Rethinking Security in post 9/11 Pakistan: Arguing for Human Security

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Declaration

I, Nabeel Ahmed Shirazi, declare that this thesis is a result of my research investigations and findings. Sources of information other than my own have been acknowledged and a reference list has been appended. This work has not been previously submitted to any other university for award of any type of academic degree.

Signature………………………………..
Date…………………………………………

Dedication
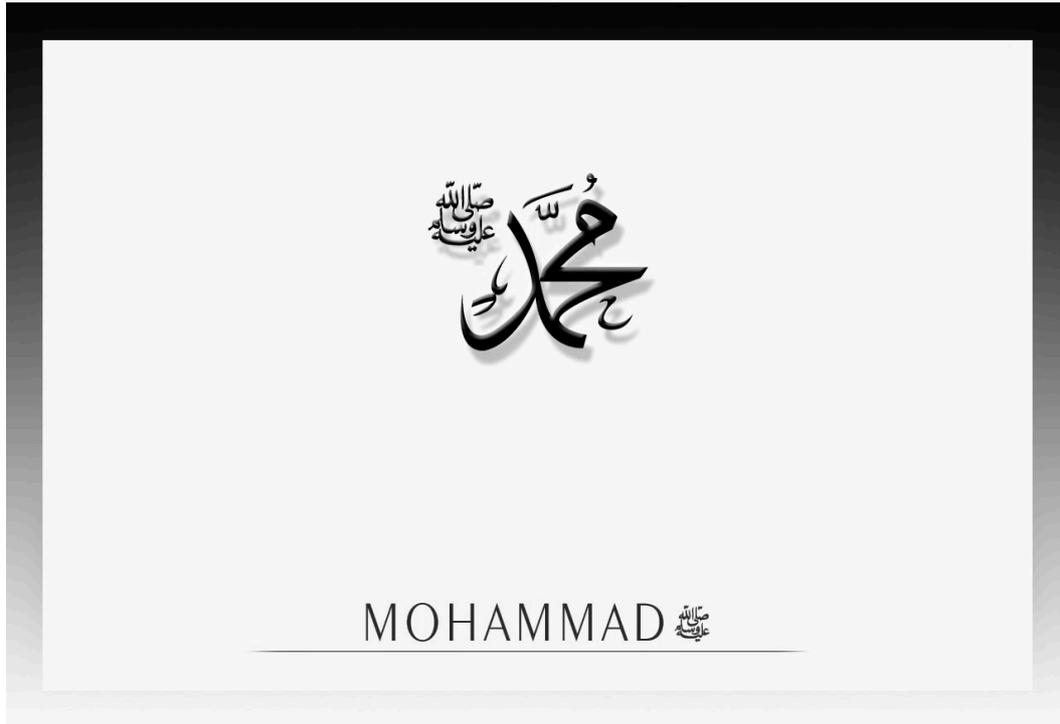
A humble dedication of this research goes to Allah the almighty and his beloved Prophet Muhammad (Peace be upon Him).

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Abstract (450 Words)

Historically, Pakistan has held a realist oriented security approach that has focused on building up military power and has been led by four military dictators which hampers a democracy to fully flourish. Pakistan´s prime minister Nawaz Sharif is, who marked a historic democratic transition when he came to power, is currently witnessing a domestic crisis as caused by the myriad of militant organisations that operate on sectarian lines. The one-year-old National Action Plan developed to counter terror has given the armed forces more power, which concerns human rights activists. Few will contend that the rising number of non-traditional security threats demanded a more broader and wider security definition that went beyond state security and perceived the individual as the referent object of security. Human security has, since its inception in 1994 gained ground in security studies, as well as in the policy community. The concept has been divided between two camps; "freedom from fear" – that encompasses freedom from physical political violence, whilst "freedom from want" deals with much broader issues as poverty and unemployment. I apply both of these in my case study of Pakistan.

Thus, this thesis acknowledges the changing nature of security, and finds the incorporation of a comprehensive human security framework, as much needed Pakistan supplement to traditional security. In so doing, the research is based on a combination of desk studies and a field trip to Pakistan. Twenty interviews have been conducted, five in each city - Abbottabad, Islamabad, Lahore and Rawalpindi, where male above 30 years in the workforce have been randomly interviewed about how they perceive their own security and what their security needs are.

The main findings of this research highlight the security needs of the Pakistani people as the call for human security, democracy, rule of law, and justice. They have expressed grave concern, nepotism and distrust of both the civilian and insufficient engagement in addressing their individual security needs. This is leading to less political will in the population, which is not fruitful for democracy to flourish. In some cases, military rule is more favoured because it provides better results than democratic elected governments. Additionally, the informants identified and recognised several dimensions of human security and Islamic values as pivotal for their security and expressed the absence of trust to their government institutions and nepotism. They

called for a more *"active"* state that should improve its efforts to meet the needs of its people. This cannot be done effectively without improving the civilian leadership and enhancing its implementation capacity. The thesis draws the conclusion that point in the direction of incorporating the human security framework as a mean to achieve domestic order and human dignity among Pakistanis will supplement and enhance national security.

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1. Introduction- towards rethinking security (Including objectives and purpose)

The main aim for this research is to examine to what extent security in Pakistan, as understood in traditional terms, has both been inadequate and insufficient in the country´s history, and particularly in the post 9/11 era. The Pakistani government should, as this paper argues, incorporate human security into its security paradigm to improve the country´s security. Thus, this paper is not much problem solving, as it does not necessarily provide robust and efficient solutions or improvements to the security of Pakistan, with the exception of a handful of recommendations. Rather, it is more of an analytical character, as it seeks answers and explanations to why the overall security in Pakistan is worsening, as seen reported in the media. Is it true that the overall security in Pakistan, despite acquiring nuclear weapons in 1998, is actually worsening? If so, what factors are at play in causing this to happen and what can be done to improve the overall security of Pakistan?

1.1. Background

For Pakistan, 2001 became a remarkable year. The long-standing international isolation and economic sanctions that followed its 1998 nuclear tests and the military coup of General Pervez Musharraf, simply ended as a result of Pakistan´s alliance with the USA in the *Operation Enduring Freedom* following the 9/11 attacks. Thus, Pakistan decided to stop its support to *Taliban* and join the US, share intelligence, give it logistical support and allow it to use three of its airbases in *Operation Enduring Freedom* (Fair & Watson, 2015; Sheikh, 2009).

General Musharraf´s decision to join the GWOT renewed the Pak-US strategic partnership and showed that Pakistan could not afford to stand against the US, as that would put vital interests at stake, such as the issue of Kashmir (Hoyt, 2005, Tankel, 2015:30-32). It is notable that the main political parties in the country are less prone to support militancy as compared to the military or the intelligence agencies (Tankel, 2015; Fair & Watson, 2015). He justified his decision by referring to four key objectives for Pakistan; security, economic development in the long - run, the safeguarding Pakistan's nuclear weapons, and to come to settle the issue of Kashmir. However, hia decision of taking side with the US did not stop him form calling back LeT, JeM and HuM and other smaller groups, although low-scale, continued their operations against India (Tankel, 2015).). However, this sudden shift in Pakistani foreign policy, justified as an act of self-defence, is open to question.

In the aftermath of 9/11, the Pakistani military and ISI soon arrested, kept and held hundreds of people they accused of being Al Qaida affiliates without any questions. For many, Pakistan was becoming a police state, but Pakistan never led a military operation in Waziristan before 2004, following the US pressure to arrest members of the Afghan Taliban that sought refugee in Pakistan and the repeated assassination attempts on Musharraf led by militant Islamists from Waziristan. The operation soon became catastrophic when riots erupted, villages got destroyed and civilian and military casualties rose (Lieven, 2013).

Peace talks between the government and militants were held. A local Mullah, Neik Mohammad Wazir was put in charge by the militants and the ceasefire agreement contended that the armed forces were to be drawn back and that foreign Islamist militants were to be moved out from Pakistan. The militants refused to throw out foreign fighters from their areas and Wazir was killed in an American drone attack (Lieven, 2013).

Within this background, the topic of this research highlights this shifting trend of security and relates it to the post 9/11 Pakistan. Although nuclear armed, yet not so secure. The research is conducted as a part of my master thesis in MSc.- International Relations 2014-2016 at NMBU, Norway. The master program has equipped me with several tools that have made me able to conduct research on a vital topic; security.

1.1,2. Problem statement

The Pakistani Taliban was formed in 2007 by Baitullah Mehsud following the Red Mosque debacle when the armed forces stormed the mosque and killed militants that used the mosque as their headquarter. Ever since, there has been a tremendous increase in the number of terrorist attacks against the state, including in urban cities. The quest for obtaining ambiguous foreign policy goals in Afghanistan and Kashmir and to please the US by cracking down on supposed terrorists, have catastrophically affected Pakistan´s internal security. The war in Afghanistan is seen by many as the main cause for the Talibanisation of Pakistan.

Conversely, these militant organisations have become powerful, autonomous and self sufficient, making it difficult for the military to control them, in spite of the international pressure on them to do it. Third, it is notable that the ISI and the military also became powerful as it enhanced its control over the Pakistani society a consequence of the Soviet invasion (Lieven, 2011. This has taken place at the expense of robust political and economic development, making it harder for civilian authorities to limit their influence. Finally, the close collaboration between militant groups and the military has produced "men at arms who

consider themselves as the solider of Islam (Khory, 2009). This makes the concept of security questionable; what is security and who or what is its referent object?

1.1.3. Objectives of study:

To bring new and detailed insight into the on-going security-development nexus in nuclear-armed Pakistan by arguing that Pakistan´s contemporary security challenges cannot be successively dealt with without taking into consideration human security, particularly personal and community security.

1.1.4. Research Question

How does ordinary Pakistani citizens perceive security in Rawalpindi, Islamabad Lahore and Abbottabad in /2016?

1.1.5. Purpose of study

Syed (2012) demonstrated quite well, by the use of quantitative methods, the need for Pakistani policymakers to incorporate human security – friendly measures in its security policy, by basing her research on two surveys conducted by Gallup in 2013 that measured public perceptions on security. I wished to dig deeper and elaborate on her research, and reach the Pakistani public perception on this topic through qualitative in-depth interviews. Therefore, the intention has been to both widen and deepen her research on human security by allowing Pakistani citizens to state their thoughts and experiences about they their own security situation and their expectations from their government.

1.1.6. Justification of the thesis

Many people in development countries, including Pakistan, are facing numerous challenges to their security. Human security allows the individual to realise its potential. The following four reasons lay the foundation stone for my research on human security in Pakistan.

Firstly, the general assumption that the possession of nuclear weapons enhances provides security and stability, is not as true as realists will have us to believe – especially in the changing security environment. Although, the country has not been engaged in any full-scale war after acquiring nuclear weapons, Pakistan is not fully secure. Rather, the overall security of both domestic and individual character, has, as many would argue, worsened. Successive civilian and especially military leaderships have relied extensively on traditional state security policies, as made evident in its continued spending of millions of dollars on acquiring and maintaining its large army and nuclear arsenal in the name of enhancing its

national security and defence. Moreover, numerous attempts to obtain ambiguous foreign policy goals have all caused domestic and individual insecurity. Thus, there will be no exaggeration to state that these actions have taken place at the expense of human development and security. This is why traditional state security, although essential, is far from a sufficient and adequate security measure. Realists who think it is have failed to realize the changing circumstances in the 21st century that calls for new thinking of security.

Secondly, the 2001 UN invasion of neighbouring Afghanistan, the unlawful occupation of Iraq in 2003 and the heavily debated invasion of Libya in 2011, are all events that have caused increased insecurity and anger in the Muslim world. This seems to, somewhat confirm Samuel Huntington's *Clash of Civilisation thesis*. Pakistan is the second largest Muslim country after Indonesia, and it has witnessed a worsened security situation as a consequence of its participation in the GWOT. Pakistan is finding itself at the crossroads of fighting terrorism and extremism. At the same time, and partially as a consequence of the war on terror, domestic security and development issues are dramatically one the rise in the second largest Muslim state, angering millions of Pakistani citizens, demanding political change that will lead the country on the road to progress and prosperity. These events, I argue, have made a broader and more comprehensive security approach pivotal for Pakistan.

Thirdly, at least until recent, there has been very limited research on human security in Pakistan and this study wants to add to the existing research. In addition, numerous newspaper articles and TV shows that discusses security in Pakistan, lacks a people - centred view, which is crucial in a country where there are weak representative institutions. This "weak engagement" of security experts, increased my motivation for organising a field trip to give voice to the people of Pakistan.

Fourthly, as the US drawdown from Afghanistan is taking place, the future of the present US strategic ally is crucial for regional and international peace and stability. Although Pakistan has taken vital steps towards democracy, as the historic peaceful replacement of a democratic government demonstrated in the May 2013 elections (Fair, 2015:131). Yet, the military and intelligence agencies are still dominant. This is, arguably, a dangerous situation that might lead to further domestic and regional destabilisation. However, it is not completely unlikely that the lesser reliance on the US will fortunately reorient the priorities of the state inwardly towards greater human development and security.

Fifthly, many see 2015 as a year that introduced a paradigm shift in Pakistani security policy following the terrorist attack on an army school in December 2014 that left more than hundred school children dead. Conversely, all political parties met and agreed on a

comprehensive approach, known as National Action Plan (NAP) to fight the enemies of the state. This is why the insecurities that citizens experience not are merely humanitarian issues, but rather issues of national security (Syed, 2014). Thus, the counterterror strategy requires, I argue, human security policies. However, it would be naïve to ignore other sources of insecurity than terrorism. This is because Pakistani citizens do also face other forms of insecurities.

Thus, the paper aims at building up a case for adoption and diligent implementation of human security concept in Pakistan. The challenges confronting Pakistan underscore the incapacity of the traditional security concept to proffer a solution to them. Pakistan shows a disparate response to each of the challenges it is confronted with, hence there is a need to pursue a comprehensive security policy that incorporates the human security paradigm. Human security can supplement the traditional state –centric security focus. The human security paradigm has made its way into the security literature. Recent events and conditions, notably in conflict-ridden and unstable countries in the 21st centaury, such as Pakistan, have arguably called for a more comprehensive security approach. The paper aims at building up a case for adoption and diligent implementation of human security concept in Pakistan. The challenges confronting Pakistan underscore the incapacity of the traditional security concept to proffer a solution to them. Pakistan shows a disparate response to each of the challenges it is confronted with, hence there is a need to pursue a comprehensive security policy that incorporates the human security paradigm.

1.2.1. Methodology

It is not uncommon for students to perceive the choosing of topic for a master thesis as a daunting task. This was also the case for me. Being interested in both security and development in the age of terror, created the motivation in me for doing research on these three key terms. The research is centred upon a human security framework, in order to gain greater insight into the development-security in post 9/11 Pakistan. Therefore, the study has taken a security approach that is based upon citizens of Pakistan's understanding for how they find their own security situation and what suggestions they have for improving it.

1.2.2. Qualitative methods

. Qualitative methods and semi-structured interviews have been used to allow the citizens on the ground in four different cities in-depth information about their own individual security as citizens of Pakistan, because it gave me the practical opportunity to meet people and engage in in-depth information from them, drawing upon the two surveys of Gallup (Syed 2014)

based her research on. Qualitative methods seemed to be the most suitable method in answering my research question. The purpose behind this decision was that this tool would get me to the knowledge I am seeking. Thus, in the quest for finding both a feasible, as well as legitimate way of approaching my research question, qualitative in-depth interviews, compared and contrasted with a body of literature, appeared to be the most feasible solution for me. I wish to contribute to greater knowledge production in the wider security umbrella, by arguing that the significance human security holds, is greatest in Third World countries such as Pakistan.

Thus, the research demonstrates that there is a connection between the chosen research topic and a broader scientific problem (that human security should be included in security policies of Pakistan), by backing up my claim with both the use of theory and empirical findings. The use of theory in the analysis part will generate continuity between theory and empirical findings. Hence, the use of theory will help explain how the concept of human security can be used based on the analysis of the findings. It is important to bear in mind that the theory will not only function as an interpretation of the findings, but rather also to modify or criticise the broader theoretical framework used in the thesis (Everseht & Furuseth, 2004: 99).

The thesis limits its focus to the post-9/11 period, and the Musharraf regime that came to power in 1999 through a military coup, and focuses only on some of the insecurities citizens of Pakistan have highlighted through in-depth interviews of "street informants" conducted by me.

1.2.3. Selection of sides

Abbottabad

Abbottabad was chosen as it is seen as a relative peaceful country, housing the Pakistani Military Academy. Yet, it served as a perfect hiding ground for Osama Bin Laden, who lived there for many years. The secret US raid on his residency without the consent of the Pakistani military, has made the Abbottabad a symbolic city. This is not to suggest that the US raid is free from controversy, as this event divided the Pakistani people. This way of doing research has made it possible to shed light on theories and empirics together.

Rawalpindi

Rawalpindi is the third largest city and houses the General Head Quarters, which is the main military base in Paksitam. Out from a military perspective, and the numerous check posts, the

city might seem secure, yet the military was targeted in 2009. Thus, the city becomes more vulnerable because of the GHQ.

Islamabad

The Red Mosque in Islamabad was sieged by the armed forces under General Musharraf in 2007. It manifested the tensions between the state and Islamic militants that had developed. The terrorist bombing of Mariott Hotel in 2008 also found place in Islamabad, and many international investments were drawn back

Lahore

Lahore, being the province capital of Punjab and the second largest city in Pakistan has seen a deteriorating security situation. A policy academy was targeted in 2011 and the recent Easter terrorist attacks that target the Christian minority, and the terrorist blast at the most famous religious shrine in the city, exemplified the worsening security situation.

1.2.4. Sampling

Twenty people were recruited on the streets and interviewed divided upon four cities (Islamabad, Rawalpindi, Abbottabad and Lahore) , 5 people, all men in each of the four cities selected. These were randomly selected – some were rickshaw and cab drivers, others were professors, servants, shopkeepers, and cleaners. The reasons for selecting men are twofold. First, cultural ties restricted me to interview females. Second, the man or the family father is still seen as the "breadwinner" in Pakistan, and interviewing him would provide me with larger data about his daily challenges and issues, given his responsibilities.

Since the changing nature of security in Pakistan would be my main focus during the interviews, I found it important to have informants that had some experience about their insecurities and what they assumed caused them. By keeping this in mind, I choose to interview people that were between 30-60 years, that the potential informants should be interested in security questions, and that they spoke about them openly. My research question required this type of information, and not everybody would be willing to speak openly about their own security in an insecure country. Yet some of those I successfully recruited, introduced me to other people they knew.

1.2.5. Reliability

Given that security is something that affects everybody´s daily lives, the level of engagement and motivation were generally high among the informants, thus raising the likelihood of

stable and consistent data. Nevertheless, subjective interpretations and understandings may vary. In addition, different informants interviewed on different timings and locations, often, but not always, tended to state the same sources of insecurities (see appendices)

12.6. Validity

Since my research question centres on personal perceptions of security, qualitative semi-structured interviews, and the questions asked (see interview guide) was seen by me as the best tool to measure what was purported to measure.

1.2.7. Limitations of the study

There are a number of limitations to this 30-credit thesis. Firstly, given that the interview – data is collected form ordinary individuals that are a part of the working class, it cannot be taken for granted. This research is mainly based upon subjective understandings of individual security. Secondly, as stated above, the initial plan was to only research on personal and community security – that make up the narrow school of human security, namely "freedom from fear". Yet, the informants were given the freedom to adhere to the broader school – "freedom from want", and thus allowed them to manoeuvre between both schools. Thirdly, any questions regarding for example which political party the informants supported or any other sensitive issues were not asked. Many of the informants became happy that their voices were at least heard and noted down, as they waited for this moment.

Generally, conducting research alone in Pakistan on a sensitive topic as individual security, proved to be more difficult than I thought. Despite clearly explaining what the research was about and why it was done, it was still not satisfactory for some sceptics, who perhaps thought it was done for some other secret purpose. However, the main limitation of this research would firstly be the exclusion of female voices on a topic such as security. Cultural and ethnic barriers, called *purdah* see it as morally wrong to speak to unknown people from the other gender and this prevented me from engaging with females. Secondly, the research findings are based upon individual experiences and thus, there is a weakness in making this the case of all the citizens of Pakistan. This study is made of by a combination of a qualitative desk study and a field research in which twenty male citizens were interviewed twenty in four Pakistani cities.

1.2.8. Ethical considerations

Ethical considerations were crucial for my research, since it was based upon interviewing individuals on their security. All interviews were planned after identifying myself with a

Pakistani identify and my NMBU student card. Secondly, I explained why and how I was doing research and explained them how the interview was formed, in order to make sure that they would be willing to participate in the interviews on voluntarily bases. It was important for me to ask the questions I had outlined in the interview guide, but also in a way that placed the comfort of the interviewer at the heart of the interview. Interviewing people for research purposes include ethical responsibility that the researcher should keep in mind. The informant's privacy, individual freedom, safety and decision-making have been secured throughout the different stages within the research.

1.2.9. Literature Review

As Everett & Furuseth emphasise, the literature review should push the researcher to make up thought about what is being read (Everett & Furuseth, 2004:99). It is commonplace for master students to present some of the relevant literature that is already existing on a given topic (Eversett & Furuset, 97). It is then normal to engage in a discussion of it to develop one´s own knowledge of the subject, which later proves helpful in the making up of arguments and a theoretical framework.

Syed (2014) argues for the adoption of human security in Pakistan, because its current challenges cannot be addressed with the current traditional state security understanding that is dominating in Pakistan. The call for a comprehensive security is therefore needed.

In her book, "*Making sense of Pakistan*, Farzana Sheikh examines and highlights the political, economic and strategic consequences of the identity crisis Pakistan has found itself in ever since independence in 1947 and how this has been misused by the military. Instead of being a guarantee of Islam as intended by the country´s father, contentious conceptions of Pakistan has emerged, depending on whose in power in the country. Being the first was the first state to be declared become a laboratory where one unifying factor – Islam, despite the apparent cultural, ethnical, linguistic factors that existed among its citizens. This uncertainty of the "Pakistani project" has raised tensions among people claiming to be a Pakistani. The quest for seeking validation from other countries, especially its neighbors, has taken place at the expense of socio economic development in Pakistan, which its possession of nuclear weapons exemplifies. She outlines that there was no common language among the ethnicities and Urdu was therefore formed as the national language. She calls the separation between Pakistan's east and west wing with Indian territory, a major handicap for Pakistan.

Mary Kaldor provides a rich explanation of the changing nature of security and warfare in her book "*Human Security*" (2007). This change, she argues, has emerged after

the fall of the Berlin Wall. Her typology on old and new wars, bridges the gap that exist in security studies by critiquing the realist assumptions of traditional security for being narrow, and also counterproductive in dealing with the rising non-traditional forms of threats, such as homelessness. What is more, it is instrumental to have a robust and conflict management system that is visible in the law of the country (Kaldor, 2007). While discussing the importance and the link of non-military factors to a country´s national security, it will not be a overstatement to say that democratic countries are better off in binding together different communities and in respecting minorities, as opposed to countries that are led by the military.

Kerr (2010) discusses the concept of human security s different from traditional state security. She divides the concept between the narrow (freedom from fear") and the broader school of thought (freedom from want). She mentions the critics of both schools and the tensions that lie behind them. However, it is instrumental to combine both schools thought when making human security polices.

Lieven (2013) gives a rich and different description of Pakistan than seen in the media. He sees an Islamic takeover by military groups as unlikely, given the strong society and well-disciplined army. The country is difficult to govern, because of patronage, kinship and extended family structure and their protection. The inner and outer pressure in Pakistan has never been as powerful as it is now, when the country is waging a war on terror and facing numerous domestic challenges. Corruption and nepotism are at the very heart of the country's faultlines.

Ahmed Rashid posits in his book "*Pakistan on the Brink*", that the Tehrike -Taliban is the greatest enemy of the state, which attempts to overthrow the Pakistani state and create a new state, based on Sharia laws. Some policy analysts have gone so far as predicting a possible state collapse in Pakistan (Rashid, 2012). He contends that social services and law enforcement are both weak, economic hardships are common and natural disasters occur with limited or no assistance from the Pakistani government. Although, given the importance of these, the most important characteristic of any state is to provide security for its citizen, which Pakistani citizens by enlarge are in lack of (Rashid, 2012). Given this, Pakistan as a nuclear state, its population, the number of terrorist and insurgency groups operating in the country and finally its crumbling economy are all factors that make the country arguably more vulnerable than even Afghanistan after the US final withdrawal (Rashid, 2012). Moreover, terrorism is arguably the greatest source for insecurity in nuclear Pakistan (Rashid, 2012). Terrorist organisations and insurgency groups have demonstrated their strength by leading a great number of attacks on different places, both civilian and military, across Pakistan. The

worst-case scenario of the further destabilising of Pakistan might be terrorist acquiring Pakistan's nuclear weapons, which is perceived as a global threat. This continuous destabilisation is arguably leading to direct challenges for the country's safety, prosperity and development.

Hasnat (2011) gives a rich account of the Pakistani state and the institutions and different events that both have affected the national security of Pakistan (Hasnat, 2011:49). Moreover,, the security of Pakistan will be insufficient, if only it encompasses in military terms. Rather, it is important to have "*vibrant societies*" that are willing to take steps in to minimise tensions and crisis with all they can, that also contributed in creating a better national security. Secondly, and perhaps more importantly strong and efficient institutions also play a crucial role in binding together various segments of societies (Hasnat, 2011).

He further describes Pakistan's history demonstrates that study civil institutions and the supremacy of the constitution provided strength to the Pakistanis security, while prolonged military rule made Pakistan more unstable and vulnerable to internal and external pressures. In 2007-8 Pakistani society became prone to militancy, especially in NWFP and Baluchistan provinces, mainly as a reaction to the highhanded polices of the military regime of General Pervez Musharraf (Lieven, 2013). Musharraf had relied on military might to suppress the grievances of the people of Baluchistan Province and the areas on the Pakistan-Afghanistan border. Of all the military rulers of Pakistan, he lacked sufficient understanding of the civil values of the Pakistani society. Thereby, he was insensitive the centuries-old traditions, culture and infrastructure of the tribes and families of the land, which now forms Pakistan. His harshness and callous policies gained him scores of personal enemies all over the country. On every account, he failed to create a base of peace and stability and exposed Pakistan to more security risks. By the time national and provincial Assembly elections were held on February, 2008, Pakistan had already exploded with suicide attacks, targeted exclusively towards the military and police. General Musharraf had also become a direct target of hate by the civilian population of Pakistan (Hasnat, 2011: 51-2)

1.2.10. Theoretical Framework

Within social science, it is expected from the student that he or she will discuss the literature that is chosen. According to Everett & Furuseth (2004), one should start by give an account

for the relevant literature, before discussing it. The most common way to do this, is to present previous studies on the same subject and question it, since, by doing this, the student can construct his or her own arguments. The chosen approach should be limited and justified through solid arguments. This helps clarify the theoretical framework (Everett & Furuseth, 2004: 97). They further highlight the vital linkage between theory and empiric. It is essential to make sure that the chosen theories match the empirical analysis, and the connection between the two should be visible throughout the text, in order to make a sense of the research. This is why I have chosen to use the used literature to construct a wider framework, in which human security in post 9/11 Pakistan can be easily and logically studied. It is only a plus point to be aware of how other academicians have studied the same topic.

The research has a mixed approach of analysing the security environment in Pakistan by combining a bottom – up approach through interviews of Pakistani citizens, along with security analysis. One may question whether this is a just decision to take when writing a master thesis in IR, however, one can argue that the study of IR is also a study of people (Lawson, 2003:5). Instead, it examines the relationship between security and development in the post 9/11 Pakistan.

A human security framework in security studies and has been used to grasp and make sense of the greater number of untraditional forms of insecurity that is on the rise in Pakistan. Human security gives primacy to the security of the individual, instead of traditional state security. This has made it possible for me to further give the opportunity to let the people of Pakistan residing in the provinces of Punjab and the Khyber Pakhtun Kwa (KPK) to determine what security and insecurity means to them, how and to what degree it is provided or not provided to them, as well as allowing them to give further suggestions. Since the concept of security, which is a basic value all states should provide its citizen, is taken into consideration in this paper, it will not be wrong to say that the paper is both state and individual- centred.

After reading various books and journals about the chosen topic, I moved on to choose which type of methodology I should choose. Being a somewhat daunting task, I asked myself questions such as why quantitative methods would be better than qualitative. Since my curiosity was more on how and why questions, they required insight and depth information. This made me go for qualitative methods.

1.2.11 Thesis Structure

Chapter two discusses the contested concept of security and the position realism holds in security studies. It holds that the traditional understanding of security that dominated during the Cold War is less applicable to grasp the new sources of insecurities that emerged in the post Cold War era. Thus, it brings up alternative understandings of security.

Chapter three sheds light on the constructivist turn in security studies by demonstrating that constructivism has had an icebreaking effect in opening of the Pandora box of the state in the 1980s and that it has been pivotal in the broadening and widening of the security concept by including the concepts of ideas, culture, norms and identities. The human security framework had perhaps not been as important as it became without the help of this "gate opening" that constructivism brought

Chapter four moves on to provide a short historical background of Pakistan, and its foreign relations, particularly to the US, India and Afghanistan. Secondly, it explains how security and development is interlinked, especially in post 9/11Pakistan. It further highlights the internal crisis the country is facing, which requires a new, broader and wider security approach. Thus, it lays the foundation to the impasse of human security in Pakistan.

Chapter five gives room to the security and development nexus and explains the linkages between the two. It also focuses on what role development has played in Pakistan under successive leaderships.

Chapter six defines and explains the emergence of human security into security studies. It argues that the twofold human security framework – "freedom from fear" and "freedom from want" are based upon cosmopolitan universal values. It moves on to link the concept to Pakistan. The chapter argues that the inescapable growing foreign and domestic policy nexus and security and development nexus seen in chapter two, make the human security framework the only viable solution to fill the much needed security gap in Pakistan. This is how human security can supplement and not replacing state-centric security approaches, as critics argue. The key critics human security has received is are explained. The critics highlights the tensions between the two schools of human security, before pointing out the concept as a tool for gaining hegemonic power, as critical theorists posit by deconstructing the concept as they have done to the concept of sustainable development. It is later counter critiqued.

Chapter seven identifies the public security perception gathered from the twenty interviews held in Abbotabad, Islamabad, Rawalpindi and Lahore in the narrow shool of human security (freedom from fear) Thus, it argues for the importance of meeting the needs

and addressing the security issues of Pakistani citizens, thereby counter- critiquing the critics of human security seen in the previous chapter.

Chapter eight deals with the identified threats to human security in the broader school, by identifying the human insecurities. The role of Islam is also discussed in this chapter as well as it explains some sources of insecurities for women in Pakistan.

The next chapter ends with concluding remarks and further suggestions. It holds that Pakistan should reorient its focus towards its people and meet their needs and put an end to its involvement in other states as this creates domestic instability. It also gives space to women and their insecurities in Pakistan.

2. Security studies

We live in a global community that is witnessing, to quote the 60th president of the of the UN General Assembly Jan Eliasson, *"a triangular challenge of development, security and human rights",* and all these three challenges are highly prioritised in the UN agenda (Large & Sisk 2006:i) Thus, there is little contention about that new and untraditional forms of insecurities, such as terrorism, violence, health issues, and religious intolerance are all getting a major source of threat for many. The reduction in "old" - interstate wars", that made up states and the increase in "new" – intrastate war, that disintegrate states, have both changed the concept of security and warfare (Kaldor, 2007).

Newspapers are daily covered by international events, such as mass demonstrations in Paris, terrorist bombings in Lebanon, Lahore and Istanbul. We do not think that all these events affect us as they take place, since we fail to see the direct link they have on our daily lives (Mingst, 2003:3:). Yet, these events do affect us, no matter where they take place, as they affect, for example, the prices of consumer's goods we purchase. The decisions taken to control such events used to be the responsibility of governments. However ordinary citizens have increased their influences on them, to varying degrees (Mingst, 2003:3). This increased influence has been made possible as a consequence of the growing globalisation and spreading awareness among people. Such has also taken place in Pakistan. The citizens of Pakistan are seeing their daily lives being affected as a consequence of the failure of the government to address their security needs.

2.1.1 Security

Despite finding itself at the very heart of international relations for a half a century, the concept of security has been contested in recent decades, partially because of Barry Buzan´s

writings (Sheenan, 2005:2). However, the most influential understanding of security both among nations and within security studies has been "*the protection of a country from physical external threats of violence and the use of violence, mostly armed violence and military force*", as it used to be during the nuclear arms race between the two superpowers (Dalby, 1997, Lawson (2003:78-9, Skogan, 2011). This is why the dominant counter measure towards other states is to enhance ones own military capability. This can be said to be true for Pakistan. However, the concept of security is, as Dalby (1997:6) posits, "a contested term with different meanings". Thus, it is not always understood as in its traditional terms.

For Mingst (2003:276), the rapidly growing globalisation has forced us to rethink some of the traditional cold war concepts and values we used to focus upon earlier. The discourses that used to be common back then, are less applicable now. The realist school of thought have always given importance to the state, its security and survival as the most important element of international relations, but their assumptions are recently being challenged by constructivist accounts of security and human security (Mingst, 2003).

2.1.2. Realism

All states acknowledge the importance of maintaining their security that is to avoid any attack or coercion by other states. Realism is the most dominating theory of IR and it put forward strategies to how states can obtain security and other goals (Glaser, 2010:16). It posits the power relations between states as essential in conducting any type of objective analysis in international relations (Sutch, & Elias: 2007:42). It sees it as essential to build up arms, as well as making allies and the use of force. Realism further sees states as the most important actor in international relations and holds that it is rational, where obtaining security is most important in an anarchic world system which put several constraints on states (Elbe, 2010:410-11). States are egocentric and struggle to maximise state interests in terms of power. Security, self- help and survival takes central stage in realist thinking, and these elements have also influenced security studies to a large extent

3.0 The Constructivist turn

Few will doubt that the collapse of the Soviet Union opened the door for constructivist approaches into international relations (Little, 2007: 253). Constructivist scholars, emphasising on norms, interests and identities, were better equipped to explain the Soviet downfall. As contrary to realist assumptions that see states as pursuing objective interests, defined through material conditions that make up the state, constructivists highlighted the

relevance of ideas, norms and identity that all together make up the socially constructed world (Agius, 2010). They have challenged the traditionalists their belief in ideas, which they posit are the driving force behind the pursuit for power and in obtaining wealth, security and public goods (Nau, 2015).

The Untied Nations as an institution was weakened by the super-power rivalry that found place during the Cold War. The institution has contributed significantly in reducing both the scope and incidence of internal violence within states during the 1990s through its engagement. (Kerr, 2010:134). A significant change in how security was understood and dealt with came after the end of the Cold War. This era led to a further broadening of the IR discipline. New questions were raised in world politics, such as interventions based on humanitarian grounds. In other words, both the theory and practise of IR brought forward moral discourses. This challenged, to varying degrees, the discourse on pure power -politics that was common during the cold war. Yet, it will be wrong to say that moral discourses did not exist earlier, but they became more dominant after the cold war, as the UN also became more functional. This increased the willingness not leave human right abuses as an internal state affair, as it used to do (Lawson, 2002:165).

The Cold War talks of security that emphasised military capability, maintained secrecy and developed plans on how nuclear weapons could be used in a conflict, are all ill-suited to deal with all the rising insecurities at present (Large & Sisk, 2006). These are rarely external, but more often internal in many countries, taking different shapes like terrorism, economic, environmental, and community security (Dalby, 1997: 4-5; Lawson, 2002). This is how the concept of security goes beyond the traditional and narrow understandings of security and pushed the notion of human security, that in many ways supplements state security (Lawson, 2003:8). Furthermore, some authors like Duffield (2005), Syed (2014) and Kaldor (2007) find the human aspect of security, as better suited to deal with contemporary challenges in the era of globalisation. The same concept, somewhat a decade later, was again raised to the fore and gained tremendous attention following the 9/11 attacks. The rapidly growing globalisation has forced us to rethink some of the traditional cold war concepts and values we used to focus upon earlier. The discourses that used to be common back then, are less applicable now (Mingst, 2003: 276). The realist school of thought have always given importance to the state, its security and survival as the most important element of international relations, but their assumptions are recently being challenged by constructivist accounts of security – human security (Mingst, 2003:276-7).

3.1.1. Critical security studies

Advocates of critical security studies place the security of individual at the very heart of the critique of the more traditional understanding of security, which is in military terms. The arguments used by these scholars point in the direction of a broadening and widening of the security concept since these scholars thoughts have been influenced by the conditions in which people have found themselves since the civil wars of the 1990s in as in Somalia (Kerr, 2010: 122). As contrary to the traditional understandings of security, they posit that individuals make up the humanity as a unit, thus it is the individual that should be the referent object of security, instead of the state (Dunne & Wheeler, 2011:14). Thus, they distance themselves from the assumption that there is a state monopoly on the loyalty and identity of the individual. However, this shift away from the "us and them" towards a more cosmopolitan one is not recent. The UN Charter of 1945 itself starts by "we the people".

3.1.2. Internal disintegration of states

Apart from the collapse of the Soviet Union, the countries of Afghanistan, Somalia and Sudan all declined because of the collapse of domestic structures, rather than from aggression from an outside force. Territorial integrity, the enshrined principle of national security, which was sincerely adopted by the UN Charter, no longer holds validity. Nations can disintegrate from within as well. There is a long list of non-military factors that have emerged as a cohesive force of national security, which a nation must take into consideration (Hasnat, 2011: 50-51).

3.1.3. Critic of traditional state security

The traditional definition of security is loosing ground because it is failing to do what it says – to "protect people" (Owen, 2004). Security studies, as well as critical security studies are both a sub- discipline of IR, as these approaches place the security of individual at the very heart of the critique of the more traditional understanding of security, which is in military terms. The arguments used by these scholars point in the direction of a broadening and widening of the security concept since these scholars thoughts have been influenced by the conditions in which people have found themselves since the civil wars of the 1990s (Kerr, 2010: 122).

4. Short Background history of Pakistan

Pakistan was formed based on three factors; security, development and Muslim ideology. Human security encompasses the two former, as human security is described as being the *"marriage"* between security and development. of democracy, Muslim nationhood and morality, ethnicity and more recently human rights. The realist approach fails to take into

consideration these ideas, and lacks sufficient explanatory power in explaining the making up Pakistan.

4.1.1 Pakistan is based upon six principles

According to Khan 2008, Pakistan was made based upon these six key principles:

1) National Security – This principle takes the central and the most important place among all the principles. Born in 1947, it was important to preserve its security and independence. This required a realist understanding of the security and the world.

2) Economic Interest: Pakistan, being a developing country, had to create and maintain good relations with other states that can maximise its trade relations or from countries that can provide it with aid.

3) Islamic solidarity: Pakistan was set to pursue its ideological objective and would like to achieve the objective of Islamic solidarity by promoting its relations with the Islamic World and by preserving its Islamic ideology.

4) Peaceful coexistence: Pakistan would believe in peaceful coexistence and would respect for the others territorial integrity and sovereignty and non-interference in others internal affairs.

5) Non-Alignment: Pakistan would stand on its on by preserving neutrality between both the capitalist and communist block

6) Bilateralism: Pakistan stands on the peaceful settlements of disputes amongst its neighbour countries through bilateral negotiations.

7) The United Nations: Pakistan holds faith in the UN and would provide its fullest support to UN missions, both its military and civilian personnel (Khan, 2008: 388).

Although human security did not exist at that time, human rights and development, apart from aid and trade, is not mentioned in these principles. It was common to consider state as a unit and its security in terms of its independence has been a commonly understood as similar to individual security, as was (Large & Sisk, 2006).

4.1.2. Indian Rivalry

"Pakistan has no army, but the army has a Pakistan", is a quite famous slogan (Lieven, 2013). It illustrates the army greater role in forming foreign policy, which distances the policymakers from the visions of the majority of the people. While it is common to perceive the national interests of a country to be the driving mechanism for its foreign policy, Shaikh (2009) sees Pakistan´s foreign policy as driven by the problematic surrounding its national identity,

towards seeking parity with India. It is also common that leaders in developing countries, notably authoritarian   regimes persistently point to external threats, in order to create internal unity and legitimise its own rule. Whenever the original security needs of a country is neglected, it becomes more vulnerable to issues or threats from outside that further weakens it.

India has been a factor that has unified Pakistanis and it has played a key role in understanding how Pakistan´s identity, ideology and security ever since it became an independent, sovereign state (Syed, 2014; Khory 2010; Shaikh 2009). The security and defence policies of Pakistan have mainly been oriented towards the 'threat' emanating from India to its territorial integrity in which the unresolved issue is at the centre stage (Fair & Watson, 2015:10). The key driving force for seeking foreign and military aid from other states has been its underdog position in relation to India; being the state it has fought three wars against and in 1971, resulting in the separation of East Pakistan into Bangladesh as a result of Indian forces crossing the international border to help the rebels. Pakistan also started planning to develop nuclear capabilities in the 1970s to follow the balance of power principle.

Pakistan followed India to detonate bomb in the same month to strike 'parity' with India in nuclear field, and succeeded in 1998. This prime focus on hard power, demonstrates that the Government of Pakistan has strategic limitations in the social sector provision. Few will doubt that the dominant position of realism has led to the militarisation of in International Relations. Similarly, Pakistani policymakers have militarised its society, by adhering to the narrow lenses of realism in its foreign and security policy since 1947. This development is somewhat understandable, yet negative given its enduring conflict with the much larger and populous India.

4.1.3. Indo-Pak relations since 1999

Pakistan´s relation to India deteriorated during the Kargil crisis in May 1999 (Pande, 2015:264). Pakistan was accused of sending armed troops onto the Kargil heights of by the G8 countries. However, Islamabad denied their involvement, positing that armed freedom fighters were acting on their own. India reacted by launching a grand air and army operation to remove what they believed were a mixture of Islamic insurgents, Taliban fighters and army personnel (Sattar, 2012: 244-47). However, Sharif was forced to withdraw his forces due to international pressure.

India has accused Pakistan for being a terrorist –sponsor country in the aftermath of he attack on the Indian parliament in 2001 (Lieven, 2013) and demanded that Pakistan should hand over twenty Indian and Pakistani nationals it believed were behind the high jacking of Indian airlines. Both countries moved their troops to the border, but the conflict was averted. Diplomatic relations was removed and did not resume before 2003. Normalisation efforts took place the next four years, were both countries believed in the peaceful settlement of all settlements, including Kashmir. However, the 2008 Mumbai attack worsened the country´s relations and India accused Lashkar-E Taiba leader Hafiz Saed for being the mastermind. Islamabad arrested hum, but he was soon released by Lahore High Court for not being guilty (Sattar, 2012). There have been signs of easing tensions between Pakistan and India, however an accelerated relaxation process has not taken place, as it has high domestic political costs in both countries. Pickering (2015) identifies this normalisation process to include the issue of Kashmir and the arms race between the countries. Although being a difficult process, confidence-building measures can kick-start the long-standing plans for trade.

4.1.4. Pakistan's foreign policy towards Afghanistan: The quest for strategic depth

The current worsened security situation in Pakistan can be traced back to the Soviet invasion in Afghanistan in 1979, where Pakistan and USA formed a strategic partnership. This alliance played a key role in providing weapons and funds to defeat the Soviets. Thousands of *Mujahedeen* fighters from the Islamic world were gathered in terrorist camps – motivated by the Pakistani Army and intelligence agencies to fight a religious war – Jihad, to hinder the Soviet infidels to occupy the holy land (Gartenstein-Ross & Vasseffi, 20105). Pakistan also came under threat, as it had side-lined with the US and hindered the Soviets to reach the warm waters of the Indian Ocean.

There is little doubt that Islamabad´s foreign policy towards Afghanistan has been related to obtain "strategic depth" towards its larger and more populous Indian rival. This has been done by interfering in the internal affairs of Afghanistan after the Soviet withdrew in 1989 (Fair & Watson, 2015). This clearly demonstrates that the first principle (upholding national security) takes precedence over the fourth principle (respecting territorial integrity of other states. The quest for strategic depth has backfired and retired generals have to admit that the current domestic crisis and domestic instability internally in Pakistan is a fruit of this failed policy (Rashid, 2012). This has allowed Afghans to spread their militant ideologies across the Durand Line deeply in Pakistan, with the failed policies of the military dictators of Pakistan, whose have led the country for more than half of its history.

4.1.5. Pak-US. Relations since the 1970´s

It is indisputable that the relationship between Pakistan and the US has been characterised by "mutual dependence, and not mutual respect" (Shaikh, 2009). Seen with Pakistani eyes, this alliance provided the much-needed validity to be equal of India and from when seen from an American perspective, Pakistan has served as a proxy to obtain American foreign policy aims, also prior to the 1970s. The US has been reluctant to give Pakistan the security guarantee vis-à-vis India, and Pakistan has responded by limiting US leverage on it This unstable relationship has not given the validation it wanted and thus it has made China and.

However, Pakistan soon became a front – line ally of the USA after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979. It received 3,2 billion dollars in military and financial aid from Ronald Reagan (Ruud, 2011). The current worsened security situation cannot be understood in isolation with the Pak- US strategic alliance of the 1980´s. Thousands of Mujahedeen fighters from the Islamic world gathered in terrorist camps in Pakistan. After the war ended, there was no clear American or Pakistani strategy that stated the future of these fighters. The success of defeating the Soviets increased the military and the ISI´s will to continue to assist the Taliban

in the Afghan civil war that followed, because it was a source of strategic depth towards India and also a method to not escalate tensions around the porous and disputed Afghan-Pak border (Hoyt, 2005).

Another possible outcome of denying US opposition was the risk that India would provide assistance instead. India had developed ties with the US as an economic partner, and perhaps a strategic partner having a nuclear agreement and Pakistan feared that this relationship could develop even stronger ties in military terms. This would crush the Pakistani dream of obtaining parity with India, which it had attempted by forming alliance with the US for national validation of its identity (Shaikh, 2009).

4.1.6. Kerry – Lugar – Berman bill

Senators John Kerry and Richard Lugar wonder what the outcome in Pakistan would have been if the United States had spent more money on pure development assistance in Pakistan, instead or in addition to the massive military assistance it has given and gives (Birdsall, Elahi, Kinder, 2011), (Fair & Watson, 2015).

Moreover. Kerry and Lugar pushed forward the "Enhanced partnership for Pakistan Act, also known as the Kerry-Lugar-Berman bill, in which Pakistan would receive 7.5 billion dollars in the form of economic assistance over a five years period. This intention behind

providing this assistance was to put an end to the continued instability in Pakistan, by combating corruption, create better public services and encouraging more economic growth. It is, however, questionable how these funds will be used, but a failure to achieve the indented outcome would harm American reputation in the new Pakistani generation and arguably create more insecurity (Fair & Watson, 2015).

5. The security and development

Human development refers to *"enlarging people's freedoms and choices",* whilst human security deals with making sure that the opportunities people have in their lives are safe, known as *"peoples priority freedoms*" (Gasper & Gomez, s.a).

It is widely agreed upon by scholars that there is a growing link between security and development after 9/11, notably in development countries such as Pakistan. Morality has never been as important as it is in international relations ever since the 1980´s. Morality and justice are both essential underpinnings of political stability in world politics today (Elias & Sutch, 2007:159). Human rights and welfare are hence both more important in the interconnected world than it used to be earlier, as distant sufferings and atrocities in Third World countries have legitimized humanitarian interventions, that have opened the door for other types of security needs to receive attention, challenging the long-standing principle of non-intervention in other states domestic affairs (Malnes 1994; Lawson, 2003; Sheehan, 2010). Nonetheless, these issues are not new, but their growing importance is recent in the era of globalisation (Duffield 2005), (Gomez & Gasper, n.d).

5.1.1 Development as economic growth

However, in order to understand the linkage, a natural starting point will be to examine how development has been understood throughout the years. Development studies envisage to identify the reasons behind inequalities and to understand the consequences they have in poor countries. The motivations are to create policy implications (Chant & Mcllvaine, 2009). The traditional approach to development gained ground during the Cold War and focused on modernisation through economic growth and structural adjustments (Nau, 2015, Hettne, 2008).

This development approach is less applicable in the 21st century for two reasons. First the rise of non-traditional sources of threats, such as issues of health and the environment is more threating than external aggression. Secondly, the number of *new wars* has increased (Hettne, 2008; Kaldor: 2007). They fear that if these threats persist, they may lead to future

state collapse in already weak and poor states in the longer run, which then conversely will lead to chaos, and non-development. This demonstrates how the connection between security and development, particularly human development and human security, is taking a new shape and form, or put in another way, insecurity to non or underdevelopment (Hettne, 2008; Kaldor, 2007).

5.1.2 The security and development nexus

However, such security concerns are dealt with in the concept of human security, making this approach broader and more comprehensive, as it serves as a supplement to the concept of traditional state security. Authors like Duffield (2005) and Syed (2014) find the human aspect of security, as opposed to the traditional security approach, as more essential. Duffield (2005) argues that the concept of human security is created through the marriage of security and development, where international terrorism has contributed greatly in this linkage. He perceives human security as prioritising the security of the people, by focusing on their welfare, safety and wellbeing (Duffield, 2005). Furthermore, it has been difficult to do development without having security, ever since the fall of the Berlin Wall.

Moreover, Kaldor (2007) identifies three ways in which the human security paradigm can improve development. Firstly, human security calls for physical safety, rule of law and sustainable institutions. The presences of these are necessity for robust and efficient development. Secondly, human security seeks to remove the underlying causes of violence, by engaging human development to improve institutions and livelihoods. Thirdly, it supplements economic indicators of states by focusing on the development aspect of human development. Thus, the needs of individuals and communities can better be met by creating development polices accordingly (Kaldor, 2997:196-7). This interconnectedness is therefore more evident in developing countries such as Pakistan.

5.1.3. Development in Pakistan

Development is worth studying in Pakistan, where there have been numerous crises since it gained independence in 1947. It is, therefore, essential to understand the background context in which Pakistan finds itself in order to obtain a better understanding on the present situation in Pakistan. The country's main founder, Muhammad Ali Jinnah created Pakistan in 1947 on democratic and secular principles and died the year after (Shaikh, 2009).

Development in Pakistan has been measured in terms of the success of public and private enterprises, and in terms of how well they fit distributive justice, as an Islamic principle. Bhutto used the slogans of "Islamic socialism", whilst Zia envisaged to from an

"Islamic economic society ", in line with capitalism (Sheikh, 2009). Benazir Bhutto´s regime in 1988 and 1993 found Pakistan in a debt crisis and thereby she did not follow Islamic socialism as an economy policy. She had no other option than to accept the harsh conditionality's by the IMF towards greater privatisation to save the economy. Nawaz Sharif's government used public resources to boost economic liberalisation. Thus, welfare and development has received attention, but by competing economic policies. There is no secret that, in spite of high level of economic growth, notably under Ayoub and Musharraf´s regime, Pakistan has not sufficiently improved public services and reduced poverty. Sheik (2009) explains the reasons for this by pointing to the historical roots of the Muslim League and its alliance with the rich. Yet, his party failed to create a robust developmental programme, because the pursuit of power and alliances gained primacy over Muslim economic and social development in the new state. Yet, he wished to lift the masses, but disliked capitalism as a developmental strategy for Pakistan, despite his love for private property (Shaikh, 2009).

Ayoub Khans "*Decade of Development*" lasted form 1958-68, and witnessed high level of economic growth, but ignored social equity, notably in East Pakistan. Wealth was increasingly concentrated in the hands of the few rich. Many see this as the underlying cause that removed him from power. This did not only question whether or not Islam should put in place a robust economic policy, but which type of Islam that should do it.

6. Human security

The human security paradigm has gained increased attention within the field of security studies, as recent books on international relations include a chapter on human security. In addition, it has also been incorporated into the foreign policies of Norway, Japan and Canada, making it famous in the policy community well (Kerr, 2010). Its advocates hold that humans should be the main referent object of security, as opposed to traditional state security (Duffield, 2005; Kaldor, 2007; Kerr 2010).

In its simplistic terms, there are two different schools of human security. First, is the "narrow school", focusing on "freedom from fear"- that is fear from political violence by a state or any other organised actor and "freedom from want" (Large & Sisk, 2006:13; Kerr, 2010). These are the two schools of human security, where the former is often called the "narrow school", because it focuses on the "political violence by the state or any other organised political actor", whereas the latter is called the "broad school", because it goes beyond political violence and includes the welfare, wellbeing and safety of people (Duffield, 2005, Kerr, 2010).

Given that the concept of human security was first used by the UNDP after the end of the Cold War, it can be said that the "new agenda" of international politics pushed for development, notably development in particular. It was a direct challenge to the how development was perceived earlier, in terms of GDP, as well as the Cold War security-military agenda. The strong link between conflict and development paved the way for human security, since a majority of the conflicts that took place after the Berlin Wall fell, were internal conflicts in the developing world, instead of traditional inter-state wars (Kerr, 2010:122). Furthermore, the civilian population in these countries are those who pay the highest price, and due to weak governance, the government fails to protect their civilians.

What is more, the roots of the human security paradigm can be found in the 1960´s (Lawson, 2002:3). It was later reflected upon in the new security literature in the 1980s, before being included in the Human Development Report of 1994, which emphasised the new security concept even more (Kerr, 2010:122). According to the report, the traditional definition of security was insufficient and it fell short of grasping the newer security challenges. It was limited to encompass aggression from outside states, the protection of vital national interests as a foreign policy tool or the global insecurity caused by the fear of a nuclear war. What were left out were the lives of ordinary people, who without doubt were in need of security in their ordinary daily lives

6.1.1 Seven dimensions of human security

1)   **Economic Security**: This is assured basic income for citizens, so that they can maintain their standard of living. Individuals should have a job and access the required resources in order to make a living, or receive support from a public safety net. Additionally, freedom for individuals to develop themselves is crucial. A lack of this may cause poverty and create grounds for terrorism, that threatens human security

2)   **Food Security**: It focuses on the physical and economical access of every individual to basic food items that are safe, sufficient and nutritious. The food that they intake should meet their dietary needs. In other words, it means protection from hunger and serious malnutrition. It is closely connected with environmental security.

3)   **Health Security**: It is assured access for individuals to minimum protection from diseases and unhealthy lifestyles. Health is here considered as being with to secure an individual's wellbeing.

4) **Environmental Security**: It provides protection to individuals from both natural threats and environmental degradation that may cause resource scarcity, that again fuels conflicts.

5) **Personal Security:** It provide protection from physical protection from their own states, other states and sub groups, predatory adults, street violence, domestic violence, terrorist attacks

6) **Community Security:** It focuses on protection of individuals from ethnic, religious and racial violence to secure their values and traditions

7) **Political Security**: It calls for securing each individual's access to basic human rights and freedom of expression (Syed, 2014).

All these forms of threats make up a new understanding of the concept. This is because the concept of traditional state security fails to take these and other similar forms of threats into account (Syed, 2014). However, such security concerns are dealt with in the concept of human security, making this approach broader and more comprehensive, as it serves as a supplement to the concept of traditional state security Kaldor, (2007:196).

6.1.2. Human security in Pakistan

For Syed (2014)*"Human security in Pakistan"* rightly points out, these seven dimensions of human security are interconnected, and that one dimension will have a spill over effect on another dimension of human security. That is why she argues for adopting the concept of human security as a whole, namely combining both schools of human security, as essential (Syed, 2014). This paper mainly focuses on the political, economical and community security of individuals in Pakistan.

With the prominence of enforced physical security, which is delivered by the state, it is becoming growingly unable to deal with other types of factors affecting the security of citizens. Several types of threats to humanity are present in nearly all developing countries and Pakistan is far from an exception. Earthquakes, floods, diseases, lack of food and poverty are just a few examples. All these forms of threats make up a new understanding of the concept. This is because the concept of traditional state security fails to take these and other similar forms of threats into account (Syed, 2014).

Islamabad officially condemned international terrorism, stood behind the resolutions in the UN general Assembly and signed agreements on combating terrorism. However, most

importantly, Pakistan stood up taking the responsibilities for playing a frontline role in the war on terror and agreed to "do more" when the US pushed it to do so. As Sattar argues, greater involvement on the US side paved the way for militancy at home, as 2006 became the year of terrorisms war against Pakistan, threatening the very existence of the state (Sattar, 2012: 281).

6.1.3. Discussion: Critics and counter- critics of human Security

Similar to state security, human security is also a contentious concept. There are several good reasons to view the concept with scepticism (Owen, 2004). First, the most notable critic is its ambiguity, that is, its broad range of definitions, which make it a contested term from within – between the two schools of human security. The critics argue that such a broad understanding of the concept make it less relevant as an analytical tool. It becomes difficult to first measure and then to develop good and sound policies to reduce the insecurities of the people when human security includes everything from abuse to genocide (Kerr, 2010:125). The growing number of threats that is securitised, will only make it harder to identify the relation between them (Owen, 2004).

However, this critique goes mainly to the broader school, and not to the narrow school, which can, prove fruitful to develop policies that deal with the causes of violence in Pakistan. As seen later, Pakistani citizens also identify their needs with the broader school.

A second notable critic is to not turn a blind eye to what purpose it serves. It should not be surprising that concepts, including human security, are applied deliberately for a given purpose or multiple purposes, to varying degrees. This is because they functions as tools that help us understand and conceptualize. She identifies several purposes of the use of human security, (Kerr, 2010). This makes concept vulnerable for being misused, especially by the rich and powerful western states to threaten, intervene, or use any other types of means to punish or dictate developing countries. Norway and Canada´s lobbying efforts for human security is also criticised as their attempts o gain a seat in the UNSC.

For example, political violence inside a state can be combined with realpolitik interests of a foreign power, notably western, to set a given agenda that benefits it, as the use of aid or sanctions can in developing countries. This critic gets stronghold whilst considering the unlawful invasion and occupation of Iraq or the war in Afghanistan (Hynek & Chandler, 2011:1). This is specially the case if the victims of political violence within states, where the state itself is the perpetrator, are not necessarily more secure than those who are victims of

violence that erupt in inter-state wars (Kerr, 2010:123). However, as this might seem to be the case in Pakistan, where the armed forces have misused their power:

I would like to define security as something common for all citizens. As citizens of Pakistan, we have the right to feel secure, and we can only get that feeling when the state treat us as citizens, which they do not" (Appendix 4)

Or

"Security is something the state should provide us – I would say security is a set of rights, but our state does not give us these rights" (Appendix 1)

Both statements underscore the desire for political and personal security.
This is why an active engagement with sound policies of the state towards its people is needed. It is unlikely to gain and maintain legitimacy in the long run without meeting the needs of the people. Failure to do this is likely to harm the democratisation process, because it can increase the "voter dissolution" for future elections (Fair, 2015).

The definition of security is to feel secure. The basic human rights of an individual – food, health and shelter should all be covered". – (Appendix 18).

The above definition goes beyond the narrow school´s understanding of human security as freedom from fear and onto the broader school with the inclusion of health and shelter. It is thereby the government´s responsibility to not allow the concept to be misused by the military. The relationship between the army and the government should not be a zero-sum game. The military has previously created and benefited form domestic crisis with the support of non-serious politicians (Lieven, 2013).

Third, it can further be argued that the concept rests too much on classical liberal assumptions, since it is not given that the individual is attached to the society in the same way as in liberal countries, and hence seems unfit for cultures (Hynek & Chandler: 2011:11). This becomes a conflict of values and identity. Yet, some informants highlighted the importance of Islamic values that were based upon peace, justice and tolerance, and these are not contradictory to the any of the seven principles of human security.

However, the critics need to look beyond the mere definition of human security, and rather investigate the greater potential that lies in human security and how it can be applied successfully. There is considerable evidence that suggests that Pakistan's internal dynamic is

the greatest cause of insecurity and instability in the country. The human security framework is arguably best equipped to deal with the root causes of the challenges the country is facing, by reducing this internal dynamic through active engagement on behalf of its citizens.Similar to other theories and concepts, human security has not remained free from criticism.

Fourthly, what if state-led atrocities and oppression take place on one or more groups of people in the country, as in Syria? This has led many to question the usefulness of human security in these places, as the state becomes a part of the problem in these cases (Kerr, 2010:125-6). However, in the Pakistani context, critic holds some truth. The armed forces and the intelligence agencies acting on their own, rather than the state per se, have been the indirect perpetrator on religious violence. This is evident in their use of extremism in the country´s ambiguous foreign policies in Afghanistan and Kashmir.

Yet, the civilian leadership has to improve its position and hinder this from happening. It needs to rethink its responsibilities and priorities towards securing its people. In addition, human security is about crisis management (Kaldor, 2007). A government should act effectively when its people need it the most to develop trust and receive positive attention. Kaldor suggests that the use of military force is legitimised if there is given a green light by a legal authority for intervening for reasonable goals. Despite the increased willingness to eliminate terrorism from the Pakistani soil, the government of Pakistan have several security challenges at hand. It lacks state capacity. Failure to do so will deteriorate the present fragile security situation further. Although consolidating democracy might be a slow process, it is likely that it will limit the influence of the military and the agencies in the longer run.

Fifthly, Turner, Cooper & Pugh (2011) argue that human security has lost its way and that it cannot be saved. This is because it has been institutionalised and used as tool to serve the interests of global capitalism, militarism and neoliberal way of governing (Turner, Cooper & Pugh: 2011:83). Although successful in transforming itself into a comprehensive framework in UN programs, human security has made this possible since it consist of a perceived radicalism, that empowers bureaucrats to bring up issues that are formerly neglected in security debate. Realist scholars denounce human security, because they see it as an attempt by middle-ranking powers to increase their authority and influence. Truly, Canada and Japan have attempted to influence the "*high politics*" agenda in security terms. Yet, this critic fails to acknowledge that both countries have never argued that human security should replace national security. Rather, it should serve as a vital supplement. However, Turner, Cooper & Pugh describes the concept as being "perceived radical". This allows western bureaucrats, they argue, to bring forward and securitise earlier issues. This makes it

instrumental to understand what is being securitised and what is not, and on what criteria it is being done.

Sixthly, another key critic of human security has drawn upon Michael Focault thesis of *biopower*. Biopower is a set of tools, which can control the basic biological features of persons as a part of a political strategy (Shani, 2011:59). This can be understood as giving state even more and robust mechanisms to control society – in the name of protection (Shani, 2011. However, Shani fails to recognise that this form of state control that focuses on its inhabitants is how a state should govern. What is more, this form of technique is better for a state than to do the exactly opposite – ignore human security and development, face criticism in the global arena and even more extremely - risk humanitarian intervention, if it is the predator of violence of its citizens or unable or unwilling to protects its citizens from any type of aggression - which will breach its sovereignty.

It would be naïve to say that it is only a moral duty of western rich governments to improve the lives of people living in poor countries. Rather, it is more of a mixed approach of both morality and self-interest. The latter is arguably the most important motivator of doing development, because it strengthens international security. However, in the case of Pakistan, its nearly 200 million population should benefit from improved living conditions and potentials with human security friendly- policies, such as improving the educational system that is instrumental to bullied a strong and viable workforce. Regional and international security should not be the key focus of Pakistan, but serve as a positive result after enhancing its human security that will make its national security more robust.

A common type of insecurity that is to be found in war-torn societies, or arguably in instable countries, such as Pakistan, is intra-state violence. It is notable that the concept of human-security does not challenge the traditional concept of state security in the sense that it replaces it. Rather, it supplements it, since it demonstrates that the traditional security approach that focuses on pure "Realpolitik", (protection from external military threat), is insufficient in the realities of the 21th centaury (Kaldor, 2007). As far as Pakistan is concerned, the human security paradigm is gaining increased importance in recent years, as it is the most vital asset of the US in the GWT. It is also paying the largest sacrifice, in terms of human lives, simultaneously as it is home to the largest refugee population a single country has. There are several types of insecurities that are experienced and perceived the citizens of Pakistan, as seen in the next chapter.

7. Analysis: Human insecurity identified by Pakistani citizens

New issues of security, which previously received little or no attention, it approaches security and development in a new way that make up the cosmopolitan approach to individual security (Dunne & Wheeler, 2011). This linkage is valid in Pakistan.

7.1.1. Freedom from fear: Political security

Despite the critics of human security, most of those interviewed perceived their security as *" the right to life" (Appendix 16).* This connects the individual's emancipatory aims with political rights, that is human rights (Hynek & Chandler, 2011), and human development (Kaldor, 2007:182). The concept of human rights can be defined as "the basic physical, economic, social and political rights of individual human beings" (Mingst, 2003, Nau, 2015). It has gained ground globally, also in Pakistan, The human security paradigm stresses the importance of securing human rights as the popularity of human security also have raised concerns for securing human rights – abuses, torture, arbitrary arrest and detention to the securing of basic needs. The lack of any of these, poses a security issue for the state in question (Lawson, 2002).

7.1.2. Community security

Societies that are not managed properly can conversely fall apart with dramatic consequences, as happened with the Soviet Union. This becomes arguably even worse when foreign involvement takes place (Hasnat, 2011), as the case of Bangladesh exemplified.. Put it differently, in the words of one informants:

> *"The government should control radicalisation of the youth, but the parents should also play a more visible and remarkable role in this regard, because sectarianism and terrorism have become enemies of the state"* – *(Appendix 20)*

Several international events took place during the 1980´s and 1990´s that dominating security paradigm, such as realism failed to explain. Whilst the threat the use of nuclear weapons posed was falling, shifted the focus of many scholars to other threats that came from non-traditional forms of insecurity (Roe, 2010). Societal or community security is one of the dimensions in the human security paradigm. One will find it difficult to understand and grasp the internal security crisis in Pakistan, without looking at the sectarian tensions. (Fair & Watson, 2015). Although Islam can be said to be a common identity for the majority of

Pakistani citizens, ethnically divisions are common in Pakistan. These divisions are destroying the collective "Pakistaniness" and unity Pakistanis used to have. People are treated differently in Pakistan:

> .There is a lot of prejudice in Pakistan – provincial, linguistic and regional. I am a victim of discrimination in Abbottabad because I am not from here actually. The locals take the best appointments. It is a state issue, it happens everywhere in Pakistan". (Appendix 17).

The above statements and perceptions confirm the need for controlling radicalisation to improve the security situation. There is no secret that Pakistan has experienced difficulties in the practise of these premises, as well as experienced a number of political, sectarian and ethnic conflicts. The main motivation behind the creation of Pakistan was to create a Muslim homeland, where minority Muslims in the larger preparation Hindu -India could model and fashion their lives according to their desires and teachings of religion (Shaikh, 2009). However, the distinct languages, cultures and ethnicities were not taken sufficiently into account. These differences have led to ethnic clashes and intolerance, as the loss of East Pakistan, in particular demonstrated (Ruud, 2011).

The need to perceive society as a referent object of security is getting important, given the multiple of ethnicities and identities that make up the modern state in the era of globalisation (Roe, 2010: 202-204). Traditionally, all nation-states, including Pakistan, came to being based upon a common identity and ethnicity.

Societal security has long been seen as a part of state security, as threats to the language and culture of different societies within one state may create instability for the state. Yet, contrary to state security, that focuses upon the upholding and keeping of sovereignty in order to secure state survival, societal security emphasises the importance of upholding and maintaining the identity of a state to secure societal survival (Roe, 2010:204).

7.1.3. Military insecurity

Military security has traditionally been dominant as the most dominating form of security in Pakistani politics in order to stand strong in relation to the bigger and more populous India (Lieven, 2013; Fair & Watson, 2015; Shaikh, 2009). War, alliances and nuclear deterrence have been the most common way to demonstrate the military strength of a country. The quest for obtaining military security can at times be counterproductive and hence cause greater insecurity instead of security (Sheehan, 2010:170), as Pakistan has witnessed. Despite the dramatic rise of other sectors of security, military security still receives the highest priority and thus it remains the most important aspect of security. Even though other sectors of security are good and fulfilled, military failure can destroy these (Sheehan, 2010).

Yet, the armed forces in Pakistan have caused insecurity in two ways. First, it can be the connected to the army's long-term use of Islamist militancy in obtaining their foreign and security policy goals in Afghanistan ever since 1979 (Tankel, 2015). The militancy that is taking place in Pakistan is a complex phenomenon, as many of these militant organisations have turned against the state, and the minority Shia community. Tankel (2015:27) and (Syed, 2014) posit that militancy alone is harming the country´s cohesion and hence leading to greater instability, given that there are multiple militant groups operating in Pakistan.

The slow US withdrawal from Afghanistan that started in 2014 could lead to further competition for power among these groups. It is not unlikely that, as a consequence of the US withdrawal, a competition for power in Afghanistan between different groups may threaten the stability in the whole region and thus push the current fragile peace between India and Pakistan in a negative direction. In addition, there is no secrecy that the army and the intelligence agencies wish to continue the proxies, which the country's political parties are less willing to. The military has lost a lot of its personnel in military operations against militant organisations, and thus they are less willing to make peace with them, as the political parties are (Tankel, 2015).

China has long pushed Pakistan to curb its Islamist terrorist organisation, as well as abandon support for international Islamist organisations. Community security is also important in Pakistan seen together with the US withdrawal from Afghanistan and China´s increasing role in the region to fill in that void (Fair & Watson, 2015:10).

Secondly, the role army is also causing insecurity through its involvement in politics. According to Sheehan (2010), military security itself can become a threat for both the national government and population within the same state, when military dictatorships takes power out from coups (Sheehan, 2010). There have been four military coups in Pakistan's history, all

lasting nearly a decade, which hampers democracy to flourish and develop (Fair, 2015:133-6). Thirdly, as one informant told me, the retired army officers, apart from the myriad of benefits they receive, are much more likelier to get a job which they actually not are qualified for, only basis of their status, rather than competency. Thus, alongside the monthly pensions, they are also employed and receive good pay.

7.1.4– Terrorism & the Peshawar school attack

Terrorism poses the greatest source of insecurity in Pakistan. The Pakistani Taliban (TTP) is fighting the state ever since the Red Mosque debacle in 2007.The organisation targeted an army school in Peshawar in December 2014 that left more than one hundred children dead. This catastrophic and tragic event s created a paradigm shift in Pakistani security policy. As a response to the attack, the Sharif government called for an All Party Conference in which policy-makers collectively designed a new strategy to fight terrorism, namely the National Action Plan (NAP) that came into being in January 2016. This strategy made it clear once and for all that all terrorist groups are the enemies of Pakistan. However, this counter-terror strategy has been subject to criticism by those who see military force as counterproductive in fighting terrorism, because it goes against constitutionalism, weakens democratic governance and the rule of law and provides terrorist networks the much needed propaganda for their further recruitment strategies (International Crisis Group, 2015).

However, Lutz & Lutz (2010) outline three frameworks in which terrorism usually is dealt with within three different frameworks: 1) terrorism as warfare, 2) terrorism as crime and 3) terrorism as disease. As seen in the securitisation discourse, also referred to as the Copenhagen school, (Lutz & Lutz 2010: 338), state that leaders are those who decide whether to frame an issue as a security issue or not, and also how to frame them. The latter part is crucial, as it determines how to deal with terrorism in one of these three frameworks outlined above. Yet, regardless of which framework policymakers chose, terrorism, defined as a technique of action used by various groups, is not easy, but rather a more complex process. Islamabad has traditionally followed terrorism as warfare, but the recent National Action Plan (NAP) calls for the integration of both terrorism as warfare and terrorism as crime by the greater inclusion of law enforcement agencies (International Crisis Group, 2015a). However, counterterrorism is a difficult challenge for a state to do on its own, and it should seek help from the locals. In Kaldor (2007), a bottom up approach for putting human security in practise

is crucial. Some sceptics may argue that this is an approach to win the hearts and minds, but rather, it is to obtain "knowledge and understanding" (Kaldor, 2007:189)

Amanullah (43) says:

"When it comes to terrorism, every individual should take steps to fight radicalisation"
Rightful Islamic teachings as well as ordinary education as one gets in the West can fight
terrorism only, not guns and tanks" Appendix (18).

This shows that a military solution alone with the use of guns and tanks is not a sufficient measure of fighting terrorism. Below is the counterterror plan:

7.1.5. National Action Plan (NAP)

Security analysts agree that 2015 has been a remarkable year in Pakistan. Pakistani policy-makers took vital steps towards designing the much-needed coordinated and comprehensive counter-terrorist framework, referred to as the National Action Plan (NAP). Furthermore, 2015 marked a historical decrease in terrorist attacks ever since 2007, which can be explained by the improvement of security (Rana, 2016). The creating of NAP demonstrated that the Pakistani state as a whole, both political parties as well as the army, stood on the same page in fighting all forms of terrorism, hence making counterterrorism efforts a lot easier than ever before. However, the government is often criticized of only reacting after the Peshawar school attack, but this claim only partly seems true, as there have been earlier counterterrorism efforts, yet not as much coordinated as the NAP, at least on the paper (Rana, 2016).

"There is no security and n place is secure. Everything can happen now and then, so you need
to trust Allah just. We are aware that Pakistan is still a developing country that lacks
resources, but the government should still take care of us, I believe. The enemies of this state,
that is terrorists, should be hanged It will prevent others to become terrorist in future.
(Appendix 20).

It becomes problematic to talk about the rule of law and democracy when peoples actually support hangings. However, it seems apparent that the criminal justice system should be made more robust through reforms, in order to respond more efficiently to terrorism and

hinder violent extremism to flourish in Pakistan (International Crisis Group, 2015). That would only be the only viable long – term strategy to fight terrorism.

The report further suggests that there has been little improvement in achieving the NAP goals. Firstly, it seems like the political leadership has turned a blind eye to the terrorist groups that already are banned in Pakistan and blacklisted in the UNSC, because they still continue their operations without facing resistance. Secondly, there have only been a lukewarm response to regulate and reform the numerous Madrassas, stopping hate speech and literature to circulate and to cut-off the financing of terrorist networks (International Crisis Group, 2015a).

The interviews have manifested the urgent need for a better police force. The report also emphasises this as the most viable counterterror strategy. It stresses that revenge and retribution tactics, as well as lack of justice, severally challenge the confidence of the citizens.

7.16. Sectarianism

The terrorist attacks that are taking place in Pakistan are largely happening on sectarian lines. The NAP seems like a good effort to combat terrorism, but by allowing the military a free hand, it moves the focus away from strengthening the civilian leadership and give primacy to force as the solution. According to the information gathered by the informants, they are unhappy by their own states performance in providing them security and welfare. Therefore, their call for "more state", make the need for the much needed strengthening of state capacity to counter terrorism and put an end to acts of violence. The NAP, although arguably being a good starting point, can be made better, according to the report issued by the International Crisis Group in 2015. It holds that the polices to curb terror should go beyond law enforcement, and include other opportunities, particularly to the booming youth rate of the population, protect the minorities, and strengthen the community cohesion (International Crisis Group, 2015a).

The security situation is hampered because of the myriad of terrorist organizations in Pakistan that proliferated in the 1990s (Tankel, 2015). A majority of the organisations are to be found under the Deobani sect, that follows the Hanafi school of Islamic thought. Some of these organisations are Sipah- Sahaba Pakistan and Lashkar – Jhangi (Lej) and they are strongly opposed to the Lashkar-Taiba organisation, which springs out from Ahle-Hadith movement. These groups fought together against Shia community, in the state-backed insurgencies in insurgency in Kashmir. The sectarian conflict increases as a consequence of reprisals (Tankel, 2015). However, to quote two interviewees on the security situation:

"Nothing and no place is secure. Both the level of terrorist attacks and crime are high" - *(Appendix 20).*

"No place in Pakistan in completely safe from terrorism and organised crime"- (Appendix 17).

This highlights that there is an absence of "*freedom from fear*" and that Pakistanis are vulnerable to terrorism and crime. Only in 2015, 625 terrorist attacks have occurred in 49 different districts all over Pakistan (Rana, 2015). A more recent and arguably greater threat that terrorists pose, is the potential they have of acquiring weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD), such as biological, chemical, radiological or nuclear (Lutz & Lutz: 2010: 339). However, human security is connected to military security. The objective in military operations, such as Zarb-Azb has shifted away from defeating opposing military forces (Sheehan, 2010). Rather, the objectives have been to create safe heavens for citizens (Kaldor, 2007). This is why human security needs to been seen with military security, both in military training, as well as in war strategies (Sheehan, 2010). Yet, Islamabad is engaged in a counterterror operation in the tribal areas.

7.1.7. Counterterror strategies: Operation Zarbe - Azb

Following the Karachi Airport attack in 2015, the armed forces launched a military operation to remove terrorists from the country. However, the operation Zarb-Azb has been seen in positive light by the people and although the Pak army is taking control of territories previously held by terrorists, a lasting solution that hinders extremism is so far unseen (Basit, 2016). Out from a pure security perspective, gaining territory can be seen in positive light in the long run, as removing terrorism from Pakistani soil is one of the key objectives. However, the military operation has made thousands of people homeless. This both create insecurity and reduce their developmental potential. The absence of a willingness to take these challenges into account makes it evident that these new perspectives of security have not been included in Pakistan.

Pickering writes in the report *Wake up Pakistan* that the political leadership in Pakistan should not stand passively on the side-line watching the military response in fighting terrorism. Rather, there is a need for a better coordination between the civilian and military leadership, as seen with the formation of the National Security Division (NSD) and the

Cabinet Committee on National Security. They require sufficient resources to bridge the gap on security thinking between the political and military leadership, as there are economic, social and governance crisis in which violence erupts (Pickering, 2015).

An alternative counterterrorism strategy that is based on intelligence, led by civilian agencies, notably the police. This will require the need for rethinking where to spend funds and resources. Furthermore, it is high time to reform the Penal Code, Criminal Procedure Code and the evidence Act to fit modern standards, but this cannot be done without strengthen the police capacity, so these laws are enforced. Yet, it is also important highlight the elements that constrain the police capacity, that is insufficient resources, training, internal accountability and autonomy (International Crisis Group, 2015a).

Moreover, the long-standing link between the mosques and the military will not end overnight, as the army still make the use of Jihadi groups that serve their interests in and Afghanistan, called "good jihadi groups" (Fair & Watson, 2015:10) (Garteinstein-Ross & Vassefi, 2015:279-80). The decision not to place the Haqqani Network and the Laskhare-Tayaba on the list of terrorist groups, and the unwillingness to target their supporters in military operations in FATA manifests this. On the other hand, are those Jihadi groups who take the lives of the security forces. These are declared as the enemies of the nation and hence they are "bad jihadi groups" (International Crisis Group, 2015a).

The Pakistani leadership have long treated terrorism within the first framework, which is the framework of war, where terrorists are the enemies. This framework highlights a military crackdown as the most efficient a solution to defeat terrorists. The second framework, however, perceives terrorism as a crime and hence the police should deal with it as it is the security granter for the people as a law enforcement agency. According to this framework, terrorism, like crime, can never be removed completely, although it can be limited. Yet, it is important to keep in mind that terrorists, as criminals, can only be caught and punished after they have committed the unlawful act of either terror or crime. Finally, the third framework perceives terrorism as a disease that both has symptoms and root causes. It calls for long-term efforts to deal with terrorism.

Terrorism was for many years, before 9/11, treated in the second framework, as an act of crime. However, it has been a normal to in nearly all countries to perceive terrorism within the framework of war in the post 9/11 era, including Pakistan. Furthermore, according to the Pakistani Army, internal security challenges are as paramount as being the largest threat to the state´s sovereignty and survival, and thus the very existence of the Pakistani state. The armed

forces have admitted this in its Green Book that is written every year Syed states that this is the first time in the country´s history that the largest security threat is not India (Syed, 2014).

8. Freedom from want

The broader school of stresses the importance of It is providing citizens strong, efficient and stable institutions – democracy, respect for human rights and the rule of law, that can provide a secure environment, which is further important for individuals to have in realising its fully potential.5.3.

8.1.1. Health Security

. There is a common belief among Pakistanis that people from lower classes cannot afford to go to private clinics and hospitals, and apart from the expansive medicines, there are poor conditions in governmental hospitals. The following statement is alarming:

> *The government should focus more on education and health. At present, only the rich are secured"(Appendix 17).*

There are important linkages between health and security. First, health can be seen in relation to security in the human security paradigm, which focuses on different diseases, particularly endemic diseases that causes many deaths in developing countries.
 Secondly, other big diseases are also being framed as a threat to national security in the era of globalization and shrinking world. Thirdly, health and security can also been seen in a wider framework that fights terrorism using disease-causing elements, such as anthrax, smallpox or plague. The health and security nexus can be studied in two different ways (Elbe, 411).
The human security paradigm, having a people centred security focus, emphasise the need and welfare of individuals,. Health security focuses on diseases and inadequate health care. According to the commission on health security of 2003, highlighted the importance of endemic diseases as posing a direct threat on the security of individuals because it can lead to the loss of lives and also an indirect threat in the form of the negative effect it have on other dimensions of human security (Elbe, 2010).

8.1.2. Economic security

Economic security has gained increased attention as a part of human security the last decades (Dent, 2010:240). Few will doubt that the national economy of Pakistan is crippling, and that

economic growth can enhance human security. Economic security is to be found in the broader school of human security.

"I am more afraid for being unemployed than walking on the streets, because a lack of a job will make me unable to feed my family" (Appendix 17).

Not only is it the fear of being unemployed raging. Another fear is the reduction of the number of customers who are unwilling to go to the market.

> *"Security in forms of health and personal insecurity. "I feel insecure coming to work daily. The traffic is to bad, there is no place to walk, and people living here do no not keep their areas clean and tidy. There is absolutely no system. The traffic causes insecurity because customer finds it hard to come here, we cannot sell our goods, which again give us less income" (Appendix 1).*

Overpopulation is, thus, negatively affecting the economy. The government has, under General Ayoubs rule tried to control population growth under his modernisation program, faced opposition from religious clerics (Shaikh, 2009; Khory 2011). There is also job security:

We also feel insecure of the Afghan refugees and their families as they take all the jobs in Lahore – everything from small business of carpets to cab and rickshaw- drivers (Appendix 18)

8.1.3. Energy Crisis

Syed (2014) holds that "reliable, affordable and continuous energy supply" is crucial for a country´s successive economic growth. The energy crisis is caused by lack of planning and investments in the energy sector and power generation.

"People are not even economical secure, as they receive elect biils far more than they could imagine"- (Appendix 20)

"We get higher and higher bills without increasing the amount of electricity and gas we consume. There is no reason for this, and we are forced to pay. There is absolutely no justice" – (Appendix 19).

The companies that provide electricity thus threaten the individual economy of households. Some informants highlighted low salaries, unemployment and high utility bills as a major concern and thus a threat for the citizens of Pakistan. As Dent argues, political scientists have been willing to discuss the economic-security nexus and thus political economy, but not economic security itself.

8.1.4. The Afghan Refugees

The issue of the Afghan refugees were mentioned by 3 of the 20 individuals (see appendices 10, 16, 18). There is no secret that a country's own security also interlinked with regional and global security. In the case of Pakistan, the Soviet-Afghan and the US-Afghan war that is still on going have had and is having tremendous effect on the country's security. Things are not getting any better when both Afghanistan and Pakistan is home to ethnic Pashtuns who never have recognised the border that separate them.

However, we know that the refugees have harmed the reputation of Pakistan .(Appendix 10).

Afghanistan, currently seen as a failed state, is making the porous border between them even harder to control, as Afghan refugees are coming in large numbers, that further burdens the already weak Pakistani economy.

. A check and balance system should be created to control the Afghan border better, as there is no registration on refugees. (Appendix 16)

Pakistan´s engagement in Afghanistan has had far reaching human and environmental costs (Khory, 2010). Given the already scarcity of resources and jobs, the housing of Afghan refugees burdened the economy along ethic lines. The Afghan war economy spread to Pakistan and the lack of a proper system to give home to refugees, temporary refugee camps became semi-permanent, affecting the upbringing of the second generation Afghans. Local conflicts over jobs, housing and other services intensified and turned violent.

8.1.5. The status of women

Violence and discrimination against women is still widespread in Pakistan, notably in KPK and FATA, and there has been an absence of state action in this regard, in spite of the democratic government being in place. (International Crisis Group 2015b).

Women are treated badly here (in bazars), the local police office right across the road,
but the police does not really care. (Appendix 2)

 Musharraf´s regime introduced women´s rights and reversed the Islamisation project under Zia. Musharraf reversed the Hudood laws in 2006 in the protecting of women act. It will be crucial for the country to create an agreement on efficient ways of to advance women rights, whilst adhering to Islam. At present, there is no agreement on what women rights are and thus what reforms are needed to enhance women rights. Forced marriages and marriages in exchange of vengeance are examples that should be controlled by greater legislation. Women empowerment cannot take place without improving their legal rights so that they can make viable choices of their lives (Weiss, 2012).

President Nawaz Sharif stated that his government would take all that it took to protect and empower women, but it did abandon laws that are unfavourable to women. Women should be allowed to take part in developing policies to enhance their security, such as curbing extremism (International Crisis Group, 2015b)

Violence against women takes form in Pakistan. Everything from rape to honour killings are threats to them. According to local NGOs in Pakistan, there are 1000 honour killings each year. In May 2014, her family members stoned a pregnant woman to death in Lahore, because she had married somebody without her family´s consent. Law enforcement mechanisms are rarely strong in these cases, as the family asks for forgiveness (Human Rights Watch, 2015). Pakistan has signed the CEDAW convention that contends to stop all forms of violence against women (International Crisis Group, 2015b). It is crucial to empower women and give the right to develop politically and economically and according to the 2015 Crisis Group report, silencing women will not create genuine peace and stability in conflict- ridden societies. The report asks for more to be done. Pakistani women should be constitutionally guaranteed by the state to be equal and protected. Women rights can only be advanced when gender discrimination disappears. It further contends that greater female involvement in counterinsurgency operations and policymaking will have a positive impact (International Crisis Group, 2015b). Needless to say, women rights should also be seen together with human security.

8.1.6. Civil-military tensions

Sheehan (2010) contends that the military apparatus should work together with NGOS and the government, since armed personnel cannot be seen as social workers wearing uniform. However, this has not been the case for example in operations after natural disasters occur. The Army takes central stage in such operations, as they were social workers. As well known, the Pakistani military has historically been the most efficient and functioning institution in Pakistan ever since 1947. The creating of such "parallel structures", such as military courts and other "apex committees" in the provinces, undermines the civilian establishment and allows the military to have a "free hand" in Pakistan´s policies on countering terrorism that normally should be dealt with by democratic representative institutions (International Crisis Group, 2015a).

8.1.7 Attitudes towards democracy

Security experts agree that the only long term, efficient and robust counterterror strategy has to win the "hearts and minds" of the people, give Democracy is crucial for human security and development (Large & Sisk, 2006) The idea of democracy has successfully spread across the globe, including Tunisia. This shows that democracy can flourish in the Muslim countries (Nau, 2015). In spite of this, the attitude towards democratisation is not so positive. Jinnah underlined that democracy was compatible with Islam in his 1948 speech:

"Islam and its idealism have thought democracy; Islam has taught equality, justice and fair play for everybody. What reasons is there for anyone to fear democracy, equality and freedom on the highest standard of integrity and on the basis of fair play and justice for everybody?"

However, in spite of this, not all favor democracy in Pakistan:

"There is nothing good about democracy in Pakistan, because the military is the best. Civilian governments have shown, time and again, that they are incompetent, corrupt and only self-centred" – (Appendix 20).

"I would rather favour a military government than a corrupt "so-called democratically elected government", because, at least you will se positive result whilst the Army is controlling the country" – (Appendix 19)

These attitudes are created on the basis of the failure to deliver by civil governments. It is therefore notable to understand how politics function in Pakistan, in order to understand why democracy is disliked and distrusted (Lieven, 2013). Few hold that democracy cannot flourish in Muslim countries, because democracy is not in harmony with Islam. Rather the incompetency, patronage and clan system are the major reasons. The Sharif brothers and the Bhutto family exemplify the Pakistani political dynasty. As seen in the statements, the Pakistani Army serves as a better example for many Pakistanis, because it is an institution that is not dependent on the parliament and the political structures, yet military regimes have also been dismantled (Lieven, 2013:24).

8.1.8. Pakistani political structure

Historically, Pakistan has experienced both democratic and military rule and it has been contested how it should be ruled for more than 60 years (Lieven, 2013:46; Hasnat, 2009; Sheikh, 2009). On the one hand, are those who believe in progress of democracy and non-military institutions, and on the other hand, are those who see military security as vital for its national security. The majority is reluctant to see the military as the only guarantee of security, rather perceiving strong democratic institutions as a better provider of security for the Pakistani state, as well as society. Nonetheless, Pakistan has taken some, although slow, but meaningful efforts towards flourishing democracy and also an increase in the civil society (Fair & Watson, 2015:10). The mass political protests and sit –ins in 2014 demonstrated this.

Democratic steps have been taken in Pakistan recently, as the 2013 election marked a peaceful transition of power from one government to the other, which is an essential step in the right direction, in order to stabilize the country as a whole (Fair, 2015). Yet, the government of Pakistan has failed to sufficiently address the challenges that terrorism poses in civilian terms, hence allowing most of the counter-terrorism efforts being of military character.

After NAP came into being, Prime Minister Sharif asked the military to remove the 2008 moratorium on death penalty and to pass the 21st constitutional amendment of Pakistan. The latter allowed military tribunals to try all terrorist suspects, as well as civilians quickly. This is a negative development, since the civilian leaders of Pakistan is making it apparent that they are incapable of leading and securing the country in accordance to constitutionalism and the rule of law, and hence reducing their own credibility and authority. Conversely, the powerful army is becoming more powerful on the cost of the civilian establishment. As the report rightfully suggests, the root causes of terrorism and extremism cannot be dealt with

adequately in the longer run without structural and governance reform (International Crisis Group, 2015).

Doubtless, whenever the military has been in power, there has been a tremendous focus on state-security to secure the country's survival, sovereignty and territorial integrity from a much larger India, in both size and population. This focus on external state security has required a huge part of the state budget, and arguably the largest portion of all available resources from the very beginning, and hence social development has been neglected (Shaikh, 2009. This is why large- scale corruption, poverty, underdevelopment, illiteracy and poor government still are present issues that the country faces. In other words, institutions have been weakened by the dominating military rule (Hasnat, 2011).

8.1.9. The Police

There are many problems with the Pakistani police and all of them cannot be dealt with in this paper. Nevertheless, the police, who is the ultimate security provider for the citizens, is seen with distrust. To quote three informants:

> *"I do not even trust the police, as they are insufficient and corrupt and also often involved in crime. The government must be aware of this, but they lack will- power to overcome such issues" (Appendix 17).*

> *The link between the law enforcement agencies, as the police, and courts, are not even close enough to provide this secure and safe feeling for the citizens. Security is only for those who are rich. (Appendix 3).*

There is an ultimate need to put an end to corruption, remove patronage or special treatments to wealthy and rich people and make the institution trustworthy. The motivation for policemen to be involved in crime, is often caused by the low salaries they receive working in a risky environment.

> *"The police itself is a major insecurity, they are on the criminals side from the very beginning, taking money for being inactive" (Appendix 2).*

> *"The Punjab police is totally corrupt, it is only a police force for the rich and wealthy people" – (Appendix 19).*

However, the government of Pakistan should effectively curb corruption, and become a police force for everyone, regardless of whom they are. It is further crucial l to understand the extended family system and clan structure is perhaps the strongest hinder for an effective process of investigation to take place (Lieven, 2013:132).

8.1.10. Rule of law

" Even the court system is slow and insufficient, we need better judiciary and the rule should be equal to everyone" (Appendix 17).

Widespread lies in the court also hampers the judicial process (Lieven, 2013:132) The call for Islamic values is seen here as the key to the problems Pakistan is facing by providing justice, safety and security. The numerous delays in the judicial system is an issue that makes the juridical process ineffective (Lieven, 2013:135). One case can be delayed as many as twenty times.

"What the people of Pakistan needs is trust and safety from the government, but we never get it" (Appendix 18)

The repeated call for justice among Pakistanis suggests that Pakistan is indeed a unjust society, causing deprivation and marginalisation. As one informant stressed:*"Everybody has to be their own security provider in Pakistan, because security is only for the rich and influential people" (Appendix 3),*

The loss of East Pakistan to Bangladesh demonstrates this. Those who lived in East Pakistan were poor peasants, ignored and suppressed by the dominant West Pakistan. This is why the access to proper health care, education and fair judicial system is limited to few. Therefore, a real democracy cannot take ground with the absence of an independent judiciary, which is used by the rich and wealthy to buy them off problems (Khan, 2011).

Several informants highlighted that injustice was a major source of insecurity for them:

"I would say that the law and order situation in the country should be effective, as it effects the security of the people. You are not secure if you do not have money or a god kinship. This is the present situation, and thus I am insecure" – *(Appendix 18)*.

This has made people organising informal "courts", which further distances the governed from the governors. The situation is further worsened with the growing Islamist fighters that the police capture, but are released again as there is lack of evidence. The colonial legitimacy and the old British laws that the Pakistani court system still follows, is partly top blame for the inefficiency (Lieven, 2013).

8.1.11. Weak Law enforcement

Moreover, despite that terrorism have long been used as a technique by individuals or groups earlier, the contemporary threat of terrorism is bigger, as global communication and transport technology has made the world shrink and thus allowed groups as Al Qaeda or Taliban to seek recruits, finance and support from around the world. Such terrorist groups benefit from weak governments and it is not uncommon for them to develop links with criminal groups, such as those who are engaged in drug trafficking (Lutz & Lutz: 2010:340).

In contradiction to these negative developments, The 9/11 Commission Report of 2004 perceived the Pakistani state under Musharraf as best suitable in creating long -term stability in both Pakistan and Afghanistan (Ali, 2008). In light of this vital role of Pakistan in the war on terror, Pakistan has received more than 10 billion dollars from the US, mostly in military assistance, between 2002-2008 to contribute in the war on terror (Birdsall, Elahi & Kinder 2011). However, the number of insurgencies has not decreased in this period and anti-Americanism is at all-time high in Pakistan. This makes the US foreign assistance to Pakistan questionable.

Now, as the USA is gradually withdrawing its forces from Afghanistan, what will the implications for Pakistan? There is no doubt that the country is facing numerous challenges to improve human security for its citizens, but the question is how these challenges can be tackled? Furthermore, it is questionable whether US foreign assistance to Pakistan has been successful in this regard.

The KPK provincial government led by Imran Khan has adopted human-security approaches by improving the police force there.

. Given that Pakistan is a developing country, we should be patient and give it more time to

*develop, However we need truthfully and honest leaders – (*Appendix 15).

Citizens have patience, knowing Pakistan is not fully developed yet. Certainly, all the seven dimensions of human security cannot be granted without the presence of legitimate state institutions that possess enforcement capacity. It is essential that the citizens can put their trust on these institutions (Kaldor, 2007:187). The main findings suggest that Pakistani citizens are subject to injustice, and hence they do not trust their institutions. The lack of employment, justice, rule of law, infrastructure and public services frustrate Pakistani citizens. To put it in the words of one informant:

"All you need is money, you can do illegal things" (Appendix 1)

There is little to contend that there is an existing barrier between the richest and the poorest countries across the world, even though globalisation is making the world shrink (Melbye, Kval & Sagen: 2008: 351). The language of sustainable development has received increased attention in recent decades. In a number of developing countries, such as Pakistan, the democratic form of government has not found peace. These have allowed other forms of instabilities take root, such as corruption, since there is an absence of a proper check and balance systems.

8.1.12. 3Sociocultural -. The role of Islam

The sociocultural aspects and the role of Islam was also mentioned by some informants. The spread of liberal values to the Muslim world has been debatable. As discussed, some critics of human security posit that the concept is a tool to gain hegemonic power. Although, Pakistan was created as a separate Muslim homeland, on the principle of democracy and secularism Jinnah addressed the tolerance towards non-Muslims in a speech in 1947:

«You are free; you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques, or any other place of worship in this state of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion, clan or creed – that has nothing to do with the business of the State" (Khan, 2011:341).

However, the wealthy English speaking elite has interpreted his speech as a denouncement to Islam´s role in politics, as they believe it will not respect religious minorities. For Khan (2011), Jinnah was, through his speech, telling everyone that Islam was tolerant for non-

Muslims. Many in Pakistan see the importance of Islam in their daily activities, as practising upon the basic principles of Islam, such as peace, love justice and harmony and of course the fear of Allah. This is often perceived as a solution to both individual and societal problems, including counterterrorism efforts. Informants emphasised that rightful Islamic teachings, along with Western education can curb terrorism better than guns and tanks" (Appendix, 19). Another informant expressed the fear of not practising what Islam teaches us:

> *"True teachings of Islam teach peace, love and harmony. Look at us, what we are doing to our neighbours. We are getting more and more greedy and this negative development is a sign of the Doomsday" (A16)*

For Khan, some misuse Islam for their own benefit as for example taking selective verses out of the Quran to legitimize their actions to fuel hatred towards minorities and sects. Another informant also stated that security for him was to move safely (Tahafuz) in the society and that terrorist blasts and the absence of fear of Allah are causing insecurity (Appendix, 17). This is contrary to Islamic values and principles. Islam teaches people to be fair and just and these people fail to acknowledge that the Holy Prophet allowed members from the Jewish and Christian delegations to worship in his mosque (Khan, 2011). The Prophet said:

> *"All of you come from Adam, Adam is of dust. Indeed, the Arab is not superior to the non-Arab, and the non-Arab is not superior to the Arab. Nor is the fair – skinned superior to the dark-skinned nor the dark-skinned superior to the fair -skinned; superiority comes from piety and the noblest among you is the most pious...Know that all Muslims are brothers unto one another. You are one brotherhood...And your slaves! See that you feed them whit such food as you eat yourselves and clothe them with the stuff you wear. If they commit a fault which you are inclined to forgive, then part with them, for they are the servants of the Lord and are not to be harshly treated"* (Khan, 2011:342).

This makes it clear that any type of discrimination on the basis of religion, race or class is outlawed. The Prophet's (PBUH) statement finds support in the Holy Quran that underscores: «There is no compulsion in religion» (Quran: 2:256 cited inKhan, 2011:342).

Thus, it would be wrong to blame Islam for being an intolerant and ignorant religion, as it would be wrong to blame Catholic or Orthodox versions of Christianity for Hitler or Stalin's

actions. Hence, despite some forces attempting to use Islam as a mean or tool to legitimize their violent actions or political goals. The dream of an Islamic welfare state is very high:

"All the enemies of Pakistan, being criminals, terrorists or whatever, they should be caught and receive death penalty, only then can Pakistan and its people get the much needed justice and then feel themselves safe and secure. Better judiciary and Islamic Welfare state can put an end to corruption and move Pakistan on the road to progress" -. (Appendix 20)

The anger towards terrorist and criminals who harm the reputation of the country make the Pakistani population furious. However, death penalty will not be compatible with human security, given the primacy for individuals it has. Given that human security is individual-centred, a central component to realize it, according to some informants, is that the inner self of one should be good and in accordance to the true teachings of Islam.

"The state should be more effective in producing good policies and then to follow them up and the justice system should be equal for everyone, which it is not at present. I dream of an Islamic welfare state that respects minorities, as that is how a state should be governed rightfully" – (Appendix 19).

This is how some informants have stated the distance individual Pakistanis and the society as a whole has to Islam as a source of insecurity. It seems clear that the role of Islam and its teachings stand strong among Pakistani.

8.1.13. Education

Allama Mohammad Iqbal wished to create a spiritual democracy – a democracy made up by a people who were free from oppression and where policies could not be created without being people-centered (Khan, 2011). Truly, the Quran holds to justice and education -sadly, Pakistan has not practiced upon this fully. A majority of the informants stressed their concern over the lack of education. A well-educated class is crucial for the development of a robust labour force. Sadly, Pakistan has spent less on education. The combination of western and Islamic education system illustrates that the critics of imposing unwanted or western policies into other stakes through the rubric of human security is wrong. Rather, it seems apparent that rightful Islam has the potential to solve radicalisation by turning to the real Islam and adapting to its principles.

The education system in Pakistan is not only poor, but also unjust (Khan, 2011). For example, the Pakistani unjust society does not allow education for the masses to take place, fearing that an educated mass will no longer be subordinate to them (Khan, 2011). The Pakistani education system is divided into three different systems; 1) Private English-medium schools, 2) Urdu medium schools and 3) Madrassas. Students are taught differently in each of these systems. Students from a rich family background can afford quality education in English, whilst government – led Urdu medium schools are vulnerable for insufficient government funding and children form poor backgrounds are sent to get free education in madrasas, where some madrasas indoctrinate ideologies of sectarianism.

9.0 Further recommendations

Needless to say, Pakistan needs to move towards prosperity and progress, it is high time for the government to strengthen both its governance capacity, and the rule of law. It will only then be possible for the people of Pakistan to receive justice. The government of Pakistan should make new and viable security policies that also borrow from the human security paradigm as discussed. Fighting corruption and the harsh punishment for those caught in corruption, will also be an essential step in making the rule of law more robust for all citizens.

9.1. Concluding remarks

The objective in this thesis was to give voice to the middle class workers to provide me with a street view of their security needs. These findings highlight that Pakistanis call for both "freedom from fear" and "freedom from want", where the latter and unclear school is posing a larger security threat. A majority of the informants perceive their own security as a fundamental right, although not followed at all times. In addition, despite that many are dissatisfied with their security situation; they continuously stressed the fear of Allah and Islamic values as much needed in Pakistan, which underscores the importance Islam holds in Pakistan. This is not to suggest that these values contradict the liberal values embedded in the human security framework. Rather, it is likely to suggest that the fulfilment of their security needs will reduce their dissatisfaction, and thus increase their political will, which is important for democracy to flourish.

Although the causes of human insecurity are many and that these have been identified through subjective expressions of twenty informants living in four different cities, the overall need for both schools of human security in Pakistan is evident. The current crisis the country is witnessing cannot be understood without acknowledging Pakistan´s security orientation. It

should learn from its past mistakes and move its focus inwards, and adapt to the changing realities that link development and security. Failure to incorporate human security into the Pakistani policy is unlikely to lead Pakistan on the path to progress, prosperity and development. However, this is not to say that state security is to be rejected. Rather, both human and state centric approaches to security will be insufficient without the other. The call for a more active state that engages its people in human development is likely to improve the security situation as well.

The thesis shows, security goes beyond the narrow realist assumptions of state security. This is made evident by the informants call to the Pakistani state to address the myriad of non-traditional sources of insecurity, such as terrorism, corruption, education, health, injustice, and the lack of rule of law. These findings also find support by recent theories of security. Despite the critiques human security has received, it would be naïve not to consider the concept as universal. As seen in the discussion, Pakistan can move out from the crisis it finds it self in today, by adopting human security into its security and development policies. What would be greater for governments than to develop trust and human dignity in the people that make up Pakistan? In spite of being in the possession of nuclear weapons, as realists will argue creates stability, the overall security situation in Pakistan is prone to destabilisation, and seen with the lenses of human security, is worsening. Concerns of regional security, purchasing of expansive weapons and aircrafts and maintain a large army has taken place at the expense of human development and security. However, this is not an inescapable process, as seen in this paper, it seems reasonable to conclude that Islamabad needs to adopt the human security framework that will supplement its national security and vice versa.

Appendix 1.
Rawalpindi Interview 1

Security is something the state should provide us – I would say security is a set of rights, but our state does not give us these rights. – Security in forms of health and personal insecurity. "I feel insecure coming to work daily. The traffic is to bad, there is no place to walk, and people living here do no not keep their areas clean and tidy. There is absolutely no system. The traffic causes insecurity because customer finds it hard to come here, we cannot sell our goods, which give us less income.

We work here, so we have to come here anyway, but what about our customers? If you have to go somewhere with your car, you will be struck and you will hardly find any parking spot when you return. We are mentally disturbed. The criminals come here regularly. People do not come here. Nothing is being done. There is high level of criminal activity here, with different gangs that come and men embarrass women. Shameless people. We feel economically and personally insecure. One guy is always standing here for the last 4 months, and he takes advantage of touching women. This has been common. It is also unmoral for a common man to take any steps against him, because he will not know who he is, whether he has a knife or not. No customers in the nearby Bazar areas are coming from rich areas such Islamabad or Bahira Town – just from these around here. They also know what the conditions are in this bazar and there is no parking. There is a lot of water standing there, causing Dengue Mosquito Fever. The committee people come and clean, but they do not throw it, they just leave it there. There are a lot of problems. Even health issues, no ambulance can pass here. We do not care about the GHQ is here. All you need is money, you can do illegal things. A lot of prostitution above over shops. Everything is happening. They know what is

happening. Anybody can come here and stay in the hotel. They are just after money. Pure (Shari)f people do not come here. The police is also involved in these things, even in the holy month of Ramadan. If the police take serious steps, like hitting criminals, the criminals will not do it again – or he will pay the police offer off. Actually these small bad things are ignored and not counted as bad even. Just stand 10-15 minutes on the street out there and you will see what is happening here. We really feel insecure. There is no rule of law. The mosque do not have authority, they even buy food from the same hotel. We want justice and trust. The food we eat here make us sick, there is no food security at all". No, Alhamdulillah there has been no blasts around here. I would say that crime is the biggest insecurity here that affects us the most. Yet, one terrorist incidence took place. Actually, the basic thing that people lack, is the inner-self (Zameer) in these people who do awful things, they just do it. As long as our daily work is not disturbed, we do not care about good and bad.- (Haji Sahib, (43) .

Appendix 2.

Rawalpindi Interview 2.

We feel insecure because of the traffic here, and we know very well that the security cameras are not really functioning. Other insecurities are how women are threated here, the local police office right across the road does not really care. The police itself is a major insecurity, they are on the criminals side from the very beginning, taking money for being inactive. Economic insecurities are also tried with this, as fewer customers from Sharif (pure) houses come to us. Health insecurity is also a major source of insecurity for US. The restaurants here are not tidy at all, they place all their waste outside our shop and it stinks. The actual problem is that nobody takes responsibility for what they actually is responsible for. To be honest with you, prostitution is a major source of insecurity than is terrorism.

The state is insecure, not only my city or me. Look at the Red Mosque case for instance, how the Imam there. Despite being controversial, how can he still live there freely? Pakistan lacks justice. If we are to get justice, many of the problems will be solved. Only those who have strong kinship ties or those who are reach or both are those who get untouched. - *(*Amjad, 41).

Appendix 3.

Rawalpindi Interview 3

I define security as safety that is to be provided by the government, which is not the case in Pakistan. The link between the law enforcement agencies, as the police, and courts, are not

even close enough to provide this secure and safe feeling for the citizens. Security is only for those who are rich. This is why you have to be your own security provider. This area is insecure because of mobile snatchers and other forms of street crime. Who says that terrorism is causing insecurity? I feel safe. There has to be made a change in the system, in a way that we the public can get closer to the decision-makers in this country. However, I feel religion is having a positivist effect, because we fear only Allah, and there is a famous saying that the leaders of a country will exactly be same lye the citizens. – Nasir (41).

Appendix 4.

Rawalpindi Interview 4.

I would like to define security as something common for all citizens. As citizens of Pakistan, we have the right to feel secure, and we can only get that feeling when the state treat us as citizens, which they do not. The present security situation is very awful. Unfortunately, you make yourself secure on the basis of how you dress and behave on the streets. Personally, I do not go very often out with my family, being scared of the influences the bad environment will have upon them. Only when it is necessary, I go. Furthermore, I feel secure on my job (in a mobile company), because it is well paid, permanent and secure from any form of danger. – Ramzan (38).

Appendix 5.

Rawalpindi Interview 5.

It is difficult to define security in a country where there is about no security. We feel us unsafe/insecure when we are on our way to work, as there is a way to much traffic. It is actually right to say that no place is fully secured from neither terrorist or criminal activities or other life threatening acts, neither schools, universities, bazars and religious sites.
I would define security as (Tahaffuz - Safety). The link between the government and the people should be a safe and secure, one that includes justice, trust and welfare as the primary goals. However, as you may know, this is far away from the case in Pakistan. Our own security is in the hand of God, and this is how it all works in our daily lives. These goals are absent from an ordinary Pakistani in his/her daily life. – Ameer (40).

Appendix 6.

Islamabad: Interview 1.

Security is and should be personal. We are the people of Pakistan; hence we should be the

ones deciding what our needs are. Security is Tahaffuz. Pakistan, I would say, is secure in military sense, but basic human rights and values are far from given to the people of Pakistan, so there will unrest and instability as far as this will be the case, I believe. Being the citizens of this beloved country, we do also have some responsibilities. The police in Pakistan, even in let say any developing country, cannot guarantee fully security to its security at all times. They (the police) also rely on information from us (the citizens), but we seldom give information to them. There is a problem of the individual citizen as well, not only the state or its leaders. Individual change is what the country needs first; honest citizens, and this change can only come about through education, hence the state should invest more in the educational sector. Some 20 years ago, the state-sponsored channel PTV broadcasted cartoons for kids that we as kids learnt what our values were, I used to watch them myself. There are no such things as now. We stand to far away from these positive values that used to be ours. What is positive, is that ICT Police is introducing online FIR. What more is needed for the betterment of all, is to increase their salaries, remove Rishwat culture and this can only be done by introducing Islamic law. Furthermore, we need to invest more in education, health, justice and tolerance among different communities. – Qaiser, (48).

Islamabad Interview 2.

Security is a primary goal of every individual, I believe. Without it, you cannot survive. I believe nobody is so poor that the individual cannot feed him or herself. There is always something that you can do to earn a living in a good way. However, people in Pakistan always think of short-cuts, the resources are not available or accessible equally for everyone. All individuals have same security needs, but in Pakistan, only those with strong kinship or those who are rich, are those who feel them somewhat more secure than the rest. This, I, Believe, is wrong. Everyone is a equal citizen of this country, and hence there should be justice – Junaid (47).

Islamabad Interview 3.

I would like to define security as what all individuals deserve to live a good living. The individuals should be provided social security, employment as well as physical security, so the individual can feel safe and secure, no matter where he or she is. The poor performance of the state to practice upon the law is actually what is causing insecurities among the people, in

different ways. Currently, Pakistan has a lot of laws, but there is little implementation on them. The state cannot just make up laws and not follow them, the whole system is even malfunctioning, and the state is stealing from our pockets when we buy petrol or top up our balance on our mobile phones. If this serves the purpose as tax income should, it is fine, but everyone knows it is not – Kamran, (35).

Appendix 9.

Islamabad Interview 4.

You ask us about such thing as personal security. To tell you one thing, there is no sign of any such security for us shopkeepers, our families or even our costumers. Yes we are afraid, but not of things that are connected to the war on terror. There are several insecurities we experience, but they do not necessarily relate to our country´s participation in the war on terror. The insecurities are related to our health, as these restaurant-owners in this bazar do not care about where to throw their garbage and they just throw it outside our shops. It stinks very much and our customers have stop to come here because of that. Other insecurities are related to the increased crime rates in this area. We work for 12 hours a day and we often see men staring and doing sexual harassment on women. This has led to fewer families and women coming here. They rather go to big malls and plazas in Islamabad. It truly effects our lifecycle, as women are important costumers for every shopkeepers. It is not only women who do not come, good (sharif) families have also chosen to go to somewhere safer. Prostitutes are also coming here with men and they go upstairs. If you walk 5 minutes from here, there is a police-station and we have complained there, but they do not want to write a FIR or a "darkhast" (initial investigation report)t even. We know that they are also involved in this, as it is easy to buy off the police force here in Pakistan. – Shakeel (48).

Appendix 10.

Islamabad Interview 5

Human security, as you explained, I would say comes more from the way people are themselves (Tarbiyat), and unfortunately the people of Pakistan are not brought up in a good and proper way. Some do get the education we want, but their heads will still be empty of knowledge, because they do not make the use of what they have learnt accordingly. We should be good persons first in order to become good citizens. The education system should be reformed and students should not give example just for passing the exams, but for learning.

Its more of a exercise of the mind. No, we do not think about the war on terror so much. We just do our daily work according to our routine. I think most of the people do that. Yet, the day a blast takes place and some days after that, we feel very insecure. We go from our home to the shop and from the shop to home. However, we know that the Afghan refugees have harmed the reputation of Pakistan. Radicalisation, for those who do that, is not difficult. People use Islam in wrong terms. The state is doing good, but can perform better in removing religious intolerance from the mind of people. More education and rising awareness might be the solution. So far, state institutions have become too weak and ineffective – Mubashir (38).

Appendix 11

Abbottabad Interview 1.

"*What we need, is justice, and everything will be ok. There should be strong powerful punishments for all illegal and criminal activities, only then can we improve our efforts to reduce crimes. What is wrong in Pakistan, is that influential persons are misusing their power and status. They can do anything they want to avoid being caught and punished. As the criminal and justice system stands today, Pakistan is only a country for the rich elite. Favouritism and VIP culture is widespread here, and a major cause of injustice and thus insecurity for us. It is not rare that policemen and judges are bribed*" – Amjad Sahib, (65).

Appendix 12.

Abbottabad Interview 2.

Security is the right of the citizens. Lack of civil rights is a great matter of insecurity. Both rules and obligations are not defined properly, so people do not know what to do. There have been a lot of improvements in Abbotabad. The city is more secure than it was under the previous provincial government. The police is quite helpful even. State security is important yes, but our security as citizens should be of higher priority. Abbottabad is not only more secure because of military academies, but it also becomes more vulnerable and likely targets. The focus areas should be poverty, terrorism, health and education and to remove economic injustice. The government should further reach out to the people and be quick and clear about development policies. It is also more need of transparency in governmental activities. Security in this context is understood as the right of citizens, and it is a lot more important than state security" – Abdul Quyyum, (43).

Security is freedom from threats and violence. The lack of human rights and basic needs cause very much of insecurities. There is too much religious intolerance here. You have to restrict yourself for feeling insecure, because the government does not do anything. Even though Abbottabad is relatively more secure, the supply and sale of arms should be controlled by the state, as the supply of arms in Pakistan is becoming a threat. Increasing terrorist attacks are killing growing number of innocent people, but Abbotaabad is more secure than any other city. It is difficult to obtain security in an insecure country. Operation Zarb-Azb is a great effort, the registration of NADRA cards are getting better, but more has do be done. Three is to much Economic instability and inequality and the government only acts when and where there is a vested interest. It is not uncommon in Pakistan to be treated on the basis of your ethnicity - Muhammad Ali, (38).

Security is freedom from threat of physical violence, my rights should be secured, as human rights, rights to speak, rights to service. One should be allowed to raise ones voice against any form of discrimination and this is actually not the case in Pakistan. There is no service security, if you give your opinion against any thing, you are in an insecure job position, because people do not give permanent jobs, you cannot speak against your institution. There are religious intolerance in Abbottababad, and general in Pakistan. Even in classrooms, you cannot speak out openly about religion, the military or the state. Such topics unleash clashes between people. We counter our insecurities by restricting ourselves against speaking within limits. We fear crossing the limits because they make us feel insecure. We are also more fearful about emotions and instigating them. Terrorism is the biggest threat, even though no terrorist attack have taken places in Abbottabd, but outside the city there have been. But still, the people here fear there will be, being part of society, you feel insecure. The University (Comcats) is more restricted than other universities when it comes to social functions and religion intolerance. *There are no open debates on any issues. You cannot speak about the Afghanistan or Taliban issue. This is not administration that is at fault, but more the culture and environment here, like the segregation of male and female.*

Being a retired army officer, it is trying its best all it can; However it takes time. You will find a certain section of the people supporting/sympathizing Taliban. This is what happened in

Charsadda University. The problem for Pakistan is intolerance, extremism. Terrorism is a small portion of population, that portion want to enforce its will by the use of violence. Zarb-Azb, National Action Plan – this goes also for Abbottabad. We are speaking of security conference of Comcats University – these guards are not capable of providing security. 5-6 SIM card is ruled back again. I had a Mobilink SIM card that has been mine for more than 10 years, but one day I suddenly found out that it was registered on a local shop owner's name. I closed it down. How can this happen? Where did he come from? Biometric system helps out. SIM cards are made by NIC with chip. The state has taken serious steps in making it, all data and my whereabouts are registered in it. Even the guy making the card for me, endorsing it, is registered. First of all, human security has been ignored because of instability – both political institutions and economical instability, our priorities, leaders spend their resources on themselves rather than the people, loyalties priorities, contributing in making injustice in the society, politicizing institutions, as police, ignorant merits and given primary to kinship relations.

Secondly, instability problem should be solved. The state should enhance the institutions in the country. The state should learn more about the lives of its citizens; provide them with support and justice. This is a major problem, particularly in the juridical system. Long delays of decisions and morally wrong decisions cause insecurities for the people, because it leads to lack of trust. Security gets compromised. When a person use the established system and still does not get justice, that person will take steps by himself, making more problems. Abbotabad is more insecure now. PMA has been too much securitized. Now you have to cross many barriers and the city is becoming more and more securitized. My personal security is affected by revenge and reprisals, anyone can be killed in terrorism activities"- (Malik 52).

Appendix 15.

Abbottabad Interview 5.

Security is life - job security, health, food etc. This is how I define or perceive security. I would say that the absence of security would be insecurity, simple as that. Whenever I travel from point A to B, I feel insecure. There have been cases of blasts and where organized criminals have snatched mobile phones and other valuable items from cars at signals by using a gun. My job is not even secure, and even health, a lot of problems in raising children. However, I believe in God, and that is how I counter my insecurities. It is difficult for me to understand the creation of Pakistan when none of the leaders actually follow up on what our

Great Father said. Quaid E Azam never spoke of any VIP culture, but we still have it. We complain about our borders being insecure, but a lot the insecurities, is our own mistake, we cant even live at peace with each other. The main problem of Pakistan is overpopulation, tolerance and the lack of empathy for each other. Yet, there have been a lot of progress in this country from when we gained independence, there used to be only one medical college. Now there are many. Given that Pakistan is a developing country, we should be patient and give it more time to develop, However we need truthfully and honest leaders – (Majid, 40).

Appendix 16.

Lahore Interview 1.

Security is life. I think of terrorist attacks and street crime when I think of the sources for insecurity. We are causing these insecurities for ourselves. True teachings of Islam teach peace, love and harmony. Look at us, what we are doing to our neighbors. We are getting more and more greedy and this negative development is a sign of the Doomsday. Nobody wants to stand as a witness when an traffic accident or murder occurs, because the first thing that witness will have to do, is to prove his or her innocence in the crime scene. In other words, doing something positive will have negative consequences for oneself. Unfortunately, but the truth is that it is easy to do crime and get a way than doing something positive and get a reward. There are many false cases in the court, the police is corrupt and often involved in big criminal cases. You are punished by speaking the truth in many cases. There is no or little justice, and safety for individuals. Rich people keep them secure by hiring security guards in their neighborhoods, but what should the common man do? I pray for another Army takeover, because the current government is doing nothing. I am against the war on terror, because it is not our war and it has caused 80-90 000 deaths of our soldiers since 2001. A check and balance system should be created to control the Afghan border better, as there is no registration on refugees. The state should crack down on all those who facilitate terrorists, as well as foreign enemies that want to destabilize our country. The Raymond David case is a shame on our country - Iftekhar, (47).

Appendix 17.

Lahore Interview 2.

Security is to me to move safely in the society (Tahaffuz). The first thing I think about when I hear security is terrorist blasts and the lack of fear of Allah. Although, no place in Pakistan in completely safe from terrorism and organised crime, I am not afraid when I walk around. I am more afraid for being unemployed and being unable to by food for my family and myself. I do not even trust the police, as they are insufficient and corrupt and also often involved in

crime. The government must be aware of this, but they lack will- power to overcome such issues, Even the court system is slow and insufficient, we need better judiciary. The government should focus more on education and health and have a general rule for everyone, regardless of who they are. At present, only the rich are secured. There is a lot of prejudice in Pakistan – provincial, linguistic and regional. Like I feel victimised in Abbottabad because I am not from here actually. Discrimination. The Locals take the best appointments. It is a state issue, it happens everywhere in Pakistan. Even within Abbottabad – the place you are from. There is a psycho here. It is just such we think, in human nature (Asbiyat)".. – Qasim (45).*

The definition of security is to feel secure. The basic human rights of an individual, as food, health and shelter come to my mind and these should all be covered. Secondly, I would say that the law and order situation in the country should be effective, as it effects the security of the people. You are not secure if you do not have money or a god kinship. This is the present situation, and thus I am insecure. What the people of Pakistan needs is trust and safety from the government, but we never get it. Never. I would say that personal security is better in Lahore than in other parts of Pakistan because the city has many job opportunities and there have been fewer terrorists attacks here, as compared to for example Peshawar. I have relatives in Rawalpindi that complains on the police, however the police is a lot better here. The government will soon also start a new form of police that will crack down on pickpockets and other criminals. Even the state budget is very much unequally divided, which also causes delays in development projects that again fuels insecurities. There should be a check and balance system, that would both control corruption as well as inflation. We need food, water, justice, and jobs. Everything should be set on the merit the individual has, not anything else. We also feel insecure of the Afghan refugees and their families as they take all the jobs in Lahore – everything from small business of carpets to cab and rickshaw- drivers. The state knows nothing of when and how they came here. There is no system that controls them, no record and their generations consider themselves as Pakistanis – Umair, (38).*

The current security situation for us citizens is at the worst. The level of crime and terrorism is ever increasing. I do not feel the country is doing the best it can in countering this. We get higher and higher utility- bills without increasing the amount of electricity and gas we consume. There is no reason for this, and we are forced to pay. There is absolutely no justice.

The poor are getting poorer and the rich are getting richer. Death penalty should be applied to people that do injustice! The Punjab police is totally corrupt, it is only a police force for the rich and wealthy people. The common man is insecure on all the dimensions you mentioned in the beginning. I would rather favor a military government than a corrupt "so-called democratically elected government", because, at least you will se positive result whilst the Army is controlling the country. When it comes to terrorism, every individual should take steps to fight radicalisation. Pakistani people often look for short- cuts of saving time and money, because we do not have patience, and this is a major source of danger. Rightful Islamic teachings as well as ordinary education as one gets in the West. Terrorism cannot be fought with guns and tanks only. Rightful Islamic teachings are necessarily. The state should be more effective in producing good policies and then to follow them up and the justice system should be equal for everyone, which it is not at present. I dream of an Islamic welfare state that respects minorities, as that is how a state should be governed rightfully. – Amanullah, (43).

Appendix 20.

Lahore Interview 5.

The conditions are to poor, and insecurity, regardless of which form it takes, is widespread in Pakistan. Nothing and no place is secure. Both the level of terrorist attacks and crime are high. People are not even economical secure, as they receive utility biils far more than they could imagine. Natural disasters such as earthquakes and floods do occur, claiming hundreds of lives. Every countermeasure, if any, is taken after such disasters take place. As everybody knows, such countermeasure steps should be taken in advance. I still love Pakistan. All the enemies of Pakistan, being criminals, terrorists or whatever, they should be caught and receive death penalty, only then can Pakistan and its people get the much needed justice and then feel themselves safe and secure. There is nothing good about democracy in Pakistan, because the military is the best. Civilian governments have shown, time and again, that they are incompetent, corrupt and only self-centered. The government should control radicalization of the youth, but the parents should also play a more visible and remarkable role in this regard, because sectarianism and terrorism have become enemies of the state. The society requires western education, but also the much needed Islamic education, because Islamic values are best not only western. Better judiciary and Islamic Welfare state can put an end to corruption and move Pakistan on the road to progress – Imran (50).

Appendix 21

Interview guide.

1) What do the terms security and insecurity mean to you?

2) What factors cause insecurity for you and how do they influence you?

3) What is the most important aspect of security, as you see it?

4) How does the Pakistani state provide security for you?

5) Why has there been a dominant focus on state centred security, rather than human security in Pakistan, do you think? (India, survival, we don't know – education and health compromised –good?

6) What measures do you think the state should take to improve the security situation in your province? – (Strengthen the link between people and the government)-

7) How has the Pakistani participation in the "war on terror" affected your own and your province´s security situation?

8) How can actors other than the state improve your security situation

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