

DOING DEVELOPMENT IN ARMED CONFLICT ZONES: THE PRACTITIONERS' VOICES FROM BALOCHISTAN



Submitted by

Muhammad Shakeel Khan
Shakeelkhan_16@pide.edu.pk
(PIDE2016FMPHILDS06)

Supervised by

Dr. Junaid Alam Memon

**DEPARTMENT OF DEVELOPMENT STUDIES
PAKISTAN INSTITUTE OF DEVELOPMENT ECONOMICS
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Pakistan Institute of Development Economics
P.O. Box 1091, Islamabad, Pakistan

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that this thesis entitled: “*Doing Development in Armed Conflict Zones: The Practitioners’ Voices from Balochistan*” submitted by Muhammad Shakeel Khan 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.

Supervisor:

Dr. Junaid Alam Memon
Assistant Professor
Pakistan Institute of Development Economics
Islamabad

External Examiner:

Dr. Rao Nadeem Alam
Assistant Professor
Department of Anthropology,
Quaid-i-Azam University
Islamabad

Head,
Department of Development Studies:

Dr. Zulfiqar Ali
Assistant Professor
Pakistan Institute of Development Economics
Islamabad

Date of Examination: June 13, 2019

DEDICATION

*To my late Paternal Grand Mother Khan Zadi Mai,
who taught me to face hardships of life in tactical and ethical manners.*

May her soul rest in peace...

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ABSTRACT

After Second World War, the mode of armed conflicts shifted from inter-state to intra-state. All over world, internal battles have created challenges in the field for development agencies. The Balochistan, one of conflicted affected provinces of Pakistan is facing different forms of conflicts since seventy years and these conflicts are hurdles in socio-economic development of the province. Further, development practitioners are facing different challenges in the implementation of development projects in conflict zones of Balochistan.

This research focuses on voices of development practitioners in implementation of development projects in conflict zones of Balochistan. The objectives of research are; first, to investigate that nature of project determines sensitivity of conflict, second, challenges faced by development practitioners in conflict zones of Balochistan for implementation of development projects and third, strategies adopted for implementation of development projects in conflict zones to overcome challenges.

For conducting this research, qualitative case-study approach is used and the study is descriptive in nature. Four cases are selected for doing this study; two social sector projects are polio campaign in Balochistan focusing on districts of Quetta, Pishin, Killa-Abudllah and Khuzdar, and Balochistan Education Support Project (BEP) with selection of districts of Quetta, Khuzdar and Awaran. The remaining two infrastructure projects are Refugee Affected & Hosting Areas Project (RAHA) focusing on districts of Quetta and Chagai, and construction of Turbat- Buleda Road with concentration on Kech district. The tools used for data collection are structured observations and in-depth interviews. Moreover, for this research, purposive sampling is used along with sample size of forty with bifurcation of ten for each case.

The results of four cases show that development practitioners face challenges in implementation of development projects and they use some strategies to deal with those challenges. Major challenges include dominancy of local customs and religious thoughts, security problems and lack of skilled labour for implementation of development projects in conflict zones of Balochistan. The main strategies applied for implementation of development projects are community based development, engagement with powerful actors, local approach and out of box solutions. Furthermore, from findings it is evaluated that social and infrastructure sector projects

are source of conflict in religiously dominated Pashtun and ethnically dominated Baloch areas of Balochistan respectively.

Keeping in view findings of research, it is recommended that development practitioners should consider the environment before implementation of development projects. Moreover, for successful implementation of development projects, development practitioners may implement those schemes which are based on genuine needs of community called community based development. Secondly, they should adapt local approach for implementation of development projects because it makes tasks easy. Lastly, for doing development, development practitioners may use innovative methods because traditional methods do not give desired results.

Key Words: Conflict, Development, Balochistan, Project.

List of Abbreviations

ADB	Asian Development Bank
ANGO	Afghan Non-Governmental Organisation
BEP	Balochistan Education (Support) Project
CERP	Commander's Emergency Response Program
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CPEC	China-Pakistan Economic Corridor
DPCR	District Polio Control Room
EOC	Emergency Operating Center
FATA	Federally Administrated Tribal Areas
FWO	Frontier Works Organisation
GPE	Global Partnership for Education
GOB	Government of Balochistan
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organisation
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency
MILF	Moro – Islamic Liberation Front
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NPA	New People's Army
NSP	National Solidarity Program
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
P & DD	Planning and Development Department
PC	Planning Commission of Pakistan
PEOC	Provincial Emergency Operating Center
PIPS	Pakistan Institute for Peace Studies

PTMC	Parents-Teachers (School) Management Committee
RAHA	Refugee Affected and Hosting Areas
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
UNDP	United Nation Development Program
UNESCO	The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNICEF	The United Nations International Children’s Emergency Fund

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Chapter 1 Introduction

This chapter deals with background of the research, conflict and development with reference to Balochistan, problem statement, operationalization of problem statement, research objectives, rationale and significance of research, definition of key terms, and organisation of the research.

1.1 Background

End of Cold War changed nature of conflicts from inter-state to intra-state and since 2010 the numbers of deaths from internal battles have increased. In 2016, 76% of total battle deaths in Syria, Afghanistan and Iraq were due to intra-state battles there. Syria's death toll alone counted at 400,000 lives since March, 2011 (United Nations and World Bank, 2017). Middle East and North Africa that together accounted for 5% population of world witnessed 68% of conflict related deaths and 45% of the terrorist's incidents (Williams, 2016). Another study (Denny & Walter, 2014) shows that after World War II, almost 64 % civil wars in the globe are fought on ethnic grounds, while, 36.24 % are fought on non-ethnic matters. According to (The World Bank, 2011) report the number of countries affected with major or minor civil wars increased from 17 % in 1960 to 35 % in 2008 and among these 90 % are those having history of internal armed conflicts. In majority of Central America and Africa, homicides have increased since 1999. Supporting this narrative, another World Bank study (Marc, Verjee, & Mogaka, 2015) on West Africa shows that during the last three decades, inter-state wars have declined and insurgencies from non-state have increased dramatically. The civil wars in Sierra Leone and Liberia killed 800,000 people until 2000s and similarly the death tolls in Mali and Nigeria have increased since 2007 due to civil armed conflicts.

Conflict and violence are two different but interchangeable terms. Conflict exists when there is disagreement among people on different issues. Most of the time conflict is peaceful in nature but when conflict produces negative results then it becomes violent. It means basis or roots of violence are present in conflict (Council of Europe, 2018). As internal violence is increasing, so these conflicts pose challenges for development. One of the studies (Tschirgi, Lund, & Mancini, 2010) illustrates that violence and development are bi-directionally correlated. Moreover, the conflicts produce development challenges, and direct and indirect costs. Direct costs may include damaged infrastructure and physical disabilities, while, the indirect costs may cover displaced population, lower educational opportunities, high unemployment and brain drain (Skaperdas,

2010). In the development projects, practitioners are mostly concerned with infrastructure part of direct cost, as some indirect costs are slightly associated with it. Due to destruction of infrastructure and other tangible assets because of civil war in Rwanda, households' income reduced causing many to fall in poverty trap (Justino & Verwimp, 2013). Moreover, countries affected with violence were unable to achieve Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)¹ and they were lagging behind almost in every indicator (Narayan & Petesch, 2010). The countries affected with violence may not be able to achieve Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)² as almost 50% of the poor people will be living in conflict regions by 2030 (OECD, 2015). In Syria, due to high intensity conflict, the economy has dropped 19-36% of production capacity till 2016. It means that Syrian economy produces \$ 20-38 billion less each year. So, extreme violence in any country can badly affect employment rate, GDP growth rate, trade and can displace people (Mueller & Tobias, 2016), and thereby remains major policy concern. Increasing number of intra-state conflict, global ambitiousness for SDGs and concentration of global poor in conflict ridden regions implies that doing development in such regions would continue to be difficult. In the succeeding text the global trends of rising conflict has been exemplified with brief background of inter-state conflict and its complexity in Balochistan province of Pakistan.

1.2 Conflict and Development in Pakistan with Special Reference to Balochistan

The security situation in Pakistan has deteriorated during last decade and more than 50,000 people including civilians and law enforcement personnel have been killed. Despite 16% decline compared to 2016, still 370 terrorist attacks were reported in 2017 causing 815 killings and 1736 injuries. Militants groups with religious, nationalist and sectarian motives carried out these attacks. For instance in 2017, Balochistan³ remained the most affected region bearing 44% of total number of attacks in Pakistan (Rana, 2018).

Although there is a decrease in terrorist attacks in Pakistan but in Balochistan, situation is grave. In 2016 alone in three suicide attacks in different localities of Balochistan, 180 people were killed. In Northern areas of Balochistan, religious militancy is on rise, while, in Southern areas where nationalist separatist insurgents are dominant, their strength is decreasing with the passage of time but still they are long-term threats. Nationalist insurgent groups are active in many

¹ These were eight development goals from 2000 to 2015 set by UN in Millennium Summit in 2000 for 191 UN member states (www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/sgreview/mdg_goals.html).

² These are seventeen development goals set by UN for all member states in 2015 and targets are to be achieved by 2030 (<https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/post2015/transformingourworld>).

³ Balochistan is largest out of four provinces of Pakistan covering 43.6 % of Pakistan (<http://www.balochistan.gov.pk>). Balochistan is also least populated province having 5.9 % of total population as per 2017 population census of Pakistan (<http://www.pbscensus.gov.pk/>).

districts of Balochistan, mostly in Makran division, including Gwadar District; the hub of China-Pakistan Economic Corridor⁴ (Zulfiqar, 2017).

The Balochistan has history of nationalist insurgency since the creation of Pakistan. On 15th August 1947, a day after creation of Pakistan, Khan of Kalat⁵ declared independence and this was confirmed by assembly of Kalat. However, on first April, 1948, Pakistan army marched into Kalat state and arrested Khan. Due to military annexation, the Khans' brother, Prince Abdul Karim started armed guerrilla struggle against Pakistan in May 1950, but was arrested after some time. Prince Karim again started the second guerrilla resistance in 1958 against One Unit scheme and arrest of Khan of Kalat. During this period, 90-year-old Nawab Nauroz Khan⁶ supported Prince Karim struggle. Third resistance came in late 60s under famous guerrilla leader Sher Muhammad Marri⁷, in which Marri tribe fought against Pakistani forces. Fourth resistance started in 1973, after dismissal of Balochistan government in February 1973, this was the deadliest out of all resistances, as thousands of people died, and many fled to Afghanistan and USSR. The fifth guerrilla resistance started in late 2004 and result was killing of veteran nationalist leader Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti⁸ allegedly by Pakistan army on 26th August 2006. This led start of target killings of settlers⁹ and security forces in Balochistan, along with destruction of infrastructure and damaging ongoing development projects (Samad, 2014).

Due to security problems in past and present, infrastructure and social development have remained a challenge in Balochistan. The Baloch people are not willing to accept mega projects because they think that first, it will threaten their social and cultural designs, and secondly the influx of non-provincial workers will turn their majority into minority. So, majority mega infrastructure projects are resisted by Baloch insurgents (Bansal, 2008). Due to religious, nationalist and sectarian militancy, the completion of development projects especially of CPEC posed question for future socio-economic uplift of the province. Although security measures

⁴ China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) is \$ 46 Billion investment of China for regional connectivity between China and Pakistan, which aimed at economic regionalization through road, rail and air transportation system, (<http://cpec.gov.pk/>).

⁵ He was head of princely state 'Kalat' in British Balochistan and like other princely states, Kalat was given choice either to join Pakistan or India (<http://www.thefridaytimes.com/tft/the-raj-and-the-khan/>).

⁶ He was 90-year old head of a Baloch tribe 'Zehri' and opposed one-unit. He fought against Pakistan army in 1958, surrendered in 1959 and died in jail in 1964 (<https://www.thenews.com.pk/archive/print/424827-killings-of-zehris-and-history-of-balochistan%E2%80%99s- plight>).

⁷ He was a Baloch guerrilla fighter who led thousands of people of Marri tribe to fight against Pakistan army in 1960s for five years in Quetta and both parties made ceasefire in 1968. He died in 1993 in Mumbai, India. (<https://www.independent.co.uk/news/people/obituary-sher-mohammed-marri-2323664.html>).

⁸ He was chief of Bugti Baloch tribe and killed in military operation on August 2006. He remained governor and chief minister of Balochistan, and elected many times to National Assembly of Pakistan. (<https://thediplomat.com/2016/08/balochistan-and-the-killing-of-akbar-bugti-10-years-later/>).

⁹ They are non-Baloch and non-Pashtun people living in Balochistan specially people from Punjab province and do skilled works in Balochistan (<https://www.dawn.com/news/640059>).

have been taken for CPEC but still Chinese workers working on different infrastructure projects such as energy and roads have been killed in Balochistan and Sindh (Sial, 2017).

1.3 Problem Statement

After end of cold war conflicts among states have declined and there is an increase in internal armed conflicts between state and non-state actors. Due to internal conflicts, there emerged challenges for development practitioners around the world and researchers are keen to know about development practices in conflict zones. The challenges for development practitioners in conflict zones might include destruction of infrastructure, which led to increase in poverty rate. It is feared that countries affected with conflict might not be able to achieve SDGs till 2030, as number of countries affected with internal violence are increasing. Nevertheless, there are ways and means to conduct development activities in conflict zones. It means that there is no single-handed strategy for doing development in conflict zones, and keeping in view the sensitivity of conflict, strategy is applied.

Due to internal conflicts in Balochistan province of Pakistan, there also emerged challenges for development practitioners, as Balochistan has bitter history of internal armed conflicts and also at present, Balochistan is the most affected region with violence. So, internal conflict within Balochistan pose challenges for implementation of development projects like other parts of the world, rising curiosity regarding challenges faced by development practitioners there. It means that first there is need to investigate challenges faced by development practitioners in conflict zones of Balochistan.

Secondly, although there are researches on relationship between security and development but still there is no research where nature of development project fixes sensitivity of conflict with reference to Balochistan. There are three types of conflict; nationalist, religious and sectarian in Balochistan which are responsible for disturbance of development projects. For this purpose, research is required to examine how nature of development project determines sensitivity of conflict in the context of Balochistan. Nature of projects means that those projects have some characteristics which may shape views of stakeholders regarding project. These interested parties or stakeholders who may have negative or positive views regarding those projects and nature of projects determine positive or negative views of those parties¹⁰. However, sensitivity of conflict

¹⁰ For more information see (<https://www.stakeholdermap.com/project-management/the-nature-of-projects.html>)

is ability to understand the intergroup tensions when a project is being implemented in particular area¹¹.

Thirdly, when there are challenges for development practitioners all over the world then ultimately are strategies to deal with those. As in Balochistan, there are challenges for development practitioners and in the same way there are strategies to cope with those. As sensitivity of conflict is determined by nature of development project, so, strategies are adopted keeping in view nature of development projects. Inquiry is needed to chalk out strategies for implementation of development projects in conflict zones of Balochistan.

1.4 Operationalisation of Problem Statement

First, although there is literature on relationship between security and development but little attention has been given on the impact of nature of development projects on sensitivity of conflict. In this case study research, it is discussed how nature of development projects determines sensitivity of conflict, as it is not necessary that each project should be source of conflict in conflict zones.

Second, due to this conflict, challenges are faced in the field by development practitioners responsible for implementation of development projects in conflict zones. There is need to dig out how challenges emerge in the field.

Third, when there are challenges, then there are ways and means to deal with those. So, this research also focuses on strategies applied for implementation of development projects in conflict zones of Balochistan.

Overall, this research will concentrate on practitioners' voices for conducting development in armed conflict areas of Balochistan by addressing above three questions.

1.5 Research Objectives

1. To explore that nature of development projects determines sensitivity of conflict.

¹¹ For more information see (<https://conflictsensitivity.org/conflict-sensitivity/what-is-conflict-sensitivity/>)

2. To discover about challenges faced by development practitioners in conflict zones of Balochistan.
3. To find out strategies applied by development practitioners for execution of development projects in conflict zones of Balochistan

1.6 Rationale and Significance of the Research

This research is being conducted to fill some gaps in current literature. To the best of my knowledge till date no research is carried out on this topic. The ultimate purpose of this research is to benefit someone. The potential consumers of this research may be following;

- 1. Government of Balochistan (GOB):** As research is being conducted on development projects which are implemented / being implemented in conflict zones of Balochistan, so this will be useful for development practitioners of Balochistan for future projects.
- 2. Planning Commission of Pakistan:** There are many projects worth billions of rupees sponsored and implemented by Government of Pakistan in conflict zones of Balochistan, so this research will be helpful in tackling different issues. Further, Planning Commission (PC) of Pakistan is implementing different projects under CPEC in conflict zones of Balochistan and there are security hurdles in completion of these projects. So this research may serve as helping hand for implementing agencies of CPEC projects¹².
- 3. UN agencies in Pakistan:** There are different UN agencies which are implementing different development projects in conflict zones of Balochistan, so this research might help those to handle conflict issues in project area. If it is narrowed down then it is especially helpful for United Nation Development Program (UNDP), as UNDP is implementing development projects in different sectors in troubled areas of Balochistan such as “Area Development Programme in Balochistan” and “China South-South Cooperation Assistance Fund for the Recovery Project in FATA and Balochistan” and “Refugee Affected & Hosting Areas Programme-Balochistan” (UNDP, 2018).
- 4. NGOs in Conflict Zones:** This research may be important document for NGOs in conflict zones as NGOs play important role in development of these areas. Because sometimes it is not possible for government organizations to operate in conflict zones so NGOs fill the gap. This research will be specifically important for NGOs in conflict zones of Balochistan.

¹² For further details of CPEC projects and their implementing agencies see <http://www.pc.gov.pk/>.

5. World Bank: This research may be useful for World Bank policy makers before initiating any development project in conflict zones. As per World Bank document ‘Pathway for Peace’, internal conflicts within states are increasing with the passage of time, so, World Bank needs studies on ‘doing development in conflict zones’. Further, Fragility, Conflict and Violence, is one important out of nine topics of World Bank for development activities all over the world¹³.

1.7 Defining Key Terms

There are some key terms which have different meanings for different users. For this research important key terms are;

1. **Development:** There are different meanings of development from different perspective. According to Cambridge Dictionary, development is an area where new buildings are constructed for making profit¹⁴. Oxford Dictionary defines development as converting land for the new purpose by constructing building on it¹⁵. In this research and operational definition of development is concerned, the development is related with dealing of development projects of infrastructure and social sector. Development projects which are implemented in specific area within specific time with tangible targets to be achieved for benefit of public (Ministry of Planning, 2018).

2. **Conflict:** Conflict has various meanings. According to Merriam Webster Dictionary, conflict is defined as ‘armed conflict’, fight, or battle¹⁶. According to Oxford Dictionary, Conflict is prolonged armed struggle. As far as operational definition of research is concerned, the Council of Europe defines it ‘when there is no agreement among different parties on different issues’. There may be different results of conflict such as armed or peaceful (Council of Europe, 2018). In this research, conflict is treated as armed tussle between state and non- state actors in a country, with result of battle deaths on both sides. Conflict is narrated as internal armed clashes between different groups whether state or others. Conflict may be ethnic, religious or sectarian. This research is concerned with ethnic and religious conflict because due to these issues, economic and development problems are emerging in province. In Balochistan in Pashtun dominated areas there is religious conflict, while in Baloch dominated areas there is ethnic

¹³ Other Eight topics include; Climate Change, Energy, Education, Poverty, Sustainable Development, Gender, Health and Financial Inclusion. For further details (<http://www.worldbank.org/>).

¹⁴ There are other meanings of ‘development’ as well. For more details see <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/development>.

¹⁵ For more meanings see <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/development>.

¹⁶ For further details see <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/conflict>.

conflict. Both types of conflicts are focus of this research. These are two main reasons of armed conflict in Balochistan.

3. **The Practitioner:** It means those persons who are practically implementing tasks. In this research, it means that those people who are implementing development projects in conflict zones. In this research, practitioners were Project Directors, contractors, monitoring officers, monitoring associates, education officer and social organisers.

1.8 Organisation of the Research

This research consists of six chapters. First chapter deals with 'Introduction' of the research and this chapter consists of background, conflict and development in Pakistan with special reference to Balochistan, problem statement, operationalization of problem statement, research objectives, rationale and significance of the research, defining key terms, and organisation of the research. The second chapter is about 'Literature Review' which consists of security and development nexus, development projects in conflict zones, challenges in implementation of development projects, strategies for implementation of development projects in conflict zones, synthesis of the literature review and conceptual framework. The third chapter focuses on 'Research Methodology', which includes methodology, research design, locales for the research and limitations of the study. The research design further consists of units of data collection, methods for data collection, sampling, units for data analysis and method for data analysis. The fourth chapter deals with 'Results and Discussions', which includes overview and results of polio campaign in Balochistan, Balochistan Education Support Project (BEP), Refugees Affected and Hosting Areas Project (RAHA) and construction of Turbat-Buleda road. The fifth chapter describes 'Results and Literature Relationship' which consists of results and objectives, and major findings of the study. The sixth and last chapter revolves around Conclusion and Recommendations.

Chapter 2 Literature Review

This chapter is about literature review of the research, which consists of security and development nexus, development projects in conflict zones, challenges in implementation of development projects, strategies for implementation of development projects in conflict zones, synthesis of literature review, and conceptual framework. For this research ‘integrative review’ is used.

2.1 Security and Development Nexus

Armed conflicts around the world have declined but this downward trend is due to dissolution of ongoing conflicts, not because of prevention of new internal armed conflicts, which have increased over year (Hewitt, Wilkenfeld, & Gurr, 2008). There is relationship between security and development, and they mutually affect each other (Tschirgi, Lund, & Mancini, 2010). Keeping in view this relationship, most of times it is seen that security enhances development and vice versa (Stewart, 2004). Then question arises whether conflict in any area hampers or disrupts activities of development projects or otherwise. Infrastructure projects have become stagnant in Afghanistan, South Sudan, Southern Somalia and Syria, and study shows that development in these countries is totally dependent on security situation (Stoddard, et al., 2017). The World Bank (2011) report states that many projects in conflict zones are delayed or stopped leading to cost overruns, unemployment of labor and other problems (The World Bank, 2011). Due to conflict, infrastructure development was damaged in Bayelsa state of Nigeria. According to this study, out of 250 respondents, 200 have agreed that infrastructure development slowed down due to conflict in oil rich region (Ibaba, 2009). The relationship of conflict and development can also be explained in terms of ‘Conflict Theory’ of Karl Marx, wherein conflict arises when capitalist class tries to suppress proletarian class of the society. According to Marx, capitalist class keep poor in false consciousness, after sometime they gather, conflict arises and this conflict leads to violence for getting their economic rights (Bell & Cleaver, 2002). In Balochistan, Marx theory may be connected because main cause of armed conflict in Balochistan is ‘exploitation of natural resources, from the outside. Further, if Balochistan ethno-nationalist struggle is analysed from Marxist point of view, then it comes on surface that there exists lack of economic development and continuation of capitalist tribal and feudal class in the Baloch society (Siddiqi, 2015).

There are different arguments regarding relationship of security and development. One group states that, sometimes development project initiated in any area may ignite conflict, due to various reasons. This is evident in Philippines Community Driven Development (CDD) Program – KALAHI CIDSS¹⁷ - wherein casualties increased in eligible program localities as compared to the ineligible ones. The Communist New People’s Army (NPA) and Moro – Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) attacked these locations, due to the reason that success of projects was perceived as a threat to their existence, through lessening their support among masses (Croft, Felter, & Johnston, 2014). In addition, one of world’s leading NGOs; Oxfam also found, development programs increased violence in Liberia in 1996, Bosnia Herzegovina from 1993 to 1995 and in Cambodia in 1979 during Khmer Rouge regime (Cairns & Bryer, 1997). According to ‘greed’ theory of conflict, the internal armed conflicts are mostly influenced by economic benefits and struggle for resources. As development projects increase income and resources for the country, so violence is increased in the same pattern (Hoeffler & Collier, 1998). Aslam (2011) argues that the violence in Balochistan is connected with greed theory because after 2002, government of Pakistan awarded natural resources contracts without provincial consent. This led to increase in violence on part of nationalists on plea that federal government is exploiting the resources of Balochistan (Aslam, 2011). Anshuman Behera argues that due to development projects constructed in Koraput district of Odisha, India, conflict increased in project area. The construction of Machhkund Hydel Project on the Duduma River, Upper Kolab – Multi Purpose Project, Hindustan Aeronautics Ltd (HAL) and other mega projects in different villages of Koraput district, displaced thousands of people. So, Maoist rebels attracted these people under their umbrella and conflict in the area intensified many fold (Behera, 2017).

In addition, there are arguments that sometimes development projects are tools to reduce violence or armed conflicts. A study in Iraq shows that small development projects worth \$ 2.9 billion allocated through Commander’s Emergency Response Program (CERP) by USA in 2007 reduced violence, although there was increase in troops in 2007 (Berman, Shapiro, & Felter, 2011). The reason for reduction in violence was due to development projects and its benefits, the local people were willing to share information with government. Further insurgents also reduce attacks to the level, that, people may tolerate those, to keep away them from sharing information with government. Another study (Beath, Christia, & Enikolopov, 2011) conducted in

¹⁷ KALAHI CIDSS is abbreviation of Kapit-Bisig Laban sa Kahirapan-Comprehensive and Integrated Delivery of Social Services is a development program of Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD) under Philippine Government (<https://ncddp.dswd.gov.ph/>).

Afghanistan indicates that through development activities violence is reduced. The US government started National Solidarity Program (NSP) worth \$ 1.0 billion in 2002 in 29,000 villages of Afghanistan with interventions; formation of Community Development Council (CDC) and distribution of development grants for implementation of projects. The second stage of NSP started in 2007, and was evaluated in 2010, and results clearly showed that development projects resulted in people's positive attitude towards government and reduction of violence in treatment villages.

Moreover, there are midway arguments that development projects have no effect on conflict. In this regard, Bohnke and Zurcher did analysis of different communities in Afghanistan to see impact of development projects on conflict between 2007 and 2009, and found no relationship between development projects and conflict (Böhnke & Zürcher, 2013). In the same way, different large development projects started in Afghanistan by USA after 9/11 were meant to reduce violence by winning heart and mind, but this did not happen as development projects statistically showed no impact on intensity of violence (Chou, 2012). On same line, T.B Child analysed reconstruction spending of different agencies in Afghanistan from 2005 to 2009, and found no effect of overall spending on magnitude of violence (Child, 2014).

2.2 Development Projects in Conflict Zones

Implementation of development projects in conflict zones is mandatory for socio-economic uplift of the people of that area. The Turkish government started 'The Southeastern Anatolia Project (Güneydogu Anadolu Projesi, GAP)' in South-East Turkey to be completed by 2018. Under this integrated project, there are thirteen (13) water projects on Tigris and Euphrates rivers bordering Syria and Iraq, for production of electricity. Further, this region is considered conflict area as this is dominated by Kurdish people and there is threat of ISIS¹⁸ due to border of Syria and Iraq (Ozkahraman, 2017).

In Philippines, Bangsamoro Development Agency (BDA), the development wing of the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) executed sub-development projects of World Bank project "The Mindanao Trust Fund (MTF)" in conflict affected region 'The Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (ARMM)'. The sub-projects include livelihood and infrastructure projects such as

¹⁸ ISIS stands for Islamic State in Iraq and Syria, is a terrorist group in Iraq and Syria, which emerged after start of Syrian conflict and becomes deadliest. For more details, www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-27994277.

roads, water systems and community centers. The results show that people of this conflict affected region benefitted a lot in getting basic infrastructure needs (The World Bank, 2018).

Medecins Sans Frontieres (MSF), an INGO provides healthcare assistance to distress communities in more than 90 countries suffering from conflicts and natural disasters. In 2012, MSF opened a maternity hospital in Khost area and operating it successfully, and in 2016 started treatment of TB patients in Kandahar province in Afghanistan. Further, in Pakistan, MSF runs sixty beds pediatric hospital in Quetta, the capital city of insurgency affected Balochistan province of Pakistan (MSF, 2017).

Further, Ministry of Education of Afghanistan constructed 38 schools in volatile Khost province of Afghanistan under Infrastructure Development Grant (IDG) from the Education Quality Improvement Program (EQUIP), started in 2004, funded by World Bank. In addition, this project also provided allied facilities in different schools. The project enhanced enrollment of girls in schools in these areas, where sending girls to schools was considered an abnormal activity. The program was completed on December 31, 2017 (The World Bank, 2018).

The UNDP in collaboration of JICA ODA grants is implementing “The Project for Livelihood Improvement in Tajik-Afghan Cross-border Areas (LITACA)” in volatile and conflict affected villages of Afghanistan. This project includes some sub-projects with the objectives of health improvement, employment opportunities and cross-border trade. Further, JICA with cooperation of UNICEF also contributed in implementation of “Expanded Program on Immunization (EPI)” or Polio Control Project in Afghanistan, a country where due to different extremism factors, it is difficult to implement such projects (JICA, 2016).

2.3 Challenges in Implementation of Development Projects

The implementation of development activities in conflict zones is subject to numerous difficulties or challenges. The Canadian government faced challenges in Afghanistan while adopting holistic ‘3D’ approach of defense, diplomacy and development. But this way of development led to problems which were; dependence of success of projects only on persons involved in the field, centralized decision-making process, bureaucratic bottlenecks, CIDA lengthy process of approval, lack of clear guidelines for implementation, deviation from customary roles, military involvement in civilian affairs and people’s lack of confidence on project’s impartiality due to involvement of military (Hrychuk, 2009).

The most important challenge faced in implementation of development projects in conflict zones is, corruption. In conflict zones, institutions of accountability and monitoring are either non-existent or often less independent. The practice of corruption was seen in Russian region of Chechnya, when federal government provided billions of dollars to the authorities of Chechnya for development projects in order to integrate people. Corrupt officials used to award fictitious contracts; project completion in paper but nothing on ground. One example was Col. Oleg Kaziurin, then deputy director of region's construction administration, signed false contracts of \$ 1.5 million, allocated for water transport system in an industrial zone. Moreover, another example is, the case of Vakhid Bersanov, the former head of Chechengazprom¹⁹, who embezzled \$1.13 million in supposed reconstruction of gas services, although work has never been performed (Zabyelina, 2013).

One of most important challenges for executing development projects is that all needed projects cannot be initiated because those are against the norms and culture of that society. Carter (as cited in Chamberlain, 1996) argues that Afghan NGOs during Soviet Invasion and civil war were not willing to work on projects of women empowerment because these were often linked with 'Communism' and threatening patriarchal control. It means that sensitivity of project in conflict zones varies as per customs of the area and in the same pattern challenges are emerged for implementing agencies.

In same manner, in Swat Valley, Pakistan, NGOs developmental activities were not welcomed due to religious thoughts of Taliban. Noor Elahi analysed two projects, Community Infrastructure Projects CIP-II (2004-2009) and Malakand Rural Development Project MRDP (2000-2007), funded by World Bank and ADB respectively. These projects were executed by local NGOs and government departments in Swat when Taliban militancy was on peak. Women of NGOs were not trusted in the field and involvement of women in project activities were considered against norms and culture of the society. NGOs were considered carrying western agenda and female employees of these NGOs were portrayed characterless (Elahi, Nyborg, & Nawab, 2015). During conflict period, NGOs activities were limited, and Government Departments took over these projects.

The NGOs in Afghanistan during 1980s and 1990s failed to create environment for participatory and community driven development because they lacked ability to understand cultural and

¹⁹ It is controlled entity of Russian Energy Company Gazprom (<https://www.gazprom.com/about/subsidiaries/>).

political situations in the country. Rather, NGOs pursued foreign agenda of the donors, which did not match with development sphere of Afghanistan (Monshipouri, 2003).

In Aceh, Indonesia, with decades of internal conflict, international development agencies and NGOs faced difficulties in implementation of development projects from 2004 to 2006, because, they failed to understand cultural and political environment of the area. They were confronted with challenges of recruitment, coordination and misunderstanding of culture (Burke, 2008).

In Sri-Lanka, in Tamil rebel-controlled areas, government departments were not allowed to operate, and for relief and rehabilitation local NGOs took charge. Even for items of daily use, common people depended on each other rather transportation of goods from outside. For development activities, local NGOs took financial resources from INGOs and carried out development projects in these areas with the permission of rebels. But there were capacity and skills challenges to implement the projects (Morais & Ahmad, 2010).

From above discussion, it is analysed, that in conflict zones, all development projects do not face same type of challenges or constraints. The implementation of those development projects are disturbed which may challenge either authority of parties involved in conflict, or norms and customs of project area. For example, in Philippines, Sri-Lanka and Nepal, where militants had nationalist motives for fighting, government departments were not allowed to carry out development activities, while, NGOs were allowed to fill the gap. On the other hand, in Afghanistan and Pakistan where Taliban were fighting had religious motives, NGOs activities were looked with suspicion especially female employees, so government departments carried out development activities. It means that sensitivity of development project varies from area to area in conflict zones and it is defined by ideology of militants for which they are fighting. If development project goals or objectives are against that ideology, then ultimately project will face difficulties in implementation phase.

2.4 Strategies for Implementation of Development Projects in Conflict Zones

Although, there are difficulties associated with the implementation of development projects in conflict zones but there may be some strategies to counter those. The UN and World Bank joint document '*Pathways for Peace*' narrates that each conflict is unique in its nature whose roots are grown in specific culture and area. To address issue of conflict it is not necessary that state apparatus must be approached everytime rather sometimes community participation, traditional values and other powerful private parties in project area may be more useful in reducing conflict.

There are multiple ways to address conflict in an area, where development activities are being carried out. A study by (Cramer, Goodhand, & Morris, 2016) shows that for carrying out development projects in conflict area, it is needed to finance actors of project area which may help in conflict prevention. For this purpose tools include, capacity building of citizen, and community development through citizen empowerment at local level.

In conflict zones, when state is unable to provide development services to citizens then ultimately other developmental actors such as NGOs have to intervene. Local NGOs have provided educational facilities in troubled region of Federally Administrated Tribal Areas (FATA)²⁰ in Pakistan. For providing educational services NGOs adopted strategy of four As; Availability, Accessibility, Acceptability and Adaptability during conflict (Khan, Kanwal, & Wang, 2018).

The Japanese government adopted the strategy of *execution of development projects from international organisation* in Afghanistan. Out of \$4.00 billion allocated for development programs, 43 % were allocated for infrastructure projects and in spite of JICA presence in Afghanistan, 65% of these funds were routed through UN organizations such as UNDP, UNICEF and UNESCO. While out of remaining funds, 9% were kept by JICA for Afghan government projects and little was disbursed to Afghan government and NGOs in the country (Ashizawa, 2014).

In conflict zones, for doing development activities, implementing agencies focus on ad hoc innovative and novel techniques. One strategy of conducting development activities is *temporary alliance with Power Elites of project area* to achieve objectives. The Afghan NGOs applied this technique in 1990s, when first civil war was on peak and later Taliban controlled government. Instead of supporting accountability, Afghan NGOs made alliances with powerful actors. For this purpose, to complete projects, Afghan NGOs have given some favours to these elites such as, project beneficiaries are to be determined by war lords and employing some of their favorites in project staff. They made tactical alliance with political and religious establishment of that area in order to complete projects (Goodhand & Chamberlain, 1996). Same strategy has surfaced in Afghanistan, when a study evaluated factors responsible for successful implementation of 124

²⁰ Federally Administrated Tribal Areas (FATA). Under constitution of Pakistan, FATA comes under direct executive control of President of Pakistan unlike other provinces which come under Prime Minister. Laws of National Assembly do not apply rather there are special rules for this region called FCR. However, FATA has been merged with KPK province after passage of 25th Constitutional Amendment law in May, 2018. (<https://fata.gov.pk/>).

development projects implemented from 2002 to 2008. Two factors emerged for successful completion of development projects; first one is local support means support of groups which have ability to influence project implementation, and second is good technical and administrative skills of project leadership (Kadirova, 2014). It is opinioned that there is no harm if any development agency implements projects with the alliance of power hub in conflict zones, because threatening their authority may lead to complete packing of project.

In conflict zones, some organizations use participatory approach to implement development projects. Keeping in view this strategy, African development solutions (Adeso), an International NGO, used inclusive community-based targeting (ICBT) in Somalia. According to this approach, Village Relief Committees (VRCs) are formed consisting of elders of the community with 40% female members, for selection of beneficiaries of projects. This was done keeping in view cultural and religious norms of the communities. Adeso implemented two projects; Cash-Based Response (CBR) by providing cash to tackle food insecurity, and cash for work (CfW) by providing cash for construction of micro projects, through ICBT approach (Delaney, 2014).

It is important to adopt that strategy which is less harmful. Through analysis of different past development programs in Afghanistan, it is found that infrastructure development projects may be implemented in war-torn country with strategies of consultation and needs of local people, to recognise people's ability to cope with adversities of conflict, people setting of their own priorities rather than by the outside and donors (Barakat, 2002).

In addition, *strategy of reparation or rights-based approach* can be used to implement long-term projects in the conflict affected areas. It means that for implementation of large development projects it is necessary that basic needs or rights of communities residing in project area may be fulfilled, for filling the gap government has created during past times. In this way, government may be able to gain sympathies of local people to implement the original project. On this pattern, in 2007, the Colombian government started different donor assisted pilot programs, for reconstruction purpose to mitigate terrible destruction of the decade-old violence. For this purpose, different pilot programs such as El Salado, El Tigre, Liberated and others were started in conflict zones of Colombia. However before start of these programs, minimum living standards in project areas were implemented according to needs. For example, before start of 'El Salado', a health center and a playground were established. Similarly, before start of 'El Tigre', a

project for food security was initiated by providing rice thresher and establishment of community Centre (Firchow, 2013).

Continuing with strategy of reparation, Linda Agerbak suggested guidelines for NGOs for doing development activities in circle of violence. According to her, in conflict zones, before starting full fledged development activities, NGOs should focus on relief work at first stage because it fulfills the basic needs of people. When relief work is completed, then NGOs should initiate formal development projects in that area (Agerbak, 1991). It is evaluated that this is good way of doing development activities in conflict zones, because of three reasons, first basic needs of community are fulfilled, secondly implementing agency gets good reputation among masses for paving way for long-term projects, and lastly if agency does not get good reputation then formal projects are not initiated which would save resources of donors.

On same pattern, another way for doing development is adopting *inclusive development* approach, it means that for carrying out development projects in any conflict affected area, basic life facilities may be provided in project area so that implementing agencies might get good reputation in the community. In this way it is easy to execute development projects in particular area and this approach is helpful in long term projects. Such approach helped in rise of state reputation in Nepal, Pakistan, Sri-Lanka and Uganda (Nixon & Mallett, 2017).

From above discussion, it is analyzed that there are different strategies to cope with challenges in implementation of development projects in conflict zones. No one can give single-handed strategy to conduct development activities in volatile areas. It depends upon social, economic and cultural values in these areas which determine strategies to adopt. Even some of these strategies don't have ethical backing to be implemented but circumstances compel executors to apply those temporarily and accomplish results.

2.5 Synthesis of the Literature Review

The literatures (Hewitt, Wilkenfeld, & Gurr, 2008), (Tschirgi, Lund, & Mancini, 2010), (Stewart, 2004) show that due to increase in internal conflicts all around world, there established reciprocal relationship between security and development. This relationship is strengthening with the passage of time because number of people living in conflict zones is increasing and there is development task in the form of SDGs assigned to international community by United Nation. So, there is strong relationship between security and development. There are three types of arguments regarding relationship of security and development. First argument (Croft, Felter, &

Johnston, 2014), (Cairns & Bryer, 1997), (Hoeffler & Collier, 1998) narrates that due to development activities, conflict in project area increases because of different reasons. Second argument (Berman, Shapiro, & Felter, 2011), (Beath, Christia, & Enikolopov, 2011) states that development activities in conflict zones reduce violence. Third argument (Böhnke & Zürcher, 2013), (Chou, 2012), (Child, 2014) describes that there is no effect of development activities on security which means neither conflict increases nor decreases.

Although there are different security issues in conflict zones for implementation of development projects but projects are executed in these areas for improving life conditions. All over the world development projects are implemented in conflict zones such as GAP project in Kurdish region of Turkey (Ozkahraman, 2017), infrastructure projects in conflict affected Mindanao region of Philippines (The World Bank, 2018) and different JICA projects in Afghanistan (JICA, 2016). It means that development activities are necessary to be carried out in conflict zones as these are source of progress in life standards and conflict reduction.

As development projects are initiated in conflict zones, so it is natural that challenges surface during implementation of these projects. The most important challenge faced in conflict zones is 'lack of understanding of culture of project area', because due to this issue many projects failed and due to this challenge, misperceptions arise among people and create hurdles in implementation of development projects (Elahi, Nyborg, & Nawab, 2015), (Monshipouri, 2003), (Burke, 2008). Further, during execution of development projects in conflict zones there is issue of 'lack of skilled staff' (Morais & Ahmad, 2010), because skilled labours migrate from conflict zones to peaceful settlements to find jobs. Another challenge for carrying out development projects in conflict zones is 'corruption' (Zabyelina, 2013) because there is lack of institutions of accountability in these areas. When accountability bodies do not work then development practitioners will naturally try to embezzle funds of development projects. The practice of corruption may lead to usage of low quality raw materials in the projects, which endanger human lives in case of any natural catastrophe such as earthquake.

When there are challenges for development practitioners for executing development projects in conflict zones, then there are strategies to deal with those. First, any organization can give contract to other organizations which have work experience in conflict project area (Ashizawa, 2014), (Khan, Kanwal, & Wang, 2018) because people have good reputation about that

intermediary organization. This intermediary organization may be any local NGO or other. Secondly, for completion of development projects in conflict zones, practitioners may keep temporary alliance with powerful elites of project area (Goodhand & Chamberlain, 1996), (Cramer, Goodhand, & Morris, 2016) and this will result in local support of that area (Kadirova, 2014). It means that project success is dependent on local support, which can be obtained in any way. Thirdly, when there is local support, then it means that it is possible for people to participate in the decisions of those projects which are being implemented for them. It becomes participatory approach in project execution (Delaney, 2014). Fourth and last strategy is, providing basic rights to the people of project area before execution of original project (Firchow, 2013), (Agerbak, 1991), (Nixon & Mallett, 2017), as through this way, good perception of project may be created. This strategy is useful when large scale project is being carried out in conflict zones.

2.6 Conceptual Framework

The joint document of UN and World Bank 'Pathway for Peace' states that for doing development in conflict zones it is needed that there should be support of local people and understanding of culture of that area. The sensitivity of conflict is engrained in cultural and traditional values of that area, so sensitivity of project varies from area to area as customs do in same pattern. So, it means that nature of development projects determines sensitivity of conflict in any area.

Secondly, Studies (OECD, 2015), (Narayan & Petesch, 2010), (Skaperdas, 2010) show that in conflict zones different set of challenges emerge for conducting development activities. Further, there is no specific pattern of challenges rather these vary from place to place. As data (University, 2018), (Zulfiqar, 2017), show that in Balochistan there are security problems and was most affected region of Pakistan from violence in 2017. So, for conducting development activities, challenges are bound to surface (Sial, 2017).

Thirdly, as challenges emerge all over the world for doing development in conflict zones of Balochistan, there are some strategies for countering those. There is no single strategy to deal with conflict issues. Scholarships (Cramer, Goodhand, & Morris, 2016), (Nixon & Mallett, 2017), (Khan, Kanwal, & Wang, 2018) indicate that all over world, there are different strategies for implementing development projects in conflict zones.



Figure 1: Conceptual Framework for Implementation of Development Projects in Conflict Armed Zones

The conceptual framework is based on ‘Greed theory of Conflict’ by Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler, which states that when development increases then violence also increases. It means that initiation of development projects in any area ignites conflict and poses challenges for development practitioners in the project location.

This figure illustrates that in conflict affected areas when development projects are executed then some projects are source of conflict, while others are not. It means that it is not necessary that in conflict affected areas every project may be targeted in the field. So, it depends upon nature of development projects to ignite conflict or otherwise.

When conflict arise in the field due to development projects then for implementation of development projects challenges emerge in the field. The parties in conflict may create hurdles for development projects. So, after emergence of conflict challenges are bound to surface.

After challenges come on surface then development practitioners try to solve those. So, to counter challenges development practitioners in the field use different strategies. However, if strategies are not working then nature of the project may be seen and adjusted accordingly, which may not source of conflict.

Chapter 3 Methodology

This chapter illustrates about methodology of the research, research design, locales for the research and limitations of the study. The research design further consists of units of data collection, methods for data collection, sampling, units for data analysis and method for data analysis.

3.1 Methodology

Methodology is set of procedures and rules to give direction to the researcher for solving problem of research. It means that methodology is fundamental element in the construction of research. These guidelines enable researchers to analyze data in scientific way and give results from evidences. Second, thinking about methodology may be that it is format of communication for findings (Brewer, 2003).

According to Bryman (2012) there are two methodologies or strategies for conducting research; first is quantitative and second one is qualitative. Quantitative research is described as collection of numerical data for making theory through deductive way with objectivist concept of social research. On the other hand, qualitative research is where there is non-numerical research with inductive method (generation of new theories), based on interpretation of data.

For this research, qualitative research strategy is used because firstly research needs interpretation and constructivism and secondly data is non-numerical or verbal in nature. Moreover, the research is descriptive in nature. Although, there are different approaches or techniques for analysis of qualitative data, however, for this research ‘Case Study Approach’ was used.

3.2 Research Design

3.2.1 Units of Data Collection

For obtaining relevant data for the research questions, the researcher explores units of data collection which may be individuals, objects, entities, process or groups. For this study, following were units of data collection;

1. The managers or project directors or officers who have executed / are executing development projects of infrastructure sector in conflict zones of Balochistan (UDC 1). The reason for taking this unit is that higher management knows about decisions taken in difficult situation and they were in better position to tell about strategies used in conflict environment.
2. The contractors who implemented development projects of infrastructure sector in conflict zones of Balochistan (UDC 2). The reason for taking this unit is that in infrastructure projects contractors are actual executors of the project. While being in field they were able to tell about ground situation.
3. The managers or project directors who have executed / are executing development projects of social sector in conflict zones of Balochistan (UDC 3). The reason for picking this unit is that project directors in social sector are decision maker and conveyed tactics applied in conflict.
4. The field staff who are involved in implementation of development projects of social sector in conflict zones of Balochistan (UDC 4). The reason for picking this unit is that field staff is important in highlighting field issues of the social sector projects.

3.2.2 Methods for Data Collection

These are tools and techniques used by researchers in their research for collection of data. It means that researchers have to use some apparatus for collection of data from the sample and these tools are methods of the research (Kothari, 2004). For analysis of research, primary data was collected from units with application of following tools and techniques;

3.2.2.1 Observation

According to C.R Kothari (2004), observation is most common tools used in behavioral research. Observation becomes scientific tools when research uses it in systematic way and with reliability and validity. In this tool, information is gathered by researcher without asking questions from respondents. This method has advantages which include firstly elimination of subjective bias, secondly judgment of current behavior of respondent and thirdly independence of respondent cooperation to respond. Although, there are different types of observations, however, for this research ‘structured observations’ is used. Structure observation is applicable when observation is done with standard methods, units of observation are defined and style of observation is known.

The observation method is used with field staff of social sector Programmes (UDC 4) who are working in sensitive areas.

3.2.2.2 Semi-Structured Interviews

As per Bryman, in semi-structured interviews, there is list of questions on specific topics called interview guide but there is flexibility of alteration in it. In semi-structured interviews interviewee has great deal of relaxation to reply as compared to structured interviews where most questions are closed ended. Further, in semi-structured interviews it is not necessary that questions pattern should be same as in interview guide, because questions may change as per answers of interviewees. In semi-structured interviews, there are closed as well as open ended questions. The advantage of semi-structured interview is that there is deep insight into topic and replies of respondents are taken with details.

In this research semi-structured interviews are used because some topics need more research as compared to others. Moreover, while conducting interviews with middle and junior level practitioners there is less bar of time, so, semi-structured interviews are conducted for accuracy of results. The semi-structured interviews are conducted with all units of data collection.

3.2.3 Sampling

There are two broad types of sampling. First one is ‘Probability Sampling’, which means that every unit of population has chance for selection in the sample size and main objective in doing is that there should be minimum sample error. Second is ‘Non-Probability Sampling’, in which every unit of population does not has chance to become part of sample size because of different genuine reasons. In addition, probability sampling is hardly ever used in qualitative research because sometimes it is not feasible or due to limitations of the research (Bryman, 2012).

In this research, ‘Non-Probability Sampling’ is used because the research deals with professionals of development projects. It means that data is taken from development practitioners in Balochistan, those people who have worked or are working on the sites of development projects in conflict zones of Balochistan. In this research, Probability Sampling cannot be used, as general population has nothing to do in implementation of development projects as this is professional work. Secondly, general population may not be aware about rules and terminologies for execution of development projects. Thirdly, this research only deals with development

practitioners who have experience in implementation of development projects only in conflict zones. For this research following sampling is used;

3.2.3.1 Purposive Sampling

According to Allan Bryman (2012), purposive sampling is non-probability sampling in which researcher selects samples in strategic way, which means sample should have some characteristics which match with the objectives of the study. In this sampling, samples are selected on the basis of relevance to research questions. In purposive sampling, samples are different from each other on the basis of characteristics which are relevant to research questions. There are different approaches to purposive sampling. First approach is sequential approach in which at initial stage sampling is done and as the research proceeds; samples are added on the basis of modification of research questions. In simple words units are added according to research question as inquiry evolves. Second approach is 'fixed purposive sampling', in which units of sample are fixed at the start of field work and there is no addition or deletion in it. Although in this approach also, samples are determined on the basis of research questions but they are fixed at the start of research process.

In this research both approaches of purposive sampling are used because fixed purposive sampling is compulsory as it is good to have sample units before start of field work, while, sequential approach is also used as through references and answers of original samples, other samples are added which benefit those. Fixed purposive sampling is used for UDC1 and UDC 3, while, sequential approach is used for UDC 2 and UDC4.

3.2.3.2 Sample Size

As it is not possible to consult all those practitioners who have worked in conflict zones of Balochistan, so sample size was kept moderate. There are four cases / development projects which are selected for analysis. The sample size for this research is 40, with ten personnel of each, out of four projects.

3.2.4 Units for Data Analysis

According to Bryman (2012) it is difficult to analyze qualitative data unlike quantitative because of generation of large amount of unstructured materials due to interviews and observations. In this research 'Case Study Approach' is used with following description and justification;

3.2.4.1 Definition and aim of Selection

The case study approach implicates conducting analysis through examination of one or more cases within particular system. Most researchers use it as approach of inquiry although some call it choice of study. In this research, it is used method of inquiry as it is treated unit of analysis. The purpose for selecting case study approach is that because this research is about implementation of development projects in conflict zones of Balochistan and there are many success and failure stories regarding development projects in these areas. Those cases of development projects in past and at present are unit of analysis for my research and through analysis of these cases the research questions are answered.

3.2.4.2 Multiple Case Studies Approach

In case study approach there are may be single case for analysis called single instrumental case study or multiple case study which involves more than one cases are selected for studying phenomenon in focus. In this research, multiple case studies are used because development projects in conflict zones of Balochistan have given different results (successful or failed) upon completion although being implemented in same province. When same type of development projects within same province are giving different results then ultimately multiple case study approach is wise strategy for analysis. By selecting different types of cases mean that results will give different perspectives on research problem and generalisation of results. Typically, in multiple cases approach, researcher uses up to four or five cases.

3.2.4.3 Challenges of Case Study Approach

First challenge emerges in this approach is ‘selection of cases’, that researcher selects cases himself and there is no predefined method for selection of cases. Second challenge, it is on researcher to select one case or multiple cases. There is no bar on number of cases. Finally, there may be challenges for defining boundaries of cases. It means that there may be constraints of events and times.

3.2.4.4 Selection of Cases

For this research, four case studies are selected, which are implemented in conflict zones of Balochistan based on nature of projects. Two case studies are from social sector²¹ projects which are; polio campaign in Balochistan and Balochistan education support project (BEP). Two case

²¹ Social Sector refers to any activity done for social and economic welfare of the society through non-profit organisations. In budgetary terms it means Education, Health and employment generation schemes are part of social sector (<https://www.wisegeek.com/what-is-a-social-sector.htm>).

studies are from infrastructure²² projects which include; Refugee Affected & Hosting Areas Project (RAHA) and construction of Turbat- Buleda Road.

The reasons for choosing these cases are that first of all it gave different perspectives on the topic. Secondly, two projects are chosen from infrastructure sector and two are from social sector, it provided objectivity to the research, as different projects from different were selected. Thirdly, four cases have given good results for conclusion and recommendations. Lastly, four cases have provided insights into different perspectives of the research.

3.2.5 Method for Data Analysis

For analysis of data ‘Thematic analysis of case study’ is used. The analysis is done in following ways;

3.2.5.1 Thematic Analysis of Case Study

There are different analytical strategies for case study approach which include; holistic analysis of a particular case and fixed analysis of particular aspect of a case. There is another analytical strategy that is investigation of themes, in which focus is on particular issues of different cases. In this way, researcher describes all cases, identifies key issues within all cases and then chooses common themes from those key issues (Yin, 2003). For this research, Robert K. Yin method of ‘analysis of themes’ is used because, it deals with multiple case studies for examination. First of all, after collection of data, all cases are described, and then different topics are chalked out which emerge from description according to objectives, followed by making of themes from these topics. It is good way for doing analysis as this will give deep insight of cases and after detailed description it becomes easy for researcher as well for reader to critical analysis of the case. In this way, researcher relates meaning of case with phenomenon of the research.

3.3 Locales for the Research

The locale for the study is conflict zones of Balochistan because Balochistan has history of violence in 70 years and presently Balochistan is also at top with maximum number of terrorist attacks in Pakistan. Further CPEC projects are being implemented in Balochistan, which are meant to improve economic indicators of Balochistan, so it is necessary to have such study in Balochistan.

²² Infrastructure is a term used for construction system for a country such as communication, transportation, irrigation, sewerage and electric system (<https://www.investopedia.com/terms/i/infrastructure.asp>).

For social sector project ‘Polio Campaign in Balochistan’, four districts Quetta, Pishin, Killa Abudllah and Khuzdar are selected. On the other hand, for ‘Balochistan Education Support Project’ three districts Quetta, Khuzdar and Awaran are selected.

For infrastructure project ‘Refugee Affected & Hosting Areas Project (RAHA)’, two districts Quetta and Chagai are selected, while, for second project ‘Turbat-Buleda Road’ there is only Kech district. The sensitivity map of Balochistan is as under for further understanding;

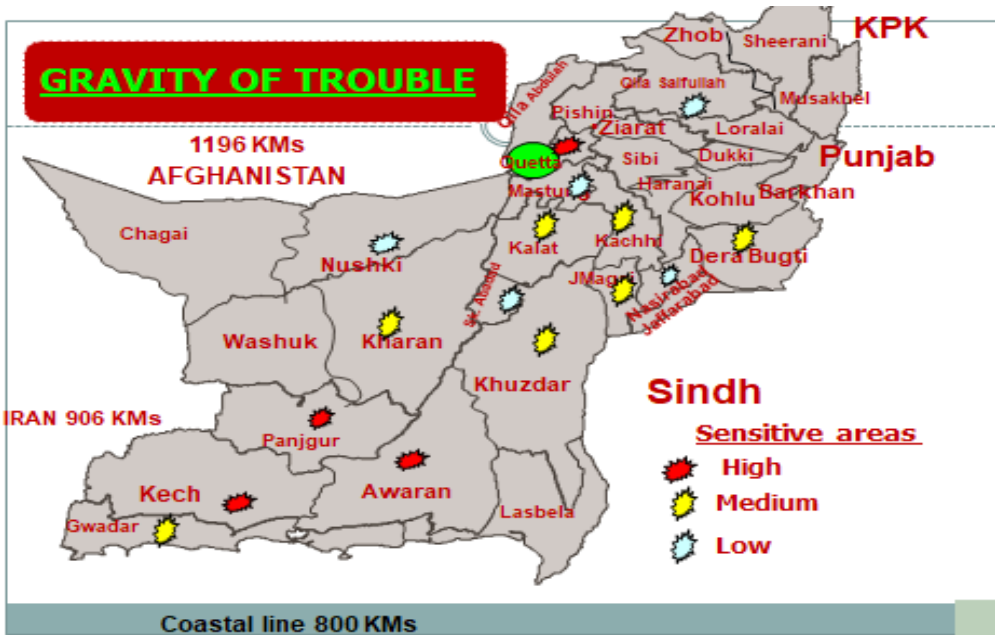


Figure 2: Sensitivity Map of Balochistan

Source: Home Department, Government of Balochistan.

3.4 Limitations of the Study

To completely understand results of the research, it is needed to know about its limitations. First of all, it was difficult to select cases of the study because in case study approach it is discretion of the researcher to select cases. This process proved difficult as in selection of cases, all angles of research are to taken in consideration.

Secondly, it was not possible to go in field in some restricted areas. Those areas were considered conflict zones and field visits were not advisable. For example, in polio campaigns, for full understanding of challenges of polio workers, field visits were planned but polio administration advised that practice is not safe. Lastly, all names used in results of study are fictitious because of issue of confidentiality for identity of interviewees and ethics of research.

Chapter 4 Results and Discussions

4.1 Overview

This chapter explains about results of data taken from respondents of cases studied. The data taken from respondents are primary in nature as in-depth interviews and field visits are done, and documents are also taken. For data collection purpose four cases are taken; first two projects are social sector projects, while remaining two are infrastructure projects. These four projects are as under;

1. Polio Campaign in Balochistan.
2. Balochistan Education Support Project.
3. Refugee Affected & Hosting Areas Project (RAHA).
4. Construction of Turbat- Buleda Road (19.12 KM)

Further, in proceeding texts, the introduction and background of each project is discussed in detail because it is necessary that readers should know about these before actual results and analysis. This way of description is adopted in ‘thematic case study approach’ of Robert K. Yin. For first case ‘Polio Campaign in Balochistan’, introduction of the project in context of world and Pakistan along with detailed description of the project in Balochistan are explained. In addition, findings of interviews and analysis of interviews are also discussed.

In second case ‘Balochistan Education Support Project’, introduction and objectives of the projects are described along with background, components and outcomes. These are followed by interviews findings, and analysis and conclusion.

For third case ‘Refugee Affected & Hosting Areas Project (RAHA)’, introduction, objectives, background, coverage, targeted sectors and outcomes of the project are given. Further, interviews results and analysis are also discussed in detail.

In fourth and last project ‘Turbat- Buleda Road’, introduction, objectives, background, justification, components and benefits of the project are highlighted. Then interview findings and their analysis along with conclusion are debated.

4.1.1 Comparison of four Cases

Although there are reasons for choosing four projects, but if these are compared then there are some similarities and differences among all. The four projects may be compared in following ways;

1. Different Sector

The first two projects are from social sector while last two are from infrastructure structure. It means that social and infrastructure sectors have been given equal opportunity. The first two projects were initiated for social uplift, while, last two for economic improvement of the Balochistan.

2. Difference of Objectives

Although, all four projects have different objectives but ultimate end of each project is to improve social and economic set-up of Balochistan. The polio campaign is for polio eradication, Balochistan Education support Project is for enrollment enhancement and improvement is quality of education. The third project RAHA is for rehabilitation of refugees affected areas, while, Turbat-Buleda is for connectivity of Turbat city and Buleda.

3. Locations

The first three projects are being implemented in multiple districts of Balochistan, while fourth and last project is being implemented in one district of Turbat. The locales of all projects have strategic importance.

4. Funding

The first three projects are jointly funded by government of Balochistan and different donors, while last project is exclusively funded by government of Balochistan. So, those projects which jointly funded are enforced through rules of donors and provincial government. Due to this implementation of first three projects is different from last project.

5. Difference of Subjects

All projects belong to different subjects. First project belongs to health, second pertains to education, while third and fourth belong to construction work. It means that different subjects are chosen for this research, due to which generalization may be easy.

4.2 Case One: Polio Campaign in Balochistan

Introduction:

In 1988, the polio virus was prevalent in about 125 countries and almost 350,000 people particularly children were paralyzed every due to this virus. In May 1988, World Health

Assembly pledged to eradicate polio from all over the world and for this purpose the Global Polio Eradication Initiative (GPEI) was started. Due to this immunization program, the cases of polio virus have reduced 99% and almost more than 13 million children were saved from being paralyzed. India was considered most difficult country to eradicate polio but since 2011 no polio virus was found and in 2014 India was polio free country. Now virus is only found in Pakistan, Nigeria and Afghanistan and efforts are being made by global community to eradicate completely. In case of failure of polio eradication then due to spread of polio virus as many as 200,000 cases may re-emerge with in ten years. In 2012, in 65th meeting of World Health Assembly it was pledged by 194 countries of the world that eradication of polio is emergency issue and billions of dollars were promised by donors. In addition, WHO also made ‘Polio Eradication and Endgame Strategic Plan 2013-18’ to eradicate polio globally (Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, 2018).

Polio Campaign in Balochistan:

In Pakistan, polio vaccination was started in 1994 and formal campaigns were started in 1996 in specified centers, and till date Pakistan achieved considerable progress in polio eradication. The door to door campaigns were started from Balochistan in August, 1998. In eradicating polio from Pakistan, the Expanded Programme on Immunization (EPI), Islamic Development Bank, Rotary International, World Health Organization (WHO), United Nation Children’s Fund (UNICEF) and Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation are partners and donors of Government of Pakistan. There were 306 cases in 2014 which reduced to 8 in 2017, while, till mid of 2018, only 03 cases are found and all of them are from Balochistan. From beginning Balochistan remained vulnerable region in case of polio eradication along with FATA and KPK²³. But in 2017 and 2018 there was no case of polio in FATA but Balochistan has three cases each in these years. There are different reasons for this along with security challenges. Although there are security challenges to polio workers in other provinces as well, for example on 21st January 2014 three polio workers were killed in Karachi but in Balochistan situation is grave. On 18th January, 2018, two female polio workers were killed in Quetta²⁴ and led to disruption of the campaign. In Balochistan, Quetta

²³ KPK formerly known as North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) bordering Afghanistan about 11,000 KM, is one of four provinces of Pakistan (<http://kp.gov.pk/>). It is about 14.7 % of total population of Pakistan, as per 2017 population census (<http://www.pbs.gov.pk/>).

²⁴ Quetta covering area of 2653 sq. KM, is capital of Balochistan province (www.balochistan.gov.pk/DistrictProfile/DDP%20Final%202012/Quetta/Quetta.pdf). Its population is 4.17 million as per 2017 population census (<http://www.pbs.gov.pk/>).

region consisting of district Quetta, Pishin²⁵ and Killa Abdullah²⁶, is most security sensitive and having maximum number of cases. This region is called ‘Tier 1’, it means that high risk areas for polio campaign. (End Polio Pakistan, 2018). In Quetta block, district Killa Abdullah is most vulnerable regarding polio virus and even in district Killa Abdullah, sub-division Chaman needs concrete action. The security situation in Killa Abdullah is extremely difficult and even local staffs are hesitant to work there due to border area, security issues, and resistance of community. According to experts, 70% of polio cases in Quetta block come from Chaman, so it means that if Chaman is controlled then Quetta block may get improvement in polio eradication. In September, 2016, Chaman got 1500 refusal cases, but after taking some measures in next campaign, these cases have brought down to below 400, which shows improvement in situation (Board, 15th Report of IMB: Every Last Hiding Place , 2017).

Due to insecurity in high risk areas, although there are threats to the objectives and targets of the programme but still government of Pakistan devised strategies at provincial and district level to stop spread of polio virus. In addition, security measures have been taken by respective provincial administration along with international partners at their districts for achieving targets within specified time (WHO, 2013). In Balochistan as well, the provincial government has established innovative governance set-up and made polio campaign active at divisional level under the supervision of divisional commissioners. This new set-up has decentralized powers of polio campaign and made things easy at district level. Now polio campaign is monitored at district level under the leadership of deputy commissioner and supervised by commissioners of respective divisions (Board, 14th Report of IMB: Every Last Virus, 2016).

Results of Interviews

The in-depth interviews conducted by researcher produced different results regarding ‘Polio Campaign in Balochistan’. These include challenges faced by field workers during polio campaigns, strategies adopted to overcome these challenges and nature of project with relation determining conflict. The details of these results are as under;

²⁵ Pishin is one of districts of Balochistan covering an area of 5000 sq. KM (www.balochistan.gov.pk/DistrictProfile/DDP%20Final%202012/Pishin/Pishin.pdf). As per 2017 population census of Pakistan, its population is 0.736 million (<http://www.pbs.gov.pk>).

²⁶ Killa Abdulal is one of the districts of Balochistan covering an area of 5263 sq. KM. It is ethnically dominated by Pashtun population. As per 2017 population census of Pakistan, its population is 0.757 million (<http://www.pbs.gov.pk>).

Challenges

During interviews it is found that polio workers face different challenges during polio vaccination campaign. These challenges include repeated campaigns, religious refusals, administrative bottlenecks, spillover effect and social media propaganda.

1. Repeated Campaigns

All over the world there are examples that after three or four campaigns polio is eradicated; for example, China has eradicated polio in three campaigns with gap of two months in each campaign. India is declared polio free country in 2014, but in Pakistan this could not happen after so many campaigns. Due to repeated rounds of polio campaigns people get suspicious of polio vaccines which are given twice or thrice in a month.

“Main problem is resistance of community that why polio campaign is being run again and again. Although, according to them there are other pending health issues which are to be resolved but why this polio is being given that much importance. Repeated campaigns of polio create doubts in the minds of people, even educated people are not willing to vaccinate their children”. (Jamil Khan, EOC)

“When we go for polio vaccination, people ask too much questions about repeated campaigns and get suspicious of us. The response of people (community) is really disturbing for us in existing environment of fear”. (Fahmida Ahmed, Polio Vaccinator)

“Field workers are facing difficulties due to repeated campaigns, as people ask too much questions on the matter with observation that other than polio there are important health issues which need attention”. (Dr. Aftab, EPI)

2. Religious Refusals

Many people in Balochistan refuse to vaccinate their children due to religious reason.

“People in Pashtun areas of Balochistan especially in Quetta region refuse to vaccinate their children due to religious beliefs. Religious scholars sometimes ask people of the area not to vaccinate their children because of perception that this is conspiracy of non-Muslims to make children of Muslims impotent, so ultimately people refuse”. (Bilal Khan, EOC)

“There are sermons of religious scholars that in polio drops there are ingredients which are prohibited in Islam and misconception that it will make children impotent. There is propaganda that in polio drops there are ingredients of pork. Even sometimes educated people refuse to

vaccinate their children. Majority of religious refusals are in Quetta, Pishin and Killa Abdullah". (Nawaz Bugti, Health Section, P & DD)

3. Administrative Bottlenecks

Deputy Commissioners of districts are also preoccupied with other administrative issues as well, so they do not take interest in polio eradication.

"They (Deputy Commissioners) delegate Tehsil and union council polio campaign powers to Assistant Commissioners and Tehsildars respectively. Further, there started problems of law and order due to polio campaign so they did not take interest. There is lack of interest by district administration". (Dr. Hasan Ali, EOC)

"Most of the deputy commissioners are not interested to eradicate polio because they know that it has become a business. Those doctors who are taking lucrative pays and privileges by working in donor offices or Emergency Operating Center (EOC), they may not be interested to eradicate polio as ending polio means ending their lucrative pays. Polio campaign has become business for doctors". (Dr. Aftab, EPI)

4. Spillover Effect

There is 'spillover effect' of polio virus, means that Afghanistan and Pakistan are mutually dependent on each other for eradication of polio.

"If polio is totally eradicated from Pakistan then she cannot do because of spillover effect from Afghanistan and same is true for Afghanistan, due to reason that thousands of people cross borders of both countries on daily basis. Further, if a single case is not found in Balochistan but it is not declared polio free because people travel from one province to another province and there are chances that virus affected child may transmit it in another province". (Jamil Khan, EOC).

"Although there is movement of children from Afghanistan to Pakistan, inspite of all that, polio vaccination gave that much immunity that it cannot affect vaccinated children. So due to strong immune system, diseases cannot develop. Main targets of virus are non-vaccinated children". (Dr. Hasan Ali, EOC)

5. Social Media Propaganda

There is propaganda against polio campaign in social media that's why people hesitate to vaccinate their children with polio drops.

“There are some direct refusals it means that people do not tell about reason of refusal. It is analyzed that the reason behind these refusals are misconceptions spread from social media and people adopt those in their minds”. (Bilal Khan, EOC)

“When we go to field people ask too much questions about credibility of polio campaigns. These questions are based on contents of propaganda available on social media”. (Arslan Baloch, Polio Worker)

Strategies:

Although there are challenges for polio workers in the field there are some strategies to counter those challenges. In these strategies include, community based vaccination, engagement of religious scholars, awareness campaigns, campaign at grassroots level and one window operation.

1. Community based Vaccination

To counter challenges of repeated campaigns polio administration hired local polio workers in Quetta region. This approach is referred as community based vaccination.

“In Quetta zone consisting of Quetta, Pishin and Killa Abdullah falling in tier 1 (high risk and more cases), there is different set up as EOC has hired 4000 workers exclusively for this zone. This is called CBV means ‘community based vaccination’. Quetta zone falls in Southern corridor as it ranges from Karachi to Kandhar, while, in other districts there is no such special set up and daily wages workers are performing polio duties. In CBV method, before recruiting workers, first of all area-wise targets were set and then people are hired from those areas. Even targets are narrowed down to union councils and streets, and female polio workers are taken from those streets”. (Dr. Hasan Ali, EOC)

“Almost of 4000 workers have been hired for Quetta region. The purpose of this is risk reduction, as polio workers can move free in those streets due to awareness. Further, polio workers do not have to travel on vehicles to perform their duties. This means that ‘local

approach’ was used because local support is needed to perform any activity. Due to community based vaccination, there is social mobilization within community. Some years ago polio refusals were around 15000 to 20000 but now maximum these are 2000’. (Bilal Khan, EOC)

2. Engagement of Religious Scholars

To counter religious refusals, religious scholars are engaged in polio set-up to give awareness to people regarding polio vaccination.

“EOC has hired religious scholars to educate people regarding polio issues. People are convinced with ‘fatwas²⁷’ of religious scholars from prestigious religious institutions regarding polio vaccine. Fatwas are taken from eminent religious scholar that polio drops are not harmful for health of children. The fatwas of these scholars have high acceptance in the society such as ‘Dar –ul-Aloom Deoband²⁸’, statement of Imam-e-Kaaba²⁹, Al –Azhar University³⁰ of Egypt and local scholars’. (Jamil Khan, EOC)

“The religious ulemas (scholars) are engaged in polio awareness. For this purpose, ‘provincial scholar task force’ and ‘religious support persons’ are made to resolve religious issues. In provincial task force, well-known religious scholars work to mitigate religious misconceptions regarding polio vaccination on provincial level. In addition, in ‘religious support persons’, local level religious scholars are hired to aware people about benefits of polio vaccination. These religious scholars are only given mobility allowance. A committee of religious scholars is formed at district level to educate the people and their stipends are fixed according to their tasks. These funds are also given by Bill Gates foundation. Due to these measures, religious refusals have reduced considerably’. (Dr. Aftab, EPI)

3. Awareness Campaigns

To overcome propaganda on the social media and other means, there are awareness campaigns launched to counter misconceptions regarding polio vaccination.

“First of all, there is mobilization by polio workers during vaccination campaigns, in which they tell people that polio drops are not dangerous for health of children. Secondly, religious scholars

²⁷ Fatwa is interpretation given in Islamic law by mufti or eminent religious scholars. Most of times, fatwas are given in response to questions raised by public or courts (<https://www.britannica.com/topic/fatwa>).

²⁸ It is religious institution of Muslims in Deoband, India working since May 31, 1866. It is popular for giving formal rulings (fatwas) in response of questions raised on some matter (<http://www.darulifta-deoband.com/>).

²⁹ He leads prayers in Kaaba in Holy city of Makkah, Saudi Arabia. He is considered most influential religious person in Muslim world (www.al-islam.org).

³⁰ Al-Azhar University is globally famous university for modern Islamic thoughts. It is not only famous in Egypt but in Muslim world as well (<http://www.azhar.edu.eg/En/>).

are engaged to counter religious refusals. Thirdly, there are advertisements regarding benefits of polio vaccination by government of Pakistan on print, electronic and social media. Fourthly, people are also informed about benefits of polio vaccination at local level through advertisements at billboards in cities". (Bilal Khan, EOC)

"During polio campaigns we try to give awareness to the people regarding benefits of polio vaccination for their children and majorities are convinced". (Arslan Baloch, Polio Worker)

"An awareness campaign is launched by polio administration for convincing people to vaccinate their children. All of these campaigns proved successful and people have started to vaccinate their children, due to which cases of virus affected children reduced. In Pishin since 2014, no case of polio is reported, in Quetta since February 2016 no case reported and in Killa Abdullah since November, 2017 no case is reported. Further, sanitation water is also tested for presence of polio virus in it or otherwise. In Killa Abdullah, in sanitation water, no virus is found. In Quetta, in sanitation water, polio virus was found but it was not local". (Dr. Hasan Ali, EOC)

4. Campaign at grassroots level

To counter challenge of administrative bottlenecks, now a day's polio campaigns are performed at district level but before that polio drops were given at selected centers of the city. The launching of polio campaigns at district level makes task easy.

"We (EPI) provide vaccines and other equipment to Deputy Commissioner, and then a committee is formed at district level called District Polio Control Room (DPCR). The office of DPCR is in premises of DC office and a focal person is appointed by DC. In these offices every facility is provided by DCs for smooth communication. All DPCR meetings of pre and post campaigns are chaired by DC. In these meetings DHO and district representatives of donors are to be present. Before campaigns DPCR meeting is held, targets are set and at the end of campaign, again meeting is called, and day to day progress of campaign is analyzed. Due to campaigns at district level, polio cases in Balochistan have reduced". (Dr. Aftab, EPI).

"The involvement of deputy commissioners in polio campaigns at district level is contributing a lot in eradication of polio cases, as coverage is increasing due to decentralization of tasks". (Nawaz Bugti, Health Section, P & DD)

5. One- Window Operation

To deal with administrative bottlenecks at provincial level, a single office is established in Quetta for dealing with issues of polio vaccination.

“The Additional Secretary (Health), government of Balochistan is coordinator of Provincial Emergency Operating Center (PEOC) in commissioner Quetta division office. All provincial meetings of pre and post campaigns are chaired by this and all donors such as WHO, UNICEF and others sit in PEOC. Before that this set up, there was no coordination among different institutions for conducting polio campaigns. Due to establishment of PEOC, the traditional bureaucratic bottlenecks have reduced and everything with respect to polio operation is done in one premise”. (Jamil Khan, EOC)

“The establishment of EOC at provincial level is making tasks of polio vaccination easy for top and bottom level employees. Even donors are being facilitated from this”. (Dr. Hasan Ali, EOC)

Nature of Project

The polio campaign is treated differently in different districts of Balochistan. The nature of project is important in case of conflict arising because it determines sensitivity of conflict. If nature of project is aligned with local norms and thoughts of society then there is less chance of conflict but if it is opposite, then conflict maximizes. Balochistan is dominated by two ethnic groups; Baloch and Pashtun. Majority of the Pashtuns are religious centric, while, Baloch somehow have secular nature.

“In Pashtun areas of Quetta people ask too much questions about polio vaccination as they are suspicious that it is conspiracy of non-Muslims to make their children impotent. So, they refuse for vaccination of their children”. (Ayesha Khan, Polio Vaccinator)

“In Khuzdar (ethnically Baloch district) polio campaigns are going in smooth ways and we are welcomed there. People are eager to vaccinate their children, so they cooperate with us”. (Arslan Baloch, Polio Worker)

Analysis and Conclusion

There are different challenges faced in polio campaigns but most important are those which are created due to misperceptions of people such as social media propaganda, religious refusals and

repeated campaigns. Due to misperceptions people created hurdles in project implementation and these challenges emerged. This argument is aligning with literatures (Elahi, Nyborg, & Nawab, 2015), (Monshipouri, 2003) and (Burke, 2008), wherein due to misunderstandings, community created problems in execution of projects.

There are different strategies adopted to handle these challenges. Although, religious refusals are due to sermons of local religious scholars but project adopted strategy to engage religious scholars in different ways to get people support. Further, another strategy adopted to get people support is ‘community based vaccination’ wherein community is engaged at local level to make project successful. These strategies are supported by literatures (Goodhand & Chamberlain, 1996), (Cramer, Goodhand, & Morris, 2016) and (Kadirova, 2014).

The nature of polio campaign varies from area to area, as in Pashtun areas it got resistance, while in Baloch areas this does not happen. It means that same project is treated differently in same province. It is supporting statement and objective of research that nature of the project determines sensitivity of conflict.

It is concluded that field staff of ‘polio campaign’ faced challenges such as repeated campaigns, religious refusals, administrative bottlenecks, spillover effect and social media propaganda, which created problems for them to implement campaigns in smooth way. To overcome these challenges, they applied some strategies to achieve objectives of ‘polio campaigns’. They applied strategies such as community based vaccination, engagement of religious scholars, awareness campaigns, campaign at grassroots level and one window operation. Lastly, polio campaign is perceived differently in different areas of Balochistan because of difference of culture and norms.

4.3 Case Two: Balochistan Education Support Project (BEP)

Introduction:

The Balochistan Education Support Project (BEP) is funded by Global Partnership for Education (GPE) with grant of US \$ 34 million, started in 2015 and implemented with the help of World Bank, Education Department, Government of Balochistan and UNICEF. Further, Education Department, GoB has established project management unit (PMU) to manage and implement project activities. The project is being implemented in all districts of Balochistan.

Objective of the Project:

The Balochistan Education Support program's overall objective is to speed up and increase enrollment of school going children specially girls and completing quality basic education in the province of Balochistan, which is main element of the Balochistan Education Sector Plan (BESP). The specific objectives of project are as under;

1. To enhance access and retention in basic education especially for girls through mobilization of community, awareness-raising, construction and repair of primary and middle schools class rooms with basic facilities, and selection and placement of female teachers in these schools.
2. To increase quality of education in primary and middle schools by reinforcing the system for uninterrupted professional development of the teachers
3. To improve the governance and administration in education sector through refining the provincial data management, planning and monitoring systems.

Background of the project:

In 2012, the Government of Pakistan joined the Global Partnership for Education (GPE) and US\$ 100 million were allocated to Pakistan for improvement of education sector. Out of these US\$ 100 million, Sindh got financial grant of US\$ 66 million, while, Balochistan got US\$ 34 million. For supervising the grant World Bank was chosen, while, UNICEF is coordinating agency. The GoB is using this grant for implementation of different activities of the Balochistan education sector plan (BESP) 2013-18. On the other hand, in order to further support implementation of BESP, the European Union has promised allocation of Euro 20 million with special attention on access to education to girls in addition to GPE-BEP. In addition, European Union requested the World Bank to manage a particular part of this grant and expand existing GPE supported Balochistan Education project.

Components of the Project:

There are three main components of the project which include; access and equity, quality and increased accountability, and technical assistance for management and monitoring. The first component of 'access and equity' has sub-component of 'expansion of education access through mechanism of community schools through construction of 725 new schools, while second sub-component is 'supporting evolution of education to higher level of education through upgradation of 95 middle and 25 high schools'. The second main component of 'quality and increased accountability' includes sub-component of 'promotion of early child hood education through teachers training', with second sub-component of 'collection and dissemination of school information, to be used for better planning and decision making'. The third component 'technical assistance for management and monitoring' may be implemented through support of establishment of systems and procedures, and implementation of project activities with robust monitoring system.

Outcomes of the Project:

The project achieved good results till date and this is evident from following figures following (GPE, 2018).

1. Overall, more than 20,000 students were enrolled in newly established and upgraded schools in different districts of Balochistan.
2. In project led government schools in grades 1-5 almost 11453 girls were enrolled.
3. There is 70% retention rate in project-supported schools.
4. At secondary level, in project schools 778 girls were enrolled from grade 06 to 10.
5. With the help of community, 63 new primary schools were established.
6. For public awareness regarding education, an annual report was published on different selected indicators and made public.
7. In 63 government schools, early childhood program was established.

Results of Interviews

The results of in-depth interviews show that there are some challenges encountered by project staff of 'Balochistan Education Support Project' in the field, along with strategies to cope the challenges and nature of project with relation to conflict. The details are as under;

Challenges

The interviews conducted show that there are some challenges faced by field staff of BEP and these include law and order problem, irresponsible attitude of community, government slow responses and misperceptions about NGOs.

1. Law and Order Problem

There are law and order problems in different districts to conduct activities of project.

“There are some districts in which it is not possible for us (staff of head office) to visit, for example Awaran district (Baloch dominated), where law and order situation is deteriorated. But in Awaran monitoring is carried out by local partners and staff is hired from respective union councils”. (Ikramullah Khan, Monitoring officer.)

“In Dera Bugti (Baloch dominated), one of the disturbed districts of Balochistan, we are cautious in monitoring of schools. In this district, personnel of head office cannot visit rather local monitoring teams perform activities. If an incident happens in the district, then monitoring activities are stopped for time being”. (Zamran Marri, Education officer, Sibi)

2. Irresponsible Attitude of Community

The community response with project staff in coordination of project activities is not good.

“For interaction between school administration and community member, BEP has constituted parents-teacher school management committee (PTMC) for every school under its jurisdiction. The task of PTMC is to look after different issues of school such as water supply, books & stationaries, sanitation and water supply system. But People do not take interest in PTMC because majority in these committees are poor workers who may be busy in their daily earnings. They are only concerned that building of the school is functional. Although after formation of PTMC, training is also imparted to the members of committee but still people give less time”. (Hameed Khan, Monitoring officer, Quetta- II)

“Some members of community do not allow construction activities of school and have disputes with contractors. Secondly, sometimes there are problems of land acquisition from the community because when school was built no formal agreement was signed with community. These things are creating problems for us”. (Gulab Khan, Social organizer, SPO, Quetta)

“There are many schools in which community is not allowing schools to be functional even government posted teachers on attachment basis. But they are demanding from us class four posts as they have provided land (worth millions of rupees) free of cost. Even in extreme case at some places people are ready to fight with us”. (Ghulam Nabi, Monitoring Associate, Quetta)

3. Government Slow Responses

The government response towards project activities is very slow.

“The response of staff of Education Department is not encouraging as they are not interested that a parallel system should run successfully. The teachers’ unions do not welcome such initiatives because it is undermining their authority. Further, government has slow process of performing tasks”. (Asmat Zehri, Education officer, Khuzdar region)

“In extreme case, when we consult Education Department, GOB for any issue relating to project bottlenecks, their response is very slow, due to which project activities are disturbed”. (Ikramullah Khan, Monitoring officer)

4. Misperceptions about NGOs

People perception about NGOs is not good particularly in Pashtun areas due to religious dominancy.

“Once I went to visit a school of Baleli in Quetta. That area was dominated by a prominent religious scholar and majority people have rigid religious thoughts. The school was functional but teacher was not appointed. So as per my duty, I asked for formation of PTMC so that needs of school may be chalked out but they asked for my identity. The son of religious scholar portrayed a bad image of NGO and they had negative perception about working style of NGOs. According to them girls of NGOs are immoral and they do not perform activities as per Islamic teachings”. (Gulab Khan, Social organizer, SPO, Quetta)

“In many areas, religious people are not allowing co-education system and are not coordinating with our staff as they think that project activities are being handled by NGOs. In one of the school, religious scholar of area demanded for enrollment of children of his immediate family instead of whole public. Due to this situation, we cancelled school for project activities”. (Hameed Khan, Monitoring officer-II, Quetta)

Strategies:

During interviews it is found that although there are challenges to project staff but they have also devised strategies to deal with those. The strategies adopted for successful implementation of the project are community support process (CSP), implementation through local organizations and real time monitoring system.

1. Community Support Process (CSP)

To overcome irresponsible attitude of community, the project started community support process (CSP) for smooth implementation of project activities.

“Identification of schools was done through community support process (CSP). In this process, staff goes to a particular village and conduct survey for construction of new schools. A novel method was experienced in this process that advertisement was given in newspaper for identification of new schools so that public may have knowledge about this. In response of advertisement 6200 applications were received for new schools, which were later scrutinized and 2200 applications were found valid. These 2200 applications were validated in the field and 525 were found valid. These 525 schools were fulfilling all four criteria of BEP. These four criteria were: twenty students in school, donation of land by villagers, educated female teacher in village and no schools in radius of 1.5 KM. It means that for construction of new schools, identification process was done through community”. (Ikramullah Khan, Monitoring officer)

“With community support, we identified absent teachers, fined and even terminated through the platform of PTMC. Sometimes, we solve problems regarding schools with the help of community support process”. (Beeberg Mengal, Monitoring coordinator, Khuzdar)

2. Implementation through Local Organizations

To deal with challenge of law and order problem and misperception about NGOs, the project adopted implementation of schools through local organizations of the particular area.

“BEP is not directly implementing monitoring system in schools rather local partners has been chosen for this purpose. Project authorities selected implementing partners which have knowledge of local issues. BEP divided whole Balochistan in seven regions. In Quetta region (Quetta, Pishin, Mastung districts), SPO a local NGO is partner of the project”. (Hameed Khan, Monitoring officer-II, Quetta)

“For monitoring of schools, local organizations are hired by project. In Khuzdar region (Khuzdar, Awaran, Lasbealla and Kalat districts), we also hired local partners for monitoring purpose. These organizations hire local people for monitoring of schools. The success of monitoring system is that local people are involved in monitoring system”. (Asmat Zehri, Education officer, Khuzdar region)

3. Real time Monitoring System

To counter with challenge of government slow responses, real time monitoring system is adopted by project. The traditional method of government monitoring was not providing results.

“For monitoring purpose, district monitoring coordinator is appointed and three monitoring associates are appointed, who will report to monitoring coordinate. The monitoring coordinator reports to the Deputy Commissioner of respective district. This monitoring system when implemented proved successful. Due to this system, explanation of almost 3900 teachers was called and Rs 30.00 million were recovered. The main advantage of this was that those teachers who were absent were identified and there was clear improvement in attendance. Further, those people who used to influence the attendance of the schools could not understand mechanism of this system”. (Ikramullah Khan, Monitoring officer)

“For monitoring purpose project gave me android devices installed with apps. When I visit schools, I used to send pictures of schools and reports of attendance to high authorities. In this case nobody can influence higher authorities. It means that we use latest technology for monitoring purpose. (Ghulam Nabi, Monitoring Associate, Quetta)

Nature of the Project

Through discussion it is revealed that in Baloch districts environment is suitable for conducting project activities as compared to Pashtun areas. Overall people have good response in Baloch areas even in some places teachers are living in houses of community members because of long distance. Further, members of community coordinate and respect monitoring staff of the project.

“Overall we have no problem in conducting project activities and people response is very good. They are donating lands for construction of schools”. (Asmat Zehri, Education officer, Khuzdar region)

On the other hand, people in Pashtun areas dominated by religious thoughts are somewhat uneasy with social sector projects. In this project people resisted in formation of PTMC because they thought female of NGOs are immoral and cooperation with them is contrary to teachings of Islam.

“People in Quetta created hurdles in functioning of schools because of land disputes. When they donated lands, so in response they were expecting posts and when this did not happen, they created problems for field staff of the project. Due to rigid thoughts of people, we are facing difficulties in monitoring activities”. (Gulab Khan, Social organizer, SPO, Quetta)

Analysis and Conclusion

The field and managerial staff of BEP faced challenges to accomplish tasks. These were; law and order problem, irresponsible attitude of community, government slow responses and misperceptions about NGOs. The important challenge is ‘irresponsible attitude of community’ it means that when community does not welcome to the initiatives of project. It happens when community thinks that project activities are not according to norms of community. This happened in Aceh, Indonesia, where development agencies faced problems due to this issue (Burke, 2008). Further, another challenge ‘misperceptions about NGOs’ is common in places where people have orthodox religious thoughts. This argument is supported by Noor Elahi, when in Swat, Pakistan, NGOs were perceived as characterless (Elahi, Nyborg, & Nawab, 2015).

The strategies adopted to manage challenges include, community support process (CSP), implementation through local organization and real time monitoring system. The community support process was applied in Somalia by Adeso, which gave good results (Delaney, 2014). Moreover, the strategy of ‘implementation through local organization’ was used in FATA when educational facilities were provided by local NGOs (Khan, Kanwal, & Wang, 2018) and in Afghanistan as well when JICA provided funds to local organizations (Ashizawa, 2014).

Furthermore, nature of this project varies from area to area, as in Pashtun areas they faced more challenges due to religious thoughts as compared to Baloch districts. Majority of the challenges were in districts where religious elements were dominant. So, project faced different treatments in different areas of Balochistan.

4.4 Case Three: Refugee Affected & Hosting Areas Project (RAHA)

Introduction:

Refugee affected and hosting areas (RAHA) project was started in 2009 and ended in 2015. The project was implemented in two phases; first phase was implemented from July 2009 to June 2011, while, second phase was implemented from July 2011 to June 2105. The total cost of first phase was US\$ 22.00 million funded by Japanese government, while, second phase was sponsored by European Union with Euro 40.00 million.

Objective:

The project aims to compensate the local communities affected by Afghan refugees by improving their livelihoods, rehabilitating their social service infrastructure and environment.

Background:

Pakistan is hosting millions of Afghan refugees since last three decades, almost 3.8 million have gone to Afghanistan, while, 1.61 million registered Afghan refugees are still in Pakistan. Most of these refugees are in provinces of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan. Lives of communities who have hosted or still hosting Afghan refugees have been affected by their presence for thirty years. So, this five-year project was aimed to improve lives of these communities through different interventions.

This project was launched in 2009 between Government of Pakistan represented by Ministry of Economic Affairs Division (EAD) and Ministry of States and Frontier Regions (SAFRON), and joint venture of UN agencies, NGOs and government organizations. As far as management is concerned, this project was managed at three levels; federal task force chaired by EAD and SAFRON, provincial task force Balochistan headed by ACS (Development) P & D Department and district coordination committees chaired by Deputy Commissioners of respective districts.

Coverage:

This project was executed in district Quetta, Pishin, Killa Abdullah, Chaghai, Killa Saifullah and Loralai. The communities of these districts have been affected most by influx of Afghan refugees in last three decades and these districts were selected for project implementation.

Targeted Sectors:

The sectors which were targeted to achieve objectives of the project include community infrastructure having water, sanitation, energy and roads projects, environment, education, health, and livelihood projects.

Outcome of the Project:

The project has delivered following good results for community development;

- 15,300 households organized in 850 Community Organizations, 95 Village Organizations and 1 Local Support Organization.
- 523 O & M committees formed and 2615 members trained.
- 11 irrigation channel/ water courses constructed covering 686 acres of land benefitting 10971 individuals.
- 1926 (including 514 women) community members trained in basic skills such as record keeping, utilizing banking services, conflict resolution, leadership, community management, implementing community level projects, through CMST/LMST.
- 132 (including 21 women) Government officials trained on participatory M & E, innovation in Project cycle management and information technology.
- 58 Alternative Energy (solar system) projects installed at household level benefitting 12657 individuals
- 81 street pavements with sewerage lines were constructed, benefitting 139134 individuals.
- 1185 (including 639 women) community members trained in market based income generation skills.
- 234 clean drinking water projects have been implemented (supply systems, overhead and household level water storage tanks and solar pumps) These projects benefit 121584 individuals
- 82 sanitation projects benefitting 52953 individuals were constructed.
- 23 school buildings repaired.
- 4 projects on Health Services Improvement were initiated, benefitting 23622 Individuals.

Results of Interviews

The in-depth interviews with staff of Refugee affected and hosting areas (RAHA) revealed that they face some challenges in the field and applied some strategies to deal with challenges. Further, the challenges show that nature of project determines the intensity of conflict.

Challenges

The field staff and monitoring officers faced challenges in implementation of activities of the

project. These challenges are law and order problem, community lukewarm attitude, slack winter season and lack of skilled staff.

1. Law and Order Problem

The project staff encountered with problem of law and order due to they faced difficulties in project implementation.

“At initial stage there were law and order problems in the field. Sometimes field staff was threatened with dire consequences. Due to negative perceptions people were not ready to accept project activities and did not allow field staff to work in those areas”. (Muhammad Bilal, Provincial Coordinator)

“In Chaghai, when we visited sites for construction purpose, people looked us with suspicion and perceived us government agents”. (Javed Baloch, Social Mobilizer, Chaghai)

2. Community Lukewarm Attitude

The response of community was not upto mark and they refrained to coordinate with project staff.

“Due to illiteracy it was difficult to convince people regarding activities of the project. At initial phase it was difficult for people to digest the project initiatives. Secondly, people attitude was difficult; they were not ready to accept changes in their places. Although, all of the schemes executed by this project were community based, which means that schemes were started on genuine needs of community but they were not interested in consultation process”. (Asif Khan, Provincial Monitoring officer)

“I have observed that some members of the community have high expectations from the project, so they have high demands for their areas which were not fulfilling the criteria of the project. So such schemes were dropped and for this community resisted, and created hurdles in construction activities of the schemes”. (Jamal Ahmed, Monitoring officer, Quetta)

3. Slack Winter Season

Due to infrastructure nature, the construction activities of the project were stopped in winter season.

“The weather of project locations is very cold in winter season and in peak winter the temperature goes to -10 C. As majority of components of the project had construction work, so in extreme winter season it was not possible to work. This season spans on almost four months from December to March. During this season, project activities were slowed down, due to which schemes cannot be completed on time leading to cost escalation”. (Mohsin Hasan, Assistant Engineer)

“During winter season not only construction but monitoring activities were slowed down”. (Arman Khan, Field Assistant, Quetta)

4. Lack of Skilled Labour

In the project quality of construction work was average due to lack of skilled labour.

“We were unable to find good engineers. Although, government has provided engineers of good caliber but still they lack technical skills. Due to lack of skilled engineers, infrastructure schemes could not be constructed with good quality. Due to low quality schemes, project reputation may damage”. (Muhammad Bilal, Provincial Coordinator)

“Due to lack of skilled civil engineers, there is question mark on quality of work”. (Asif Khan, Provincial Monitoring officer)

Strategies:

To deal with challenges, staff of the project applied some strategies for smooth implementation of activities. These strategies include participative development and government ownership.

1. Participative Development

To deal with challenges of law and order, and lukewarm attitude of community, the project administration adopted approach of participative development. It means that community was involved in development process.

“First of all, community needs were identified and according to needs development activities were carried out. For this purpose, community organizations (COs) were formed by community and COs have to identify needs of community. Needs are identified on priority basis and then feasible needs are filtered through technical analysis by RAHA. Based on those needs, schemes were implemented for community called Community based Infrastructure (CBI) schemes. These

infrastructure schemes include rehabilitation of schools, sewerage system, and provision of clean drinking water. MOUs are signed with community, in which milestones are set in which there is time line for release of installments of funds, date of completion of scheme and assurance by community for ownership of scheme after closure of RAHA". (Asif Khan, Provincial Monitoring officer)

"We involve community in development process. Through COs, RAHA gave community management trainings to communities of project area. In these trainings awareness is given to communities to sustain these schemes". (Javed Baloch, Social Mobilizer, Chaghai)

2. Government Ownership

To deal with challenges of slack winter season and lack of skilled labour, the project was brought under ownership of government.

"Although majority of funding of the project was from donors and UNDP was managing the project but government of Balochistan owned the project due to its significance. For this purpose, Planning and Development Department (P & DD), GOB played key role and helped the project in tackling governmental issues". (Muhammad Bilal, Provincial Coordinator)

"In winter season, focus was on paper work of schemes and majority of these schemes were approved by government of Balochistan. The government ownership helped in this process". (Mohsin Hasan, Assistant Engineer)

Nature of the Project

The project received mixed responses in Quetta and Chaghai due to difference of cultures.

"At initial stage community response was not good in Pashtun dominated areas of Quetta because of perception that it is NGO based project. But when community is convinced that it is government owned project then overall their response was good. Community members helped the project staff in identification of community needs and implementation of schemes. This coordinated relationship led to successful completion of schemes initiated by project". (Jamal Ahmed, Monitoring officer, Quetta)

"In Chaghai I got less appreciation as compared to my other counterparts because government owned activities are seen with suspicion in the district". (Javed Baloch, Social Mobilizer, Chaghai)

Analysis and Conclusion

The discussions with staff of RAHA show that they faced challenges in the field and those are law and order problem, community lukewarm attitude, slack winter season and lack of skilled staff. The community lukewarm attitude shows that they were not interested in the project at initial stage. Most of times, people think that the project is not beneficial for them and is damaging traditions of the area. This is supported by examples in literatures (Elahi, Nyborg, & Nawab, 2015) and (Burke, 2008). Another important challenge lack of skilled staff is supported by example of Sri-Lanka where skilled staff migrated from Tamil controlled areas (Morais & Ahmad, 2010).

Moreover, strategies such as participative development and government ownership are also used by RAHA staff to deal with challenges. The strategy of participative development was used by Adeso in Somalia wherein communities were involved in need identification process (Delaney, 2014) and same happened in RAHA. It shows that the strategies of RAHA participative development and government ownership are equally important because without people participation and support project implementation is not possible. In addition, when needs are identified with consultation of the community then it becomes easy for field staff to execute project activities on ground. Participative development also provides support to higher management to take quick decisions because local people will help in implementation of those decisions. On the other hand, government ownership is also important as without it administrative issues might have emerged during execution phase.

Further, nature of the RAHA project shows that although it is welcomed by all people but in Pashtun areas it is considered more important than Baloch areas. It analyzed that this infrastructure project is welcomed in Pashtun areas of Balochistan, and in Baloch areas response of people was not up to mark. It means that it faced many difficulties in Baloch areas.

It is concluded that RAHA project various challenges such as law and order problem, community lukewarm attitude, slack winter season and lack of skilled staff in implementation phase. In order to deal with these challenges staff applied strategies of participative development and government ownership. Moreover, project is treated as per customs and norms of the area.

4.5 Case Four: Construction of Turbat-Buleda Raod (19.12 KM)

Introduction:

This project was included in provincial development budget in 2006 and construction work started in 2009. The project was initially approved at total cost of Rs 929.119 million for 19.12 KM but now the cost of the project has revised upto Rs 1472.836 million. The details of project are as under;

Objective of the Project:

- The project is aimed at providing basic infrastructure in Balochistan and to complete the communication link between Turbat and Buleda, where vertical grades are steep from 12% to 18% which would be eased up to 7.7% maximum under new proposed project.
- This project will also serve as access for agriculture products of the area to main market.
- It will connect Buleda valley with Turbat city through shortest route.

Background of the Project:

Buleda valley is falling between two mountains with difficult access. This valley has potential for agriculture activities but most agriculture production becomes rotten due to non-availability of access road. So, there was need for a road to have access. The implementation of the project started in 2009 and till date in July, 2018 could not be completed due to deteriorated law and order situation. During construction of the project, in 2012 terrorists attached manpower which resulted in killing of 07 labours and damaging of construction equipments. Due to terrorist attack, work was suspended for about one and half years. After lapse of one and half years, the work was again started and this time the project met same fate and two labours were killed by terrorists and contractor machinery was severely damaged. Moreover, after several terrorist attacks and damage of machinery, the contractor refused to work on existing rates.

Justification of the project:

The existing road between Turbat and Buleda get blocked for several days in rainy seasons due to non-availability of good road. Further, during flood this road is dangerous for lives of people of area and relief work may not be carried out. So, after construction of this project, these problems may be reduced.

Components of the project:

For implementation of project, the government adopted method to manage the project in different segments and each part is treated as separate project. There are four following components of the project;

- The first component of the project is 'road work', with length of 19.120 KM and width of 10.363m. Till date only 28% work is completed in 10 years from 2009 to 2018. It shows there is very slow implementation of the project with different reasons.
- The second component of the project is 'construction of culvert' in which 6% work is completed till date.
- The third component of the project is 'protection walls', which will be fixed on side of road. This component can only be started when first two are completed.
- The fourth component of the project is 'road safety items' and these items may be fixed only when first three components are completed.

Benefits of the project:

Like every project, this project has following financial and social benefits

1. Financial benefits:

There are different indirect financial benefits of the project. However, when project will get completed then people may have route for transportation of their agriculture products to main market. In this way losses to these products will be lessened. Due to this road transportation cost of other materials from different areas to Buleda will also reduce. At present it takes four hours from Buleda to Turbat but after completion of road it will reduce to 45 minutes. This road is also important from business point for the people of Mekran division because it will further lead to Dalbandin and then to Afghanistan.

2. Social benefits:

Most of education and health institutions in that area are located in Turbat city and after completion of this road, people can get easy access to educational and health facilities. Further, this project will also improve law and order situation in the area because after construction of road, movement of law enforcement agencies will become easy.

Results of Interviews

The discussions with staff and contractor show that this project is facing many challenges and this is reason that the project is still not complete. Further, project implementers have adopted some strategies to deal with the challenges and due to this reason till date almost 35 % work is completed. Through this project it is shown that nature of project determines sensitivity of conflict.

Challenges

The executors of the project faced some challenges during implementation phase. These challenges include law & order problems, difficult terrains and litigation issues.

1. Law and Order Problem

There are problems of law and order on the site due to which construction stopped many times.

“There are security issues on this road. In March, 2012, terrorists attacked on site of the project and seven labours were killed. In this attack, machinery of contractor was also burnt. After the attack, work on project was suspended for almost one year. In July 2013, when work was again started, then immediately terrorists attacked the site of project in which two labours were killed. During this attack encounter taken place between FC and militants, in which two militants were also killed. After this attack, work was again suspended. Then work was started on 20th June, 2014 but this time work was stopped due to price differences”. (Imran Buledi, Ex-Deputy Project Director)

“My workers have been killed in terrorist attacks and got losses of millions of rupees due to damage of construction machineries”. (Ahmed Khan, contractor)

“During visit of the road some years ago, we were advised not to go beyond some areas due to bad law and order situation. Even government engineers in the district were not ready to go in those areas for inspection”. (Anwar Jan Shahwani, Chief Monitoring P& DD)

2. Difficult Terrains

Due to difficult terrains, there are difficulties in construction work and movement of equipment.

“Although road is 19.12 KM but it is in difficult mountainous range. In such terrain there is need of cutting and blasting of mountains for construction of road. Due to this issue, first of all survey of road proved difficult because very expensive and latest tools were used for conducting survey. Further, when implementation of the road started, then first activity was cutting and blasting of mountains for construction of road. The cutting and blasting of mountains proved very difficult, expensive and time-consuming task”. (Dilnawaz Dashti, Ex Executive Engineer, Road, district Turbat)

“It is extremely difficult to initiate construction work in such mountainous area. Due to difficult terrains the work is delayed”. (Imran Buledi, Ex-Deputy Project Director)

3. Litigation Issues

Due to law and order situation, there started litigation battle between contractor and government.

“The site of road was attacked two times by terrorists in 2012 and 2013, in which total nine labours were killed. In addition, in these attacks contractor bore losses of millions of rupees due to burning of construction machineries. Further, after attacks, labours were not ready to work on existing rates and they demanded wages almost three times of existing rates. Due to these issues it was not possible for contractor to work on existing rates and he demanded market rates. On request of contractor, cost of the road was revised by government of Balochistan but he was not satisfied with revised cost. In such circumstances, contractor filed petition against government of Balochistan and work is suspended since four years”. (Muhib Kakar, Chief Road, P & DD)

“I have filed petition against government in High Court of Balochistan because I am not satisfied with existing rates as I have borne losses of human lives and millions of rupees. Further, in such circumstances government wanted to change the award of contract, which is unacceptable for me”. (Ahmed Khan, contractor)

Strategies:

The construction of road proved very difficult due to above mentioned challenges but field staff used some means to construct completed portions of road. These include deployment of security on site and allocation of high rates to the road.

1. Deployment of Security on Site

To deal with challenge of law and order, security forces are deployed on site of road.

“The first step taken for ensuring security at site of the road was deployment of frontier constabulary (FC) of Balochistan. Due to deployment of FC on site, it became possible that work was restarted after two attacks. Even in second attack, FC killed two militants as well which raised morals of workers on the site. But deployment of FC added expenditures in government exchequer as they are given special funds for security of this particular site. Overall, it worked well and problem of security was tackled”. (Imran Buledi, Ex-Deputy Project Director)

“The deployment of FC gave positive results and work was started. In my opinion it should continue till completion of the project”. (Dilnawaz Dashti, Ex Executive Engineer Road, district Turbat)

2. Allocation of High Rates

To deal with challenges of difficult terrains and litigation issues, government approved high rates above permissible limits for the project

“For construction of road contractor is given high rates above ceiling of government of Balochistan. Due to continuous attacks from militants and loss of machinery it was not possible for contractor to work on existing rates. At third time work was stopped due to rate problem, although the main reason for increasing rates was also law and order situation. The original cost of project was Rs 929.119 million. The old rates were of schedule rates of 1998 (permitted by government of Balochistan) but now new PC-F³¹ was made on The National Highway

³¹ This is detailed concept paper of a project with respect to engineering, financial, environmental and social aspect prepared by concerned department (www.pc.gov.pk/web/downloads/pc).

Authority (NHA)³² rates and was approved at Rs 1472.836 million in December, 2017 from Government of Balochistan. These rates are only permitted in special cases and extra ordinary circumstances”. (Muhib Kakar, Chief Road, P & DD)

“Government provided high rates for the construction of road so that work may be completed within revised schedule”. (Anwar Jan Shahwani, Chief Monitoring P& DD)

Nature of the Project

The construction of road ignited conflict and militants started attacks.

“When construction started, militants attacked labours. Due to construction of road, militancy increased in the area and they attacked twice on site of road which resulted in killings of nine labours. The reason is clear; construction of road may facilitate security forces in conducting operations against militants. This might undermine their hegemony in the area. So, in this case due to development activities conflict increased”. (Imran Buledi, Ex-Deputy Project Director)

“It is natural that they will attack because completion of road will challenge their authorities in the area”. (Ahmed Khan, contractor)

Analysis and Conclusion

The field staff faced challenges in implementation of road which were; law & order problems, difficult terrains and litigation issues. The most important among all is law & order problem which is hampering completion of the project. The law and order problem during development process in Balochistan is highlighted by Alok Bansal, wherein he argues that Baloch do not accept projects due to perception of decline of social and demographic set-up (Bansal, 2008). Further, Safdar Sial expresses same views regarding implementation of development projects (Sial, 2017). Same is happening in construction of Turbat- Buleda road, as terrorists think that this is being constructed to increase federal hegemony. The other challenge ‘litigation issues’ is indirectly related to law & order.

Further, project staff used some strategies to deal with these challenges. These strategies are deployment of security on site and allocation of high rates to the road. First of all security forces

³² The National Highway Authority (NHA) created through Act of Parliament in 1991, entrusted by different governments and organizations for construction of roads, highways and motorways in Pakistan (<http://nha.gov.pk/en/>).

were deployed due to law and order problem. Further, high rates were given due to difficult terrains, and law and order problem.

As this project is located in Baloch dominated Turbat district, so commencement of construction of road increased conflict in the area. It means that in Baloch areas infrastructure projects are not welcomed. In this case, construction of road increased magnitude of conflict. This is supported by literatures (Hoeffler 1998), (Cairns 1997) and (Benjamin Crost 2014), wherein they argue that due to development activities conflict increases.

It is concluded that during construction of Turbat-Buledad road, project staff faced some challenges, which were law & order problems, difficult terrains and litigation issues. To deal with these challenges administration of the project used some strategies such as deployment of security on site and allocation of high rates to the road. Lastly, nature of the project shows that it increased conflict in the area.

Chapter 5 Results and Literature Relationship

This chapter illustrates that how results confirmed three objectives of the study. Further, this also explains major findings with respect to challenges, strategies and nature of projects, emerged from results of four cases.

5.1 Results and Objectives

In armed conflict zones it is not easy to carry out development activities in smooth way. There are challenges associated with projects implemented in in these areas. All over the world development practitioners have faced problems in completing tasks. Balochistan is also victim of deteriorated law and order situation, due to which development process is facing challenges. The objectives of research are to explore that nature of development determines sensitivity of conflict, challenges faced and strategies adopted by development practitioners for implementation of development projects in conflict zones of Balochistan.

The results of in-depth interviews and field visits of four projects show that same project faced multiple treatments in different areas of Balochistan. It means that it is nature of project is responsible for ignition of conflict. In first case and social sector project, polio campaigns, polio workers faced religious refusals in Quetta region because they think that polio vaccination is conspiracy of non-Muslim to make children of Muslim, impotent. Majority of these thoughts are backed by sermons of religious scholars. Due to religious reasons people refuse to vaccinate their children and in this way conflict increases. In extreme cases, polio workers are killed for example on 18th January, 2018 two polio workers were killed in Quetta. This is happening in religiously dominated Pashtun areas, while, in ethnically dominated Baloch areas polio is going in smooth way with no causality till date. The second case and social sector project BEP also indicates that there started law and order problems for field staff not only in Pashtun but Baloch districts as well. People were not ready to cooperate with project administration because they think that it is NGO based project and in religiously dominated Pashtun areas NGOs are considered immoral organizations. On the other hand, overall response of Baloch areas was good and encouraging. In third case and infrastructure project RAHA, laws and order problems started particularly in Baloch dominated Chaghai district. The field staff were threatened with dire consequences and seen with suspicion. In Pashtun areas, schemes completed without any hurdle. The last case and infrastructure project Turbat-Buleda road also created law and problems in the area. Militants do not want completion of road as it may diminish their authorities. The analysis

of four projects shows that social sector projects produce conflict religiously dominated Pashtun areas of Balochistan. On the other hand, in ethnically dominated Baloch social sector implementation is not a problem. Further, infrastructure projects ignite conflict in ethnically dominated Baloch areas, while, in Pashtun areas these projects are welcomed. In brief it shows that nature of project (social or infrastructure) determines sensitivity of conflict.

The results of interviews also show that field staff of these four projects faced challenges in implementation of development activities. In polio campaigns, the workers and administration have to deal with challenges of repeated campaigns, religious refusals, administrative bottlenecks, spillover effect and social media propaganda. Due to these challenges people refuse to vaccinate their children because of suspicions about polio campaigns. Due to these challenges, polio campaigns could not get desired results. Further, in BEP, field staff also faced challenges in monitoring of schools and supply of equipment. These challenges include law and order problem, irresponsible attitude of community, government slow responses and misperceptions about NGOs. Due to these challenges monitoring process was slowed down and even in some cases project administration has to cancel sites of schools for project activities. These challenges disturbed time line and finances of the project. Moreover, in third case RAHA, project administration confronted with challenges of law and order problem, community lukewarm attitude, slack winter season and lack of skilled staff. These challenges delayed schemes which were finalized after consultation with community. Even in some cases, quality of work was also compromised due to these challenges. In last and fourth case Turbat-Buleda road, administration and contractor also encountered challenges of law & order problems, difficult terrains and litigation issues. These challenges delayed completion of road and added expenses in government exchequer. Lastly, due to these challenges litigation battle has started between government and contractor. In brief, all four projects faced challenges in implementation of their activities. These challenges most of times delayed timings of activities and sometimes increased cost of components.

The results also show that project staff also applied some strategies to deal with challenges faced in implementation of activities. In polio campaigns staff used some strategies for successful completion of tasks and these include community based vaccination, engagement of religious scholars, awareness campaigns, campaign at grassroots level and one window operation. These strategies were used for dealing with challenges of the project. Majority of these strategies are

based on local support of the people such as community based vaccination, engagement of religious scholars and awareness campaigns. All these strategies helped project administration to achieve their objectives and this is evident from fact that polio cases are decreasing with the passage of time. In same way, in BEP staff applied some strategies for minimizing the effects of challenges. These strategies consist of community support process (CSP), implementation through local organization and real time monitoring system. These helped in monitoring of schools and supply of equipment to these schools. Further, by using community support process (CSP) and implementation through local organization, the local approach was used. In third case RAHA, strategies such as participative development and government ownership are used. These strategies facilitated staff of the project to achieve objectives of the project. The participative development shows that people were involved in development process. In last and fourth case Turbat-Buleda road, some strategies are used for tackling challenges. These strategies include deployment of security on site and allocation of high rates to the road. These strategies assisted in completion of about 35% of project work.

It is concluded that research objectives; nature of project determines sensitivity of conflict, challenges faced and strategies applied in implementation of development projects in conflict zones of Balochistan. The results of four cases confirm objectives of the research. In these four cases nature of project is determining sensitivity of conflict, field staffs have faced challenges and they applied some strategies for dealing with those challenges in implementation of development activities.

5.2 Major Findings of the Study

From the results of interviews of four cases some challenges and strategies have emerged. The analysis of these challenges and strategies show that some themes have emerged, which are discussed as under;

Challenges findings:

The results of interviews of four cases show that following four main findings have emerged during discussions with project staff. There are similarities between challenges of four cases from results and literature studied.

1. Dominancy of Customs and Norms

Majority of the community members were not ready to accept activities of the projects because they thought that these are declining their social norms and culture. Due to this understanding

most of times, community members were not ready to cooperate with project staff. The results are supported by literatures of (Burke, 2008) and (Elahi, Nyborg, & Nawab, 2015). In case two (BEP), the study of challenges show that people showed irresponsible response with respect to engagement in development activities of schools. This was new thing in their culture to participate in PTMC. So they hesitated to participate in these meetings, due to which project could not achieve quality results. Same situation occurred in Aceh, Indonesia when development agencies confronted difficulties in implement of development due to failure of understanding of cultures (Burke, 2008).

Secondly, in case three (RAHA Project), the challenge ‘community lukewarm attitude’ is indicating that at initial stage community members were not ready to accept project activities due to clash with culture. Moreover, they were not ready to accept changes in their society; even project was beneficial for them. This is in similar with example of Swat valley where women participation in NGOs was perceived against culture of that area (Elahi, Nyborg, & Nawab, 2015).

2. Hegemony of Rigid Religious Thoughts

The results of challenges illustrate that people in Balochistan are dominated by orthodox religious thoughts due to which they were not ready to give space to development activities. The results have similarities with literatures of (Monshipouri, 2003), and (Elahi, Nyborg, & Nawab, 2015).

In case one (Polio Campaign in Balochistan), the challenge ‘religious refusals’ indicates that people refused to vaccinate their children due to sermons of different religious scholars. They thought that it is conspiracy of non-Muslims to make children of Muslims impotent. So, religion thoughts played key role in religious refusals. NGOs in Afghanistan failed during 1980s and 1990s because people thought that they are implementing some foreign agenda of non-Muslims (Monshipouri, 2003). Secondly, in case two (BEP), ‘misperceptions about NGOs’ is expressing that due to rigid religious thoughts people think that female staff of NGOs are immoral. Due to this reason, they did not allow appointment of female school teacher in their school. They portrayed a bad image about working style of NGOs. Similar situation was in Swat when due to religious thoughts of Talibans, NGOs women were considered immoral and not trusted in the field (Elahi, Nyborg, & Nawab, 2015).

3. Security Issues

The results of challenges show that there are security problems during implementation of development projects in conflict zones of Balochistan. Due to law and order problems, project activities were delayed. In case two (BEP), case three (RAHA) and case four (Turbat-Buleda road), there is common challenge of 'law and order problem'. Due to law and order problems, projects faced delays, wastage of resources and stoppage of work. So due to initiation of development projects, security issues have emerged. This happened in Philippines when due to development projects security issues emerged (Croft, Felner, & Johnston, 2014). Similar situation occurred in Liberia in 1996 and Bosnia Herzegovina from 1993 to 1995 (Cairns & Bryer, 1997).

4. Scarcity of technical labour

For any project to complete it is mandatory that technical staff should be hired, but in Balochistan due to law and order problems there is lack of skilled labour. During discussions, it is revealed that it is difficult to hire technical staff in project related activities. In case two (BEP), the challenge 'government slow responses' indicates that there is issue of human resource not only in government but in development projects. Due to this, government employees respond slowly to the queries of different agencies. Secondly, in case three (RAHA Project), 'lack of skilled labour' shows that project could not find qualified engineers for construction work in the project, due to which they faced issue of quality of work.

This argument is supported by example of Sri-Lanka where in Tamil rebel-controlled areas NGOs could not find skilled labour for development projects because due to security problems they have moved to safe areas (Morais & Ahmad, 2010).

Strategies themes:

The results of strategies indicate that four findings have emerged which include; community based development, engagement with powerful actors, local approach and out of box solutions.

1. Community Based Development

It means that when community is involved in development process and needs are identified with consultation from community. In case two (BEP), the strategy 'Community Support Process (CSP)' shows that identification of schools in this project was done by public in response of advertisement in public and then scrutinized schools were built. Further, monitoring of schools is being carried out with the help of community members as they identify absent teachers and needs of schools. It means that public was involved in development process.

In case three (RAHA Project), the strategy ‘Participative Development’ illustrates that for construction of different schemes community members were involved through constitution of community organizations (COs). After finalization of priority wise schemes by COs, RAHA used to construct those schemes called community based infrastructure (CBI) schemes.

The literature shows that this approach was used by an international NGO, African development solutions (Adeso) in Somali. This approach was named as community-based targeting (ICBT) and for this purpose, village relief committees (VRCs) were formed for selection of beneficiaries of development schemes (Delaney, 2014).

2. Engagement with Powerful Actors

The results show that in conflict zones there are some peaceful powerful actors, the engagement with whom may lead to successful completion of project activities. In case one (Polio Campaign in Balochistan), the strategy ‘engagement of religious scholars’ is showing that although technically religious scholars have nothing to do with polio campaigns but they were involved because they have say in the society. They are important tool in countering religious refusals. Religious scholars are engaged through different task forces and given stipends for awareness in the public. The literature shows that this approach was adopted by Afghan NGOs during 1990s when civil war was on peak. They made alliances with religious establishment of those areas and implemented projects (Goodhand & Chamberlain, 1996).

In case three (RAHA Project), the strategy ‘government ownership’ shows that project administration involved government departments because government has administrative powers. Government has influence in the society. It means that involvement is government is feasible tool where it is required.

In case four (Turbat-Buleda Road), the strategy ‘deployment of security on site’ indicates that security forces are involved for construction of road because they are only solution to deal with law and order problems. Moreover, security forces are powerful actor of society and part of government.

The literature confirms that there is no harm in financing those parties which might be helpful in reduction of conflict for carrying out development activities in conflict zones (Cramer, Goodhand, & Morris, 2016).

3. Local Approach

The local approach means that for carrying out development in conflict zones it is important that local people are to be entrusted for task of development. The involvement of local people and organizations will help in successful implementation of projects as they have knowledge of local traditions, culture and customs. In case one (Polio Campaigns in Balochistan), the strategy ‘community based vaccination’ wherein local people are hired for polio vaccination. This tool proved to be successful tool because polio coverage has increased after this. The literature shows that local support is important in successful completion of development projects in conflict zones. For getting local support different tools may be applied (Kadirova, 2014).

In case two (BEP), the strategy ‘Implementation through local organization’ shows that to achieve project objectives, local NGOs and organizations are involved in conflict zones of Balochistan. Monitoring of schools are done through these performed through these local agencies. This gave desired results for the project. The literature confirms that during troubled times in FATA, local NGOs provided educational facilities when state was not in position to perform these activities (Khan, Kanwal, & Wang, 2018).

4. Out of box Solutions

It is analyzed that for conducting development activities in conflict zones of Balochistan, there is need to apply methods other than traditional ones. The results show that this is done in projects studied;

In case one (Polio Campaign in Balochistan), the strategy ‘one-window operation’ shows that for making polio campaign successful, government of Balochistan established new set-up. In this new set-up, work is done in corporate way rather than bureaucratic.

In case two (BEP), ‘real time monitoring system’ is showing that for monitoring of schools is not done in traditional way of inspection rather android devices installed with apps are provided to monitoring officers for inspection of schools.

In case four (Turbat-Buleda Road), the strategy ‘allocation of high rates’ indicate that high rates are given to the project because of bad law and order situation. The rates above permitted limits of government of Balochistan are allocated to this project. It means that extra ordinary measures are to taken in to complete project in conflict zones.

Nature of Project

The nature of project is important in determination of conflict. For this research two social sector (case one and two) and two infrastructure projects (case three and four) were selected. These projects met multiple treatments in same province.

1. Social Sector Projects

The results of four projects show that social sector projects are not welcomed in Pashtun areas of Balochistan. People in these areas think that social sector projects are NGO based and NGO activities are not welcomed in these areas due to religious thoughts. Majority of challenges of social sector projects are found in Pashtun areas as compared to Baloch districts. Due to religious thoughts social sector projects face more difficulties as compared to other projects in Pashtun areas. The literature shows that due to religious thought this happened in Pashtun dominated Swat valley where NGOs activities are not welcomed (Elahi, Nyborg, & Nawab, 2015).

2. Infrastructure Sector Projects

The results indicate that infrastructure projects are not welcomed in ethnically dominated Baloch districts, where people have nationalist motives. In case of construction of Turbat-Buleda road conflict has and workers on sites were killed. It means that due to development projects conflict has increased and literatures (Croft, Felter, & Johnston, 2014), (Cairns & Bryer, 1997), (Hoeffler & Collier, 1998) support this argument. In areas where militants have nationalist motives for fighting, government departments are not allowed to work. This happened in construction of Turbat-Buleda road where departments of government of Balochistan stopped work twice due to militant attacks. The literature shows that this happened in Sri-Lanka, where Tamil rebel who have nationalist motives for fighting did not allow government departments for implementation of development projects in their areas (Morais & Ahmad, 2010). It means that infrastructure projects are not welcomed in conflict affected Baloch areas of Balochistan.

Chapter 6 Conclusion and Recommendations

This chapter describes about conclusion of the research and recommendations for implementation of development projects in conflict zones of Balochistan.

6.1 Conclusion

All over the world internal conflicts are increasing with the passage of time and internal battles are creating problems in implementation of development activities all over the world. Further, Balochistan is target of internal conflicts since seventy years and conflicts created challenges for development practitioners in the field. The objectives of this research were to investigate that nature of project determines sensitivity of conflict, challenges in implementation of development projects and strategies applied for implementation of development in conflict zones of Balochistan. The literatures also showed that there is relationship between security and development, projects are implemented in conflict zones, different challenges emerge in implementation of development projects and strategies are applied to counter these challenges. In this qualitative case-study research four cases were selected; two social sector projects were polio campaign in Balochistan, and Balochistan education support project (BEP). In addition two infrastructure projects were Refugee Affected & Hosting Areas Project (RAHA) and construction of Turbat- Buleda Road were also selected. The results of in-depth interviews of stakeholders of four projects show that practitioners faced challenges, they adopted strategies to deal with these challenges and same project faced multiple treatments in different areas of Balochistan due to customs and norms. The results of the cases confirmed three objectives of the research and findings show that in conflict zones of Balochistan there are challenges of security problems, dominancy of local customs and religious thoughts, and scarcity of skilled labour for implementation of development projects. Further, from findings it is shown that development practitioners adopted strategies of community based development, engagement with powerful actors, local approach and out of box solutions for implementation of development projects. Moreover, social and infrastructure sector projects are source of conflict in religiously dominated Pashtun and ethnically dominated Baloch areas of Balochistan respectively. Lastly, literature also may also be compared with findings of the research.

6.2 Policy Recommendations

Keeping in view the findings of the study following are recommended for successful implementation of development projects in conflict zones of Balochistan;

6.2.1 Community based development

It is recommended that first of all those schemes should be initiated which are needs of community. Further, needs are to be identified on priority basis by community members. When needs are identified then schemes should be designed accordingly. Otherwise, imposed schemes in any area might lead to increase intensity of conflict in the area. When projects are started with the consultation of community members, then implementation of projects will be easy. Further, those projects which are started on community identified needs, proved successful. These projects achieved their objectives and were beneficial for the community. Such projects will not clash with cultural interests of community. So, in conflict zones of Balochistan, community based projects are successful.

6.2.2 Assessment of Environment

It means that before initiating development projects in conflict zones, feasibility study should be carried out. It should be seen whether project is in align with culture and custom of that society or otherwise. Project objectives and activities should not clash with norms of the society. Secondly, it is also assessed that project should not harm religious sentiments of any religion, sect or cast, because religion is dominant in conflict zones of Balochistan. Thirdly, misperceptions within society regarding project should be removed from the mind of people through awareness campaigns. Lastly, it is to be ensured that project should find skilled staff for execution of the project because without it performance will be nil. Skilled labour may be found for projects in conflict zones by providing security and attractive pay packages.

6.2.3 Localized Development

For conducting development activities in conflict zones of Balochistan, local approach of development should be followed. It means that first of all, local people should be hired for performing project tasks because they are aware of local environment. Secondly, they will be helpful in tackling local issues during implementation phase. Thirdly, it will prove a tool for good perception of projects within society. Moreover, in localized development, project administration can delegate some of their tasks to local organization. Through this way project implementation will be easy and increase employment ratio in community.

6.2.4 Innovative Development

It means for performing development activities in conflict zones of Balochistan, rather than traditional methods, new ways should be used. It will facilitate members of the community, timely completion of project and achieving objectives of project. The bureaucratic way of doing development might lead to delays in performing tasks of project. So, those new methods should be used, for example in Polio Campaign, one window operation was started instead of bureaucratic method due to which number of polio cases reduced, and in construction of Turbat-Buleda road rates above government ceilings were given due to which work started. These examples show that innovative methods may be applied for implementation of development projects in conflict zones which might be help in achieving objectives of project.

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Appendix A

Checklist and Questions for In-depth Interviews (For Officer Level)

A. Preliminaries

1. Self- Introduction (Sharing of visiting card)
2. Introduction to research (Objective, Share letter from University)
3. Permission for recording
4. Informed confidentiality
5. Permission to start interview

B. Basic Information about interviewee

1. Name
2. Qualification
3. Experience
4. Project in which working or worked in conflict zones
5. Duration in project

C. Information about project

1. Name, Objective, Cost and donors of the Project
2. Implementing agency of project
3. Components of the project
4. Localities where project activities are being carried out
5. Starting date of project activities
6. Expected completion date

D. Research Questions

1. Explain how is it necessary that development projects should be implemented in conflict zones?
Why as there is life risk for field staff in doing so?
2. Describe in detail about challenges faced while managing the activities of development project?
3. What were reasons for emergence of those challenges?
4. What kind of projects activities are welcomed by people in project area? And what are not welcomed?
5. Explain how culture, norms and traditions are hurdles in implementation of development projects in conflict zones?
6. Give your opinion that roots of conflict are engrained in culture and traditions of project area?

7. Explain what are strategies adopted by you for successful implementation of development project to overcome challenges in the field?
8. Explain, how through understanding of culture and norms of project location, implementation of project becomes easy?
9. Elaborate how it is important to have local support for implementation of development projects?

E. Official Documents and other materials

Ask about documents or other materials which help in data collection

F. Sum-ups:

1. Thanking interviewee
2. Encouraging interviewees to contact (by sharing your contacts), if related information come in their minds.
3. Consent for future contact.

Appendix B

Checklist and Questions for In-depth Interviews (For Field Staff)

A. Preliminaries

1. Self- Introduction (Sharing of visiting card)
2. Introduction to research (Objective, Share letter from University)
3. Permission for recording
4. Informed confidentiality
5. Permission to start interview

B. Basic Information about interviewee

1. Name
2. Qualification
3. Experience
4. Project in which working or worked in conflict zones
5. Duration in project

C. Research Questions

1. Describe why is it necessary that development activities should be implemented in conflict zones, although there is life risk in doing so?
2. Explain how are you satisfied with tasks assigned to you by higher authorities?
3. Elaborate how do you face challenges while managing the activities of development project?
4. Describe what is people attitude towards you while doing activities of project on field?
5. Explain what kind of fears do you feel while doing activities of project in the field?
6. What kind of projects activities are welcomed by people in project area? And what are not welcomed and difficulties faced?
7. Explain how culture, norms and traditions are hurdles in implementation of development projects in conflict zones?
8. Describe how roots of conflict are engrained in culture and traditions of project area?

9. What do you think that what type of conflict was in area where project was being executed?
10. Explain in details what methods adopted by you for successful implementation of your tasks to overcome challenges in the field?
11. Explain how through understanding of culture and norms of project location, implementation of project becomes easy?
12. Describe how it is important to have local support for implementation of development projects?

D. Official Documents and other materials

Ask about documents or other materials which help in data collection

E. Sum-ups:

1. Thanking interviewee
2. Encouraging interviewees to contact (by sharing your contacts), if related information come in their minds.
3. Consent for future contact.

Field Work Photographs



Figure 3 Pictorial image of Interview with a Polio Officer



Figure 4 Pictorial image of Interview of BEP Monitoring Officer



Figure 5 Pictorial image of Visit of School under BEP Monitoring System



Figure 6 Pictorial image of Interview with a RAHA Monitoring Associate