

Development and Identity Politics in Balochistan



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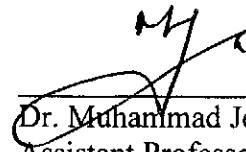


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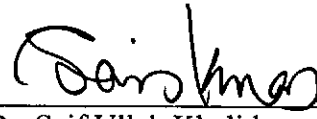
CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that this thesis entitled: "*Development and Identity Politics in Balochistan*" submitted by Qudrat Ullah is accepted in its present form by the Department of Development Studies, Pakistan Institute of Development Economics (PIDE), Islamabad as satisfying the requirements for partial fulfillment of the degree in Master of Philosophy in Development Studies.


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*Dedicated to my friend Shireen Khan for his unwavering support in research and
beyond*

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Abstract

The research is based on primary as well as secondary data collection. The primary data was collected from universities in Quetta. This thesis was done using qualitative research strategy. Methods used for collecting primary data include semi-structured, problem centric and indepth interviews. The unit of data collection for this research included students and faculty of the universities and the local political representatives of Balochistan.

The research aimed at figuring out the role of local political representatives in the development process of Balochistan. It also aimed at seeing if the perception of the youth, especially students regarding the development in the province and how they perceive the role of their representatives, either political or tribal.

The major research findings are a) a significant inclination has been observed towards the democratization of the tribalism, including local and tribal representatives, b) although the federal government has not be completely declared responsible, but the provincial government has been blamed for the difficulties including basic needs, education, health and development process which has been very slow in past ten years. c) Both ethnicities, Baloch and Pashtun have been observed of having strong difference on the issue of census, but they also are blaming each other for not supporting the causes of others on political level. The last thing which is important to mention is that the armed struggle in Baloch areas has been blamed for harming the right cause of Baloch community and their struggle for rights and resources.

Key Words: Development, Politics, Identity, Identity Politics, Baloch and Pashtoon

1. Introduction

Development is a broad concept that entails social, economic, political and human development. Human development constitutes the foundation on which the first three concepts are based. According to Burkey (1993), economic and political development must translate into social development. As a broad concept, development has been extensively explored with a view to realize economic growth and social development. However the emphasis shifted from Industrial and economic development as the determining factors in societal transformation.

Economic growth may bring material gain to the people but development is must about enrichment of all the people in the society (Sen A. , 1988). It has remained a tough task to be implemented all over the world, though governments have formulated different policies, introduced projects, but more work has to be done to carry out with a consensus to be more inclusive for the people.

Where ever projects, initiatives are introduced, it has faced different reactions. In many cases the culture, shared values and norms have been made basis to resist the projects, believing that it may affect the values of the people which they think are not aligned with their culture.

The elders and leaders in any society are also the production of culture, and they are followed accordingly. They carry a certain position and role in the society, and same is expected if any new thing, process is faced by the society. The development in those societies where culture is strictly followed faces a sort of resistance for being carried out. In other cases the local leaders attach a connotation to a certain project and caution the people that any development project will affect the society. This has been seen in most cases related to the education of women and women empowerment.

In the development process the role of local leadership is vital in many ways and unless the local leadership does not play a leading and positive role, the change or the specific development project may not meet the goals are remain influential for extended period.

Generally Pakistan as a country has grown economically, but still lags in many fronts like human development. Economic development is a broader concept than economic growth. Development reflects economic and social growth, whereas economic growth only reflects upon the growth of economy and neglect social development and freedom of people.

Balochistan since its merger with Pakistan in 1948 has remained in an unreliable political process which has restrained its people and political leadership from giving it a defined direction. Despite having natural resources, geographical importance, neither local politicians, nor federal government has been able to solve the decades old problems (ownership on resources and ensuring basic facilities) to ease the life of local population. The general perception among the people is that due to unequal distribution of resources and opportunities, the people of Balochistan feel marginalized among other provinces.

According to Amartya Sen development consists of the removal of various types of un-freedoms that leave people with little choice and little opportunity of exercising their reasoned agency (Sen A. , 2000). The people of a specific area or community may not be able to choose their way of life if resources and opportunities are not provided. When education, health and other basic facilities are not ensured then it is difficult for the people to have a suitable life.

The development which Sen has described is that it merely is not defined by the change in the people's income, but it is a wider term focusing on the choices, capabilities and freedom of the people. Development carries a connotation of lasting change. It consists of broadly defined aspects such as economic capacity, the social and political system which can provide well-being on sustainable basis (Barder, 2012).

The people of Balochistan have not such direct role in formulating the policies because of less representation in different platforms of policy formulation, so they are not heard thus why remained less developed as compared to other provinces (Anwer, 2018).

The center and provincial priorities do not address the concerns of the people, thus why locals are trying to coup up with the situation, where they lack the basic facilities and human rights. The people there, specifically in the rural areas are facing difficulties in their daily life.

The grievances of Baluchistan against the Centre are longstanding and genuine. The economic and social backwardness of the province is due to three main reasons: Firstly, it got the status of the province in 1970. Second, negligence on part of federal, and thirdly, the most important is tribalism (Mir, 2015).

Balochistan is a province with vast geographical area (44% of the total area of Pakistan) and a house of multi-ethnic populations (Baloch, Pashtoon, Bruhi and other settlers). According to

Census 2017, the population of Balochistan is 12.3 million (Statistics, 2017). Both the aspects (vast area and multi-ethnic) could be beneficial and can be a hurdle in the path of development. Other things which added to the trouble were the political instability, ethnic violence and lack of proper policies. Most of the time the Center relations with province remained strangled and it used coerce actions (military operations in 1970 and 2006) to deal the situation there.

Numerous projects like Aghaz-e-Haqoq-e-Balochistan in 2009 by Pakistan Peoples Party and other initiatives were introduced to bring the development and lessen the deprivation, but the alienation towards the center, lack of will by the rulers did not implement it in the true manner. The local population accepted the development each time with a heavy heart. The central government explored resources, used it but the due share was never given to the locals which created the insecurity that they and their resources are exploited.

In Balochistan there are three main ethnic groups and 27 major tribes residing. Baloch, Pashtoon, and Brahui are the main three groups. According to the census results, the Baloch population has shrunk from 61pc to 55.6pc in the province over a period of 19 years in 21 districts where the Baloch form a majority. However, the total number of Baloch people has increased from 4 million in 1998 to 6.86m in 2017. The population of the nine districts, where the Pashtu-speaking population is in majority, accounts for 26pc of the total Balochistan population (Khan, 2017).

Cultural attributes like distinctive beliefs, institutions, practices, religion and language often form the base of identity (Regmi, 1995). Baloch and Pashtoon have a culture, ethnicity and language, which make their identity, but Baloch have struggled more to keep their identity intact because of having a sense of being most marginalized. The sense of alienation is perceived both in Pashtoon and Baloch ethnicities, but Baloch people have many grievances, protesting that their resources (gas, cooper from Saindak, gold from Reko Diq) have been exploited and they are not considered the owners of their resources and do not get the fair share.

Constitution of Pakistan (promulgated in 1973) provided that the province where natural gas is situated would have priority in receiving supplies of that gas. Similarly 'Article 161.2' of the Constitution provides the provision regarding the payment of royalty to the concerned province where the reservoir of natural gas is situated. However, as mentioned earlier, the gas that is sold from Balochistan goes to the rest of the country at a much lower price than that produced in Punjab and Sindh. The province has received only 12.4% royalties from the federal government,

and the backlog dating back to 1953 owed to Balochistan runs in tens of billions of Rupees (Babar Shahbaz, 2009).

In a report (October, 2018) in Dawn, Balochistan National Party member Sanaullah Baloch says, “The Balochistan government was completely bypassed while leasing out the Saindak project to a Chinese company in 2017”. He said federal government gets a 50 per cent share in the profit of the Saindak project while the rest goes to the Chinese company. Of its 50pc share, the federal government keeps 20pc profit and passes on 30pc earnings to the provincial government. In addition, Balochistan receives a 5pc royalty over the Saindak copper-cum-gold project. He added Balochistan government has made a committee which will devise ways to seek a reasonable solution for handing over the Saindak project to the province, in line with the 18th Constitutional amendment.

Baloch political leadership has tried to be pro-nationalists in order to pacify the grievances and negotiate with the center to accept their demands and get their share. Meanwhile some Baloch groups, who are often called as separatists (Baloch Liberation Army, Baloch Liberation Front) are of the view that Baloch political leadership is not the true representatives.

The Baloch leadership are cautious of the state policies and have went into self-exile to different countries abroad. Among them Brahamdagh Bugti, Hyrbyair Marri and Suleman Dawood, the Khan of Qalat) are living in London and U.S. and are still resisting the center and its policies.

In order to resist the policies, separatist leaders among the Baloch have chosen the hardline approach. According to Anthony D. Smith’s theory of Ethnosymbolism that explains the role of nationalism in drawing a path between ethnic past and national present. (Mishali-Ram, 2015). Thus Baloch population have been divide as pro-nationalists who remain in main discourse to pursue their politics and others are sub-nationalists who believe that their struggle will bear fruits.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

The area of study is looking into the different aspects that how in the name of development the politics is pursued and sometime it is portrayed as a threat to the Baloch people. The so called nationalists have been imposed on the local population as their leaders, and they are benefited by giving different roles in province and on national level. The aim is to find out that how the center gives the monetary share to them to invest on the locals and they keep the population deprived of

the development. Many studies and researches have been conducted mainly focusing on the problems faced by the locals and its solutions, but the aim will be to find the role of local politicians and tribal leaders in the development of the people of Balochistan.

1.2 The Topic

As the research will be focusing on the development and how it relates to the identity politics, will be the broader area of the study. The view of the locals regarding the development and its impact on their life will be explained. The role of local and tribal leaders will be the focus of the study where the general perception is that they label the development as the expansion of the exploitation of their resources.

1.3 Definition of the Key Terms

The section defines the key concepts and terms used in research, and to operationalize it in the field study.

i. Development

Development is a multi-dimensional process involving economic and social system for improving the quality of human lives. (Todaro, 1994)

ii. Identity

Identity is described as a social category in which an individual is eligible to be a member of a specific society, group or ethnicity.

iii. Politics

Politics, in its broadest sense, is the activity through which people make, preserve and amend the general rules under which they live. Politics is thus inextricably linked to the phenomena of conflict and cooperation. On the one hand, the existence of rival opinions, different wants, competing needs and opposing interests guarantees disagreement about the rules under which people live. On the other hand, people recognize that, in order to influence these rules or ensure that they are upheld, they must work with others (Jowett, 1999).

iv. Identity Politics

Identity politics is an approach to seek progression of the interests of particular groups who experience actual or perceived injustice and is marginalized as a consequence of being a member

of a certain race, ethnicity, nationality, culture religion and gender (Naseer, 2017). The focus of the identity politics largely remains to create awareness among the specific groups of their collective identity and shared history.

v. **Freedom of Choices**

Freedom of choice means that the person is able to choose his own course of action and pattern of living, subject to the requirement that he shall not act so as to violate the freedom of choice of others (Kemp, 1960). The extent to express their wishes, needs, and thoughts is the freedom which determines the degree of the human rights provided to a specific group.

vi. **Capability Approach**

The central premise of the capabilities approach is that people ought to have the freedom “to choose the lives they value and have reason to value. Capabilities are the freedoms a person has to choose and to act. They are the opportunities and potential to achieve. The capabilities approach views “each person as an end, asking not just about the total or average well-being but about the opportunities available to each person (Buzzelli, 2015).

vii. **Ethnicity**

According to Donald Horowitz ethnicity is an umbrella concept that easily embraces groups differentiated by color, language and religion; it covers tribes, race, nationalities and castes (Chandara, 2006). In ethnic identities the identity is determined by attributes associated with the descent.

1.4 Hypothesis Proposition and Operationalization

The development has been defined in its own terms with the passage of times; years ago it was about economic growth, but now it along with the economic growth focuses on human development. Though it is the basic right of the people that their representatives should make policies and implement it for the development purpose but there are many cases where it has been used as a tool to rule the people. In Balochistan, the general perception is that local leadership who are tribal chiefs, and head of ethnic groups have kept their population under their control on the basis of depriving them from getting developed. The tribal chiefs and politicians where they live have not addressed the basic facilities of the population.

Local leadership have most of the time remains in the power center, through politics and elections, each of the time assuring that this time they will provide with all the solutions of the problems, but the situation has merely changed. They claim that their resources are used by the Center, while the very people have been deprived from using it and getting the benefits. Remaining in the power, they still blame the center and its policies of their condition which is far behind the development.

The study which in the research will be conducted base on the Amartya Sen approaches of the freedom of choices and capability approach.

i. **Freedom of Choices**

The study is going to look into the perception that pro and sub-nationalists are part of the problem and are restraining the freedom of choices of the local population. The choice of their representation is very limited, due to the culture and the tribal system; they remain under the rule of a single family for decades. Being less educated they have not much opportunities to live a life of their choice. The values and the norms of the culture have compelled to live in the specific society and cannot go against the ethnic group.

ii. **Capability Approach**

By keeping them deprived of the basic facilities like education, health, water and other needs of life, the tribal chiefs have made the people to struggle for their survival, and people are unable to think beyond this and are in a vicious circle of struggle to live a normal life. The resources they have are not giving them any benefit, because they have been deprived, and the larger share of the royalty of the resources goes to the tribal chiefs and their representatives. The general perception is that they due to the Baloch ethnicity, people are being deprived of their basic rights and treated as sub-citizens.

The reason may be that they have been kept in false consciousness by the rulers, and a common perception is that the State and the center is to be blamed for all the miseries they are facing.

1.5 Objectives of the Research

The study will be addressing the following objectives

- i. To understand the role of local political and tribal leadership in the development of the people.
- ii. To study the perception of youth regarding the development and politics.
- iii. To investigate the perceived marginalization of youth in terms of resources and opportunities.

2. Data and Methodology

2.1 Methodology and Methods

In this Chapter, the researcher have explained the methodology and the methods that have been used to collect data and it analysis. Though the terms methodology and methods are closely intertwined that often creates confusion in the mind of the researchers and the audience. It would be appropriate to clarify the confusion in the beginning of the chapter. Method, in simple words, is the tool to answer research question. Sarantakos defines it as, “the tools of data generation and analysis” (Sarantakos, 2005, p.34). Methodology provides the rationale for the research approach. Howel (2013) put it in this way, ‘methodology is a general strategy which guides the way the research is to be carried out’.

2.2 Qualitative Research Strategy

There are two major research strategies at the disposal of social science researchers. These strategies are the quantitative and qualitative research strategies. Qualitative research strategy is based on inductive articulation between theoretical precepts and investigation of phenomena. Its major concern is to discover meanings attached with observable phenomena and thus it belongs in interpretations’ epistemological position. Owing to the epistemological position of qualitative research as mentioned in the previous point, ontologically it is rooted in constructionism (Bryman, 2008). The strategy has been elaborated upon by Higgs and Cant in their 2009 work. The qualitative research does not rely on mathematical judgments and it focuses on multiple socially constructed realities. The knowledge it generates is context and time dependent and it is more useful to describe and interpret situations than to control them and the information it generates is value bound (Higgs & Cant, 2009).

2.3 Research Design

Research design is a construct that allows the researcher “to answer two basic questions namely, does the research provide answers to the basic research objectives, if yes, how well it does so” (Majumdar, 2005, p. 119). According to Majumdar, research design comprises strategy and structure and it should be conceived in such a manner that it enables the researcher to find answers to the research questions as precisely and accurately as possible.

Given the operationalization of my research question, I have used explanatory research design.

2.4 Methods/ Techniques of Data Collection

For the qualitative analysis of the research, the tools are used which bring value laden information from the field interviews. Qualitative research is asset of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. They turn the world into a series of reorientations including field notes, interviews and conversations. Qualitative researcher study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them (Ritchie, 2007). In this study, I have used the following tools:

a. Rapport Building

Rapport building is the ability to quickly create interviewer/ participant dynamics that are positive, relaxed, and mutually respectful. A crucial skill for moderating a productive focus group is the ability to build rapport with and among participants from the start of the discussion (Natasha Mack, 2005). Building understanding and demonstrating it is the essence of rapport, and therefore, this method have been used on entrance in the field. Without having established a relationship of mutual trust, the data collection would have been difficult through which the required response from respondents.

b. Interviews

Interviewing is a valuable method for exploring the construction and negotiation of meanings in a natural setting. That is, the value of interviewing is not only because it builds a holistic snapshot, analyses words, reports detailed views of informants; but also because it enables interviewees to speak in their own voice and express their own thoughts and feelings (Alshenqeeti, 2014). Keeping this in mind, the semi-structured interviews were conducted with the respondents.

c. Semi-Structured Interview

Semi-structured interviews are used often in policy research. In semi-structured interviewing, a guide is used, with questions and topics that must be covered. The interviewer has some discretion about the order in which questions are asked, but the questions are standardized, and probes may be provided to ensure that the researcher covers the correct material. This kind of interview collects detailed information in a style that is somewhat conversational. Semi-

structured interviews are often used when the researcher wants to delve deeply into a topic and to understand thoroughly the answers provided (Margaret C. Harrell, 2009). The researcher have studied the perception of people about development and the role of leaders in in their development which requires extensive probing. Meanwhile, it is worthwhile to make it clear, that the term perception does not mean cognitive working. On contrary, in my research, perception is social construction of reality. As per Bernard (1995), in this type of interview, the interviewer does not try to exert control over the interviewee and it is based on the concept of probing. For this reason, semi-structured interviews were conducted with respondents for a thorough analysis.

d. Problem Centric Interviews

Sarantakos (2005) defines problem-centric interviews as, “a semi-standardized interview based on a vague and flexible interview guide, allowing the interviewee to have control and adjust the process of the interview freely” (Sarantakos, 2005, p. 252). The distinctive feature of this type of interview is that it focuses on the problems which are the main concern of the interviewer. Sarantakos (2005) suggests that the researcher enters the field with a vague concept which becomes specific and concrete during the process of interview. Problem centric interviews were conducted to get the information from the local leadership and the representatives regarding the local perception that they are also the part of the problem, and their view and struggle that they had for the solution of the problems.

2.5 Units of Data Collection

This study attempts to answer how the perception has been built that the center and the State has been blamed responsible for all the problems, and their leadership and representatives are also regarded as the victim along the population of the policies.

a. UDC-1. Students of Universities

For the perception the research conducted with the students, mainly from the educational institutes, that how they are able to get the higher education regardless of financial limitations, and the lack of facilities. Regarding the common view that the State policies have neglected them, exploited the population and their resources, and whom they blame for their conditions. In addition the study also tried to get their point of view regarding the whole scenario.

b. UDC-2. Professors of Universities

From the relevant professors and teachers of the universities, the study tried to find out their role of giving the awareness and quality education to the students, and giving them a deep insight of the history of the problems of Balochistan. The study tried to get their point of view, how to tackle the problems and equip the students with historical background of the issues and give them idea to play their role in solving them.

c. UDC-3. Political Representatives

Regarding the problems faced by the people of Balochistan, the study was done to get the information from the leadership who are directly related to the locals, and their representatives who get to the power centers through the local population. It also tried to get the perspective of them that why the center is to be blamed, not them for the decades old problems, and how they are unable to normalize the situation and bring it in the favor of people.

2.6 Sampling

Sarantakos (2005) defines sampling as “a small part of the target population which is to be investigated” (Sarantakos, 2005, p. 152). According to him, a sample is a small number of units that enable the researcher to obtain data that is representative of the whole target population. There are two types of sampling namely, probability and non-probability sampling. I used multiple sampling techniques owing to the differential contextual realities of my units of data collection. The sampling methods which were used in the proposed research are as follows:

a. Purposive Sampling

Purposive sampling is one among various non-probability sampling methods. “In purposive sampling (also known as judgmental sampling), the researchers purposely choose subjects who, in their opinion, are thought to be relevant to the research topic” (Sarantakos, 2005, p. 152).

In this sampling technique, the researcher identifies the people with the relevant information on the issues being studied. The nature of the study is that there are few people who can have the very knowledge regarding the problems and their solution and in this case the local leadership and the representatives of the people will be chosen through purposive sampling.

b. Stratified Random Sampling

Stratified random sampling is a probability sampling procedure in which the target population is divided into a number of strata, and a sample is drawn from each stratum. The resulting sub samples make up the final sample of the study (Sarantakos, 2005). The most common strata used in stratified random sampling are age, gender, socioeconomic status, religion, nationality and educational attainment.

For the research purpose the strata on the basis of educational attainment was used and the population was the students from different level of education. The population (UDC-1) was divided in to the strata of the students from post graduates and MPhil and the sample was drawn to collect the data and the information required.

3. Review of Literature

A Literature Review is a systematic, explicit, and reproducible method for identifying, evaluating, and synthesizing the existing body of completed and recorded work produced by researchers, scholars, and practitioners (Fink, 2005). The literature review provided here includes the scholarly articles on development, identity politics and the role of the policy makers in the development process.

The area of the study which looked into the different perspectives in the field was development, its relation with politics and the different ways through which a sort of connotation is attached to it. For that the development and identity politics remained the key areas of the literature review.

As the nature of the study is to explain that how the development is being used as a tool for the pursuit of politics, and for that peace has been kept at risk because when development is not taking place, people struggle to survive than they to get their rights, adopt a hardline approach.

According to Amartya Sen development consists of the removal of various types of un-freedoms that leave people with little choice and little opportunity of exercising their reasoned agency.

(Sen A. , 2000)

When the people have limited freedom, they have been restrained from expressing themselves, and deprived from the way of life they want to live, then it ultimately curb their capabilities and they live a struggling life.

The development merely is not defined by the change in the people's income, but it is a wider term focusing on the choices, capabilities and freedom of the people. Development carries a connotation of lasting change. It consists of broadly defined aspects such as economic capacity, the social and political system which can provide well-being on sustainable basis.

(Barder, 2012)

Many of the States formulate such policies where the participatory politics is encouraged, it most of the time include all the relevant groups, ethnicities to remain inclusive in the state on and off. These sorts of steps increase the concept of participatory democracy, and the decentralization of the power, resources and authority.

The existence of a strong civil society enjoying relative autonomy from the repressive capacities of the state was critical to working class political formation. In sum, the robust comparative lesson of the history of the European welfare state is that redistributive policies and social protection are most likely to be expanded when subordinate groups can build collective power and effectively reshape democratic institutions.

(Heller, 2012)

The development when carried out in the true essence, enhance all the key aspects of the life, which creates a stable democracy, a united society and enhance the level of basic life. As the development goes from economic aspects to the human development, the freedom of choices gets its own direction and the human capabilities are enhanced, which in return play a constructive role in the society.

The devolution of power, the fair share in the civil military democracy and the equal distribution of the resources are the remedies for the grievances of the people. By denying these, the ethnic groups after the much ignorance by the state authorities make the situation unfavorable.

(Ghani, 2014)

People have been restrained by cultural values and norms which keep them limited in the situation that they cannot object their tribal chiefs and it adds to the problems of the people. They argue that their demands are not accepted and the development they want to bring is hindered by the government on federal and provincial level. And this notion creates a sense of being marginalized on the basis of being from a specific ethnic group.

In India the State controls the resources and economy. The state resources are distributed through the network of the patronage. In this political system, the individuals get ahead by becoming part of the state and obtain the control over the flow of patronage, or develop contacts with those who control the State.

(Chandra, 2005)

When the power remains in few hands and the people likely to affect by any of the move are not included, then it erodes the very concept of democracy and it leads to the uneasiness among the

people. To acquire the very own interests the neglected people have a sense of having a unity, in the name of ethnicity, religion or any other aspect which can hold them intact and can influence the rulers to get their demands accepted.

Ethnicity is an important feature of human identity that manifests differently in different societies. It reflects diversity in the society whose internal harmony and stability depends on how ethnic diversity is accommodated in a pluralistic framework of the state and society. Pluralistic framework includes those constitutional designs which guarantee the protection ethnic identity. The state's failure in creating such institutions, leads towards a situations in which one ethnic group feels insecure against the dominance of other. The feelings of antagonism ultimately force ethnic groups to pursue their demands.

(Gulshan Majeed, 2015)

The situation on the ground remains elusive, when the uneasiness is created regardless of the reasons, but when a specific group pursue their demands and go to any extent to get those demands accepted, it politicize the groups, issues and the people of the ethnicity involved. The party then converts to an ethnic party which then claims the role and share on multilevel, and some people pursue their politics in the name welfare and the sole leaders that can better safeguard the interests of the people in front of the State.

The local elites have consciously manipulated the development activities and movement affairs in an effort to manufacture the public consent for their interests.

(Sapkota, 2015)

Many of the tribal leaders, political leadership and representatives have increased their influence using their positions, and creating a sense of redeemers of the people, their demands and basic needs, but merely projected the same on the position they get to most of the time. They make connections on provincial and central level to pursue their own interests, and giving the least priority to the very demands and needs of the people they represent.

This sort of situation when the leaders hardly consider their people important creates a scenario where the power struggle with the ethnic group starts the internal conflict which then divides the whole society.

The demands of secessionist movements such as in Québec, in Scotland, and in Chechnya, raise important philosophical issues about the state. Among the most important of these are questions about the rights of the state over territory and about the authority with which it governs its population.

(Copp, 1998)

As the world witnesses, the uneven policies, the marginalization of the societies, the unequal distribution of resources, the nature of oppressor of the states had led to the secession movements. The recent referendums of Catalan and Kurdistan in 2017 were the cases where the marginalized groups seek the referendum, they won it with majority. The concerned States and the world opposed it, fearing that it will create a precedent for others to follow.

People of Balochistan in general are of the view that when the basic needs and facilities are not provided, how the locals can be in a position to make their life better. When they get through the survival phase, then in no time they can play their role in the life as other people are. But the perception and the notion that have been generated in the mind of the people give another twist to the whole situation. They are of the view that due to Baloch ethnicity they are neglected.

After independence the annexation of Balochistan concerns were raised among the Baloch. They feel alienated due to not getting the fair share in the national affairs and the resources. They are doing the politics of ethnicity.

(Hashmi, 2015)

The Baloch people are of the view that their resources are not given in their ownership, and along with their resources the people are exploited. Baloch people claim that their resources are used in all Pakistan, but they still wish to use those things in their life.

One of the underline causes of the ethnic conflict in Balochistan is attributed to the historic unequal allocation of financial resources since the independence. The federal exploitation of natural resources and the state policies has contributed to the present situation in Balochistan which is the least developed among other provinces.

(Naseer, 2017)

The people are misguided regarding the actual problems, but at the same time they are being divided on different issues, local people are not taken into the consideration when any of the policies is formulated, the leadership in power has not been very sincere, and the share given by the center remains with them and the benefits are not shared with the locals.

Politics and the internal rift are utilized as a vehicle to promote the group's material and cultural interests through belligerent means. And in these circumstances the identity and politics play an escalating role to make the situation against the very groups.

(Mishali-Ram, 2015)

Most of the times and particularly in the case of Balochistan the people remain divided, some of the people chose the armed struggle, and some try to pacify the situation. The arms struggle due to the negative connotation attracts the attention very easily and it is obvious that the state reacts and handles these kinds of situations with concentrated approach. Whenever such sort of actions took place, the political stability is at utmost risk. It also sends a sense of alienation in the targeted groups, which then resist against the center. The ethnic groups feel that their genuine demands are not accepted and they are targeted due to specific reasons which then lead to insurgency, the very case of Balochistan.

The increasing sense of insecurity combined with ethnic fragmentation and the inability of the state to address these problems in a more transparent way makes the problem even more complicated and the stability of the system remains questionable.

(Nega, 2010)

The actions when remains questionable divide the society. In many cases some are then called anti state and some remain in line with the state policies. The anti-state group always remains cautious and through their armed struggle try to take the state on head, and in extreme cases it pursue the very demand of secession.

Majority of the population of Balochistan consist Baloch and Pashtun who are socially and culturally similar. Both inhabit ecological zones in which agriculture

is possible only in limited areas, though among the Baloch pastoralism has assumed much greater importance than among the Pashtoon.

(Titus, 1998)

It is pertinent to note that there exists an aphorism in the contextual understanding of the cultures and history of the province. Such consistency can come from a number of structural relationships including those manifested among the people (or categories of people) involved in actual events, the way those events are recorded, and the way they are communicated.

According to Edwin Ardner, 1989, the social impacts and their in-action are based on their social relationships and how they perceive the intrinsic antagonisms of the social structure where they inhabit. For example the two main tribes in Balochistan (Pashtoon and Baloch) are distinct in their nature; the Pashtoon are often depicted as entrepreneurial and religious and Baloch as having strong tribal values and concern for honor. Therefore, the way those two distinct tribes have their different perspectives and value system that affect the way on which they choose their representative either the Sardar/Nawab/Malik or a representative elected through election.

The further understanding can be achieved by analyzing its history. The stratified segmentary structure of the Baloch “Yarahmadzai” tribe by their relations to another ethnic group's expanding 'quasi-feudal proto-state' in the nineteenth century.

(Titus, 1998)

To resist becoming subordinate to that more centralized power the “Yarahmadzai” established Sardars as military leaders and negotiators through which they organized themselves on a more sustained basis than they otherwise could.

The Pashtoon tribes however had most under the influence of the Afghan king tended to have a hierarchical structure and hereditary leaders. However this was not always the case, however, since agnatic rivalry and the institution of powerful ‘Jirgas’ undermine the authority of such leaders and perpetuate decentralization.

The very aspect of the study has focused on the above aspects that how less development; politics of interests have kept the human beings aside from playing a constructive role of a citizen in the society.

The study has been conducted to fill the research gap, which has remained on the external factors of the underdevelopment, politics, while the study has focused on the internal conflicts of the area and the people through which the population have remained neglected and left out from the very process of the development.

My study have focused on the role of those local representatives, that why they are unable to lift societies, their conditions and provide the basic needs, despite remaining in the power centers for the number of years. The representatives have connections with power centers then why they have not convinced, altered the policies regarding Balochistan where people still have reservations, especially in terms of resources and basic facilities. The people's emotions have not been pacified, their grievances yet remained to be addressed, and then what they can do to regulate inclusive policies for the locals to get along with the whole country.

4. Data Presentation I

This part of the research is comprised of the data collected in the field from my respondents who were mainly divided into three Unit of Data Collections (UDCs). The first is students of the universities, the other is faculty of universities and last is local representatives of the population. From the students the study remained focus on their perception regarding development the objectives of the research. The study tried to have their point of view about the development, the role of their representatives and the role of provincial and federal government in the development process of Balochistan.

4.1 UDC 1: Student of Universities

As per the requirement and focus of the study main respondents were students. For that two universities; Balochistan University of Information Technology, Engineering and Management Sciences (BUIITEMS) and University of Balochistan (UoB) were selected. As in the data units the students as respondents were selected on the educational level through stratified sampling so the strata were the students of BS and MS. The strata included the students of BS and MS from different departments including, Business Administration, Mass Communication, Sociology; Engineering, and Physics. In a whole thirty (30) students were selected. From all these departments' twenty students (20) of BS and ten (10) students from MS were selected. As mentioned in data techniques, from these all students the data was collected through semi structured interviews.

Focusing on my research objectives, I operationalized it through questions which were given to the students in written form and their opinion/ point of view was required. So the data collected from them varies in terms of response and opinions.

4.2 UDC 2: Faculty of the Universities

The second UDC which were the faculty members of the universities for data collection, were selected through purposive sampling. By using purposive sampling six (6) teachers, three (3) each from both (BUIITEMS) and (UoB) were selected. The insight of these teachers was taken through interviews which was the suitable technique for probing and collecting the data. The reason to choose the faculty of the universities was to get their insight regarding Balochistan, its

problems, their solutions and their role in the awareness of the youth and the current generation of the students. The focus remained that what was the actual problem and why Balochistan still lags behind among other provinces in human, economic and infrastructural development. The insight which was tried to probe that how teachers can contribute by making the students more competitive so they can play their role for the betterment of the people and society.

4.3 UDC 3: Local Representatives

The last respondents who are the local representatives, the politicians and members of the legislative assemblies were also selected through purposive sampling. Two (2) local representatives were selected through the purposive sampling and their opinion/ point of view regarding Balochistan, its problems and solutions was probed through Indepth Interviews. The main question was that what is their role or how they contribute to the problems and their solutions in the development process of their population they are representing.

Universities in Balochistan

In Balochistan there are few universities which are public.

- i. University of Balochistan, Quetta (UoB)
- ii. Sardar Bahadur Khan Women University, Quetta (SBK)
- iii. Bolan Medical College, Quetta (BMC)
- iv. Balochistan University of Engineering and Technology, Khuzdar (UET)
- v. Lasbela University of Agriculture, Water and Marine Sciences (LUAWMS)
- vi. University of Turbat

Many of the students who are enrolled are from far flung areas, both from Pashtun and Baloch districts. They have migrated from their local towns to Quetta, as Quetta is the only city which is developed in terms of infrastructure and have better facilities of education and health among other districts of Balochistan.

There is co-education in University of Balochistan, while Sardar Bahadur Khan Women University is only for female. Bolan Medical college is for doctors and there both male and female students study medical.

Though there are new campuses in different districts but they have not enrollment in much number due to lack of faculty and other facilities so students are tend to enroll in the universities in Quetta.

4.4 Perception of the Students regarding Development

The very concept of development has been defined in many terms in different eras, from Stone Age to Industrial Revolution, from Economic Development to Human Development. According to Michael Todaro 1994, development is a multi-dimensional process involving economic and social system for improving the quality of human lives. The question regarding the development from the respondents was that what development mean to them.

The perception of the respondents regarding development varied but most of them were of the view that the economy, education; health and infrastructural development.

One of the respondents from BS (BUIITEMS) was of the view that “development means socio-economic development and to empower the institutions on local level”. Further probing that what he understands by the institutions on local level, he responded that Local Bodies must be empowered, because they are elected on very small scale, like towns and councils and they better understand the problems and the culture of the very people. Those local representatives can better handle the situation and can contribute very well for the betterment of the people.

The response from the students was that development mean “the progress in terms of economic, health; education, infrastructure in both urban and rural areas”.

One of the respondents from BS from (BUIITEMS) responded that “Development means to have better resources and opportunities for everyone. The facilities should be provided for both the rich and poor and all should be treated equally”.

A respondent from MS (BUIITEMS) explained the development in different terms. He was of the view that “there must be equal rights, equal opportunities, and he also included that there must be representation of the different cultures at the national level”. People on the difference of cultural values regard a specific culture or a group as underdeveloped, which is against the development. He was not mentioning the specific group but was of the view that if there will be cultural representation at national level it will create awareness among the masses that being different

from other culture in terms of lifestyle, economic activities and cultural values do not mean to be underdeveloped.

A respondent said that for him development means “the eradication of illiteracy and there must be emphasis on education and it only bring the development when people will know about their responsibilities”. On further probing he said that to improve the literacy rate we have change the definition of the literacy. We need a literate and educated society so every individual can play a constructive role in the society.

As some of the respondents mentioned the economic and human development, one of the respondents was of the view that “Development means freedom and advancement in economic terms which will ensure goodwill of humans”.

4.5 Perception of the Students Regarding the Development in Balochistan

As the response regarding the development, the other thing was that in those terms which they mean the development is, so how they find their area, town, village or city being as developed. The main thing which they mentioned was economy, education, health and human development. Most of the students were of the view that they are not satisfied and they do not see any kind of development in any of the terms.

By further probing they were asked to choose any of the term they believe that Balochistan is developed, which were a) economic, b) human development, c) infrastructure and d) none of the above. All of the respondents choose the last option that Balochistan is not developed in any of the mentioned terms.

The reason that why they choose that Balochistan has not been developed, by giving examples that they have not seen any public university been built. They said that none of the government have made a hospital where the people of Balochistan can get better treatment. For the serious disease or treatments people are compelled to visit other cities in Punjab or Karachi for better treatment.

Regarding the economic development they were of the view that different projects have been initiated but they are far from being completed and no one has got any benefit from it.

4.6 Perception Regarding Local Representatives

Balochistan is multi ethnic area where Baloch, Pashtoon, Brahui and other settlers live. Other settlers are the people who came to Balochistan from Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa for economic reasons. Here Baloch and Pashtun population are in majority. According to the Census 2017, 56 percent of the population is Baloch and 26 percent is Pashtoon, while the remaining are other ethnicities and settlers. Baloch and Pashtoon follow their code of life which is embedded in their culture, as many other cultures have its own values. Baloch and Pashtoon have tribal system and it has been followed for years. There are Sardars, Nawab and Malik (leader of the specific sub-group in an ethnic group). While Sardar and Nawab represent an ethnic group so they all are followed and obeyed without any distinction.

On the above mentioned basis of research questions was that they believe are their representatives, the local politicians in legislative assemblies or the Sardar, Nawab and Malik. The response was mix and some of them were saying that local politicians are their representatives as they are elected by the local population in each elections, so people know better who can be their true representative who can represent and can bring a solution to their problem.

Other students respond that Sardar, Nawab and Malik are their representatives as they have got the cultural legitimacy which has embedded their society.

4.7 Role of Local Representatives in Development Process

The response from the university students on the specific question was mix and some were admired and some students were not having positive perception on the role of local leaders. One of the respondent from the MS (UoB) was of the view that local representatives are not effective and even they are not capable of development on local level. Some of them are capable of doing development projects, but lack of funds is the reason that they are not able to do that.

Another respondent from MS (UoB) was of the view that “Some representative leaders are playing their part in the development effectively and some or not”. One of the respondents from MS (UoB) responded that “In my view, in the last two tenure of the governments have failed to deliver and play their role in development process”.

Many of the students were of the view that the “local leaders in Balochistan enjoy their traditional vote bank and thus they do not play effective part”, and the other thing they were of the view that these “leaders who are in legislative assemblies, in start of their tenure do better in making promises and even fulfill some of them but with the passage of time they do not remain so effective”.

One of the respondents said that “local leaders and representative’s play vital role for the development because Balochistan is tribal area and people listen and obey their leaders due to cultural values because the tribes are embedded with values and norms.

Further to know that how they analyze that their representatives play a role, so I asked them to mention any development project either in education, health or infrastructure in their area, so their response can be analyzed. Many of the respondents mention that the “CPEC is the development project which they have heard a lot, and it will provide better opportunities for the people of Balochistan”. A respondent from BS (UoB) was of the view that he is from Turbat and after the infrastructural progress, specifically the construction of road from District Gawadar to District Sorab has made a positive development in the life of local people, and now they can move in less time from one place to another place.

Many of the respondents mentioned that in some places colleges are being built but it took too much time in their completion and other were of the view that they have not seen any such development process being carried out.

4.8 Perception of Students Regarding Hurdles in Development Process

The generalized perception was that the tribal leaders do not allow the development projects to be carried out in their areas, which they (tribal leaders) think that it will affect their power, will influence their status and they will not be able to strengthen their hold. To investigate and further probe that to what extent the perception of tribal leaders being a hurdle in development process, is true, I asked my respondents that what kind of obstacles they believe are there or created when a development project is introduced.

One of the respondents from BS (UoB) said that “There are many obstacles in implementing projects because of some authorities, sometime policies and sometime local leaders resist it”.

Another respondent from MS (UoB) was of the view that “The change of the government is a major hurdle, but the projects got completed though not on time and it takes much financial risk which in no means is good for the government, people and development process”. From 2008 till 2018, in ten years of Balochistan, government has been changed number of times. From 2008 till 2012 government of Pakistan Peoples party was in the province. After the killings of members of Hazara community in Quetta, Governor Rule was imposed. From 2013 till 2018, the provincial government was changes three times. For first two and a half years Awami National Party was in power, while for other two years Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz) was in power. And then with the help of dissident members from different parties made a new government for the remaining six (6) months. It added a lot in difficulties and kept policies from being implemented.

A respondent from MS (BUIITEMS) said that “Due to less education and awareness most of the people resist the projects and they create a hurdle in the path of development as they see that the projects are introduced to control the resources of those areas which itself are against the development”.

One of the respondents from MS (BUIITEMS) was of the view that “Politicians of Balochistan are creating hurdles in the implementation of such projects, and they deliberately delay it to procure more funds and serve their personal interests”.

Another respondent from BS (BUIITEMS) was of the view that “lack of awareness in the people and less knowledge of the benefits they will get from the projects is also a hurdle which many of the times did not allow the projects to be completed on time”.

4.9 Role of Federal and Provincial Government in Development of Balochistan

When the local politicians were asked that why they do not play effective role in the development process, they were of the view that the federal government do not allocate or release funds, which they call hypocrisy and blame the federal government for all the problems. After the 18th Amendment in which most of the powers were transferred from Center to the Provinces, especially the education, health, infrastructure and revenue.

To probe this area that how much the people of Balochistan holds federal government responsible and asked them that what is their view about the problem.

One of the respondents from BS (BUIITEMS) said, “I think it is not right to blame the federal government for every single problem the province is facing because federal government has given the authority to provincial government and now it is their duty to look after every problem the province is facing”.

Other respondent from MS (BUIITEMS) said, “I didn't think so we should blame federal government for each and every problem. After 18th amendment, each province has more authority and grip on its resource's and matters. I think governments from Balochistan have not fought their case well in the federal and somehow they are more responsible for this rather than federal government itself, it is all upon those representatives of Balochistan whether in National Assembly, Senate or provisional assembly”.

A respondent from BS (UoB) said that “Federal government is responsible for the problems in province however the local leaders are also responsible”.

A respondent from MS (UoB) said “It is true that federal has ignored Balochistan, but you cannot ignore the minimum efforts put by provincial government in this regard”. Another respondent from MS (UoB) was of the view that “Because of some special quota system, job opportunities and the hold of federal government of the minerals and natural resources in the province are the reasons to blame the federal government”.

4.10 The Perceived Marginalization of Youth in Terms of Resources and Opportunities

Balochistan is a province with a vast geography, comprising of 44% of the total area of Pakistan, and has multiple resources like gas in District of Dera Bugti and Sui, Copper in Saindak, gold and copper in Reko Diq, a town in Chagai district where the gold mines are found. It has a large coastal area, a deep sea port and have border with Iran and Afghanistan. Different resources and minerals have been explored and all are under direct control of Federal Government, the share of Balochistan is paid, but it is not spent fairly. The general perception of the people was that in the development, the resources of Balochistan are exploited. According to Sui Southern Gas Company (SSGC) there are thirty two (32) districts in Balochistan. Out of those thirty two (32) districts fourteen (14) have the supply of gas from Balochistan. Other eighteen (18) districts are being supplied by Synthetic Natural gas (SNG) of which expenses are bared by Federal government.

Regarding the problem that Balochistan is marginalized in terms of resources and opportunities, the one of the respondents of MS (UoB) said “Balochistan is marginalized by own government and own people, because they are less educated and awareness level is low, and they are less aware about their rights and thus why they are being neglected from resources and opportunities.

Other respondent from BS (UoB) said that “less awareness have kept the people of Balochistan from their own resources”. Another respondent from MS (BUIITEMS) was of the view that “most of the people of Balochistan are backward, due to less education and other basic facilities, and the resources of Balochistan are used by other provinces and the local people are struggling to get their hold on their resources at least, and can use it”.

Many of the respondents were of the view that Balochistan is being marginalized in terms of resources and opportunities, and they quoted that even the job quota of the province on the federal level is six percent (6%) and most of the time the settlers (people from KP and Punjab) get the jobs and local population are not given their right.

Nearly every student either simply stated in affirmation, whereas, or some went for exploring the reasons behind that. A student mentioned the incompetence of local politicians is the main cause of not getting a hand over resource and opportunities for the people of Balochistan.

4.11 Resources for Youth Provided by Provincial Government in terms of Education and Employment

After the 18th Amendment, the education and health was transferred to the province, now the province is working in all the fields and the response I got from my respondents in both universities (UoB) and (BUIITEMS) was somehow divided and almost half of the respondents were of the view that provincial government was working in a right direction, while half of the respondents were still saying that there is a lot to be done.

A respondent from MS (BUIITEMS) was of the view that “provincial government provides the students with enough resources for education but in case of employment they have failed to perform”. Another respondent from MS (UoB) has responded that “No, if such resources have been provided then most of the youth in Balochistan would not have left their families behind and went for education in search of employment outside of their hometowns and cities”.

A respondent from BS (UoB) was of the view that “despite of the education provided, most of the people do not get/reach their aim because of less employment opportunities”. A student from

MS (BUITEMS) was of the view that “somehow we are having some facilities and opportunities for foreign scholarships by provincial government”.

Though public universities have not been opened by the government same in the number as the private universities are but the facilities in the institutes in terms of education, faculty, libraries and laboratories are being upgraded. As one of the respondents from BS (UoB) responded that “the provincial government supports the students in terms of education and transportation”.

A student from MS (BUITEMS) said “yes somehow government is helping students in terms of financial support, scholarships and somehow in making them efficient and competitive to have better employment”.

4.12 Political Leaders using Ethnic Identity for Political Interests or serving Public

According to Census 2017, Balochistan had a population around 12 million. Sparsely populated west, east, south and south east of the province of Balochistan is dominated by Balochi speaking, center of the province is dominated by Brohui speaking, while in the north Pashtuns are in majority. The inhabitants of Kalat and Mastung speak Brohui. Pashtuns are significant portion of the population of Quetta, the capital of province, while Baloch and Hazara are dominant minorities. Kalat region is dominated by Baloch Brahui speakers. Coastal area is dominated by Makrani Balochi speaking (Majeed, Gulshan, 2015).

Majority empowering the general perception that supports the divide between the two tribes – their individual interests and priorities is clearly segregated as their geographical orientation. The perception of both Baloch and Pashtoon are working for their own interest and for the welfare of their own people can be perceived from the answers of many students.

“Baloch and Pashtoon are totally different, both are fighting/struggling for their own desires and interests”, as one student accounted.

However, one prospect is worthy to mention, and it highlighted the indulgence of state in favoring one over other for own cause may that be any. This idea is based on the fact that there persists a continuous rift between Pashtun and Baloch people in terms of their own land and more importantly their own identity. Balochistan, as the name implies a land for the Baloch, and clearly, it bothers the Pashtoon part as their identity is kind of compromised in this notion. There could be seen many events in the history when Pashtoon demanded their own province with the name of “Pashtoonistan” or “Pashtoonkhwa” to harbor and ensure their identity in the bigger

picture. Even some political parties thrived on the basis of this idea. Nevertheless, such efforts did not materialize. However, that very much outspoken the intentions of Pashtoon and Baloch to each other and so retained a flaring sentimental point.

5. Data Presentation II

This part of the research comprise of the data collected in the field from respondents who were my second Unit of Data Collection (UDC). They are the faculty members of the universities. Both from University of Balochistan (UoB) and Balochistan University of Information Technology, Engineering and Management Sciences (BUIITEMS), through purposive sampling six (6) faculty members, three (3) from each university. They being the lecturers of the university, better understood the role of universities in the development as a whole of Balochistan. The other thing was the ethnic harmony. Balochistan is a multi-ethnic province, and keeping that in view, I tried to get their point of view that what role the universities play in keeping the ethnic harmony or vice versa. Along with getting education, social and political awareness is also important, so I tried to also cover that what role universities paly in this regard.

5.1 Role of Educational Institutes for the Youth of Balochistan in Terms of Education and Employment Opportunities

One of the respondents, a lecturer of Sociology, from (UoB) was of the view that factually, educational institutes play a vital role in development of any society be that of Pakistan or elsewhere in the world. Now, keeping in front the ongoing conflicts and persisting unrest in the province of Balochistan, in my opinion, it is safe to claim that the cure for such lingering issues can nothing be other than empowering youth through powerful and mind changing force of knowledge through education. However, to make such possible in real sense and spirit it is compulsory to empower educational institutes to the fullest of its potential that lies in the critical dialects and logical argumentations on any matter or subject, and completely devoid of censorship and limiting rules.

In terms of employment opportunities and future prospects of jobs for upcoming youths, the institutes are nurturing oasis for that as well. An educated person will have more opportunities to contribute positively into the flow of modernism and self-development through a challenging career.

A lecturer of Pakistan Studies from (BUIITEMS), was of the view that universities prepare students for high skill and high wage jobs. The educational institutes are not doing enough in this regard. Students get admission for the sake of a degree. There is no culture of research. The

focus is more on theory and when graduates enter market they find it difficult to comprehend how it all works. Students are never clear about their goals and what profession they are passionate about Universities are offering courses which are not in demand in the market. The job market has become very saturated. It is also an uphill task to find a job with a skill set which is required for a particular job. The reason being the incapability of our education system to prepare competent workers.

A lecturer of Economics from (BUIITEMS) was of the view that first of all, we have to realize that purpose of education goes far beyond employment opportunities. Most of the youth is told in classrooms that they need to excel in education to get good jobs. This reduction of education to employment opportunities deprives students to have a vision beyond employment, which ultimately hurt their long term productive potential and chances of landing on a fulfilling job.

The second major problem with educational institutes is under qualified faculty and non-professional administrative infrastructure which is incapable of producing competitive skilled workers and business leaders for the 21st century economy. Students are mostly good at nothing else but cramming. They may have memorized whole book of economics but totally collapse when given an elementary real economic problem to solve. We need to produce students with problem-solving skills who feel comfortable in a constantly changing environment, both culturally and technologically.

Third, our faculty should focus on their primary role which is teaching. HEC has provided an incentive structure which forces faculty members to focus on producing research papers. At the end, neither valuable research is produced not quality lectures are delivered. We need to improve teaching standards to enable youth to find as well as create job opportunities.

5.2 Role of Educational Institutes Regarding Ethnic Harmony

A lecturer of Journalism from (BUIITEMS) was of the view that in educational institutes, an open merit system can be a change-harbinger factor in terms of avoiding discrimination, cynicism, and favoritism. But keeping in view the remote areas of Balochistan those are getting lesser budget in education sector, lacking proper academic style and requirements, deficiencies in teaching staff and quality of teaching, and many other factors relating to customs and traditions, it is very hard to depend on solely on merit that if applied may obviously filter a huge chunk of underprivileged students from privileged ones. Many of those underprivileged students are relating to different Baloch and Pashtun ethnicities and others relating to far flanged areas. To

bring harmony, it is desirable to provide equal opportunities to all on every academic level and later stamp merit in the overall system. This will ensure the integrity and quality of an academia as well as the sense of relating to the system.

A lecturer of Bio-Chemistry from (UoB) was of the view that I cannot see a positive role of our education institutes in creating ethnic harmony. We can see diversity. But as per my experience there is always an underlying bias and prejudice among students toward others ethnicities. And I do not think our education system does anything practically to address these issues.

A lecturer of Economics from (BUIITEMS) was of the view that educational institutes provide great opportunity for students from different ethnic backgrounds to know and understand each other. We have seen how Erasmus Generation has changed European ethnic landscape and more and more youth across Europe to identify themselves as Europeans first. However, universities can be helpful if and only if first identity remains 'student' rather than Balochi, Sindhi, Punjabi and Pashtun, etc. The problem with current system is that, at least in some universities that students divide across ethnic lines within university which actually increase ethnic tensions instead of calming down.

5.3 Education and Political Awareness as a Bench Mark for Development

One of my respondents, a lecturer Political Science, from (UoB) was of the view that educating a person does not only mean showering degrees over him but also giving a voice and opinion to that individual. That opinion may include a sense of political nuances and in length discussion on any relevant matter. A state should provide youth with opportunities for educational perfection and political discourse, as they cannot be segregated provided that political science is actually a course in higher studies.

A lecturer of Journalism from (BUIITEMS) said that education plays a big role in development whether its personal development or development of the society. Education prepare youth to contribute in the development process. It is not just a one way process. But when you say if youth has to be aware of politics, which of course as an active citizen youth should be aware of politics. If youth takes interest in the politics of the country it is a positive sign because it strengthen the process of accountability. And if leaders are accountable and systems are more transparent it will definitely lead us to development and progress.

A lecturer of Economics from (BUIITEMS) in his response said that "I don't know how you can call it education if it does not make one aware of politics and society around it. Education is a

comprehensive term and its basic purpose is, or at least should be, to prepare youth to play their role on the stage of world as good humans and citizens. Political know-how is necessary to play our role effectively and positively in society”.

5.4 Role of Educational Institutes in the Development Process of Balochistan

Educational institutes and universities are the places where the students are prepared to enter the market and society to play their role in developing both the economy and society. So this part of the discussion with respondents was that do these both universities are enhancing the capabilities of their students so they can be take a lead in the development of Balochistan?

A lecturer of Sociology, from (UoB) was of the view that there can be many definitions of development. If development is taken purely in terms of developing infrastructure and roads and every service relating to buildings, Balochistan can get huge benefits from educational institutes as they shall provide enough academically qualified human resource who can carry out businesses, investments, and planning if given proper representations. Whereas, if development is taken as human development, educational institutes are the very nurseries for that. In any sense, institutes are the key factors for any development relevant projects may that be of human or any other.

The lecturer of Pakistan Studies from (UoB) was of the view that education not only play its part in the development of a particular area it can go a long way. But of course if people are investing in education and there is more demand of education in one specific area it will prepare more competent and high skilled workers who will increase the productivity. Not only productivity, education also can change the attitude of people, change the thought process which eventually starts a process of change.

The lecturer of Economics from (BUIITEMS) said that best role educational institutes can play is to focus on their basic duties which are quality teaching and inculcating sense of morality and humanity in students. It is the role of academic institutes to lead campaign for ethnic and sectarian harmony by presenting innovative ideas and bold initiatives.

Educational institutions are considered as catalyst of change across the globe so they should train youth to play their role in development of their communities. It demands changing their mindset, inculcating a sense of duty towards community and equipping them with necessary skills and social infrastructure so that they can not only demand their rights but also help themselves.

6. Data Presentation III

This part of the research is comprised of the data collected in the field from my respondents who were my third Unit of Data Collection (UDC). They are the political representatives of the province, both from Baloch and Pashtoon ethnicity.

The interviews focused on the political history of Balochistan, development in Balochistan, their grievances, and role of tribal leaders in development of Balochistan. The harmony between Baloch and Pashtoon ethnicities was asked to know their respective views, either they co-exist or have differences which may affect their issues or remaining divided kept them underdeveloped.

A Pashtoon Senator of Pakhtunkhwa Milli Awami Party (PMAP) was interviewed and his views on the following issues were asked, as he is political leader and worker and hails from Balochistan so he has better understanding of the Pashtoon society there and the issues related to Balochistan.

The other Senator from Balochistan who was member of Balochistan National Party (BNP). As he belongs from Balochistan and is Baloch, so to have a clear understanding and facts regarding Balochistan and Baloch people.

6.1 Political History of Balochistan

Balochistan and its issues are rarely discussed in academia, news or at any other platform. It is generally perceived as a troubled area and filled with unresolved issues. Its political history has remained debated among the people of Balochistan, especially Baloch and Pashtoon.

Pashtoon Senator said that “Pakistan is a federation which comprises of Punjabi, Sindhi, Baloch, Pashtoon and other ethnicities. Pakistan has not evolved into a true federation and this is the basic reason for the problems we have now in Pakistan. Its history has remained troubled as it does not consider these different ethnic nations as same, and does not accept their rights on their soil and resources. The Pashtoon ethnic nation has felt resistance within the boundaries of Pakistan. This situation has remained from all power centers in Pakistan, including Parliament and Bureaucracy”.

He added that in 1878, the current Balochistan province was British Balochistan. British divided Pashtoon nation in different areas, in Mianwali, Punjab, in KPK and Balochistan because

Pashtoon fought with British and never let them to rule them. The area of Pashtoon which in KPK, Balochistan and Punjab is around seventy thousand square kilometers.

The Senator further added that “Pakistan has not but it is a demand and need of the hour to recognize five major languages as national languages. The culture of every ethnic nation must be respected equally. Culture and languages are being disgraced on media and social media”.

He said that “other issue which is troubling the history is the power center which mostly has remained undemocratic. Whenever any oppressed ethnic nation has took a stand for their rights have been termed as anti-State. The history of this country has been fabricated and people have been ignored of having the true picture, which has negative contribution in resolving the issues”.

As Pashtoon Senator blames the British for the problems which Balochistan has witnessed, Baloch Senator viewed that regarding the right on the resources of the province, “Baloch people have struggled, and some of the people and organization are indulge in armed struggle. The groups like Baloch Liberation Front (BLF), Baloch Liberation Army (BLA), and Baloch Republican Army (BRA) are indulge in armed struggle against the center and State and have gone to such extent that they call themselves as separatist groups, having a belief that Balochistan should be independent. There were different state of insurgency which in 1948, in 1970s and in 1980s, all were indigenous, but after 2006, when Akbar Bugti was killed, the insurgency evolved was wider and violent. In contrast to other insurgencies the tribal contribution in 2006 was very less. This insurgency remained indigenous to a certain period, but for the first time it was used as a proxy war by the foreign forces”.

Baloch Senator said that the “ongoing armed struggle has been negatively perceived in Baloch society, because the violence in this period has never been witnessed in past. Both to suppress the insurgency and the response by the insurgents was very violent. This armed struggle after 2006 has damaged the civil society more as compared to the State. The people killed by forces is not as much as they have been killed by the insurgents. People from different ethnicities have been killed, Punjabis, Pashtoon, Baloch were killed. The number of Baloch people who were killed by the insurgents was much higher than they have been killed by others because they were labeled as traitors and spies. Those people who did not support the separatists fighting against the State and army were called as sympathizers of the State and on many occasions as spies of the intelligence agencies that they were spying on the separatists and fighter of insurgent groups. In

other cases the people were called traitors as the insurgent groups' call the federal government and army the occupied force, so any one who do not take a stand against the both were labeled as traitor. These killings were carried out by members (BLA), (BLF) and (BRA)".

Baloch Senator added "the current form of insurgency has got criminalized, and it has not remained a movement, because it has gone away from the ideological basis. Insurgents are of the view that they will not allow elections, children to get education and any kind of business. In these terms no one can call it as a national movement. The political members, workers and leaders from different parties have been killed by the same insurgents".

Senator was of the view that "due to this insurgency and volatile situation, the army has got a wider space to advance its foot prints in the area which will have a lasting effect on Balochistan in general and Baloch people in particular. The situation in Balochistan has get to the extent where Baloch insurgents who take arms are of the view that those Baloch who do not support them are traitors. And those who believe in democratic process, cannot do the same, so the insurgents claims that you are with the state". Baloch Senator said that in his view this movement and struggle is neither pro-Baloch, nor pro-nationalist and it has damaged the Baloch sentiment".

6.2 Role of Tribal Leaders in Balochistan

Pashtoon Senator said that tribalism is a primitive stage of the human history. If tribalism which is embedded in the culture of Pashtoon and Baloch nation, become democratic then it will be difficult for other to get benefit of the resources. There were two kind of tribal representation, a) those who are with common understanding nominated by the people of the ethnic nation and b) those tribal chiefs who are nominated by governments/States or other power centers.

The senator said "those tribal chiefs who are nominated by other powers have been seen that they rule the people on the behalf of other powers and enjoy the perks and privileges from them. It is common perception that tribal chiefs are the main hurdles in the development process of the area, because of the insecurity they had, was if people get educated and received basic needs at their doorsteps will be empowered which ultimately will weaken their position. The other purpose of having tribal leaders is to weaken the populist political parties which goes through democratic process and have got political legitimization among the people. The main objective to field the tribal leaders were to fragmentize the society, people and the civil bureaucracy to disrupt the normal process of development".

One thing which is in the contrast and have impact of life of common people is that in Pashtoon culture it is embedded that they do not admire a central power to follow, as they do not have any such leading political figure who can lead them. While Baloch people have a strong cultural trait to follow a leader, a central power who lead them. For that one can say that Pashtoon society is democratic than Baloch society. The reason that Pashtoon society was democratic was that any political or tribal leader was considered as equal as the common man. While on other side Baloch is dominated by tribal chief in form of Sardar and Nawab.

Both Baloch and Pashtoon tribes are a kind of welfare societies when it comes to keep the communal harmony and relations intact. These welfare kind of practices are common in case of a marriage, death or any other conflict when it has to be resolved.

In Pashtoon society, when there is a conflict between people or groups, than the elders of the society come forward and make sure that two parties can negotiate and reach a conclusion which ends the reason of differences. While in Baloch community, if the case arises, the chief or tribal leader is the one who resolve this issue, the parties have to pay 1/4th of the disputed item to the chief, if it is case of land or money.

In Pashtoon society if there is marriage, then the people have to pay by their own, and the community does not help. While in Baloch society, in this case a cultural practice is found called as *Bijjar* (Sajidi, 2014), a Balochi word which means cooperation. In a tribal set-up, just before the marriage of a couple, relatives of Bridegroom ask for *Bijjar* from their tribesmen, to conduct the marriage ceremony. The tribesmen provide *Bijjar* in the form of animals like goats, sheep, cows, cash and crops. The relatives of Bridegroom who receives this aid will return it to their tribesmen, when they come to collect their *Bijjar*.

In Pashtoon society the people still have communal lands (*Shamilat*) and communal properties, which are held by the sub-tribe of a society. In contrast the Baloch people have the lands which are held by the tribal leaders.

Baloch Senator said that tribalism itself is a primitive term and it means a primitive society and keeping this in view no one in this modern age can term the tribalism as a positive system. When the system is negative and anti-social then how one can expect the leaders or the head of this

society as positive and moderate. The damage which the tribal leaders have done to Balochistan, no one else have done in this way.

He added that if we compare, Afghanistan became a state, while Balochistan did not, the reason for this is that Khan of Qalat, Mir Ahmad Yar Khan (1933-55), could not hold his authority on the tribal leaders, the Sardars and Nawabs. Meanwhile the British to weaken the position of Khan of Qalat used the Sardar and Nawab. If the Sardar have not played a negative role, the Baloch State have been founded very early. Those Sardar with the help of British not let Balochistan to become a State.

In District Sarawan, the Sardar for survival, also do social work in the society and also seek the help of the State. In many districts in Baloch belt, like Dalbandin, Chaghi, Noshki, Kharan, Punjgoor and Makran the Sardar and Nawab have almost lost their presence. Now the State understanding that these Sardar are not useful as much, so they make new roles in the society to carry out their policies. In district Sarawan, Marri, Dera Bugti, tribalism still has its presence. In district Jhalwan tribalism is strong. In feudal areas like Nasirabad tribalism has it deep roots.

Baloch Senator was of the view that in Pashtoon area the tribal system has almost lost its presence, and neither Khan nor Malik has such importance in their societies. As the era of Khan and Malik is near to over, so as the democratization of the Pashtoon society is taking place. Pashtoon society is now electing their representatives in elections and have rejected those Malik and Khan who in past were contesting on their own, and later being a member of any political party, but now they have been rejected in elections and in general elections of 2018 they lost.

He further added that Sardar and Nawab also have used the tactic to change their loyalties and frequently changes the parties where they can retain their presence. They are compelled to do so because they have not such large tribe where they can get support for being elected on their own. On the other hand, political parties also do not have a wide presence in the masses so they can get their support so they to show their strength the tribal leaders to extended their base.

6.3 Baloch and Pashtoon Differences in Balochistan

Pashtoon Senator was of the view that in terms of resources and finance Baloch area is given preference as compared to Pashtoon areas. In Finance, Baloch gets 80 percent of the budget while other 20 percent share is allocated for Pashtoon areas. In 2017 Census the counting of

actual population was compromised. In terms of de-limitation, the national and provincial constituencies was also compromised on fabricated census. It was contested not only in Balochistan but in Sindh, Punjab, Karachi and KPK people complained about the discrepancies in the process of Census. The census is the basis of resource allocation, and on these basis opportunities and finance in sector of education, food, water, employment is decided.

He added that Pashtoon has a demand of federating unit which only comprises of Pashtoon nation as other Punjabi and Sindhi have. Pashtoon and Baloch have to remain equal and united, if both ethnic groups want Balochistan to get developed. If both Baloch and Pashtoon get united, they can take their due share in resources and autonomy from the center, but Baloch is not committed to this. Baloch ethnic group is also not in favor of an autonomous Pashtoon province.

He further added that due to unequal representation in provincial assembly, Baloch understands that Pashtoon cannot get legal and constitutional requirements, so they tempt Pashtoon to bring the resolution for a Pashtoon province. Pashtoon leaders are of the view, unless they have not the majority on provincial level, they will not take any such step regarding a separate province.

He regarding the insurgency in Balochistan said that both Pashtoon and Baloch are struggling to get their share in resources from the center, and there is also an armed struggle in Baloch areas which is resisting the State and center in these terms, but they are not highlighted in media. The policy is this that to ignore it or keeping it under the carpet will make the situation normal is a mistake, until addressed.

The Baloch Senator added that it is a fact that the differences of Baloch and Pashtoon have been exploited by the center. The rights on resources, decisions and other matters have not been accepted by the center. The politicians and other leaders have not been allowed to make their own policies. The federal government and the other state institutes have not empowered the people of Balochistan, and have formulated policies for the province while remaining in the center.

The Pashtoon, Baloch differences are of many types and for different reasons. Baloch want empowered province where the people can exercise their own power and policies, while Pashtoon have another demands and they call for a separate federating unit, where Pashtoon of

Balochistan and KPK can have a province on their own name and can have their say in using resources and making policies.

He presenting his reservations, said it has been observed that the alleged registration of the Afghan refugees as the citizens of Pakistan and including them in the local population has been a very serious concern for Baloch, which is a legitimate concern, as it can impact on the census. As census is the basic tool for the division of resources so it will impact the share of Baloch in Balochistan and as well for Pashtoon.

The Baloch Senator said that another thing which Pashtoon Politicians blame the Baloch politicians for that they are not in the favor of a separate Pashtoon province is not right. Baloch politicians have maintained the position that Pashtoon should table a resolution for their demand, but they remaining in parliamentary politics from years have not taken up the issue. Baloch are of the view if they will, Pashtoon demand will be supported.

These kind of difference are not healthy for the province as a whole, and remaining divided, our case of rights on resources, share in finance, representation in federal government and job share has been impacted the most.

6.4 Development in Balochistan

The Pashtoon Senator was of the view that in Balochistan development has not been a priority either for central government or provincial government. In terms of education the universities and colleges in other provinces have been established decades ago, even before the Independence. Punjab University was founded in 1882, University of Peshawar was founded in 1950. Sindh University was established in 1974. While in Balochistan, university was founded in 1970.

He added that in KPK, Punjab and Sindh dams have been built years ago, while in Balochistan, no such large dam has been built to store the rain water. In Balochistan in the past government inaugurated the first phase of Kachhi Kanal project which is 300 km long and irrigates the land of Sibi district. This project is believed to change the fate of the residents of districts of Dera Bugti, Naseerabad and Jhal Magsi.

He further commented that in Political sphere, whenever any political leader raised voice for provincial autonomy was and is still labeled as anti-state. Major political parties and leaders have been replaced by a new generation of leaders, just to weaken the resistance of the province for their due rights in terms of finance, resources and autonomy.

Pashtoon Senator argued that in civil bureaucracy, the appointments are made who resist the provincial government and disrupts the normal process of development on each level. The reason for this is explained as the political leadership is incompetent and they cannot run the day to day routine of the province.

In jobs and employment opportunities, the departments are not creating enough vacancies to absorb the youth who after completion their education are in search of jobs.

The peace and stability is not in good condition, the militancy, insurgency and terrorism have not been contained, and it has affected the life of common people to a great extent.

The Baloch Senator said that in Balochistan there is limited communication, education and basic infrastructure. And wherever the development is carried out the people get opportunities. It is obvious and everyone knows that with the education the sense of empowerment become common, which in tribal societies is seen as a silent revolt against the system through which the leaders control the common people.

In District Khuzdar, the people started agriculture, and when people along with their crops went to Karachi for sale, at that time he became the owner of that crops. He got a sense that he is the real owner. When the people of agriculture sector got wealth and became empowered, it was a turning point in making the tribal system weak. When the infrastructure and roads were built from Quetta to Karachi, the people became more empowered. In this way wherever the social work became common and people got needs, and empowered, slowly and gradually the tribal system lost its roots in the society.

The Baloch Senator commenting on the problems of Balochistan said that federal government is one of the factors, which since 1947 till 1980 ignored the province in terms of development, political process and to provide basic needs. Federal government using the tribal leaders ruled

Balochistan and its government. Through this tactic, the Sardar, Nawab and Malik, rather being weak, got stronger, because they were backed and supported by State.

The Baloch Senator added that in my view, “as the tribalism is getting weaker, the pace of development will increase, but there is another serious trend. People have distanced themselves from nationalist politics, because the nationalist politics have been hijacked by Sardar and Khan. When people went towards democratic politics the same Sardar and Khan were present there. The trend which people have now chosen is that they give the space to the religious parties. Religious parties are as dangerous for society as tribalism is. The common people to ignore Sardar and Khan, went towards religious parties so make their concerns heard. The people thought that they are strong in their faith and goes with the sayings of Islam so they will make space for people of lesser trouble”. He added that this trend of electing religious parties is not in the favor of the development and the very people because the religious parties’ members are also against the very phenomenon of development and education labelling it as a western agenda.

He said that religious trend in Balochistan has negative impacts. The political parties to not have gone into such situation must have get themselves modernized and organized, so they could have been an alternate of all others.

All those flaws which the tribalism has, been embedded and secured in the name of religious parties which have severely hampered the development process in every aspect.

6.5 Right on Natural Resources

Pashtoon Senator of PKMAP, being member of ‘Senate Committee for Less Developed Areas’ said that in Pakistan, the less developed area is 71 percent both in terms of infrastructure and basic needs and around 90 percent of the natural resources are found in less developed areas. In Balochistan, except Quetta, all other districts are less developed areas. In Sindh around six to seven districts are less developed. In Punjab four districts are less developed. Former FATA, four districts in KPK and Gilgit Baltistan are less developed areas. The coastal area, other areas adjoin to Afghanistan and Iran border are also less developed. Gilgit Baltistan which has border with China is also less developed. According to surveys by U.N and Planning Commission of Pakistan, Balochistan has more poverty following by former FATA, and 70 percent of the area

and populations is below poverty line. 30 percent of the populations lives on one dollar a day, 40 percent have income of 2 dollars a day.

He added the budget of the central government for these areas is less in contrast what is spent on developed areas. Less developed areas are much ignored which then results in injustice and create problems for those people and those in power. It has been observed that in Pakistan the developed areas have witnessed a rapid development, while less developed areas have been faced with rapid underdevelopment. The role of civil bureaucracy is the most prominent which has resulted in underdevelopment of those areas.

He was of the view that main reason of keeping other areas underdeveloped is that Punjab being the most populist province has less resources, so it reach out to the resources of other provinces to live on. Punjab has one of the finest and most developed infrastructure in form of roads and motorways. It has one of the best irrigational system in the world. It has most industrial units, power generation capacity, and all the raw material used in for the development is based on the resources and raw materials of those less developed areas.

The Baloch Senator, member of BNP said that the concerns of the people have to be heard and their due share on the resources have to ensure. As there are mineral resources in Balochistan, but the government and the people have a little say in it because all the projects have been exploring and extracting of minerals including gold, copper and gas have been initiated by federal government before the 18th amendment of the constitution, and at that time the representation of the province in policy formulation and representation was very less. The major resources which are gas, copper, gold and the most important the CPEC, and the importance of Gawadar in the CPEC should be aligned with the interests and betterment of the people.

Baloch Senator added that federal government has not given the due share either in gas, copper, gold or any other minerals which are found, excavated and exported by the companies. When the agreement s are signed, the clause is agreed that specific amount will be spent on the local population of the area, but it never has been implemented, that's why those areas like Saindak, Riko Diq, Gawadar, Dera Bugti and other areas where all these resources are found and used, have not experienced the development and betterment in their life.

He explaining the reasons of Balochistan being underdeveloped, said the ownership issue on the resources has created a sense of insecurity among the people who are cautious and are of the view that it is mere a development on the name of exploitation of resources. He added that these are many of the factors which have kept many development projects and initiatives from being implemented. These hurdles have contributed in negative terms and Balochistan is the least developed among other provinces in Pakistan.

6.6 Impact of 18th Amendment of 1973 Constitution in the Development of Balochistan

Pashtoon Senator giving his point of view on the issue said that in the process of 18th Amendment many parties along with the concerns accepted it in a larger impact to have on the country as a federation. PKMAP demand was to make a separate federating unit for Pashtoon so they can have their own ethnic representation as other ethnic nations have in Pakistan. The other demand of the parties was to recognize the major languages as national languages. The Senate, as a House of Federation must be given autonomy so it the true federation can become a reality. All over the world the Senate is a powerful institution, which decides the internal and foreign policies and have a say in all matters, which unfortunately is lacking in Pakistan.

There are more ministries on federal level after the 18th amendment. Ministries of education, health and food rather being transferred to strengthen provincial autonomy, have also been made on federal level. The education and health ministry has been transferred to provinces but still the ministries are present on federal level. Ministry for food is also still present on the federal level.

Baloch member Senate was of the view that the 18th amendment if implemented in real sense can solve much of the problems either on central or provincial level. After the amendment the province cannot escape from its responsibilities, by blaming the center. Though the concerns in the allocation of financial sector is legitimate but the province has to work hard on its own resources in the field of education, health and in providing jobs.

The province has now much space to formulate its course and to create opportunities for their own people. The leaders and politicians have now instead of getting away with have to change their approach and to work for the betterment of the people. If our own people will not play their role in the development process, we have to make understand that no other will be willing to

help, so it is the need of hour to make sense and formulate the people-friendly policies and implement in the due course to bring Balochistan in the same line as other provinces.

6.7 Solutions of the Problems for the Development of Balochistan

Member Senate belonging from PKMAP, explaining the troubles facing by the province also suggested some steps to resolve the issues of Balochistan. As we know that there are multiple factors due to which the development of Pakistan has been compromised, and problems have gone serious, so to normalize the situation and bring Pakistan back to the development, a) Pakistan as country must be made as a Federation. b) All the federating units must be made empowered, and their due rights should be accepted. c) The parliament should be made empowered, where the representatives of the people can formulate policies. d) The state institutions must be de-politicized. e) The justice system should be made which can provide justice according to the law and constitution. f) All the ethnic nations, including Punjabi, Sindhi, Balochi and Pashtoon should be given equality on the central level. g) The natural resources must be given to the provinces where they are found. If implemented all the points above, Pakistan can truly become a Federation and can develop in true manners.

Baloch Senator narrating his views regarding Balochistan also suggested some steps for solving the issues of Balochistan and recommended a) The Baloch insurgency should be ended as early as possible because it has damaged the right cause of Baloch people. b) The political parties have to regain their space by going more democratic and ignoring the practice of embracing the rejected tribal leaders by the people. c) The federal government and state has to stop backing the tribal leaders to pursue their interests and policies. d) The due share of the people on their resources have to be accepted. e) The Baloch and Pashtoon differences have to be negotiated and resolved for their struggle of empowerment to be felt in the power centers.

7. Analysis of Primary Data

The general perception regarding Balochistan which persisted was that for all the problems and the issues either political, administrative or development were blamed on the federal government and its policies. Now after conducting the research it may be argued that the opinion and the view of the people have to some extent negated the above reason for all their problems. The primary reason, provincial government and administration has been viewed the factor behind the underdevelopment of Balochistan.

The data for the research which has been obtained shows a certain pattern which is qualitative in nature. Most of the respondents were split in their opinions about two main things: One, the majority of the respondents showed a tendency towards the democratization of the traditional tribal system. Second many of the respondents did not consider either tribal leaders or the elected politicians in the provincial assembly to be their representatives.

In the area where culture matters a lot, and the symbolism which the culture have given to some roles, mainly leadership roles is now diminishing. According to the data collected from the students of the universities, out of thirty (30), thirteen (13) students were of the view neither tribal leaders nor politicians are their true representatives. Other ten (10) students opined that politicians are their representatives. Only three (3) students said that tribal leaders; Sardar, Nawab and Malik are their representatives. The remaining six (6) students were of the view that both politicians and tribal leaders are their representatives. The trend which have been observed through the data shows that in the educational circle, most of the students see that now they have move forward. Because the cultural legitimation of the certain roles is no more beneficial for them.

The research further showed a tendency that the respondents did not believe that the federal government is responsible for the accumulation of the province resources nor did they blame the federal government as a sole reason for their marginalization. The blame however, is shouldered on the elected representatives of the provincial government. The reason being the 18th Amendment which the respondents believe has resolved the dominancy of the federal on the provincial government.

The increasing trend which the data presents, towards the political representatives is showing that the belief in the democratic process is increasing. The reason of the trend is that if someone does not perform, the people have the power to not re-elect them. In the recent elections, most of traditional leaders who were in member assemblies were not re-elected, because they failed to perform. It also shows that people are now challenging the cultural barriers, which they thought are not allowing anyone to get developed because of the values they have to go with in specific culture.

Regarding the development of Balochistan, both students and faculty members were of the view that provincial government and their representatives have not done what they were supposed to do. The development in all forms, may it be human, economic or infrastructural, they have not met the people's expectations. The reason which the respondents figured out were that due to the change in governments, particularly in last 6 years have not let the policies and projects to be smoothly implemented. In last six years, once in People's Party tenure, the law and order situation compelled the federal government to impose the governor rule in January 2103. In last five years the provincial government was changed three times (May 2013, December 2015, and January 2018).

The change of governments, will of the representatives, non-implementation of the policies have contributed to the situation and development process has not progressed. Earlier the federal government was blamed for the reasons, but after the 18th amendment people were of the view that now the provincial government is responsible, because the power have been transferred to them from the center.

In past, politicians were blaming that federal governments are responsible, but now the people of Balochistan are not believing it, because they lack the basic facilities and are blaming the province for not providing that, and that is also the reason that we have seen that traditional politicians are now facing the public scrutiny and they have been rejected through democratic process.

The very persisting issue in the educational sector is that they still have not prioritized it in their policies. Provincial government has not been serious in investing educational sector. Lack of infrastructure, academic faculties, and other facilities in educational institutes including libraries,

transport are impacting the whole population in terms of getting education. The lack of educational facilities is not allowing the students to have better knowledge and skills so they can compete in the market for better jobs and higher studies.

The slow progress of development in all terms have many reasons. Pashtoon political representatives have multiple times raise their voice for separate province, they call as “Greater Pushtoonistan”, and Baloch leaders who are residing outside the country and are in self-exile have struggled for Independent Balochistan. The Pashtoon leaders have not struggled in the way Baloch are doing. Baloch people are of the view that their resources are being exploited and their share is not being given to them. They are also of the view that there are human rights violations which must be addressed to lessen the grievances of the population.

Recently after the general elections in July Baloch leader Akhter Mengal, Member National Assembly from District Khuzdar have submitted the data of more than five thousand people whom he and Baloch people claim that they have been disappeared and are missing, and they must be presented before the court of law, so the hatred and differences between the people and government can be diminished.

The issue on which both the ethnic groups have remained divide have put them off from the real issues which are costing the common people the most in terms of basic facilities and employment opportunities. Though the issue of missing still persists but it has not been taken seriously by both the provincial and federal government which has kept the Baloch ethnic group from contributing in the development process of Balochistan.

In another case, which shows that political interests have been given importance is that previous government and Higher Education Commission announced to build four public universities in Balochistan. One of the university was named as University of Sibi, in district Sibi. Sibi is multi ethnic district. In provincial assembly a motion was moved that its name must be changed, and the motion was moved by Baloch members and they wanted it to be named after their late leader Mir Chakar Khan. Pashtoon members objected and the motion was referred to the parliamentary committee. The matter has still not been resolved. And the building is still under construction (Shahid, Feb, 2018). It shows that identity politics is being done at the cost of the development which is not in the interests of the people and the leaders themselves.

In another case when the general elections were announced the Baloch leaders wanted polls to be delayed. The Balochistan Assembly passed a resolution seeking a month-long delay in the holding of upcoming general elections, even as the opposition staged a walk-out in protest against the move. Opposition leader Abdul Rahim Ziaratwal opposed the resolution, saying such a proposal was tantamount to wrapping up democracy for good (Syed Ali Shah, May, 2018). The Baloch leaders were of the view that the weather in different areas remain hot so it must be delayed, while Pashtoon leaders were of the view that it may disrupt the democratic process.

Regarding higher education and political awareness, development and space for critical thinking in universities, the universities have to be allowed to enhance their capabilities in terms of education, knowledge, political and social awareness and being from multi ethnic province it will create an environment which will ensure ethnic harmony. And the ethnic harmony in case of Balochistan is very important because it still has serious political differences on many terms.

Baloch areas have vast natural resources, and Pashtoon belt is dependent on business and fruit orchards, which is the main difference in Baloch and Pashtoon areas. Baloch have a sense of ownership in terms of natural resources, which Pashtoon people do not have. The other thing which is still a concerning matter is that the Afghan refugees who are have taken refugee since Soviet War have now two generations residing in Pashtoon areas. Many are believed to have got the citizenship through illegal and corrupt means. Baloch have grievances on this issue, and are of the view that they should be sent back to their country. Pashtoon having a cultural and in different cases blood relations refuse to send them back. Baloch perceive this a threat to change in their demographic reality.

All the above mentioned reasons are a hurdle in a smooth political and development process which only have added the miseries and hardship of the people of Balochistan. They still are lacking basic facilities and are struggling to have a better life.

The population of both Baloch and Pashtoon still reserves and have concerns regarding the history of the Balochistan, about the development process and its hardships. But they share the same view regarding the tribalism and the tribal leaders, and are of the view that center and state used the tribalism and its leaders to pursue their policies and interests. They said that unfortunately tribal leaders have kept Balochistan deprived from developing.

The concerning thing which was not in favor of Balochistan, that Pashtoon wants a separate federating unit for the whole Pashtoon in Pakistan, while Baloch claims that they will support Pashtoon, but this perception has left Balochistan divided in the spat of Baloch and Pashtoon. The concerning issue, the insurgency in Balochistan has been contained to some extent, but both Baloch and Pashtoon are of the view that concerns should be addressed and the insurgency must be ended as it is damaging the right causes of Balochistan.

Balochistan, since its annexation with Pakistan in 1948, has been ruled through external and internal segregated policies. Balochistan has seen political rules, military operations and intense insurgencies, but still none of the politician, its tribal leaders, center of State has formulated pro-people policies so Balochistan can get developed in true sense.

Recommendations

The need of the hour is that the rights of the people on their resources must be accepted, which in once and for ever will end the sense of insecurity and will be call them the real owner of their soil. Second the people must be insured that the money from the resources should be spent on them. The people will involve themselves in the development process which will be a healthy direction for Balochistan.

The last but not the least the leaders must formulate pro-people policies and the government has now to address the issues of the people, then we can expect positive developments and can have hope of bright future.

8. Significance of the Study

Development of the people is one of the main concerns of the governments and States, to include all the population in the beneficial circle and to equally uplift the standards of life of the whole population. It is a utopian situation, but it is the need of hour to take such steps to better the human development. The studies carried out have tried and focused the reasons of the under development, though this study also looked into the same dimension but it opens the new dimension that why local politicians and tribal leaders have not contributed in a way for the development of Balochistan. The Significance of the study is look into the reasons of the keeping the locals underdeveloped by their local representatives, and the interests they pursue by keeping them deprived of the most facilities they themselves enjoy while living in the same locale.

The study may help the non-governmental organizations, the concerned public administration to formulate any strategy to create awareness in both the local population and their local rulers that how to keep the interests of the masses in priorities to be served in the first place.

9. Appendix

Research Questions

For the research and data collection purpose I opted to have semi structured interviews, and for that I formulated different questions to be asked from respondents, which I tried to cover all the aspects and objectives which my study was supposed to find out. I formulated questions from development, to the perception about local representatives, from resources to opportunities, from federal to provincial government and their role, from ethnic identity to political interests. For that purpose the following questions were asked in the semi-structured interview from the students who were my first unit of data collection (UDC) in my research.

- a. How you perceive development?
- b. Do you think Balochistan is developed on any front among economic, human and infrastructural development?
- c. Who do you think our local representatives are? The local leaders like Nawab and Sardar or the politicians representing the population in legislative assemblies.
- d. Do you think those representatives/ leaders are playing their part in the development process?
- e. Do you think they are a hurdle or progressive about the development of the local population?
- f. There is a common perception that Sardars and Nawab do not want the development projects like education, health and infrastructure to keep the people underdeveloped for their political and personal interests. What is your opinion regarding that?
- g. Can you name any development project in your area and its implementation stage?
- h. Do you feel that there is some kind of obstacles in implementing that project in any stage?
- i. If yes then who are resisting it?
- j. Do you believe that the resisting party is creating hurdles for their political are other interests?
- k. To blame the federal government for each and every problem the province is facing, how you perceive this blame game?
- l. In terms of resources and opportunities, do you think the people of Balochistan are marginalized?
- m. As a youth do you have enough resources provided by provincial government in terms of educational institutes and employment?

- n. Regarding the federal and provincial policies, do you think the youth of Balochistan is marginalized?
- o. What you will prioritize for the youth as a resource so they can get education and employment, Economic, infrastructural or human development?
- p. Regarding the educational environment provided to you, do you feel that it is fair enough to make you able to compete and get your deserved place?
- q. Balochistan is a multi-ethnic province; Baloch and Pashtun have the larger population. Who you think is more deprived in terms of resources and opportunities?
- r. Both Baloch and Pashtun leaders are in politics, do you think they are using ethnic identity (being oppressed as a group) for their political interests or they are serving the people's interest?

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