built very special, strong, and long-lasting relationships among them. IDSP encourages its non-Muslims students to share excerpts from

their scriptural sources in theoretical sessions. In this kind of teaching, learning, and living environment participants learned to accept different cultures and religious practices; they learned the importance of identifying commonalities among different cultures and religions, and they realized the devastating impacts on themselves and the people of Pakistan in general of subjective myths they had about different ethnic groups and religions. This transformative learning environment created a “pluralistic culture” (Shapiro, 2000) in IDSP where students learn to act upon principles of tolerance and mutual respect for difference.

All these critical discourses and reflective practices and policies challenged their perceptions and cultivated their “superior mental faculties” (Kant, 1964). Through this process they started to build their capabilities of critical thinking, decision making, and questioning. Over the course of this experience, they went through a process of de-learning as well as re-learning. IDSP, to a large extent, knew what it wanted its learners to de-learn; however, with respect to re-learning, it seemed that IDSP did not try to inculcate fixed or selected ideas in its learners’ minds or impose any particular ideology or agenda on them. This avoidance of indoctrination is exhibited in study findings that, in ADP, solutions were not presented to the learners. In that regard one learner specifically said during an interview that in IDSP he was told that “with the knowledge that you have now and with your research practices you will search the alternatives by yourself. You will find the new paths/ways which will be real and based on reality” (Rafi Nisar). However, there were some specific social values and practices that IDSP aimed to cultivate in its learners; for example, it wanted its learners to re-learn the values of co-operation, collectivism, pluralism, morality, the importance of self-efficacy, the significance of their past and traditional roots, and so forth. In my view, their process of re-learning is something that did

not stop at the end of ADP courses; it is a continuous process. It started in ADP courses and it continues in their practical life.

8.1.2 Strengthening ties with local culture and local people.

The second crucial component that played a very important role in epistemic empowerment of IDSP stakeholders is their “re-inhabitation” of their local place, roots, and indigenous people.

This re-inhabitation occurred when learners learned that “within dominant contexts, the knowledges and social realities of the less powerful are dismissed” (Dei, 2010, p. 11).

Reflecting upon their learning experiences in school they concluded that, in mainstream institutions of education and media as well, local traditions, knowledge, and experiences are discredited and concealed. As a result of this learning they paradoxically came to realize the true value of local wisdom, traditional practices, and social experiences of local people.

Dei (2010) also urged that critical educators “who seek educational transformation, and, in particular, want to pursue a decolonized educational context must search for ways to uphold the myriad cultures, identities, and knowledges of all learners in the face of hegemonic exclusionary practices of schooling” (p. 16). In ADP courses, IDSP stakeholders reassessed and rediscovered in detail, with an analytical and critical eye, indigenous ways of living and being in society. For example, they discussed how their parents and ancestors dealt with certain critical situations, what kind of issues they faced, what child-rearing practices they used, and what kinds of things helped them in fulfilling their responsibilities. In the course of this analytical discussion they realized that the “social experiences of traditional people” have always been disrespected, disregarded, and discredited (Santos, 2006) in the key institutions of Pakistan such as institutions of education and media. IDSP stakeholders believe that those discredited social experiences could have given them and other young people of their communities some guidance

and direction when they were confused in the presence of certain global and extremist ideologies. This realization also played a very important role in strengthening their connection with their families and traditional community.

Their transformative perspectives on indigenous knowledge described in chapter 7 also revealed that, through active and reflective learning, they had embraced their ethnic identity and local culture. In other words, their “cultural self-esteem” (Dei, 2001, p. 18) had been developed or restored. It was evident from the research findings that they have developed “a sense of ownership and responsibility for their own knowledge” (Dei, 2010, p.) and they have taken ownership of their local culture with all its positive and negative aspects. During the interviews and from my data analysis I came to understand that they are saying to me “this culture is mine with all its perfect and imperfect aspects and I proudly own my culture.” This reconnection happened because in ADP, through a systematic and open-ended process, they identified and discovered both “limitations and possibilities” (Giroux, 2006) of their traditional culture. During the interviews, they openly discussed pathological practices of their traditional customs which, they acknowledge, have very adverse effects on their traditional society. They know that, because of some problematic traditional values and norms, young members of their traditional community are being exploited and abused at both the local and global level. However, the important point here is that understanding these pathological aspects of their traditional culture has not made them turn against their own culture; rather it had made them realize that it is their responsibility to change these problematic practices and norms. The findings of this study make it evident that most of the IDSP stakeholders are eager to change and confident in their ability to change pathological traditional values and practices in favour of groups, such as women, children, and poor, significantly affected by these immoral practices.

Their critical and analytical minds as well as exposure to external knowledge, perspectives, and critiques, opened them to acknowledging troubling aspects of some of their traditional beliefs and practices which, they knew, cause a lot of problems and suffering for people in their society. Their experience with this process proves that local and traditional people, if given critical consciousness, analytical and technical skills, and suitable relevant critique, can identify and solve their cultural problems by themselves. It was evident throughout my data analysis that they dislike the “denigration of local culture” (Dei, 2010, p. 7) in mainstream institutions at the national and international level. The data show that what is not accepted in traditional society is others (people from outside their world) coming and telling them what is wrong with their culture and how to “fix it” — and then compelling them to do so. This study suggests that, if appropriately supported, local people are capable of identifying their issues themselves, understanding the causes of local or traditional issues, taking full ownership of their traditional culture, creating awareness in local communities about the issues that matter, and collectively trying to resolve them. It also teaches us that tribal or traditional issues are *their* issues and *they* should resolve them. This finding actually resonates with the views of the IDSP Director on bringing about change in underserved communities:

Who am I to go to Kachchi Abadi (Slum Areas) and try to change them. Who am I to tell them that you should become like this or become like that; I don't think that I have that right. They should do it by themselves . . . How could you change them or how could we change them. It [society] will be changed the day they would like to change it.

Another influence that played a very significant role in preserving IDSP stakeholders' connection with their local culture and local people is related to the vision that the IDSP Director had about the structure and function of ADP, notably that “students must do both things: theory and practice.” One administrator reported that “From day one she said that . . . they will live

here, then they will go back to their communities, then again, they will come back here and then again go back to their communities” (Wahid Khan). In ADP courses students were first sent home to speak to their family members to gather family history; they were then sent to investigate a local issue of their community; and finally they were sent to share the findings of their research with district-government officials. According to Mr. Khan, “these two or three back-and-forth visits which we can call dialectics make a huge difference.” This particular aspect of the courses did not allow students’ connection with their family, place, and local people to break. During each field visit they sat, listened, and interacted with local people, other development workers, and government officials. They discussed local realities and community issues with them. These activities developed empathy in learners for local people, as well as a sense of responsibility to help them solve local issues. In ADP courses, students were sent back to their home and local community to face *local* reality in light of their newly-acquired transformative perspectives. Mr. Khan related that his students got frustrated when they returned to their communities, but some of them were also suddenly moved when they got there.

Generally, in most academic and development-education programs, when indigenous people move to cities and other urban places to pursue their education or career, for the time being at least, they completely lose their connection with their own people and local culture. Since they have lived in an environment that makes them think that their local culture and community are “backward,” to pursue better prospects for themselves and for the wellbeing of their families, they leave their own people and community and move to a city permanently. That phenomenon has created a problem of “brain drain” in many indigenous communities. However, in the context of IDSP, there are only rare cases of permanent migration of IDSP stakeholders to urban areas. There were some instances in which a few IDSP administrators moved to other

urban centres and the capital of the Pakistan for employment opportunities; however, it was evident that in most cases they returned to Balochistan.

8.1.3 Mastering professional skills to succeed in community development

In her interview explaining the rationale for establishing IDSP and launching ADP, the IDSP Director recalled that in the 1980s the development sector of Balochistan was led by non-local people. According to her, at that time very few local people were appointed to key positions in government or in non-government institutions. She stated that one of the objectives of initiating ADP was to produce local human capital and human resources in Balochistan so local people could take part in the process of making important decisions. Keeping this goal in mind, IDSP through ADP made explicit efforts to prepare its students fully with all professional skills essential to succeed in the development sector of Balochistan. For example, the skills of project management, writing, presentation, computer literacy, co-ordination, project proposal writing, report writing, financial management, and many others were all taught. These skills, in my view, can rightly be regarded as “regulatory knowledge” that Santos (1999) characterized in his Postmodern Critical Theory as “knowledge-as-regulation” (p. 36). Santos, despite all his critique of knowledge-as-regulation having privileged status in the matrix of Eurocentric modernity, did not argue for complete rejection of knowledge-as-order in his postmodern critical theory. Other critical scholars such as Dei, who promotes alternative approaches to education for oppressed and marginalized communities, nonetheless do not aim to “displace Eurocentrism” in their scholarly work. Dei, for instance wished “to de-centre it and make room for other marginalized knowledges that should be equally validated and taken up in schools as legitimate ways of knowing” (Dei, 2001, p. 27). In a similar vein Giroux (2006), also explaining the relevant goals of higher education for adults, besides emphasizing the importance of “creating critical

citizenry...[and] taking seriously the imperative to disseminate an intellectual and artistic culture,” insisted upon “providing specialized work skills for jobs that really require them” (p. 268). It is evident that IDSP too, focusing on its aim of developing local leadership at the grassroots level, gives attention to teaching “regulatory knowledges” as well as “emancipatory knowledges” in its ADP courses. This breadth of focus enables its students to access and sustain their position as workers or leaders in the development sector of Balochistan. And because of strong professional and human-development capabilities and transformative perspectives, IDSP students have emerged as a compelling new entity in the development sector of Balochistan where they are referred as “IDSP learners.”

In addition to such professional-development skills as writing, presentation, computer literacy, and project co-ordination and management, IDSP learners mastered three other skills that significantly improved their personal and professional capabilities: communication, behavioural skills, and networking. The first two skills, communication and behaviour, are taught in the “self” module, the whole purpose of which was self or personal development. From its inception, IDSP put heavy emphasis on development of learners’ communication and behavioural skills. IDSP wants its learners to be able to communicate their ideas and arguments in effective ways to targeted populations. For example, they learned how to change their communication style in a way that keeps the audience or situation in mind. Toward this end they learned about different kinds of behaviours: assertive, aggressive, and passive. Learners, particularly females, were taught how to manage their emotions in different circumstances. They not only learned about these skills in theoretical sessions, they actually practiced these skills during their field visits when they had discussions with their family members, neighbours, government officials of their districts, and community members. Effective use of these two

skills in their personal and professional lives has boosted their confidence and benefitted them in numerous ways across different settings.

Learners acquired the third professional skill, “networking” during their field practices in their communities and during their exposure visits to other NGOs, government institutions, and other cities. During field practice and exposure visits they had opportunities to interact with government officials of their own districts, other development and social workers, and representatives of other NGOs and development agencies. These opportunities allowed them to build connections with a cross-section of actors in the development sector. This ability to network effectively later helped some learners in exploring and furthering their career in the development sector of Balochistan.

The combination of both emancipatory and regulatory knowledge developed IDSP learners personally and professionally and brought a great sense of empowerment to them. This combination made IDSP’s ADP a distinctive program in the field of development education. In general, only regulatory knowledge consisting mainly of “professional skills” is given to the targeted audience in development-education and professional-development programs. These regulatory knowledges can usefully be thought of as tools, tools that most often people of disadvantaged communities do not use effectively, either because they lack the confidence and skills required for using such knowledge or because they lack clear understanding of the mission of the program they are asked to carry forward by using these knowledges or skills. In the case of ADP, a true sense of empowerment was already built into learners through emancipatory knowledges by restoring their confidence level and developing their belief in the cause, and possibility, of “justice.” Regulatory knowledge (including what is frequently captured by

“professional-development skills”) in fact strengthens their sense of empowerment and enhances their chances of employment in the development sector of Balochistan.

8.1.4 Initiating praxis through field projects.

The final but crucial strategy for epistemic empowerment of indigenous youth and community development workers lies in the second component of ADP courses, assignment of research projects in which IDSP students are asked to investigate one particular local issue in their respective local communities. According to IDSP administrators and teachers the main purpose of such research projects is to teach the learner how to link theory with practice. Accordingly, the IDSP Director expects that, at the end of the course, learners will be able to theorize their field projects. In the words of IDSP learners, field projects helped them in understanding difficult theoretical concepts that were discussed in the critical and reflective discourses in the first session of the courses. Most of the learners cited as examples the “phenomenon of exploitation” and “dimensions and causes of poverty” which they came to understand vividly by conducting, analysing, and critiquing their research projects. These practices eventually helped them to understand the “internalized oppression” (Dei, 2010, p. 3) that prevailed in their tribal society and in mainstream institutions of education and media. They consider their research projects as one of the most important aspects of their learning process and a very effective exercise for development of their professional skills. In their view, the research projects strengthened their belief in finding one or more alternative solutions to the local problems with which they engaged.

Analysis of learners’ discussions of their field projects reveal that they were not given an appropriately comprehensive overview of research theory. Although they used qualitative research tools such as document analysis, interviews, focus group discussion, and observations

for collecting the information, they did not use any particular research methodology or follow any research protocol. Furthermore, during their investigation they did not follow any particular ethical protocol; in fact, some of them took various kinds of risks to collect the information they required.

All the elements related to field projects, for example their purpose in ADP (testing of theories through practice), the process of completing these projects, and the lessons IDSP learners learned from them, indicate that these practices should be categorized as “praxis” instead of “research,” but arguably a form of praxis including “action research” in any conventional sense. Praxis is a Greek term that has been used to draw “distinctions between theory and practice” by “almost every major Western philosopher since Aristotle” (Bernstein, 1971 cited in Schram on p. 246). In general, it means “theoretically informed practices” (Schram, 2002, p. 2). However, Freire (1970), designates “praxis” as “[t]he process of action-reflection-transformative action” (Mayo, 2004, p. 48) within which critical reflection on action and transformative action are the key elements. In this definition, the use of praxis is not limited just to verifying a theory or building a theoretically-informed practice, but extends to changing the world. In Freire’s view, “action on its own, isolated from reflection, constitutes mindless activism. Likewise, reflection on its own, divorced from action, constitutes empty theorizing” (Mayo, 2004, p. 49).

During ADP course delivery, I have concluded, praxis was used mainly for testing relevant theories; however, some learners took it to the next level; first, they took the initiative to investigate and become implicated in an issue (an action); then, through reflective analysis of data collected, they tested their relevant theories (reflection). Later, after completing the IDSP program, they continued working on the same issue and took ongoing practical actions to resolve

the issue (see page 213). In my view, the IDSP's philosophy of development practices in developing and struggling communities (see the Figure 6-1 on page 154) is actually a model of praxis in which development practice is defined as a continuous process of action, reflection, and action similar to the methodology of much action research.

According to IDSP learners, besides testing of theoretical constructs through praxis, these research assignments boosted learners' confidence level tremendously. Completion of the projects brought a great sense of accomplishment to them and enhanced their confidence in their capabilities. During course-related praxis, they developed skills of coordination and management, communication, research, analysis, presentation, computer use, and writing. According to them this practice helped in building their connection with both district-government officials and local people.

From the inception of their projects, IDSP encouraged students to pursue their research interest. With limited knowledge but with the confidence that IDSP had given to them, all learners completed their projects. They analyzed their data and presented their findings in seminars at IDSP often in the presence of districts-government officials and notables of their community. Despite many challenges and difficulties which IDSP learners faced in undertaking these projects, they reported that IDSP always made them believe that they could carry out their projects successfully. According to IDSP learners, no matter how difficult or sensitive the issue, the Institute always told them "you can do it, just do it" (Muhammad Ajaz). For example, one research participant, an IDSP learner who investigated issues surrounding the Mirani Dam was frightened in the beginning of the project but, with continuous encouragement and motivation, he started the project, took many risks, conducted interviews with all relevant people including Army officers responsible for Flood Relief Projects, collected pertinent documents, analyzed

study findings, and then shared his learning experience and findings with his IDSP fellows. Later, after completing his DS course he continued working on the Dam project and finally took the issue to the policy level. His project is exemplary in explaining the use and effectiveness of praxis in the field of development education. During an interview, he repeatedly said that it was IDSP's belief, support from IDSP Director, and his teacher's continuous encouragement that made this praxis possible.

Successful completions of learners' projects are evidence of IDSP's belief in the capabilities of indigenous people. In manifesting such confidence in its learners' abilities, IDSP simply followed one of its core values, namely that all humans have capabilities and capacities, a value clearly reflected by Institute faculty when assigning field projects to their students. Through these projects IDSP proved that traditional people without any advanced training or degrees from the mainstream institutions can accomplish what graduates of formal education institutions can do. Through its ADP IDSP has proven that, with the right kind of education, "common people" are capable of understanding complicated discourses and launching ground-breaking practices. These important accomplishments also validate Santos' (1999) argument that alternative thinking is essential for creating alternatives.

8.2 Consequences of Epistemic Empowerment

IDSP stakeholders experience four major consequences of epistemic empowerment: (i) breaking the culture of silence by challenging the existing power structure (ii) taking ethical and social responsibility towards others (iii) encountering resistance and experiencing difficulties in applying emancipatory ideas, (iv) becoming "universal" or approaching "hybridity" in a positive sense.

8.2.1 Breaking the culture of silence by challenging the dominant power structure at the micro level.

Micro-level emancipatory actions of IDSP stakeholders reveal their considerable success in breaking the culture of silence in traditional societies of Balochistan. That culture of silence started to break when learners challenged the power structure at home where male members dominate and exercise power and authority in all family matters. Gradually, IDSP stakeholders tried to break the culture of silence in their work places as well as in community meetings by taking courageous actions against corruption, nepotism, injustice, gender discrimination, and exploitation. At the family level, their action has brought significant changes in family dynamics in favour of marginalized members of their families, particularly women and children; however, at the community level, it has not produced noticeable changes in reducing these social evils.

Although, learners' action might not have brought large-scale changes in society, it does give some assurance of new possibilities. Their courageous actions in speaking up in public meetings before powerful authorities against dominant ideologies and injustice shocked the common people of their community. Such action suggests that an emancipatory education program *can* give the oppressed a voice with which to challenge oppressors and oppressive systems.

It was evident in this study's data that IDSP female learners' courageous actions in breaking the culture of silence have brought significant changes in their personal lives. Now, they are taking greater responsibility for their own lives and making their own decisions. Their courageous decisions in choosing non-traditional academic careers and professions have opened the doors of job opportunity in the development sector of Balochistan; they have become economically empowered. Women's emancipatory actions in breaking the culture of silence have strengthened their belief in their capabilities and their sense of empowerment.

These fearless actions and transformative perspectives of IDSP stakeholders, which broke the culture of silence, have inspired their families, relatives, neighbours, and other members of their community. They have now become role models for their community and they are in a much better position to help bring the next generation in their communities to foster grassroots human development. However, as noted in the data-analysis, IDSP learners know the price of becoming a role model and they understand their responsibilities in maintaining their positive image in the community. They know that they must scrupulously avoid disgraceful actions such as corruption, nepotism, and exploitation which they have publically criticized and opposed. For this reason many male and female learners had to switch their jobs frequently — they could not compromise their moral values. In this regard, the females have been extremely cautious as they knew that their decisions and actions, personal or professional, could damage their reputation in the family and community. Female learners who participated in this project understand that one wrong decision or mistake can ruin their whole image in the community and impede the journey toward creating gender balance that they have started in their personal and professional lives. They recognize how important and sensitive their role is in changing the image of their traditional society with respect to the inferior status of women in Balochistan.

In regard to consequences of breaking the culture of silence, some incidents occurred in which learners took particularly radical actions which caused further problems and which went against key family and social values. IDSP administrators and teachers are aware that sometimes a sense of empowerment has been so strong that it overwhelmed a person and (s)he took actions that can be harmful for her or for her society. For example, a few examples occurred in which female learners refused to listen to their fathers or brothers on some small matters. As one such learner found out, such a situation can end with a quarrelsome confrontation in a public place. As

noted earlier, IDSP stakeholders are aware of these possibilities and take them very seriously. To address such concerns IDSP faculty have been changing course contents over the years to temper them, notably by removing the most radical critiques from course work.

8.2.2 Promoting ethical and social responsibility towards others.

An overview of IDSP stakeholders' emancipatory actions and their transformative perspectives reveals that IDSP has been successful in imparting "edifying knowledge" (Santos, 1999) to its learners through ADP. Their transformative perspectives on notions of development which focus on human development, humanity, and humanistic values reflect the empathetic side of their personalities. In my view, their practical efforts to reduce gender discrimination at home, their dream of transforming traditional cultures so that they support a better (peaceful and just) society — and their struggles to do so, their bold steps against exploitation, corruption, and nepotism in the work place as well as their informal and formal meetings with district officials and finally their emancipatory decisions to refuse bribes and decline disproportionately high-salary job offers, all these actions on their part exemplify action taken on ethical grounds. These actions also show the "civic courage" (Giroux, 2012) they have learned and nurtured as a result of embracing "critical citizenship" through their participation in ADP. Apropos Giroux (1993), reminds his readers:

. . . schooling for [critical] citizenship means organizing schools and other cultural sites in ways that enable students to make judgments about how society is historically and socially constructed, to understand how existing social relations are organized around racism, sexism, and other forms of oppression, and to struggle for critical public cultures that both challenge and transform those configurations of power that characterize the existing system of education and larger social structure. At the very least this means organizing schooling around a vision that links the ethical and political to the demands of a public life. It also means providing the conditions for students to link their own voices to the material and ideological conditions necessary for them to become agents who think critically, take risks, and understand how power works in the interests of both domination and possibility (p. 3).

Their courageous action also validates Freire’s argument that “[t]he process of conscientisation leaves no one with his arms folded. It makes some unfold their arms. It leaves others with a guilt feeling, because conscientization shows us that God wants us to act” (1978, p. 305). Analysis of their emancipatory actions, particularly the ones taken at the micro level (for example, see Box 7-1 and Box 7-2 on pages 200 and 205 respectively) prove that, in general, IDSP stakeholders did not compromise their ethical principles and fulfilled their “citizenry responsibilities” (Dei, 2001, p. 36). These moral actions also confirm Shapiro’s belief in the implications of a “pedagogy of justice” for creating a peaceful world in the twenty-first century; he insisted “brought up and educated in democratic environments, individuals” will “surely respond to authority with critical attitude and a readiness to resist inhuman commands” (2000, p.1).

Discussing the pedagogical implications of Gyatri Spivak’s contribution in Postcolonial Theory in Education, Andreotti (2011), advised educators interested in working against perverse effects of mainstream education systems that they “could use self-reflexivity and deconstruction, not only to analyze the epistemic and structural violence of capitalism..., but to resignify ‘social responsibility’ in their contexts in ways that are ethically responsive to the Other” (p. 47). From the courageous actions and alternative initiatives of IDSP stakeholders it was evident that the purpose of their emancipatory actions was not limited to maintaining only their own personal integrity and freedom. Most of the actions they took were for the well-being of others and the betterment of society in general. Their emancipatory actions taken at micro, meso, and macro levels (as explained in chapter 7) exhibit their commitment towards the local peoples of Balochistan. Their mission of creating a gender balance in society, their empathetic commitments towards local people, their inclination toward development of their communities

through innovative projects (discussed under meso and macro emancipatory actions in the previous chapter), and their intentions to change problematic traditional practices show that a sense of ethical and social responsibility toward others has developed within them.

Dei (2010) argues that “issues of [social] responsibility and accountability are critical for transforming the education system” (p. 14). In IDSP’s ADP, several influences played a major role in creating social responsibilities in learners. However, the most crucial influence is the conceptual framework of ADP itself in which “others” are given the central position in the process of a learner’s development and empowerment (see page 120). When explaining the framework of ADP the IDSP Director portrayed “others” as a mirror; she said she wants IDSP learners to use “others” as a mirror and develop personally, professionally, and globally by reflecting on that mirror. This “notion of the self as it is connected to the community is a philosophy of holism that is central to many cultures” (Dei, 2001, p. 36).

In explicating the implications of postmodern critical theory Santos (1999) privileged “edifying knowledge” over “heroic expertise” (p. 40). The Macmillan Dictionary defines “edifying knowledge” as educational experience that “increases your knowledge or improves your character” (Macmillan Online Dictionary, 2015). Imparting moral training through the education system has always been a key feature of classic education theory. For example, when Kant (1964) said “[e]ducation is either *physical* or *practical*” (p. 30), he designates “practical education” as “moral training” (p.30). He believed that moral training “is the education of a personal character . . . [it] imparts to man a value with regard to the whole human race” (p. 30 31). In-depth data analysis of IDSP stakeholders’ statements on their personal change, both in perceptions and actions, show that IDSP, to a large extent, has been successful in fostering ethical and moral values among its stakeholders. Reflecting upon the change they have

experienced in their personalities and ways of being, IDSP stakeholders expressed conviction that IDSP has made them open, flexible, compassionate, humble, courageous, simple, positive, honest, respectful, friendly, self-less, sensitive, and tolerant. They said that after this experience they cannot compromise their integrity; therefore, they now always avoid short-cuts in life.

The important question here is how IDSP made it possible to enable learners to take on social and moral responsibility on ethical grounds. A number of reasons appear to underlie this success. It is not easy here to explain each reason separately, but, there are a few particularly notable elements of the ADP that facilitated the process of learner “character building.” For example, from document analysis and IDSP stakeholders’ discussions on teaching content and learning material I learned that discussion of “spirituality,” biographies of revolutionary and spiritual leaders, and some specific works of related literature such as *The road less travelled: A new psychology of love, traditional values, and spiritual growth* (Scott, 1978) and *The Alchemist* (Coelho, 1998) played crucial roles in the character development of IDSP stakeholders.

Reflective discussions on topics unfamiliar to them such as “instant gratification” helped them in understanding how one can control tendencies to greediness. This topic is taught regularly in every session of DS and MGD courses. Through such discussions learners came to understand the concept of “spirituality” beyond religious boundaries. They understood that spirituality is actually linked with one’s way of living and being in a manner that provides a person inner peace coupled with a sense of satisfaction that cannot be attained only through materialism and material things. Another crucial element that had contributed to inner peace and “a sense of self-worth” (Dei, 2001) in them is confident acceptance of their own realities and cultural identities. As one Pashtoon administrator reported, this whole educational experience made him very humble and flexible; he said that he has built a mechanism inside himself that helped him in

adjusting from “mainstream” places or situations (e.g., European tours or high salaries) to “alternative” situations (local places or very low salaries). He explained his “flexibility” in the following terms:

I went to England recently and I lived there, then I came back to Karachi, then from Karachi I came to Quetta, from Quetta I had to go to Loralai, so I went to my bus stop to catch the wagon. In that wagon I waited and finally it started running, later, that wagon stopped in three different places because one tire punctured, and, finally, around 2:00 am in the morning I got home. So, you come from London, in a completely different environment, you take your flight in an airplane, and then you travel in a local wagon. So, during this journey I never felt that “where I was before and where I am now.” I felt that this is my reality; the feeling of connecting with my reality was there. What I have experienced in London was a bonus that was not my reality, my reality is this.” This is a great strength. This is what actually happens, you earn 200,000 rupees monthly, and, then suddenly you came to the 25,000 rupees. So, it is the matter of your capacity, how you adjust yourself to this. To live from 200000 rupees as well as from 25000 rupees and then again move up from 25,000 rupees to 200000, such things can be brutal — killing, if you do not have the strength.

8.2.3 Encountering resistance and experiencing difficulties in applying emancipatory ideas.

The third consequence of their epistemic empowerment is related to the challenges and difficulties IDSP stakeholders in putting their alternative ideas into practice in the field. At the personal and family levels, they were more successful in sharing, practicing, and promoting their transformative perspectives; however, at the work and community levels they face multiple challenges in following their beliefs and pursuing alternative approaches to social development. Even so, they noted that, in the beginning, they faced criticism and problems at the family level; for example, female learners faced family opposition and resentment from relatives and neighbours when they took a stand against gender discrimination at home. Likewise male learners had arguments with family members and friends on such “revolutionary and radical” ideas. However, both male and female learners used their communication skills and won their arguments by sharing the knowledge they had learned in IDSP. Interestingly, according to some

learners, their revolutionary views, their emancipatory decisions, and their successes in their professional lives have inspired their families and many other young people of their communities.

From their discussions of challenges that IDSP learners face at the family and professional levels, it was obvious that they were not concerned about such criticism from their family and friends. However, they showed mixed responses and emotions when they spoke about their working experiences in the development sector of Balochistan. As Dei (2010) recognizes, “[s]ometimes, strategic separation from dominant spaces (as in racially minoritized bodies claiming ‘spaces of their own’) becomes a matter of survival for the oppressed community” (p. 9). Some IDSP learners who were working in the NGOs or other mainstream institutions shared the nature and causes of problems which had forced them to change their jobs frequently. Despite the fact they faced problems in their work places they were succeeding in the development sector without compromising the working principles and belief system that they established in IDSP. Some learners and administrators who were working in various NGOs and international-development organizations explained that somehow they had learned to balance both NGOs’ standardized systems and their own belief system. However, IDSP administrators and some learners seemed sincerely disappointed when they talked about those self-initiatives that could not be sustained in the development sector over the long run. They cited several reasons for failure of these initiatives including scarcity of financial resources, lack of technical and other helpful guidance, threats from some local conservative and extremist groups, and dispersion of founding members of groups that started and promoted such self-initiatives in the first place.

The most frequently cited constraint that IDSP stakeholders mentioned in continuing developmental activities is financial. It seems that significant emancipatory change is possible on a large scale only if adequate and appropriate financial resources and technical guidance are available. This frequent observation in the data simply proves that *money can matter* — depending on how it is spent. Current literature on NFE and development education shows that, after spending billions of dollars in development projects in developing countries, institutions like FAO, UNESCO and USAID are still asking questions such as “what kind of education is needed in rural and traditional communities” (FAO & UNESCO, 2003) and “where should money be spent” (World Bank, 2010). To a considerable extent, I think this study contributes to answering their questions. In my view, development agencies must consult with local intellectuals, practitioners, and activists who are working on their own, have a viable agenda relevant to local needs, and, in particular, an agenda rooted in local culture and addressing the local people’s issues. Experiences reported in this study repeatedly affirm this view.

In IDSP’s ADP, students and other stakeholders developed a very special relationship with the institute (as IDSP learners have developed among themselves) which is likely rare in other educational institutes. From my interviews with IDSP learners I noted that they have great respect and regard for IDSP because it has brought major positive changes in their lives. In a similar vein, they also have huge expectations of IDSP to help them in their community-development initiatives. Generally, when students graduate from their educational institutes they do not expect the institute to help them in their professional lives; however, in IDSP they do. This expectation shows that institutions that impart critical knowledge, promote ideas of alternatives to mainstream beliefs and approaches, and expect students to bring change in society

have immense responsibility to develop a mechanism for engaging with their graduates to serve their long-term needs as development workers.

Nevertheless, IDSP cannot provide financial resources to all its learners as it is itself dependent on foreign funding and donations. However, it needs to find a way to rejuvenate its Learners and Community Support Program (LCSP) program whose whole purpose was to facilitate post-learners in their community-development initiatives. Discussion with IDSP faculty made it clear to me that IDSP administrators are fully aware of the potential role and importance of LCSP in ensuring enduring effects by ADP on society; however, they have not fully utilized LCSP in addressing learners' needs and challenges, particularly but not only those being addressed by program graduates. During interviews some learners shared their frustrations and disappointments with IDSP for not providing proper guidance or giving attention to the problems they were facing in doing developmental work in communities. In my view, in the presence of a functional LCSP program with fully dedicated staff, IDSP could assist a large number of learners only by giving appropriate attention to their problems and providing technical advice on their ideas. IDSP is not in a position to help learners with financial resources, but it might be able to help them better in securing sources of funding available for particular development activities from local, national, and international governments and agencies. In doing so it would significantly assist them in building feasible development plans and implementing their innovative ideas in local communities.

8.2.4 Becoming “universal” or hybrid humans.

Dr. Ahmad once said “No significant change occurs unless the new form is congruent with the old. It is only when a transplant is congenial to its soil that it works. Therefore, it is very important to know the transplant [*sic*] as well as the native soil” (cited in Facebook on Eqbal

Ahmad Fan Page). In his view, this kind of philosophical path toward change will make you universal. Advising intellectuals from the third world living in USA, he urged “You should be universal. But, you can never be fully universal unless you know your own, unless you have your roots, unless you water it, fertilize it” (Ahmad, 1998). IDSP stakeholders’ transformative perceptions of notions of development and indigenous knowledge, discussed on pages 140 and 155 respectively, revealed that, after participating in ADP courses, they are striving to become universal by balancing two worlds, traditional and modern, local and global, in both their lives and work. I drew this conclusion from analysis of their views on their own traditional culture, customs, and the community development practices and development issues they reported. I have categorized their views on these in terms of three commitments: i) they are deeply connected with their local culture, wisdom, people, and with good local practices; ii) despite the fact that they are very close to their local culture, some research participants believe that promoting romanticized visions of local culture in their development discourse is wrong; and iii) there was broad agreement that certain aspects of modernity cannot be avoided if they want to connect globally. All IDSP stakeholders realized that they have to adopt or learn those crucial aspects of modernity essential for succeeding, competing, and leading in global markets. These essential aspects of modernity include getting command of the English language, competence in using technological and communication tools and equipment, and understanding world systems, for example, how NGOs and other major players such as international development and funding organizations function in the development sector. Their renewed and improved relationship with their traditional culture and their eagerness to succeed in the future, which they feel is impossible without connecting globally, urged them to balance their traditional identities with some useful and beneficial aspects of modernity, but without devaluing their own local culture. This way of

balancing two worlds resonates with the concept of hybridity that is discussed in various literatures with both positive and negative connotations (Acheraiou, 2011). According to Chan Kwok-bun (2011):

Hybridity is a difficult concept. It eludes and motivates at the same time – neither here nor there, it is somewhere in between. When scholars speak of a hybrid person they almost inevitably emphasize a figure who is at once a combination of cultures, a melange of influences, and somehow better for it. . . More often, hybridity offers promise – the best of both worlds, or even the best of all worlds – but also a very heavy burden. (p.1)

In the context of IDSP stakeholders' epistemic empowerment, "hybridity" offers much promise. In this study, IDSP stakeholders' constant struggle to balance two worlds – traditional and modern, giving tradition more value or weight than modernity where appropriate, they report positive results from their learning in ADP. In general, positive results from such "hybridity" or "balancing of two worlds" is a common finding in a great deal of research on indigenous people/indigenous youth/indigenous students (Behrendt, 1996). However, the difference between the struggles of IDSP learners and a great many indigenous students who find themselves engaged in a formal education system is that the IDSP learner learns without having negative feelings about his/her traditional culture while indigenous students in formal systems frequently struggle with feelings of humiliation based upon their origin and cultural identity.

The centrality of hybridity in this program reflects the success of IDSP in attaining one of its development objectives. During her interview the IDSP Director emphasized that she wants indigenous youth and community development workers to develop themselves first and then connect their ideas, their selves and missions, with their local community and finally with the global community (explained in detail on page 119 of chapter 5). Although it is impressive that IDSP stakeholders are ambitious with regard to competing at the mainstream or global level, doing so sometimes raises questions about why, if they dislike and have strong reservations

about mainstream ideas and institutions, they want to connect with them. A paradoxical dichotomy is evident here, a reflection of the same dichotomy manifested in the philosophical mission statement of IDSP where on one hand IDSP criticizes global and dominant ideas and on the other hand it expects its learners to compete at the global level.

In-depth analysis of study data reveals that IDSP wants its learners to change the power structure in favour of marginalized and disadvantaged people but, paradoxically, such change would be impossible by rejecting mainstream systems completely. Therefore, IDSP first liberates its learners epistemically through a rigorous and transformative education then equips them with emancipatory and regulatory knowledges and skills to challenge the hegemonic power structure within the limits of the possible in their lives and during their development work.

With respect to this particular consequence it would be interesting to study non-indigenous people's reaction to indigenous people's perspectives on modernity. Throughout the research process I noticed that non-indigenous people, including myself, when confronted with indigenous people criticizing modern, western, or dominant ideas, assume that they are against every aspect of modernization and globalization. Therefore when we see these people using, cherishing, or celebrating some aspects of modernization, we tend to doubt the validity of their critical views and distrust the sincerity of their attachment to traditional ways of living and being. We sense that they are going against their views and not acting upon their own words. For example, I doubted the sincerity of their criticism of modernization when I found some IDSP learners using the latest means of communications very fondly or when I noticed that their homes are furnished with all kinds of modern appliances or when I felt their eagerness for and keen interest in equipping their offices with advanced computer and communication technologies. Likewise I was shocked during interviews when I listened to IDSP administrators'

and some learners' criticism of revival of symbolic aspects of their traditional practices. I listened repeatedly to their interviews and finally came to the conclusion that their strong opposition towards some cultural norms and practices do not suggest that they are ashamed of their traditions or that they have been fully co-opted into the mainstream system. Tellingly, the same research participants expressed in the course of their interviews deep connection and affinity with their culture by showing their regard for their tradition and customs, their strong commitment toward their communities, and by sharing the emancipatory actions and bold decisions they have taken for the betterment of their people and society.

Dr. Ahmad once said "A central problem of our time is political minds rooted in the past and modern times producing new realities" (1998). After reflecting upon my own thoughts and others' reactions during the course of the study, I came to the conclusion that our immediate reaction actually reflects the limits of our thinking. Before asking such questions we forget that evolution is a natural process and every human being wants to better her or his situation. IDSP learners also want to change, but as they said, through an evolutionary process in a civilized manner without imposition of global or Western ideas and without unduly compromising their traditional identities. They want their culture to be acknowledged and respected in mainstream institutions. They do not compel dominant groups to learn or adapt to their local culture, but they want others to stop devaluing their local cultures and promoting *only* mainstream agendas and western culture. We should not expect that indigenous people will resist change or development (e.g., traffic laws, international laws protecting human rights) if they prove beneficial for their people and their society.

8.3 IDSP's Alternative Model of Development Education for Epistemic Empowerment of Indigenous Youth - a Model of Translation

Case studies, particularly single case studies, are not generalizable in any sense to different contexts and time. That said, the IDSP experience chronicled in this study through the eyes of direct stakeholders offers potentially useful lessons for those who find themselves similarly situated in potentially comparable circumstances. As Santos (1999) said, “there are multiple faces of domination and oppressions” (p. 34); therefore what really matters, in the context of utilizing IDSP's ADP framework in other cultures, is the oppressors' and marginalized groups' shared experiences and the pain they suffered in the form of troubling feelings of alienation, denigration, despair, confusion, and feelings of inferiority, and so forth. In my view, the IDSP's conceptual framework, explained in Figure 5-3 (see page 121), is a keystone of the ADP program and it can be used or adapted in other cultures and settings where people have experienced similar oppression, subjugation, and exploitation. Thus its model of epistemic empowerment of indigenous youth, explained above in Figure 8-1, has potential to inspire individuals, groups, and communities who can relate their troubled past and lived experiences with the life and experiences of IDSP stakeholders.

Although it is not wise to replicate or transmit the ADP model in other settings without careful thought and suitable adaptation, I believe it should be carefully translated into other cultural settings by keeping the contexts of the targeted audience of that culture or setting at the centre. In my view, individuals and groups interested in IDSP's ADP must pay special attention to the “process” of ADP evolution, the structure and course-delivery mechanism of ADP, the “philosophical and ideological position” of IDSP on developmental issues, its commitment to its core values, and, most importantly, its “working principle” that focus should be on a “flexible

approach” instead of “rigid or standardized methods” and attention mainly to “process” instead of “output or results” (see page 132).

As well, IDSP’s development-education program provides some very useful lessons to international development agencies working in the fields of adult education, youth empowerment, and rural development. In my view, the key factor in the empowerment of IDSP’s audience is IDSP’s emphasis on both “emancipatory” and “regulatory” knowledge (see Figure 8-3). Usually development organizations, both national and international, keeping at the centre their own agendas and targets, focus on providing general knowledge and professional-development skills in development education programs.

However, IDSP gave foremost priority to emancipatory knowledges in its ADP. Keeping the contexts of its learners, existing social issues, local cultures and priorities, the problematic life of many indigenous youth, and its own goal at the centre of its teaching and learning activities, IDSP focuses on emancipatory knowledge of problematic self-images, gender-sensitive issues, challenges of post-colonial and post-modern societies, and traditional beliefs, values, and practices.

In other cultures and settings, the elements of emancipatory knowledges could be different. For example, the inequities related to gender discussed in ADP might not be as dramatic in other cultures as it was apparent in a traditional society of Balochistan. IDSP imparted emancipatory knowledge centred on gender-related issues because it wanted to develop a gender-equitable workforce and leadership in the development sector of Balochistan that would favour and implement such equity.



Figure 8-3: Alternative Development Education Model for Youth Empowerment

This study showed that the regulatory knowledges that IDSP stakeholders learned helped them greatly in getting access in the development sector of Balochistan. It proves that regulatory knowledges empowered them economically while emancipatory knowledges empowered their selves. However, their emancipatory actions, particularly actions taken at the micro and macro levels, show that, by embracing emancipatory knowledges and mastering regulatory knowledges, they are creating new possibilities in their society. Therefore, this study offers tangible evidence that a development-education program aiming for both self-empowerment and economic-

empowerment can develop people genuinely and profoundly and in turn bring positive change to their host society.

8.4 Further Research

For all the lessons learned in this research, much more needs to be studied and learned. For example, a useful comparative case study could be designed involving those IDSP learners who are unemployed. The target research participants of this study were IDSP stakeholders who were able to use their alternative and transformative perspective in community-development practices. During data analysis, while reviewing the impact statements of research participants, I concluded that the research participants of this study were fortunate to use or apply their transformative perspectives in their personal and professional lives. They obtained economic benefit, found opportunity to examine their critical and alternative perceptions, and they also achieved a sense of satisfaction that they were contributing to their society by bringing small changes. However, I realized that it would be interesting to examine views of those IDSP learners who have not had opportunities to work or whose life has not been as changed as have the participants of this research study. It would be interesting, and perhaps valuable, to see what effects emancipatory knowledge might have on learners who have not had a chance to use their emancipatory knowledges or who are facing severe challenges in finding their own path through life and possibly work.

A very interesting area of potential future research, the non-conventional leadership style of some IDSP stakeholders, appeared while analysing the interview data of IDSP faculty and some learners who are playing leadership roles in different organizations at the local level. Following its mission statement IDSP has developed some effective leaders in the traditional communities of Balochistan. It would be very useful to focus more deeply on those IDSP

learners who are leading local projects and local people with different kinds of leadership skills. It would be instructive to study that what kind of leaders they are and what makes them different than other leaders.

One important theme, institutional issues, emerged during analysis of interview data when IDSP stakeholders discussed ADP course issues and institutional questions. Since issues linked to institution-building were not an important focus of this study, they have not been discussed in detail here. However, keeping in mind the history and nature of IDSP, and the role it has played in its students' lives, I believe it is essential and potentially highly useful to study the institutional-development aspect of IDSP in its own right. Understanding of IDSP's institutional analysis and development is potentially important and useful for critical educators and development workers searching for alternatives in the global south. For them it might prove fruitful indeed to learn from the experiences of IDSP administrators who have been trying to bring positive change at the grassroots level by changing people's minds instead of by changing only "the system."

Accordingly, it would be enlightening and useful to examine organizations situated in contexts resembling that of IDSP to varying degrees that follow non-traditional methods and aim to challenge mainstream practices in development education. Such research could explore factors, influences, and institutional characteristics that make them different from traditional organizations and mainstream NGOs, what major changes they have — or have not — brought over the years, and why those changes resemble, or not, those that took place in the case of IDSP. Such research could probe major challenges such development programs have faced in following their mission statements and the extent to which they have been successful in following their core values.

Another important theme, conflicting views of IDSP stakeholders on revitalization of traditional practices, was one of the key emergent themes in this study and has been discussed in detail in chapter 6. I believe strongly that IDSP must develop consensus, or at least broad and substantial agreement, on “revitalization of indigenous knowledge”—including and especially the meaning and scope of the concept— among all its stakeholders; it is, after all, one of the core values of IDSP. Case studies on organizations that have successfully engaged in revitalization of indigenous knowledges would be particularly useful in this respect.

This study analyzed IDSP stakeholders’ transformative perspectives in light of the perspectives and experiences they reported on various subjects and areas of concern. An illuminating study examining the journey of IDSP learners’ transformation could be undertaken from the moment they enter in the classroom of ADP after the selection process. Such a study might take the form of a “natural experiment” (with all the strengths and weaknesses of such a methodology) in which learners’ perspectives on specific subjects and issues would be collected before the courses. Their activities and responses might be observed in classrooms, and the evolution of their transformative perspectives would be recorded and compared retrospectively after program completion.

8.5 Conclusion

The journey of this study started as a result of an intuitive and intriguing sense that I developed during my first meeting with some IDSP graduates and faculty members in 2004. In that meeting, I noticed something “different” or “changed,” in a positive sense, about them and about so many things related to developmental and educational issues of traditional people and rural communities of Pakistan. My perception of that “change” was the key motivation for my initiating this research project in 2008. This research project, to a large extent, has helped me

understand the attributes and sources of that “change,” to grasp the process that IDSP used to bring about that change, as well as the consequences of such change in a traditional society.

I am now certain that a process of deep “change” or “emancipatory social transformation” (Santos, 1999) occurred in affected indigenous communities of Balochistan as a result of IDSP stakeholders’ epistemic empowerment. I have labelled this change “emancipatory social transformation” because it occurred when learners and other people living in the local surroundings in which IDSP students worked embraced alternative ideas and practices to rethink and reshape their society. The review of their transformative perspectives in Chapter 7 reveals that their belief system changed as did their perceptions, behaviours, and community-development practices.

Both from their development practices and real-life experiences IDSP stakeholders have realized that large-scale change cannot come quickly. In this respect, they have established their own perceptions regarding social change. For example, they believe that change starts from one’s self; it is initiated by taking small steps; it cannot be imposed; it will come through an evolutionary process; and most of all, it will come *only* by mobilizing “individual or grass-roots critical agency” (Richmond, 2011). Freire (1978) also said that final transformation of hegemonic structure (large-scale transformation) is not possible without conscientisation of people.

Freire (1978) opposed a “mechanistic view of social changes;” he insists that “[e]ven if there is a serious changeover, such as revolution, the myths from the previous structure will carry over and continue to influence the new governmental structure” (p. 302). Instead, he emphasized that “cultural revolution” can occur when people “culturally attack culture” and they “do not let it become static, becoming a myth and mystifying” it (p. 302). IDSP stakeholders’ actions

against the culture of silence, culture of domination of men over women, culture of corruption and nepotism, and so forth, are also indicators of “cultural revolution” in a traditional society. Their actions show that IDSP and its stakeholders are following a promising and potentially effective approach towards transformation of their society; however, the speed and scope of this social transformation is undeniably quite slow.

One of the reasons that emancipatory social transformation occurred slowly and only at the micro scale in traditional communities of IDSP stakeholders is linked with the fact that most of the emancipatory actions were taken only on an individual basis. There was no example reported that showed that IDSP or IDSP stakeholders took any action collectively to challenge the injustice or power structure at the macro level. As one IDSP teacher acknowledged during her interview, IDSP has not been successful in launching a “social movement” in Balochistan. Furthermore, nothing in the interviews with the IDSP Director and other administrators revealed that IDSP itself *intended* to initiate or launch any social movement that would bring revolutionary change or transformation in Balochistan society. However, IDSP teachers and administrators hope and expect that, in the long run, learners’ individual efforts and actions at the micro level will change society at the macro level. This conviction on their part invites discussion of the concept of “solidarity” that Santos regards as the goal of knowledge in the trajectory of knowledge-as-emancipation. He defines “solidarity” as “a form of knowledge that is acquired by means of recognition of the other, the other can only be known as producer of knowledge” (p. 39). It was evident throughout my data analysis that IDSP stakeholders developed their own perceptions in a transformative learning environment where they were given the status of producer of knowledge. In terms of a general definition of solidarity given in dictionaries, for example, “the support that people in a group give each other because they have

the same opinions or goals” (Macmillan Online Dictionary, 2015), IDSP stakeholders’ actions and individual initiatives show that they are struggling toward a common mission, namely, to fight against “injustice” and all the social or cultural evils that cause “injustice” in their society. For IDSP and its stakeholders “change” or “social change” is inextricably connected with “justice.” Their perceptions and actions show that if any custom, tradition, ideology, or practice creates a hindrance to the pursuit of justice, they challenge it because they now know that silence would be harmful. So, despite the fact that they are not working collectively and their individual efforts have not taken the form of a social movement, their mission arguably prepares the way for large-scale social change, to combat injustice and develop a more just society.

Endnotes

¹ A number of websites referred to are no longer available on line so complete citations and references are not possible. This is one such site:

[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Balochistan_\(Pakistan\)#Geography](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Balochistan_(Pakistan)#Geography)

² For further information on the aptness of the concept “indigenous knowledge” in this context see section 6.2, p. 155.

³ During coding and data analyses processes, the open code named “Human Capabilities/Empowerment/Human Agency” appeared with the highest frequency of quotations, 101. This open code is recognized as a core code and renamed in the main text as “empowerment of IDSP stakeholders as a result of their identity formation in IDSP’s ADP”.

⁴ During my stay in IDSP office I paid for food and local transportation expenses

⁵ List of IDSP documents consulted to identify key features of IDSP’s ADP courses:

Ali, K. & Shoukat, A. (2009). Evaluation report: Institute of Development Studies and Practices, Quetta (Pakistan) 1998-2008. IDSP Resource Centre: Quetta.

Ali, K. & Shoukat, A. (2007). Draft report: Exploring programmatic bases of Academic and Learners and Community Partnership Program. IDSP Resource Centre: Quetta. Unpublished manuscript.

IDSP. (n.a.). ADP course history. Unpublished manuscript.

IDSP. (n.a.). Human resource development for mainstreaming gender development in Balochistan: A joint venture of British Council (GEP), CIDA (Page), and IDSP- Pakistan. Unpublished manuscript.

⁶ List of IDSP documents consulted to locate total number of IDSP graduates participated in ADP courses:

IDSP. (n.a.). *ADP course history*. Unpublished manuscript.

IDSP (2013). *Learners Database: 10th and 11th Development Studies Courses*. IDSP Resource Centre: Unpublished manuscript.

IDSP. (2011). *MGD Learner Database (2003-2007)*. IDSP Resource Centre. Unpublished manuscript.

Government of Pakistan. (2013). *Districts of Pakistan*. Retrieved from <http://www.pakinformation.com/district.html>

⁷ No longer available on line: <http://www.bitsonline.net/eqbal/biography.asp>

⁸ Ahmad, E. (1998). *Terrorism: Ours Vs Theirs*. Retrieved from

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OXt1s38SzpA>

⁹ Ahmad, E. (1999). A jihad against time. Al-Ahram, Cairo. Retrieved on April 2013 from <http://weekly.ahram.org/1999/415/op2.htm>

¹⁰ Dr. Ahmad’s lecture on “terrorism Ours Vs Theirs” and his article on “A Jihad against time” came out in October 1998 and February 1999 respectively. Unfortunately, he died on May 11, 1999.

¹¹ Said, E. (1999, May 14). Eqbal Ahmad: He brought wisdom and integrity to the cause of oppressed peoples. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <http://www.guardian.co.uk/news/1999/may/14/guardianobituaries1>

¹² Daudpota. (2012). Noam Chomsky’s three true intellectuals. Retrieved from <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8FggxAtyxN8>

¹³ No longer available on line: <http://appri.org/Achievements.php>

¹⁴ IDSP faculty in ADP courses explain the dynamics of behaviour by the assessment of students' reactionary attitude. Students are given some tools and strategies to control their aggressive or passive behaviours in certain situations. The purpose in doing this exercise is to improve their capacity to act effectively at family and community levels.

¹⁵ The module "Quran: what is it and what isn't" was removed in Phase 3 from ADP courses. Although it is not taught as a core module in recent ADP courses, it is significantly integrated with the gender and IK discourses.

¹⁶ In the first module of ADP courses i.e., "Self", IDSP students are taught three different types of behaviors: Assertive, aggressive, and passive. Then, they are asked to assess their own personalities under these defined behaviors. Later, they are taught different strategies for controlling their passive or aggressive behaviors in certain situations.

¹⁷ In a discussion with the Professor Jerry Paquette he noted that IDSP's approach of "learning from the process" is directly contrary to recent efficiency discourse in Western politics and administration, in education and elsewhere. A good example is Western institutions' emphasis on "results-based management." Particularly in the field of development education where international development organizations are the key players, the impact of programs or projects are commonly assessed through the evaluation of "deliverables."

¹⁸ The effectiveness of non-formal education programs for accomplishing either of these outcomes depends on the particular characteristics of the programs, the context in which they operate, and most importantly, the socio-economic and ethno-religious background of the people targeted in the program (Bell, 1982).

¹⁹ "Hidden knowledge" refers here to knowledge that IDSP shared with its learners in ADP courses that learners had never been taught in mainstream institutions. In other words, hidden knowledge consists of critical perspectives and theories, alternative ideas and views, and literature focused on knowledge of particular relevance to marginalized people but not usually taught in mainstream institutions.

²⁰ No longer available on line: <http://ngoregistrationswd.com/index.php/>

²¹ Ahmad, E. (1998). *Terrorism: Ours Vs Theirs*. Retrieved from <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OXt1s38SzpA>

²² A *Jirga* is a tribal assembly of elders which takes decisions by consensus, particularly among the Pashtun people but also in other ethnic groups near them; they are most common in Afghanistan and among the Pashtuns in Pakistan near its border with Afghanistan.

²³ Eqbal Ahmad's statement "No significant change occurs unless the new form is congruent with the old. It is only when a transplant is congenial to a soil that it works. Therefore, it is very important to know the transplant as well as the native soil" http://www.bitsonline.net/eqbal/postcard_4AA846FD.htm.

²⁴ The status of emancipatory actions at the meso level are reported as "functional," "dysfunctional," and "unknown:" i) "Functional:" means that relevant action was operational at the time of data collection. For example, a textbook that was developed for rural children *was being taught* as resource material in literacy centres of IDSP. The home school that was initiated by one of the research participant of this study was operating at the time of interview. Likewise, the water purification plant in Thar district, rehabilitated Karazes, and women's campuses in rural districts, were all running smoothly. The IDSP mud-construction project and the campaign against the Mirani Dam, at the time of data collection, were both still in progress. ii) "Dysfunctional:" means the relevant activity was stopped at a certain point and never resumed.

iii) “Unknown:” status was assigned to initiatives that were reported in the IDSP documents and reported as emancipatory actions but without evidence of their current status.

²⁵ Institute for Development Studies and Practices (IDSP). (2009). *Literacy for change (Zaanth literacy quaida)*. Retrieved from

<http://www.scribd.com/doc/110296609/Literacy-for-Change-Zaanth-Literacy-Quaida>

²⁶ * denotes that this particular action was taken by non-research participant of the study.

²⁷ There was an understanding within IDSP that the solution of underdevelopment problems, caused by the hegemonic nature of mainstream notions, can be found in traditional knowledge systems. Such solutions, this participant believed, required sufficient resources to develop “instruments” that would “resolve” the challenges involved in such application of traditional knowledge systems.

²⁸ “Critical Pedagogy and Radical Education” and “Colonial and Imperialists Bases Leading Development Practices.”

²⁹ “Spirituality, Culture, and Social Change.”

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Appendices

Appendix 4-A: List of IDSP Documents

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Appendix 4-B: Interview Guidelines

Interview Guidelines (general lines of anticipated questioning) – IDSP administrators

- Q.1 Please explain your role in ADP courses?
- Q.2 I would like to start this interview with one of the statements that has been quoted several times in IDSP documents and reports. It states that IDSP was established “to create a space where dominant development paradigms could be challenged”. It seems that you are *critical* of dominant conceptions of development, is this right? How so?
- Q.3 How was the concept of “Academic Development Program (ADP)” emerged? What is the mission and goal of ADP? Would you please share the process by which you and your team members design and develop these ADP courses?
- Q.4 It is stated in ADP related documents that learners in ADP courses “get through a deep reflective process of learning, de-learning and re-learning and understanding the process of critical thinking, creating their own concepts and practice it”. What are the things IDSP wants them to “de-learn” and what are the things you want them to “relearn”?
- Q.5 What kind of teaching material and teaching strategies facilitate this “de-learning” and “relearning process”?
- Q.6 What kind of concepts and practices generally emerge in this process as it is claimed that learners in ADP courses create their own concepts and practice it? What alternative ideas and actions were explored in these courses? Please give some examples.
- Q.7 In what ways has the creation of new concepts and practices in ADP courses affected IDSP stakeholders personally and professionally?
- Q.8 What are the key challenges IDSP stakeholders including you are facing in achieving program goals? How these challenges are faced?
- Q.9 What would you like to change in these courses? What would you like to add in these courses? What would you like to remove from these courses?

Interview Guidelines (general lines of anticipated questioning) – IDSP Teachers

- Q.1 Tell me about your involvement in IDSP's ADP courses? Which topics do you teach in ADP courses?
- Why is this topic taught in ADP courses?
 - What is your own perception of the significance of this topic?
 - Has this topic evolved in last ten years; if yes, in what ways?
- Q.2 How do you teach your topic? How do you engage students in learning process? What kind of teaching materials do you use to teach this topic?
- Q.3 What kinds of concepts generally emerge as you teach your topic? In what ways do students reflect upon such emerging concepts?
- Q.4 IDSP claims to regain, regenerate, and relearn the indigenous values and wisdom; in your views, to what extent IDSP has fulfilled this claim?
- What is defined as “indigenous knowledge” in your teaching module?
 - How do you define “indigenous knowledge” in the context of Balochistan? In your view, what count as “indigenous knowledge” and what is the value of this knowledge in the development of Balochistan?
 - In what ways is indigenous knowledge regenerated in your class? What strategies, methods, and procedures do you use to create indigenous knowledge in your teaching module?
- Q.5 In what ways has the creation of new concepts and practices in ADP courses affected you and your students personally and professionally?
- Q.6 In what ways have your critical views and alternative ideas of development affected your teaching and non-teaching community-development work?
- Q.7 What kind of challenges have you faced in your community-development work in Balochistan?
- Q.8 What are your expectations from your learners? What do you want your learners to be? Do you want them to become a change agent the society? If yes, are they ready and prepared for brining social change?
- Q.9 What would you like to change in these courses? What would you like to add in these courses? What would you like to remove from these courses?

Interview Guidelines (general lines of anticipated questioning) – IDSP Students

- Q.1 Reflecting upon your participation in IDSP' ADP courses can you please tell me what did you learn in that course?
- What key issues were raised and discussed in ADP courses?
 - Which key concepts emerged during discussion?
 - How do you define each of these specified concepts? (e.g., “Notion and practices of development”, “Indigenous youth education and development; What is your philosophy of community development?”).
- Q.2 How did you conceive and embrace these concepts?
- At the time you were a learner in ADP courses what teaching and learning methods helped you to embrace these concepts?
 - What problems did you face in conceptualizing these ideas?
- Q.3 What did you learn about your own culture and community in ADP courses?
- What kind of local issues were discussed in these courses?
 - What are your own views about these issues?
 - What new did you learn about your community or culture that you had never learned in school or any other setting?
- Q.4 In what ways knowledge acquired in ADP courses affected your personality and your community development work?
- Has your personality developed as a result of involvement with IDSP and the ADP course? (e.g., creativity, leadership skills, critical thinking, self-confidence, etc.). What are the evidences of these claims?
 - How your current knowledge helps you and benefits you in your professional activities and career development?
- Q.5 What kind of problems and challenges do you face in your personal or professional life when using your own philosophy and approach?
- How do you deal with these issues and challenges? Please provide some examples and evidences?
- Q.6 What are you currently doing in the area of community development practices?
- What is your approach to dealing with community issues?
 - What are your main community-development goals? How do you want to achieve them?
- Q.7 What would have happened if you had not attended the IDSP courses?
- Q.8 What would you like to change in IDSP's ADP courses?

Appendix 4-C: UWO Ethics Approval Notice

THE UNIVERSITY OF WESTERN ONTARIO FACULTY OF EDUCATION

USE OF HUMAN SUBJECTS - ETHICS APPROVAL NOTICE

Review Number: 1104-1
 Principal Investigator: Jerry Paquette
 Student Name: Nazia Bano
 Title: *Stakeholder Perceptions of Knowledge Creation and Use in the Academic Development Programs of the Institute for Development Studies and Practices in the Balochistan, Pakistan*
 Expiry Date: September 30, 2011
 Type: Ph.D. Thesis
 Ethics Approval Date: April 27, 2011
 Revision #:
 Documents Reviewed &
 Approved: UWO Protocol, Letters of Information & Consent

This is to notify you that the Faculty of Education Sub-Research Ethics Board (REB), which operates under the authority of The University of Western Ontario Research Ethics Board for Non-Medical Research Involving Human Subjects, according to the Tri-Council Policy Statement and the applicable laws and regulations of Ontario has granted approval to the above named research study on the date noted above. The approval shall remain valid until the expiry date noted above assuming timely and acceptable responses to the REB's periodic requests for surveillance and monitoring information. During the course of the research, no deviations from, or changes to, the study or information/consent documents may be initiated without prior written approval from the REB, except for minor administrative aspects. Participants must receive a copy of the signed information/consent documentation. Investigators must promptly report to the Chair of the Faculty Sub-REB any adverse or unexpected experiences or events that are both serious and unexpected, and any new information which may adversely affect the safety of the subjects or the conduct of the study. In the event that any changes require a change in the information/consent documentation and/or recruitment advertisement, newly revised documents must be submitted to the Sub-REB for approval.

Dr. Alan Edmunds (Chair)

2010-2011 Faculty of Education Sub-Research Ethics Board

Dr. Alan Edmunds	Faculty of Education (Chair)
Dr. John Barnett	Faculty of Education
Dr. Jacqueline Specht	Faculty of Education
Dr. Farahnaz Faez	Faculty of Education
Dr. Wayne Martino	Faculty of Education
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Dr. Ruth Wright Faculty of Music
Dr. Robert Macmillan Faculty of Education, Associate Dean, Graduate Programs & Research (*ex officio*)
Dr. Susan Rodger Faculty of Education, UWO Non-Medical Research Ethics Board (*ex officio*)

The Faculty of Education Karen Kueneman, Research Officer

Copy: Office of Research Ethics

Appendix 4-D: Letters of Information

Stakeholder perceptions of knowledge creation and use in the Academic Development Programs of the Institute for Development Studies and Practices in the Balochistan, Pakistan

LETTER OF INFORMATION¹

(For IDSP Director and Administrators)

My name is Nazia Bano and I am a PhD student at the Faculty of Education at The University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario, Canada. I am currently conducting research on the non-formal Academic Development Program (ADP) of the Institute for Development Studies and Practices (IDSP) in Balochistan and would like to invite you to participate in this study.

The specific goal of this research is to construct a theory that explains the influence of alternative knowledges (i.e., not a form of mainstream academic knowledge) on perceptions and practices of IDSP stakeholders. The main objective of this research is to understand IDSP teachers', students', and administrators' perceptions of knowledge creation and application associated with IDSP, both in terms of their strengths and their challenges.

If you agree to participate in this study you will be asked to join me in an interview that will last about 90 minutes. The interview will take place in a place that is convenient for both of us. During the interview I will be asking you to reflect upon your experiences and perceptions of: the knowledge constructed in IDSP' ADP courses, procedures of knowledge creation, and subsequent application of alternative knowledges you acquired during the ADP program in your subsequent professional activities. The interview will be audio-recorded and transcribed into written format. When the written transcript of the interview has been prepared you will be provided with a copy so that you may review it and make any changes, corrections, and/or deletions to it you may wish.

The information collected will be used for research purposes only. All information collected for the study will be stored confidentially. Only a transcriber and I will have access to the tapes and transcripts. We will protect your privacy. You may be quoted directly in the research report, but, to the extent possible, you will not be identified as the source of the quotation and any information that could identify you will be removed unless you expressly request that a particular statement be identified with you personally. Nonetheless, because of your leadership role in IDSP, it may not be possible to maintain your anonymity in the report on this research or future publications based on it.

I will provide you with a summary of the study once it is completed.

¹ The actual letters of information (English and Urdu) were printed on UWO letterhead.

There are no known risks to participating in this study.

Participation in this study is voluntary. You may refuse to participate, refuse to answer any questions or withdraw from the study at any time with no effect on your status at IDSP.

If you have any questions about the conduct of this study or your rights as a research participant you may contact the Director, Office of Research Ethics, University of Western Ontario, at XXX-XXX-XXXX. If you have any questions about this study, please contact Nazia Bano XXX-XXX-XXXX or my supervisor: Professor Jerry Paquette XXX-XXX-XXXX.

This letter is yours to keep for future reference.

[Nazia Bano]

Stakeholder perceptions of knowledge creation and use in the Academic Development Programs of the Institute for Development Studies and Practices in the Balochistan, Pakistan

LETTER OF INFORMATION²

(For IDSP Teachers and Students)

My name is Nazia Bano and I am a PhD student at the Faculty of Education at The University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario, Canada. I am currently conducting research on the non-formal Academic Development Program (ADP) of the Institute for Development Studies and Practices (IDSP) in Balochistan and would like to invite you to participate in this study.

The specific goal of this research is to construct a theory that explains the influence of alternative knowledges (i.e., not a form of mainstream academic knowledge) on perceptions and practices of IDSP stakeholders. The main objective of this research is to understand IDSP teachers', students', and administrators' perceptions of knowledge creation and application associated with IDSP, both in terms of their strengths and their challenges.

If you agree to participate in this study you will be asked to join me in an interview that will last about 90 minutes. The interview will take place in a place that is convenient for both of us. During the interview I will be asking you to reflect upon your experiences and perceptions of: the knowledge constructed in IDSP' ADP courses, procedures of knowledge creation, and subsequent application of alternative knowledges you acquired during the ADP program in your subsequent professional activities. The interview will be audio-recorded and transcribed into written format. When the written transcript of the interview has been prepared you will be provided with a copy so that you may review it and make any changes, corrections, and/or deletions to it you may wish.

The information collected will be used for research purposes only. All information collected for the study will be stored confidentially. Only a transcriber and I will have access to the tapes and transcripts. We will protect your privacy. You may be quoted directly in the research report or subsequent publications based on this research, but you will not be identified as the source of the quotation and any information that could identify you will be removed unless you expressly request that a particular statement be identified with you personally.

I will provide you with a summary of the study once it is completed.

There are no known risks to participating in this study.

Participation in this study is voluntary. You may refuse to participate, refuse to answer any questions or withdraw from the study at any time with no effect on your status at IDSP.

² The actual letters of information (English and Urdu) were printed on UWO letterhead.

If you have any questions about the conduct of this study or your rights as a research participant you may contact the Director, Office of Research Ethics, University of Western Ontario, at XXX-XXX-XXXX. If you have any questions about this study, please contact Nazia Bano XXX-XXX-XXXX or my supervisor: Professor Jerry Paquette XXX-XXX-XXXX.

This letter is yours to keep for future reference.

[Nazia Bano]

Appendix 4-E: Consent Form

**Stakeholder perceptions of knowledge creation and use in the Academic
Development Programs of the Institute for Development Studies and Practices
in the Balochistan, Pakistan**

Nazia Bano

The University of Western Ontario

CONSENT FORM

I have read the Letter of Information, have had the nature of the study explained to me and I agree to participate. All questions have been answered to my satisfaction.

Name (please print):

Signature:

Date:

Name of Person Obtaining Informed Consent:

Signature of Person Obtaining Informed Consent:

Date:

Appendix 5-A: A Summary of ADP Modules/Themes by Courses and Sessions

Phases	Session year	Teaching mode	Themes/Modules	New Modules introduced/reformed
Problematization of broadly accepted ideas	1998, 1999, 2000 All Development Studies (DS) courses	Thematic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Self - Colonial and Imperialist Bases Leading Development Practices - Critical Pedagogy and Radical Education - Spirituality, Culture, and Social Change 	
Refinement by tempering critical ideology	2001 (DS)	Modules	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Self 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Perception analysis of development and global perspectives of development - Factual analysis of development practices, education and modernity - Exploring the possibilities of Reconstruction of society
	2003 (MGD), 2003-04 (DS), & 2004-05 (MGD)	Modules	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Self - Perception analysis of development; the global perspectives of development - Factual analysis of development practices and education - Spirituality, Culture, and Social Change 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Gender - Mentoring - Analysis of cultural pathologies - Political economy of institutionalization - Analysis of Schooling and Media - Quran what is it and what isn't
	2005-06 (DS) &	Modules	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Self - Gender 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Community development - Local governance system

Balanced and need-based programming: Becoming responsive to local, social and political realities	2006 (MGD)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Analysis of cultural pathologies; importance of culture - Perception analysis of development; the global perspectives of development - Analysis of Schooling and Media - Quran —what is it and what isn't 	- Youth and activism
	2007 (MGD) & 2007-08 (DS)	Modules	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Self - Gender - Cultural impacts and importance of culture - Community development - Local governance system - Youth and activism - Basic concepts of development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Leadership - Role of Media - Basic health and guidance for the health

Sources:

- (i) IDSP Resource Centre. (1996). IDSP'ADP Course History.
- (ii) IDSP Core Themes. Retrieved from <http://www.scribd.com/doc/109963362/idsp-previous-core-themes>
- (iii) Ahmad, E. (1997). Core Theme I: Colonial and Imperialist Bases Leading Development Practices. IDSP Resource Centre
- (iv) Ahmad, E. (1997). Core Theme II: Critical Pedagogy and Radical Education. IDSP Resource Centre
- Ahmad, E. (1997). Core Theme III: Spirituality, Culture, and Social Change. IDSP Resource Centre

Appendix 7-A: Sample of IDSP Stakeholders Writing and Publishing

L I N G U I S T I C I M P E R I A L I S M

The need of this paper is at the time when English language is measured as the global and international language. Though this paper focuses on a hefty issue but is beginning from a very explicit and frequent aspect. Most of the people of colonial countries are observed to be putting efforts in excelling the English language in the cost of their own languages. Their energies seem to be consuming willingly or unwillingly on getting a grip in that language. Majority of the institutions are focusing on using the same language of the text in spite translating them and simplifying them. Unfortunately the academic set up requires this skill without knowing the out comes in getting education. These Institutions should have had a separate department focusing only on researching the language aspect of the texts and their relevancy with the normal and their effects.

Creativity in foreign language

The important fact to realize is that weather it is possible to understand, comprehend and contextualize the words of the foreign language like English with its proper fundamental nature and modify it into local expression. The important point of emphasis of this article is basically to discuss the possibility of learning and creativity in a language other than the native language. Along with that it is not a dissuasion to learn foreign and far-of languages but to understand the milieu and the soul of the matter.

Knowing local context

Creativity is the out come of the proper thinking process with the full meaningfulness of the context. Thinking process is basically difficult to evolve with out the well-comprehended and clearly understood and fully contextualized words. Thinking process cannot travel on the damaged vehicle of uncontextualized and memorized words. Unfortunately the words that are alien may hardly be internalized as compared to the native language. The alien language cannot engulf the cultural and the local realities of the native people. The main reason behind this fact is that local context creates the proper words to define that specific reality. The words don't have that capability to explain that situation if the word is imported from another situation or context. It may be necessary in some of the cases like the evolution and development of any specific language.

Education of local context

The education purpose is not only to learn skills. It is not only to memorize and speak out like parrot. Education gives the capacity to rationalize the present situation from a minute personal issue to a major issue of economy. Once a person is significantly aware of the situation then Education process will lead to liberate from the crises after learning the basis and the root causes of subject. If the context (curriculum) and the language both are irrelevant to the existing

situation then expecting education to create critical consciousness and liberatory vigor and essentials to resolve any issue may not be proper. Because the level of confidence does not develop until it is in native language and in relevancy to local genuineness. It can never become part of the belief and ultimately leads to no action and resolution. The reason is that always an action or practice demands a high level of belief, confidence and an enormous profundity of knowledge.

Non-native behavior

Other than the creativity, imposing the non-native language has some other notable influences as well. Alien gestures replace the local or native gestures. The import of non-native language not only brings the words but also behaviors, feelings, and expressions and after all culture with it. The later may not look so offensive but reality and issue requires deep and sharp investigation right here and now. It is not upsetting fact that one knows and have a sense of alien behaviors, rather it would seem narrow-mindedness to discourage learning foreign behaviors but on the cost of devaluing and undermining their own gestures and ways of expressions is probably alarming.

Imposing language brings Imposing culture

Here lays the super reality to investigate. We are realized that learn English for education because most of the knowledge is in English, now obviously there are two options A: to learn it B: to update our own languages. We have choiced the former to seek the opportunities and to avoid trouble in working out our own language. In China that was the hottest debate in their earlier days weather to work out and choice their own language or else but ultimately choiced their own language. When I say our own language, it may be national or local languages other than the languages of the other part of the world, across the ocean that has less alphabetical, phonological, contextual and cultural relevancies. Asian languages may have most of these relevancies. Learning foreign languages is an additional tool to access to maximum knowledge but if it is hammered down to feel, think and behave like originators or speaker of that language brings a lot cultural and social changes. The linguistic trick here is to construct and generate the acceptability for the foreign culture. The acceptability of that culture constructs acceptability for the foreign goods and

product. Once the dependency is on the foreign goods and products then that dependency is forever. Local industries cannot stand in competition to the mega multi-national corporations. The story does not end here. It has great controlling factors in it. We use imported Shoes, clothes food and drinks. Our Role models are abroad across the oceans. Our measures are replaced by foreign measures. We lose tendency to create and generate. We have lost our measures for beauty, happiness, sorrow, satisfaction, literacy and well being etc.

Financial disadvantages

A cultural change does not mean only outward appearance change. It brings values change as well. Suppose English language is dominating. Listening English songs, watching English movies realizing English models wearing English dresses eating English foods and drinks will ultimately give rise to English (western) industries. The urge for local industries and experts and skillful personal decline. The wealth flow from east to west has already devastated the Asian countries financially. Before it flew by shear plunder through colonization and today by shear indoctrination through globalization. To phrase it properly as Chomsky put it as old wine in new bottle.

Final analysis

This is the time to look around and see what we have created. We have always been beating the drum of the past achievements. We have to come out of that nostalgia which has blocked our creativity and the risks to innovate. The innovations and risks are difficult to be taken but there is no other way for prosperity. After all sitting idly and waiting for ready-made solution is never a good trend. We need to work out our own literature and language. It may require hard work and creative thinking and more than that liberatory existence. There are various examples where to improve and get access to world knowledge people have been trying to learn foreign languages but to swing and translate them into their own languages for giving vastness to understanding. Holy Prophet (PBUH) especially asked some of his learned companions to learn thoroughly Hebrew and Greek to know their fundamental philosophy.

Oh....

We are not developed!

So my dear friend, you are certainly right. We, the dwellers of this community are not like those who live in your community, and I agree that the shocking miseries, we face, are due to our inefficiency and ill-mannered perceptions about development. Believe me it is an amazing reveal to me. You are the first, who told me the secrete, believe me I am thankful to you, you came here, stay with us and told us amazing tricks towards getting progress, certainly we are ignorant, dull and illiterate. We are that much ignorant as not knowing our gain and lose, as you said of course, daily my son goes to work in others fields, while coming back without having payment, and similarly I am doing. My wife is working with others wives with out having any Money. Similarly other people share their contribution in our tasks. But this is not, according to you a productive way of making progress. If we are not selling our services to others, how could we be having a significant change in life? I have not thought before this, that we are that much impractical. We work in each other fields, graze each other cattle, collect wood for each other, and protect each other lives and cattle from wilds and men of other tribes. But we never notice that we must develop ourselves. Oh I do not know that, how conservative, according to you, we are? We are not only conservative but also the mere living animals, not thinking for reforming our lives. In some one of our elders and reckoned wise person, had once quoted that "till you will work for each other, you as a cultured community will grow towards the ultimate goals of human life, where your soul will become immortal, behold unending gratification and happiness lies in the service of others, it carves a joy everlasting." I am very confused with this statement. Serving for each other will never let me do something for my offspring. Fore how much time we will work in this fashion? You are right my friend, that our elders were living in a different world, and we are the human of what did you refer? yeh 21st century. But ours community men still follow their sayings of the unification, collectivism and their logic of living together.

Last night I reflected about your comment on the matter, according to you, social cost, in this community, I supposed, for instance, if tomorrow I die, what the community can do for my offspring and wife? Nothing! Believe me nothing!! Without giving them meals two times, clothes, maintenance of their shelter, protection form the others and the hollow repetitive words of moral support and courage. This is not, what according to you a m,m,,modern community does to its citizens.

We are of course living in an antique manner. The manner what our forefathers had invented once. You said that your world as clean as your dress. It fascinates me very much. Here we live like sheep. Our so-called elder says, "This part of land is our destiny. It is up to us, whether to bow the seeds of prosperity, justice, and equity or to grow lust, greed,

injustices, repressions and immoralities". Here we are like animals living with out institutions and proper systems.... you are very lucky friend!

Living in a world sophisticated enough, with sky touching buildings, twinkling lights, and people with glorious destinies. Imagine?!! At first time I came to know that we the dwellers of this community are poor, we are not developed. It really shocked me to know. You are right friend, we are very late, as later as the ancient man coming out of cave, and newly inhabited at fields.

Sometimes I ponder over the disparities of our worlds. We are living in two different worlds. The worlds having same soil, air, water and sky, but the different people. Our soil teaches to rescue the growing, to help the faints in nurturing, to love the earth for its blessings and to consume lesser amount of natural offerings. But one of our community old man once told us about your world, "people living in cities and developed stuff are very poor, they are that much poor as not knowing how to love? Because they only know how to control, they love to control and they want each thing to be possessed. Therefore they to cease the dynamism of all organic and animate being also...believe me they are very pitiable."...he said

Here we treat the guest's warmly, with all the best available meals, but you say that there is no any concept of hospitality in your community. Now I see that the resources what we spent on our guests without having any return is the major cause of our poverty and deprivation. How silly we are?

We are illiterate, having no documented laws and orders. But your world is sophisticated with fine systems giving justice; you have efficient police, maintaining the law and order situation. There are jails, schools, colleges, universities, and many other departments as well as you describe. Now let me tell you what my community chap do in these regards. Unfortunately we do not have any court, police station or Jails. Any two illiterate persons of our community can become the judges of resolving the conflicts. It is mocking. We do not have any institutions for the sack of educating our offspring's. We do not differentiate learning education from our daily life, we learn through our experiences, and interaction with nature. We do not discard persons on the basis of literacy or bookish knowledge.

It is really funny, if you listen the perceptions of our community men regarding your modern world. As you discuss our miseries as the deprived and poorest of the glob, similarly our people consider you. They often say," the world outside our communities is as a visionless slum. They are the people living only to work. A culture of competition is prevailed in their comfortable houses, even brother is competing brother. Leg pulling is general phenomenon etc.....' I defend your concept in this regard as you told me once, ,, that ,work is a compulsory constituent for development, and competition is the fundamental value of development.....I also told them to become developed through having new values and manners of the developed nations. But they mockingly replied that how we can owe the culture of those who constructed the towers of skulls for their today's so-called glory.

There are very basic differences amongst us. Ours community men do not open themselves for the concepts and practices of outer world.... Once a lay man challenge yours concept saying that, we are living in relatively poor condition but our hearts are not so tiny as they have, here we live together think for each other, love each other & serve each other, but my dear I, am perpetually unsuccessful to convince them. I often think that capacity of development lies within community,

But our community does not want supermarkets, sky-scrapers, sophisticated state machining and numerous institutions.

We did not discuss battle affairs. We naturally are not the advanced form of human being, as you claimed in our discussion referring the diverse civilizations of human history, last night. May be, some times our barbarous instinct disrupts the communities as a whole, it affects our communal very much I acknowledge, but do you know, we the undeveloped have scheduled some of the war rules what all the consecutive communities and tribes have to follow. During the battle, or warriors do not harm women, elders, and children. They do not disrespect our mothers, wives and daughters. They do not harm each other crops and livestock. You tell me that our fighting ways are very brutal, and naked,,,yep it is, but you did not tell me how your community men or your state fights with others? Whether you bestow roses upon each other? I really do not know what the war values and culture persists in the civilized and modern world, I am sure it will not be as bare as we have.

Our conservative folk really resist the imported ideas as well as items. They suppose that our community must be self-sufficient in producing the needs of its residents. they think that the world outside our community is existing with commercial culture, where each and every thing is supposed to be sold and purchased, even the human relations.....believe me it is very distressful to them,,, one of our experienced community elder says, the modern world depend upon systems, there systems and laws are more sacred as compare to humanity. They value and rely on papers as compare to men. My identity card weigh against me is more acknowledged.

My dear friend I acknowledge your good intentions of teaching us, about the dynamics of your development you say that we are liable to numerous miseries relevant to our health, diet, livelihood wisdom and other hardships. But our people are firm committed to the consequences of development what they have chosen for themselves.

We have system either rigid or flexible, but the manifesto of our collective life and the dominant subject of our systems are all the intimates and organic species.

We do not depend upon the papers, rather our systems depend on the mouth words, and here the words are as sacred as the Holly Quran. One has to meet what he/she has uttered.

My dear, there is immense contrast between our worlds. I promise whenever I realize that we are not developed I necessarily will come to take shelter in your institutional systems.

The Historical AND Local Process FOR The Preservation of Natural Resources in Zhob.

Translated By: [REDACTED]

District Zhob is in the Northeastern part of Balochistan. It is 336 Km away from Quetta. Zhob was full of natural resources in the past. Meat was their main source of eating. In Zhob some of the natural resources were found in so much abundance e.g. they locally produced honey. There were many natural forests of Pine, Almond, Grapes, Pomegranate, Fig, and Olive. In



Courtesy: Balom

Pakistan most of the Pine forests are found in *Koh-I-salaman* and *Sheen Ghar Koh-e-sulaiman* is 11300F high and *Sheen Gar* is 8300F high from sea level. We because of him. That's why *Koh-e-sulaiman* called *Qaisa Ghar*. In Zhob the Olive forests are found in *Qamar-din karaiz* till *sherani babar*. It is spread over 120KM, besides this Tamarisk forests are also found in Zhob. The area of *shura* is famous for Tamarisk forests. When Tamarisk tree becomes a fully-grown tree, then it provides more seeds for further plantation.

Tamarisk's tree can bear high cold and hot weather condition. So that's why such trees are found in graveyard and in grazing land. Now –a-days we can't find such forest and natural resources and the basic reasons are: historical, social and political.

Primitive communism prevailed in Zhob in past. Jirga system was one aspect of this social system. Before the arrival of outsiders, this system was found everywhere and was just and flexible. But the alien forces in the form of colonies made it corrupt in order to achieve their own over-ambitious plans. There used to be a very famous custom, which is called *Pergore*. Its literal meaning is to keep under check and its actual meaning is how to guard something. With the help of this custom we can guard our natural resources. In Zhob they *Pergore*

found another type of Pine (*Wallichina*) in *Koh-e-sulaiman*. As the legend goes it is said that *Takht-e-sulaiman* is famous because of *Hazrat sulaiman (A.S)*, their grazing land for 6 months. Community people would sit together and decide a particular

Jirga system was one aspect of this social system. Before the arrival of outsiders, this system was found everywhere and was just and flexible. But the alien forces in the form of colonies made it corrupt in order to achieve their own over-ambitious plans.

area and then no one would use that area for grazing purpose. No one can go against such decisions because it is their own decision. They would assign a man the duty of looking and taking care of that collective area that wouldn't allow any one to enter this area for next 6 months. Then after 6 months

If any one doesn't have animals to provide milk for them, then they would get together and provide one or more animals for that person. At the end of summer season same animals were returned to their original owner. This custom is called Lawaghza.

when the growing process of grass is completed and then it would become a proper place for grazing.

With the help of the same process of *Pergore* we can save our forests. Similarly according to the above-mentioned tradition, local people then sit together and

which was his seat and near this seat there was the grave of old Pashtoon's fore father (*Qais Abdul Rasheed*) and this area was famous

decide about a particular area where cutting of any tree is declared prohibited for all the people.

Now –a-days we can find such forests which were saved with the help of *Pergore* in past. It is up to the community to decide how long and for what purpose the area is going to be *Pergore*. No one can betray such decision

. If any one breaks he is ousted from the community and he is himself responsible for such suffering. Some time *Pergore* is very useful for fruits, vegetables and crops. Community can *Pergore* any crop and fruit during its cultivation period. No one can pluck fruits or take away vegetable from that area.

In harvesting season they all get together and harvest the crops and fruits, this tradition was called *Ashar*. In this way they worked together which created confidence, trust, cooperation, collectivism

and interdependency among them.

The custom of *Ashar* was not only carried out during harvesting the crops and collecting the fruits but was also practiced while building their houses, building walls around their gardens, building farms for

their sheep and goats which is called *Shapool* in the local language. All these task were carried out collectively due to this custom. Through this people could guard their natural resources too. They also worked together in their own fields. Even people moved from one place to another to carry out such collective work.

Winter season used to be very long in past. There used

to be heavy snowfalls in Zhob due to which the roads would usually get blocked. That's why people used to collect wood for heating

purposes. For this they used the *Ashar* process. All the people would get together and bring wood for one person and next day for another. They used all their animals specially donkeys and Oxon for *Ashar* purposes. This process of *Ashar* was also used for collecting vegetable and fruits.

In Zhob during winter season people used to preserve meat for eating purpose they would select and prioritize good and healthy sheep and goats and would treat them specially. They would slaughter these animals in the beginning of the winter. After slaughtering they would cut them in to pieces and cook them slightly and hang them for drying. Such meat is called *Landy* in the local language. In summer they also took care of each other. Usually the food of local people in summer was Butter, Curd, Milk, and Desi ghee. If any one doesn't have animals to provide milk for them, then they would get together and

provide one or more animals for that person. At the end of summer season same animals were returned to their original owner. This custom is called *Lawaghza*.

But when the foreigners came they started cutting the forest and the natural resources went on decreasing. Market economy replaced barter economy (in which one would exchange

Pargore is one of the cultural tradition through which community would be mobilized to secure and safeguard local resources in that area.

goods for goods instead of currency). Because of this many social customs lost their original meanings. The social system, which kept the people united, was broken down and exists no more. *Pargore* is the only social custom that is still exercised among the people but it lost its real meaning. Though Government has tried to revive this custom, but it couldn't come up with successful result. 1960s to 1970s the local intellectuals like Sain Kamal Khan Shirani and other local people got together at the historical place *Shana Ponga* and successfully revived this custom. *Pargore* is one of the cultural tradition through which community would be mobilized to secure and safeguard local resources in that area. Because of community participation, people may get the message of collectivism and revive some of their old but best customs and traditions, which will enable us to develop our community on self-help basis.

There traditions are like still seeds, which if planted and watered properly may grow in to a big tree. With the help of this act not only we can save the natural forest, resources but we also get the benefits of community mobilization and community development. Only local people can revive this custom at their will. It is the only way through which we can save our natural resources

of *Zhob* and can also increase forest and grazing land. In this way we can revive the natural resources. Through such revival the custom of *Pargore* will play a basic

role and it will be an example for other societies. The effort made by Government was not liked by the people and made the people doubtful. It could serve the purpose of saving the natural resources. For this we will convince the community that it is for their benefits. Only then it is possible to get the real object of this custom of *Pargore* and other objects advantageous for the society.

Appendix 7-B: Activism- Images from Local Newspapers



میرانی ڈیم سٹارٹین کے وفد کی
اسٹنڈ کسٹریٹ سے ملاقات
قربت (پور پورٹ) میرانی ڈیم سٹارٹین
کے ایک وفد نے اسٹنڈ کسٹریٹ سے ملاقات
کی وفد میں [redacted]
پرنسپل [redacted] 30 مارچ 2011ء
رہنما [redacted] نے وفد سے اسٹنڈ کسٹریٹ کو سٹارٹین
کی حالت ڈار سے آگے لایا کہ وہ اسٹنڈ کسٹریٹ میں لایا کہ وہ
گھر رہا سٹارٹین کے سٹارٹین کل تربت شہر میں ایک بھوک
پڑنا لکھ گا ہیں گے۔



میرانی ڈیم سٹارٹین کے وفد
کی اسے تربت سے ملاقات
قربت (پور پورٹ) میرانی ڈیم سٹارٹین
کے ایک وفد نے اسٹنڈ کسٹریٹ سے ملاقات کی
وفد میں [redacted]
[redacted] نے وفد سے
اسٹنڈ کسٹریٹ کو سٹارٹین کی حالت ڈار سے آگے
لایا کہ وہ اسٹنڈ کسٹریٹ میں لایا کہ وہ
گھر رہا سٹارٹین کے سٹارٹین کل تربت شہر میں ایک بھوک
پڑنا لکھ گا ہیں گے۔

Daily
Balochistan
EXPLORERS
 Quetta

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER, 27, 2010

Effectees of Mirani Dam agitate for full compensation

By Our Reporter

QUETTA: People affected from the Mirani Dam are yet to get full compensation and they are agitating for their right by knocking the door of influential people.

A delegation of effected people is currently visiting the Provincial Capital trying to meet the Chief Minister, the Chief Secretary and other concerned demanding adequate compensation as their land and property were devastated with the construction of dam.

They argued that the Government had agreed to compensate to the people up to the sea level of 264 feet above. It was agreed in principle and still thousands of them from that level were denied compensation-blaming red tape and massive corruption in the political set up and also in the administration.

However, the massive floods and torrential rains during two major cyclones that devastated the catchment areas of mighty rivers of Kech and Nihing with a total discharge of over 700,000 of flood water in the downstream.

The dam was full during the crisis and it was about to bust its banks if the spill way of the dam was not opened in time. The dam stored water beyond its capacity and virtually submerged a vast area in the upstream leaving aside the devastating effects on the downstream.

The affected people argued that the Government, including the so-called experts had ignored and left them at the mercy of the nature inundating their farms, orchards, homes and other property with the rise of the subsoil water in the upstream to the level of 271 feet above sea level.

They appealed to the Chief Minister and Chief Secretary to help them in overcoming the crisis as they had lost their means of livelihood as a result of the dam.

Earlier, a Provincial Minister was made in-charge of the distributing funds among the affected people under the PML-Q Government of Jam Yusuf. There were allegation of corruption, embezzlement of funds and favouritism to appease his political constituents and denying the legitimate people their rights to be compensated.

At one stage, the security officials came to their help and distributed relief goods among the needy who too suffered as a result of the Mirani Dam followed by torrential rains and cyclones in Kech Valley and the coastal region of Balochistan.

Appendix 7-C: Activism-Images from National Newspapers

7B

Mirani Dam termed a big disaster

By A Reporter

ISLAMABAD June 13: Senator [redacted] on Monday termed Mirani Dam in Balochistan a "mega disaster", saying all the government assessments and forecasts about its utility have proved drastically wrong.

He was speaking at a seminar on "Mirani Dam: Development or Disaster", organised by the Sustainable Development Policy Institute (SDPI).

The dam's construction started in 2002 and was completed in 2006.

Other speakers demanded an early compensation for the 2007 Mirani Dam flood-affected population. They also called for an evaluation report on the dam, adding it should consist of technical, financial, social and environmental third-party audit.

[redacted] said he supported building of dams in Balochistan because rainwater goes waste every year which can be stored and used for vast cultivable areas in the province. But he added that local people had strong reservations about the dam's design and claims of the Musharraf government that it would help irrigate 32,000 acres. "The dam is just irrigating 3,000 to 4,000 acres. Vast lands between Turbat and Pasni have become uncultivable due to this dam."

The senator also talked about evidences of corruption and misdeeds of those who were overseeing the dam's construction. He urged early recovery and compensation for the Mirani Dam flood-affected people of three union councils. "They are living under open skies without basic facilities for the last four years."

Arshad Abbasi of SDPI said the dam was a classic example of design failure. "The upstream population was affected due to floods and backwater flow from the dam in 2007."

He lamented that no commission or settlement plan has been announced by the government despite heavy damages to local population.

He demanded that a post-project evaluation report consisting of technical, financial, social and environmental third-party audit be initiated immediately. "Although dams in Balochistan were necessary due to rapidly depleting groundwater level, consideration of catchment and watershed management will be vital for developing dams. So far, this has been not taken into account."

[redacted] of the Institute for Development Studies and Practices (IDSP), Quetta, said Mirani Dam was constructed to provide water to Gawadar and adjacent naval base and not to benefit local people or to irrigate 33,000 acres. He added that survey and feasibility was completed unprofessionally, ignoring the feedback and reservations of local communities on the dam's design. "The locals had proposed 80 feet height and 1200 feet wide spillway, which was ignored and resulted in a mega disaster."

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Speakers term Mirani Dam 'a disaster' for locals

AHMAD AHMADANI

ISLAMABAD - Mirani Dam in Balochistan is not a mega development project as it could cause a major disaster for the local areas because it has failed to deliver and all the government assessments have been proved drastically wrong.

Senator [redacted] stated this on Monday while speaking at a seminar on "Mirani Dam: Development or Disaster" organised by the Sustainable Development Policy Institute (SDPI). The speakers demanded an early compensation for the 2007 Mirani Dam flood-affected population besides a post-project evaluation report consisting of technical, financial, social and environmental third-party audit.

[redacted] said although he supports the development of dams in Balochistan because a plenty of rainwater goes waste every year, which can be stored. He said the local people had strong reservations about the design.

He said assessment reports and claims of General (Retd) Musharraf including cultivation of over 32,000 acres land through this dam proved wrong as un-

fortunately the dam is just irrigating 3-4 thousands acres. The vast lands between Turbat and Pasni have become uncultivable due to this dam. He lamented that there have been powerful evidences of corruption and misdeeds of those who exercised power with regard to construction of this dam. He urged early recovery and compensation for the Mirani Dam flood-affected persons of three Union Councils who were living under open skies without any basic facilities in post-flood situation despite passage of four years.

[redacted] gave detailed briefing on Mirani Dam, its primary objectives, concerns and reservations of local community during construction, design failure and damages it had caused to local community. He urged the government to immediately provide compensation to the neglected affectees who had suffered heavy damages to their houses, crops and livelihoods.

He briefed that Mirani Dam was in fact constructed to provide water to Gawadar and adjacent naval base and not to benefit local people or to irrigate 33,000 acres of land, as stated. He added that survey and feasibility

was completed in very unprofessional way, ignoring the feedback and reservations of local communities on dam's design, who proposed 80 feet height and 1200 feet wide spillway, which was ignored and resulted in a mega disaster. He said that unprecedented rains in 2007 triggered reverse flash floods up to the level of 271 feet height, against expected 244 feet height and brought disaster in numerous villages in upstream areas. The floods destroyed farms, orchards, homes, livestock, grazing lands and most of what their valuables.

Now people are living in open skies waiting for relief and compensation even after the lapse of four years, he added.

A local affectee, Wahid Bux Baloch, said that the local population had raised their severe concerns about the faulty design and height of this dam during NESPAK's survey and consultative process.

However, the then government did not pay any heed to local population's genuine concerns and resultantly the heavy rains and flooding in late June in 2007 caused havoc with the lives and property of local population particularly in Union Coun-

cils Nasir Abad, Nodaz and Klatak.

"People have lost their homes, agricultural, livestock and savings then and even today they are shelter less and without basic necessities of life including safe drinking water amid the unchecked spread of different diseases" he went on saying. He said the affected people are facing different financial, social, psychological, and environmental challenges simultaneously but the government pays no attention.

Arshad H Abbasi, advisor water and power at SDPI lamented that no commission or settlement plan has been announced by the government despite heavy damages to local population and passage of four years. He demanded that a post-project evaluation report consisting of technical, financial, social and environmental third-party audit be initiated immediately. "Although dams in Balochistan were necessary due to rapidly depleting ground water level but consideration of catchment and watershed management would be vital while development of dams which has been not taken into account so far," he added.

ection of art pieces put on display


Appendix 7-D: Images of IDSP mud-construction Project (Community Development University)





Appendix 7-E: Khawateen Ittehad Citizen Community Board (CCB) established by IDSP MGD Graduates featured in the newsletter of Devolution Trust for Community Empowerment

Awam ki Awaz



DTCE
Empowering People

September 2006

Quarterly Newsletter of the Devolution Trust for Community Empowerment

Message from The Chairman

"Empowering communities" is moving to a new level with conducting of Village and Neighborhood Council elections and the formation of Citizen Community Board Networks at the Tehsil and District levels. CCB Networks will increase the bargaining power of CCBs in protecting their interests and negotiating their rights with the government and other stakeholders. It will allow them to pool their resources and unify their strategy for the achievement of common goals.

Additional support is being provided by "Community Empowerment Desks" located at the District Bar Associations. These "Desks" are a one-stop shop contact point where the community is provided information, advocacy and free legal support.

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From the CEO's Desk

It has been four months since I joined DTCE. The timing, it seems, could not have been better. DTCE had only recently conducted an organizational review, in addition to a mid-term review, of its program activities and consequently the logical framework and performance targets were updated. New program components have been developed and their implementation has begun. DTCE has graduated from being a CCB-focused organization, to one that is contributing towards the implementation of most elements of community empowerment under devolution. As for myself, I immediately became involved in ensuring timely execution of all program activities. I do realize that ensuring quality implementation will be a constant challenge; therefore, DTCE shall be focusing on achievement of desired outcomes and not just be satisfied with 'completion of activities.'

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Stories of Empowerment



Khawateen Ittehad CCB was formed in Uthal UC as the first women CCB in Lasbella district. The CCB members decided to open a public library for the local girls and requested the Institute of Development and Policy Study for provision of space. DTCE was requested to contribute Rs. 60,000 while Rs. 15,000 were collected as community share. The project was approved by the UC and the CCB purchased 300 books on different subjects, furniture and a computer for skill training.

An inauguration ceremony was organized which was chaired by District Naib Nazim who announced a gift of 25 books for the library. The other notables gifted additional 130 books, while the EDO(CD) announced two monthly magazines and 2 dailies for a term of one year. The EDO-Finance and Planning gave a new computer on behalf of the District Nazim.

This is the only library in the area established and managed by women. The CCB has opened it to all students of the area, on charge of a nominal fee. The library has currently a membership of 30 women. In a follow up meeting with District Nazim the CCB requested him to approve a project of expansion of this library as a multipurpose women development centre. The Nazim has committed to support this project.

Curriculum Vitae

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Publications:

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