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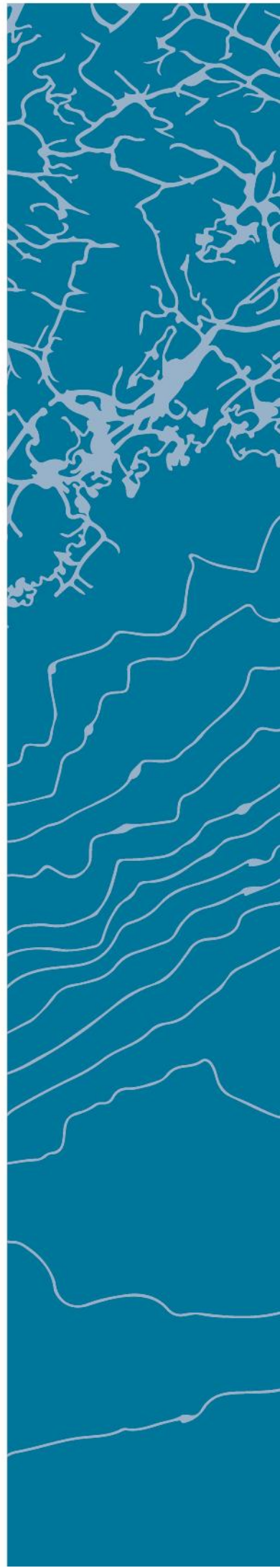
Socio-economic impacts of China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) at community level.

A case study of Gwadar Pakistan.

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Abstract

Development brings prosperity to the nations. The mega development projects such as sea ports, dams, infrastructures, railways, airports etc. offer better employment opportunities and improved standard of life in the country and gradually move the country from developing to developed States. At the same time, these mega projects forced people to leave their homes in the name of development. Development-induced displacements or forced evictions badly affect the socio-economic and socio-cultural aspects of the communities. Lack of adequate planning often make the affected people homeless and jobless for rest of their life. The resettlement policies are usually focused to compensate the affected communities in monetary terms. The need is to include socio-cultural aspect in resettlement policies to create positive social impact on affected communities. This study looks at the problems faced by fisherfolk of Gwadar in result of mega developments under CPEC. The livelihood of fisherfolk of Gwadar is disturbed since development work started at Gwadar port. There is a high risk to fisherfolk of Gwadar will become more vulnerable soon due to the development-induced displacement. The situation will be more critical if the displacement affect the social life patterns of fisherfolk of Gwadar who are already exposed to the problems of water scarcity, health facilities and education since long.

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First and foremost, my sincere and deepest gratitude to Allah, who always grants me with knowledge, wisdom, capability and strength, without His blessings nothing is possible.

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Finally, I would like to pay my regards to all others who helped me directly or indirectly during the course of this research.

Dedication

To Imam Hussain (A.S.) who stood for the rights of all humanity and sacrificed his life so that others may live with liberty and dignity.

Declaration

*I, **Khawar Abbas**, hereby declare that the study “Socio-economic impacts of China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) at community level - A case study of Gwadar Pakistan” has not been submitted to any other universities than the University of Agder, Norway for whatsoever purpose.*

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1. Introduction to the Topic

Development is essential for the progress of societies and to achieve the emerging needs of people and societies. Mega development projects improve standard of life with the provision of basic conditions of life including infrastructure, employment, education, health, transportation, water and sanitation, etc. Development establishes urban-rural links and helps in connecting rural territories with regional and international networks. According to the Sustainable Development Goals of the 2030 Agenda of the United Nations, development projects like infrastructure, dams, ports, etc.) function as vital instrument to advance the standards of living, encourage social stability and develop societies which are more resistant and resilient to climate change (UN, 2017). However, if the development process is not aligned with the needs of people and communities, it can cause conflicts and stress among the affected communities (Ramos Suárez & Pérez, 2018). According to scholars and economists, prosperity of societies in terms of economic development and social development is associated with mega development projects. This study analyses socio-economic impacts of the development projects of China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) on fisherfolk of Gwadar, Pakistan. The CPEC is a flagship project of Chinese mega investment “Belt and Road Initiative (BRI)” around the world. Under CPEC, several development projects are announced in Gwadar and the port of Gwadar recognises as the crux of CPEC. Before moving to the “background” of the study, it is important to first understand the term CPEC - which has become talk of the world these days, it’s relation with Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) of China, and its importance in context of Gwadar and Balochistan. The prior understanding of below mentioned terms is essential to understand the importance and scope of development in Gwadar, discussed in study.

1.1 China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC)

China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) is a 3,000-kilometre corridor aimed to link Gwadar port of Pakistan to Xinjiang region of China through a network of railways, highways and pipelines with the help of Chinese funding. According to The Express Tribune 2017, the present value of the development projects under CPEC is \$62 billion. Pakistan believes that CPEC will be a game changer for the country’s prosperity and development. It is expected that this mega investment will strengthen economy and provide opportunities to mitigate poverty in the country (InstituteofEngineers, 2017). In the first phase of CPEC, construction of Gwadar

International Airport and major developments of Gwadar Port have been completed. The expansion and overhaling of Karakoram Highway- the road that connects China with Pakistan is also included in the project (Deloitte Pakistan). Other projects include power plants, highways, modernisation of railways and ports, construction of airports and setting up of economic zones. Energy projects under CPEC will help to end the energy crisis of Pakistan soon (Ijaz, 2015). The CPEC will not only benefit Pakistan through immense economic opportunities but will physically link China to its markets in Asia, Europe and Africa. Presently, China transports its oil from Strait of Malacca to Shanghai through ships with a traveling time of 2-3 months. Gwadar port after being operational will reduce this distance to less the 5,000 km. From Gwadar port, oil and other goods, after being offloaded to the port, will be transported to China through corridor, reducing the 12000km journey to 2395km. Considering the strategic and economic significance of CPEC, it is assumed to be a flagship project of Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), and the port of Gwadar recognises as the crux of CPEC (Deloitte Pakistan). CPEC became partly operational since 2016, when Chinese cargo was transported overland to Gwadar Port. Figure 1 below shows the actual sea route from Persian Gulf where currently China imports it 80% of oil through Strait of Malacca, and the newly proposed China-Pakistan Corridor (CPEC), with their respective distance in kilometres as well.

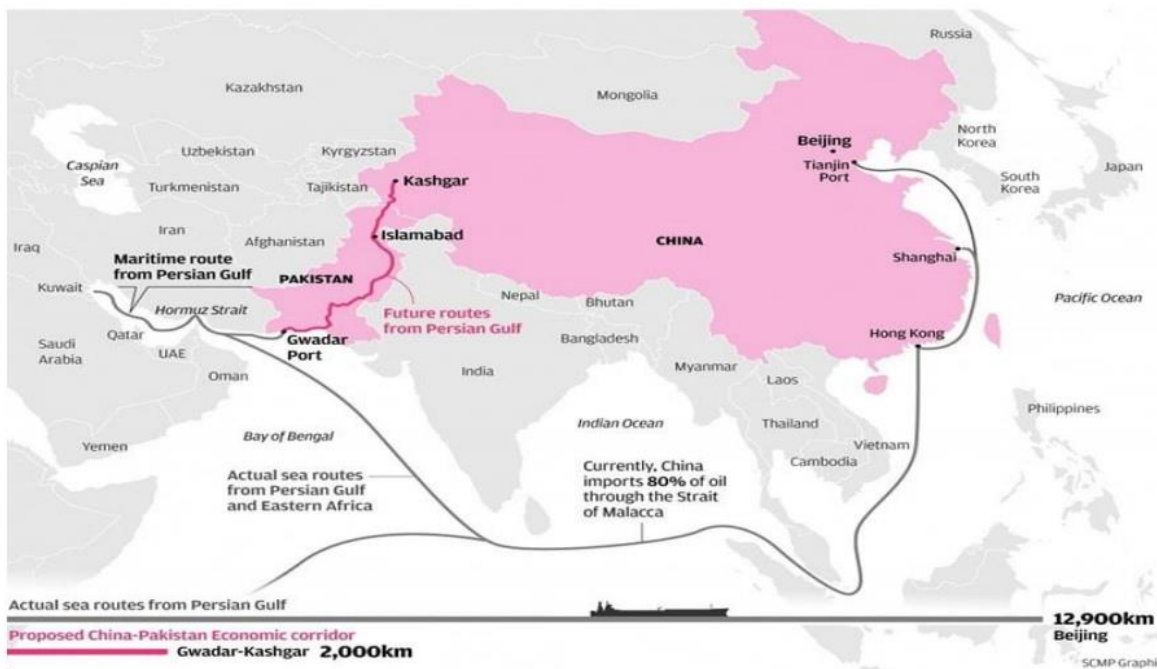


Figure 1: Actual sea-route from Persian Gulf versus proposed CPEC route. The CPEC route is more than 6 times shorter than the actual sea-route. Map is taken from the *Deloitte Pakistan*.

1.2 Belt and Road Initiative (BRI)

Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) is a network of ports, railways, roads, oil and gas pipelines, energy and other infrastructural projects linking China to the world to boost its trade and economic growth. Through BRI, China wants to get connected with Europe, Middle East and beyond by immense infrastructure projects in several countries across the globe. The “Belt” part of the “Belt and Road Initiative (BRI)” refers to the Silk Road Economic Belt whereas the “Road” represents the 21st-century Maritime Silk Road (Huang, 2017). In simple words, the Belt is a series of overland corridors linking China to Europe through Central Asia and the Middle East. The Road (instead of actual road) is a sea route connecting China’s southern coast to east Africa and the Mediterranean. China hopes that BRI will help to increase its slowed down GDP by finding new markets for its goods. China, through BRI will able to fix regional disparities in Eastern and Southern regions of China, lagged behind in terms of growth. Besides socio-economic growth, BRI will enable China to increase its dominance in the region (Phillips, 2017). China has pledged around \$1 trillion to investment in various infrastructure projects in different countries by providing low cost loans (Choudhury, 2017). At Boao Forum, an action plan for the Belt and Road was issued by China’s National Development and Reform Commission (NDRC), in conjunction with China’s Foreign Ministry and Commerce Ministry. The official document defines the basic goals of BRI that,

“It is aimed at promoting orderly and free flow of economic factors, highly efficient allocation of resources and deep integration of markets; encouraging the countries along the Belt and Road to achieve economic policy coordination and carry out broader and more in-depth regional cooperation of higher standards; and jointly creating an open, inclusive and balanced regional economic cooperation architecture that benefits all” (Tiezzi, 2015).

1.3 Gwadar Port

The Gwadar port is being constructed in Gwadar Baluchistan-Pakistan as a major part of CPEC. The port is situated on the shores of the Arabian Sea near the cross junction of international sea shipping and oil trade routes. The port has an ability to connect three different regions Central Asia, South Asia and Middle East, and could be an international hub for Pakistan (Ijaz, 2015). Pakistan completed the development of Gwadar port in 2006 as a first phase at a cost of USD \$248 million. The port was officially handed over to China in 2013 for next 40 years (PakChina). The Gwadar port is located 120 km away from Iran and 380 km from Oman. The distance of port from Pakistan’s largest city, Karachi is around 500 km. Gwadar port will

provide shorter and secure access to landlocked western China, including its Muslim-majority Xinjiang region through Pakistan to reach the globe for trading. Furthermore, it will provide the shortest route to landlocked Central-Asian countries and Afghanistan by offering transshipment facilities and transit trade (Shulin, 2015). Pakistan and China are not the only countries who will get the benefit from Gwadar port, but the entire region will share the benefits of Gwadar port. Presently, Gwadar Port operated by State-run Chinese firm — the China Overseas Port Holding Company (COPHC) and it is owned by the Gwadar Port Authority Pakistan (TheNews, 2015). The Gwadar port will have an ability to manage 12% trade of Xinjiang province of China and 25% of total international trade of Pakistan, it will also capture 15% for Central Asian Republics (CARs) and 40% trade of Pakistan with Afghanistan by 2020. The port will create huge revenues and generate hundreds of thousand job opportunities for the people of Pakistan (Qayyum, 2017).

1.4 Gwadar (Smart Port City)

Gwadar is situated in southwestern coast of Balochistan province of Pakistan, with an economy largely based on artisanal fishing. Gwadar city, known as port city is the district headquarter of Gwadar district. According to the Population Census 2017 by Pakistan bureau of Statistics, total population of Gwadar district is 263,514. Gwadar was purchased from Oman in 1958 by Pakistan and has been integrated into Balochistan Province in 1977 (Gwadar Development Authority). Gwadar is called as a gateway to the oil rich Middle East, and central and South Asia as approximately 40 percent of the world's oil passes through it. The chairman of the China Overseas Port Holding Company (COPHC), Zhang Baozhong sees Gwadar not as Dubai, not even Shenzhen but a city far superior than either, in 20 years (Ebrahim, 2017).

1.5 Balochistan

Balochistan is the southwestern province of Pakistan with an estimated area of 347,190 square kilometres constituting 44% of country's total mass. It is the largest province of Pakistan in terms of land area, sharing borders with Iran to the west, Afghanistan to the north and northwest, and Arabian sea to the south. The total population of Balochistan according to Population Census 2017 by Pakistan bureau of Statistics, is 12.34 million. Balochistan is one of the richest provinces of Pakistan in terms of natural resources. The second largest energy source (i.e. natural gas) of the country, is produced by Balochistan. Production of natural gas, coal and other minerals are the main contributors to the economy of Balochistan. The worth of natural resources including Coal, Copper, Chromite, Gold, Oil, Black pearl, Valuable Stones,

and Natural Gas discovered in Balochistan is over US\$1 trillion (Baloch, 2015). And now, CPEC is added as a milestone to bring the advancement and prosperity to Balochistan.

1.6 Background

The people of Balochistan are living in abject poverty, with lowest literacy rate and highest infant mortality rate in all over Pakistan. The province has been reached to the extreme level of water scarcity that animals and humans use the same water. Dera Bugti of Balochistan produces the natural gas exported over Pakistan but, people of the use wood/sticks to cook their food on open fire. There are no proper healthcare amenities and, the human development index of Balochistan is decreasing every day (Baloch, 2015). Balochistan is facing development issues since independence of Pakistan. A massive area of the province is vulnerable in terms of physical and social infrastructure. The province is struggling against the basic needs like safe drinking water, education, health, power, employment and infrastructure (Qayyum, 2017).

Fishing is the basic source of income of 80% of the locals in Gwadar. Fisherfolk catch fish on daily basis and sell them in the local market to provide livelihood to their families. It is quite often that the households wait fishermen for the whole day to return from work to see some food in their homes (Suleman, 2017). The livelihood of remaining 20% of the population also depends on fishing. Some of them are indirectly connected to fishing as middle men, fish sellers, fish carriers, fish-factory workers and owners, fishing tools merchants, fish exporters, oil depot owners, boat makers etc., whereas some are small businessmen whose business depends on 90-95% of fisher community associated directly or indirectly to fishing. Fisherfolk of Gwadar is living in Pakistan's one of the most underdeveloped areas and struggling against basic amenities of standard life for more than 50 years. The study below briefly discusses the current problems of people of Gwadar.

CPEC developments are expected to bring prosperity to the region. The mega projects of CPEC including power plants, highways, modernisation of railways and ports, construction of airports and setting up of economic zones will help Pakistan to strengthen economy and steer out of its ongoing financial and energy crisis. CPEC has a potential to create hundreds of thousands in country to mitigate the unemployment in Pakistan through all its mega developments. Gwadar port will not provide China an easy access to Arabian sea but also to Afghanistan and Central Asian Republics to trade with the world. The future mega city will attract many tourists through its culture, and 500-kilometres coastline which offers variety of sea food and virgin sunny beaches to the tourists. The "Mehrgarh Civilization" in Balochistan is another source to

upsurge tourism due to its history of eighth millennium BC. The landscape and beautiful scenery of Ziarat and Pashin valley also have great importance as tourist places (Dawn., 2005). Balochistan, a fruit-basket of Pakistan, contributes 34% of apple, 60% of apricot, peach and pomegranate, and 90% of almond, cherry and grapes to the total fruit production of the country. Pakistan is ranked as number fifth in world for its dates production and Mekran division of Balochistan contributes 0.5 million tons of dates annually to the total production of country, but very low amount (or few thousand tons) of dates are exported abroad (Barrech, 2017). Free economic zones will attract foreign investors to invest in Pakistan and aid to increase exports of Pakistan. The corridor of highway from Gwadar to Kashgar, and improvement of roads network and railways in country will enhance inter-city trading as well as make the transportation smooth between the cities in Pakistan (Dawn., 2005). Under CPEC, China is offering various scholarships to the students of Pakistan including 2,400 PhD scholars, 19,000 Pakistani students are studying in different programs in China (Barrech, 2017). CPEC seems to be a complete package to develop Gwadar as new smart city in every aspect. The Chief Secretary Balochistan has said “*Gwadar will emerge as the world’s most modern city after the implementation of its master plan*” (Dawn., 2017).

2. Problem Statement

The fisherfolk of Gwadar are struggling against the ongoing development work at Gwadar port. The livelihood of fisherfolk of Gwadar has been affected by the ongoing advancements at Gwadar port because now they are not allowed to move freely in the sea to catch fish. Besides the construction work at Gwadar port, the development work also includes infrastructure projects in Gwadar city, and it will be extended to different parts of the city very soon. The fisherfolk of Gwadar who are already facing the problems of water scarcity, power cuts and poor health facilities fear being displaced. There were some displacements in past when the construction of port has been started in 2006. Unfortunately, these displacements have increased asset lessness. The beneficiaries are still in search of basic facilities after a decade passed.

The big development processes like ports, roads, railways etc. are associated with social costs of displacement. The displacement of people always raises concerns not only about their compensation packages but also about the justification for displacement-inducing development (Penz, 2002). According to United Nations guidelines on development-based evictions and

displacement, “Forced evictions intensify inequality, social conflict, segregation and “ghettoization”, and invariably affect the poorest, most socially and economically vulnerable and marginalized sectors of society, especially women, children, minorities and indigenous peoples” (UN, 1948). The past suggests that the indigenous communities displaced by the big development projects have been exposed to enormously negative effects on their health, culture, social and economic life. Poverty has increased due to unemployment and debt-bondage in those communities which badly affected the life of women and children (Robinson, 2003).

This study analysis the current situation of Gwadar and tries to find out the risk and threats associated with the CPEC developments for the fisherfolk of Gwadar. The study also investigates the potential benefits and opportunities associated with the CPEC developments for the fisherfolk of Gwadar. Further, this study advocates the measures to prevent risk and threats, and the customs to utilize the benefits and opportunities of this mega development for the prosperity of the people of Gwadar.

2.1 Research Objective

The objective of this research is to discuss the socio-economic impacts of CPEC developments on the fisherfolk of Gwadar.

2.2 Research Questions

What are the socio-economic impacts of CPEC developments on the fisherfolk of Gwadar since 2006? The research question is further divided into three parts, first two parts of the research question analyses the socio-economic impacts of CPEC related developments in current setting since 2006 while the last part is focused on potential risks and opportunities connected with the ongoing CPEC developments in Gwadar. It is already mentioned earlier that the CPEC development projects in Gwadar will continue till 2030 or beyond.

- How CPEC development has contributed to the development of fisherfolk of Gwadar since 2006?
- How CPEC developments affect the livelihoods and the acquisition of other basic needs of the fisherfolk of Gwadar in short term and long term?
- What are the potential benefits and risks associated with the process of CPEC developments to the socio-economic life and culture of fisherfolk of Gwadar?

2.3 Study Area

The study has been conducted in Gwadar to analyse the existing situation, status of CPEC development projects, and record the concerns, opinions and experiences of fisherfolk of Gwadar about CPEC. As presented earlier in the introduction, Gwadar is situated in southwestern coast of Balochistan province of Pakistan, with an economy largely based on artisanal fishing. Gwadar city, known as port city is the district headquarter of Gwadar district. According to the Population Census 2017 by Pakistan bureau of Statistics, total population of Gwadar district is 263,514 (Gwadar Development Authority). The city of Gwadar has been visited to conduct the field activities related to this research. Gwadar is a small city and provides an easy access to each part of city. This helps the researcher to perform physical visits to the development sites and conduct interviews required for this research. Due to geo-political importance of CPEC and specially Gwadar port, the security risk always remains high. Despite of high risk, this research provides an unbiased analysis of the situation in Gwadar based on the interviews/discussions with the people from almost all the mindsets.

3. Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

3.1 Theoretical Framework

Introduction – There are several theories about “development” as it can be seen in different perspectives i.e. economic development, human development, social development and sustainable development. The perspectives of development discussed in “literature review” part of study. This study is mainly focused on socio-economic perspective of development which refers to the simultaneous progress of society’s all aspects – economic, political, social and cultural to gradually push the society towards the modern society. The study below discusses the theories of development most relevant to the research topic.

The study first discusses the theory of modernization here, as Gwadar is going to be one of the top modern cities of the world in future. The new infrastructure and industrialization with the use new technology and equipment are central to the development process. Through the process of modernisation traditional society of Gwadar has an opportunity to transform culturally, economically and politically to become a modern society of the world, with more opportunities of social and economic life. The CPEC developments in Gwadar are in progress to become smart port city and the theory of modernization better advocates the ideal process of

development to evolve traditional societies as modern societies. The second theory is Ulrich Beck's theory of risk society discusses the risks associated with the modern development. The study finds the risk theory relevant to the research topic. As mentioned in the problem statement that fisherfolk of Gwadar has been exposed to several problems because of ongoing CPEC developments in area. The livelihoods of fisherfolk of Gwadar is at higher risk. Their access to basic needs of life is at risk and there is possibility of the addition of more risks as CPEC development projects continue and spread to further areas of Gwadar. The development induced-displacement is always considered as one of the biggest risks associated with mega developments projects. The development induced-displacement not only cause forced evictions but also dismantle the social patterns of life of society. There is also a possibility to increase the risk of inequality in society, wastage of natural resources in society in result of development process. "The risk" theory advocates the possible risks associated with the process of development. Further to the risks, there are conflicts. As mentioned earlier that fisherfolk of Gwadar are living in state of abject poverty without the availability of basic necessities of life since years. Their livelihood has been affected since CPEC developments started in Gwadar are there is a risk of their displacement soon. This situation caused conflicts. The conflicts among different communities and different classes of societies, the conflicts between fisherfolk and state, fisherfolk and project implementers/contractors, fisherfolk and concerned/responsible departments also other social and political conflicts. The Marxists theory of "social conflict" is used in this study to advocate the possible conflicts associated with the process of development. Fourth, is the Herbert Spencer's "Social Evolution" theory discussed in this study. As the conflicts are increasing in Gwadar between different communities, groups and institutions, the challenges to the state are increasing. On the other hand, threat to nature, wildlife and environment is also a concerning problem for Gwadar. So, altogether it makes a complex situation and increasing complexities for all in Gwadar. The theory of "Social Evolution" advocates the complexities associated with the process of development, which has great relevance in context of Gwadar. The development process in Gwadar continues and still there is a provision to reshape the policies, reschedule the planning and review the decisions for the betterment of socio-economic life of fisherfolk of Gwadar. That became the reason for selecting Talcott Parson's theory of "Social System" to understand the elements critical for the development of a sustainable society. The theory of "social system" advocates the elements such as participation of community representative to the development process, coordination among all parts of society, consider environment, nature and culture to form a social system. At the moment, smart port city of Gwadar really in need to create a better

social system. The study finds all the below mentioned theories completely relevant to the topic of research.

3.1.1 Theory of Modernization

Modernization is considered as an advancement towards modern society from traditional society of past. The theory constituted in mid-20th century, presents the idea that the development of underdeveloped countries is inevitable without the development of industry through the introduction of modern technologies and advanced methods of production. According to the classical economists, the more industrialised society is, the more urbanized it is, and this is considered to be the outcome of development of modernized industry (Dutt & Singh, 2001). In other words, without industrialization, there cannot be any urbanization (Berliner, 1977). The underdeveloped countries will grow their economies through industrialization, and this will lead them to development. According to this theory, the economic development of society motivates social and political development of society. In explaining of this theory, two approaches have been adopted by researchers; evolutionary and functionalist. In evolutionary approach social changes gradual, progressive and unidirectional. According to functional approach, traditional values of society changes to modern ones as transformative and systematic changes happen society proceeds towards modernization. Industrialization-based economic advancement and technology provide mechanism of growth to any society (Kasarda & Crenshaw, 1991).

3.1.2 Theory of Risk Society

Ulrich Beck discussed the “global risk society” concept *“which describes a phase of development of modern society in which the social, political, ecological and individual risks created by the momentum of innovation increasingly elude the control and protective institutions of industrial society”* (Jarvis, 2008).

The concept of risk society associates industrial society with the classical phase of modernity, whereas refers the new evolving modernism and technology to the risk society. The industrial society is in process of dissolution because of modernization, as in nineteenth century modernization eradicated the system of feudal society. Nowadays, the elements of both industrial society and risk society exists in the world. In classical modernity the major problem was equal distribution of wealth whereas the challenge to advanced modernity is the minimization of risk. In past, society idealized “equality” whereas advance society idealise “safety”. The history exposed “risk” an element to favour class society. The risk associated

with wealth inversely follows the class patterns, upper class enjoys all the wealth accumulations while lower class exposed to the risk. Wealthy nations have ability to push the risk away because they can acquire liberty and safety whereas deprived nations are the easy targets of risk due to their vulnerability. The underdeveloped societies follow developed societies in making their development plans in which several risks are inherent. In development induced displacement, poor people of society sacrifice their land, property, etc. for the sake of development of nation. The wealth people of the society get all the benefits of development at the expense of poor. The people of society with resources somehow managed to get rid of risks associated with displacements whereas vulnerable community reach to the extreme level of poverty. Further, the use of heavy machinery in the process of development increases the risk of death incidents and other accidents. The risk of increase in class differences is associated with modern development. Most important risk associated with modern development is the risk of affecting environment and nature through the unlimited use or waste of natural resources (Shodhganga1, 2019).

3.1.3 Karl Marx Theory of Social Conflict

Social conflict is generally associated with unequal distribution of rewards in society. Karl Marx is assumed as the leading socialist, introduced the sociological conflict theory. The theory considers the society as an arena of inequality which engenders conflict and change. Karl Marx, in social conflict theory highlights the social patterns provide benefits to some people of society while making others bereave. A conflict analysis discards the idea that social structure is equally beneficial for the whole society. The theory examines the continuing conflict amid dominant and deprived classes of society – men in connection with women, the rich in connection with the poor and white people in connection with people of colour. In every society, the dominant class attempts to protect their privileges, while the deprived efforts to achieve better for themselves. For Marxists, the only thing can affect the life patterns of people is “power”. Power is used as a significant tool to structure relations of the society. The class of society holds and controls the sources of life has the power to command. The conflict between two central classes of society, the capitalist class and the working class, is capitalism structure. The capitalists through capitalist reproduction always interested to increase the surplus which is contrary to the welfare of working class. For Marxists, the power lies with the government is also an instrument of dominating class, coercively used to provide protection to the capitalist class of society. According to Marx, the enthusiastic class struggles would replace the existing

class-based societies to start an era of classless and stateless society where everyone would contribute according to capacity and receive according to necessity. The advancement of capitalism is broadening the gap among rich and poor by making poor more vulnerable and the rich wealthier (Braham & Morgan, 1985). Dahrendorf, in contrast to Marxism, writes that conflicts in society are not the consequences of “power” but “authority”. For him, there is no doubt that individuals or groups “conflicts” come forth wherever authority is exercised. Additionally, when the authority relation exists, superordinate factor of society expected to govern the behaviour of subordinate through orders, warnings and commands. According to Dahrendorf, conflict in societies is inescapable, as authority relations exist in every society. Mills rejects Marxists view of “power” and Dahrendorf’s idea of “authority” with the argue that a public society is essential for “democracy” where elites have an ability to administer and manoeuvre the public opinions. Mills differentiates elites and masses. According to Mills, elites have power in three inter-connected core organizations of society: political, economic and military (Oberschall, 1978).

3.1.4 Herbert Spencer theory of Social Evolution

Herbert Spencer mainly focused on law of progressive development of society. According to him, social evolution from simple, uniform or homogeneous societies to complex, multi-fold and heterogeneous societies has been occurred through an epoch. He explained an analogy between society and organism with an argument that upsurge in size, increases the organizational complexity of society. The complications in the systems of society become multi-folded as it moves towards more developed from less develop one. Development is aimed to provide better life to people but at the same time it causes the gap between urban and rural societies. It threats to the nature, environment and wildlife by its harmful impact. The State is assumed as supreme power in modern and industrial society which no one can interrogate. Consequently, displaced people (with no say in development process) suffer in millions for the sake of development and welfare of people widely (Perrin, 1976).

3.1.5 Talcott Parsons theory of Social System

Talcott Parson attempted to develop a model of social system for societies to achieve stability. The model provides an outline that how various parts of system work in an organised manner for a sustainable society. He presented four basic concepts to apply to all social systems to sustain, are Adaptation (acquisition of enough resources), Goal Attainment (setting and executing goals), Integration (coordination among the parts of the system), Latency (maintaining distinctive culture and institutionalised values of the system). The all four

elements of model AGIL (adaption, goal attainment, integration, latency) must organised together in the work of development and rehabilitating the displaced people of society. The process would be to gather/allocate adequate resources to provide economic support to affected people of society (adaptation), fulfilment of relocation and rehabilitation goals by State or government (goal attainment), satisfactory compensation packages to ensure by concern department of State (Integration), strengthen the affected members of society survive in tough circumstances and provide protection against unhealthy impacts forced displacement (latency) (Fararo, 2006).

3.2 Literature Review

The study first discusses the concepts of modernization, development, displacement and development induced-displacement, central to the topic. To connect the research questions, theoretical framework, literature and discussion (later in the study), it is essential here to establish what modernization, development, displacement and development induced-displacement has meaning in context of this research. As these concepts used as wider terms and in different perspectives in academic and other studies in the world. Therefore, without establishing there meaning in context of socio-economic development it might be difficult for some readers to completely understand the research. In later sections, the study uses these concepts very frequently, particularly in “discussion” part where study uses these concepts as analytical tools to establish their connection and relevance to the results gathered during the course of field study.

3.2.1 Modernization

Modernisation refers to an evolutionary transition of society from a traditional to modern. Historians see modernisation in connection with the process of industrialisation, urbanization and the spread of education. Modernization is process of transformation culturally, economically and politically of traditional societies to the requirements of modern world. Modernization through inception of advanced machines, upgraded technology and other innovations has influenced the lifestyles socially, economically, culturally as well as in terms of education and communication (Mensah, 2016). Modernization is process of emergence of new scientific knowledge in a society to achieve the goal of healthier and more satisfactory life (Shodhganga2, 2019). According to Durkheim, in modern societies people has more chances to engage in various economic activities which provide different experiences and values to

share, and opportunities to socialize in a diverse culture. On the other hand, traditional societies are small and provide less opportunities for economic activities, socializing and hold common values with same pattern of experiences. A collective consciousness is central to traditional societies while in modern societies, people first consider themselves as individual and part of any social group and kinship after. Modernization has two forces to change, exogenous force and endogenous force. Exogenous forces bring the complex political, social and economic change in organization and are imitation or transferred transformed technology. Endogenous force comes with increased attentiveness, explanations, reorganizations and reinterpretations. Therefore, modernization in a society effects change in both ways; the structure of organisation may change but its meaning remains same, or its structure and meaning both change at the same time (Ibid., 190). Modernization is not contrary to traditional, both are persistently engendering, renewing and modernizing the fragments of the same process of change. In the contemporary economic, social, political and cultural structures of society, modernisation evolve to both instrumental value as well as an articulate device (Ibid., 191).

3.2.2 Development

The development concept refers to an advancement in social, economic, educational, cultural, scientific and technological development through strategic/programmed efforts in order to initiate revolution of society which is more organised and peaceful. Development is very broad term with lack of any specific definitions. It is usually associated with economic growth and measured in terms of Gross National Product (GNP) or Gross Domestic Product (GDP). The country should be considered as developing, if an upsurge of 5% in GDP growth or more is achieved and sustained annually, with relatively lesser growth rate in population at the same time. As the industrialization is the only way to attain the higher levels of economic advancement, the concept of development is knotted up with industrialization. According to Ingham, development also has a political viewpoint. A country with a democracy in the form of multiparty political system encourages development to happen. Democracy provides liberty to political system to creating favourable environment for substantial welfare through an increased political contest (Ingham, 1993). According to World Bank, sustainable economic growth and democracy has an informal relationship. Botswana and Mauritius achieved sustainable economic growth through multiparty political system, are the best examples of this relationship (Tettey, 2005). The ideas about development as “economic growth” has been changed non-economic “social indicators” in 1970s (Todaro, 1977) . There is no development,

if the conditions of basic needs are not met. The situation of low-income group has been noticed as worse in some countries experiencing higher economic growth rate (Chenery, Ahluwalia, Bell, Duloy, & Jolly, 1974). There is an issue of unequal distribution of income, if people of a country never spend all their income on basic needs (Seers, 1972). *“Hence, there is no meaningful development: if our definition of development assumes that a more equal income distribution is an integral part of an acceptable development strategy, we need to take account of the fact that economic growth of itself may generate increased poverty”* (Ingham, 1993). The development objective is to provide better standards of life, enhance economic growth and bring revolution in economic structures (Nnadozie & Jerome, 2019).

Since the inception of the concept of development, it has experienced changes in its perspectives. Below discussed are the most significant perspectives of development.

Economic Growth Perspective – There are four points which assume to be common in a broader concept of economic growth having several theories. The four points are i) capital accumulation, ii) technology advancement, iii) opportunities of entrepreneurship and specialised skills for labour, iv) population growth (Shodhganga1, 2019).

Human Development Perspective – The concept of human development is generally associated with the overall welfare of human beings. The human development perspective rejects the argument about the automatic relationship between the growth of Gross National Product (GNP) and betterment of life standards. To measure the human development, UNDP introduced Human Development Index (HDI) method which uses death rate, infant mortality rate, birth rate, literacy rate and life expectancy rate as the indicators of human development. The advancement in health care and family welfare services shows the progress made in the human development sector by a country. Human development emphasizes on the satisfaction of basic needs of every human being. In the mid-1970s, the basic needs approach became prominent and viewed in terms of human rights. There is a wide range of good and services satisfy basic human needs varies according countries, environments, communities, etc. Health, education, nutrition, access to safe water, sanitation and shelter are assumed as common core of basic needs (Ibid.).

Social Development Perspective – The social development perspective refers to the progress of society in all aspects – economic, political, social and cultural. Social development discusses the overall development of the society which gradually push the society towards the modern society. There is a complementary relationship between social and economic development where growth in one is the obligatory for the progress in other. The regional development, income generation and distribution, land reforms and acquisition, policy development for

urbanization, industrialization and population, safety measures for environment and nature, etc. are the most relevant areas of Social development (Ibid.). **Sustainable Development Perspective** – It has been realised in late 1970s that development would be more harmful than a benefit to the humans. The concept of sustainable development came into being when the scholars around the world realized the alarming situation of environmental degradation, increase in water and air pollution, ecological imbalance. The Brundtland Report defined the term sustainable development in the paper “Our Common Future” as *“the development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.”* There are two concepts central to the sustainable development “the concept of needs in particular”, referring the fulfilment of basic needs of vulnerable people around the world with preference and, “the concept of limitation” refers to condition of innovation and social organization according to the nature’s ability to meet both present and future needs (Ibid.).

3.2.3 Displacement

Displacement is *“forced and involuntary and involves some form of de-territorialisation. It is commonly described as taking place within the confines of a State (e.g. internally displaced person) or across an internationally recognized border (e.g. refugee)”* (Hyndman, 2000).

Displacement is a physical expulsion of people or communities from their land, property and other assets to make it available for alternative use. The displacement starts prior to physical eviction of people from their land by preventing them from construction as well as investing in business and public infrastructure, which makes the communities vulnerable (Michael M Cernea, 2003). People confront displacement in various forms like inadequate and delayed compensations and by encountering extreme consequences when getting separated from their homes, employments, social networks and their sensitive relationship with the place (Michael M Cernea, 1993). In case of relocation of community to place which equally productive, dynamic and according to the requirements of displaced community then the trauma of relocation and the loss of habitual location would still exist in displaced communities. But situation entirely varies, and displaced people instead struggle against the needs fundamental to their normal lives including proper housing, employment, infrastructure, social networks and public facilities which are responsibility of State (Liya, 2014).

3.2.4 Development Induced Displacement

Land at a very large scale is requirement of all development programs like ports or dam advancements, infrastructure projects, industrial zones, motorways and bridges, resource

extraction, etc. The displacement and chaos in communities are the common outcomes of these projects. The activists and scholars consider development induced displacement as a forced eviction of people from their home, land, properties and other assets as an outcome development project. In addition to directly affected people, the development induced displacement also includes the host communities, project immigrants and the neighbourhood of the project. The people (project workers) involved in project activities and the people who move to take the benefits of project related activities also considered as displacement. According to the World Commission on Dams (WCD) report, in addition to physical eviction, livelihood disorder is also the only reason which cause scarcity in the means of production and disconnect communities from their socio-cultural setting (Jonsson, 2003). The people who suffer from the development included displacement may include

- A. The landlords, after land acquisition became landless
- B. People who lose habitat and shelter
- C. Landless labourers lose their livelihood
- D. The loss of livelihoods (fishing) and locale of the fisherfolk, in case of land acquisition is in or around water body.
- E. The loss of livelihoods and locale of the habitants of the forest, in case of forest land acquisition.
- F. The loss of community-based livelihood of other skilled people.
- G. Tenants and Farmers, and other people (including women, children and the elderly) not mentioned above (Ibid.).

3.3 Development and Its Impacts

The development projects displaced 10 million people in past twenty-five years since the 1980s (Stanley, 2004). The assessment shows that 60 per cent of development-induced displacement every year is a result of urban infrastructure and transportation projects, while 40 per cent is result of dam projects (TheWorldBank, 1996). In Indonesia, 40,000-50,000 people were displaced for the widening and upgrading of roads in Jakarta make way under Jabotabek urban development project (Michael M Cernea, 1993). In China, 15000 inhabitants of Shanghai were displaced due to the upgradation of city's sewerage system. In Ghana, the Akosombo Dam displaced 80,000 people, approximately 1 per cent of the population of the country (M. M. Cernea, 1997). The development-induced displacement was recorded as 1 million people in Brazil and 3.4 hectares of productive land due to dam construction. According to the report of

World Commission on Dams, Kariba Dam project in Zambia displaced 57,000 people (Stanley, 2004). The Aswan High Dam Project in Egypt displaced 100,000 people in Egypt and Sudan, and there is still a question mark on their resettlement and compensation (Grieverson, 1983). During 1990s, Development Induced Displacement rose as a major risk and noteworthy concern to the sustainable economic development. From 1947 to 1997, around 25 million people displaced in India alone and some studies even shows the above figure doubled for displacements in India (Veerabhadru & Subramanyam, 2013). According to World bank, 49.6 million people displaced in India and 24.6 in China in World Bank assisted programs in 1993 (Taneja & Thakkar, 2000). Three Gorges Dam in China displaced communities encountered severe problems in terms of health, social welfare, income reduction, farmland losses, debt increase, increase poverty levels (Wilmsen, Webber, & Duan, 2011). The Narmada Sardar Sarovar Dam Project displaced 127,000 people in India is one of the most debated and studied projects of forced evictions (Sundar, 1999). In Bangladesh, tens of thousands of people have been evicted due to mega development projects and became homeless and landless (Zaman, 1996). The past studies suggest that development-induced displacement processes are usually uncertain. The inhabitants are unsure about eviction plans that when and where they will be relocated, how they will be compensated. In Ahmedabad India, between 2002 and 2012. Approximately 30,000 families were displaced in result of an infrastructure project “meaningful waterfront environment” of \$178 million. The project was completed successfully but unfortunately two hundred thousand inhabitants of the area got homeless. During 2006 in New Delhi, approximately 200,000 people were displaced for the city beautification and security reasons for upcoming Commonwealth Games 2010. The evictions were carried out in presence of security forces without any prior notice or consultations. More than five thousand homes were demolished where people lost their important documents and belongings. The affected families had to pay around \$100 for their land documentation instead of receiving any financial aid from the State. People remained homeless for a year before receiving the plots. Further, they obtained loans to build their homes on the plots they received. All the affected families are still in debt (Walicki & Swain, 2016). Michael Cernea, a World Bank sociologist studied development-induced displacement and relocations for 20 years. According to Cernea, unfortunately a huge number of affected people seeking compensation for their losses does not receive any payment or aid for their restoration. There is risk of becoming more poorer if evicted forcefully from their property. He discusses impoverishment risk and reconstruction model and suggest eight interlaced potential risks i.e. landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalization, food insecurity, loss of access to common property resources, increased

morbidity, community disarticulation inherent in displacement. He argues that earlier to displacement process, these risks can be considered as social hazards. But if not reciprocated properly, these social hazards become actual impoverishment disasters (M. M. Cernea, 1997). The risks may have variable intensities according to the local conditions. The study analyses the Cernea's impoverishment model in context of Gwadar in chapter 5 under "discussion".

According to Ranjit Dwivedi who studied problems of displacement and resettlement in India, the studies evidence an adverse impact of development-induced displacement on affected communities in past 10 years. The displacement affects communities in damaging their possessions and occupations, labour markets and production mechanism, health and food security, and their affiliation with particular groups and communities. There is a risk of losing the social and cultural hallmark as the displacement has a potential to disengage the progression towards economic exiguity and socio-political disempowerment. The development-induced evictions usually taken as the setback for the greater national interests. The greater national interests (or the gains of development) can be used to off-set the loss of small affected communities. The compensatory principle is the best tool in this context, suggesting "the intended gainers could compensate (any) potential losers through their gains." The studies from past show that there is lack of potential in policy to compensate the displacement costs. Compensation offers are often insufficient to meet the losses. The State or concerned authorities assume resettlements and other displacement related costs as a clog in the implementation of development projects. So, their understanding of this sensitive issue of displacement reflects in their extemporary policies where affected people stay in search of basic amenities at resettlement locations years after displacement. The compensation packages are not reimbursed on time (before displacement). Problems of affected people are not properly addressed or reached to the concerned departments. In result, development process face resistance through protests and movements which is the only way to express their views. The affected people consider them as a marginalised community, disown the process of development and struggle for themselves despite of greater national/State interests (Dwivedi, 1999)

According to the scholars, modern societies offer more choices for education, occupation, lifestyle, place to live and choosing a life partner. The diversity in economic structures, lifestyles, religions, races and occupation is visible in modern societies. People of modern societies are more optimistic and future oriented. They prefer new technology and try to adopt new innovations. Organisation and time management are prominent in modern societies success (Charlton & Andras, 2003). Modernization bring change in the social-cultural structure

of a society. The traditional societies experience progress in various aspect of social and cultural life by applying modern technologies and industries. Modernization offers better education opportunities. In modern societies, with formal education technical skills are required for the economic advancement. Therefore, people with scientific education and skills better perform in modern industries (Liya, 2014). *“The development projects have the tendency of making some people get the gains while others get the pains”* (Ufford & Giri, 2003). Development not only brings benefits but often causes disruption in social life of people. The development program helps in maximisation of foreign exchange revenues but at the same time the development exposes the society to several risks (Mensah, 2016). There are chances that people lost their homes, families, land, jobs, culture, environment, social networks etc. due to the development programme, as mentioned by Ulrich Beck in theory of risk society. On 18 September 2018, the development-induced displaced community of the capital Islamabad requested to the newly elected Prime Minister of Pakistan to resolve the issues of displacement, took place in 1960. They also demanded for a uniform policy to secure the rights of affected communities in case of land acquisition for communal purposes. So, the exploitation of their rights must be avoided (TheNews, 2018). The government of Pakistan has always failed to proclaim an effective policy for the displaced communities. Any government in Pakistan never showed an interest to resolve the issues of displaced communities. Consequently, there condition became worst due to the unavailability of basic amenities. The development-induced displaced community of the capital ‘Islamabad’, which happily welcomed the decision to make Pakistan’s capital on their land is still in search of the promises made by the State in 1960. The people from other parts of Pakistan who moved to Islamabad for jobs, business etc. became rich and well established. The government officials, bureaucrats, politicians all are enjoying quality life in the capital while the people who offered their land to the capital are waiting for the compensation after 68 years. The third generation of the development-induced displaced community of Islamabad is facing several problems due to lack of basic facilities such as safe drinking water, electricity, proper sewerage system, health facilities, infrastructure, play grounds etc.

3.3.1 Resettlement and Rehabilitation

“All persons, groups and the communities have the right to suitable resettlement which includes the right to alternative land or housing which is safe, secure, accessible, affordable and habitable” (Mahapatra, 1999).

The responsibility lies with the State/project authorities for the resettlement and rehabilitation of displaced communities. Resettlement and rehabilitation are two different concepts needed to take into account for the welfare of displaced people. Resettlement deals with the physical relocation of displaced communities to the location and usually includes the compensation package with cash and alternative land against the acquisitions. Rehabilitation, on the other hand, is a process designed to help the displaced communities to start new life through the restoration of physical, social and cultural environment. Therefore, rehabilitation process includes counselling and stress management programmes to help the displaced to settle at new place.

There is a risk of conflicting situation within displaced families about sharing compensation packages, alternative careers, building new house, purchase of new property/land, problem of health and education, problem of women and children, problem of widow and elderly etc. The conflict can be outside of family, including State authorities, courts, real estate agents, government officials, transportation agents, machinery holders/companies, host communities at new place, etc. To avoid the conflicting situation, all restoration schemes must be formulated in consultation with affected people. Social impact assessment is the best technique to analyse the impacts of development. The impact assessment study provides help in understanding the factual position of displaced people through their voices, needs and aspirations.

According to Bala, during the process of restoration, there is a risk of increasing complexities for the displaced as well as the authorities, for example affected people are unaware of production practices required at new place of relocation (Bala, 2008). The indigenous groups may spend the lump sum amount of compensation received to pay off other social obligations like debts, dowry customs etc. instead of buying alternative property. To avoid this situation, restoration planning should go beyond the economic damage of displaced with “justice”. The “justice” ensures the welfare of affected and discourages the threats to the self-esteem, culture and social life. All stakeholders or affected communities should be included in the process of policy making of resettlement and rehabilitation including project/State authorities, displaced communities’ representatives, host communities, welfare organisations, security agencies to make the process smooth. The involvement of host community in the reallocation process is critical to avoid further tension and complexities among host and replaced communities. An affective rehabilitation policy is more than economic compensation of displaced. It emphasizes on socio-cultural aspects to reinstate and advance the quality of life of affected people. The below mention points should be considered as critical for the rehabilitation process design.

- Equal distribution of the development benefits among displaced people.

- Availability of new livelihood sources and provision to restore existing means of livelihood.
- Reallocation allows displaced community to live according to their own patterns.
- Avoid isolation among community members i.e. resettling same community members in same area.
- Resettlement locations must near to the development site and with availability of safe drinking water, electricity, schools, hospital and other basic amenities.
- Ensure preference in hiring development project jobs to affected people.

Rehabilitation has power to improve the life standards and reverse the risks associated with development induced displacement, if aimed at welfare of affected people. According to Shodhganga¹, most of the time the development projects cause inequality in the societies. The rich people become more wealthy and powerful at the expense of vulnerable. In result, the poverty and deprivation increase in vulnerable societies. The powerful people (including landlords, elites, businessmen, politician, bureaucrats, etc.) receive all the development benefits and even more than that but, the poor on the other hand, lose their livelihood due to development projects left unemployed, deprive and neglected. These conflicts and ambiguities are the motivation behind to bring the change in traditional societies. The social change can be achieved through the State fair and ambitious attitude and equal policies towards the welfare of society, and justice (Shodhganga¹, 2019). It is possible to achieve better results in terms of improved livelihoods and healthier living standards through an implementation of a development project with quality plan. The cases below show the exception rather than the norm (Randell, 2016). In Costa Rica, the positive socio-economic outcomes of the Arenal Hydroelectric Project have been examined by Partridge. The positive socio-economic results of the project are the consequences of prior research study to provide help in project policy making, participation of affected people in planning and introduction new agriculture equipment and technology and capacity building of resettled farmers (Partridge, 1993). Similarly, in Yacyretá Argentina, community people were included into planning process and decision making about keeping their traditional economic activities or go for an alternative option, in development of a hydroelectric project. Consequently, no deprivation was recorded as people chose best economic options for themselves and their families (Mejía, 2000). In China, through participation of local governments in planning process of relocation, participation of affected community in the process rehabilitation and resettlement options, introduction of better compensation packages for each affected family, government programs

for employment creation, in two hydroelectric projects, the Shuikou and Yantan Dams, provided better living conditions to affected communities (Randell, 2016).

4. Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This section includes the research methodology used in this research. The methodology has been selected according to the nature and scope of the study. The section also includes sections of research design, research sampling, data collection methods, ethics and limitations.

4.2 Qualitative Research Methods

The qualitative researcher emphasizes the importance of social behaviours in relative context. The behaviour of social group that seem peculiar can be logical if understand in accordance with particular context or specific environment within which the members of social group functions. Contrary to quantitative, the qualitative researcher participates very closely with the people or group being studied. The close coordination with the people being studied enables the researcher to understand the beliefs, values and attitudes in terms of the context in which the research is conducted. The researcher's involvement to a particular research context helps to produce robust information (Bryman, 2012). The research methodology used in this study is "qualitative". According to Mason, the qualitative research approach has an ability to see the social world in a bigger picture, study the everyday life, behaviours, attitudes, understandings and thoughts of research participants in a particular context through their eyes. Qualitative research has a quality to analyse the responses directly, which constitutes the unrivalled approach of compelling the opinions of participants about a phenomenon in particular contexts (Mason, 2002). According to Shank, defines "*qualitative research is a form of systematic empirical inquiry into meaning*". The word "systematic" refers to "planned, ordered and public", agreement of members of the qualitative research community on the guidelines to follow. The "empirical" refers to the occurrence of the study in a practical /natural setting, while "inquiry" refers to the researcher's understanding of research participants experiences and logics about the research problem (Shank, 2002). "The qualitative research involves an interpretive and naturalistic approach: This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or to interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them" (Lincoln & Denzin, 2000). This study examines the socio-economic effects of CPEC developments on fisherfolk of Gwadar, which require an

investigation of fisherfolk of Gwadar about their experience, understanding, expectations and opinion regarding CPEC developments. Therefore, the data has been gathered through the responses of fisherfolk by interacting them in the study area i.e. Gwadar. The physical presence of researcher in Gwadar helped the study to understand the responses of research participants in context of Gwadar and to observe and experience the everyday life. As Bryman emphasizes that social findings are applicable to participant's everyday life and natural social settings to prove ecological validity of study. According to Cicourel, "*our instruments capture the daily life conditions, opinions, values, attitudes, and knowledge base of those we study as expressed in their natural habitat*" (Cicourel, 1982).

4.3 Design

The design of this research is a "case design". The study investigates the fisherfolk experiences about CPEC developments as a "case" in a particular location "Gwadar". According to Bryman typical form of case design, "*The intensive study by ethnography or qualitative interviewing of a single case, which may be an organization, life, family, or community*". The study needs an intensive examination of the setting, participants observation, interviewing, discussions to develop a comprehensive analysis of a case (Bryman, 2012). The study uses case design "exploratory" in this research. As the CPEC developments in Gwadar are ongoing since 2006 and will continue beyond 2030, the study provide analysis at this point (i.e. 2019). Therefore, further exploration/investigation will be required to see the final impacts of CPEC developments after the completion of project.

4.4 Research Sample

The study uses purposive sampling and divided the population i.e. fisherfolk of Gwadar, into eight categories according to the different characteristics and relevance to the study. The categories are fishermen, businessmen, technical experts, journalists, local government representatives, political leaders and government officials. These categories have been selected because different perspectives of people from different professions, communities, classes, ages, are required by the study. The purpose of using purposive sampling is to record at least three types of views; fisherfolk of Gwadar (affected), the State and neutral people including journalists, politicians, businessmen etc. The purposive sampling sample the participants or cases in strategic way to make the relevant to the research questions. In purposive sampling, researcher samples with some aims in mind and requires variety in sample, that sample objects

possess different characteristics appropriate to research questions. The purposive sampling selects unit of analysis because of their relevance to research questions (Bryman, 2012). These initial sample participants proposed other participants with same or relevant experiences or characteristics to the research, then these suggested more and so on. This type of sampling technique is called “snowball sampling”.

4.5 Limitations

The study faced some limitations during the course of field study. The interviews do not include a single interview of female from Gwadar due to the strict culture of Baloch. The females are not allowed to talk to strangers and even to their male cousins in some areas. Not a single female has been found working in any government or private office. The other limitation for this study was time and cost. Due to the development projects in Gwadar, the transportation to/from Gwadar to other cities has increased. But, the means of transportation do not fulfil the demand. This makes the travelling expensive and time taking. The city of Gwadar is not a developed city, therefore there were very few options available to stay, which were expensive and far away from the city. There is no public transport in Gwadar, that was also a challenge to commute.

4.6 Data Collection

As this study covers different dimensions of CPEC developments in context of Gwadar. Therefore, the data collection has been performed by “**unstructured interviews**”. According to Bryman (2012), in unstructured interviews, the researcher develops an interview guide containing a list of specific topics to be covered providing full flexibility to the participants/respondents to reply in their own way. In these methods of interviews, questions do not follow any outline or schedule (p.471). The other method used for data collection was “**focused group interview**” to record the different opinions/responses of same question at same time. According to Merton, focused group interview mainly uses open questions in group of participants about any particular event or situation relevant to their interest (Merton, 1956). Regarding questions, “open ended questions” were used in interviews to gather in-depth information from the participants about the research problem. According to Bryman (2012), the “open ended questions” provided flexibility to respondents to answer on their understandings. Open ended questions do not suggest any responses so there is a possibility to explore new areas and salience issues. (p.247). The study also used “**participant observation**”

as a data collection tool. In the context of study, this data collection method remained very useful. Almost all the development projects sites of CPEC has been observed during the field visit. Furthermore, the existing situation of Gwadar and everyday life of the fisherfolk has been observed very closely. During field visit, fishermen forum meetings, media meetings and sports activities has also been observed and participated. As mentioned by Bryman (2012), *“Participant observation is one of the best-known methods of research in the social sciences. It is primarily associated with qualitative research and entails the relatively prolonged immersion of the observer in a social setting in which he or she seeks to observe the behaviour of members of that setting (group, organization, community, etc.) and to elicit the meanings they attribute to their environment and behaviour. Participant observers vary considerably in how much they participate in the social settings in which they locate themselves”* (p.273).

4.7 Ethics

It is relatively difficult in qualitative research to make records anonymous and to ensure confidentiality in report findings that prevent the identification of respondents. To hide the identity of participants, the “pseudonyms” is commonly used in qualitative research. The difficulties with pseudonyms are, first, it does not remove the identification completely, secondly, it makes the secondary data analysis very difficult (Bryman, 2012). The study ensures that the identity of the participant will remain anonymous. Furthermore, the study ensures that the participants have been informed about the objective of study and they were fully independent to take the decision to participate in research. The study ensures that during the course of study no one suffer with harm due to study. The study ensures no harm effect to environment, animals and natural resources of the study area during the course of study. Also, this study ensures no harm effects to patients, clients, students, research participates and others from research activity in Gwadar. All the notes and interview recordings (if any) were taken with prior permissions to the participants.

4.8 Reliability and Validity

Reliability which refers to the consistency through which the research produces same results if repeated and validity refers accuracy of the findings, both are critical to qualitative research (Bryman, 2012). To ensure the reliability and validity of research, the study emphasises on the credibility of data gathered. The study uses triangulation methods to verify the accuracy of data. The study performs cross-checking through multiple interviews of the samples of same

categories. The study describes the context and results of the research in a generalise manner so that readers can apply the findings to other similar settings. The study ensures that all the important data gathered is documented and can be available for further researches. The study further ensures that all the findings are unbiased and truly based on real situation observed at study area and information gathered from the participants of research during the course of field study.

5. Results and Discussion

This chapter is based on the empirical data gathered from the research participants. The study establishes the understanding of participants views and experiences about the research questions. In addition, the chapter consists observations made by researcher during the course of study about development sites, existing situation of Gwadar, and everyday life and experiences of fisherfolk in context of CPEC developments. The study investigated all the eight categories of participants, mentioned earlier, to gather in-depth data about the research topic. As mentioned earlier, the objective of this study is to investigate the socio-economic impacts of CPEC developments on fisherfolk of Gwadar. The objective further divided into three parts in quest to cater socio-economic effects of CPEC developments. The first two parts covers the current socio-economic situation in Gwadar while third part analyses the potential risks and opportunities associated with ongoing developments of CPEC in Gwadar. The structure of this chapter follows, the data/responses of participants as “Results” first, and, “Discussion” of results in relation to theoretical framework established by the study, at second.

5.1 Results

The situation of Gwadar has been observed as “worst” during the course of field research. The fisherfolk struggle to accomplish their basic needs. Given that CPEC developments started in Gwadar in 2006, the observations and investigations from participants about current situation will help to accomplish the research objectives. As it is mentioned in methodology part that the study is using purposive sampling and unstructured interviews method to gather in-depth information. Therefore, responses recorded were different and sometime long for the same questions. To understand the experiences and opinions of participants about “how CPEC development has contributed to the development of fisherfolk and what are the impacts of CPEC developments on livelihoods and the acquisition of other basic needs of the fisherfolk of Gwadar since 2006”, the interview questions cover the everyday life, available employment

opportunities, availability of basic needs, and fulfilment of basic rights of fisherfolk. To cover the third part of research question, the unstructured interview format also includes questions about the pre/post development advantages and disadvantages are experiencing by fisherfolk of Gwadar which more concern with the presence of real estate agents in Gwadar, local business, culture, environment and displacements. Below the study discusses all the responses collected from participants during field interviews.

5.1.1 Livelihoods

Livelihoods directly effects the everyday life of people. All the inhabitants of Gwadar are associated with a same occupation i.e. fishing and entirely depend on this one occupation to earn their livelihoods. It has been observed during the course of field study that one of the biggest development projects of CPEC “Gwadar Port” is constructed in their neighbourhood, which can affect the livelihood of fisherfolk of Gwadar. The interviews include the questions about available means of livelihood in Gwadar, do they fulfil needs of fisherfolk, influence of CPEC development on fisherfolk livelihood, expectations from CPEC in future in providing sustainable livelihood to fisherfolk of Gwadar, alternative sources of income for them. Face to face interviews, focused group interviews, participation in fishermen forum, has arranged. Below are the responses gathered from the participants.

The responses gathered from a fishermen focused group discussion “A” about the situation of their livelihood since the development projects has been started in Gwadar in 2006. Fisherman 1, *“Earlier to the development of Gwadar port, fishermen were free to move in sea to catch fish. They could go any time suitable according to weather or fish presence in the sea. That’s not the case after 2006. The port is located exactly at the place which was famous for breeding of “Jhinga (prawns or shrimps)” of best export quality.”*

Fisherman 2, *“a substantial amount has gone from their income due to the start of port construction. The fishermen are not allowed to fish near to Gwadar port. The security is high in Gwadar due to the port’s geo-political importance in region. The movement and presence of fishermen in sea have been now restricted due to security risks.”*

Fishermen 3, *“the fishermen of Gwadar are the small fishermen use basic techniques of fishing and cannot afford to go deep sea for fishing. After the start of construction work at Gwadar port, an area has been designated by the authorities for the fishermen of Gwadar for fishing. This designated fishing area does not provide the same amount of fish and our livelihood has been disturbed.”*

Fisherman 4, *“every other day high officials from Pakistan and China are visiting Gwadar. Fishermen are not allowed to go to sea during these high-profile movements in city to ensure security measures.”* It has been observed during the course of field study that, three school buses of from another city came for a study tour, were roaming around Gwadar accompanied by five army vehicles providing them security. The security personnel were present on every street to control the traffic to ensure that there is no single person or vehicle on road during movement.

Fisherman 5, *“the situation gets worse sometimes when they are informed to remain stay at their homes for the whole day. The fishermen are often stopped from going to sea at night. The security personnel investigate fishermen for hours on their way returning or going to sea late night. These all are the tactics to prevent or discourage to go to fishing.”*

Fishermen 6, *“sometimes they close the harbour during high profile visits for 2-3 days. This situation is more dangerous than not allowing fishermen to go fishing. The loss in this case is more than staying at home. The efforts and costs of all their resources are wasted if harbour remains close for couple of days. In result, fishermen are suffering, and their livelihood has been affected badly.”*

A senior fisherman says, *“since we are small fishermen, our livelihood depends on everyday fishing. We cannot afford skipping a single day and the condition here is that they stop us from going to the sea every other day by using different tactics.”*

Responses from Focused group discussion “B”.

Fisherman 1, *“the security personnel often asked the fishermen to take different route to go fishing. That route takes 3-4 hours just to reach the destination and vice versa. It wastes fishermen time in travelling and leaves less time for fishing. Similarly, it increases fishermen expenses of transportation like oil, etc. So, at the end of hunting trip, fishermen get less income against their expenses. Since, there is no other source of income available in Gwadar, the fisherfolk of Gwadar is suffering badly to provide even proper food to their children and family these days.”*

Fisherman 2, *“we are the witness of security personnel throwing some chemical into the sea which causes the destruction in marine life.”*

Fisherman 3, “deep-sea trawlers are also a big threat to fishermen livelihoods. These trawler mafia is not only affecting livelihoods of fisherfolk of Gwadar, but it is a big risk to marine life.

A technical expert mentioned that, “the trawlers of Sindh and Balochistan are prohibited according to Pakistan’s Fisheries Ordinance 1973, to fish near the coast. They are allowed to stay 12 miles away from the coast because they have ability to destroy environment of sea and affect livelihood of fisherfolk.”

Some fishermen accused the fisheries department of Gwadar, “the department has failed in preventing trawlers from violation of fisheries ordinance and taking action against their illegal fish hunting.”

Fisherman 4, *“more than decade has been past struggling against livelihoods, no one is ready to help us. Every other day comes with new problems in earning of livelihoods. We were very satisfied with our livelihood before the arrival of CPEC development projects.”* He added, *“CPEC is development for others but for people of Gwadar, CPEC is actually SEA-PACK.”*

Some incidents were shared by the fisherfolk of Gwadar during focused group discussions.

“One night a “Na-Khuda (Captain of boat)” was on his way to gather his team for work when he was stopped and investigated by security personnel. This is a common practice among fisherfolk of Gwadar that the captain of team is always the first one to leave home for work and call his team members by knocking their doors. The investigation lasts for more than hour and they were about to take him into their vehicle when some women appear there. The women who were returning home after attending a wedding ceremony protested with the security personnel against taking him in custody without any reason. The women told them that he is the resident of this town and we know him well. And finally, they released him.”

“The security personnel stopped a boat fishing in the sea late night and asked for the captain. After an investigation and threatening to all on the boat, they took the captain of the boat along and asked the other fishermen on the boat to leave the sea. The captain was kept on light house for the whole cold night as a punishment. He was found unconscious at light house by some other fishermen next day. His body was collapsed due to physiological stress and staying helpless alone in the sea throughout the whole cold night.”



Figure 2: The fishermen sitting at harbour fixing their fishing nets. New Gwadar port can be seen in the background.

Regarding local business in Gwadar, it has been observed during the course of field study that there two main types of local businesses sea-food factories and boat making workshops, providing livelihood to number of people in Gwadar. Other local small businesses are restaurants, general stores and oil depots. The people associated with local businesses and their workers also participated in the interviews. The responses gathered were

A sea-food factory worker 1, “the livelihood of fishermen has affected and so the livelihood of people working in factories, fish processing units, etc. The factory owners are decreasing their staff and reducing their working shifts as they are not getting adequate amount of fish from fishermen.” Worker 2, before I was working every day and sometimes got more working hours. But now they call me 2-3 days in factory, which is not enough to feed my family.”

An owner of boat making factory, “we are not getting any new orders and even people are not able to pay the repair and maintenance cost of their boats. The fisherfolk of Gwadar is losing their livelihoods as the development work is progressing in Gwadar.”

A fisherman found at boat making workshop mentioned, *“fishermen are poor people, the boats they own has price range from PKR (1 to 10) million, usually purchased on loan or by selling their property to provide better life to their children and family. As their livelihood is disturbed, they are stressed about the repayments of their loans which is increasing in absence of any alternative source of income.”*

A focused group discussion established, *“it has been mentioned by Chinese company COPHC, working in Gwadar that fisherfolk’s livelihoods will be the first priority. Once the factories are built up at the port, fisherfolk will be absorbed in the jobs according to their professions. The fisherfolk showed their concerns over the job opportunities in Gwadar. First, they are illiterate with fewer skills and likely to be left behind when educated and skilled workers from other parts of country will come to Gwadar. Secondly, even if fisherfolk develop new skills it is still difficult to earn as much as they are earning now. The monthly wage of a worker at port is; unskilled PKR20,000, skilled PKR 30,000. But the fisherfolk can make this money (PKR20,000 to PKR 30,000) easily in a week.”*

A Gwadar based journalist mentioned, *“the current situation is causing hatred among fisherfolk against CPEC developments. It is a fact that when the livelihood of any person or community is disturbed, they raise their voice against this violence as their right. That’s the reason that the fisherfolk of Gwadar are protesting every day for their rights. People of Gwadar are happy with their profession what they need from the State is the support and incentives in the form of providing them training and new equipment for fishing. Fisherfolk of Gwadar is hard working and honest with their inherited profession. With the support of State, they can play their role for the betterment of economy of Pakistan.”*

A social activist in Gwadar says, *“fisherfolk of Gwadar will definitely be interested in learning new skills and trainings for fishing but not for any other profession because they are illiterate. They show lack of interest in other professions because fishing is not only their profession but their lifestyle. Even after getting trained in other professions, they will not compete with educated and well-trained people of other cities who will come to Gwadar for jobs in future. The State needs to understand the situation of fisherfolk of Gwadar and help to strengthen them.”*

During the course of field study, it has been discussed in various discussions and interviews that people of Gwadar will be given priority in upcoming jobs in Gwadar. But the Gwadar fishermen forum rejected this and said, *they only listen this in political speeches, but this is not*

a reality. Their livelihoods are affected since 2006, they cannot wait for the completion of Gwadar Port and economic zones to feed their families.”

According to a Gwadar-based social activist, “that this only implies on government jobs of very low level (up to BPS-4), which monthly pay less than the earnings of one week of fishermen. Recruitment of local people of Gwadar cannot be ensure in private companies. Everyone is interested in hiring competent, experienced and qualified staff. Rather than specifying the quota in jobs for people of Gwadar, the State needs to help us to develop our new generations in way they can compete for upcoming opportunities in future. If the State will destroy the livelihoods of fisherfolk of Gwadar they cannot provide better future to their children.”

A senior journalist spoke, “currently there is no alternative option available which can provide livelihoods to people of Gwadar that must be understand by the State. There is communication gap between fisherfolk of Gwadar and concerned authorities as well. The local politicians are not as active as they should be. One reason could be that they belong to well established families, they never ever faced any problem in their entire life. Therefore, they have lesser interests in sensitive issues like this.”

A politician and member of local body of Gwadar said, “the fishermen whose livelihoods are affected must opt whatever job available to him. There are jobs of drivers, peons or security available in the market pay PKR 10,000 – 15,000 per month”. A social activist from Gwadar responded to his statement, “unfortunately, he is unaware of the issues of people of Gwadar. He does not understand if 80% of the population is associated with the only profession “fishing” then what other jobs are available in market and how those 80% affected people can be adjusted in jobs, if available in the market. Most important, how a person can survive in PKR 10,000 – 15,000 offered by other jobs like driver, peon, etc. in a place where they barely survive in PKR 30,000 – 40,000.”

A fisherman mentioned that Iranian border is quite near to Gwadar and it is quite often that Iranian and Pakistani fishermen cross the border due to flexible conditions at border. We know each other very well as we are living here since years. He made a comparison of Pakistani and Iranian fisherfolk, “Iranian fishermen told them that their government help them by providing trainings, free fishing tools, discount on oil price, free medical and free quality education for their children. Our children cannot go to school because we are unable to pay their school fee. Our children are unhealthy because we are unable to provide them proper food. We are exposed to various diseases because of drinking contaminated water. We have travel to

Karachi for medical treatment because of unavailability of medical facilities in Gwadar. If the State supports us like Iranian government is supporting their fishermen, we can work with more dedication.”

During a discussion, Gwadar fishermen forum established, “fishing is not recognised as a profession in Pakistan labour act. Therefore, fishermen and their family cannot enjoy the facilities the other workers/labours are enjoying all over the country. They cannot request loan from banks and financial institutions. They are not eligible for any pension and saving schemes. Their children cannot get discount or free education in private institutions. The recognition of fishermen in labour law will lessen some of problems of fishermen. Fisherfolk of Gwadar are associated directly or indirectly with this profession since years. They have great knowledge about their professions. So, it’s better to provide them new skills and training in the same profession to get better results.”

The Gwadar fishermen forum mentioned, “the fisherfolk of Gwadar are selling their property due to increase in poverty among fisherfolk in last decade. The Forum is trying to prevent fishermen from selling their property. But it is difficult to stop them as their livelihoods are affected, their loan is increasing, they are unable to pay school fees of their children, they cannot afford hospital expenses. We are afraid that soon they will become homeless. The forum asserted that the concerned State institutions need to perform their responsibility and update people about their future plans. This situation is creating hatred among fisherfolk of Gwadar for the State and the development projects. The fisherfolk of Gwadar take it as an intentional negligence for the people of Gwadar to keep them vulnerable.”

A technical expert mentioned that, “the artisanal fishing can continue in Gwadar like it is happening in our neighbourhood, Oman, where 99% of the sector is still artisanal. Since the fishing is the only source of income in Gwadar and no other alternative is available. The State cannot completely destroy their livelihood without providing them any alternative. The State must allow the fisherfolk of Gwadar to continue their professional activities to feed their families. This will also help all other professions and businesses in Gwadar depend on fishing to survive.” It will take two more decades to establish a city like Dubai or Singapore in Gwadar. They cannot wait that much for their livelihoods.”

According to a sea-food factory owner, “the businessmen in Gwadar needs clarity on free economic zones as well as the mechanism of new investment in sea food business. The local businessmen will be at greater risk in case of poor planning. The State must understand the

capacity as well as the problems of the local businessmen. The local businessmen should provide with all the resources they required such as easy loans, trainings, latest equipment etc. to compete with foreign investors. The partnerships between local businessmen and foreign investors will also help in this regard. To encourage these partnerships will result in increase in employment opportunities, capacity building of existing staff in local factories of Gwadar and enhancing production levels and profits for both local businessmen and foreign investor.”

A focused group discussion established, *“people of Gwadar need some source of income to provide food to their children, education, health and better life to them, so they can be well equipped to avail the opportunities of a smart city in future. It is only possible with the continuation of their existing jobs as long as any better alternatives are available. The availability of better livelihood is inevitable in the city like Gwadar where people have to buy water because safe drinking water is not available, they have to pay more fees to private schools as an adequate education is not available in State institutions, they have to pay way more than any other Pakistani citizen for their medical because health facilities are not available in Gwadar.”*

The data gathered and participant observation shows that livelihood of fisherfolk of Gwadar is badly affected with arrival of CPEC. Stopping them from going to sea and unavailability of any other source of income in Gwadar making the fisherfolk more vulnerable. The participants mentioned about the worst situation of basic amenities in Gwadar which is also included in research question. Therefore, the study gathered the data about the availability of basic amenities in Gwadar below.

5.1.2 Safe Drinking Water

It has been observed during the field study that the fisherfolk of Gwadar have been suffering from water scarcity over a long time. The water crisis in Gwadar has become more intensified due to lack of attention. The inhabitants of Gwadar do not even have safe and clean water to drink. The females of fisherfolk travel a long way in search of water even in extreme temperatures of 46°C during summers, as the male members are busy with their jobs.



Figure 3: Shows the water scarcity in Gwadar. The women (at right side) are filling the water pots while the young girls (at the left side) are transporting water to their homes. Source: Balochistan Times

One respondent mentioned that *“The one and only source of water in Gwadar ‘Ankara Kaur Dam’ has been dried because of no rainfall in Gwadar for the past few years. The government is providing water to the inhabitants of Gwadar from ‘Meerani Dam’ through water tankers. The Meerani Dam is located 150 kilometres from Gwadar. The price of water tanker is PKR 20,000 per tanker which is not affordable for the poor fisherfolk of Gwadar.”*

The worst situation has been observed during the field study when tanker’s association had been on strike due to the delay in payment from the government. The strike lasted for more than week and there was no water to drink for the people of Gwadar. A government official replied that, *the government is paying approximately 200 million per month to meet the shortage of water in Gwadar. The funds are realised on quarterly basis to water tanker’s association. But there are delays in payment sometimes due to the formalities and procedures in official work.”*

A participant from local government said, *“The management of Meerani Dam has issued a warning as the water level is reaching the alarming level in Dam. No one knows that how to deal with this situation of water scarcity in Gwadar, if Meerani Dam refuses to provide water.”*

A Gwadar-based journalist, who is very much involved in CPEC developments projects, mentioned that *“the government of Balochistan showed lack of interest in resolving sensitive issue of drinking water. The centre has released PKR 978 million for the water desalination plant in Gwadar. The project was initiated in 2006 with a capacity of 200,000 at a cost of PKR 378 million. But, the spending of PKR 978 million could not make the plant operational to*

produce even a single gallon of water after passing 12 years. Now, Balochistan government demanded PKR 500,000 million more to centre to make the plant functional.”

It has been observed during field study that a water pipe line to connect the ‘Ankara Kaur Dam’ of Gwadar to two other small dams ‘Shadikot Dam’ and ‘Swada Dam’ is in progress to minimise the daily transportation of water by tankers and restore the ‘Ankara Kaur Dam’. To this point, a Gwadar-base librarian added, *“since the rate of rainfall is very low in this region, so dams cannot provide the permanent solution to increasing water scarcity in Gwadar. The present requirement 4.5 million gallons per day (MGD) of water in Gwadar will reach 12 MGD in 2020 and further rise to 30 MGD till 2030. The water desalination plants can only provide the permanent solution to water crisis of Gwadar.”*

A fisherman mentioned that, *“the consumption of water has increased due to the start of CPEC development projects in Gwadar as well as the increase in population of Gwadar due to development projects. People from other parts of Pakistan and overseas are coming to Gwadar for different purposes and use the resources of Gwadar. No one is showing interest in resolving water crisis in Gwadar. We cannot afford to buy water tanker. Our children are suffering from several diseases due to drinking contaminated water.”*

Another respondent said that, *“we were expecting that the ongoing situation will get better due CPEC and an adequate quantity of safe water will be available for us. But, unfortunately, CPEC made it worst since its arrival in Gwadar. Instead of making new reservoirs to mitigate water scarcity, they are using our limited resource of water.”*

5.1.3 Health Facilities

It has been observed during the course of field research the sole health facility available for the population of almost 200,000 inhabitants, the Gwadar district hospital is in alarming condition. A fisherfolk of Gwadar told to the researcher, *“the positions of specialists in medicine, gynaecology, pathology, paediatrics, ophthalmology, and anaesthesia are vacant in district hospital Gwadar. No one wants to serve here because of unavailability of adequate facilities for the doctors and their families. All the doctors moved to big cities like Karachi to enjoy all the facilities.”*

A local journalist from Gwadar mentioned a sad incident where a pregnant woman died because she needed to operate, and no doctor was available.

One focused group established that, *“our cultural limits prevent females to avail treatment from male doctors, specially gynaecology and obstetrics are areas where females avoid male doctors. The health of women in Gwadar is at high risk in absence of female doctors. We must go to Karachi for the minor illnesses. The patient cannot travel in public buses, so we hire a private car or taxi. The rent of taxi for a round trip is PKR 30,000. The attendants/ family of patient stay at hotel in Karachi because it’s not possible to return in same day. It takes 8-9 hours to reach Karachi by car. The total expenses of one visit of Karachi including doctor fee, medicines, hotel stay of patient’s attendants, car rent etc. is at least PKR 60-80K in case of diseases like fever. The cost of one visit to see a doctor in Karachi is more than the fisherman’s earning of one month. The fishermen sell their assets such as houses, boats, land or borrow loans to pay medical expenses.”*

A fisherman mentioned that, *“the medical stores in Gwadar are selling fake medicines. One dose of the same medicine from Karachi is effective while three doses of the same medicine do not cure, if purchased from Gwadar.”*

5.1.4 Education

It has been observed during the course of field study that the access to quality education is rare in Gwadar. One undergraduate college and one vocational training centre are available for the population of 200,000 inhabitants. The literacy rate of Gwadar according to GDA is 25.47%, which is very low. The President of social welfare organisation in Gwadar mentioned, *“the major problem regarding education in Gwadar is unavailability of teachers. We need qualified teachers to teach our children according to the international standards. The existing teachers need trainings and capacity building to produce quality. There are 120 single teacher schools in Gwadar. It is the responsibility of State to fulfil the deficiency of teachers in school. The students who appear in board examination of science subjects they are allowed to use books in exam because no teacher is available to teach science subjects in schools.”*

A boat maker shared that, *“the ratio of female education is low but now, people of Gwadar are interested to educate their girls. His both girls go to private school and he wants them to get higher education because the quality of government schools is very bad.”*

A fisherman mentioned, *“my girl wanted to study science subjects in college but due to the unavailability of science teacher in college, she couldn’t. I have very limited resources in which I could not afford to send her to big cities for education. Except a very small portion, no one send their children to big cities like Karachi or Quetta for studies.”*

The educational institutes of Gwadar lack infrastructure facilities as shown in figure 3.



Figure 4: A single-classroom school without any infrastructure in Gwadar. Source: [Pak Voices](#)

A senior journalist talked about situation of education in Gwadar, “*there are almost 50 schools in Gwadar without any building. Mostly primary schools are of one room with no boundary wall. Toilets are missing, water is not available in schools. Due to poverty, number of children work as labourers in hotels, oil depots, boat making workshops, harbour, some go to fishing with other fishermen and some go in search of water everyday with other family members. There is no public transport facility available in Gwadar, so children can use to reach their schools. The fisherfolk of Gwadar cannot afford to provide pick and drop to their children.*”

According to a fishermen forum of Gwadar, “*fisherfolk of Gwadar cannot pay fees of private schools and no teachers available in government schools to teach the children of 9th and 10th grade. That’s why our children leave the schools after 8th grade. Some quit because of lack of quality education in schools of Gwadar. Some brilliant students of fishermen are unable to study because their parents cannot afford their expenses. A private school agreed on a request of fishermen association to provide free education to only 20 of those brilliant students. It is*

very sad that our intelligent children are working as labourers instead of attaining higher education which is their basic right.”

5.1.5 Infrastructure

It has been observed during the course of field study, the situation of infrastructure in Gwadar is not very different from the basic facilities. A small businessman said, *“the vehicle movement has increased in the city due the CPEC developments. People from Pakistan and overseas are coming to city in large number every day. Furthermore, all the transportation to Gwadar port is through these small roads which are even insufficient for the residents of Gwadar. Due to lack of repair and maintenance, and heavy traffic all the roads structure has obsolete.”* Figure 4 shows the situation of roads in Gwadar.



Figure 5: The situation of roads in central city area of Gwadar. Source – Author

The Gwadar-based librarian says, *“that what we got from CPEC? CPEC has not been able to repair the roads of Gwadar that they are using for all kind of transportation for 12 years. CPEC is using all our resources which are already insufficient for the inhabitants of Gwadar.*

All the roads of Gwadar are now completely destroyed due to heavy traffic and we have to suffer while traveling.”

It was mentioned in focused group in discussion about infrastructures, *“the building of district hospital Gwadar needs repair, number of school buildings need better infrastructure, Gwadar airport needs new building, building needed for indoor games, new buildings required for schools and health facilities etc.*

5.1.6 Real Estate Agents

It has been observed during the course of field study that there are too many offices of real estate agents in Gwadar. A senior journalist mentioned, *“the real estate companies are trying to trap poor fisherman to sell their land which is actually a big loss of fisherman. The reason behind that is the increasing vulnerability of fisherman. The psychological stress due to decrease in livelihood and uncertainty about displacement are the main forces that push the fisherman to sell their assets.”*

Another journalist spoke, *“from last couple of years, real estate agents have become another threat to fisherfolk of Gwadar. In 2016, a real estate company made a ten-fold profit by selling hundreds of acres of land in Gwadar. The residents of Gwadar are struggling against issues like displacement and protesting every other day. On the other hand, the real estate companies are busy in making massive profits.”*

According to government official, *“market forces coerce fishermen to sell their land. They use different tactics to convince them. The fisherfolk of Gwadar is illiterate and easily trapped by real estate agents. They do not have any planning and selling their land to real estate companies as they are paying them handsome amount. Due to lack of education and knowledge, they are making the future of their upcoming generations dark. The price of land is increasing immensely, they will never able to buy land in Gwadar if they sell it what they own.”*

5.1.7 Local Business

It has been observed during the course of field study that CPEC developments affected the local business of Gwadar as fishing, the major source of income in Gwadar, is affected. The local businesses of Gwadar include fish processing units/factories, boat makers, small restaurants and food huts, oil depot and general shopping stores.

According to an owner of boat making workshop, *“his family is pioneer in hand made boats. His grandfathers trained people in Karachi and other cities in boat making. One big boat with a capacity of 20-25 people to take into sea for fishing requires 8-9 months to complete in the workshop. Six workers work daily to complete it in above-mentioned time. Since the livelihood of fisherfolk is affected, people are hesitating to purchase/order new boats. We are completing the existing orders or doing repair and maintenance of boats in the workshops. We are not getting new orders. So, the livelihood of people associated with boat making workshops are at risk.”*

According to an owner of fish factory, *“there are 12 fish processing factories in Gwadar. Around 70-100 people work in each factory in different shifts. The factories exports sea food to Dubai, China, Thailand, Vietnam and Indonesia. The exports are declining because the factories are not getting the fish in adequate quantity. The limited access of fishermen to sea has affected every business in Gwadar. The factory owners decreasing their staff. There is a risk of increase in joblessness in factory workers.”*

Another businessman responded to question about future of local business in CPEC context, *“there is a fear in business community that how they will survive in future when international investor will set up the factories in Gwadar. The government of Balochistan didn't explain anything to the business community. We want government to introduce some policy for new upcoming big investors so that small investors of Gwadar can also survive.”*

A manager of fish processing unit said, *“we badly need infrastructure development because none of our international customers is willing to visit our factories in this backward area.”*

A restaurant owner says, *“he came here as a real estate agent last year, but he is earning more in restaurant business as the business of restaurants and hotels has increased due CPEC projects.”*

5.1.8 Local Culture

It has been observed during the course of field study that the local culture is rich in Gwadar. The Gwadar based librarian said, *“the Balochi literature got an international recognition as Balochi poems has been translated into 17 different international languages. This is an honour of Balochi language, not any of the other local languages of Pakistan.”*

A technical expert on education said, *“our culture has no threats because of the influx of people from other cultures in future. People will come from all over the world to Gwadar as the city is establishing itself as an international port city. People of Gwadar will learn from new cultures. It will bring more awareness to people of Gwadar. It will help to reduce the gap between rich and poor. People of Gwadar will become more aware about their rights. The literacy rate will increase, and gender inequality will decrease. People respect each other, follow laws and consider environment. Thus, a positive change will occur in society.”*

According to Gwadar-based senior journalist, *“the only threat to Balochi culture is from the displacement and it has ability to destroy Balochi culture completely. Fisherfolk of Gwadar are poor the existing social networks are more than fifty years old and helpful in difficult times and situations. The social life patterns will be at risk due to displacement. The socio-cultural activities will be at risk.”*

A scholar from Gwadar mentioned a very critical point regarding cultural change, *“government is changing the names of the historical places in Gwadar which will destroy the identity of Baloch culture in couple of years. ‘Koh-e-Batil’ is a famous hill in Gwadar. It has a historical importance as well as fisherfolk of Gwadar arrange and celebrate their religious and cultural events at ‘Koh-e-Batil’. People from Karachi and other big cities of Pakistan come to participate in these events. ‘Koh-e-Batil’ has national level recognition. The authorities have changed the name of Koh-e-Batil to ‘Hammerhead’, which is even difficult for local people to pronounce. Fisherfolk of Gwadar are already restricted to visit some holy places as they are very close or inside the boundary wall of Gwadar port. “Koh-e-Batil” is one of those places. Similarly, the names of “Demi Zirr” and “Paddi Zirr” have been changed into “East Bay” and “West Bay” respectively. The State is interested in changing the names of more places as well. This is big threat to Balochi culture.”*

The fisherman added, *“the important thing is to keep our culture alive and prominent in presence of other cultures. Local culture always attracts people from other cultures. There is need to preserve the Balochi culture through developing libraries, art centres, cultural centres, arranging cultural events and most importantly by making State’s cultural department active. Rich cultures help to increase tourism.”*

A focused group established during the discussion, *“we are not against of learning new things. In fact, we encourage people to learn from other cultures. I appreciate that people of Pakistan are learning Chinese language. But this is surprise for me to see that instead of Chinese to*

learn our language, we are learning Chinese. It's very common that when someone go to another place/country for business or any other purpose they need to follow and learn the skills of that country if required. But here its opposite, Chinese came here for business and we are learning their language to work with them in our country. But still we are not against of learning new language skills. And if it helps in securing job opportunities, one must learn it."

5.1.9 Environment

It has been observed during the course of field study, that the present condition of Gwadar regarding environment is bad and getting more worst day by day due to the lack of awareness. The over flowing drain, piles of garbage decaying on the roads has been observed by the researcher. A focused group discussion mentioned, *"due to lack of awareness about environment people are used to throw litter anywhere. Pollution is causing several diseases in residents of Gwadar. Children are most vulnerable to polluted environment. Because of its global importance Gwadar is attracting immense amount migrant workers. The roads of Gwadar witness the increase in number of automobiles in the city. Increase in population, automobiles and development projects, the city generates huge amount waste and pollution which is damaging the environment."*

An official of Municipal Committee Gwadar (MCG) said, *"due to lack of resources MCG is unable provide efficient and effective services to the city. MCG cannot perform all the regular responsibilities with less equipment and staff. Furthermore, every other day MCG staff performs special task due to high profile visits in Gwadar. MCG has 100 sweeping staff in total out of which 42 hired in 2002, and current requirement is 300-400 sweeping staff. One reason that people throw litter everywhere is that adequate number of dustbins is not available in city. Only 15 dustbins are present in the city. MCG repeatedly requested the concern authorities to fulfil the lack of resources in MCG but didn't receive any positive response."* Another official from the same organisation mentioned some institutional clashes between MCG and GDA due to poor policy making of the State, that also cause interruption.

An environmentalist in Gwadar Development Authority (GDA) responded, *"it is GDA's responsibility to make Gwadar city better place to live through proper sewerage system, managing solid waste, raising awareness about environment and by applying environmental laws nationwide. GDA is cultivating plants and trees in the city to make it environment friendly. A park has been established on 14 acres in Gwadar. But unfortunately, plantation has been done on 2.5 acres only due to scarcity of water."*

According to a fisherman, “government has failed in making better policy to protect environment. GDA has built a water treatment plant near “Koh-e-Batil” in residential area. The water plant filters sewerage water and enable it for irrigation purposes. The plant produces a very bad smell during processing which is causing inhabitants sick. These treatment or processing plants must be out of residential areas.”

A Gwadar-based journalist mentioned, “under CPEC, 300MW coal power plant has been announced that will be established in Gwadar. Pakistan is currently in energy deficit around 4000MW and the government believes these energy projects under CPEC will help to minimise the power deficit in country. But on the other hand, this power plant has significant impacts on the environment of Gwadar as well on Pakistan. According to Asian Development Bank Report February 2018, coal energy projects under CPEC will increase greenhouse gas emissions substantially, weakening climate change mitigation attempts. And when, coal power plants are discouraged and removed all over the world, Pakistan is establishing. Despite of power generation process, ash disposal is also a serious concern for environment safety.”

A fishermen forum of Gwadar mentioned, “they raise their concerns against the impacts of coal power plant on environment in public hearing conducted in Gwadar. They emphasise that the health of their future generations will be a risk.”

An GDA environmentalist told the researcher, “the Chinese company explained in a public hearing through a presentation that the coal power plant will ensure low emissions by using ‘super critical technology’. The Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) is content with that and there is possibility that soon they will issue a ‘No Objection Certificate (NOC)’ to start work.”

On the other hand, a reputable and senior politician of Gwadar rejects EPA approval and agreement on power plant. He recorded his concerns, “there is a lack of technical resources and experience in EPAs. They do not know how to perform environmental impact assessment (EIA). China is not serious about environmental problems. Chinese companies invite EPA and other concerned people to China for different conferences and workshops, provide them luxury stays in hotels, arrange trips and other activities for their official visits. These visits work as bribe. China’s concern is business, Pakistan’s environment is not China’s concern but ours. If we are not loyal to our country, our resources will be destroyed.”

According to a technical expert, “with coal power plant it is impossible to low the emissions and whichever technology is used it would impact environment because it involves carbon

emissions. The imported coal from Indonesia will be used for power generation, which will be transported to the plants through railways, trucks etc. These transportations involve high risks to health (TheDiplomat, 2018).

To consider a development project, a sustainable and prosperous project for the community it must promise better livelihood options and improved standard of lifestyle. But on the other hand, CPEC developments are challenging livelihoods and standard of lifestyle of fisherfolk of Gwadar. The responses about the situation of livelihood in Gwadar discussed above. The challenge people of Gwadar are facing regarding to lifestyle is “displacement” from their land. Below the study discussed the responses of participants regarding displacement in Gwadar, which covers the part of research question “CPEC as a sustainable development and bring prosperity to Gwadar”.

5.1.10 Displacement

During the course of field study, the displaced communities have been visited to know and understand the everyday life of relocated fisherfolk of Gwadar. The relocated fisherfolk of Gwadar participated in the interviews and focused group discussion along with other community members. The displacement of fisherfolk of Gwadar have been started in 2002 during the first phase of development work at Gwadar port, that has been completed by Government of Pakistan. The small portion of fisherfolk has been relocated to another place called “New Mulla Band” from the place where presently the Gwadar port is located.

During an interview a relocated participant said, *“the government has promised to provide all the basic facilities at the new location. But today, after passing more than 15 years, we are still waiting for the government to fulfil the commitments made in 2002. We are struggling against basic amenities such as safe drinking water, schools and colleges, health facilities, electricity, roads and infrastructure etc. The joblessness has increased among fisherfolk due to this displacement.”*

An elderly participant added, *“the people relocated to New Mulla Band area has lost their livelihoods or got decrease in their livelihoods due to relocating them away from the coast. They are confronting severe health issues including psychological issues. The children of the displaced community have exposed to severe health problems due to unavailability of basic facilities such as clean water and health centres in New Mulla Band. The community has socially disintegrated and lost the access to common properties. There are no educational*

institutions, play grounds, public parks available at New Mulla Band. Thus, marginalisation, joblessness and social insecurity has increased in community relocated to New Mulla Band.”

The relocated participant 2, *“during the second phase of development of Gwadar port an assessment has been made in 2007 in village ‘Dhoor Gatti’ and the value of land was estimated. The inhabitants of village were forbidden from the sale and purchase, and any new construction on this land. But the payment to the residents of ‘Dhoor Gatti’ were made in 2014-15 according to the estimation made in 2007 and were asked to move from this place. The fisherfolk of this area have suffered a lot. The prices of land and property in Gwadar have increased much since the development of Gwadar port started. This displacement made the people of Gwadar homeless.”*

Participant 3 added, *“due to the international importance of Gwadar port, people from other parts of Pakistan and overseas started purchasing land in Gwadar. The value of land has been increased more than 200% as compare to the prices in 2007. That’s the reason, fisherfolk could not purchase any property in 2015 with the money they received from government. Currently, we are living in rented houses on the land we owned from immemorial times.”*

A senior journalist explained, *“the fisherfolk of Gwadar protest against their forced eviction every day (Figure 6). The 6-lane East-Bay (Demi Zirr) express way along with 30 meters wide railway track is under construction in Gwadar to connect the Gwadar port with Mekran coastal highway (N-20). Recently, a Chinese company working on the development of East-Bay (Demi Zirr) express way asked people to vacate the area. Most of the fisherfolk of Gwadar access the sea through this coast and also this is the place where their boats are docked. A livelihood of more than 50,000 fishermen is at risk. This eviction will further worsen the situation of livelihoods of fisherfolk which is already affected by CPEC related developments in Gwadar.”*



Figure 6: The fisherfolk of Gwadar are sitting in protest against forced evictions without any prior notice. Source: author

A fisherman protestor says, “we were not informed about any alternative route to access the sea. How we will access to sea and earn livelihood to feed our families?”

The political leader says “We are not against the infrastructure development. But without removing fisherfolk’s concerns, such measures raise anxiety among the fisherfolk of Gwadar.”

A Gwadar-based social activist says, “that the plan is to displace the fisherfolk of Gwadar and convert these residential areas to industrial zones. I am in favour of development, but this does not make any sense to me. Yes, any house or commercial property can be relocated if obstructing any development activity or project. For example, a shop or house can be moved to another place to complete a road or health facility etc. But, the construction of new industrial zone at the cost of displacing hundreds of families and disturbing their social and economic life is not a development. I am surprised to know the State plan of displacement at this huge level. Pakistan is a poor country and currently in state of financial crisis, I am afraid if the State has enough resources for this activity. To demolish the residential areas completely, relocate people to another place with a compensation package and all basic amenities

including school, hospital, roads, play grounds etc. and then development of industrial zone require huge funding. The primary rule of development is to consider the human life first before any project. The State needs to focus on human development in Gwadar. The industrial zone can be developed anywhere without disturbing the inhabitants of Gwadar. The resources can be spent for the betterment of people of Gwadar, instead of displacement and relocation. Gwadar need school and colleges, hospitals, play grounds, safe drinking water, electricity, jobs, infrastructure, etc. The CPEC development projects have been started since 2006, but not a single development project has been introduced for the people of Gwadar. The fisherfolk of Gwadar has a first right to get benefit from this development. They lived here helpless for years and fight against the problems of poverty, joblessness, scarcity of water, illiteracy, unavailability of health facilities by their own. The State always shows an irresponsible attitude towards the problems of the fisherfolk of Gwadar. Now, when Gwadar has hopes for development with the launch of CPEC, the State is showing the same attitude again.”

A senior journalist says, “considering the current situation of fisherfolk of Gwadar where fisherfolk livelihood is badly affected and all the basic amenities are unavailable, I am afraid that they will lose all their money they received against as compensation for the attainment of basic amenities.” He added, “in some areas of Gwadar, people do not have any proof of ownership of land on which they are living for more than 50 years. They are living here since Gwadar was not part of Pakistan. When the government of Pakistan made a master plan a performed land adjustment in Gwadar in 90s, value of houses considered but the value of the land on which those houses were built, dropped. Most of the population of Gwadar is illiterate and didn’t realise what happened with them in 90s. They will not get any alternative land in case of displacement. These are residents of Pakistan and it is responsibility of the State to take care of them. They didn’t move here from anywhere but, living in Gwadar from their forefathers.”

The focused group mentioned, “the major displacement is going to happen very soon in Gwadar. No one from an ordinary person to high government official in Gwadar is sure about the exact date but everyone has no doubt that soon the displacement will take place. Fisherfolk of Gwadar tried repeatedly to know the displacement plan and the compensation package from the State. They tried to approach the concerned authorities such as GDA, GPA, local and provincial government but didn’t received any appropriate response. This uncertainty is causing more trouble among fishermen of Gwadar.”

Participant 1 of focused group, *“Gwadar is a small city and everyone in fisherfolk community is aware of problems of displaced fishermen families in the past. That’s why they are trying to approach the concerned authorities to know that what is going to happen with them in future. The fisherfolk of Gwadar whose livelihood is already affected by CPEC related developments in Gwadar, the uncertainty about their displacement is making their daily life more miserable. In this situation of uncertainty, no one is interested in investment or expanding their business.”*

According to Gwadar fishermen forum, *“the fisherfolk of Gwadar are not in favour of their displacement due to number of reasons. The present coastal area offers them livelihoods for the whole years or at least 9 months. It is necessary for them to live near to the coast because their livelihood is associated with sea. They do not follow any standard timings to go to work and always depends on weather conditions or the information received from other fishermen and, there residence close to coast is helpful in providing them swift access to sea. Their boats are their assets as well as source of income for the fisherfolk. They dock the boats on coasts near to their homes so that they can protect their boats in situations like storm etc. According to fisherfolk of Gwadar, if they are displaced from the current place to any location which is far away from sea their livelihoods will be affected badly.”*

A fisherman says, *“where we will dock our boats if they will move us 40 miles away from coast and how can we protect our boats in the form of storms?”* The fisherfolk relocated to New Mulla Band are facing the same problems. They cannot respond to any quick call to fish because there is no public transport available in Gwadar. Secondly, on their return from work late night they always struggle to reach their homes.”

According to an owner of boat making workshop, *“this is his family workshop inherited from his forefathers. He added, “boat making workshops must be on coast because it’s easy to check and try the boats in water during different making phases. We heard that we are going to displaced from here. We requested to the concern authorities to avoid this displacement. The relocation of workshops far from the coast will disturb the boat making business, which means that livelihood of people associated with boat making industry will be at risk. He has 25 workers in his workshop which means the livelihood of 25 families depends on one boat making workshop. If the displacement of this market is inevitable at any cost, then the alternate location must be provided near to coast. The State needs to develop the place first with all basic amenities. It’s not an easy task to shift a workshop from one place to another. The shifting process will take time and it will happen gradually.”*

Fisherfolk of Gwadar consider CPEC developments threat to their social values and life. An elderly fisherman says, apart from disturbing the economy and life patterns, displacement is big threat to the social life and culture of fisherfolk community. The sea is not only the source of income for us but its more than that. For us sea is Allah's (God's) blessing upon them. It is providing the livelihoods to fisherfolk of Gwadar from centuries. Everything we get, every income we earn, every food we eat is because of the sea." That's why for the fisherfolk of Gwadar it is a holy sea. We do not harm the sea by overfishing or by using any chemicals harmful for marine life.

Another fisherman added, *"on the occasion of wedding, new born baby or buying a new boat or property fishermen share their happiness with sea by throwing a homemade sweet dish called 'Halwa' in it. It is the culture of fisherfolk of Gwadar that during every evening fisherfolk sit in front of coast and involve in various social activities. They play games, sing songs, read poetry, perform theatre plays, and discuss and solve their problems. The elderly tells their life experiences and other stories about sea to the children of fisherfolk. That actually helps to make their future generations a good human being as well as a better fisherman by learning from elderly experiences. It is a culture of fisherfolk of Gwadar that when they go to fish they are in group of boats and sing some traditional folk songs while leaving the coast."*

A participant says, *"all the social activities are disappearing gradually as their livelihood is disturbed, they are jobless, they are worried to be displaced soon. They are protesting every other day for the countless problems they are facing."*

A Gwadar-based librarian mentioned, *"there are some holy places in Gwadar for which fisherfolk community has great respect and believe. The shrine of "Hazrat Khizer Thikana" is one of the holy places the fisherfolk of Gwadar used to visit very frequently. Now, they are not allowed to visit this place as it is within the wall of Gwadar port. The fisherfolk of Gwadar show their concerns of not being able to perform their holy activities. They are afraid that the process of displacement will destroy their holy places."*

Gwadar Fishermen Forum suggested, *"if displacement is the only solution to develop the city. In this case, the partnerships can be formed between land/property owners and the State or investor. Instead of acquiring the property from the fisherfolk of Gwadar and making them more vulnerable, it could be done through lease agreements. To relocate the fisherfolk away from coast will destroy their livelihoods. The lease rent in result of lease agreements will help the fisherfolk of Gwadar to survive after losing their livelihoods. The compensation must be*

equal to the market value of the assets. The State must ensure the early and on time payments so that it will not create more problems for the fisherfolk of Gwadar. The State must ensure the availability of all the basic amenities at new site including safe water, hospital, educational institutions, play grounds, roads, proper sewerage and sanitation systems, clean environment, etc.”

According to Gwadar-based librarian and scholar, *“industrial zone can be established anywhere in Gwadar. Why it is needed to displace the fisherfolk of Gwadar and convert the residential area into commercial area? I am unable to understand that the State is ready to spend huge budgets on converting residential area into commercial but reluctant to spend for the welfare of people of Gwadar to steer them out from the problems like scarcity of water. We know that at the end of the day the fisherfolk of Gwadar will suffer.”*

Referring past forced evictions in Gwadar, a senior journalist says *“the State should avoid displacement of fisherfolk in Gwadar. Instead of pushing them into worst state of poverty, the State needs to provide them the basic facilities lacking in Gwadar since over time. Access to safe drinking water is our basic right, but due to the non-serious attitude of State the availability of drinking water has become serious problem.”*

On a question about local culture Gwadar-based librarian and scholar, *“due to lack of technical experts in State institutions Gwadar is suffering. The old towns of cities have great historical importance all over the world. Every country is planning how to best preserve the old towns as these are symbol of the culture. The State institutions facilitates local communities to maintain the historical assets of country. But our government wants to demolish this town and destroy our culture which is more than 60 years old.”*

5.2 Discussion

This study provides an analysis of the socio-economic effects of CPEC developments on the fisherfolk of Gwadar. In above sections study argued about the situation of fisherfolk of Gwadar and the challenges they are facing in their daily life since years. The study also provided different theories and literature in context of socio-economic development in chapter 3 and the above part of chapter 5 provides all the data gathered during the course of field study. The study discussed Gwadar as a case for this research.

As suggested by Modernization theory, that modernisation is transition to modern society with an inception of new technology and scientific equipment, spread of education and industrialization. It has an ability to provide better social and economic life to societies. CPEC is flagship project of Chinese greater investment Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), and Gwadar port is assumed as crux of CPEC. The commitment of Chinese and Pakistani governments, and increasing collaboration shows the positive attitude towards the project. The geo-political situation of Gwadar also demands on time completion of the projects. Several development projects including international airport, roads, railway tracks, hospitals, universities and schools, technical institutes, economic zones, parks, energy plants, agricultural farms, shopping malls etc. are announced and some of them already started. A construction work at “Gwadar port” is going on very fast pace. The planning seems accurate to develop Gwadar as modern city like Dubai or Singapore. All these developments will definitely help to develop a modern society in Gwadar with better standard of life, more employment opportunities, better education and health, and better social and cultural life. Development of Gwadar will play a vital role in prosperity of Pakistan. New road structures will help inter-cities trading, increase in exports of country, more transportation will reduce time and increase employment, new railway tracks will increase transportation and trading between other cities, it also helps in increasing tourism locally and internationally. As a modern society, Gwadar will attract people from all over the world which will create diversity and generate more economic activity. Hence, as a modern city, Gwadar will provide better opportunities to its inhabitants, help Pakistan to strengthen its economy and bring prosperity to the country.



Figure 7 : Gwadar Free Zone Entrance



Figure 8 : Gwadar Free Zone

To achieve the modern society through development, there are several risks involve, mentioned by Ulrich Beck in risk society theory. The study analysed the situation and investigated the fisherfolk of Gwadar to find out the risks involved. The study established that fisherfolk of Gwadar are struggling and their life is getting miserable every other day due to risk associated with CPEC developments. The livelihood of fisherfolk of Gwadar is at higher risk. Since 2006,

after the start of development projects in Gwadar, the livelihood of fisherfolk decreased gradually due several reasons. Unavailability of any alternative source of income, they are forced to sell their property or other valuables to provide food and health to their children and families. There is risk of nutrition and health to the fisherfolk of Gwadar due to unavailability of safe drinking water and health facilities. Increase in population and vehicles from other cities due to development projects is increasing the risks of basic amenities. The presence of real estate agents in Gwadar is increasing a risk of exploitation among fisherfolk to sell their land. The local businesses in Gwadar is at risk due to the disturbance in livelihood of fisherfolk. The displacement from their land is one of the biggest risks to fisherfolk of Gwadar due to development. Cernea (1997) in his risk model discusses the risk of landlessness among displaced communities as a consequence of development induced displacement. Forced eviction of communities disrupts their livelihoods, generative capacity, social and economic activity. Land provides the base for natural and human-based capital, which is at risk in case of forced evictions. Money or land replacement is the usual method to compensate people affected by displacement. In case of agricultural land evictions, only land replacement is considered as appropriate compensation. According to the report of World Commission on Dams, the compensation in terms of money is insufficient to compensate the loss of community's resources vanished and unequal to price of land lost during the course of displacement. The chances of under-compensation are high due to payment delays, land appreciation, inflation and remain unsuccessful in assets estimation. The livelihood of fisherfolk is already disturbed and there is higher risk that they become jobless as there is no alternative available for them or they are not capable of adapting new profession. Cernea (1997) in his risk model discusses the risk of joblessness among displaced communities as a consequence of development induced displacement. There is very high risk of job loss during displacements. People associated with agriculture, local industry, small businesses, services, craftwork, and other local oriented labour work suffer by losing their jobs. Joblessness may prolong among affected communities for a long period as new job creation is a time taking process and require significant investment. Affected people needs training and capacity building to get prepared for new job opportunities. The State and non-government organisations can play substantial part to build their capacity. Losing their jobs, the only option to survive for fisherfolk will be the compensation money to provide food to their families. As the land value is reaching sky due to CPEC developments they will never buy any shelter for themselves and homelessness will increase among fisherfolk as a consequence. Cernea (1997) in his risk model discusses the risk of homelessness among displaced communities as a

consequence of development induced displacement. Homelessness is impermanent in some cases or for some communities but losing of houses could be worst for others and often the situation of homelessness last for a long period. Losing of house doesn't refer to the loss of ones' family property or shelter but cut their linkages out from their groups and culture. This increases the risk of isolation and deprivation among affected communities. The fisherfolk of Gwadar mentioned the aspect of injustice with them and complaint about the nonserious behaviour of State in resolving their concerns. There is no alternative employment opportunity available for them to survive. The state is not taking any effective measures to build their capacity for coming opportunities in Gwadar. They are afraid that this will cause marginalization among fisherfolk of Gwadar. Cernea (1997) in his risk model discusses the risk of marginalization among displaced communities as a consequence of development induced displacement. Communities confront the decline in economic supremacy and suffer due to recession, exposed to marginalization. The existing skills and knowledge are not adequate at new locations to get better jobs. Temporary jobs and unsustainable income sources cannot help to regain the previous social standard of living. Infrastructures like roads, buildings, commercial areas may affect the agriculture land and make it economically scarce. Highly productive landlords or farmers become marginalised by moving to barren or infertile land. Similarly, small businessmen, shopkeepers, artisans and people from other professional exposed to marginalization due to less productivity at new location. The marginalisation of communities does not only refer to the economically marginalised communities, it also occurs in a drop in their social status, lack of confidence in society and themselves, a feeling of injustice, and alienated social attitude. There are high chances of economic marginalization to happen long before the real evictions, because of uncertainty of business activities and disinvestment in the area. The situation of joblessness and homelessness increase the risk of food insecurity among affected communities. The fisherfolk repeatedly mentioned in their interviews that they are struggling to provide proper food to their children due disturbance in their livelihood. Cernea (1997) in his risk model discusses the risk of food insecurity among displaced communities as a consequence of development induced displacement. Development-induced evictions has an ability rise undernourishment among people provisionally or chronically. Undernourishment refers to the low volume intakes of calorie-protein among affected communities compared to standard set for normal growth. Food insecurity may rise due to delay in developing food markets at new locations, experiencing problems in transporting food items at new locations, and irregular production of local foods due to nature of new land or unavailability of farming resources.

With this abject poverty situation, they cannot provide their families health facilities. There is no proper infrastructure and sewerage system available in Gwadar. It is mentioned in results part that no proper medical facility available in Gwadar and people of Gwadar need to travel to other big city for medical treatment which cost too much. In result, health issues are increasing among fisherfolk without availability of adequate nourishment and health facilities. Cernea (1997) in his risk model discusses the risk of health among displaced communities as a consequence of development induced displacement. People may confront severe health issues due to immense evictions. Forced evictions increase social stress and psychological trauma among affected communities and expose them to vector borne diseases like malaria, yellow fever, dengue, dracunculiasis etc. Insufficient and contaminated water supplies, and poor sewerage systems cause the diseases of poor hygiene – such as diarrhoea and dysentery. In affected communities, the infants and elderly need extra care as they have more chances to get affected by any disease. The indigenous communities like fisherfolk of Gwadar always rely on common properties in various occasion. As fisherfolk of Gwadar mentioned “koh-e-batil” as a common property where they celebrate local and religious events. There is higher risk that they will not get that common property back in case of displacement. Cernea (1997) in his risk model discusses the risk of loss of access of common property among displaced communities as a consequence of development induced displacement. Loss of access of common property refers to limit or loss of access of vulnerable communities to the common property resources such as water, irrigation systems, forests, fishing places, pastures, burial etc. The State compensation schemes do not compensate for the loss of common property resources which cause substantial decline in income and livelihoods of communities. The fisherfolk of Gwadar has very strong culture. The mentioned that they are well connected with their culture and religion. They are socially engaging and help each other in hard times. They practice various cultural ad traditional activities which are their proud. Gwadari halwa (dessert), Gwadri dance, Gwadari songs and music are famous with the name of fisherfolk of Gwadar. They are scared that there is risk to their social patterns of life due to displacement. Cernea (1997) in his risk model discusses the risk of social integration among displaced communities as a consequence of development induced displacement. The forced evictions dismantle prevailing social patterns of communities. It diffuses communities, makes kinship groups scattered, and disassemble community’s social networks of mutual support, local voluntary linkages, and self-oriented reciprocal amenities. The destabilization of communities destroys their cultural identity and adjourning their linkages with social groups tends to transform them into "anomic regions". It is difficult to rebuild the dismantled social networks to organise people to work for

common benefits because its temporal, spatial and cultural elements are disappeared. The scattered relocation of communities, terminating their prior linkages with their neighbours rather than relocating them in groups and social units, is a big loss of development-induced displacement.

The risks in the society cause conflicts among different groups. According to “conflict theory” unequal distribution of rewards with the use of “power” generates conflicts in society. The statements of the respondents like (*“it is an intentional negligence of the State to keep the people of Gwadar vulnerable”.*) *“CPEC is development for others but for people of Gwadar, CPEC is actually SEA-PACK.”* *“Our politicians have lesser interests in sensitive issues like this.”*) shows the conflicts between fisherfolk and State, fisherfolk and powerful people, fisherfolk and other societies.

Before the arrival of CPEC, the one and only threat to the livelihood of fisherfolk was the presence of trawler mafias in Gwadar. Now, CPEC developments in Gwadar are another threat to the livelihoods of fisherfolk. Everyone knows about CPEC, but no one knows about the threats related to the livelihoods of local communities of Gwadar due to CPEC. This shows the incapability of state to get benefit from the mega investment of CPEC, when most of the population of the locality is struggling for basic necessities and even unable to provide education to their children (Suleman, 2017). Fisherfolk in Gwadar are under heavy stress due to the construction of CPEC deep-sea port at Gwadar. They are scared that the weight of CPEC flagship will crush them. The project is not permitting them to fishing – central to their livelihood and employment. According to fisherfolk, they are living there for centuries and feeding their children by one and only source of livelihood – fishing. The fisherfolk use small boats for fishing. On one small boat six to seven people work which means six to seven families are associated with one small boat. There are hundreds of small boats in town and due to the construction of Gwadar port, livelihood of hundreds of families is at risk. Fishing around port is restricted due to security reasons. On every other day jetty is closed due to any seminar or conference in The Pearl-Continental Hotel – the only hotel of its kind in Gwadar. Now, the major concern of fisherfolk is if they are completely banned from Gwadar jetty how they’ll survive. One of the fisherfolk says, they will be completely banned from fishing when the port is developed and fully operational. Will this development beneficial for me? Will I or my children get job in Gwadar? Will this help fishermen to feed their families? And it is not only the fisherfolk who will be affected from the CPEC developments, but the whole industry associated to this business would suffer including oil factories, boat makers, buyers, and middle

men. The issue of fisherfolk in Gwadar has been raised on the floor of National Assembly of Pakistan by member of National Assembly from District Gwadar, but the issue remained unresolved. According to the coordinator of the Balochistan Fishermen Network, it is the responsibility of the state to help and give the due rights to the fisherfolk, but the government is creating more problems instead. He believes that the real development projects bring prosperity and improve quality of life of vulnerable, and not make them helpless. The secretary general of the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan Mr. I. A. Rehman stress that fisherfolk must be the part of decision making. Any productivity would be at risk without their involvement. He feels that the state is not in favour of fisherfolk issues who are the original inhabitants of this land, living there for centuries and fishing is the only source of their living. The government needs to ensure that everyone shares the benefits of CPEC. Fisherfolk is an essential part of Gwadar and can play vital role in development of Balochistan if train on modern ways and equipped with latest fishing techniques (Shahmeer, 2016).

A new jetty is under construction at Sur Bandar by the Gwadar Development Authority. It is expected to shift fisherfolk in Gwadar to Sur Bandar. Fisherfolk in Gwadar showed their reservations over Sur Bandar. According to fisherfolk, Gwadar provides them fish all around the year but at Sur Bandar there are several months when there is no access to sea due to high waves. On the other side, fisherfolk in Sur Bandar are concerned about their livelihoods, expecting an influx of fisherfolk displaced from Gwadar very soon. Sur Bandar is small town and it does not have enough space to handle the existing inhabitants even. In Sur Bandar, there are 5,000 to 7,000 fisherfolk live with their 1,000 boats approximately and it is expected to shift around 20,000 fisherfolk with 3,000 or more boats from Gwadar. Fisherfolk also showed their concerns over the construction of the new jetty in Sur Bandar that the engineers designed jetty's breakwaters very badly and without the consultation of fisherfolk. The government is also failed to fulfil its promise in Gwadar, that increased frustration among fisherfolk. Around 100 of families from Mulla Band, where the port is currently located, were shifted to another place in 2007. It was promised by the government to provide basic services in terms of hospital, school and better roads. But, after 10 years the people are still waiting for those basic services (Ebrahim, 2017).

Given an ongoing water crisis in Gwadar, any mega development projects will create more shortages of water in the area. This is one of the reasons that there is lack of support for CPEC from local people who are struggling for the rights of their own resources. A Baloch Nationalist Leader and former chief minister said that people of Balochistan are not against the

development and advancement, but we cannot support the development that allows our offspring to die from lack of food and water (Meer, 2016). The people of Balochistan, from past experiences, are not expecting any benefit from CPEC as they did not get any development and prosperity from projects like Reko Diq and Saindak Copper Gold projects in Balochistan. Baloch people are poor, they do not have enough money to spend a quality life even rather making investments in business. Prices of land are reaching the sky because of CPEC developments. People from other parts of Pakistan and overseas are investing in Balochistan and acquiring their land. Baloch people are scared of being stranger in their own areas very soon. This situation is creating more frustration and deprivation among local communities (Siddiqi & Sajid, 2015). It is difficult to find the name of any student from Balochistan in the list of scholarships. The youth is considered to be the most precious asset towards the national development. There is need to provide more and more opportunities to the students and people of Balochistan to play their role in the development of Balochistan. It's not possible to fight against the issues like terrorism, extremism, sectarianism, poverty, illiteracy and drug trafficking without including local community of Balochistan in development process (Barrech, 2017). There is chance of increase in complexities due to non-serious attitude towards the resolution of risks. It is mentioned in social evolution theory, development is aimed to provide better life to people but at the same time it threatens to the nature, environment and wildlife by its harmful impacts. The everyday protests, demonstrations and unavailability of resources cause complexities in result it delays the development process. This is one of the reasons that masterplan of Gwadar is not yet finalised and human development projects are not yet started.

Despite of all the risks, conflicts and complexities, associated with the development process of society the advancement of society is achievable as Talcott Parsons suggested in his social system theory. Most of the studies on development projects argue about the challenges and increase in level of vulnerability of development-induced communities. But, examples of successful development projects with positive socio-economic consequences also exists.

CPEC has potential not only to boost the exports of fruits in Balochistan but also to overcome water scarcity and shortage of electricity through its energy projects. Tourism industry is making huge profits all over the world. International tourism contributed US\$1.5 trillion into the export earnings in 2015. Balochistan will earn more revenue through the tourist attractions it offers to the foreigners come to visit Balochistan/Gwadar for business purposes (Barrech, 2017). Considering the worth (US\$1 trillion) of natural resources discovered, Balochistan does

not need any foreign help for its development. The natural resources of Balochistan are consumed by the State without any serious intentions to socio-economic development of Balochistan. The State must play its role and utilise the natural resources of Balochistan for the development of Balochistan, and social wellbeing of Baloch people to improve the standard of their life (Baloch, 2015). The culture of Balochistan is very rich. According to Balochi and Sindhi writer Dr Shah Mohammad Marri, no other regional language is as diverse in nature. But now there is threat to Balochi literature and culture as the new generation is more interested to learn Chinese language to secure their future in China-based companies. Balochistan has no cultural centres, public libraries and publishers so how we will keep our culture and languages alive.” The State is responsible for organising cultural activities and raise awareness about the diversity of Baloch languages among new generations (Jahangir, 2018).

To make a development project sustainable project, the involvement of affected communities in the development process is critical. Especially, at the level of planning about their relocation, provision of livelihood at new location and deciding compensation plan for affected people. During the field study it has been analysed that people of Gwadar are very intelligent, hardworking and informative about their problems. There is a need to start human development activities in Gwadar for upcoming opportunities. The technical trainings and capacity building activities must be started as soon as possible. The training activities are planned in way that do not affect the livelihoods of people of Gwadar. The common perception is that fisherfolk of Gwadar is not interested in any other profession and so they do not want to learn new skills, which is not true, actually fishermen work as a daily labour and cannot afford to skip a single day form work. Secondly, they are uneducated, so it will be difficult to teach them technical skills. There are some other simple or easy skills that can help them in future. CPEC will not only provide port related jobs or opportunities in economic zones or multinationals but, also it will help to reinforce existing prospects of Pakistan by using own resources. There is big scope of tourism in Gwadar that can contribute enormously in Pakistan’s economy in future. The people of Gwadar know all the touristic places and aware of the history of this historical city before integrated into Pakistan. The 500 kilometres coastal area with virgin beaches, Mehgarh civilization, Baloch culture and hospitality of people of Gwadar has great potential to attract international tourists. A huge number of people of the area can adopt tourism as profession with a minimum effort.



Figure 9: (On the right) The Princess of Hope is the sculpture, invented in the Hingol National Park. The unique name was specified by Hollywood actress Angelina Jolie on her visit to the region. Source: [Princess of Hope](#). On the left, a beautiful view of mountains on the way to Gwadar.



Figure 10: Two beautiful views of virgin beaches in Gwadar. Source -[Youlinmagazine](#) (left), [Astola Island](#) (right)

There antique handmade boats can be used to sail tourist and they work as drivers, tourist guides and in other tourism related businesses such as hotels and resorts. Pak-Iran boarder in “Kech” (near Gwadar) also has a potential to increase tourism in Gwadar. Around millions of

Pakistani pilgrims visit Iran and Iraq around the year. A huge number of pilgrims cross the border by road through Taftan Quetta, especially on the occasion of “Arbaeen” - World's largest annual pilgrimage of Muslims in Karbala Iraq attended by 22 million in 2015 (International Business Times, 2015). The “Kech” border offers a very secured and short route to enter Iran instead of Taftan which offers unsecured travelling of 3-4 days. Kech border crossing will enhance the job opportunities in Gwadar.

6. Conclusion

This study recognizes the development as a process of modernization of society which offers better opportunities of employment and lifestyle. This require participation of affected people in development process, which is lacking in case of Gwadar. The development projects under CPEC started in 2006, more than decade has been passed but no improvement has been observed in Gwadar in any aspect. The life of fisherfolk of Gwadar is getting more miserable every day. The fisherfolk of Gwadar is exposed to new risk with the introduction of every new development project. It seems that in planning process of development project there is no place for people of Gwadar. Instead of providing better opportunities, CPEC badly affected the livelihood of fisherfolk of Gwadar. The livelihood of fisherfolk requires everyday fishing and after the arrival of CPEC fisherfolk are not allowed to move freely in sea. Some areas are completely prohibited for them while for other they need permission which is also a trick to banned them to access sea foe fishing according to fisherfolk of Gwadar. Considering the importance of Gwadar port, there are several high-profile visits take place. During those visits, sea is completely prohibited for fisherfolk. In this condition fisherfolk is selling their property and other assets or valuables to provide food to their families. This started in 2006 with a very slow pace and gradually increased to its worst. One can imagine the loss of fisherfolk of Gwadar in terms of loss of property and other valuables. Currently, fisherfolk of Gwadar is in very worst condition. It is difficult for them to provide an adequate level of food through fishing. In case of health issues some sell valuable and some go for borrowings because they have to pay more for medical treatment in other cities in absence of proper health facilities in Gwadar. All other basic amenities of life are in same condition in Gwadar. No infrastructure, no proper education and even no safe drinking water is available. Everyone is concern with CPEC, but no one seems to concern with these problems of fisherfolk. Instead, situation is

getting more worst as same facilities are now used by more people arrived in Gwadar due to CPEC.

CPEC still have more than decade to complete the development projects in Gwadar. The situation can be in control by taking some effective measures and showing positive attitude towards provide sustainable solution to the concerns of fisherfolk of Gwadar. That's the reason the condition of fisherfolk is getting more vulnerable every other day. If this continues in future, there is no doubt that fisherfolk of Gwadar will reach the worst condition of poverty and there situation will not be different of those who are still in search of the promises of State after several years of completion of development projects.

The State-community partnership with technical expertise of State institutions and better understanding of community representatives about problems of Gwadar, can provide sustainable solutions to the problem. Development and “participation in development process” is right of people. The role of State is very crucial in this situation. Considering the geo-political importance of CPEC, the State needs to show more concern towards the human development process. Neglecting the interests of people of Gwadar in policy making could raise inferiority among inhabitants of Gwadar which then lead to the growth for insurgence elements. The inhabitants of Gwadar are living in Gwadar for more than 50 years, they have first right get benefit from this mega development under CPEC. Gwadar needs a better planning with participation of affected communities in planning process. Gwadar itself offers a lot to attract people i.e. culture, tourism, sea-food industry, handmade boats industry and other natural resources. The need is to make better understand about the problems, technical expertise to provide solutions and positive attitude towards the development of society. In this way CPEC will remain opportunity for fisherfolk of Gwadar and they will get benefit from it. Otherwise this will be a risk to socio-economic life of fisherfolk of Gwadar. As said by a one of the respondents, “*CPEC is development for others but for people of Gwadar, CPEC is actually SEA-PACK.*”

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