# Rebalancing power in aid: A Pakistan Case Study in humanitarian disasters and migration

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# Challenging the discourse of North/South power relations

- "Decolonization" and localization in development practice framed as a way to "shift the power" between the former colonizers and former colonized states.
- But this discourse is not the appropriate way to frame or approach the discussion on how a very unequal power dynamic between North and South can be equalized.
- There are many more nuances in this discussion which these terms actually encourage us to avoid and which we must confront if we are to create equity between nations.
- I challenge these terms and their usage in the development and humanitarian discourse and take a more radical view;
  - firstly, by focusing on the South, by the South, for the South;
  - secondly, by considering that it is not a "reimagining" of aid that is necessary, but rather the end of aid.
- Several barriers to this approach, including resistance the powerful North. But more importantly, the resistance by the South itself.

# Pakistan: A Humanitarian Profile

# Major humanitarian incidences

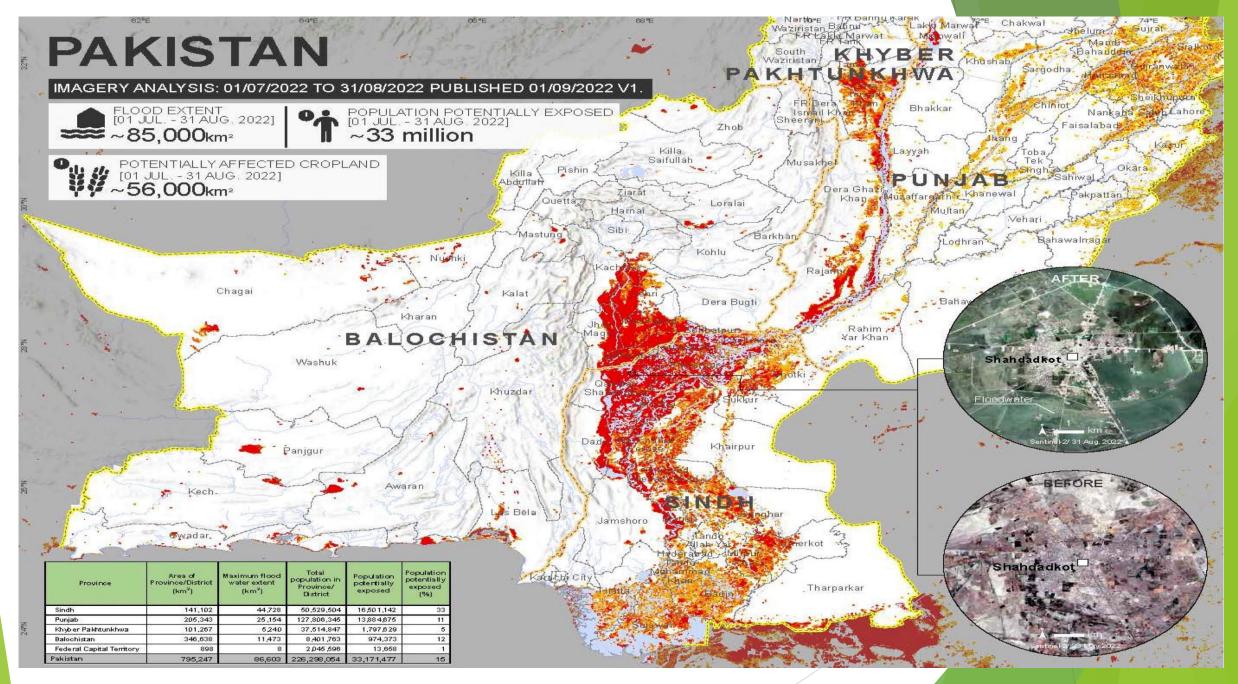
- ► Kashmir earthquake 2005 killed over 100,000; displaced over 3 million.
- National Floods 2010/11 over 2000 killed, one-fifth of country flooded; displaced almost 20 million.
- ► FATA IDPs 2004-2016 5.3 million displaced.

# Major humanitarian players

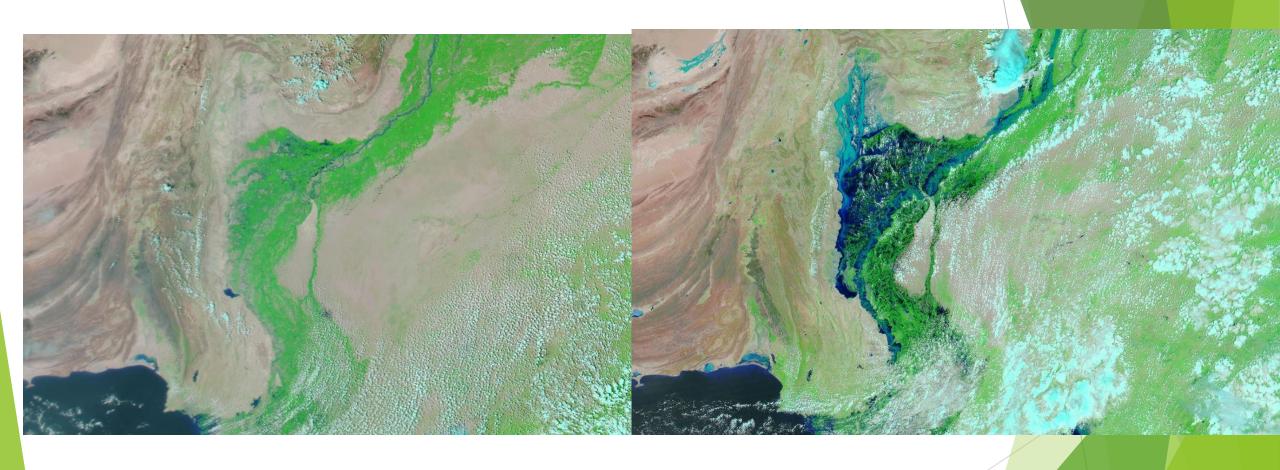
- Pakistan government
  - National Disaster Management Authority (NDMA)
  - Provincial Disaster management Authority (PDMA)
- International
  - ► UN Agencies; IOM, UNICEF, UNHCR, OCHA etc.
  - Bilaterals: FCDO, USAID, GAC EU, etc.
  - ► INGOs; Islamic Relief, Concern Worldwide, Oxfam etc.
- National (Charitable and philanthropic)
  - Edhi Foundation
  - Al-Khidmat
  - Saylani Trust

#### Pakistan Floods 2022

- Over 33 million displaced
- All four provinces affected
- ▶ 1/3 of country underwater
- Over 2000 killed
- Almost 4 million acres of farmland destroyed (45% of agricultural cropland)
- Over 1 million Livestock killed
- Almost 2 million houses destroyed
- Over 12,000 kms of roads destroyed
- Almost 300 bridges washed away



Source: UNOSAT 2022



### Humanitarian gaps and issues

#### Pakistan government

- ▶ Response not forthcoming/unified as in past humanitarian disasters.
- Complete dependence on foreign aid assistance/pledges to come through before undertaking any major relief effort.
- No adequate district level services available on ground.
- Lackluster media response to crisis.
- Focus on political upheaval in country rather than human suffering.
- News of initial disaster in Balochistan province shielded from public because those were flash floods.
- Some provinces received greater assistance than others.
- Lots of talk about climate reparations, but no rescue or rehabilitation plan in effect in immediate term. plan

# Gaps contd.

#### International community

- Do not seem as invested in this situation despite its catastrophic scale, unlike previous disasters.
- Initial burst of humanitarian aid in kind by UN, INGOs etc. but then dying down.
- No coordination mechanism created unlike in previous disasters.
- Lots of diplomatic media attention initially, but no sustained on-ground efforts.
- USAID the most prominent in terms of numbers.
- No joint action plan.

# Gaps contd.

#### Domestic Humanitarian response

- The most responsive to situation.
- Individuals, charitable organizations, national NGOs etc. raced to the scene.
- Most aid led by donations and coordinated voluntarily.
- Unable to meet the scale of the disaster/compassion fatigue.
- Still working on ground in many areas but are unable to keep up with the scale of disaster.

#### **Current situation**

- Majority of the flooded areas still underwater Sindh province worst affected.
- Water is not draining.
- ▶ No official shelters/camps in place.
- Some have begun to move back to their villages and rebuilding their homes themselves - no govt assistance.
- Outbreak of diseases dengue, malaria, skin diseases mostly among children.
- Onset of winter no shelter.
- ▶ No longer top of mind among public at large.
- No government plan on how to rebuild infrastructure.

# Pakistan: A migration profile

# Migration profile

- A migrant sending country
  - ▶ Migrant labour majority of almost 9 million Pakistani's overseas
  - Permanent economic migration/family reunification
  - ▶ Refugee focus via Afghan crisis/not a signatory to UNHCR conventions on refugees.
- Emigration Ordinance 1979 controls labour emigration overseas.
- ▶ No formal migration policy yet many drafts developed.
- No formal refugee policy.

# Afghan refugees in Pakistan

- ▶ About 4.5 million Afghan refugees in Pakistan since the 1980s. Three successive waves of refugees since then.
- ► Have never received Pakistani citizenship despite many being born here.
- ▶ Pakistan government focus on return of Afghans rather than integration.
- Informal integration of Afghan refugees in major cities.
- Over a million refugees have been voluntarily and involuntarily repatriated to Afghanistan since 2001.
- Of the remaining left in Pakistan, about 1.4 million are currently registered 1.5 million are not.
- Strong anti-Afghan/anti-refugee sentiments exist among public

#### Post Taliban takeover 2021

- Pakistan refuses entry to Afghans fleeing the conflict closes the Torkham and Chaman borders
- Allows entry to only those holding valid Pakistan visas and/or an Proof of Registration Cards (PoC) issued by Pakistan.
- Allowing foreign governments to use Pakistan as a transit destination for refugees gaining asylum in a third country.
- Provides no support to those still awaiting repatriation to other countries in Pakistan.
- ► Anti- Pakistan sentiment among many who escaped the Taliban takeover.

# Issues for you to consider

- Pakistan is in a conundrum between depending on aid and not wanting to make an effort to extricate itself from this dependency.
- Consistently in debt to IMF and other countries.
- ▶ It does not uphold many human rights measures for migrants/refugees, in and out of Pakistan.
- It is currently facing some of the worst political and environmental disasters in its history.
- Regionally the power balance is shifting towards China-Russia nexus.
- How does "decolonization" or "localization" fit in this scenario?
- ► How does "aid" fit into this scenario as opposed to foreign relations with the Global North?