

**WORLD SYSTEM ANALYSIS OF DEVELOPMENT IN ZANDRA,
BALOCHISTAN: A MICRO LEVEL RESEARCH IN
ANTHROPOLOGY OF DEVELOPMENT**

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ABSTRACT

This paper deals with research findings regarding emic and etic perception of development in the Village Zandra, District Ziarat in the province of Balochistan. Perception of landlords, medium landholders, small landholders and the people without any property has been discussed. Moreover, perception of Government Officials and the people working in the NGO sector has also been taken into the account. Non-co-operation of land holders has also been discussed in this paper. In spite of non-co-corporation and non-participation of the natives some developmental activities are taking place in different sectors in the village which includes communication (road/transport), telecommunication, electricity, horticulture sector, non-horticulture sector, irrigation and water supply, livestock, health, literacy rate and educational facilities, and banking. The intensity of developmental works has increased many folds during the last 3 decades, which has brought changes in their socioeconomic structures. The impact of these changes has been analyzed in light of world system theory at micro level. The data presented in this paper has been collected by using qualitative anthropological research techniques.

Keywords: core, periphery, semi-periphery, capitalist economies, emic and etic development, labor, exploitation.

INTRODUCTION

Ever since life began on earth man is striving for development as he is change oriented by nature. In the beginning the pace of development was slow, but after the industrial revolution in 18th century development started at a faster pace and during the last two to three decades the rate of change has increased many folds with industry as its prerequisites. This progress has brought some serious changes in the life of the people all over the world. This pace of progress has also affected Zandra village. Economic growth is visible everywhere. The village has

gone through some major structural changes during recent past. The natives are economically well off, which they consider as development. This development has increased their choices. Use of technology has become common. Their income through farm and other secondary sources has grown up. A cash economy has resulted in the growth of per-capita income and increase in the volume of consumer goods and thus improved the material quality of life of the people. On the other hand it has also resulted in the disintegration of social bonds in the village. They have a better access to education and health facilities. Their perception about biomedical healthcare has changed which reduced the clientele of the ethnic healthcare systems and increased the people's expenditures on health care.

The development in Zandra actually started in early 20th century, when late Haji Payo Khan started cultivating apple about 90 years ago. At that time nobody was aware of or even had an idea of what Payo Khan conceived. He inspired the idea of growing apple orchards when he visited Punjab and got impressed by the lush green fields. He wished to turn the barren land of his area into such green fields. He worked day and night, cleared stones from the land, spread new soil over it and successfully planted apple trees. In this way, he made a model orchard, which eventually proved to be fruitful. Hence, the lives of the villagers changed by following his practices in the field in the years to come. Payo Khan, thus, not only turned the barren land into lush green orchards, but also changed the fortune of the people of the village, who were initially semi-nomads. Haji Payo Khan, the founder of the apple economy became mentally retarded in the last days of his life and is still known as "the madman of Zandra" and the village is known as "village of a mad man".

LOCALE OF STUDY

The present research was conducted in Village Zandra, District Ziarat, in Baluchistan, Pakistan. Zandra Village is situated 108 km southeast of Quetta just 12 km short of Ziarat town. The village is 8,000 ft. Above sea level and is surrounded by gray hills, apple orchards and Juniper forest, which is considered to be the 2nd largest in the world. Thus, the area is greener than other areas of the province. Area wise Baluchistan is the largest province of

Pakistan. It shares its northern border with Afghanistan with major cities of Chagai, Quetta and Zhob. The western border is shared with Iran via districts Makran and Kharan. The eastern end is bounded by the Sind province, whereas the Arabian Sea lies to its south.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The methodology of the current research was based upon qualitative anthropological research methods. Methodology means philosophy of the research process which includes the assumptions and values that serve as a rationale for the research and the standards or criteria the research use of interpreting data and reaching conclusions. Whereas, by “method” we simply mean the research technique or tool used to gather data. The methods used for this research include socioeconomic survey, participant observation, key informant interviews, interviews, case studies and focus group discussions. For socioeconomic survey 100households were selected through simple random sample. We choose two key informants in the village on our personal judgment basis, which knew most of the people in the village and their socioeconomic conditions. The stratified random sampling technique was used. Target population was divided into economic classes and 50 couples were selected randomly from each class. Participant observation was used in order to get a first hand and accurate information about the respondents. We participated in the daily activities of the village. In-depth interviews were conducted with the elder members of society to get detailed information. Case studies were conducted to get a detailed presentation of data related to different events.

This research was a longitudinal study. First of all a 4 month visit was conducted in 1987, then a couple of month long visits in 1990s and finally in 2010.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This research has been embedded in the theoretical discourse of world system theory. World Systems Theory is a multidisciplinary approach, which studies the world history and social change at the macro - level. This theory is also known as the world systems analysis. This theory treats the world

systems as the basic unit of social analysis and by the world system, it means the division of labor at international level. The world system approach was developed by Immanuel Wallerstein in the 1970s and 1980s. His three volume work “The modern world system” (1974, 1980, 1989), *Historical Capitalism* (1996), “The end of the world as we know it (1999) and a number of essays (i.e. 1974, 1979, 1983, 1991, 1991(b), 1995, 1997, 2000, 2003, 2004 and 2004 (b)) where the major contribution in developing the theory. The other contributors of world system theory are Samir Amin (1970, 1973), Cardoso and Falleto (1969), Santos (1970a, 1970b), Rodney (1974), and Andre Gunder Frank (1969).

According to Wallerstein the capitalist world economy is a dynamic system which keeps on changing with the passage of time. However, some of the basic features remain constant. When we look into these changes the core countries are clearly the most benefited from this arrangement. They earn very high profits from international trade. They exchange manufactured products from raw materials, mainly from peripheral countries and to some extent from the semi-peripheral countries. The core countries are becoming richer and richer at the cost of the peripheral economies. It does not mean that every citizen of the periphery is becoming poorer and everybody in the core countries is becoming richer as a result. The landlords in the periphery often become richer at the expense of their underpaid labor, as they can exploit them and can use their surplus manpower in their interest. On the other hand, in the core countries, most of the landless rural population is forced to work as wage labor, which results in a relative decline in their income and living standard. In general this theory says that the world’s capitalist economies determine the root for development of the large part of the world's population in their own favor.

In world system theory, Wallerstein explains the wide-ranging and different effects of development on the world’s population. He examines how economic and political conditions in northwestern Europe transformed into the superior commercial and political power after the breakdown of feudalism. The capitalist world economy has grown since its birth. Its geographic expansion has changed political systems as well as the labor conditions wherever it could penetrate. Functions of the world economy have created big differences and inequalities among the economies of

different countries. The relationship between the core, peripheral and semi-peripheral countries are also relative inconstant. Technological development brings positive changes all over the world. Some impulsive changes are brought in peripheral or semi-peripheral countries, but the core countries get the most advantage. Wallerstein, however, after the analysis of history of the capitalist world system firmly concluded that this development has created inequality and disparities in economic and social sectors of different countries rather than bringing prosperity all over the world.

Most of the world system theorists have analyzed its implementation at the macro level. The exploitative relation between core and periphery has been studied at the state level. In this research this model will be put to test at the micro level to confirm, revise or drastically change the reasoning built into this. Its impact would be observed on village economy, education and health care systems. During the last couple of years there searcher is trying to examine how this development of underdevelopment influences the masses at grassroots level, especially in the field of economy, education and health (2012a, 2012b, 2012c, 2012d, 2012e, 2012f, 2012g, 2013). Husain (1976) sees the impact of development at micro level. In the field of education Di Bona (1977) and Keith (1978) have studied the implementation of world system analysis at the micro level. Armove (1980) has emphasized the need of further research at micro level.

EMIC PERCEPTION OF DEVELOPMENT

The main focus of current discourse is on the local perception of "Development". The local term for development is "*Tarqee*" which means "Improvement in Life or progress". People of Zandra belonging to different socioeconomic statuses perceive the phenomenon of development in the context of their own status and culture. The hierarchy among villagers depends on control of resources which affects their social behaviours. The highest status is that of the landlords. Middle class people either own small pieces of land or work for the local government, whereas the lowest class is that of migrated Afghans. Scarcity of resources leads to a variation among the needs of different classes, ultimately affecting the perception of development itself.

By the provision of basic facilities in certain areas of this village by government and other organizations, the lifestyle has certainly improved. However, the villagers still think that not enough is being done on their behalf. The distinct culture, harsh environment, rigid geographical conditions and limited economic resources of this area makes the problems somewhat different from other parts of the country. Keeping this in mind the data collected for the perception of development is divided into the following categories: (i) Landlords, (ii) Medium landholders, and (iii) Small landholders / People without any property.

No matter which category the people belonged to, they had the same perception of development. The most common reply was the provision of adequate civic amenities, which include provision of water, electricity, sanitation, health services, educational facilities, roads, transport, etc. Thus, if their basic needs are not sufficed then any secondary development activity would be a waste of resources and time.

Perception of Landlords: The Landlords of Zandra are people who own large areas (more than 20 acres) of lands. These large areas are generally used for cultivation of orchards. Water from local *karez* is generally used for irrigation of these lands. Thus the landlords' perception regarding development is the provision of water for irrigation as well as for household use.

Shortage of water coupled with cold, dry and arid climate of this area leads to difficulties in getting a blooming harvest for the landlords. This means lower profit margins and less money accumulated for future spending. The landlords are of the opinion that the ample availability of water would not only improve the living conditions of the lower class people but will also help them in getting better harvests. The additional cash flow will enable them to improve their standard of living and the cash circulation in the local market will act as a catalyst for the development of the society as a whole.

Perception of Medium Landholders: The category falls between the landlords with large landholdings and Small landholders or People without any property. The majority of the people included in this category has 10 acres of land. This middle class in this society has multiple sources of income; partly through

the orchards and partly through employment sector such as teaching etc.

They had their own opinion regarding the development. They were of the opinion that though water plays a pivotal role in the development of any society, but it is not the only solution. They believe it is actually the creation of job opportunities which will pave the way for a developed society. On one hand a person who owns a piece of land can cultivate it, whereas on the other hand, he can earn a decent, regular and steady income via a small/part-time governmental job. Thus, most of the people of this class believed that for the development to actually take place the government would have to create new jobs. These people already have multiple sources of income and are progressing at a faster pace than any other class of their society. Perhaps they want to extend this leverage or perhaps they want to earn extra cash by merely being enrolled on the government payroll.

Perception of Small Landholder/Landless People: For the lowest class of the Zandra village infrastructural development was of utmost importance; provision of civic amenities such as water, sanitation, electricity, medical etc. Apart from this they showed interest in economic development. Most of the people of this class owed some sort of debt to the higher classes. For them lack of opportunities to earn money was thus equally important. In fact, most of them were of the opinion that the government should start some sort of aid/donation or loan programme. The amount of few hundred thousand would be ample for investment into small businesses such as carpet weaving, shops, hotels, etc. However, it was noted that though all of these people from lowest class wanted hard cash, none of them were actually of the opinion that they should buy their own land.

From the response of different classes of the people of Zandra village, one thing becomes very clear; provision of irrigational water is the first ingredient in the developmental concoction. During the last decade, some major developments have taken place in the field of irrigation. The natives are happy about it. They consider it a new beginning, but still feel that a lot more has to be done. So far the lower and the middle classes have not been fully benefited by it. Other than this, nothing was common in the perception of development amongst the classes of Zandra village.

It was felt as if every class wanted measures to be taken so that at least their group of people would progress. These people gave little or no attention at all to the development of society at large.

Non-Co-operation of Land Holders: The lower classes of Zandra village were of the opinion that the rich members of the society such as landlords were not playing their role in the development of the society as a whole. In their opinion the rich landlords have all the required ingredients to kick start the development process; money, power and contacts. However, it was felt that these rich and powerful members of the society were busy bolstering their own possessions rather than working in the right direction; investment of money in the local economy, using contacts to draw government attention, etc.

Perception of Government Officials: The government officials have a different perception of development. The main focus of the government is to construct roads, railway tracks and tube-wells with the secondary focus being education and health reforms. Over the couple of decades, some improvement has taken place in the above sectors such as installation of tube wells all across the village in the year 2002 for the provision of drinking and irrigation water.

Perception of NGOs: Some notable NGOs such as NCHD, Taraki Foundation, Pipelines, and Jall are working in the irrigation, education and health sectors. NGOs working in the education sector view the development as an increase in the literacy rate of the villagers, especially the females. According to the NGOs an increase in the literacy rate will automatically bring prosperity and hence start the development process. This process of development ultimately refers to the economic growth of the area. Same is the case with other NGOs. The health related NGOs view prosperity through provision of better health facilities. In their opinion healthy people can work better and earn more. Thus, with an increase in the income the living conditions would automatically improve. However, the NGOs working in the irrigation sector believe that since majority of the natives are farmers so improvement in the irrigation system is the key to the development process. The conclusion that can safely be drawn is that both the government and NGOs' have the same perception of development; economic reforms.

ETIC PERCEPTION OF DEVELOPMENT

The word development means progress which brings improvement in the quality of life. However, the nature and characteristics of development depend upon the local perception which is based upon the knowledge and its exchange between individuals of a society. Different societies take different measures and strategies to satisfy the basic needs of its members and thus the perception of development also varies from society to society. Therefore, basic requirements of the community and essentials for bringing changes in their lifestyles must be focused. The difference between the problems of underdeveloped areas suggests that, there should be a change in the concept of development depending upon the local perception of beneficiaries. Continued efforts over the last two decades have not been able to yield satisfactory results because of administrative complications, haphazard planning and its implementation in the community. These and some other reasons caused hindrance and apathy towards participation in development programs.

With the passage of time and experience gained from certain development projects the concept of development evolved. One such concept was that of Community Development which evolved about two decades ago. The idea behind this concept was to maximize the level of community participation in developmental projects for the achievement of better results.

Government and private development programmes are not new to the residents of Zandra. A number of projects failed because they lacked the involvement of people in planning, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation stages. Thus, as a whole the people never owned these projects. The people are of the opinion that the government and other development agencies did not give any importance to their views during the process of development. Anyhow, there are certain fields where the development has actually taken place over a period of two to three decades. Both the Government and NGOs' are taking active part in the development of the following sectors.

Communication (Road/Transport): As mentioned earlier the Zandra village is located just 12 km short of Ziarat on Quetta Ziarat road which eventually leads to the Punjab province. The Quetta-Ziarat road used to be a single track, but is now being

converted into a dual carriageway. Work on a railway track between Quetta to Punjab passing Ziarat is also in progress. Upon inquiry from officials and natives it was found that the carriageway is being upgraded because of the Gawader port. However, the people would also benefit from this route as most of the fruits and crops can then be transported to other parts of the country with much ease.

There has been a general increase in the number of vehicles in this area. In 1986 there were only 3 cars in the entire area. Now there are more than 70 cars in the village out of which about 20 operate as private taxis. The same number of motorcycles is also present in this village. Apart from the private cars, public transport in the shape of busses and vans is also present.

Telecommunication: A modern digital telephone exchange was installed in 1986 in the village. The exchange serves 200 lines to Zandra. Before the installation of this exchange there was an old analogue exchange with the capacity of only 50 lines, out of which only 28 lines used to serve Zandra. These telephone lines serve both the government offices and private houses of Zandra village. A public call office is also present in the centre of the bazaar.

Though no major mobile communications company operates in this area, people still own cell phones. These cell phones are only used in case of emergencies or when someone travels out of the village. To use the cell phones they have to go to the top of neighbouring mountains in a quest to find signals.

The young ones are well aware of internet and email facilities. However, they have to travel to Quetta to use these facilities as no cybercafé is present in the village. There are 3 personal computers in the village belonging to different families who have bought them for their children getting computer education. The nearest post office is in village *Kawas*, just 2 km away, which was established in 1994.

Electricity: Electricity was provided to the village in 1986; much has changed ever since. Water is now pumped through tube wells and motors, small household appliances such as juicers, electric irons, washing machines, etc. are now being used throughout the village. However, the utility bills have to be paid through the nearest post office.

Development in the Horticulture Sector: There is a blend of modern and old methods of cultivation in the Zandra village. The people use technology as well as animals in their orchards. The villagers are fully aware of modern technology and its use is increasing day by day. Many people own and use the tractor in the village. Bulldozers, modern spraying machines, trucks, chemical fertilizers and insecticide are also in use, implying that technology is gradually replacing the tradition.

The village orchards were producing a vast variety of apples including *Kala Kolu*, *Sabaz Kolu*, *Kashmiri*, *Mashadi*, *Ameri*, *Kandhari*, *American*, *Fransi* and *Lal Kolu* since its start. But from the last couple of decades the people have switched over to two varieties only including *Kala Kolu* and *Gaja* because both of them have better export value, higher rates, a great demand and bring them more profit.

Development in Non-Horticulture Sector: After the orchards the second largest contribution in the total income of the village comes through small private business. A number of the villagers involved in different businesses is increasing day by day. In 1980s the people were involved in four categories of business in the village. The first category of business is shop keeping. The second category is the sale and purchase of motor cars. Some upper and middle class villagers were involved in it. The third type of business was the ownership of hotels and houses in Quetta from where they earn money regularly in the shape of rent. The fourth category was the fruit related business other than ownership of the orchard. All those people come under this category who buy the fruit from the owner, pluck it from the trees, pack it, take it to the market and sell it. Some major changes have taken place in the businesses of the villagers during the last three decades. Now the people are involved in some other business also. The most visible change has come in the first category. A full-fledged market has been developed in the center of the village. On both sides of the Quetta Ziarat road there are 68 shops of daily use items and food. The buses and vans, which operate between Quetta and Ziarat also stop at this bus stop-a-cum-market place. This place has taken a shape of a bazaar.

Another occupation which has emerged in the last 30 years is professional driving. Now 107 people working as drivers with

different transport agencies. One family has its own transport agency in Quetta. About 81 families have migrated from the village to different cities. These people are involved in different types of businesses. In the light of above, we can say that there is a considerable development in the business which has brought some visible changes in the lives of the villagers.

In mid 1980s there were very few natives working in the employment sector. In 1986 there were only 86 people working in government departments, NGOs and private sector within or outside the village. Out of this 11 were women and mostly working in education and health sectors within the village. But now this number has increased up to 324 out of which 78 are women. The majority of the men is working outside the village as there are very few job opportunities in the village. Mostly they are working in Ziarat and Quetta. Women are still working in the village. Presently, this employment sector has become the second largest occupation of the natives as far as the number of the workers is concerned and if we talk about its contribution towards the total income of the village it comes at number three. The first reason for this is an increase in the literacy rate due to which people are getting more and better jobs. The second reason is an increase in the demand for market products for which more resources are needed. The third reason is squeezed farm resources caused by the frequent distribution of property.

In Zandra village certain factors account for the migration to other areas. Some are the push factors which motivate the people towards the jobs, wages and services to meet their ends. Pull factors include the struggle for luxuries like higher education, better housing facilities, attraction for entertainment like television, cinema etc. Pull factors are responsible for male migration in higher income groups while in low income groups push factors account for the mobility of the young males. Overseas immigration in the village is not very common and it cannot be treated as a source of income for the village. Migration within the country and province is becoming common in the village. Males migrate to the cities for jobs and labor. There are some social and economic factors that force this migration. These factors may be small land holding, increase in population, and the younger generation who wants to go and live in the cities.

Irrigation and Water Supply: As it is clear from the above discussion need for water has always dominated the other needs of the natives. The majority of the people relate the concept of development with water resources. The government has taken steps to improve water resources in the village. Before 2002 the irrigation system in the village was not adequate. There were two different resources of irrigation. Most of the land was irrigated by *karez*s and rest of the land was irrigated by wells and rainwater. There was only one *karez* in the village which could not meet the needs of the village. People were irrigating their land with *karez* water by turns i.e. three hours after every fourteenth day. People who had the bigger share could get water for up to seven hours. The people were dependent upon the rain, especially who had orchards on the *barani* lands. People used to perform different rituals for rain. In 1980s, some people installed tractor-powered wells in their orchards to meet their irrigational needs. Most of the people who had these wells didn't have their own tractors; they used to hire tractors for irrigating their lands or orchards from other people who had tractors in the village by paying them for fuel. There were some people who also sold surplus water of these wells. About 20% of the total requirement of irrigation water was fulfilled by these wells and 80% of the village population was irrigating their land from the *karez* water. Now most of the wells are out of use.

The quality of underground water is good for irrigation as well as for household use, but boring and hand pumps do not work very effectively because the underground water is very deep. Before 2002, when the government had not provided the water connections to the households majority of the people were using *karez* water in their houses. Some people had made wells in their homes. They used to store water in containers for their daily use.

Now the government has been working with the natives to provide better water facilities in the village. In 2002 a major change in the field of irrigation and water supply took place when the government with the help of natives started installing tube wells in the village with deep boring which provide sufficient water to fulfill their needs. This technology is far ahead, then the wells and *karez* which were the only source of water in the past. This improvement is not in the irrigation systems only; the

household water supply has also been improved. The water connections have been provided to the households. Now every household has a water connection and is linked with the pipeline. The *karez* has also been improved. New drains have been constructed to stop the wastage of water. Now there are three cemented drains which carry the water from the *karez* to the village.

Livestock Development: In most of the villages livestock plays an important role in the economy. In recent past the people of Zandra were also dependent upon the livestock, which included donkeys, cows, oxen, goats, sheep, hens etc. for their additional household income. During the last decade the animals have been replaced by the technology, which includes machinery, natural gas and chemical fertilizers. Now there are very few households, which keep the animals. Reasons for this deterioration are improvement in economic conditions, lack of interest of the younger generation, non-availability of suitable servants, non-availability of space in the houses, availability of milk product in bazaar.

Health: In Zandra a Basic Health Unit (BHU) was setup in the year 1979. The total number of people working in the unit was 5. It was later increased up to 14 persons. The facility remains open for public from 8am to 2pm. Medical supplies are provided free of cost to the patients in this health centre. Over the last 3 decades the annual quota of medicines for this BHU has also been increased. Consultation and medicines can also be availed from the 2 recently opened private clinics which are located about 15-20 km from Zandra village. The Lady-doctor is also available in one of these clinics. Two medical stores are also operating in the village since 1998.

Improvements in economic conditions, infrastructure, literacy level and mass media have also supported allopathic health care systems. With improved economic conditions the allopathic treatment has become affordable for the natives. It has also become a sign of status and prestige for them as they can get expansive treatment from private clinics. Infrastructure including roads and better transport facilities also support the pharmaceutical industry as the people can reach the hospitals and clinics even the cities. Education and the mass media have created awareness among the

people to change their believe systems which resulted in the growth of pharmaceutical business and on the other hand a setback for faith healers and *hakeems* (herbalists) who have been searching for alternatives for their survival. The younger generation hardly believes in faith healers and traditional medical practitioners. The elder generation was conscious about the side-effects of allopathic medicines, even then a shift in their health believes was observed. Side-effects of allopathic medicines are providing permanent clientage to the pharmaceutical industry as you recover from one and gets into another.

Literacy Rate and Educational Facilities: The literacy rate in the village is 16.78%. It is 24.53% among the males and 6.90% among female. The educational facilities are available in the village both for boys and girls in governmental, non-governmental and private sector up to secondary and elementary levels respectively. *Madressas* (religious educational institution) and the private tuition center are also present in the village. For the higher education people send their sons to the colleges and universities in Quetta.

Major changes have taken place in the education sector over the last 3 decades. In 1980 the village only had one primary school for girls, a middle school for girls and boys and two *madrassas*. However, with a joint effort of the government, NGOs and public sector, the number of schools, *madrassas* and tuition centres have been increased up to 14.

It is not merely the number of educational facilities that has increased; the student enrolment has also increased in the village. In mid 1980s 20 to 25 students in boys' schools and 15 to 20 in girls' schools were getting enrolled every year. Now in 2007 this number has increased up to 35 to 40 in boys' and 25 to 30 in girls' schools. In 1987 there were only 60 girls in the primary school. The dropout rate is still very high, but has a tremendous improvement in yesteryears. Now more than 50% students have started reaching up to the primary level.

Awareness, affordability and marked improvement in educational facilities have caused a general shift of trend towards education. Most of the parents now want their children to finish at least high school and then pursue some technical field.

Apart from the basic infrastructure of the educational facilities the quality, qualification and number of teachers has substantially increased. In 1980's a single matric pass teacher was working as the principle of the only existing girls' primary school, graduates are now teaching at this facility. Similarly the boys' schools now have three masters' qualified teachers as opposed to a single graduate in 1980. Thus the overall educational facilities and quality of education has substantially increased in the Zandra village over the last three decades.

Banking and Saving: There are no local banks in the village hence people have to go to Ziarat and Quetta for their banking needs. As for as their personal accounts are concerned majority of them have in Quetta as they have to do their shopping there. Males have the awareness to operate their personal accounts. Women on the other hand save money via a local Committee system. In this system money is contributed by every member of the committee periodically over a fixed period of time and then turns are taken in which each member would get his share of money. The committees can last from a few weeks to a few years whereas the money involved may vary from a few hundred Rupees to hundreds of thousands.

THEORETICAL DISCOURSE

In the above discussion some major structural change could be observed. In the beginning of 20th century people of the village were nomads and the apple economy changed their nomadic lifestyle to the permanent settlements. Subsistence economy has changed into a market economy. In subsistence economy, people were growing crops for their domestic use and keeping cattle for meeting household needs, meaning thereby that they don't have to spend money to get anything from the market. On the other hand, when it opened up into the market economy, the farmer started growing crops to sell in the market and earn money. Now he has to buy almost everything for his personal use from the market. The money which he earns always falls short of his needs because of change in his consumption pattern. For example, in the past he drank *lasi*¹ to finish his thirst and served the same to his guests, but

¹ Milk product; remaining liquid after taking out the butter from the milk

today he buys coca cola or any other soft drink for the purpose. Same is the case with other products which are available in the market and properly backed up with advertising.

Since the middle of 20th century, the village economy was only based on horticulture with apple as the main source of income, but now they are involved indifferent businesses and employment in public and private sector to earn additional income. In order to further supplement domestic income, the women have started working. Some of them have started producing home based handicrafts.

Joint families are breaking into nuclear families, which has changed the bigger land holding patterns to the small pieces of land. Special efforts were made by the Government as well as by the individual to expand the area under fruit orchards. A major shift from horticulture to the other occupations was also observed in the village. The sole dependence on apple economy has fallen from 74% to 22%. Now they are economically better-off as middle class also has emerged. They have their own cars, property and businesses.

In the field of horticulture use of technology, modern techniques, transportation, pesticides and chemical fertilizers is clearly visible and it has grown during the last three decades. Before 1980s farmers were dependent upon animals for farming and the animal waste for urea. The low profit farm products are no more cultivated. Majority of the natives has replaced cheap quality apple trees with that of expensive ones. They have switching over to the types having great export value, local market demand and high profit. The market is also in transition from local market to the export. Before 1980s total production was consumed at local markets but now more than 40% of the apple is sold to the exporters. Improved irrigation system has also been introduced in the village in public-private partnership and some further refinements have been brought with the help of NGOs. The traditional *karez* system has been replaced by tube-wells which has weakened their social integration.

In per-industrial society, people acquired the required knowledge and skills through an informal socialization. After the establishment of industry, the need of mass schooling was felt to impart specialized knowledge and skills for smooth running of

industry. So this schooling system provides skilled labor to the industry. Core countries are providing financial assistance mostly through NGOs to the periphery so that they could get skilled labor at cheaper rates and to keep the labor rates low they do not provide any real chance for economic growth to these countries as the development of capitalism in core countries requires a continuous and conscious underdevelopment of peripheral countries for regular supply of raw materials and cheap labor. They just keep them revolving in a vicious circle which starts from poverty leads to the dependency on core countries from where they get low wage rates which ultimately increases poverty. Secondly the consumption patterns of educated families change. Their reliance on consumer products increases. So it benefits the industry, both ways.

Allopathic health facilities have been improved in village with the help of NGOs and Government. Nothing has been done to improve the traditional healthcare systems, neither by the NGOs nor by the Government as both of them work on the agenda provided by the core countries to facilitate their pharmaceutical industry. NGOs work under their financial assistance and Governments under contracts signed against the receipt of grant in aid from those countries. It creates new markets for medicines, medical equipment, and technical assistance.

Certain important points have been further analyzed by linking to conceptual and theoretical discussions, which are as under:

- Shift from subsistence economy to market economy supports the industry as the raw materials, which includes livestock and farm production are sold in the market to earn money and for personal consumption they are bought from the market produced or processed by the industry. So the ultimate beneficiary of this change remains the industrialist of core countries for being producer of all these products.
- Moving from horticulture economy to businesses and employments in public and private sector to earn additional income also benefits the industry as it finds cheap labor. Supplementary domestic income by the women folk through handicrafts helps to maintain low wage rates.
- When joint families break into nuclear families it normally results into urban migration where the majority of the adults work for the

industry and their dependence upon the consumer products also increases.

- Technology, modern techniques, transportation, pesticides and chemical fertilizers used in the village are imported from the core countries sometimes in shape of finished products and sometimes in shape of instillations, industrial supplies and fabricated parts.
- Use of pesticides and chemical fertilizers gives rise to health problems due to which medical bill increases and the pharmaceutical industry of the core countries gets benefit. The transfer of wealth by exploiting periphery and semi-periphery by core countries which encourages rapid scientific development so that Western medicine and other scientific institutions could surpass underdeveloped countries of the world.
- Increase in the export of farm products supports Wallerstein argument where he says that world is becoming a single economic unit through exchange and trade with a vast diversity in division of labor among the countries.
- Intervention of core countries through NGOs and Government sector by providing financial development aid is also visible in the village.

In the end the researcher is in full agreement with the views of world system theorists who have been working in the field of capitalist world economy.

CONCLUSION

Man has always been striving for the richness of human life. Traces of this advancement could be found right from human prehistory which begins in the Paleolithic Era. Agricultural Revolution started between 8000 and 5000 BC and began to spread all over the world. When productivity increased need for storage and transportation of food was felt. This resulted in the development of cities and division of labor. This process continued and the man started using machines for mass production in 18th century what we call the Industrial Revolution.

This Industrial Revolution brought some significant change in man's life. The concept of development changed from enhancement of the richness of human life to the richness of the economy in which a man lives. This change has also affected the natives' life and village economic. The village has gone through some major structural changes during recent past. The natives are

economically well off, which they consider as development. This development has increased their choices. Use of technology, pesticides and chemical fertilizers has become common, ignoring all environmental issues and health hazards. The natives are happy as far as cash flow increases, which resulted in the growth of per-capita income and increase in the volume of consumer goods and thus improved the material quality of life of the people. On the other hand it has also resulted into the disintegration of social bonds in the village. This situation supports the world's capitalist economies in different ways. Technology, pesticides, chemical fertilizers pharmaceutical and consumer products are imported from core countries which in turn promotes growth for capitalist industry on one side and increases lust for money among the natives on the other who start selling their services and raw materials to the industry to fulfill their economic needs. So interdependence exists, for periphery, it is for finished products and for core it is for raw materials and human resource. This interdependence supports the core countries as the consumer products used in peripheral countries become a source of profit and inexpensive raw material and cheap labor provide them savings. So they are becoming richer and richer at the cost of the peripheral economies.

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