



Defining Local Ownership

A grounded theory approach

From

Aga Khan Rural Support Programme's Projects in Baltistan

Geir Ambro

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thesis requirement for the degree of

Master of Science

in

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Abstract

Keywords:

Aga Khan Rural Support Programme, AKRSP, grounded theory, local ownership, ownership, partnership, development projects, rural support, Baltistan, Northern Areas and Chitral, Pakistan

This thesis puts forward a substantive theory defining local ownership in development projects, based on a grounded theory approach. Using field data from the rural communities in Baltistan and employees of the Aga Khan Rural Support Programme in the Northern Areas and Chitral in Pakistan, the thesis suggests that local ownership consists of four core categories; “Pride”, “Sacrifice for Future Benefits”, “Respect”, and “Initiative”.

Local ownership has mainly been used in policy documents, evaluations and position papers mostly written by Northern NGO’s, CSO’s and donors, but almost none of this is based on empirical studies. Local ownership is put forward in these documents as a necessary factor to achieve success in rural support programmes and development programmes. There is hardly any literature aiming to look at the phenomena from a bottom up approach, founded on empirical studies on what the term actually means to the involved parties on the grass root level. This thesis aims to address this gap, and presents a substantive theory that can be scrutinized and debated.



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For

Kristian & Margrethe Ambro

(1909-1986) - (1912-2005)



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Acronyms

Acronym	Explanation
AKDN	Aga Khan Development Network
AKF	Aga Khan Foundation
AKRSP	Aga Khan Rural Support Programme
CAQDAS	Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software
CCIC	The Canadian Council for International Co-operation
CIDA/ACDI	Canadian International Development Agency/ Agence Canadienne de Développement International
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
KKH	Karakoram Highway
NAC	Northern Areas and Chitral
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
QDA	Qualitative Data Analysis
TA	TAMS Analyzer
TAMS	Text Analysis Mark-up System
TC	Technical Cooperation
UMB	The Norwegian University of Life Sciences
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme



Chapter 1

Introduction of the Study on Local Ownership

“Ownership exists when they do what we want them to do but they do so voluntarily.”

[Quote, interview with a representative of a donor agency.]

(Helleiner 2002)¹

1.1 New Words for Old Brooms?

After almost six decades of development assistance and practice, there have been numerous shifts and changes in the strategies and approaches used to help, assist and foster the growth of the developing nations of the world. Parallel to these changes, “development experts have also created a number of fads and propositions without changing their core practices” (Lopes, Malik & Fukuda-Parr 2002). Along with the growth of the multi-billion dollar development industry², there has also been “a remarkable confluence of positions in the international development arena” where “buzzwords play an important part in framing solutions” (Cornwall & Brock 2005).

Policy documents, conference papers, annual reports and studies from the development industry as well as supra national organizations such as United Nations Development Program (UNDP), The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and The World Bank (WB) are all using the jargon of development professionals, words that convey positive and hopeful connotations. Examples of these are words like “capacity building”, “empowerment”, “voices of the poor”, “poverty reduction”, “ownership”, “local own-

¹ Helleiner, G. (2002). Local Ownership and Donor Performance Monitoring: New Aid Relationships in Tanzania? *Journal of Human Development*, 3 (2): 251-261.

² “Development agencies, donors, government organizations (GO’s), non-government organizations (NGO’s) etc.” Molteberg, E. & Bergstrom, C. (2000). Our Common Discourse: Diversity and Paradigms in Development Studies. Paper no. 1 of 2. NORAGRIC working papers 20. Accessed 15th December 2005 on World Wide Web. Or: “The development industry is a disparate collection of experts and other project personnel, such as consultants, development scholars, advocacy and communications experts, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), and bureaucrats in donor agencies and international organizations. The industry is currently dominated by management consultants.” Lopes, C., Malik, K. & Fukuda-Parr, S. (eds.). (2002). *Capacity for development : new solutions to old problems*. London, Earthscan Publ.



ership”, “sustainable development”, “partnership”, “stakeholder analysis”, and “participation” (Cornwall & Brock 2005; Harrison 2002; Moore 1996; Ribeiro 2002).

Still, what do these words really convey? Reading them, we see they are words that sound “warmly persuasive” (Williams in Cornwall & Brock 2005) and that they carry a “moral authority” that makes them almost unimpeachable (ibid).

At the same time, they are also as precise as a blunt axe, since they all carry a vast set of connotations and meanings, all subject to the interpretation of the policy makers that use them or the practitioners applying them in the field. They are ambiguous, slippery, and difficult to pin down. Their true meaning is difficult to grasp, and it might indicate that there is a certain convenience in using them. By having a set of terms that sounds nice, “[the terms] lend legitimacy to development actors that need to justify their interventions” (Cornwall & Brock 2005), and also function as a professional shield around “organizations that otherwise would be vulnerable to questioning” (Moore 1996).

This professional jargon may also be used in other, malign ways, according to Moore (1996:72), when the tendencies to invent new concepts and terms that give the impression of action, are done at the expense of those scrambling to understand them and respond to them (ibid). Furthermore, the use of a jargon like this, may also project an outer aura of concern and the best of intentions, but when push comes to shove in the “Realpolitik” of development intervention and aid, the power of the purse may just as well bar the participation, ownership, partnership and voices of the poor.

It is important to investigate how words are used, and the meanings they convey, in order to really understand the intentions behind them. Words that carry precise meanings are easier to handle than words that do not, at least when the *aim* is to be precise and clear. The “generation of policy and dominant narratives reflects power – a power scarcely acknowledged within the world of development” (Harrison 2002). This creation of narratives reflects an asymmetrical power relation, where the power to define the terms of cooperation and the words to frame the concepts being used is placed outside the grasp of those who are the intended beneficiaries.

In order to avoid this slipperiness of term, of haziness, we need to examine them to be able to fill them with meaningful content.



We do need to listen what the involved parties holding the “short end of the stick” are saying about these terms, since they are terms directly and indirectly affecting the lives of millions people in developing nations.

1.2 Enter “local ownership”

It would be beyond the scope and intention of this thesis to look at all the “buzzwords” mentioned in the preceding chapter, and to examine them more closely. That is material enough for a number of Ph.D. theses, in development, linguistics, communicative theory, management, international politics, and institutional economics.

This thesis aims to explore the topic of local ownership, both by looking at existing literature and then by trying to define it empirically.

The terms “ownership” and “local ownership” have increasingly been used in development aid circles over the last decade and a half. (Lavergne 2003b; Moore 1996; Morgan & Baser 1993; Saxeby 2003). It gained a certain momentum in the development discourse after the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) introduced it the report “Shaping the 21st Century: The Contribution of Development Co-operation”(Helleiner 2002; Lavergne 2003b; Saxeby 2003). Here, the DAC states that “sustainable development must be locally owned” and that in order to reach the goals [of poverty reduction and sustainable development], it will take “individual approaches that (...) respects local ownership of the development process” (OECD 1996). Furthermore, the report also emphasizes that development cooperation has to be a partnership, where “local actors should progressively take the lead while external partners back their efforts to assume greater responsibility for their own development” (ibid).

Local ownership is referred to as a sine qua non for creating sustainable development and making a lasting impact on projects aiming to alleviate poverty and enhance development; even to the point that it is a starting point for reaching goals, not an end (Lopes & Theisohn 2003:xii). According to the same authors, “Area development programmes have been successful in some places because they take a comprehensive approach, building on *local ownership* [my emphasis], and focusing on reinforcing the capacities of local and district governments as well as traditional institutions” (ibid: 10; 67).



It is thus emphasized as a principle for aid effectiveness and success, but also interwoven with capacity building. Lack of local ownership may then implicitly cause lack of capacity development, (Lavergne 2003a; Lopes & Theisohn 2003; Morgan & Baser 1993).

At the same time, the focus on enhancing local ownership can bring out some very interesting statements;

“Because the study *aimed to promote local ownership* of the findings and enhance each agency’s capacity to undertake similar research for itself, the four cases were *allowed to select themselves* from among the partners in each country.”

(Edwards 1999:my emphasis).

Does this also imply that ownership can be given away freely, by *allowing* actions? Where then is the true power situated?

Having country ownership of is also being regarded as “as one of the main prerequisites for more effective development assistance” (Molund 2000). The absence of local ownership will make it less than conceivable “to sustain projects benefits after withdrawal” (ibid), and counts as one of the reasons why it is difficult attaining sustainability of local institutions after donor withdrawal.

As we see, the term is well used, in a number of connections. However, what does it actually mean to the donors and northern NGO’s? Is it a term that is only important for the donor perspective, is it important to the recipients? Is it a method for project implementation? Is it a method of organizing the decision process in a project? Is it a goal in itself, or an instrument for reaching the goals set externally in the project? Does it mean material possession or property rights? Is it enough to hand over the deed for a finished structure to conclude there is local ownership? Does it mean legal or psychological ownership? If so, what exactly is psychological or even ideological ownership? Even the word “local” – what does it apply to? Is enough to have a regional ownership, as in “Africa - South of Sahara”? Are we talking about country-level, district level, or even project level here?

From the short selection of literature above, local ownership is being used in different settings and phrasings, and the questions in the preceding paragraph raise some of the concerns



related to local ownership – of what it actually means – what it denotes, not what connotations policy specialists get from it.

As Saxeby states: “analysts agree that local ownership is not being used clearly or consistently [in the development discourse] and [that it] needs a much better definition” (2003). There is also the real danger of the term just becoming another “piece of jargon”, that generates jobs for people writing reports on ownership issues (Moore 1996), or consultants working to “enhance local ownership and aid efficacy [i.e. efficiency]”.

The main body of literature that discuss local ownership do not reflect the “prominence of the phrase”, and its prominence is not matched “by depth of analysis, explanation or scrutiny in the policy statements (...), nor by reference to the literature on the subject. The policy references are more metaphorical than analytical” (Saxeby 2003).

According to Saxeby (2003), and confirmed by my own literature research,

“The literature directly addressing local ownership is, interestingly, modest in size; a much more extensive literature approaches the idea indirectly by analyzing related themes such as partnership, participation, and aid conditionality. The origins, *conceptual assumptions, operational components, and practical implications of the ownership agenda remain largely unmapped* [my emphasis]. This is especially so with respect to the role and relevance of CSOs³, both Northern and Southern.⁴

The available literature on local ownership, country ownership, and ownership are mainly stemming from the writings of Gerry Helleiner⁵, Mick Moore⁶, Stefan Molund⁷, Jan Willem

³ Civil Society Organizations

⁴ Saxeby, J. (2003, March 20/21). *Local Ownership and Development Co-Operation - the Role of Northern Civil Society. An Issues Paper*. Presented at CCIC/CIDA Dialogue "Local Ownership: Roles for Southern and Canadian Civil Society Organizations". Canada. CCIC/CIDA.

⁵ Helleiner, G. (2002). Local Ownership and Donor Performance Monitoring: New Aid Relationships in Tanzania? *Journal of Human Development*, 3 (2): 251-261. Helleiner, G. (2000, September). *Towards Balance in Aid Relationship: External Conditionality, Local Ownership and Development* Paper presented for Reality of Aid, International Advisory Committee meeting, San Jose, Costa Rica.

⁶ Moore, M. (1996). Ownership in the Finnish aid programme : evaluation report. *Report of evaluation study, 1996, 3*, 951-724-092-9(hft). Helsinki, Ministry for Foreign Affairs. 106, [6] p.

⁷ Molund, S. (2000). Ownership in Focus? Discussion paper for a planned evaluation. *Sida studies in Evaluation*, 00/05. Stockholm, Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency.



Gunning⁸, Idrissa Dante⁹, Johnson & Wasty¹⁰, Gustavo Ribeiro¹¹, Carlos Lopes¹² and, Rehma Sobhan¹³. Additionally, the Canadian Council for International Co-operation (CCIC) and Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) had a dialogue meeting in 2003 where they discussed local ownership and the role of Civil Society Organizations. At the end of the thesis, I will revisit the relevant literature and, and compare it to the results I gathered from my study. As for now, in line with the approach of the method of this thesis, I will not delve into a longer literary analysis, but state that this literature is mainly generated by consultants, and members of northern NGO's or CSO's, or on the demand of northern donor agencies. Almost none of it is actually empirically generated, with the exception of the scholar Prof. Helleiner (2000; 2002). His papers on the "New Aid Relationships in Tanzania" and local ownership was a study partially initiated by the Royal Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, but was more concerned about the donor-perspective (See Box: *The Meaning of Ownership to Donors*).

⁸ Gunning, J. W. (2000, January). *The Reform of Aid: Conditionality, Selectivity, and Ownership* paper presented at conference on "Aid and Development", Stockholm.

⁹ Dante, I. (2002). Ownership and Partnership in Africa's Development Strategy. Draft paper presented at conference on Aid Co-ordination and Donor Reform. Accessed 5th April 2005 on World Wide Web: <http://www.nsi-ins.ca/english/pdf/dante.pdf>.

¹⁰ Johnson, J. & Wasty, S. (1993). Borrower Ownership of Adjustment Programs and the Political Economy of Reform. *World Bank Discussion Papers*, WDP199. Washington D.C., World Bank. 36 p.

¹¹ Ribeiro, G. L. (2002). Power, Networks and Ideology in the Field of Development. In Lopes, C., Malik, K. & Fukuda-Parr, S. (eds.) *Capacity for development : new solutions to old problems*. London, Earthscan Publ.

¹² Lopes, C., Malik, K. & Fukuda-Parr, S. (eds.). (2002). *Capacity for development : new solutions to old problems*. London, Earthscan Publ.

¹³ Sobhan, R. (2002). Aid as a Catalyst: Comments and Debate (II). Aid Effectiveness and Policy Ownership. *Development and Change*, 33 (3): 539-549.



The Meaning of Ownership to Donors

In a study of relationships between an African country and its aid donors (Helleiner et al, 1995) representatives of donor agencies were asked about their understanding of "ownership" issues. This elicited some remarkable responses:

- "We want them to take ownership. Of course, they must do what we want. If not, they should get their money elsewhere."
- "We have to pressure the local government to take ownership."
- "We have to be realistic. Our taxpayers want to be sure their money is being used well. They want to know there's someone they can trust, a national of their own country, in charge."
- "I routinely instruct my staff to draft terms of reference for technical cooperation projects and then spend half an hour with a local government official on it."

From Helleiner (2000)

As we may preliminary conclude, the issue of local ownership is highly relevant, but as we see, there is an imbalance in who is actually defining it, and using it. As Crawford says: "Contrary to the official discourse of partnership as encouraging locally formulated reform strategies, the notions of 'partnership' and 'local ownership' simultaneously disguise and legitimise the interventions of international agencies in domestic reform processes, serving to mystify power asymmetry" (Crawford 2003).

The main body of literature specifically regarding local ownership can thus be regarded as well intended, but still normative, mainly written by members of the development industry the North. There is little, if any, empirically grounded theory regarding the nature of local ownership to members of project

communities.

1.3 Problem Statement

As we have seen from the overview presented in the previous sub-chapter, the main body of literature regarding local ownership is donor-oriented, donor generated, and the perspectives of South and of project communities are mainly missing. The perspective is mainly oriented at a meso and macro level. There is little known about projects at grass root level, and what local ownership means at this level, and if at all it is important.

From this I conclude there is a need to further investigate local ownership from the perspective of the grass-root members of development projects.



1.4 Research Problem

The starting point for the research in this thesis is to explore the nature of local ownership in a grass root, development setting. The starting research questions, or also called the research problem is as follows:

- What is local ownership to members of communities that participate in development projects?
- What is local ownership to the development practitioners working in the field with the project communities?
- Are there any differences in how the two groups define local ownership?

Another important thing to point out is that these questions encompass several important dimensions. They are very general, but at the same time limited to the main objective: exploring local ownership. These questions serve as the starting point to conduct the inductive, explorative study on what local ownership is.

1.5 Purpose, and Aim of the Study

The purpose of this study is to generate a substantive theory of local ownership related to a particular setting, the development projects initiated mutually by Aga Khan Rural Support Programme and local communities in the Baltistan region of Northern Pakistan.

This purpose made me initially conclude that a inductive, qualitative study was needed, but I was soon led on to using a grounded theory approach, more specifically Glaserian grounded theory or orthodox grounded theory, aiming to generate a substantive theory. This approach focuses on the “emergence” of theory (Kriflik 2002).

“Substantive theory” is developed for a specific empirical area of inquiry (Glaser & Strauss 1967:32-33), as opposed to “formal theory” which is at a higher level of abstraction. Yet, even if only related to one substantive area, it may have “important general implications and relevance, and become almost automatically a springboard to developing a formal grounded theory (ibid: 79).

The aim of this thesis is to discover what local ownership is, as well as the attitudes, opinions, factors, and processes leading to it, in the development projects in Baltistan, and then



present this as a substantive theory on local ownership. This substantive theory is presented in Chapter 5 and 6.

1.6 Significance of the study

This thesis will be significant in the sense that it uses a methodological approach that will gain new insights on local ownership, a topic that is widely used but nevertheless not empirically investigated or theoretically grounded from a grass root perspective. As such, the thesis produces relevant and empirically based insights not present in academic literature or policy-based documents.

By letting a substantive theory emerge, it will give a push to creating a unified concept of local ownership, filled with a set of categories and their properties.

By investigating what development practitioners, and project communities at the grass root level perceive local ownership to be, it will be possible to discuss and develop a tentative conceptual model of the process and intrinsic attributes of local ownership.

The practical significance for this approach and the results they will bring are at least five-fold:

- By letting the people on the grass-root level define local ownership, we will gain a theory grounded in practical insights from villages.
- The definitions and steps for achieving local ownership can directly be applied to and used in project planning by NGO's and GO's, as well as other stakeholders looking to increase effectiveness and sustainability of development projects
- The empirically grounded tentative conceptual model of local ownership can be used in evaluation of development projects, either to measure degree of local ownership, or as a part of larger evaluations to measure sustainability and success in projects.
- It will be easier to discuss and use the concept once it has been clearly defined by those most affected by it, and not just in non-empirical conference proceedings and theoretical papers discussing the term, viewed from a donor perspective



- The theory on local ownership, grounded in empirical studies, may serve as a starting point for further research and discussion on the concept, in order to generate a formal theory.

1.7 Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is structured to present the background and rationale for choosing to conduct an explorative study on the topic of local ownership in the first chapter, as well as introducing the methodology and projected outcomes of the study.

In the following chapter the thesis moves on to describe the contextual background for the process of choosing the study area, as well as giving an overview of the geography, culture, and history of the research area.

In chapter 3, the thesis is presenting the methodological approach and research design of conducting an explorative study using grounded theory.

In chapter 4, the thesis is presenting the process of collecting and preparing the data for analysis, as well as listing limitations for the study.

In Chapter 5, analyses of the data are presented, focusing on the initial stages, before moving on to presenting an emergent model of local ownership. After presenting the emerging model of local ownership, the thesis moves on to refining it, and presenting the tentative model of attributes for local ownership at the end of chapter 5. Chapter 6 discusses and elaborates the different core categories related to the model.

In Chapter 7, there will be a short literary comparison between existing literature that has relevance to the findings in the study.

The final chapter, Chapter 8, brings out conclusions and implications for the study, and recommendations for further research in this area.



Chapter 2

Contextual Background

This chapter will deal with presenting the process leading up to choosing the geographical and organizational setting for the research, as well as presenting the socio-cultural and economical context of the study area. It will also present Aga Khan Rural Support Programme, the organization I worked closely with to conduct my fieldwork.

2.1 Selection of Study Area and Institutional Affiliation

The selection of an area to study this particular phenomena, as well as finding an organization to cooperate with, was a difficult and time-consuming process; at least initially.

After having decided to conduct an explorative study to create an empirically grounded theory on local ownership, I proceeded to contact a number of Norwegian NGO's, presenting my project proposal to them. The NGO's either specifically mentioned local ownership in their evaluation reports, studies or policy documents, or they stated it was important having a bottom-up approach in their work in development projects.

After initial and polite responses from some of the NGO's, all turned down the proposal, either due to lack of resources, lack of interest, security reasons (a Norwegian NGO working in Colombia) or other undisclosed reasons. On my behalf, in retrospect, I see that I should have contacted an even larger number of NGO's, as well as not being reluctant to perform "too many" follow-ups of my contacts.

This process of gaining access to decision-makers or "gatekeepers" turned out to be laborious and time-consuming, even though I tried to use the very few contacts I had in the different NGO's. Being a firm believer in meritocracy, I also felt slightly ill at ease trying to gain access by using informal networks.

After a period of time when I realized I had no luck in my meritocratic, idealistic approach, I subsequently approached my second supervisor, Ingrid Nyborg, Ph.D., at Noragric. Venting my frustration, she graciously offered to act as a go-between and contact Aga Khan Rural Support Program (AKRSP) in the Northern Areas/Chitral in Pakistan, where she has numerous contacts. AKRSP has been cooperating extensively with UMB and Noragric in par-



ticular over the last years. Additionally the organization has previously hosted a number of researchers from Noragric as well as other Departments at UMB. Dr. Nyborg has also done her research for her Ph.D. dissertation in the Basho Valley in Baltistan. Thus, she could also supply me with lots of practical advice on the research arrangements, study area, and practical considerations.

After receiving a very quick and positive response from Dr. Pervaiz Ahmad in Aga Khan Foundation, a supra-institution to AKRSP, as well as from Dr. Nyborg's contacts within AKRSP, I made my arrangements, as well as delving into the available literature on AKRSP.

I soon discovered that AKRSP and Baltistan was indeed a very interesting case for my study, not the least for the astonishing rate of success in their work. In excess of 85% percent of the projects, they have undertaken are effectively completed and sustained after the support from AKRSP is withdrawn (World Bank Operations Evaluation Department 2002). AKRSP is also at the "top end of a range of global and local comparators for operating costs per household", and "the estimated economic rate of return [from the project investments] are at least 16 percent - probably closer to 25 to 30 percent if all benefits could be quantified and attributed" (ibid). This also suggests that the strategies chosen are very successful.

Since local ownership is fronted as a prerequisite for success and sustainability in projects, I concluded that there could be some highly relevant and interesting approaches, strategies and methods in use by AKRSP in Baltistan. Likewise, the fieldwork here could generate interesting insights on what the local participants in the projects feel are important to them in the work together with AKRSP.

2.2 Description of Baltistan

In order to get a better understanding of the challenges facing the people living in Baltistan and the organizations working there, it is imperative to explain the geography, economy, politics, and natural resources of the area.



2.2.1 Geography and Livelihoods



Figure 2.1 : Map of Pakistan and Baltistan

Baltistan is a part of a region called the Northern Areas and Chitral (NAC) in the extreme north east of Pakistan. Nested between the Karakoram and the Himalayas, two of the world's highest mountain ranges, it encompasses six different valleys: Skardu, Shigar, Khaplu, Kharmang, Roundo and Gultary. Strategically located in “crux of Central and South Asia, lodged between Afghanistan, China, India and Pakistan, NAC has been important strategically throughout history; as a crossroads on the Silk Route; during the colonial period, the cold war and the Great Game; and most recently due to events in Afghanistan and Kashmir” (Nyborg & Ali 2005).

The inhabitants mainly live along the river valleys of the Indus and its tributaries, the Shyok and Shigar river (Aqil 2004). The area is remote, and “considered one of the poorest regions of Pakistan” (ibid). Baltistan varies between an altitude between 2000-3000 meters, but has also several of the world's highest peaks, among them K2 and Nanga Parbat. Winter-time can be harsh and long, stretching in time from November to April, bringing tempera-

tures as low as -20°C in December and January. Summertime is usually warm, temperatures reaching 35°C in July and August (Nyborg & Ali 2005).

Skardu, the main hub of Baltistan might be a mere 50 minutes by plane from Islamabad, but travelling the same distance by road takes as much as two days given good weather and the right season – that is, at the best of times. In winter, the snow may block the mountain passes on the Karakoram Highway (KKH) and the road connecting KKH to Skardu, making it isolated for longer periods of time. In spring, the melting snow makes the rivers and watersheds in the area swell, and landslides may block the road between KKH and Skardu at several places. This makes travel by car, lorry, and bus very difficult.

Baltistan is often called a vertical desert due to the very low annual precipitation (around 150mm annually, mostly as snow) (Aqil 2004). The lack of rainfall makes cultivation difficult, and the subsistence agriculture of the region mainly relies on irrigation from snowmelt from the mountains. Traditionally, the farmers have themselves constructed irrigation channels, diverting water from streams, rivers, and natural springs (ibid).



Photo 1: Crossing a Typical Bridge in Baltistan

The average farm size is about 2.5 ha, included land for fodder production, farm forest and fruit trees (AKRSP 1995). Main crops grown in the short spring and summer are wheat, barley, maize potatoes, and buckwheat. Livelihoods depend mostly on farming, but in the NAC as much as 50% of the total off-farm income is generated from remittances from factory workers, civil servants, employment with army and earning from shops (ibid). The family structure plays a very strong role in the farming system. Strong ties within the family and among relatives and other villagers provide a mutual insurance system against uncertainties (Aqil 2004). There is a strong tradition for collective work for to support families, and for



farmers with low income to trade labour against foodstuff or other gains (ibid). As many as 37% of the population in the region of NAC live under the poverty line (Zehra 2005).

The area is one of the most demanding areas there is to live in, and “present huge challenges for social and economic development” (Zehra 2005).

2.2.2 Culture and Religion

In Baltistan Buddhism preceded Islam, as it was a part of the Tibetan Kingdom in the past. As a consequence, Balti culture and language is similar to Tibetan culture and language, especially as found in Ladakh (Nyborg 2002).

The scholar Amir Kabir Syed Ali Hamadani is believed to have introduced Islam in Baltistan around the 14th Century AD, and since then, the Islamic ideology has become dominating. Buddhism disappeared totally in the 17th Century, and as for now, more than 75% of the population in the Northern Areas belong to the Shi’a¹⁴ branch. In Baltistan the number is approximately 90%, whereas the rest (10%) belong to the Sunni branch (Nyborg 2002). There is also a presence of the Ismailis and Nurbakshi-sects of Islam in the Northern Areas.

Baltistan can be considered as ‘a stronghold of Shi’i orthodoxy in Pakistan, marked by intensely religious community life and a powerful ‘Ulamā’ class’ (Rieck 1997:221 in Nyborg 2002). Religion plays an important role in the lives of the people of Baltistan, not only as a belief system, but also as a way of organizing social and political life. Religious leaders in Baltistan have significant influence in community life (Nyborg 2002).

Ethnically, the picture is maybe even more many-faceted. There are eight major ethnic groups in the region: the Baltis, Shins, Yashkuns, Mughals, Kashmiris, Pathans, Ladakis, and Turks. They again speak dialects of Balti, Shina, Brushaski, Khawar, Wakhi, Turki, Tibetan, Pashto, Urdu, and Persian (Zehra 2005).

¹⁴ Also spelled Shia



2.2.3 Politics

Before the 1970's, Baltistan was divided into small states, run by *Mirs* and *Rajas* (Ahmed & Hussain 1998), but this *numberdari* system was dissolved by Prime Minister Bhutto's Socialist Government in 1974 (Zehra 2005). This system made sure there was some degree of fiscal pay-off and basic rule of the law, but still the people did not have any social or political rights. According to Zehra (2005), this was a compromise to accommodate the inability of the British to enforce law and order in the remote valleys of the Northern Areas, as well respecting the independence and autonomy of the local communities (ibid).

The *Mir* collected taxes on agriculture produce and water usage (*maaliya*), whereas the *jirga*, the local council of respected leaders, settled disputes related to law and order, as well as conflicts regarding agricultural property and grazing rights (Zehra 2005). This system of informal hierarchy, based on ethnic belonging as well as being inter-generational, made it socially acceptable (ibid).

Today, the Northern Areas have a legislative council, consisting of 24 locally elected members who elect a deputy chief executive, whereas the chief executive is appointed federally (Zehra 2005).

The inhabitants of NAC do not have the possibility of participating in elections for Pakistan's National Assembly, and neither do they pay taxes. Zehra (2005) further states that this may further the sense of isolation; not only are they geographically remote, but also politically. The at times tense dispute between India and Pakistan over the regions Jammu and Kashmir is often cited as a reason for not succeeding in bringing the area under Pakistani constitutional cover.

2.2.4 Aga Khan Rural Support Programme (AKRSP)

The AKRSP was established in 1982 by the Aga Khan Foundation (AKF), and is a private, non-communal (supporting all religious sects) non-profit company. Supporting economic and institutional development of local communities in Northern Areas and Chitral (NAC), it collaborates with government, elected bodies, and other development agencies (World Bank Operations Evaluation Department 2002). Funding is secured through a "consortium of multilateral and bilateral donors" (ibid).



NAC was one of the poorest and most inaccessible areas in the whole of Pakistan when AKRSP started working there, and the majority of income and livelihood was based on subsistence agriculture (Nyborg & Ali 2005). The per capita income was merely a third of the average for Pakistan, and the literacy rate was below 20%, and a mere 5-6% for women (ibid).

Today, the major components of the program are social organization, women's development, natural resource management, development of physical infrastructure, human resource development, enterprise promotion, and credit and savings services. The program reaches some 900,000 people in about 1,100 villages (World Bank Operations Evaluation Department 2002).

The initial approach of AKRSP was inspired by the work made in Comilla, a small district in East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) in the 1960's. Led by Akhter Hahmed Khan, a strategy focusing on "technical knowledge for the participants in projects, catalytic financial support and institutions that enable people to decide on important issues in their lives" was a formidable success (Zehra 2005). AKF in close collaboration with Akhter Hahmed Khan and his "disciple" Shoaib Sultan Khan chose this model as a blueprint for the work AKRSP was going to undertake in NAC.



Photo 2: Effects of Irrigation

Shoaib Sultan Khan became AKRSP's first General Manager in 1982, and under his leadership, AKRSP soon filled a political and "power" vacuum on a grass root level, created by the abolishment of the Mirdoms (Zehra 2005; Ahmed & Hussain 1998). The instrument for doing so was the Village Organizations (VOs). Inspired by local traditions of self-help, cooperation, and traditional structures for mutual support, the VOs provided a platform for development at the grass root level (Zehra 2005; Ahmed & Hussain 1998; Aqil 2004). By focusing on these local institutions [village organizations (VOs) and women's organizations



(WOs)], they could help farmers increase their production and income by developing new land through infrastructure projects, and agricultural inputs (Nyborg & Ali 2005)

The work of AKRSP with the VOs were initially built around approaching the communities without any pre-planned idea or project, but leaving the community to discuss internally, what kind of projects they themselves wanted to initiate (Zehra 2005).

The success in the NAC has been tremendous, and according to Nyborg and Ali (2005),



Photo 3: Mountains Made Fertile

the integrated, participatory approach is one of the most important factors for this. Organisationally, a support project depends on several different departments in AKRSP, but there has always been a focus on “integrated planning, particularly at the village level” (ibid). “All of the AKRSP sub-sections are represented at the initial discussions, and these discussions lay the foundation for the future development activities” (ibid). During the dialogues, AKRSP is always emphasizing the participation of the entire community. Nevertheless, in the beginning this meant the “male half of the community, since it in many areas, at that point in time [at the start of AKRSP’s work in NAC] it was not possible to include women in village gatherings and elicit their direct participation (Nyborg

& Ali 2005).

According to the World Bank, the AKRSP approach has led to high impacts and rates of return (World Bank Operations Evaluation Department 2002). In an AKRSP-study made on 13 land development projects, the internal rate of return was in the range of 13 percent to 56 percent, with only three projects having internal rates of returns below 20 percent (Nyborg & Ali 2005).



At the beginning of AKRSP's presence, VOs were strictly for men, due to the religious and cultural constraints in the area. Nevertheless, only three years after the start, the first Women Organizations (WOs) also started participating in the process (ibid). The main body of projects have been infrastructure projects, aimed at improving quality of life and increasing productivity. AKRSP also instituted a savings scheme in order for VOs and WO's to raise collateral for loans. The savings scheme have now evolved into a micro-finance institution, as AKRSP also has shifted focus to institutional development, as well as also supporting market development, entrepreneurs, tourism and agro-business related activities.

By 2001, AKRSP had organized nearly 4000 VOs and WO's, with nearly 150 000 members, nearly a third of them being women. These WO's/VO's also evolved to more than 300 supra-village institutions, such as Local Support Organizations (LSO's) and Cluster Organisations (CO), linked to nearly 2000 other organizations (Zehra 2005).

Another element of the formation of VOs and WO's that is well worth noting is the idea of building on existing local decision structures, social organizations, and traditions for self-help. The traditions for social organizations, solidarity networks and mutual insurance practices (Aqil 2004) that pre-date AKRSP are in place. Dani & Omar Ashgar (1998 in Zehra 2005) suggests that using these institutions "could lead to much more sustainable grass root organizations, as opposed to building new organizations from scratch". Ashgar discovered that "various AKRSP VOs split in new compositions that coincided with traditional organizations – so called *mone's*"(ibid).



Chapter 3

Methodological Approach and Research Design

“We shall not cease from exploration – and the end of exploration will be when we arrive where we started and know that place for the first time.”

- T.S. Eliot

In this chapter, the process leading up to choosing grounded theory as a research process is outlined, as well as a discussing Epistemological and Ontological considerations. The selection of using the orthodox Glaserian grounded theory is presented, as well as the outline of using this for research purposes.

3.1 Background and introduction to the research

As stated in the preceding part of the thesis, the concept of local ownership is an unclear and hazy one, with little empirical research on what it actually is. The vagueness and lack of theory regarding such an important topic makes it difficult to approach the problem in deductive quantitative approach. How is it possible to deduce a clear concept and make an evaluation of the degree of local ownership in a project, if there is no unified definition of what

local ownership is? Unless there is a standard to measure by, this process would be useless.

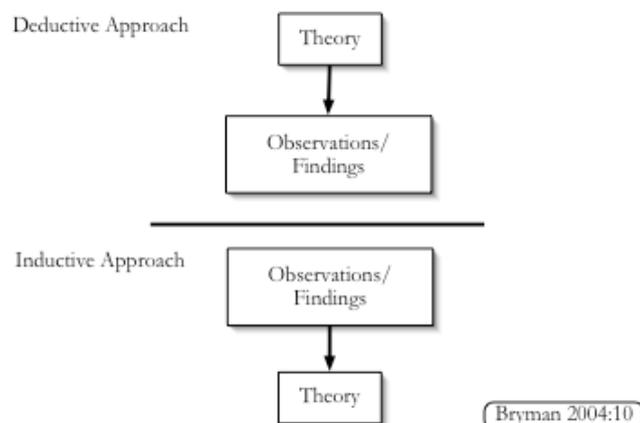


Figure 3.1: Inductive and Deductive Approach

Bryman describes the deductive process as a "process where on the basis of what is known about in a particular domain and of theoretical considerations in relation to that domain, deduces a hypothesis (or hypotheses) that must then be subjected to empirical scrutiny (2004:8). Based on the writings on



local ownership, I found it less than fruitful to deduce a hypothesis and test this. I found it more relevant to try to explore the underlying meaning behind the concept. To be able to fill a concept with meaning, to build new understanding of a phenomena I therefore concluded there was a need to conduct a qualitative inductive explorative study. In order not to just reach "empirical generalizations" (Merton 1967 in Bryman 2004:10), choosing a research strategy proven to do more than that was important.

One of the most and widely accepted research strategies in terms of generating new theories from analysing qualitative data is the grounded theory approach, first outlined in the book *The Discovery of Grounded Theory* (Glaser & Strauss 1967).

According to Bryman, what sets this approach apart from other inductive studies is that the approach is very strong "in terms of generating theories out of data". Grounded theory also contrasts with many "supposedly inductive studies that generate interesting and illuminating findings, but whose theoretical implications are not quite clear" (ibid). The inductive approach is very much linked to the qualitative approach in the same way that deductive approach is linked to the quantitative approach (Bryman 2004). Yet, grounded theory can also be named as neither inductive or deductive – it can also be called abductive i.e. "A research practice where data sampling, data analysis and theory development are not seen as distinct and disjunctive, but as different steps to be repeated until one can describe and explain the phenomenon that is to be researched. This stopping point is reached when new data does not change the emerging theory anymore" (Wikipedia 2006).

3.1.1 Epistemological considerations

"An epistemological issue concerns the question of what is (or should be) regarded as acceptable knowledge in a discipline (Bryman 2004:11). A lynchpin in epistemology is whether "the social world can/should be studied in the same way as natural sciences, with the same procedures, principles and ethos" (ibid). Those adhering to this approach are associated with the concept of positivism.

In line with the conclusion of using a qualitative approach, starting from a theoretical terra nullius, the main aim of the thesis is to ask questions, listen, understand, interpret and analyze the thoughts, ideas, meanings and subjective feelings of the members of AKRSP and the involved villagers, using the grounded theory approach. A new theory will emerge from this.



As such, choosing a positivist approach would be out of order. An interpretative approach is more fitting.

Interpretivism is based more on a view that "the subject matter being researched - people and institutions - is fundamentally different from that of the natural sciences" (Bryman 2004:13). Due to this, there is a need for a different approach, a strategy that reflects the differences of people vs. the natural order - the researcher (sic) must grasp the subjective meaning of social interaction and understanding (ibid).

My study is primarily a study based on individual persons and their meanings, on a backdrop of their institutional affiliation but not as an official extension of the institutions, they are a part of. Yet, the individuals will exist/be shaped by their environments, at the same time shaping their surroundings. As such, this thesis' approach relates to interpretivism. The building blocks of this approach is found through the ideas of the "Verstehen" approach launched by Max Weber, by trying to understand actions and attitudes of human behaviour and interaction with its surroundings, but with a focus in the internal forces, not the external forces (Bryman 2004:13).

Likewise, the building block of phenomenology is somewhat relevant. According to Bryman (2004:13), phenomenology is "a philosophy that is concerned with the question of how individuals make sense of the world around them, and how in particular the philosopher should bracket out preconceptions in his or hers grasp of that world".

This approach is attributed to the German scholar Alfred Schutz:

"The world of nature as explored by the natural scientist does not "mean" anything to the molecules, atoms and electrons. But the observational field of the social scientist - social reality - has a specific meaning and relevance structure for the beings living, acting, and thinking within it. By a series of common-sense constructs, they have pre-selected and pre-interpreted this world, which they experience as the reality of their daily lives. It is these thought objects of theirs that which determine their behaviour by motivating it. The thought objects constructed by the social scientist, in order to grasp this social reality, have to be founded upon the thought objects constructed by the common-sense thinking of men [and women], living their daily life within the social world. (Alfred Schutz 1962:59 in Bryman 2004:13-14)



We can also draw a connecting line to Bogdan and Taylor (1975:13-14, in Bryman 2004:14) that says that "in order to grasp the meanings of a persons behaviour, *the phenomenologist attempts to see things from that person's point of view*" (emphasis in original). Looking at these quotes on phenomenology, this Weltanschauung is very much in line with the basic idea of this thesis, to investigate the ideas, the phenomena of local ownership, as seen from those directly involved in the projects of AKRSP at both the organizational and village level.

I would also like to point out that this is an approach that is contrasting to a normative top-down approach, seemingly used by many donor organizations in relation to local ownership. Therefore, the conclusion is that an epistemological interpretivism based in phenomenology finds some resonance in my research process. This approach also links to a qualitative research approach. Yet, as written in the introduction to this chapter, the approach of grounded theory can be described differently, more in the term of an abductive approach, trusting in emergence of knowledge, of concepts arising in the text. For a further discussion on grounded theory, see the section on Grounded Theory.

3.1.2 Ontological Considerations

"Questions on social ontology is related to the nature of social entities", the crux being whether social entities can be regarded as objective entities that have a reality external to social actors, or whether they can and should be considered social constructions built up from the perceptions and actions of social actors (Bryman 2004:16). The two different approaches are known as objectivism and constructivism¹⁵ (ibid).

3.1.2.1 Objectivism

In a very general attempt to place objectivism, we may say that social phenomena and meanings are independent of the actors that exist within them (Bryman 2004:16). Crotty defines objectivism as: "the epistemological view that things exist as meaningful entities independently of consciousness and experience, that they have truth and meaning residing in them as objects ('objective' truth and meaning, therefore), and that (...) research can attain that objective truth and meaning (Crotty 1998:5-6).



Assuming this is the case, we may extrapolate and state that the internal life, culture, codes, and rules in a society or an organization are static and non-changing over time. This implies there is a set of values intrinsic to any social entity.

With a background from organizational theory and cultural studies, I have some problems accepting this statement at face value; I simply find it too simplistic. I am aware of that in order to make research manageable, we must create models with certain assumptions, and for the models to represent a piece of reality, the assumptions must hold. Still, as a social being, I feel that we all exist in a continuous loop with our surroundings, shaping our own reality and influencing our surroundings. A number of organizational theoretical studies also show that organizations are dynamic, unstable and constructed entities, defined by both external and internal actors. Likewise, in society there will be certain norms and values, a certain perception of reality that the social actors within this fabric must adhere to, but still they will have a chance of projecting influence outwards, shaping the reality of others.

3.1.2.2 Constructivism

This ontological approach postulates that constructivism is an:

“(...) ontological position that asserts that social phenomena and their meanings are continually being accomplished by social actors. It implies that social phenomena and categories are not only produced through social interaction but that they are in a constant state of revision.” (Bryman 2004:17)

Also important to notice is, that over the last years, this approach also includes the researchers own “accounts of the social world are constructions” (ibid). In my case, this also means that I must be aware of that my notions of reality and what I find, might also be influenced by me, my background and experiences. Relevant to this reflection is also Crotty’s observations that there “is no meaning without mind” and that “there is no objective truth waiting to be discovered” (Crotty 1998). In light of this, the logic conclusion must be that I as a researcher must be aware that the approach I use in this thesis are a product of myself and the social interactions with the members of the society in Baltistan.

¹⁵ Also labelled "constructionism".



Charmaz also supports this. She writes that she wishes to add

“... another vision for future qualitative research: constructivist grounded theory. Constructivist grounded theory celebrates first hand knowledge of empirical worlds, takes a middle ground between postmodernism and positivism, and offers accessible methods for taking qualitative research into the 21st century. Constructivism assumes the relativism of multiple social realities, recognizes the mutual creation of knowledge by the viewer and the viewed, and aims toward interpretive understanding of subjects' meanings.” (Charmaz in Glaser 2002 [7]).

Yet, as the following discussion will show, one of the scholars behind the approach of grounded theory is in strong opposition to this conclusion, and as such is actually disproving this approach. He clearly states that grounded theory, when done correctly, is free of constructivism.

3.1.2.3 Grounded Theory is Not Constructivist

In the article “Constructivist Grounded Theory?” Glaser elegantly, but not so gently, deconstructs (sic!) Charmaz’ arguments that there is a Constructivist Grounded Theory, and that if it even exists, only makes up a small part of the data grounded theory uses (Glaser 2002).

Glaser draws a clear dividing line between Qualitative Data Analysis (QDA) and “it’s worrisome accuracy abiding concern” and the transcending abstractions that grounded theory is supposed to be. By this, he is communicating that in QDA, accuracy in interpreting the sender’s message is of importance, that there must be a mutual understanding of the intentions of the respondent between the interviewer and the respondent (Glaser 2002 [4]). In as such, we may draw a parallel to the concept of inter-personal communication. By parallel, Glaser states that Charmaz focuses on that the message from the sender (respondent) must be interpreted by the receiver (interviewer), only in the way intended by the sender. By abiding to this approach, the connotations that may arise from examination of the data may be lost, as the denominations of the data are pre-defined in the interaction, mainly by the respondent. The respondent “tells the researcher how to view it correctly” (Glaser 2002 [8]).

The approach of grounded theory should rather allow the researcher to “discover latent patterns in multiple participant’s words (...) and the focus of grounded theory is then to



conceptualize these patterns, and not to ascertain the accuracy of the stories.” (Glaser 2002 [9]). In order to conceptualize and reach the goal of generating new theory, a set of procedures needs to be applied in the research. By following these procedures of constant comparison and theoretical sampling, it is possible to arrive at a stage where the new theory has emerged. The exact procedure of that process is presented in the sub-chapter on grounded theory.

3.1.3 Final Note on Ontological Considerations

Based on the arguments presented above, we see that there are a few links to both objectivism and constructivism when we are discussing the ontological considerations. Nevertheless, Glaser firmly rejects that grounded theory is constructivist. The process of grounded theory, with the conceptualization of categories, is the overlying goal, not just gathering accurate data in a descriptive capture.

3.2 Grounded Theory

“Grounded Theory is discovery of theory from data”

(Glaser & Strauss 1967: 1)

“One does not begin with a theory, then prove it. Rather, one begins with an area of study and what is relevant to that area of study is allowed to emerge.”

(Strauss & Corbin 1990)

Qualitative data usually generates large amounts of textual material, often unstructured. Thus, they are not particularly easy to analyze (Bryman 2004). There are even several different, but not clearly established and widely accepted rules for analyzing this kind of data (ibid).

The process of analyzing qualitative data, both statistically and econometrically do have a large number of rules for how to proceed with this, and the learning curve may be steep. Yet, the set of rules are fairly unambiguous and clear, and even when conducting the final interpretation of the results, there are several ways of measuring the validity of the results.



In qualitative data analysis (QDA), the rules are much more ambiguous, and this opens up for several different approaches. The main approaches are analytic induction and grounded theory. One of the main traits of the two is that data is collected iterative, meaning there is a constant comparison between the data being collected and the analysis of data (Bryman 2004). This also implies that they are just as much “strategies for *collecting* data as for *analyzing* [my emphasis] it” (ibid).

3.2.1 Background Grounded Theory

What exactly then, is grounded theory? As in economy, the guiding to answer to a question on what the correct correct answer is, would be “It all depends”.

There are several approaches to the use of grounded theory, the main starting point being the work of the academics Anselm L. Strauss and Barney G. Glaser. The two researchers originated from respectively Chicago University and Columbia University, and trained under guidance of well known scholars such as Merton, Lazarsfeld and Blumer. Building on the well received book “Awareness of Dying”, published in 1965, Anselm & Strauss went on to set forth the procedures used in this book in “The Discovery of Grounded Theory” (Glaser & Strauss 1967). The basic theme in the book is “the discovery of theory systematically obtained from social research” (ibid).

Since then, both have written a number of books (Glaser 1978; Glaser 1992; Glaser 1998; Glaser 2002; Glaser & Strauss 1967; Strauss & Corbin 1990) on grounded theory. Following the book “Basics of Qualitative Research” by Strauss & Corbin, a schism between Strauss and Corbin developed. The main critique from Glaser was that Strauss & Corbin (1990) did not recognise Glaser and Strauss’ (1967) contribution to grounded theory. Additionally, Glaser claimed that Strauss & Corbin’s approaches are too prescriptive, too focused on validation criteria, and systematic approach, as well as being too concerned about developing concepts instead of theories (Glaser 1992). He also stated that Strauss/Corbin approach was too concerned on following sets of procedures that eventually will be more suited to produce a “forced, preconceived, conceptual description”, not looking for the underlying chief concerns in the substantive area of study. Glaser’s orthodox version of grounded theory is more



emphasising a symbolic interactionist approach, based on looking for main concerns or problems for people in a given setting (Glaser 1978).

Subsequently there are two different approaches established in literature; namely the orthodox or Glaserian version, or the Strauss/Corbin version. To further discuss and analyse the underlying premises of the two different strategies are beyond the scope and level of this thesis.

As such, aiming for not having preconceptions about what local ownership was before I ventured to do my fieldwork, as well as trying to really figure out what the underlying concerns for the people in the field on the topic of research was, I chose to approach the field in the spirit of Glaser. Using orthodox Glaserian approach, especially when it comes to the process and the formation of the substantive theory and coding, seemed to be the best approach.

3.2.2 The Process of Grounded Theory

Ultimately, the goal of grounded theory is to formulate hypotheses, based on conceptual ideas that are generated from coding and analysing data. The aim is not to verify or present the “truth”, but rather to “figure out what is going on?”. In one way, there is a parallel to the process of reformulating hypothesis to fit the data, as other researchers do in natural sciences. Given a phenomena, how can we find a theory that explains it? However, in grounded theory, pre-formed hypotheses are not allowed (Glaser & Strauss 1967).

To be better able to illustrate the process, I am including a graphical sketch of the process before going on to describing it.

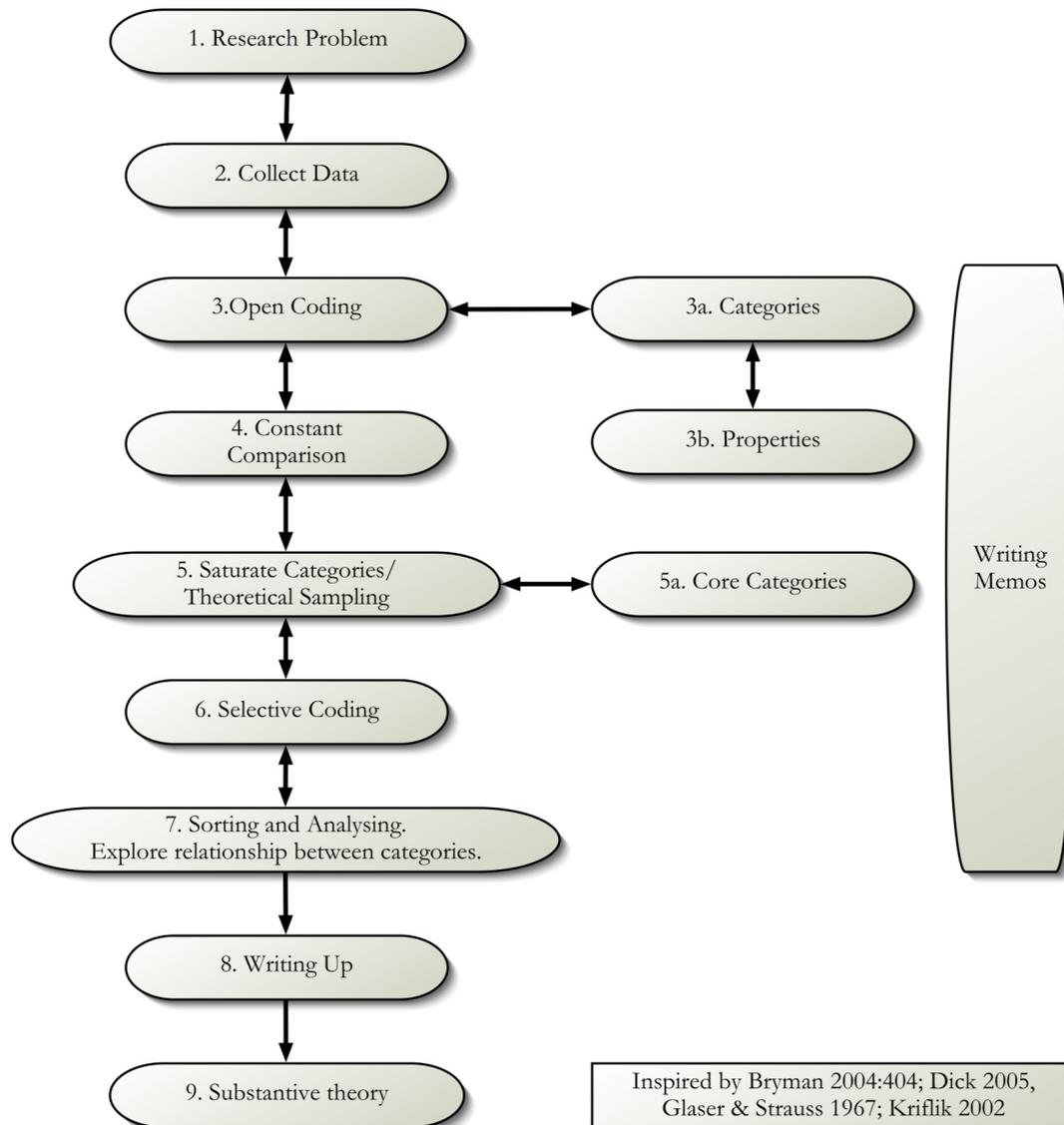


Figure 3.2: Process of grounded theory

3.2.2.1 Research Problem

In Glaser & Strauss (1967), the initial phase before collecting data starts with a general subject, a general problem area (in this thesis, local ownership in Baltistan) that is of interest. The initial decision on what to look for should not be based on a pre-existing framework. In this thesis, it would have meant that I was led on to looking at local ownership from a specific angle, following certain existing definitions, or inspired by certain topics I had read be-



fore. This I avoided by being conscious of the literature I read, and by not bringing with me any definitions or hints on what local ownership meant to other researchers. Not a very hard task, since the definite work on what local ownership actually means, is yet to be written.

The research problem might include some features of the process related to the topic, some concepts relevant to the situation that will be studied. This is a “foothold” to start the research from (Glaser & Strauss 1967), but the relevance of these footholds is unclear, as the real data will emerge from the sampling process. The footholds I gained was mainly from reading about the cluster of themes that surrounds local ownership, and assessing that few really know what this means.

The generation of the research problem has already been explained in the opening chapter of this thesis, and is a parallel to the usage of technical literature that Strauss and Corbin (1990:35) suggest to use to be pointed to a “relatively *unexplored* area (...) or a topic in need of *further development*. They also point out “*contradictions or ambiguities* [my emphasis] among the accumulated studies and writings” as a mover for defining research questions (ibid).

I therefore conclude that I find my theoretical “foothold” for developing this topic in both Strauss & Corbin’s and Glaser & Strauss’ approaches.

3.2.2.2 Theoretical Sensitivity

Both Glaser & Strauss (1967) and Strauss & Corbin (1990) emphasize the importance of theoretical sensitivity.

Theoretical sensitivity is a personal quality in the researcher; the ability to see subtleties in the data that is collected (Strauss & Corbin 1990). This will help the researcher conceptualize and formulate a theory as it emerges from the data (Glaser & Strauss 1967:46). It can be gained from “previous reading and experience with or relevant to an area”, but also during the research process (Strauss & Corbin 1990). In Glaser & Strauss (1967:46), theoretical sensitivity is “a personal and temperamental bent”, and the “ability to have theoretical insight into the area of research, as well as the ability to make something of this”.

Broadly speaking, it is the ability to frame and understand the data that is emerging during the research process, and to separate the important from the less interesting. One source of this sensitivity may be relevant literature on the phenomena, in the case of this thesis this is



literature regarding local ownership. I also found during the process that personal experience related to different topics studied at university helped me understand the topic in a broader sense, as Glaser & Strauss aims for. This is also mentioned by Corbin and Strauss as an important factor; the ability to make linkages to other fields of study in order to approach the phenomena in a new way (1990:51). Likewise, it is possible to use technical literature to stimulate questions, as secondary sources of data, to give direction to theoretical sampling and supplementary validation (ibid 1990:52). Then again, if the emergent theory has some relationship to already existing technical literature, it may also be pertinent to use the newly emerged theory to extend the other (Strauss & Corbin 1990:49-50). I found especially the last section relevant, even though this is more closely related to Strauss & Corbin's approach. The relevance is in the fact that there are some theories on local ownership, but these are not grounded in empiricism.

3.2.3 Data Collection

3.2.3.1 Interviews

The main source of information is frequently interviews, as it is in this study. During interviews, there is a divergent approach to how to handle the data: record it or not, or take notes or not? Glaser recommends against it, whereas Dick (2004), especially for thesis purposes, recommends it. For my part, I judged it necessary to make recordings and transcribe them, since I was in the field for a short period, and had to do the major part of the analysis after leaving the field.

3.2.4 Coding & Constant Comparison

3.2.4.1 Open coding

The coding of textual data is a “key process in grounded theory” (Bryman 2004), and open coding is the first level of abstraction. The aim is to generate basic categories that can be used in the emergent theory (Kriflik 2002). The first step is to code each incident that takes place in the text, and linking them to categories. This conceptualizing phase is about breaking down the data in separate pieces that are given separate names (categories) that describe the events. In effect, a category is a theme or variable which makes sense of what the informant



has said. It is interpreted in the light of the situation that is studied, and other interviews, and the emerging theory (Dick 2005).

3.2.4.2 Constant Comparison

According to Bryman (2005), this is the “process of keeping a close connection between data and conceptualization, so that the correspondence between concepts and categories is not lost”. This process ensures that there is a confluence between the categories and the theoretical elaboration of categories. One way of keeping track of this is the writing of memos on the different categories as they emerge (ibid). This will also help seeing the differences between the categories that are emerging.

3.2.4.3 Core Category

After continuous coding, one or more categories will emerge in the sense that it is mentioned more often, and interlinked with many of the other concepts. When this has happened often enough, this is be adopted as a core category, the category that the other categories revolve around. (Bryman 2004; Dick 2005; Kriflik 2002).

3.2.5 Selective Coding

The next step after the core category has evolved, is to delimit coding to the variables that are relevant to the core category. The core will help guide in the further data collection and theoretical sampling (Kriflik 2002:43). According to Glaser, in Kriflik (2002: 43), selective coding is necessary to avoid descriptive capture. This is also related to the idea that grounded theory is not concerned with the “accuracy abiding concern” found in QDA, *but is concerned about generating transcending concepts that are abstract of time, place and people.*

3.2.6 Memoing

This is a “core stage of grounded theory methodology” (Glaser 1998). “Memos are the theorizing write-up of ideas about substantive codes and their theoretically coded relationships as they emerge during coding, collecting and analyzing data, and during memoing” (Glaser 1998). They are “reminders about what is meant by the terms being used, and help lay the foundation of for reflection” (Bryman 2004:405).



The memos can be free-flowing ideas, notes, hunches, and reminders of the process and what surfaces in during the research process. There are no rules concerning the memos, as long as they serve the purpose of keeping track of and refining ideas about the emergent theory. They can be jotted down during interviews or during analysis, or even, as I found, during almost falling asleep and then suddenly waking up with an idea for connections in the data material.

3.2.7 Theoretical sampling

“Theoretical Sampling is the process of data collection for generating theory whereby the analyst jointly collects, codes, and analyze his data and decides what to collect next and where to find them, in order to develop his theory as it emerges.”(Glaser & Strauss 1967:45).

The process of theoretical sampling is as the quote above says an iterative process that continues until you achieve theoretical saturation. The process is not boost sample size or to obtain statistical validity, but to refine ideas.

“Theoretical sampling is done in order to discover categories and their properties and to suggest the interrelationships into a theory. Statistical sampling is done to obtain accurate evidence on distribution of people among categories to be used in descriptions and verifications” (Glaser & Strauss 1967:62)

The basic question in theoretical sampling is according to Glaser & Strauss is “what groups or subgroups to turn next in data collection? And for what theoretical purpose?” The important thing here is to select groups that are theoretical relevant.

3.2.8 Saturation

The main idea for this is to increase the diversity of the sample, searching for different properties (Dick 2005). The main concept of theoretical saturation is that the sampling continues until a category is saturated with data, i.e. that no new data is emerging in a category. Dick calls this the point of diminishing returns (2005). This is where the interviews add nothing to what you already know about a category, its properties, and its relationship to the core category (ibid).



3.2.9 Sorting

Sorting is using the memos in order to build a skeleton upon which the codes and categories are adjusted, and readjusted to. By using the method of emergent sorting, the patterns will be outlined by similarities, connections, and common denominators.

3.2.10 Writing up

The last part of the process is to write up the theory of the core variable. The theory does not produce “findings or facts, it produces conceptual hypotheses (Glaser 2001 in Kriflik 2002: 47), and is an abstraction of time, place and people “(ibid).



Chapter 4

Data Collection

In this chapter, I intend to explain the process of collecting data, coding and the preparation I made for analysing it. It will also show how the sampling process took place, and the initial choices I made for selecting particular groups in the process. The chapter will also discuss the limitations that this study has.

4.1 Sampling Method

Before leaving for Pakistan, I developed a tentative concept of what I wanted to focus on. I wanted not only to investigate the members of the villages participating in the projects, but also the members of AKRSP, to see if there was any differences in the concepts that was generated, or if there was a confluence of concepts. I wished to be able to interview members of AKRSP in a variety of geographical locations and in thematically different areas in order to cover a wide background for my study. I also wanted to interview members of villages at different stages of the project cycle, loosely defined as planning, ongoing and completed. This initial planning was made both to be able to cover the variety present in a project cycle, regarding the respondents. Within AKRSP, I wanted to secure an initial variation when it came to geographical and organizational units.

I also wanted to connect the study directly to the projects that AKRSP are focusing mostly on, since the aim of the study was to look at local ownership in a development project setting. This was the rationale for making this initial selection.

Arriving in Pakistan I soon made contact with AKRSP through my second supervisor Ingrid Nyborg, that was also visiting Pakistan at the time. After conducting initial orienting interviews in AKRSP's Core Office in Islamabad, I flew to Skardu to continue my work there.

The first period I spent gathering background information on AKRSP and the process they used in the collaboration with the local communities in Baltistan, before moving on to collecting more specific data on the nature of local ownership. This was done by having an



initial list of topics, which was partly generated by the themes that came up during the orientation stage, and partly by creating open questions that might help explore the topic.

I initially decided to randomly select nine different villages in the Baltistan region. The aim was that nine villages would represent to represent three different stages of a tentative concept of a project cycle: planning phase, on-going phase and completed phase, three from each.

Based on this idea, my liaisons at AKRSP randomly compiled a list of 15 villages that were in different stages of the project process; planning, on going, and completed phase. They were also randomly located in terms of geography.

We then collectively, from the initial list chose the nine villages where I was going to conduct interviews. The sequence of the visits to the villages I was going was planned according to geographical distance and spatial closeness.. They were all situated maximum two days of travel from the Regional Office in Skardu. The table below gives an overview over the names of the villages visited, as well as district, project type and project phase. Another feature that is well worth noting, is that most of these villages have, at one stage or another, previously worked together with AKRSP in other types of projects, as well as with other NGO's based in the area.

The next sub chapter is included because this is a Master's thesis, and as such need more validation and background information on the respondents. It is also done to show the variety of the sample done, and the interviews made. I feel this is necessary to increase the level information, even strictly not needed in a grounded theory study.

4.1.1 Background Information, Respondents in Villages

The next tables show background information for the respondents I interviewed in the different villages.



VILLAGE	PROJECT PHASE	PROJECT TYPE	DISTRICT
Prono Tisser	Planning	Link Road	Skardu
Sain Gawari	Planning	Agriculture	Ghanche
Shagari Kalan	Planning	Irrigation	Skardu
Bara Bala	On-going	River Wall	Ghanche
Gole	On-going	Pipe-Siphon	Skardu
Thagari Thalay	On-going	Irrigation	Ghanche
Husseinabad	Completed	Training	Skardu
Mango/Haiderabad	Completed	Irrigation	Skardu
Sadpara	Completed	Bridge	Skardu

Table 4.1: Village Name, Project Phase, Project Type, and District

NAME OF VILLAGE	GENDER	TOTAL
	Male	
Sadpara	5	5
Gole	10	10
Husseinabad	10	10
Shagari Kalan	6	6
Prono Tisser	5	5
Mango/Haiderabad	5	5
Sain Gawari	5	5
Bara Bala	5	5
TOTAL	51	51

Table 4.2: Village, Gender Cross Tabulation¹⁶

NAME OF VILLAGE	AGE GROUP					TOTAL
	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61+	
Sadpara	1		1	2	1	5
Gole	2	1	3	2	2	10
Husseinabad	3	3	1	3		10
Shagari Kalan	3	1	2			6
Prono Tisser		3	1		1	5
Mango/Haiderabad		1	1	2	1	5
Sain Gawari	1	2		1	1	5
Bara Bala	2		1	1	1	5
TOTAL	12	11	10	11	7	51

Table 4.3: Village Age Group Cross Tabulation

¹⁶ For a discussion on the reason for this skewed selection, please confer Chapter 4.5.2: Gender Issues.



LOCATION	UNIT		TOTAL
	Regional Office	Core Office	
Islamabad		2	2
Skardu	6		6
Gilgit	7	3	10
Ghanche	4		4
TOTAL	17	5	22

Table 4.4: Location, Respondents AKRSP

LOCATION	DEPARTMENT							TOTAL
	Finance	Gender and Development	Resource Development	Institutional Development	Monitoring, Evaluation and Research	Market Development	Other	
Islamabad	1	1						2
Skardu		2	1	1	1	1		6
Gilgit		1	1	3	1	4		10
Ghanche		2	1				1	4
TOTAL	1	6	3	4	2	5	1	22

Table 4.5: Location and Department AKRSP

LOCATION	GENDER		TOTAL
	Male	Female	
Islamabad	1	1	2
Skardu	4	2	6
Gilgit	7	3	10
Ghanche	2	2	4
TOTAL	14	8	22

Table 4.6: Gender and Location, AKRSP

I thoroughly discussed the process of conducting the interviews with my interpreter as well as some of the other staff at AKRSP, and the aim of these interviews, and what my overlying interest with them was. We also contacted the villages when possible to inform them we were coming to conduct interviews. Due to the nature of grounded theory and the process of generating theory, a probability sample that represents a cross section of the villages I visited was not necessary (see Chapter on grounded theory), but a sampling that ensured theoretical saturation was.

4.2 Convenience and Snowball Sample?

As Bryman (2004) says, sampling in ethnographic research is “often a combination of convenience sampling and snowball sampling, (...) as researchers much of the time are forced to gather information from whatever source is available to them”.



A convenience sample is one that simply is available to the researcher by virtue of its accessibility. Usually, choosing such a strategy may not generate a representative sample, and “the results of such a sample may not be used to generalize the findings because we do not know of what population this sample is representative” (ibid). In my case in Baltistan, when travelling and interviewing the respondents in the villages, I would often had to interview those who were available at the time. People would be away for work in the fields, visiting markets or pre-occupied with other tasks.

Additionally, I would also partly call my process of gathering data a snowball sample. The idea of a snowball sample is that the initial contact with respondents will generate new contacts with other respondents. This was obvious when travelling both to the different villages and when conducting interviews within the offices of AKRSP – the initial contact with a respondent with ensure me access to the next respondent via informal networks, friendships, or availability.

The rationale for choosing this approach is the following: the groups of people relevant to my research was available in the villages, they had participated in one way or another in the cooperation with AKRSP. All were valuable informants in the sense that they were residing in the area where there had been a presence of AKRSP for a long time, and they had knowledge of the process of cooperation. This is comparable to the process described as theoretical sampling, where varied interviewing and site spreading is important (Glaser 2001 in Kri-flik 2002:41). Finding data on local ownership in development projects in Baltistan, must involve communities involved in projects, and the people working with these communities. Nobody even knows who the participants will be, before the interview process is over (ibid).

4.3 Interview Techniques

Due to the nature of the topic I chose to write about, and the not the least the method of exploring it, I did not use a structured questionnaire, but rather a list of topics that I intended to explore. I also initially made tentative sub-questions for the list of topics. Even so, it was the content of interviews and the topics that revealed themselves, that led the process of data collection. The topics changed over time as interesting categories evolved, and as new ideas were memoed in between and during interviews. The memos were mostly taken down in the notebook I used during interviews, as points or concluding remarks from the interviews. The



process of constant comparison, writing memos, and generating concepts and categories made the focus of the interviews change during the course of the fieldwork.

At the initial stages of interviewing the I covered I wide range of topics related to the project cycle and the processes related to this, but as the interviews carried on, I gradually narrowed down the topics using the techniques of writing memos and comparing the see what subjects were important to the respondents.

Interviews were thus semi-structured and flexible. I also kept in mind to open broadly, and adopt a technique of listening intently to topics that were brought up by the informants. I was open, humble, and made sure that the informants understood that it was very important for me to listen to their honest opinions and meanings, so I could learn from them. Mostly, I conducted interviews one-on-one, with my interpreter present. In the last village, Thagari Thalay, I conducted a focus group interview. In the offices of AKRSP, I conducted the interviews myself, in English.

Glaser actually recommends avoid taking notes and recording during the interviews. Other researchers also support this, as it would be possible to get more understanding from extra interviews in the time it takes to transcribe the interviews (Dick 2005). Then again, using a tape recorder will help secure a back-up that can partially or fully transcribed, and that notes and themes can be crosschecked against (ibid). Especially for thesis purposes, this will secure increased validity of the research.

Not having the time or possibility to always conduct follow up interviews of respondents, being partially subject to logistic arrangements, I chose to record all interviews, keep track of the themes as they evolved, but also to do a transcript of the interviews. I used a small and very rudimentary digital recorder to "tape" my interviews unless the respondents disagreed to it, which only happened a few times. For most others, the use of a small recorder the size of a large thumb made it easier to create rapport and "break the ice". The idea of having such a small device that could record sound was very interesting to many of the respondents.

I also made notes during the interviews to make sure I had a double set of data in case something should happen with either notes or recordings. This process of note-taking was made partially a lot easier in the village setting, as I would write the notes during the time my translator and the subject spoke. Taking notes proved important, as five recorded interviews



turned up blank. In retrospect this happened due to the fact that I paused the recorder when there were incoming phone calls or visits during the interview. For future projects, I will use a more sophisticated digital Dictaphone, with a more stable performance.

After discovering this, I remedied it by stopping the recording completely and resuming the interview on a new sound-file if there were any interruptions in the interviews. During the interviews, I specifically wrote out the information connected to each interview, such as date, location, name, and the specific file-names for each interview in my notebook. This made the process of organizing the interviews easy. After returning from the fieldwork, I started preparing my field-notes and interviews for analysis.

Completing one day's interviews, I transferred the digital recordings to my Macintosh PowerBook and logged the files using a simple system of specific folders and filenames to keep track of the different interviews and days. I also kept track of the interviews and recordings using Filemaker8, a practical database tool where I could enter location, respondent number, and other important data regarding each interview in a database I specifically designed for this purpose. I also made notes and summaries of the topics that evolved as interesting.

The database was also exported to SPSS 11 for Mac OSX in order to run descriptive statistics of the respondents. It was modified when I entered additional data such as education, age, gender, and other background information on the file. I did this to easily access the background data on my respondents.

In order to prepare my recordings of the interviews for the complete analysis, which was difficult to do in the field, I listened through them, and transcribed them using a nifty piece of software called "Transcriva" (Bartas Technologies 2005), native for Mac OSX. This program imports the sound file into an interface where it is possible to jump easily from speaker to speaker when transcribing, adjusting the playback speed, keeping the transcript synchronized with the sound files using time codes and "follow-a-long". After finishing the transcription process, the program is able to export the file into a format (Rich Text Format; .rtf) that Tams Analyzer (presented in next chapter) can use for coding and analysing the interviews.



4.4 Using CAQDAS

A large number of CAQDAS (Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software) programs are available on the market. Some of the most recognized are NVivo, Nud*st, MaxQDA, Atlas/ti and Transana. Additionally, there are several other packages doing the same job. There is no industry leader among them, and apart from performing the same tasks (Bryman 2004), they have another similarity: they are made for Windows OS.

4.4.1 Tams Analyzer

As a Mac OSX-user, there are few alternatives to these. Fortunately, Dr. Matthew Weinstein at Kent State University in Ohio has written the TAMS (Text Analysis Mark-up System) Analyzer (TA), to run on Mac OSX (Weinstein 2005b).

TA is "specifically made for coding and analyzing qualitative textual information such as interviews, field notes and other textual documents". (Weinstein 2005a) TA embeds information the researcher indicates in the text, using specific codes defined by the researcher. After finishing the coding, "TA will extract information from a marked up document, using criteria specified by the researcher" (Weinstein 2005a). After compiling this in tables, TA can generate summary statistics to count the occurrences of specific codes in the interviews you analyse, as well as presenting specific parts of the text in a comprehensive and informative way, based on criteria the researcher defines (ibid).

I used TA in a manner describes in the process of grounded theory, by coding and keeping track of the codes, and also of concepts and categories and their properties. Using the searching abilities of TA, I could gather the relevant data for the different emerging concepts quite easily and access the textual data related to this.

Since the main aim of grounded theory is to prepare conceptual abstractions, and not frequency analysis of the occurrences of codes in a text, I specifically used the TA to keep track of codes, and the textual material (code-families, concepts, categories) more easily, and to keep track of the sub-codes in separate categories. as frequency counts and the descriptive statistics are not the main, concern in grounded theory, so the usage of TA for these functions were not applied.



4.4.2 FreeMind in Grounded Theory

The main part of the conceptualizing and sorting of ideas, memos, labels and categories were done using the Open Source program “FreeMind” (Müller 2005), a java-based mind mapping software. The advantages of using this type of software to sort the labels, categories and concepts is that it is easy to enter different levels of information with the sub-categories of this information easily attached. Memoing also becomes much easier, as all memos are available all the time. It is very easy to get an overview and “connect the seemingly unconnected”, as the aim of the process of grounded theory is to make the connections and abstractions of categories, concepts and, codes. In FreeMind, it is very easy to rearrange all nodes representing a level of information. In this way, it is easy and very dynamic to rearrange the available information, making new abstractions and testing out connections.

In hindsight, which is always 20/20, I feel that I could have used this programme a lot more. I could have completed a lot more of the coding levels and abstractions in this programme, and not being so focused and dependent on TA. It would have made the coding and analysing process easier, than going via TA. It would also have saved me time in the form of not being so focused on transcribing everything in order to analyse it with TA.

To grasp the concept of mind mapping , I have added an illustration showing a sample of the interface in FreeMind.



Figure 4.1: Example, FreeMind interface

4.5 Limitations of the study

4.5.1 Research method

There are always a number of limitations in research projects like this. The main limitation might be the application of the procedures of grounded theory. With this, I mean that the processes of learning to do the whole set of grounded theory techniques usually will take a



lot longer than the time available for conducting research for a Master's thesis. I have tried to apply the rules and procedures as I have understood them, but there is always the question of this is good enough, and valid enough. The study has generated some interesting insights, as far as I can judge, and puts forward hypotheses that others are encouraged to disprove.

4.5.2 Language, Culture and Interpretation

The main languages spoken in the area where the fieldwork was conducted are Balti, Shina, and Urdu. Balti and Shina are native to the area, Urdu being the “lingua franca” for the whole of Pakistan. Not being able to speak any of these, I had to rely on using an interpreter when conducting interviews in the villages. Luckily, I had the possibility of using the same interpreter during the whole period of research, and because of this, it was easy to develop an understanding of the structure and intentions of the interviews, of the overall aim of the fieldwork and the process of gathering data. My interpreter, Mr. Ghulam Mohammad, spoke all three of the languages mentioned before, as well as very good English. He had also worked closely with both American and Norwegian researchers before, and also functioned as a cultural interpreter, giving background information and explaining concepts being used in the interviews thoroughly just after or during the interviews. His knowledge of the area also helped me in observing local traditions and customs, in order to achieve better rapport and not making any cultural blunders when speaking with the respondents.

The use of an interpreter may also mean that cultural and linguistic nuances are lost in translation. This has consequences directly related to the data gathered – does it catch all variations, is it possible to claim complete validity and that all the messages and implications are read and understood, both by the researcher and the interpreter?

Another factor that might have had some influence is the fact that my interpreter was working in AKRSP, meaning that some respondents might have given “strategic answers” to gain favours with AKRSP, or that they become more guarded if they had criticism. This was remedied by stating that the research had no affiliation to AKRSP, that the research was self-financed, and that the respondents were guaranteed anonymity. The tone and manner of the interviews also suggested a straightforwardness, and only in a few cases could I sense that the answers given were purely strategic, and with a purpose of trying to “send a message” to AKRSP.



Photo 4: Visiting Summer Pastures in Thagari Thalay

During interviews with AKRSP staff, I used English as the working language, and did not rely on an interpreter. Still, the linguistic factor might also have influenced the interviews. English is after all the second language for both the researcher and the staff. This may also mean that nuances and meanings could have disappeared or even been left out during the interviews.

4.5.3 Gender Issues

Due to the religious situation and the traditions in the region, it turned out to be very difficult to gain access to female respondents at village level. I clearly and early communicated my intentions and wishes to also be able to interview women at the village level, but this proved to be hard.

There was a polite rejection to this in all villages when I suggested I could also have interest in speaking to women. This was probably because my interpreter and I were considered outsiders and as such, were not allowed to speak with the women.



The differences in expressions of religious beliefs vary within Baltistan, with the Skardu district considered to be on of the strictest (Nyborg 2002). In the rural areas of Baltistan, however, women enjoy much more freedom of movement, and veiling is less strict (ibid). Still, as Nyborg states, “when strangers or religious leaders enter Basha [research site for her Ph.D. dissertation], most women would tighten their chadors¹⁷ and remain at a distance” (Nyborg 2002).

These constraints have influenced the results of the thesis, but at the time, they were not negotiable. At the very end of the stay in Baltistan, after making further contact at an informal level with female members of staff at AKRSP, they offered to act as go-betweens so I could interview women in the villages. At that stage of time I had to leave Baltistan, and was unable follow up this offer. In retrospect, I have had doubts if I was not persistent enough in pushing the opportunity to conduct the interviews with female members of the communities. On the other hand, at the time, I felt that I used the strategies I had at hand for reaching this goal. I failed, but given more time I would have had an opportunity to get interviews with females in the villages as well.

4.5.4 Time and Resources

Due to the relatively short time spent in the field, approximately five weeks, the amount of information gathered will of course be limited. Due to logistical constraints, it was difficult to conduct follow-up interviews of the respondents, in order to mine for deeper understanding of the topic. A more substantial time spent in the field, and the ability to follow up over longer periods would have generated more insight and better data.

¹⁷ A chador is a very long scarf used by women in Baltistan, which covers most of the body, but not the face, as would a burqa. Nyborg, I. (2002). *Yours today, mine tomorrow? : a study of women and men's negotiations over resources in Baltistan, Pakistan*. Noragric PhD dissertation ; no. 1. Ås, Norwegian University of Life Sciences Noragric. VIII, 250 s. p.



Chapter 5

Analysis of Data

“There is no reality in the absence of observation.”

- The Copenhagen Interpretation of Quantum Mechanics

The aim of this chapter is to present an outline of the process of collecting, coding and analysing the data from the fieldwork in Baltistan. By doing so, I will show how the tentative model describing “Attributes of local ownership” emerged through the data.

5.1 Initial Stage

From the very beginning, my aim was to try to define a certain topic, to gather attributes of a theme around it. This topic was going to be seen from two different angles, the practitioners that support the villagers that initiate projects, and the villagers themselves. I also had to explore whether there was a confluence or divergence of the concepts that emerged around local ownership. From this, the aim was to generate a substantive theory.

By clearly stating from the beginning that this was my aim, I also developed doubts whether I actually predefined my core variable from the start. Would it affect the process and the outcomes, and how could I remedy this doubt? I tried to find solutions to this in the available literature I had available, but I could find no good answer at the time. Yet, keeping in mind the rationale for doing this study, the main goal was to attribute characteristics to a topic that is not empirically defined. Doing so, meant to focus on the data that would emerge during the research process, and to keep in mind that the axis, or pivoting point, that the emerging attributes (categories) would be organized around, was in fact local ownership. This was the intention of the study right from the start. By finding these categories and the underlying concepts, and group them around “local ownership”, it would be possible to develop a tentative model of “Attributes of local ownership”.

At the very beginning of the process, I spent at the offices of AKRSP, having informal talks and discussion with several of the staff. During this, the aim was also to see if I could find certain areas that could be interesting to do follow ups in the interviews that were going



to be done later. Several expressed their interest in the topic, as they felt donors had used it in an “empty manner”, and that it carried little meaning.

The discussions and orientation phase made it possible for me to gain an overview of the process of how AKRSP was working together with the villages, and on the insights of the staff's experiences in the area.

When interviewing in the first village, Sadpara, I also made sure to use a very open approach to conducting the interviews, and letting the discussion flow freely.

After having completed these initial interviews, both in the village setting and in AKRSP's offices in both Islamabad and Skardu, I spent time reviewing them and saw there were specific themes that occurred more often than others did.

5.1.1 Initial Themes from AKRSP's Staff

In the initial discussions with AKRSP-staff, my impression was that there was much focus on the process of dialogue between the Village Organization responsible for the project and AKRSP. During the dialogues, the village is left with making decisions and taking responsibilities for the projects. With this comes the demand from AKRSP that there has to be unity in the village before AKRSP is willing to support the village. Without a written resolution showing that more than 75% of the villagers agree to the project, AKRSP is not willing to move into cooperation.

Another interesting factor that arose was the willingness of AKRSP of making closure on projects that had been handed over. With this, I mean that there was an attitude of “moving on” and regarding the project as completely in the hands of the village once it had been finished. In the process of communicating with the villagers, the staff several times mentioned the concept of respect, in the sense that the door to the AKRSP office always was open and that visitors from villages never would have to wait long before they had a chance to meet a member of the staff there. Some of the differences between AKRSP and the government's projects also arose; AKRSP do not pay compensation for land that is used for roads, channels, or other purposes. They also have criteria that the village voluntarily should give up



land, without compensation, if the project demands it. This is quite different from other organizations, which pay this compensation.

Another interesting theme that came up, centred on the idea of culture – in the sense that the cultural closeness of the staff (most of the staff in Skardu and Ghanche either are from, or have roots, in Baltistan). This cultural closeness and identification was prominent, in the sense that this made it easier to gain trust, and to act on behalf of the communities, if needed.

The following sub-sections sum up the themes that came up during the first stage at AKRSP and the village Sadpara:

5.1.2 Initial Themes from First Interviews in Village

The interviews in the first village generated themes that circulated around the pride of working for their own benefits, that the projects they had got was based on the needs they had. At the same time, there was a sense of being equal to AKRSP, and that they together had created a project that benefited the village. There were references to traditional systems of maintenance of common structures for the village. The sense of pride also came through by respondents expressing a willingness to not participate in projects if they did not feel well about them. The issue of mutual respect also came up, in the form of the importance of respecting the village traditions if any NGO wanted to work with them. This entailed respect for Islam, Elders, gender, and the village as a whole. The labouring on the projects that they did, also increased the sense of reaping benefits from their own work, together with having to supply materials for the project.

5.2 Further Interviews

Over the rest of the period of time spent doing fieldwork, I used the initial interviews as a starting point, but kept close track of the developing themes as they came along, following the process of memoing, and being open to new themes. Using the method of constant comparison, together with memoing, I found that some categories were mentioned more often than others were.

This made me focus on these specific categories more, until I felt there was no more to fetch in following this topic any longer. By moving on from doing the open coding and



memoing, then moving on to theoretical sampling, by choosing the themes that needed to be explored, I reached saturation in the core categories.

5.3 Emerging Model of Local Ownership

The main part of the sorting and analysis were done after returning from the field, due to the limitations mentioned before. After moving on to doing a more extensive analysis of the textual material I had gathered, and doing memoing on the material I had gathered, there were certain patterns emerging, certain codes that re-occurred more often than others.

At this first stage in the analysis, I was looking to make abstractions that that could capture these codes and concepts. Sorting the notes and memos I had made, I tried to draw up a preliminary model of the attributes of local ownership.

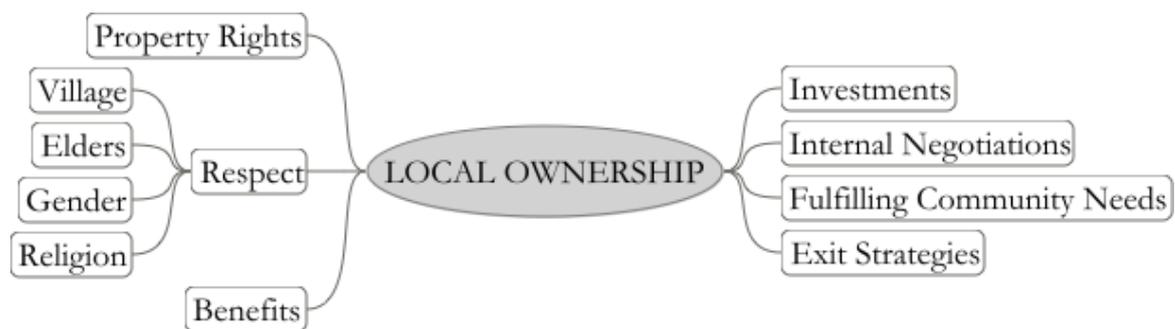


Figure 5.1: Emerging model of local ownership

The model was based on the preliminary categories I had developed, and contained the following:

5.3.1 Investments

This represented the feeling that investments, in the form of materials, labour at a reduced pay¹⁸, time spent in meetings, giving up common or private land free for a project. The idea behind including this as a concept that is attributed to local ownership, was that this topic kept recurring, often in relation to discussion on why the respondents felt that the project in

¹⁸ AKRSP expects the members of the VO to work in the projects at a pay that is lower than the going rate for day labouring. The difference, usually 30% lower than the going daily rate, is calculated according to the hours spent on labour, and written out as a proof of the amount of money the VO has invested in the project.



the village belonged to the village. In the same spirit, respondents in AKRSP would also refer to the fact that people had “invested” in projects, and that this increased responsibility and belonging.

5.3.2 Internal Negotiations

This concept was related to the processes of having internal negotiations in the village without the presence of people from AKRSP present. The VO is mostly taking the important decisions regarding themselves and the projects without the. This means that AKRSP expects the VOs to agree internally before approaching them with resolutions and suggestions for projects that they jointly can implement.

5.3.3 Exit Strategies

The concept is related to respondents stating that they are willing to terminate any cooperation with external organizations if there are disagreements due to lack of respect, project implementation or culture. In the case of AKRSP, it also includes the willingness to leave projects that are finished to themselves, and not spending time monitoring it formally.

5.3.4 Fulfilling Community Needs

The concept relates to the necessity to listen to the communities defining their own needs, and that the needs are important in order for projects to be sustainable and lasting, and that the village is going to maintain it. Without being defined by the community, and without fulfilling needs, the project will not be successful.

5.3.5 Respect for Gender, Elders, Village, Religion, Culture

This concept is related to having respect for these four factors in all aspects of interacting with the communities. This was an important theme, in interviews, especially with the villagers. Traditionally, it is the elders and the religious leaders that have a final word when decisions are being made, so any attempt to bypass these will have negative consequences.



5.3.6 Property Rights

The sentiment among the respondents from villages was strong regarding property rights, and projects. The traditional property rights, as well as private property rights are strong, and this came out as a strong sense of identification with any type of projects. If any structure is built on the land belonging to the village, it most certainly belonged to the village.

5.4 Re-Categorising Data

After this initial attempt to organize categories as attributes to local ownership, several things did not hold water. First, these categories were not at a sufficient abstract level to even come close to the level needed to become core categories. Secondly, it did not sufficiently catch the differences between the two groups I wanted to compare. Neither was I satisfied with the arrangements, and felt there were a lot more levels that needed to be explored before I could move and make the decision on which core categories to attribute to local ownership. I needed to re-examine memos and the data available to me to see if there were any new connections that could be made, and further abstract levels to be explored.

I moved back into the data, and started to look at the processes and the higher levels of interaction in the data, to figure out what was going on and being expressed through the interviews.

5.5 Core Categories

After re-reading interviews and memos, and spending time trying to re-categorise the data, there were a number of things that stood out. From the viewpoint of the villagers, there were three concepts that I could gather around local ownership: the idea of investing resources, or giving up resources on a short-term basis in order to reap longer term benefits. This involved giving up land, money, materials, time and, labour so they could attain benefits such as roads, irrigation channels, pipe-siphons etc. Another important concept was the part that encompassed respect, in several aspects. It involved the feeling of mutual respect between AKRSP and the VOs, as well as expressed demands that any other organization that wanted to work with them should follow their values and treat them respectfully. As the last dimension, there was a sentiment of pride. This entailed pride of being Balti, of their culture and the achieve-



ments they could do together with other Baltis, i.e. AKRSP. This aspect was also expressed as a willingness to exit anything they were not satisfied with.

As for the employees of AKRSP, there were convergence with the observed categories, and additionally the employees put weight in initiative as an important attribute of local ownership.

5.6 Selective Coding

By being able to identify these overlying concepts, I could continue coding selectively for them, and kept adding subcategories to these, and a model soon emerged. I used FreeMind to conceptualize these categories, and present them in the following figure. In the next chapter, I will discuss the singular concepts of this model, as these are the ones that emerged as the core categories of the attributes of local ownership. I will also outline and explain the sub-categories related to them.



5.7 Final Models Local Ownership

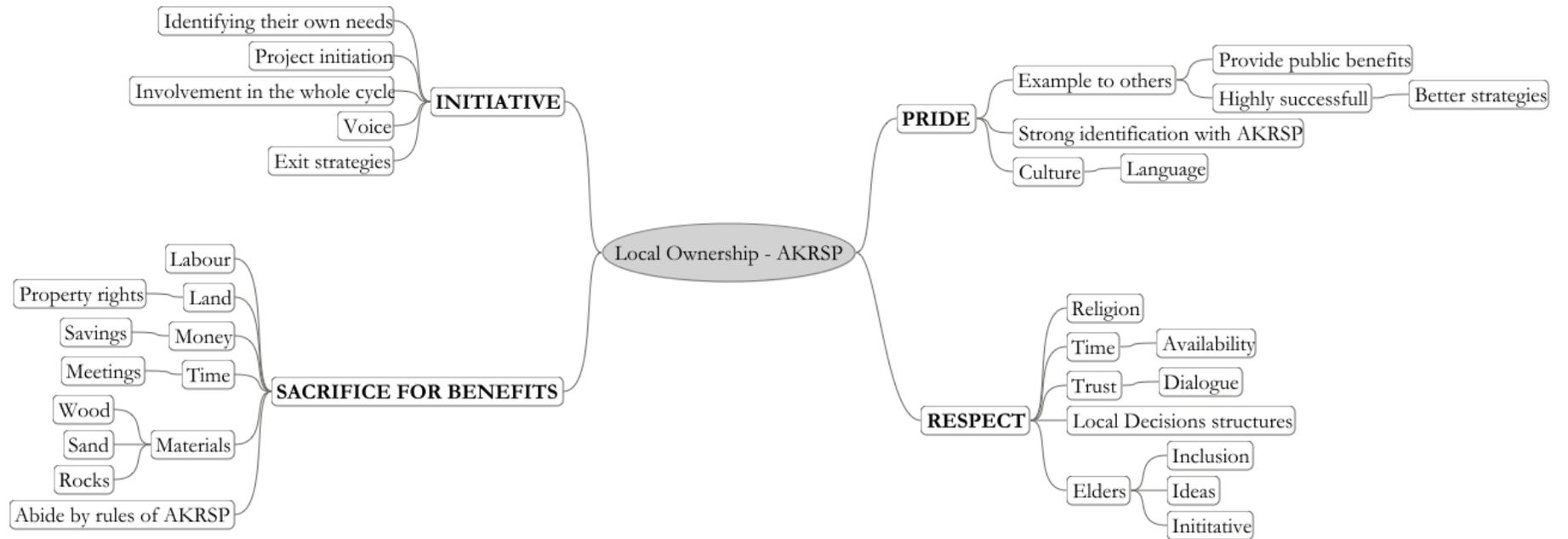


Figure 5.2: Attributes of local ownership, AKRSP

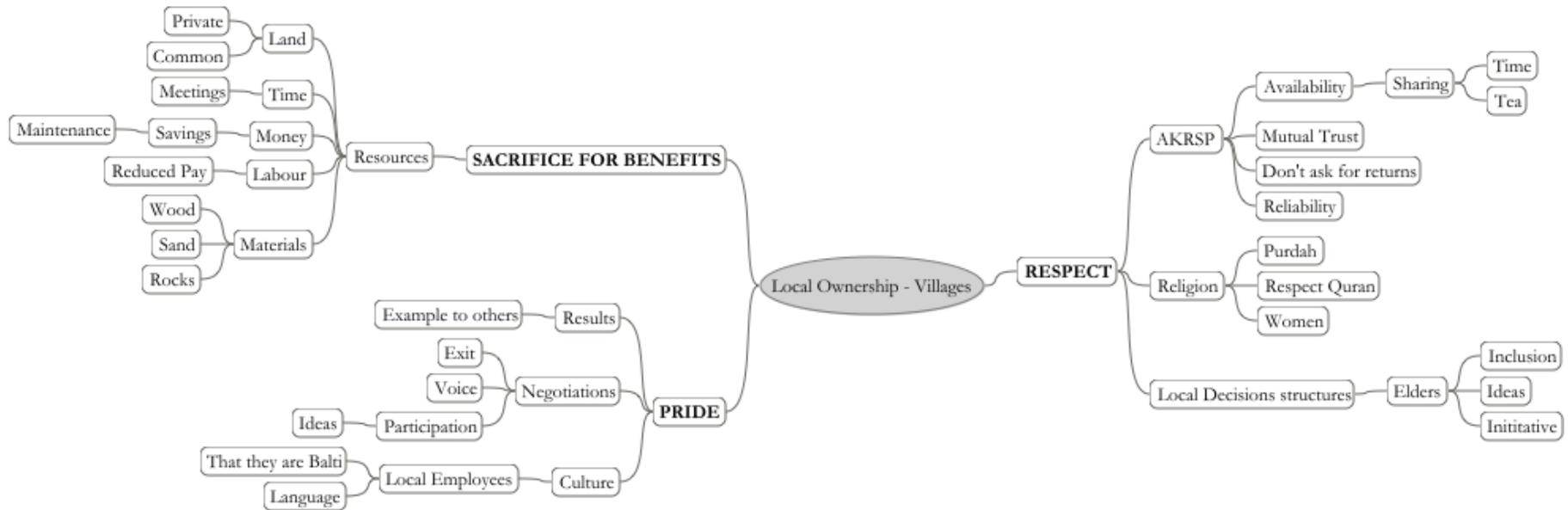


Figure 5.3: Attributes of local ownership, villages



Chapter 6

The Attributes of Local Ownership – A Substantive Theory

In this chapter, I will discuss the core categories that emerged as the attributes to local ownership, and what they encompass. These core categories are pivoting around “local ownership” and give the term a deeper meaning.

6.1 The model of Local Ownership

As shown, by figures 5.2 and 5.3 in the previous chapter, a set of categories that define the attributes of what local ownership is emerged, grounded in the interviews conducted with staff of AKRSP and in the nine separate villages. This may be considered a substantive theory.

I will outline these by first focusing on the three core categories that are common for both AKRSP and the village-level, pointing out the similarities and what differs in the respective categories. Finally, I will focus on the core category that I found in AKRSP and not in the villages, the category called “initiative”.

6.2 First Core Category: Sacrifice for Benefits

This category is an abstraction of actions that incur some form of sacrifice in order to reach a future pay-off or a future benefit. In both cases, the sacrifice is important in order to feel more ownership and more identification with the process of reaching the final goal of project completion and benefits for the individual or the community. From the way that AKRSP works, they expect local communities to contribute with the resources they have available. The “sacrifice” leads to a stronger sense of commitment to the maintenance of projects after AKRSP finalizes their support period. This sense of sacrifice also increases the sense of mutuality and joint effort in the projects, avoiding the sense of receiving handouts from someone else. The sacrifice takes several forms, the main concept being sacrifice of resources, in varied forms. A further description follows below:



6.2.1 Sacrifice in the Forms of Resources:

6.2.1.1 Time

This form of sacrifice takes form of time spent travelling back and forth from the village to the offices of AKRSP, waiting to meet the managers of AKRSP and the time spent discussing with them. It can also be time spent negotiating internally in the village about what types of projects they want and the organising of it. The sacrifice of time, means that time, which could have been spent on other activities, is selected away. The sacrifice of this time is done in order to reap longer term benefits. This concept of sacrifice is present both with AKRSP and with the communities

6.2.1.2 Land

The sacrifice of land resources entails giving up common or private land in for longer-term benefits. Examples of this are using common land for plantations, roads, irrigation channels, or giving up land to other villages as a payment for water rights from the other village. As opposed to other NGO's and the government, AKRSP also demands that land is not monetary compensated, meaning that both individual owners and private owners have to voluntarily agree to give up land to common projects for other future benefits. This concept also relates to both AKRSP and project communities.

6.2.1.3 Money

As a part of the VO, the village provides savings for future incurred costs for maintenance. This sacrifice is expected of AKRSP, and endorsed by the respondents in the communities. In this way, they put away money to insure future benefits are maintained. These savings schemes are also endorsed and supported in villages, to the sense that it represents something "of their own", i.e. that is possible to use to maintain projects.

6.2.1.4 Labour

The communities supply labour at a daily rate, which is 30% lower than the usual going daily rate for labour. The VO and AKRSP record the man-hours of labour, and the foregone salaries are calculated and included as a part of the investments made in the project. In this way, the VO will have a proof of the monetary investment they have made in the project, valued at the foregone



income. Implications of this include that the VO and its members are sacrificing an income, and investing not only the lost salaries, but also their own labour in the projects. This enhances the identification and the sense having a part in the project. This concept is also present within AKRSP and the project communities.

6.2.1.5 Materials

By supplying the materials the village has, in the form of sand, rocks, stone, gravel, timber, or other necessary items, the village is also supplying a resource that is quantified in monetary terms. This is recorded in the overall project plan, and makes the village feel that they have contributed significantly to the overall project. The sense of having used own materials in physical structures also increases the identification with the project.

6.2.2 AKRSP

6.2.2.1 Abiding rules of AKRSP

For AKRSP, an important matter is that villages also respects and abides by the rules that they have for the cooperation. In this sense, villagers are expected from AKRSP to follow a set of procedures and regulations in the cooperation. This entails the formation of VOs, to formalize decision structures, to make resolutions that the majority of the village agrees with and to elect a project committee that oversees the project implementation. By labelling this as a sacrifice, it is meant to symbolize actions that are commonly used in the village and then formalized, in order to attain future benefits. In addition, by doing this, AKRSP recognizes the VOs as capable and responsible – this again increases mutual respect and the commitment to the projects.

6.3 Second Core Category: Pride

This category is an abstraction of several aspects related to the attitudes projected outwards to the surroundings regarding to projects. First, I will discuss the concept of pride related to the village level, then to AKRSP



6.3.1 Villages

6.3.1.1 Results

The concept of pride over the results that the village has achieved is very much present. In the interviews, the issue of finishing before schedule would come up, or that the village had reached a result according to budget and according to the plan. The attainment of a goal and is a source of pride, and a unifying concept as such. Additionally, there is also a pride in the sense that they are able to show others what they have done – i.e. that the projects were examples to other communities.

6.3.1.2 Negotiations

This concept includes the pride of conducting internal negotiations in the community, and being in the driver's seat when it came to making decisions and resolutions. In the negotiations, most would say that it was possible for everyone within the village to participate and express their opinions, and that all suggestions would be discussed before settling for the best one. It also included the process of negotiating with AKRSP, and the sense of being on an equal footing. Additionally, the villagers also expressed strong tendencies for using voice vis-à-vis AKRSP; if there was anything, they were dissatisfied with, even to the point of using exit as a solution if something was not to the village's satisfaction.

6.3.1.3 Culture

The culture part of pride is connected to the fact that most of AKRSP's staff are from Baltistan, and that they speak the language, know the cultural codes, and have extensive social networks in the region. This increases the connection between the communities and AKRSP, and the communities express pride over this fact. This makes the communities feel a sense of having an ally, due to the cultural connection. This also reciprocated by staff, where the cultural identification makes it easier to work with the local communities.

6.3.2 AKRSP

There was also a sentiment of pride to find in the interviews view the staff at AKRSP. This pride consisted of three different concepts. I will now outline these.



6.3.2.1 Identification with AKRSP

Among the staff, there seemed to be a high degree of identification with AKRSP and the ideology behind it. This identification came across in different forms, either as in explaining the reasons for working there, as making the choice to remain in the organization and not seeking better paid positions other places, to expressing strong pride in the results that AKRSP has had in Baltistan. It also included pride over the approach of AKRSP, with the process of ongoing dialogues before project commencement.

6.3.2.2 Culture

The element of cultural confluence is also present in AKRSP. This concept includes the sentiment that the cultural closeness among the staff and the communities makes it possible to act on behalf of the communities outwards to donors and external institutions. The common cultural identity also makes it important for staff to “be there” and work for the better of the communities.

6.3.2.3 Example to others

AKRSP’s projects are successful, and as such an example to others. By being an organization with a successful approach that stands out, staffs feels pride about this. The concept of having better approaches than e.g. the government was also a source of pride. By bringing public benefits and furthering development in the area, they also felt a sense of pride due to this.

6.4 Third Core Category: Respect

The issue of respect in many forms clearly stood out as important during interviews. I have outlined the different concepts related to respect below.

6.4.1 Villages

6.4.1.1 Towards AKRSP

In the villages, there was a very strong sense of respect towards AKRSP, in the sense that they experienced an availability of the staff, and openness in discussions with AKRSP. The symbolic gestures of not keeping villagers waiting, of offering tea, and keeping appointments made members of the different communities feel that AKRSP was “on their side”, and respecting them.



The contrasting behaviour would be as many describe receiving in government offices: being kept waiting, treated rudely and not offered tea. Concepts of prestige and generosity are valued in the communities, and being treated in a polite, hospitable manner earns respect and cooperation. This issue stands out because it generates positive attitudes to AKRSP and the work they do. At first, it might seem simplistic to include “tea” as a concept, but it involves a lot more than just a cup of tea. As such, I found it very illustrating to include.

Expressions of mutual trust are also centred around this core category: the mutual trust built up due to long and persistent work, of the consistency in the work AKRSP has done, and in the sharing of knowledge, and support to the whole of Baltistan. There were some that mentioned an initial scepticism to AKRSP, due to the Ismaili background of the organization, from the early start, but as time went on AKRSP has earned respect and trust with the communities.¹⁹

An interesting issue concerning the link between respect and ownership of projects is the expression of AKRSP not demanding any returns from the villagers for the work they are doing. This “generosity” from AKRSP earns respect, and builds the foundations for feeling stronger linked to the project from the village side.

6.4.1.2 Respect for Local Decision Structures

Another element of the respect category was the vocal expression of the need to respect the communities’ traditional decision structures. This included the need to approach elders, religious scholars, and persons of social influence in order to gain access to cooperation and to present ideas of initiatives. By inclusion of these, the respect and cooperation will increase. This process is important to communities, and is placed as a concept grouped around respect. Showing respect to these decision structures is also showing respect to the whole community.

¹⁹ Worth mentioning here is Nyborg’s observations on the same issue. It is contrasting with the impression I had from my fieldwork: “The Shi’a population in Skardu (the majority sect in Baltistan) is generally suspicious of AKRSP’s connection to the Ismaili sect (led by Prince Aga Khan, currently residing in Paris), - they are thus not totally convinced that AKRSP is supporting Shia interests. This is despite the fact that the majority of staff of AKRSP Baltistan are, in fact, Shi’a Muslims.” Nyborg, I. (2002). *Yours today, mine tomorrow? : a study of women and men's negotiations over resources in Baltistan, Pakistan*. Noragric PhD dissertation ; no. 1. Ås, Norwegian University of Life Sciences Noragric. VIII, 250 s. p.



6.4.1.3 Respect for Religion

Another concept that might be interlinked with the previous sub-concept is that of religion. Still, I chose to specify it on its own due to the prominence it has in the communities. Within this, there are a series of concepts that the communities feel should be respected in order for any outsider to gain access to their cooperation. The concepts of “halal” and “haram” – i.e. allowed and not allowed due to religious causes – are central issues²⁰. This also, according to the respondents in the villages, includes the respect for women and *purdah*²¹. The respect then takes the form of male outsiders having difficulty in interacting with the women of the village²² without the presence or consent of male members of the community.

6.4.2 Respect in AKRSP

Broadly speaking, the concepts grouped around the core category respect pivots around the same issues. The respect and inclusion of elders and the local decision structures, the importance of spending time being available to the representatives of the communities, taking care to show respect in the form of serving tea, as well as respecting religion.

6.5 Fourth Core Category: Taking Initiative. Core Category Derived from AKRSP

This category emerged during AKRSP staff dialogue. This is an abstraction of activities related to communities being willing to take initiative towards AKRSP and other external institutions.

The concepts grouped under this category are the following:

²⁰ If any activities are deemed unislamic or immoral, Islamic scholars may issue a *fatwa* [a religious decree] against the activities or the organization responsible for them. According to Nyborg, there was a “(...) fatwa issued against the Aga Khan Rural Support Program, apparently due to their credit program, which was accused of charging interest (deemed unislamic), as well as their women’s program, which was seen as promoting improper behaviour by local women”. Ibid.

²¹ “Purdah’ refers to the Muslim practice of seclusion, where women are separated from men either spatially (boundary walls, restrictions on movements) or through the use of clothing, most commonly the veil. In Sultanabad [in the Basha-valley in Baltistan, where Nyborg did her fieldwork], purdah takes the form of women wearing a chador, or large shawl, covering their heads and body to varying degrees depending on the context, and restrictions on women’s movements and interaction with male strangers.” Nyborg, I. (2002). *Yours today, mine tomorrow? : a study of women and men's negotiations over resources in Baltistan, Pakistan*. Noragric PhD dissertation ; no. 1. Ås, Norwegian University of Life Sciences Noragric. VIII, 250 s. p.

²² On a personal note, I experienced that it was not possible to conduct any interviews with women in any of the villages. Suggestions that I was interested in doing so were very politely ignored or denied.



6.5.1 Identifying Needs

This concept is about letting the communities themselves define the needs they have locally, in order for projects to be more successful. From the identifying of needs, and prioritising between them, a core need will surface. Pivoting around this, communities will be more successful in planning and implementing projects.

6.5.2 Project Initiation

Based on the idea above, the initial ideas for projects should come from the communities themselves. The initiation should be centred in the communities, based in their self-defined needs.

6.5.3 Involvement the Whole Cycle; Voice and Exit

This concept involves that the community should also *keep* the initiative during the whole project cycle, being involved all the time. This also entails being able to and willing to express themselves in the partnership with an external support organization, using voice. The project communities should also take the initiative to use exit strategies if they are dissatisfied with the cooperation.

6.6 Summary

In this chapter, I have explained the core categories that emerged from the process of interviews in the villages and in AKRSP. The three categories that emerged were “Sacrifice for Benefits”, Initiative” and “Pride”. For AKRSP another core category emerged, “Initiative”. I therefore conclude that there is a large degree of confluence between the two different groups, but that the data from AKRSP generated another extra category.

These core categories and their sub-categories can function as attributes to “local ownership” to give it a deeper meaning. By doing so, I have made a tentative substantive model of the concept of Local Ownership, related to a specific empirical area of inquiry.



Chapter 7

Literature Comparison

The purpose of making a literature comparison after doing an orthodox grounded theory research, “is to locate any contribution to the existing literature” (Kriflik 2002). In the case of this thesis, it is to see if any new insights on the topic of local ownership are generated, or if there are overlaps of the existing theory. It is not possible or desirable to make a full coverage of the literature available (*ibid*); it should be the emergent theory that directs the literature comparison.

This chapter will make a brief introduction to the topic local ownership, move on to a literature overview, and then present definitions on local ownership. From there, a comparison will be made between the findings and the definitions, as well as with other relevant literature.

7.1 Introduction

The starting point for discussing local ownership is to look briefly at the term “ownership” itself.

Usually, ownership is considered to have exclusive access to, and control over a property. This property may be intellectual, land/buildings or any kind of other objects, e.g. cars, books, bicycles, computers etc. Most societies have the concept of ownership, but the objects that are possible to own have changed over time. Since “ownership” also is related to control, there is a psychological aspect in having ownership as well (Vestbø 2003).

In the development discourse, the term ownership does not have the “conventional meaning, i.e., rights of exclusive possession” (Saxeby 2003). Instead, it may refer to “relations among stakeholders in development, and especially their capacity, power or influence to set and take responsibility for a development agenda” (*ibid*), or the “acceptance of responsibility through the process of stakeholder participation, empowerment and consensus” (Singh 2002).

The amount of literature on local ownership is not very large, compared to the frequency the term is being used with in the development discourse (Saxeby 2003). As of now, there is no clear and unambiguous definition of what local ownership really is, but there are several approaches with some degree of confluence. Policymakers, international institutions, and donor organizations generate the main parts of the available literature, not academic research. The following table gives a brief overview of the main body of literature on local ownership.



		Ambro (2006)	(Dante 2002)	(Dijkstra 2002)	(Gunning 2000)	(Helleiner 2000)	(Helleiner 2002)	(Johnson & Wasy 1993)	(Lavergne 2002)	(Lavergne 2003)	(Lopes, Malik & Fukuda-Parr 2002)	(Lopes & Thiesohn 2003)	(Molund 2000)	(Moore 1996)	(Morgan & Baser 1993)	(OECD 1996)	(Oxfam Canada/ Québec 2003)	(Ribeiro 2002)	(Saxoby 2003)	(Sobhan 2002)	Singh 2002
1. Def. of LO?	Yes	X			X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X				X	X	X	X	X
	No		X	X	X		X	X	X	X		X		X	X	X		X	X		
2. Method	Qualitative			X		X					X	X				X	X				X
	Quantitative				X	X						X	X								
	Inductive	X																			
	Literature overview		X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X				X	X	X	
	Policy Statement														X						
3. Type of Document	Conference paper		X	X	X				X										X		
	Book									X	X						X				
	Evaluation			X			X				X	X									
	Discussion paper							X													
	Academic Journal			X		X														X	
	Policy Paper													X	X						
4. Level	Macro (North-South)		X	X		X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X			X	X	X	
Meso (Nat'l/Reg'l)									X	X	X	X			X	X	X			X	
Micro (Project)	X										X				X	X					
5. Perspective	North/Donor		X	X		X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
	South/Recipient	X								X	X	X	X			X	X				X
6. Topics	Partnership				X		X				X	X		X	X		X	X	X	X	X
	Aid Effectiveness		X	X	X	X	X	X			X	X	X							X	
	Conditionality		X		X		X						X	X						X	
	Ownership/Local Ownership	X				X					X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X		X
	Democracy																X				
	"Bundle of Rights"								X				X					X			
7. View	Instrumentalist	X	X	X	X	X	X	X						X	X					X	
	Intrinsically	X							X	X	X	X	X				X				X

Explanation: 1: Does it have any definition of local ownership? 2: What method is used in the paper? 3.: What type of document is it? 4.: What level of ownership is the paper talking about? 5: Does it have a South/North perspective, i.e. Does it originate from North or South? 6.: What topics is the main themes? 7.: Does it view LO intrinsically or instrumentally?

Table 7.1: Overview of Literature on Local Ownership

7.1.1 Overview of Literature on Local Ownership and Ownership.

- 1: Definition
 - There are a few of the writers that define ownership or local ownership (see table). Those who do include a definition are included in table 7.2.
- 2. Methods
 - Regarding the methods, there are no studies examining what local ownership is, from a grassroots level. That is, except this thesis.
- 3. Type of Document
 - Most of the articles are normative, policy documents, conference papers, books, or evaluations. They are all of course interested in investigating the nature and



necessity of ownership, but avoids grounding this in real life research. The only studies based in true work in the field, gathering data are in fact Johnson & Wasty (1993) and Helleiner (2002). Johnson & Wasty were mainly focused on borrower ownership in relation to loans from the World Bank, and as such was more concerned about ownership at a policy level. Helleiner bases his statement on local ownership on research on donor performance monitoring in Tanzania.

- 4./5. Level and Perspective
 - Most papers are focused on the perspective from the North, based in the views expressed in north, explaining why local ownership is important, without including voices from the south, letting them express what is important to succeed in development projects. The perspective is mainly macro (international) and meso (national and regional). The only papers that deals directly with project level ownership is Oxfam (2003), a case study from Horn of Africa, and Moore (1996), which writings are applicable at any level of cooperation or project. The same goes for Molund (2000), whose writings too are applicable for a South-perspective and micro/macro/meso level. Ribeiro (2002) is also concerned more about a South-perspective, and a meso/level.
- 6. Topics
 - Showing the main topic local ownership is related to in the article. The categories Aid Effectiveness, Conditionality, Partnership are most used.
- 7. Views:
 - States whether the perspective is instrumentalist or intrinsic – if ownership is a mean or a goal in itself.



7.1.2 Definitions of Local Ownership

OVERVIEW ON DEFINITIONS OF OWNERSHIP AND LOCAL OWNERSHIP	
(AUTHOR(S), YEAR)	DEFINITION
(Helleiner 2000)	(...) local ownership is understood by this author [Helleiner] to involve the widest possible participation of those who are supposed to be the beneficiaries. The essence of ownership is that the recipients drive the process. They drive the planning, the design, the implementation, the monitoring, and the evaluation.
(Singh 2002)	"[ownership] is acceptance of responsibility through the process of stakeholder participation, empowerment and consensus".
(Johnson & Wasty 1993)	i.) Analytic framework for evaluating ownership. Ownership as a four dimensional independent variable. Each variable has four levels of intensity, and together the four dimensions can be used to measure degree of ownership. <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Locus of initiative b. Level of intellectual conviction among key policymakers c. Expression of political will by top leadership d. Efforts toward consensus-building among various constituencies
(Lopes, Malik & Fukuda-Parr 2002)	(...) full control of the initial idea by the national agent; control of the resources assigned to capacity development, through their integration in national processes; and clear national agent decision-making power over the process.
(Molund 2000)	"ownership" of projects or activities (...) <i>goes further than the legal definition of ownership., the partner [owner] must have full rights to use the resources provided within the framework laid down in the project agreement.</i> But this is not enough. <i>The co-operation partner must also be prepared to assume full responsibility, participate actively in the work, and be ready to implement the project on its own initiative.</i> Complete ownership can also require that political bodies, such as parliament, the government, local communities, as well as the target group support the project and participate in decision-making processes. Different parties successively participating more actively and assuming greater responsibility can gradually extend the ownership of a project during the course of project implementation response to the idea of evaluating Sida-supported programmes <i>The "ownership" of development therefore varies between different levels and areas, from government policy to various aspects of a project. Ownership can also lie with different groups of people. A government can own the long-term policy decisions in a sector of society while a regional administration or trade association can own the decision to start a project and to implement it. People living in a village, members of a farmers' society, or a group of small businessmen can assume "popular" ownership as regards how a credit project is to be organised and to function.</i>
(Ribeiro 2002)	<i>Development creates two kinds of subjects, one active, and the other passive.</i> <i>Passive-subjects are people transformed as objects of development mandates - forced resettlement represents the extreme case. Ownership will hardly occur, if at all. Local actors are frequently confronted with the odd options of either establishing patron-client relationships with developmentalist outsiders, or struggling to regain control over their lives and environments. In fact, such passive-subjects are prone to resist development, since they relate to its most authoritarian face.</i> <i>However, development also creates active-subjects. The agents of development are local</i>



	<p><i>people who are likely to become allies of development initiatives because they can identify benefits and interests they have in common with outsiders.</i></p> <p>The existence of these two kinds of subjects shows that ownership of development initiatives depends heavily on two variables differently distributed within the development drama.</p> <p><i>One is access to power, to being able to control one's own environment and to avoid being the object of outsiders' will or of the imperatives of structural, faceless, expansionist forces. The other is access to knowledge and information that enables actors to understand what is happening and, more importantly, what will happen to them.</i></p> <p>Resistance or participation are the results of the ways these variables are combined. <i>Self-confidence and ownership can thrive only where actors feel they have power over their environment.</i></p> <p>There are two current modes of generating active/passive-subjects and of dealing with them. The top-down approach tends to create passive-subjects. This authoritarian mode is based on networks that co-opt local elites, establish no compensatory policies for those impacted by projects, and have no preoccupation with local models and cultures. The bottom-up approach intends to create active-subjects and is more ownership-friendly. This participatory mode turns out to be an attempt to compensate for the structural loss of power that characterizes the relations between local populations and outsiders when a project is initiated. Participation and partnership become buzzwords that cannot mask the fact that everyone in the development drama knows where ultimate decision-making power is located. It is true that this mode is more sensitive to local cultures and models, including indigenous models of management</p>
(Moore 1996)	<p>local ownership is high when</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> i. intended beneficiaries substantially influence the conception, design, implementation, and review of development strategies; ii. implementing agencies are rooted in the recipient country and represent the interests of ordinary citizens; iii. there is transparency and accountability among the various stakeholders.

Table 7.2: Definitions of Ownership and Local Ownership

7.2 Comparing what?

According to Kriflik (2002), the literature comparison should mainly take place *after* the research, in order to avoid pre conceptions and to delimit the literature review to “prepare a more informed literature comparison” (Glaser, 1992, 1998 in Kriflik 2002).

After introducing the main body of literature on local ownership in both the opening chapter and here in chapter 7, I will conduct a limited analysis with relation to the definitions and concepts presented in table 7.2, using the outline for the substantive model presented in chapter six as the guiding outline.



7.3 The Model of Local Ownership

By setting up tables and placing the core characteristics of the findings in this thesis (Ambro 2006) with the relevant literature, I will point out similarities or differences according to the definitions given in sub chapter 7.1.2.



7.3.1 First Core Category: Sacrifice for Benefits

STUDY/THEORY	DESCRIPTION
(Ambro 2006)	<p>This category is an abstraction of actions that incur some form of sacrifice in order to reach a future pay-off or benefit. In both cases, the sacrifice is important in order to feel more ownership and more identification with the process of reaching the final goal of project completion and benefits for the individual or the community. From the way that AKRSP works, they expect local communities to contribute with the resources they have available. The “sacrifice” leads to a stronger sense of commitment to the maintenance of projects after AKRSP finalizes their support period. This sense of sacrifice also increases the sense of mutuality and joint effort in the projects, avoiding the sense of receiving handouts from someone else. The sacrifice takes several forms, the main concept being sacrifice of resources, in varied forms: privately or commonly owned land, materials, money, labour and time. The concept of giving land to a common good creates strong identification for the project.</p> <p>For AKRSP, an important matter is that villages also respects and abides by the rules that they have for the cooperation. In this sense, villagers are expected from AKRSP to follow a set of procedures and regulations in the cooperation. This entails the formation of VOs, to formalize decision structures, to make resolutions that the majority of the village agrees with and to elect a project committee that oversees the project implementation. By labelling this as a sacrifice, it is meant to symbolize actions that are commonly used in the village and then formalized and institutionalized, in order to attain future benefits. In addition, by doing this, AKRSP recognizes the VOs as capable and responsible – this again increases mutual respect and the commitment to the projects</p>
(Molund 2000)	<p><i>The co-operation partner must also be prepared to assume full responsibility, participate actively in the work, and be ready to implement the project on its own initiative.</i></p>
(Ribeiro 2002)	<p><i>However, development also creates active-subjects. The agents of development are local people who are likely to become allies of development initiatives because they can identify benefits and interests they have in common with outsiders.</i></p> <p>The bottom-up approach intends to create active-subjects and is more ownership-friendly. This participatory mode turns out to be an attempt to compensate for the structural loss of power that characterizes the relations between local populations and outsiders when a project is initiated.</p>
(Singh 2002)	<p>“[ownership] is acceptance of responsibility through the process of stakeholder participation, empowerment and consensus”.</p>
(Moore 1996)	<p>Local ownership is high when i. intended beneficiaries substantially influence the conception, design, implementation, and review of development strategies;</p>
Conclusion	<p>There are overlapping results from the thesis and the literature mentioned by Molund (2000) and Ribeiro (2002). “Sacrifice” may be seen parallel to the participation in the work on projects, as well as “be ready to assume full responsibility” (Molund 2000). In the passage from Ribeiro (2002), there is concordance with the position of actively using sacrifice with the approach of creating active- subjects, where the local people become agents of development, due to work and identification of future benefits. This bottom up approach is meant to create active-subjects, and seem to be able to do so. This also applies for the approach of formalizing the existing structures of cooperation and decision-making in the village. As with the definition from Singh (2002), the process of defining needs, and building consensus for projects, like giving up land for a greater good, falls clearly within the findings of this study. So do Moore’s (1996) postulates about intended beneficiaries influencing the process of development strategies. The conclusion is that there are several interesting overlaps between existing literature shown here and in the findings in the study, and that this strengthens the theory just listed.</p>

Table 7.3: Comparison "Core Category Sacrifice for Benefit with Literature



7.3.2 Second Core Category: Pride

STUDY/THEORY	DESCRIPTION
(Ambro 2006)	<p><i>Villages:</i> The concept of pride over the results that the village has achieved is very much present in the interviews, the issue of finishing before schedule would come up, and that the village had reached a result according to budget and according to the plan. The attainment of a goal and is a source of pride, and a unifying concept as such. Additionally, there is also a pride in the sense that they are able to show others what they have done – i.e. that the projects were examples to other communities.</p> <p><i>Negotiations</i> This concept includes the pride of conducting internal negotiations in the community, and being in the driver's seat when it came to making decisions and resolutions. It also included the process of negotiating with AKRSP, and the sense of being on an equal footing.</p> <p><i>Culture</i> The culture part of pride is connected to the fact that most of AKRSP's staff are from Baltistan, and that they speak the language, know the cultural codes, and have extensive social networks in the region.</p> <p><i>AKRSP Staff:</i> Among the staff, there seemed to be a high degree of identification with AKRSP and the ideology behind it. This identification came across in different forms, either as in explaining the reasons for working there, as making the choice to remain in the organization and not seeking better paid positions other places, to expressing strong pride in the results that AKRSP has had in Baltistan.</p> <p><i>Culture</i> The element of cultural confluence is also present in AKRSP. This concept includes the sentiment that the cultural closeness among the staff and the communities makes it possible to act on behalf of the communities outwards to donors and external institutions</p> <p><i>Example to others</i> AKRSP's projects are successful, and as such an example to others. By being an organization with a successful approach that stands out, staffs feels pride about this. The concept of having better approaches than e.g. the government was also a source of pride. By bringing public benefits and furthering development in the area, they also felt a sense of pride due to this.</p>
(Ribeiro 2002)	<p><i>Development creates two kinds of subjects, one active, and the other passive.</i></p> <p><i>However, development also creates active-subjects. The agents of development are local people who are likely to become allies of development initiatives because they can identify benefits and interests they have in common with outsiders.</i></p> <p>The existence of these two kinds of subjects shows that ownership of development initiatives depends heavily on two variables differently distributed within the development drama.</p> <p>One is access to power, to being able to control one's own environment and to avoid being the object of outsiders' will or of the imperatives of structural, faceless, expansionist forces. <i>The other is access to knowledge and information that enables actors to understand what is happening and, more importantly, what will happen to them.</i></p> <p>Resistance or participation is the results of the ways these variables are combined. <i>Self-confidence and ownership can thrive only where actors feel they have power over their environment.</i></p>
(Singh 2002)	<p>[ownership] is acceptance of responsibility through the process of stakeholder participation, empowerment and consensus”.</p>



(Moore 1996)	ii. implementing agencies are rooted in the recipient country and represent the interests of ordinary citizens;
Conclusion	<p>There are some overlapping fields in the results from the thesis concerning pride, and the writings of Moore (1996) and Ribeiro (2002). In Moore's case, the closeness is in the fact that he states that implementing agencies are rooted in the recipient country, and represents the interests of ordinary citizens. This is largely what is expressed by AKRSP staff and the villages. That the cultural confluence is strong, and that it brings them closer, and is very important in the mutual work they do. The degree of identification seems high, and has relevance to Moore (1996). In Ribeiro's case, it is the angle of active-subjects that is interesting, in the sense that the villagers feel an access to co-power, by the participatory process, and by the cultural confluence of the staff and themselves. In the case of Singh's definition, there is a confluence in the use of empowerment, participation, and consensus. The villagers feel that they participate, and that they have the power to use exit strategies, as well as they are responsible for reaching a consensus in the village. At the same time, it is well worth noting, that the sense of pride is closely linked to Balti culture. According to Aqil (2004), it is interestingly enough a strong dishonour for family and relatives if anyone is not finishing his or hers work or tasks on time.</p> <p>There is a large degree of confluence, nevertheless, there seem to be a gap in the theory regarding the importance of pride and cultural closeness, and this divide should be addressed in further research.</p>

Table 7.4: Comparison Core Category Pride with Literature



7.3.3 Third Core Category: Respect

STUDY/THEORY	DESCRIPTION
(Ambro 2006)	<p>In the villages, there was a very strong sense of respect towards AKRSP in the sense that they experienced an availability of the staff, and an openness in discussions with AKRSP. The symbolic gestures of not keeping villagers waiting, of offering tea, and keeping appointments made members of the different communities feel that AKRSP was “on their side”, and respecting them. The contrasting behaviour would be as many describe receiving in government offices: being kept waiting, treated rudely and not offered tea. Concepts of prestige and generosity are valued in the communities, and being treated in a polite, hospitable manner earns respect and cooperation. This issue stands out because it generates positive attitudes to AKRSP and the work they do. At first, it might seem simplistic to include “tea” as a concept, but it involves a lot more than just a cup of tea. It is a symbolic interaction that carries deeper implications and meanings. As such, I found it very illustrating to include.</p> <p>Expressions of mutual trust are also centred around this core category: the mutual trust built up due to long and persistent work, of the consistency in the work AKRSP has done, and in the sharing of knowledge, and support to the whole of Baltistan. There were some that mentioned an initial scepticism to AKRSP, due to the Ismaili background of the organization, from the early start, but as time went on AKRSP has earned respect and trust with the communities.</p> <p>An interesting issue concerning the link between respect and ownership of projects is the expression of AKRSP <i>not demanding any returns from the villagers for the work they are doing</i>. This “generosity” from AKRSP earns respect, and builds the foundations for feeling stronger linked to the project from the village side.</p> <p>Another element of the respect category was the vocal expression of the need to respect the communities’ traditional decision structures. This included the need to approach elders, religious scholars, and persons of social influence in order to gain access to cooperation and to present ideas of initiatives. By inclusion of these, the respect and cooperation will increase. This process is important to communities, and is placed as a concept grouped around respect. Showing respect to these decision structures is also showing respect to the whole community</p> <p>Another concept that might be interlinked with the previous sub-concept is that of religion. Still, I chose to specify it own its own due to the prominence it has in the communities. Within this, there are a series of concepts that the communities feel should be respected in order for any outsider to gain access to their cooperation. The concept of “halal” and “haram” – i.e. allowed and not allowed due to religious causes – is a central issue. This also, according to the respondents in the villages, includes the respect for women and purdah. The respect then takes the form of male outsiders having difficulty in interacting with the women of the village without the presence and consent of male members of the community.</p>
Conclusion	<p>Interestingly enough, there seem to be very little overlap with the existing literature and the importance of social interaction and symbolism related to this. The sentiments among the respondents from the villages were clear in the sense that the respect generated from this interaction was high. The same was also with the fact that AKRSP did not ask for returns from their work with the villagers. This as also mentioned as a respectful thing to do and a thing that made the respondents feel that they had even more ownership to the projects. The fact that AKRSP demands village consensus and investment in form of labour or other resources are thus not seen as something that AKRSP is demanding for AKRSP, but an investment for the sole benefit of the villagers. In an abstract form, these actions are any actions that can generate respect and mutual trust with the population that is going to participate in a project.</p> <p>For a brief discussion of this, I turn to Aqil’s thesis from 2004, where she writes about prestige and concept of generosity (Aqil 2004:48). She writes “Prestige, self-esteem, hospitality and generosity are symbolic values in the community life (...) people give value to these actions. One</p>



	<p>who (...) provide work and assistance and share the burden of work are highly praised and respected among the community”. Due to lack of support from government, long periods of isolation and difficult infrastructure, a wide web of social networks for reciprocal support has emerged. The issues of respect and respectful interaction should be looked even more closely into.</p>
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Table 7.5: Comparison Core Category Respect with Literature



7.3.4 Fourth Core Category: Taking Initiative. Core Category Derived from AKRSP

STUDY/THEORY	DESCRIPTION
(Ambro 2006)	<p>This category emerged during AKRSP staff dialogue. This is an abstraction of activities related to staff wanting communities to take initiative towards AKRSP and other external institutions</p> <p>This concept is about <i>letting the communities themselves define the needs they have locally</i>, in order for projects to be more successful. From the identifying of needs, and prioritising between them, a core need will surface. Pivoting around this, communities will be more successful in planning and implementing projects</p> <p>Project Initiation Based on the idea above, the initial ideas for projects should come from the communities themselves. <i>The initiation should be centred in the communities, based in their self-defined needs.</i></p> <p>Involvement the Whole Cycle; Voice and Exit This concepts involves that the community should also keep the initiative during the whole project cycle, being involved all the time. This also entails being able to and willing to express them-selves in the partnership with an external support organization, using voice. The project communities should also take the initiative to use exit strategies if they are dissatisfied with the cooperation.</p>
(Singh 2002)	[ownership] is acceptance of responsibility through the process of stakeholder participation, empowerment and consensus”.
(Moore 1996)	<p>local ownership is high when</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> intended beneficiaries substantially influence the conception, design, implementation, and review of development strategies; implementing agencies are rooted in the recipient country and represent the interests of ordinary citizens; there is transparency and accountability among the various stakeholders
(Molund 2000)	<p>“ownership” of projects or activities (...) <i>goes further than the legal definition of ownership., the partner [owner] must have full rights to use the resources provided within the framework laid down in the project agreement.</i> But this is not enough. <i>The co-operation partner must also be prepared to assume full responsibility, participate actively in the work, and be ready to implement the project on its own initiative.</i> Complete ownership can also require that political bodies, such as parliament, the government, local communities, as well as the target group support the project and participate in decision-making processes. Different parties successively participating more actively and assuming greater responsibility can gradually extend the ownership of a project during the course of project implementation response to the idea of evaluating Sida-supported programmes</p> <p><i>The “ownership” of development therefore varies between different levels and areas, from government policy to various aspects of a project. Ownership can also lie with different groups of people. A government can own the long-term policy decisions in a sector of society while a regional administration or trade association can own the decision to start a project and to implement it. People living in a village, members of a farmers’ society, or a group of small businessmen can assume “popular” ownership as regards how a credit project is to be organised and to function</i></p>
(Helleiner 2002)	(...) local ownership is understood by this author [Helleiner] to involve the widest possible participation of those who are supposed to be the beneficiaries. The essence of ownership is that the recipients drive the process. They drive the planning, the design, the implementation, the monitoring, and the evaluation.
Conclusion	There are mainly overlapping fields in this section of the study. Largely, what the staff at AKRSP connotes with local ownership, is found in the existing writings. This is interesting for several reasons. Why is there such a degree of confluence among the “donorspeak” and the organization relying on donor money? Is this because the term itself already has a degree of presence in the donor related documents?.

Table 7.6: Comparison Core Category Initiative and Literature



Chapter 8

Conclusions and Recommendations

The preceding chapter placed the substantive model of local ownership in relation to the existing literature available on the topic. This chapter will compare the aims and purpose presented in the first chapter with the outcomes of the study. The chapter will also point to some topics that may be explored in further research.

8.1 Aim and Purpose of the Study

As presented in the first chapter, the purpose of this thesis was to generate a substantive theory of local ownership related to a particular setting: development projects initiated mutually by Aga Khan Rural Support Programme and local communities in the Baltistan region of Northern Pakistan.

The aim of this thesis is to discover what local ownership is, as well as the attitudes, opinions, factors, and processes leading to it, in the development projects in Baltistan, and then present this as a substantive theory on local ownership. Additionally, the research problem was to see if there were any differences on what local ownership means to the villages and the development professionals.

This substantive theory was presented in Chapter 5 and 6, as the model of Attributes to Local Ownership. The attributes of local ownership were the three common core categories of “sacrifice for benefits” “pride” and “respect” with sub-concepts grouped around them again. Additionally, another core category was present in the staff at AKRSP, the “taking initiative”-category, that consists of expectations the staff have for to the members of the project communities. This last category was also the main difference between the two groups interviewed.

In that matter, we may conclude that the purpose of the study has been fulfilled.

Additionally, the thesis has looked at existing literature to see if there were any contributions to the existing literature on local ownership. This comparison was presented in chapter 7, and concluded that regarding the core category “sacrifice” there are overlapping results from the thesis and the literature mentioned by Molund (2000) and Ribeiro (2002). As with the definition



from Singh (2002), the process of defining needs, and building consensus for projects, like giving up land for a greater good, falls clearly within the findings of this study. So do Moore's (1996) postulate about "intended beneficiaries influencing the process of development strategies". The conclusion is that there are several interesting overlaps between existing literature shown here and in the findings in the study, and that this strengthens the theory just listed

There are some overlapping fields in the results from the thesis concerning pride, and the writings of Moore (1996) and Ribeiro (2002). In Moore's case, the closeness is in the fact that he states that implementing agencies rooted in the recipient country, and representing the interests of ordinary citizens will increase ownership. This is largely what is expressed by AKRSP staff and the villages. That the cultural confluence is strong, and that it brings them closer, and is very important in the mutual work they do. The degree of identification seems high, and has relevance to Moore (1996). In Ribeiro's case, it is the angle of active-subjects that is interesting, in the sense that the villagers feel an access to co-power, by the participatory process, and by the cultural confluence of the staff and themselves. In the case of Singh's definition, there is a confluence in the use of empowerment, participation, and consensus. The villagers feel that they participate, and that they have the power to use exit strategies, as well as they are responsible for reaching a consensus in the village. At the same time, it is well worth noting, that the pride is closely connected to Balti culture, and this probably affects the answers too.

There is a large degree of confluence, nevertheless, there seem to be a gap in the theory regarding the importance of pride and cultural closeness, and this divide should be addressed in further research.

Interestingly enough, there seem to be very little with the existing literature and the importance of respect, social interaction and symbolism related to this. The sentiments among the respondents from the villages were clear in the sense that the respect generated from this interaction was high. The same was also with the fact that AKRSP "did not ask for returns from their work with the villagers". This as also mentioned as a respectful thing to do and a thing that made the respondents feel that they had even more ownership to the projects. The fact that AKRSP demands village consensus and investment in form of labour or other resources are thus not seen as something that AKRSP is demanding for AKRSP, but an investment for the sole benefit of the villagers. In an abstract form, these specific actions (of offering tea etc) are symbolic interactions in a social setting that can generate respect and mutual trust.



For a brief discussion of this, I turn to Aqil's thesis from 2004, where she writes: She writes "Prestige, self-esteem, hospitality and generosity are symbolic values in the community life (...) people give value to these actions. One who (...) provide work and assistance and share the burden of work are highly praised and respected among the community" (Aqil 2004:48).

There are mainly overlapping fields in this section of the study. Largely, what the staff at AKRSP connotes with local ownership, is found in the existing writings referred to in Chapter 7. This is interesting for several reasons. Why is there such a degree of confluence among the "donorspeak" and the organization relying on donor money? Is this because the term itself already has a degree of presence in the donor related documents?

8.2 Significance of the Study

This thesis claims significance in the way that it is the first attempt this researcher has found that is using a grounded theory approach to define local ownership from a grass root level. This approach has generated interesting findings that are a starting point for further research into this area.

8.3 Suggestions for Further Research

In order to move from a tentative model of local ownership to a more formal theory, there is a need to continue the research process, both by replicating the research using a grounded theory approach in other settings and by using the findings as a starting point for hypotheses that can be falsified or confirmed.

Nevertheless, there seem to be a gap in the theory regarding the importance of "Pride" and "Respect" that can be further addressed.

8.4 Final Note

The process of conducting and writing up this research has been very interesting but also very challenging. The process of using grounded theory proved to be the biggest challenge. Reading up on the theory, it was daunting to read of others having spent closer to 18 months or more just learning the whole approach in a satisfactory manner. Even now, when I am finishing this thesis, I am still unsure to what extent I have really understood the approach, and if I may have missed important findings in my data. Still, the thesis as it is has generated interesting findings,



and whetted my appetite. Both for looking more into local ownership in the future, and for using grounded theory.



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Appendix A

Work Plan in the Field

DATE	LOCATION	ACTIVITY
30-05-2005	Islamabad	Arrival
31-05-2005	Islamabad	Meeting at AKF, and AKRSP
01-06-2005	Islamabad	Preparations
02-06-2005	Islamabad	Preparations
03-06-2005	Islamabad	Meeting in AKRSP Office
04-06-2005	Skardu	Flight from Islamabad
05-06-2005	Skardu	Visit to Shagartang-Valley
06-06-2005	Skardu	Orientation/ Introduction at AKRSP
07-06-2005	Skardu	General Orientation at AKRSP
08-06-2005	Skardu	Field Work/Logistical planning
09-06-2005	Skardu, Sadpara Lake	Interviews at AKRSP and Sadpara
10-06-2005	Gol	Interviews
11-06-2005	Husseinabad	Interviews
12-06-2005	Skardu-Gilgit	Travel
13-06-2005	Gilgit	Interviews
14-06-2005	Gilgit	Interviews
15-06-2005	Gilgit	Interviews
16-06-2005	Gilgit-Skardu	Travel
17-06-2005	Shagari Kalan	Interviews
18-06-2005	Prono Tisser	Travel and Interviews
19-06-2005	Mango/Hyderabad	Travel and Interviews
20-06-2005	Sain Gawari, Khaplu	Interviews
21-06-2005	Bara-Bala	Interviews
22-06-2005	Thagari Thalay	Interviews
23-06-2005	Skardu	Interviews
24-06-2005	Skardu, Basho-Valley	Visit
25-06-2005	Skardu-Islamabad	Flight
26-06-2005	Islamabad	
27-06-2005	Islamabad	
28-06-2005	Islamabad	
29-06-2005	Islamabad	
30-06-2005	Return To Norway	
01-07-2005	Field Work Completed	