Participatory Approach
to Development in Pakistan

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ABSTRACT

The concept of people's participation in development is well defined but its meaning is different to different development organizations and social scientists. The objective of the paper is to unpack the concept of participation by looking at its various aspects including types, forms and stages. The paper focuses on research questions such as what kinds of participation are used worldwide with special reference to Pakistan; how the importance of people's participation is realized and incorporated in development projects worldwide and more so in Pakistan. The paper provides the rationale for conceptual understanding of participatory approach and enables to deepen the knowledge about participatory approach for development. Thus, this paper contributes to the existing theory in terms of exploring the conceptual understanding of participation, realizing the importance of participation in development. The paper is descriptive in nature, based on secondary materials (research papers and various project documents), case studies and examples.
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Introduction

In response to the failure of development projects in 1950s, social activists and field-workers observed that the populations concerned were not included in project's design and implementation. Failure was linked to the lack of local people's involvement in developmental projects. It was assumed that if local people were involved, projects would have been more successful (AWARD, 2008). Similarly, Food and Agriculture Organization of the United States (FAO) also pointed out that the traditional top-down approach of many developing and developed countries failed to reach and benefit the rural poor (FAO, 1991). The reason for this failure, identified by the international community in the World Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development (WCARRD), held in Rome in 1979, is the lack of active participation of the poor in development programmes (FAO, 1990). As an alternative approach, the concept of participatory development gained significance in development debates and programmes.

Adopting a people oriented approach rather than a government outlook will bring in more peace and development. The recent people protest in Arabs called "Arab Spring" is more an outcome of young generation demanding participation in the country's governance and resource allocation processes. Such human turmoil can be minimized if not totally eliminated by adopting people participatory approach to crucial projects at least. This will have a twofold effect – strengthen the community and second bring in the better citizenship. Thus, involving people in development, governance and decision making becomes need of the day as it ensures confidence of the people. It also helps in providing equality, justice and smooth delivery of services. The low level of participation can be one of the reasons behind the recent "Arab Spring" started in 2010. The people in these countries have stood up for more freedom, equality, justice, better future prospects, employment, economic and social development and participation in the decision making process.

The phenomenon of participatory or bottom-up development has become very popular, interesting and attractive in the context of urban and regional development and has recently become virtually indispensable in the discussion on development. According to Masanyiwa and Kinyashi (2008, p 3) "participation has now become an established orthodoxy in development thinking and practice." Participation is widely accepted by many governments and international agencies including the World Bank (World Bank, 1996; World Bank, 1998; World Bank, 2000), United Nations Development Programme (UNDP, 1997), US Agency for International

Development (USAID, 1999), Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA, 1995), Food Agriculture Organization (FAO, 1990, FAO; 1991, FAO; 1994 and FAO, 1997), Inter-American Development Bank (IADB, 1996) as an important element in development projects and programmes, and have involved people/GROs/NGOs in their development programmes/activities in order to achieve sustainable development. On the other hand, in the so-called top-down approach to development, the entire process of formulating and implementing polices and projects are carried out under the direction of government and people were put in a passive position and were rarely consulted in development and usually have no active role in development activities. This government-led approach to development remained intact or even increased deep-rooted problems including economic and social disparities between social classes, genders, regions, and between urban and rural areas. Participatory development arose from consciousness of these inadequacies.

According to the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA, 1995), participatory development is not an attempt to replace the top-down development approach with local community-led approach but it attempts to compensate for or overcome the limitations and shortcomings of the top-down development approach by adopting a bottom-up style of development. Participatory approach enables local people to acquire the skills needed to implement and coordinate the management of development projects themselves and thus reap more returns. For example, three years after the completion of the People's Participatory Programme (PPP) project at Sierra Leone, a FAO consultant reported after his visit to the project action area "The PPP villages have undertaken a number of community development projects, raising money to build schools, bridges and grain stores. Some groups have branched out into palm oil, groundnut and vegetable production." The visitor found that while the group no longer had regular access to credit, they continued to save, investing their capital in construction projects and in small businesses. The groups still kept record books and had adopted a participatory monitoring and evaluation system. Two former Group Promoters had formed Rural Workers' Association that meets regularly with government representatives and local leaders to discuss project ideas and to coordinate the delivery of farm inputs (FAO, 1990). Thus, participation is more than an instrument of development; it ensures sustainability and makes development efficient.

All the governments, developmental agencies and NGOs have recognized that the top-down approach possessing convention development strategies has largely failed to reach and benefit the rural poor. For example, an evaluation found that half of

the rural development projects funded by the World Bank in Africa out rightly failed to reach the poor as the top-down approaches were used (FAO, 1990). A review of assistance to agriculture cooperatives by the World Bank reported similar results (FAO, 1990). On the other hand, an examination of 25 agriculture and rural development projects financed by the World Bank found that participation by beneficiaries was a key factor for the 12 projects that achieved long-term economic sustainability (World Resource Institute, 1992).

Similarly, a study by the International Labor Organization (ILO) of 40 "poverty oriented" projects worldwide showed that the poorest were excluded from activities and benefits (FAO, 1990). UNDP in its Human Development Report, 1990, emphasizes that the participatory approach is crucial to any strategy for a successful human development (FAO, 1991).

The literature review, to a greater extent, confirms the results of effective participation in the form of empowerment of communities, social capital and sustainability of the projects (World Bank, 2000a). However, the same approach is also criticized for being slow and complex process (Mansuri and Rao, 2004). Thus, the potential benefits attached with participatory approach are controversial (Khan, 2006).

Research questions to be explored are: what kind of participation is used in the development projects worldwide and in Kyber Pukhtoon Khwa (KPK), Pakistan and how the importance of people's participation is realized and incorporated in development projects and programme worldwide and in Pakistan. Moreover the meaning of people's participation in development, types and classification, importance, need, ways, principles and demerits of people's participation has been reviewed and analyzed with the aim to provide the conceptual understanding of people's participation which will help to enhance the knowledge about participation.

This paper is descriptive in nature and based on secondary materials (research papers and various project documents), case studies and examples.

This paper has been organized as: after introduction, a literature review followed by various kinds of people's participation in Pakistan. Next the methods of how to promote people's participation in development have been explained followed by the basis / principles of participation. People's participation and argument against people's participation is mentioned in next section. The paper ends with a conclusion.

Literature Review

Evolution / History of Participation

The concept of participation in the context of economic development is not entirely new. Its origin can be found in ancient Greek. According to Aristotle, participation in the affairs of the state as a citizen is essential to the development and fulfillment of human personality and the best state is one where there is broad participation, with no class dominating the others. At Aristotle's time, participation was a matter of voting, holding office, attending public meetings, paying taxes and defending the state. In those days there was very little consideration of participation in development. People worked and hoped for prosperity through agriculture, trade and art and craft manufacturing (Cohn & Uphoff, 1980).

After World War II, the US and other industrialized countries focused on the technological gap between developing and developed countries and foreign assistance was given to the underdeveloped countries to manage the gap. The people's participation was to adopt the new technologies. By the 1960s this theory changed into a resource gap between government revenue and expenditure, between export import and between saving and investment and the people's participation was to pay taxes, consume domestic products, produce more for export, save and invest and hold down the consumption (Cohen & Uphoff, 1980).

In 1950s and 1960, the community development gained momentum, particularly in Africa and Asia. National programmes were announced to build community infrastructure and to break down communities' exclusion from development activities (UNDP, 1997a). Thus, two important approaches to rural development were introduced in a number of countries, particularly in Africa and Asia - community development and "animation rurale" (in West Africa) which aimed at local people's participation. However, Cohen & Uphoff had a narrow view of participatory activities and felt they were largely ineffective in transforming rural communities (Cohen & Uphoff, 1980).

Participation has increased its popularity since the 1970s, when concern was felt for meeting basic needs and reaching the poorest of the poor (Michener, 1998). According to White, Nasir and Ascroft the euphoric word 'participation' has become a part of development jargon (1994). In the late 1970s and 1980s, the development

programmes were analyzed, examined the cause of underdevelopment and poverty, and came to the conclusion that the poor were excluded and marginalized both from broader societal participation and from direct involvement in development initiatives. As a result, the number of poor people rose to 900 million worldwide. In the World Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development (WCARRD), held in Rome in 1979, the international community identified the reason for this failure - the lack of active participation of the poor in programming, designing, to assist them (FAO, 1990). After WCARRD, and throughout the 1980s and 90s, participation in rural development – as well as in development at large – gradually became more established among governments, donors and international organizations (UN, 2008). Thus, the long journey of top-down and non participatory practice broke down and the bottom-up approach to development came into existence.

There are many bilateral and multilateral donors, development agencies, and governments which have involved people in some aspects of planning, implementation, management and evaluation of development projects because of the fact/philosophy that sustainability cannot be achieved without the involvement of beneficiaries in the project life cycle.

Meaning of People's Participation in Development

In the existing literature, the term people's participation has been defined by various social scientists, researchers and developmental organizations such as World Bank, U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), United Nations Development Program (UNDP), Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), Inter-American Foundation (IFA), Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) etc. They defined people's participation from their own point of view, experience and priority. Some of the definitions are:

Participation in the Eyes of World Developmental Agencies

The World Bank

"Participation is a process through which stakeholders influence and partly control the development initiatives and the decisions and resources which affect them" (World Bank, 1996).

U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID)

"The active engagement of partners and customers in sharing ideas, committing timing and resources, making decisions and taking action to bring about a desired development objective. Participation describes both the ends and the means; both the kind of results we seek, and the way we, as providers of development and humanitarian assistance, must nurture those results" (USAID, 1999).

United Nation Development Programme (UNDP)

"Participation means that people are closely involved in the economic, social, cultural and political processes that affect their lives" (UNDP, 1997a).

Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)

"…for development to succeed, the people of the countries concerned must be the "owner" of their development policies and programs" (USAID, 1999).

International Fund for Agriculture Development (IFAD)

"…a democratic process in which people, particularly the weak and the poor, are not passive receivers of a developmental project at the end of top-down approach, but are requested to identify their needs, voice their demands, and organize themselves so as to improve their livelihood with the help of financial, technical, and human resources offered by the development project as well as their own" (USAID, 1999).

Inter-American Foundation (IFA)

"Institutional style and modus operandi which facilitate accountability to members   and clients; broad participation in decision-making; availability of information about the management of resources; and equitable distribution of benefits" (USAID, 1999).

Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA)

"A process whereby individual and community are actively involved in all phases of development. It therefore involves greater equity in economic and political power" (USAID, 1999).

Food Agriculture Organization (FAO)

"An active process in which people take initiative and action that is stimulated by their own thinking and deliberation and which they can effectively influence" (FAO, 1991).

Inter-American Development Bank (IADB)

Participation in development can be defined in broad terms as the pprocess through which people with a legitimate interest (stakeholders) influence and control developmental initiatives, and the decisions and resources which affect them, thus, participation often comprise:

- the involvement of stakeholders in any or all phases of the project life cycle;

- promotion of the role of civil society in the development process;

- specially designed facilitation methodologies and techniques;

- decentralized or devolved decision-making; or

- the institutionalization of decentralized or devolved decision-making such that broad stakeholder involvement becomes a normal, expected part of the development process (IADB, 1996).

Participation in the Eyes of Researchers and Social Scientists

Cohen and Uphoff

"With regard to rural development.…participation includes people's involvement in decision-making process, in implementing programmes, sharing the benefits of development programmes and their involvement in the efforts to evaluate such programmes" (Cohen and Uphoff, 1977).

Cernea, M. (ed.)

"Empowering people to mobilize their own capacities, be social actors rather than passive subjects, manage the resources, make decisions, and control the activities that affect their lives" (Cernea, 1985).

Wolfe and Marshall

Participation designates "The organized efforts to increase control over resources and regulative institutions in given social situations, on the part of groups and movements hitherto excluded from such control" (Wolfe, 1983).

N.C. Saxena

"Participatory is a voluntary process by which people, including the disadvantaged (in income, gender, caste, or education), influence or control the decisions that affect them" (Saxena, 1998).

Sam Joseph

"The invitations to people to take part as beneficiaries in a programme designed exclusively by a development agency in which the beneficiaries have had no input or a situation where local people have had the responsibility and the authority to analyze, plan and implement the solutions to local problems or a situation where

local people have had control of all stages of finding solutions to a local problem" (Joseph, 1996).

Angelo Bonfiglioli

"A complex social, technical and institutional process through which communities may become more fully involved in their own development, more particularly taking an active part in the design, implementation and evaluation of specific development initiatives" (Bonfiglioli, 1997).

The main crux and theme of the above definitions can be summarized as:

- the voluntary involvement of the poor, weak and needy, beneficiaries and stakeholders to share, participate and control all economic, social, cultural and political initiatives,

- to actively participate in the decisions, resources and benefits of developmental activities,

- to take part in the design, implementation and evaluation of specific development initiative,

- to involve people in all phases of development programme and policy, because:

  - ➢ participation is a means and end,

  - ➢ in order to achieve desired objectives,

  - ➢ to become owner of the project/ activities / programmes and

  - ➢ to improve their livelihood.

Pretty has pointed out that there are two overlapping schools of thought and practice. According to them: (a) participation as a means to increase the efficiency, the central notion being that if people are involved, then they are more likely to agree with and support the new development or service (Pretty, 1995). According to UNDP,

Participation is seen as a process whereby local people cooperate or collaborate with externally introduced development programmes or projects. In this way participation becomes the means whereby such initiatives can be more effectively imple-

mented. People's participation is sponsored by external agency and it is seen as a technique to support the progress of the programme or project. The term 'participatory development' is more commonly used to describe this approach and it implies externally designed development activities implemented in a participatory manner. This approach would appear to be quite widespread and essentially promotes participation as a means of ensuring the successful outcome of the activities undertaken (UNDP, 1997a).

(b) Participation as a fundamental right, in which the main aim is to initiate mobilize for collective action, empowerment and institution building (Pretty, 1995). UNDP named this fundamental right as an end (goal) of participation. According to UNDP,

Participation as an end (goal) which can be expressed as the empowering of people in terms of their acquiring the skills, knowledge and experience to take greater responsibility for their development. People's poverty can often be explained in terms of their exclusion and lack of access to and control of the resources which they need to sustain and improve their lives. Participation is an instrument of change and it can help to break that exclusion and to provide poor people with the basis for their more direct involvement in development initiatives (UNDP, 1997a).

So, very simply, the term participation or participatory approach can be defined as *The active involvement of local people/community or their representatives, local organizations, ideas, skills, knowledge and priorities in all the phases of any local project/ programs,, developmental activities and developmental policies, in order to increase the efficiency or to ensure sustainability and equitability, as it is the fundamental right of poor /local beneficiaries or because the local people know more than the government and external professional experts what problems they face and how best to resolve them.*

The importance of this definition is that it covers three aspects of human life i.e. economic, social and political. According to this definition people are involved in the development process to ensure sustainability, to achieve equitability and to prevail social justice in society.

Need of People's Participation in Development

Traditional development theory holds that development is primarily a function of capital investment and that the greater the flow of capital from wealthy countries to poor countries, the more rapid the development of the latter (Korten, 1987). However, overcoming rural poverty is not simply a matter of more investment, more aid or more technology. Poverty will persist until development reaches and benefits the world's 800 million underprivileged, undernourished and under-educated rural people. The rural poor must be given the opportunity to participate in development (FAO, 1997a). Similarly, Cohen and Uphoff (1980) found that more and more economists have come to challenge the prevailing view that capital was the prime mover in development. According to them, in this theoretical and practical context, people's participation becomes important to the same extent as it was peripheral when capital formation was considered as the primary factor. According to the World Bank (2000), "economic growth is essential to poverty reduction. However, development requires more than just a focus on macroeconomic and financial issues. Experience shows that looking at both sides-macroeconomic and financial aspects on the one side and structural, social and human considerations on the other-is essential to adequately support a country's future development." Thus, to provide the opportunity to local and poor people to participate in development is the only solution for overcoming rural poverty and securing sustainable development.

According to Saxena, people's participation (as an input or an independent variable) can contribute to the achievement of four main objectives: efficiency; effectiveness; empowerment; and equity (Saxena, 1998). Experience has shown that participation improves the quality, effectiveness and sustainability of development actions. By placing people at the center of such actions, development efforts have a much greater potential to empower and to lead to ownership of the results (UNDP, 1997a).

"Development is a complex process. It cannot be left in the hands of centralized power. Even latter-day communists such as Mikhail Gorbachev and Deng Xiaoping have come to realize this and tried to open up their societies, to provide more room and more opportunities to the people to be more participative, creative and productive" (Cleveland and Lubic, 1992). The failure of conventional, top-down and non-participatory approach in many development and developed countries led to the foundation of an alternate approach i.e. community participation, which contains the qualities of sustainability, empowerment, self-reliance, and equity. The need of a bottom-up approach was not only felt by the governments of underdeveloped and developed

countries but also all the donors, international development agencies and NGOs and was incorporated in their development programmes and activities for their successful implementation. The main characteristic of the bottom-up strategy is the community involvement in developmental activities. The question and issue is why people should be consulted, and how to link institutions and people to jointly accelerate the process of development. There are three reasons which justify people's participation:

- When people/community participates in the identification of problems and come up with their own solutions, the results can be both spectacular and sustainable.

- Participation allows communities to discover their own wealth of knowledge and capacity for problem identification and problem solving.

- The solutions that are identified by communities are more likely to be feasible and implementable than those formulated by outsiders.

Linking institutions and communities poses a twofold problem: for the institution it is very difficult to involve the isolated and uneducated people in the main stream of development. It is a problem how to access them to increase their productivity and income and to make development activities more sustainable. The same is also faced by the poor population as they are neither connected with the political system nor with the general economy. They are often isolated, with limited access to newspapers and other forms of communication. They don't know how to approach the government and other institutions and vice-a-versa, for their rights and own development. Though they know better their own problems and the solutions, the difficulty is to organize them and make their local knowledge effective. So, there is a need of a two ways communication between the two groups. To link the two is mostly done by local NGOs.

Importance and Role of Participation in Development

The importance and role of people's participation in development has been highlighted in various papers and documents of projects. It is the most important approach to enable communities to help themselves and sustain efforts in development work. Participation is important because it makes projects efficient, effective, and sustainable

in a variety of ways. According to Katsumoto, participation clarifies project goals, reduces project cost, prevents/reduces management conflicts (that may be caused between development workers and local people), promotes the technology transfer to the people and encourages a culture of self-help and a commitment among the people (Katsumoto, 2007). Participation increases sustainability, productivity, efficiency, reduces cost and builds democratic organizations (FAO, 1997b). Participation improves the status of women by providing them the opportunity to play a part in development activities (UNDP, 1997a). Participation creates the sense of responsibility and ownership in the beneficiaries which leads to sustainability (FAO, 1991). Participation breaks the mentality of dependence and promotes self-awareness and confidence (Mefenguza, 2007). Participation helps to build local capacity and develop the abilities of local people to manage and to negotiate development activities (UNDP, 1997a). Participation improves the efficiency, effectiveness, sustainability and coverage of projects and programmes and promoting stakeholder capacity, self-reliance and empowerment (FAO, 2000). Participation provides equitable development and creates a sense of self-determination, community development and self-development (CPA, 2009).

Classification of Participation

Pretty, Satterthwaite, Adnan, Alam & Brustnow and Hart have classified participation on the basis of why and how people participate in development (Pretty, 1995). They provide a complete cycle of people's participation in development. In the first part of their cycle, manipulative participation, passive participation, participation by consultation, and participation for material incentives, are the weak levels of participation and people have no power to plan or decide for their own development. In these levels of participation, the whole development programme is controlled and managed by external agents. The second part of the project cycle includes functional participation, interactive participation, and self-mobilization participation which are comparatively the stronger levels of participation. At these levels of participation, beneficiaries are in a better position to control planning, decisions and resources.

Pretty (1995) indicated that for the best results, the people should be involved in all stages of a project, from design to maintenance. If they are just involved in information sharing and consultation then, the result will be poor.

Another way of distinguishing different forms of participation is presented by United Nations Capital Development Fund (UNDP, 1997). According to this typology, participation has been classified on the basis of levels or degrees. This typology can be divided into two levels/stages. Level one contains manipulation, information, consultation and consensus building. This level is a very weak level of participation because at this stage all the beneficiaries are just manipulated, informed and consulted. However, this is a basic level and necessary for future participatory development of a project. The second stage of participation consists of decision-making, risk-sharing, partnership and self-management. This is the actual level where the beneficiaries are responsible to control, manage and share the decisions, risk, partnership and self-management of a development project. This typology of participation seems similar to the typology given by Pretty (1994). However, the difference is that this typology provides various levels/stages of participation while the previous one given by Pretty (1994) indicates various forms/kinds of participation.

Deshler and Sock (1985) also presented participatory levels ranging from pseudo-participation, (or the manipulation of beneficiaries by development professionals to meet the needs of elites) to genuine participation in which participation is empowered by having control over programme policy and management. This classification is also carried out on the basis of level. They divided the people's participation into two main levels i.e. Genuine and Pseudo Participation. At the genuine participatory level, the community is empowered and gains control over project planning, decisions and resources. Community partnership is more strengthened with the external agents of development projects. Thus, it is a very strong level of participation where people/community and project implementers have strong cooperation and share all project activities. At this level, communities are delegated more powers to become the owners of the development projects. At the pseudo participatory level, the beneficiaries are just invited, informed, consulted and manipulated with regard to project activities. There is one-way communication. All the project activities are controlled and managed by the project staff. The beneficiaries' suggestions and advice with regard to project activities are just heard. The pseudo participation seems to be a weak and less important level of participation. But, in fact, this level of participation provides a basis for future genuine participation.

White classified participation on the basis of interest of stakeholders (planners and beneficiaries). At each of the first three levels (Nominal, Instrumental and Representative), planners and beneficiaries have different interest. However, only at the

ultimate level (transformative) both groups are interested in the empowerment of beneficiaries (White, 1996). White describes four types of stakeholders' participation. According to him each type is characterized by the divergent interests of different stakeholders. Planners are identified as having top-down interests versus the bottom-up interests of project beneficiaries. Participation ranges from nominal to transformative. White's classification is important because it demonstrates that stakeholders do not share the same expectations of participation in development projects. At each of the first three levels, planners and beneficiaries employ concurrently conflicting definitions of participation. Only at the ultimate level (transformative), both groups of stakeholders are interested in the empowerment of beneficiaries (Michener, 1998).

Cohen and Uphoff (1980) presented a more comprehensive typology of participation by examining the various dimensions of participation. Their typology not only includes different type/kinds of participation but also who participates and how. The type/kind of participation has been classified with regard to the project cycle i.e. Participation in decision making, implementation, benefits and evaluation and "who" dimension divides the actors or stakeholders involved and they are for example, local residents, local leaders, government personnel and foreign personnel. Similarly, the "how" dimension describes the mechanisms by which participation takes place. For example, its basis, form, extent and effect/impact. Cohen and Uphoff's typology of participation is more comprehensive. It has an applied focus with less attention to theoretical divisions. This classification provides a complete framework for the analysis of participatory component of any rural development project. The Cohen and Uphoff dimensions of participation concerns the kind of participation which is taking place, the sets of individuals who are involved in the participatory process and the various features of how that process is occurring. Basically these dimensions provide answer to the questions: what kinds of participation take place; who participates in them; and how the process of participation takes place.

Pretty (1995) presented a participatory continuum laying out different forms of participation, from the least participatory to the most participatory. Pretty's participatory continuum is different from the all other aforementioned typologies. This typology lays down different forms of participation, from the least participatory to the most participatory. It indicates how people are involved in the project activities and how they are mobilized to carry out their own developmental activities in the absence of external initiators and facilitators.

Form of People's Participation in Pakistan

After a comprehensive overview of the participations' classification in the above section, it can be concluded that participation is classified on the basis level, degree, interest and dimensions etc. However, participation can be classified on the basis of mobilization, origins/sources, sector/activities and beneficiaries. A quick view of this classification is given below.

Classification on the Basis of Mobilization: Classification on the basis of mobilization is shown in table 1.1.

Table 1. Classification on the basis of mobilization: Participation by "Which"

Mobilization	Forces for Participation	Kind of Participation	Effect of Participation
1. Self/Internal Mobilization (Bottom-up Participation)	1. Crises / threat to community 2. Funding fromdonors 3. Inspiration and awareness from other community	1. Short period participation 2. Long period Participation	More effective, sustainable and genuine if supported
2. External Mobilization (Top-bottom Participation)	1.NGOs Mobilization 2.Government Mobilization	1.Obligatory Participation 2.Non Obligatory Participation	Less effective

Source: **Self-developed**

Participation may originate from below (beneficiaries) in that case it can be called bottom-up participation. This type of participation is usually generated during crises, or in response to some threat to community's identity, survival or values. So community mobilizes itself to protect or resist (Goulet, 1989). Self-mobilization may cast for a short time and end when the threat or crises to the community is over. However, in some cases it takes the shape of a strong platform in the form of grass-root organization that takes the responsibility of community's welfare and development oriented activities. For example, in response to the construction of Ghazi Baroota Hydral Development Project in Pakistan, the affected local people belonging to Swabi district of KPK and other adjoining areas were self mobilized and made platforms in the shape of NGOs and GROs to demand from the government compensation for their affected agriculture land, houses etc. which were damaged due to the dam's construction. Some of the NGOs have now opened windows for other developmental activities.

Bottom-up participation is more genuine and can be further strengthened if external

agents provide an enabling framework of support. Take the example of Shewa Educated Social Welfare Association (SESWA) of village Shewa, District Swabi, KPK, Pakistan. It is a self motivated organization developed by the youth of village Shewa for the welfare oriented activities of their village. However, the scope of activities of the SESWA increased by extending its development activities to other villages of the district as a result of the support provided by the Germen assisted "Pak-German Integrated Rural Development Project" (IRDP) of the provincial government of KPK. With the passage of time SESWA became a development platform for people of the whole Swabi district. Other villages/communities of the surrounding areas are replicating in order to establish their own organization in the style of SESWA.

Communities may also be mobilized from top i.e. by external agents for their specific objectives. There are two types of external forces which generate mobilization/ participation, the public sector and the external NGO working at the location. Participation as a result of these external agents is of two types, obligatory and non obligatory. Sometimes the external forces put condition(s) on the community to participate in the projects by providing some inputs. For example, the community may provide land or material or some percentage of the total cost or compulsory maintenance and repair cost. For example in Pakistan, for the construction of a water supply scheme, a basic health center and a primary school etc. the land must be provided by the beneficiaries. Otherwise the activity is shifted to another area where the people can provide the land for construction. Similarly, the Community Infrastructure Project (CIP) at KPK, Pakistan invited the community to participate in their development programme by providing any land required and compulsory share of 20% of the total cost. (CIP, undated) The main aim behind this obligatory approach was to reduce the cost of the project and to raise the sense of responsibility and ownership among the beneficiaries. In the non obligatory approaches, the communities are mobilized / involved in their activities without putting any conditions on them. The mechanism used for mobilization is through employed agents of change (field workers extension workers, community organizers or animators) and local institutions. The success of external mobilization depends upon the nature of project, social, cultural and economic conditions of the beneficiaries and on the mechanism and technique used for mobilization. The best mobilization approach is that which produces sense of responsibility and ownership in the community for their projects; otherwise the participation will end when project activities are withdrawn from the community.

Classification on the Basis of Origin: On the basis of origins / sources of participation, the classification model is presented in table 1.2.

Table2. Classification on the basis of sources: Participation through "whom"

Origins / Sources of Participation	Kinds of Institutions for Participation
1. Informal Institutions or Invisible Institutions	Informal social, cultural, welfare, self-help, regional, religious institutions at grass root level.
2. Formal Institutions	Multi sector institutions registered with government like Social Welfare Societies, Village Organizations etc.
3. Individual	Elders, religious and influential people of the community.

Source: **Self-developed**

There are many informal village or community organizations in every part of the world which are the main origins / sources of participation. Informal organizations vary according to region, level, society, culture, economic situation and religion. For example, in a rich religion society there will be many informal religion oriented mosque and church committees for the welfare, as well as some missionary activities. Rich socio-cultural communities consist of many informal institutions such as Panchayat in India (Gent, 1992) and in the Punjab Province of Pakistan, Hujra and Jarga are informal institutions in the KPK (Czech, 1996) and Balochistan Province (Bonfigolioli, 1997) of Pakistan. Many social welfare and self-help institutions are available in the agro based communities which are the main sources of participation and can be effectively involved in any development effort. Most of the institutions such as Jarga and Hujra are "invisible" and can be mobilized for any developmental activity.

The other sources for community participation are some formal community based institutions existing in the society. Such institutions are developed and formally registered with the government for some social, welfare, environmental and development oriented activities. For example in KPK, Pakistan, there are 1485 formal community based institutions out of which 509 have been registered with the government (NGO Directory, 1998-99). Most of the NGOs and government sponsored community based projects are utilizing their knowledge and have involved them in their activities.

Almost all formal and informal institutions are self-mobilized. However, in the category of formal institutions, there are some organizations which are created by the government or large scale NGOs for carrying out developmental activities through them.

The third important source of participation in the rural communities is elders (white bearded), religious scholars (like Ulluma* in Pakistan), and other influential people. Here a question arises that these elders or ulluma may be few or single at village or community so how will they participate in the development activities. But actually they are highly regarded and have a status in rural communities. They have a very deep rooted impact on the rural community. For example, in Pakistani rural communities, a youth cannot speak before the elder of the community and a man, young or old, cannot speak before Allim* (religious scholar). So the participation of an elder, or an Allim accounts for the participation of the whole community. The NGO crises in Pakistan (1999-2000) happened because of the Ulluma. The Ullima were not consulted and were not taken into confidence. Therefore, NGOs activities were stopped in various locations of the country. NGOs are blamed for pursuing women's freedom and other non Islamic activities (Frontier Post, 2001). On the other hand, Pak-German Integrated Rural Development Project at Mardan, Pakistan, adopted a new approach (Czech, 1996) by consulting and taking up the confidence of all the formal and non formal institutions as well as the elders and Ulluma. As a result of this approach, the project activities were run very successfully (Interview with Community Development Coordinator, IRDP, Mardan, and KPK at Pakistan).

Classification on the Basis of Sectors / Activities: Classification of the people's participation on the basis of sectors / activities is provided in table 1.3.

Table3. Classification on the basis of sector/activities: Participation for "what"

Sector	Activities
Political	Participation for political activities like peace, democracy, human rights, gender equity, women rights. Legal aid, humanitarian relief, child right, and labor right etc.
Economic	Participation for Poverty alleviation, Environmental protection, integrated rural and urban development projects, Women in development, gender and development, community development, economic research, family planning, small scale enterprise, employment/income generation, credit and savings, and basic job training etc.
Social Welfare and Religious.	Participation for welfare oriented activities like help to the poor and orphan students, providing food and clothes to the poor, sports and recreations, social research, rehabilitation of drug addicts, and culture arts and heritage etc.

Source: Self-developed

There are three main fields for the people to participate i.e. political, economic and social welfare/religious. Under these sectors people perform and participate in various activities, individually or through their formal or informal organizations. Some organizations are specific to only one sector or activity. For example in

agrarian communities most people are participating for agriculture based activities through their farmers' associations. Some people or their organizations have a multi-sectoral focus such as political, economic and welfare oriented activities.

In the KPK, 727 people's organizations have multi-sectoral focus, 473 focus on agriculture, 456 participate for credit and saving, 350 are busy in welfare oriented activities, 96 in human rights and 73 in humanitarian relief (NGOs Directory, 1998-99).

Classification on the Basis of Beneficiaries: On the basis of beneficiaries, a classification model for people's participation has been developed and shown in table 1.4.

Table 4. Classification on the basis of beneficiaries: Participation for "whom"

Beneficiaries	Participatory activity(es)
Community	Participation in the project(s)/ Programme (s)/activity (es) for community development.
Religious Minorities	Participation in the project(s) / programme (s) / activity (es) designed for the development of minorities.
Members only	Participation in the project(s) / programme (s) / activity (es) which serve members of the project only.
Non –Members	Participation in the project(s) / programme (s) / activity (es) whose beneficiaries are non members.
Elders	Participation in the project(s) / programme (s) / activity (es) which have been designed for the welfare of elder people.
Students	Participation in the project(s) / programme (s) / activity (es) which provide benefit to the students community.
Youth	Participation in the project(s) / programme (s) / activity (es) which is useful for the youth and young generation.
Children	Participation in the project(s) / programme (s) / activity (es) which focus on the development of children.
Men	Participation in the project(s) / programme (s) / activity (es) which serve only men of the community.
Women	Participation in the project(s) / programme (s) / activity (es) which serve only women of the community.
Disabled	Participation in the project(s) / programme (s) / activity (es) design for the welfare and development of disabled people of the community.
Drug Addicts	Participation in the project(s) / programme (s) / activity (es) designed for the welfare of drug addicts.
Patients	Participation in the project(s) / programme (s) / activity (es) to help all kinds of patients.

In the beneficiaries based classification, the focus is on the various individuals or groups getting benefits as well as participants in the projects. Some people participate and develop an organization for the welfare or development of a specific group. Their focus is a particular group of the community and not a sector or activity. They design various programmes/ projects/activities just for the welfare/development of particular group(s). For example, there are many people's organizations which are designed to develop or benefit women or children.

In the KPK, there are 836 people organizations which serve the whole community, 710 for women development, 606 for students' welfare and 536 for patients (NGOs Directory, 1998-99).

How to Promote People's Participation In Development

People's participation is a very complex process and there is no single recipe for its promotions. Different countries have taken different approaches, techniques and methods. It is not possible to present some specific guidelines that can be used for the promotion of people's participation in development because the issues are different in each setting. It all depends upon people's behavior, their social customs, traditions, religions, norms etc.

The main issues in the promotion of popular participation are: a) how to locate the deprived, b) how to enter in the circle of a poor community, c) how to give them voice and d) how to enhance their capacity of skill and knowledge. According to Picciotto (1999), poor are weak, too numerous, too dispersed and too diverse in their interest to form effective coalitions. How to give voice to the voiceless poor; how to give them a seat at the table when development programmes are debated and policy priorities are set; how to channel their scattered energies and extraordinary skills into productive pursuits is the fundamental challenge of development assistance.

To locate the poorest in the programme area one needs to understand the development profile of the area and to find out various dimensions of poverty (economic, social or human development dimensions etc.) that exists in the community and the target groups. Once we find out the poorest, their problems and the target groups, then the next important issue is how to reach and enter in the community of the poor. This is not an easy job because in this regard we have to study their social,

cultural and religious norms and values. Violation of their norms and values will lead to the failure of the programme. In this regard it is very important to locate the influential individual(s) like political persons, teachers, religious leaders or elders of the community and take them into confidence. Moreover, it is important to contact the formal and informal institutions if already existing in the community. Once the influential individuals and local institutions are consulted and taken into confidence it becomes easy to mobilize the poor and carry out the progamme activities in a sustainable and equitable manner. In case there are no such institutions, then a united platform of the poor in the form of formal grass-root organization is necessary to be formed first.

The third issue is how to give voice to the poor, to mobilize them in order to participate in the programme activities and to build their capacity to act. In this regard we need to raise their level of consciousness and to organize, gather and unite them under one platform by the formation of their own organization (if not available) or by strengthening the existing one. The poor need to be aware of the socio-economic realities around them, of the forces that keep them in poverty, and of the possibilities for bringing about changes in their conditions through their own reflections and collective activities. According to Wignaraja (1992), this constitutes a process of self- transformation through people's praxis when they grow and mature as human beings. Similarly, it is very difficult for the poor to break away from the vicious circle of dependence and poverty individually. It is only group effort organization that can reduce dependence and initiate a course of participatory, self-reliant development. In this way, the voice of the poor for their development and empowerment will arise. To mobilize the poor and to build their capacity to act, the World Bank (1996) has suggested the following steps:

- Keep the primary objective of the project which is to learn from poor and collaborate with the poor. This will build the confidence, knowledge and capacity of the poor for action.

- Strengthen the organization and financial capacity of the people so that they can act for themselves.

- Organize community; provide them training and one-way flows of resource through grant. The provision of benefits delivered to people is not sustainable in the long term and may not improve the ability of people to act for self.

- When the capacity of poor people is strengthened and their voices begin to be

heard and they start demanding and paying for goods and services from government and private agencies, they become "clients". In such a situation move away from welfare oriented approach and focus on things such as building sustainable market based financial systems, decentralizing authority and resources and strengthening local institutions.

- Now, when clients ultimately become the owners and managers of the assets and activities, this is the highest stage or rank in terms of intensity of participation. In this stage, then, involve poor in the planning and decision processes.

However, in many countries there are policy constraints in the organization and involvement of the poor. Therefore, a suitable policy environment is required to allow all stakeholders, especially poor and disadvantageous groups.

Basis or Principles of Participation

It is very important to establish the basis or the set of principles for any development project to be adopted. Without such principles it will be very difficult to build an appropriate strategy or to determine how the project is to be implemented. According to the UNDP (1997a), pparticipatory development is not 'blue-print' development but it is a strategy which constructs its approach in relation to the demands of the project context. There is a need of some principles or it requires some basis which helps planners to determine what the participatory approach should be in their development projects and programmes. UNDP (1997a) has developed the following principles which are considered to be more important:

Target Group: The first principle of participation is to keep the poorest of the poor as a target group in the development of projects and strategies. Techniques and methods should be adopted to identify the poorest and then how to reach and involve them in the projects' activities.

Decision Making Process: People must be the decision makers of the whole development process. Their decisions should be made at all stages of project cycle and an equal importance and weightage should be given to all groups of the community. A free environment should be provided in which each individual can participate in the decision making process and people are encouraged to participate.

People Capabilities: People's knowledge, skill and capabilities must be kept in the strategies and should be incorporated in the planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation. People's knowledge and expertise should be build, strengthened and encouraged to reduce their dependency on external assistance.

Sense of Responsibility, Ownership and Control: The most important principle to be kept in any project's strategy is to produce a sense of responsibility and ownership among the beneficiaries. This principle is important for sustainability. Encourage people to gain control over project activities and outcome. According to the UN report, people should be involved so that they rather act as "contributors" than mere "beneficiaries" of development.

Women Empowerment: The gender component is also important and should be incorporated in development projects. Usually, there are various cultural and social barriers for women to participate in the activities. They are not allowed to participate in the developmental activities. Therefore, social and cultural changes should be created so that voice of women could be heard and their participation be secured.

Ways of People's Participation

There are numerous ways world over for people's participation in development projects and programmes. However, their participation depends upon the nature and policy of projects to be executed in their area and the social, cultural, religious, educational and financial capabilities of the people and community. Below are some ways of people's participation adopted by the government and various NGOs in their respective projects and programmes in Pakistan.

Land Provision: There are some developmental projects for which community provides land without cost. For example, in Pakistan, land for schools and water supply schemes as provided by the communities.

Labor provision: In some development projects, people participate by providing free labour. For example, in construction of rural access roads in Pakistan, people participate by working themselves as laborers.

Material Support: People some time participate by providing material to the projects and other expenditures are undertaken by the project implementers. For example, in Pakistan, people participate in the construction of road/street by providing materials such as sand, mud, crush stones etc.

Technical and Professional Support: Every community has some technical and professional people such as doctors, engineers, teachers, carpenters, painters etc. These people voluntarily provide their services in the planning and implementation activities.

Financial Support: In many cases, people participate by providing financial support to the projects. Sometimes the projects policy makes it compulsory for the people to provide some percentage of the project cost. So, the people contribute in the form of money. In some cases, people participation starts after the completion of the project. In such cases, the completed project is handed over to the communities and all the Operation and Maintenance (O&M) cost is passed onto them.

Arguments against Participation

Despite various benefits and arguments in favour of people's participation, few arguments against participation are found in the literature. According to the UNDP (1997a) participation costs more time and money, process of participation is irrelevant and luxury in situations of poverty, participation can imbalance existing socio-political relationships and threaten the continuity of development work, pparticipation can result in the shifting of the burden onto the poor and the relinquishing by national governments of their responsibilities to promote development with equity. Similarly, the Inter-American Development Bank also criticized participation. According to Bank (IADB, 2000) pparticipation generates important benefits for many activities, but not necessarily for every type of activity or project, and is no substitute for technical competence at any stage of the project cycle. Moreover, participation generally requires more time and increased costs, particularly in the stages of project identification and design. High requirements of time and resources are strong disincentives to participation for executing agencies, stakeholders and the Bank itself. Most important is the opportunity cost that participation imposes on the poor for whom time is a valuable resource.

As far as high financial cost is concerned, FAO (1990), on the basis of experience from the participatory development project indicated that "the poor's contribution to project planning and implementation represents savings that reduces project costs. The poor also contribute their knowledge of local conditions, facilitating the diagnosis of environmental, social and institutional constraints, as well as the search of solutions."

Similarly, two case studies (Shahzada, 1998 and Ali, 1999) regarding participatory forestry and infrastructure projects at Pakistan, found that the cost of the forestry project decreased by 38% and infrastructure project by 33% using participatory approach.

Conclusion

People's participation in development used worldwide including Pakistan is an optimum way to achieve sustainable development. The paper reflects that participation is an alternative to the bottom-up approach. Various approaches to involve people in development projects and programmes have been developed and adopted in various countries. Similarly, various methods, level, degree and forms of participation have evolved indicating the quality and extent of participation. The paper helps in establishing the degree to the extent people's participatory approach stands in term of need, results and level of success in literature and practice.

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(Endnotes)

[*]   Ulluma (singular Allim) means religious scholars of Muslims in Pakistan. They are also called Immam or Mullah. Usually their activities are limited to Mosque and Muslims pray behind them. They also serve at death and marriage occasions.