

**The Narrative Of Securitization and de-politicization: A Case Study  
of Quetta City**



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PIDE2017FMPHILDS43

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PAKISTAN INSTITUTE OF DEVELOPMENT ECONOMICS  
2019**

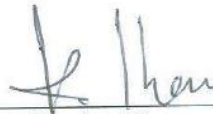


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**CERTIFICATE**

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## **Dedication**

This Research is dedicated to my Family and Friends

## **Acknowledgment**

This study would have been not the way it is without my supervisors. I am very much indebted to Sir Fahad Zulfiqar who guided me throughout my thesis. Moreover I thank my Friends, particularly Asfandyar who always listened to my ideas, appreciated and gave feed-backs, and Family without whom I could not be what I am today.

Sheikh Naqeeb Ullah

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## **Abstract**

The study focused on the Securitization process of Quetta city and looked into the social fabric of Quetta so as to decipher the narratives regarding security and the narrative of security itself. However, the study found multiple factors at work which depoliticized Quetta city among which 'Fear', 'Hatred' and 'Anonymity' were at the heart of depoliticizing process. Moreover, the research employed 'Narrativity' as practice for the analysis of Data. Besides, the study has shown as to how the 'the narrative of securitization' had depoliticized everything within Quetta ranging from political to personal. The securitization or security is treated as 'narratives' within Quetta for the purpose of current study.

**Keywords:** *Securitization, Depoliticization, Public Sphere, Politics, Insulation, Meta-framing, Narrative.*

# **The Narrative of Securitization and De-politicization: A Case Study of Quetta city**

## **Chapter-1**

### **Introduction**

Balochistan, apparently, is drowning in chaos and security forces have paid no regard to it rather have brutally repressed the Baloch national movements, resultantly exacerbating ethnic and sectarian violence within the province. Howsoever, the security apparatuses have failed to quell insurgency within the province. The recent conflict, characterizing the background of present predicament, was erupted in 2005 within Balochistan over a rape case of Dr. Shazia Khalid in Sui. The locals imputed the nefarious act to a military man who was never arrested by the state apparatus. Sui is a small town of Balochistan, a province straddling over three countries, Pakistan, Iran, and Afghanistan.

Although the conflict was not something spontaneous rather it had been brewing since the inception of Pakistan, which only surfaced itself after the incident of rape. Much recent to the incident, there was tension over the price of natural gas which was produced in the province and particularly in Sui. Moreover locals and the stakeholder also had reservation over the construction of additional military cantonments, and Project of Gwadar Port. Among the locals a perception is held that the development of Gawadar port would only benefit people of other provinces. Another dimension of the conflict is owing to movements led by Baloch nationalists over provincial autonomy and due resource shares which by the authorities is seen as a scheme to sabotage the national unity of the state.

However, diachronically, the conflict between the Balochs and state is as old as the independence of Pakistan itself. There are four different junctures in history of the enmity of Balochs and state. The junctures in history are of 1948, 1958, 1962, and 1973–1977. However for the background of present predicament, the case of Shazia Khalid and killing of Akbar Bugti is a fifth juncture in history that marks the new era of violent confrontation between the very two within the province (Grare, 2013) Although, the relations between military and the

province had been tense since long for example, province's grievances over provincial autonomy, allocation of resources, interprovincial migrations, and the protection of culture. Tension within Bugti terrain was concentrated over to rich mineral like gas and Akbar Bugti laid claim for the share of his people. Bugti was a Baloch stakeholder among Bugtis. He also had been the interior minister and governor of state and Balochistan, respectively (Hussain, 2012).

The incumbent and recent governments of the last decade come up with a different narrative of the conflict. They portray and impute the conflict to greedy sardars and tribals who are using violence for greater share in resources and oppose development projects to keep their control upon the tribal masses (Ahmad, 2012). Their narrative evinced that they never took the nationalist leaders in regard. However the conflict continues till date no government provided any real political solution. Baloch nationalist, whom the state apparatus in their narrative dub as insurgents, called for an end to military operations for any political negotiation. However the state did neither and continued their repressive policy instead of political negotiations (Ahmad, 2012).

Historically speaking, we have plethora of school of thoughts each of whom constructs its political and historical narrative differently about Baloch nationalism. For instance few historians attribute the genesis of Baloch nationalism or resistance to anti colonial movement by a princely Khalat state which occupies the modern day Balochistan. During the rivalry of Russian and British Empire, the British invaded Afghanistan and in an effort to curtail the supply roads of Kabul they occupied Balochistan's particular terrain that included the modern Zhob and Quetta and its vicinity which was adjacent to Afghanistan border. However the British did not interfere in the affairs of Khalat, a princely state of Balochs (Grare, 2013).

While for other historians, Baloch nationalism was an outcome of the resistance against Pakistani state in 1947. They argue that Baloch nationalism got inspired form the Soviet revolution and the Indian independence movement. Baloch emulated the two and started vying for their independence. However on 15 august 1947, Khan of Kalat proclaimed Kalat state as an independent state (Grare, 2013). The independence was conditional and negotiable in the domains of foreign affairs and defense, primarily. But the Pakistan authorities rejected any negotiation and annexed the Kalat state forcibly after nine months. The annexation followed

the conflict of 1948, 1958, and 1962 between the Balochs and state. However, the conflict still lingers, be it politically or militarily.

However, Quetta is not only the abode of Balochs. It is inhabited by Pashtoons and Hazaras, too. The military regimes of Pakistan in an effort to marginalize the local Balochs made demographic changes to the province. They let Afghans in myriad to the province, particularly into Quetta which is the hub of commercial activities and capital of the Province. Although, historically, the terrain of province is partially disputed between Pakistan and Afghanistan, but these demographic changes were on purpose which also infuriated the merchant class of Pashtoons who was the tribals of the area from centuries. This injection of Afghans was the policy of Zia ul Haq. It also served the purpose of cold war for America. These Afghans were used for conscription as mujahids to fight Russia. The security apparatus of Pakistan was thus sponsored by America to win her a war. Therefore the province since then has been the focus of centralized policies of Islamization. Consequentially, the province transformed into the arena of violence and threats to many. For instance one of the corollaries of this Islamization of Zia ul Haq was sectarian killing, in particular the killing of Hazaras who along with an ethnicity is also Shia by sect. It also bears in mind that the Islamization strategy was also used to subdue the ethno-national question of both Pashtoons and Balochs. Many Religious networks started flourishing since the time of Zia ul Haq (Grare, 2013).

Moreover, the prevalence of sectarianism and terrorist attacks and of the ilk intensified in the regime of Musharraf, for instance history witnesses the stronghold of Taliban in Musharraf's regime within Balochistan. Some sectarian outfits like Afghan and Pakistani Taliban (Tehrik-e-Taliban Balochistan), Lashkar-e-Janghvi, Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan, al-Qaeda, Imamia Student Organization, and Sipah-e-Muhammad have shown up in the province in Musharraf's time. However, it is said that the security agencies are bringing in these terrorist outfits to serve the purpose of Islamization policy of 1970s which is pursued till date. Allegedly, Lashkar-e-Janghvi of Balochistan has not only been victimizing Shias, they also killed Baloch nationalist leaders, like Habib Jalib Baloch. Up till 2009 some 700 Hazaras, Shia community, have been killed since 1998. However, both the Baloch nationalists and Shia leaders blame intelligence agencies for supporting such sectarian outfits (Grare, 2013).

Howsoever, now I shall turn to the phenomena of security, narrative and depoliticization. 'Security', which according to Buzan is freedom from a threat and threat is an inter-subjective construct (Sulovic, 2010) characterizes the modern era. It is something essential to living beyond which nothing can exist if not securitized, be it life, food, building or a state. Everything around is to be securitized anyhow related to human existence or of utility to humankind (Bajc, 2013). Security from a Westphalian perspective is a primal need of a state to exist. State is an expression of individual at macro level, claims all classical and modern political scientists (Reza EkhtiariAmiri, 2014). But I here, opine, that it, certainly, is something essential to exist, but is over-developed into a 'meta-framing', is the underlying value apparatus which shapes our daily lives (Bajc, 2013) it might risk political existence. Meta-framing of security ignites a struggle between authoritarian bureaucracy and democratic values. Security-meta framing shapes our daily lives and our sense of aesthetics, for example our social cohesions, leisure, and experiences. Security provides us with a world view which altogether changes our cosmological understanding and grows in to a dominant value at the cost of other values like political participation, privacy and human rights. (Larzilliere, 2012)

The narrative, of Security, is what I meant characterizes the modern era. It has securitized everything around that transpires among human kind and affects them in one way or other. The 'narrative', is embedded in our very language, it is an expression of our past experiences and self. Narrative is anything explained through language. In modern times the narrative has taken up a form of 'meta-framing' across the globe now, and is very much tied with development and globalization. Buzan holds multiple variables apparently responsible for such meta-securitization that is Globalization, "belief in universalist ideologies like Human Rights, Democracy and of the likes. However to substantiate his argument Buzan exemplifies Cold War as a meta-securitization. For example cold war, eventuated securitization for inter-states society for decades. (Stone, 2009)

Such meta-framing of security has depoliticized many arenas of human activities and toppled democracies down. 'Depoliticization' is a process of arena shifting, according to Collin hay when an affair of public interest, for instance, is relegated to private sphere from public sphere is depoliticization is a depoliticization process (Mishra, 2011). We have many cases of such instances, for instance, African literature suggests that in most of African states, like Chad,

Ethiopia, Rwanda and Uganda authoritarian and militarized regimes have, time to time employed military means to suppress internal dissents or settle problems at their borders. However their very relationship with western donors has resulted in ill-liberal state building. For instance, Jones, Soares de Oliveira and Verhoeven in their studies figured out as to how African regimes are engaged in ill-liberal state-building through resources provided by donors. The Kagame's Rwanda and Meles's Ethiopia are conspicuous examples of authoritarian regimes which exploited the securitization of development for maintaining power. In authoritarian states the securitization plays an important role in securing statist power (Anderson, 2015).

However in case of Pakistan and specifically Balochistan we can witness the demise of liberal state and ascent of military to securitize, Balochistan. Elisa ada argues that Pakistani army is the world's most modern and well funded and is also the only army equipped with nuclear weapon among Muslim countries (Giunchi, 2014). Furthermore, she states that army employs large bulk of national resources for its defense and so has it been the beneficiary of US military aid. However, after getting independence army drew large number of recruits, owing to multiple reasons among which are Durand line, separatist movements particularly in Balochistan, and Indian held Kashmir. The author by giving this historicity argues that it was owing to these reasons that Pakistan was inherited with strong military institution and weak political structure. Accordingly, she argues, that many political and bureaucratic portfolios were handed over to military owing to their efficiency, bequeathed by colonial powers, in post independence. Moreover, in the wake of independence, Pakistan had to deal with problems like communal killings, the rise of ethno-nationalists movements and tensions with India and Afghanistan over Durand Line and Kashmir, respectively. These social changes in post-independence exposed Pakistan 'Vulnerable'. Furthermore, she argues that after few months its Partition fought its first war with India over Kashmir broke out. This incident further deepened the vulnerability apprehension among the public and politicians. These historical developments were the reasons for Pakistan's early security perceptions and thus justified army's ascent on political and economic landscape.

It is also argued that army's consolidation in the present day Pakistan has also been the strategy of colonial power to curtail communist bloc. (Giunchi, 2014)

According to Buzan “Repression”, is “the sharp end of the War on Terror, it is about carrying the fight to the terrorists in an attempt to eliminate them by police and/or military action”, (Stone, 2009). Accordingly, the securitization of Balochistan has predominantly been through repressive strategy of security. However, the repressive tactics adopted by Pakistan to quell Baloch nationalism has been a political normalcy in Balochistan. Although at some juncture, whenever military operations were withheld owing to external and internal criticism, the military resorted to “kill- and-dump” operations. These operations were meant to keep the province under control. *“The exact number of enforced disappearances perpetrated in Balochistan by the Pakistani military is unknown. While Baloch nationalists claim “thousands” of cases. In 2008, Interior Minister Rehman Malik mentioned at least 1,100 victims, but in January 2011, Balochistan Home Minister Zafrullah Zehri said that only 55 persons were missing. An editorial dated September 11, 2012, in the Express Tribune indicated that the bodies of 57 missing persons had been found since January 2012”*. Moreover, According to Human Rights Watch, it is stated that most of such disappearances have been carried by Pakistan’s intelligence agencies and the Frontier Corps in collaboration with local police. (Grare, 2013)

The research has looked into as to how this very narrative of Securitization has depoliticized the city and the social relationships of masses within the city. Though the narrative of securitization is pervasive across the country or we can say across the globe since War on Terror. But in Balochistan it has a long history and is different in nature and the strategy through which the province is securitized is for sure idiosyncratic to the Balochistan only.

### **1.1. Statement of Problem**

Narrative is an indispensable characteristic of ‘being’, it is narrative through which an individual makes sense of ‘being’. Men as social beings cannot exist without narratives; it is through narrative that we give meaning to an experience, which vanishes in the very moment (Capps, 1996). However through narrative we construct selves and these narratives are embedded in language. Language is the only distinguishing characteristic of human that outstand men among other creature living. Narratives are the fragmented thoughts and ideas that linger when a moment passes away (Capps, 1996). When it is said that men is product of his history and culture, it is certainly meant that men is a construct of his/her narratives. Be it



culture or history it is narrative. Anything we assign a meaning to, becomes a narrative, for the meaning we attach to an entity is through language and that language tells us something of that very entity (Hyvärinen). So narrative is actually a telling, a story unlike haphazard utterance or cacophony (Capps, 1996). Those meanings then guide us and patternize our attitudes and every day actions, consequentially. Every culture or a society has a grand narrative, either in form of a myth, like in ancient times or in form values and rationality determine all other mini-narratives, (Sandelowski, 1991). *Grand-narrative* according to Margarete Sandelowski's article is a value-apparatus which determines our cosmology (Sandelowski, 1991). However, in my study I have used the prefix 'grand' and 'meta' interchangeably with the term narrative, although both mean the same according to reviewed literature for the study. While *mini-narratives* are the sidelined or marginalized narratives through which cosmos is realized (Capps, 1996).

Accordingly, the meta-narrative, of modern times is 'security'. It is security that determines all mini narratives and shapes our daily lives (Bajc, 2013). The very rationale underlying today's society is 'cost and benefit analyses'. This rationale of 'cost and benefit analyses' marks the era of modern human, or in Gidden's words the era of late modernity, which he calls a 'Risk society' (Andy Furlong, 2006). The modern man is suffering with security syndrome and is always looking to prevent risk as he thinks, is surrounded by risks and threats. This attitude of him which is of course the product of modern episteme or narrative that is of 'Rationality' and 'Calculations'. Weber calls this modern society a bureaucratic society or 'iron cage'. Narratives as I operationalized are stories to make sense of being. Indeed science is a narrative in that regard. However, this narrative of securitization has played havoc to the 'rationale of modernity' or 'enlightened man'. A man who once was taught to conquer and harness is now caged in the narrative of late modernity and is in constant flee from threats. Nevertheless, threats, from which a man has to secure himself is again a question of narrative, for Barry Buzan argues that 'threat' is an inter-subjective social construction. Now the question arises as to how the '*can-man*' has reduced to '*cannot-man*' what has happened to modern man in this late modernity? Who has re-narrativised his 'being'? Such questions are of an urgent address, which can only be understood if we try to locate the 'meta-narrative' of late modernity which has reshaped the socio-cosmological understanding of today. One thing has to be borne in mind that modern man was politicized as

it brought everything from the *arena of necessity* to *arena of deliberation*, but the man of late modernity seems to be recaptured within the arena of necessity. The disappearance of such modern man from public and political arena is the focus of our queries in Pakistan. We have looked up deep into the grand narrative of securitization and explain its mechanics so as to understand its role in depoliticizing.

I am operationalizing the research problem into three Hypotheses.

## **1.2. Research Questions**

1. How frequently political activities transpire within Quetta city and of what scope are they in terms of mass participation?
2. How often do people indulge in a political discussion and of what nature are issues usually, and has narrative of security brought any changes in lives of people?
3. What is the source of knowing a particular narrative of security threat and how do people perceive its role in their lives?

## **1.3. Objectives of Research**

1. To ascertain if any political activism, like protests, rallies, demonstrations and other public activities have been put an end to within the city owing to narrative of securitization.
2. To ascertain if the public spheres have shrunk, owing to constant security measurements, and study how does insulation strategies of security shape the cohesion and debate within *public spheres*<sup>1</sup>.
3. To study the teleological consequences of security narrative, and ascertain the source of security narratives.

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<sup>1</sup>Public sphere is the arena where citizens come together, exchange opinions regarding public affairs, discuss, deliberate, and eventually form public opinion.

## **1.4. Operationalization of the Key concepts**

### **1.4.1. Security**

“Security is taken to be about the pursuit of freedom from threat and the ability of states and societies to maintain their independent identity and their functional integrity against forces of change, which they see as hostile. The bottom line of security is survival, but it also reasonably includes a substantial range of concerns about the conditions of existence. Quite where this range of concerns ceases to merit the urgency of the “security” label (which identifies threats as significant enough to warrant emergency action and exceptional measures including the use of force) and becomes part of everyday uncertainties of life is one of the difficulties of the concept (Stone, 2009). However for the purpose of my study I have operationalized security as in inter-subjective construct. It is a social construct in a sense that it is human agency that designates a phenomenon or an entity as a threat which, instantly, is to be securitized.

### **1.4.2. Security Meta-Framing**

Security meta-framing is a process through which other visions of ways of living are evaluated in relation to security. As an analytical tool, security meta-framing can help us understand the interplay of forces through which security comes to influence the ways in which we relate to each other as it rises to the top of collective priorities by competing with other values of social organization in modern societies (Larzilliere, 2012). For the purpose of this study, I have taken the concept of meta-framing alike and treated it in my study as a value apparatus upon which all other narratives of lives are constructed or evaluated.

### **1.4.3. Public Sphere**

Public sphere is the arena where citizens come together, exchange opinions regarding public affairs, discuss, deliberate, and eventually form public opinion. This arena can be a specific place where citizens gather (for example, a town hall meeting), but it can also be a communication infrastructure through which citizens send and receive information and opinions (communication for Governance & Accountability Program ). However, for this study a public sphere is operationalized as a public space where people gather and debate over issues of public interest and give feed-back and seek information over those issues. I have taken the operationalization of the concept from Jurgen Habermas for this study.

#### **1.4.4. Narrative**

Narrative is a sense-making process rather than a finished product. According to Ronald Barthes a narrative is able to be carried by articulated language, spoken or written, fixed or moving images, gestures, and the ordered mixture of all these substances; narrative is present in myth, legend, fable, tale, novella, epic, history, tragedy, drama, comedy, mime, painting [...], stained glass windows, cinema, comics, news item, conversation (Hyvärinen). Narrative, for this piece of research, is defined as anything symbolizing or communicating a meaning, experience and ultimate reality for people.

#### **1.4.5. Narrativity**

Narrativity is an activity emerged as a concept in “narrative ethnography”. There is a difference between ‘story’ and ‘storying processes’. Storying process is ‘narrativity’, a sense making process. Jaber F. Gubrium and James A. Holstein argues that ‘Concern with the production, distribution, and circulation of stories in society requires that we step outside of narrative material and consider questions such as who produces particular kinds of stories, where are they likely to be encountered, what are their consequences, under what circumstances are particular narratives more or less accountable, what interests publicize them, how do they gain popularity, and how are they challenged?’. That is why, it is argued, that narrative analysis went beyond text and took the guise of “narrative as a practice” (Hyvärinen). Narrativity as concept for present study is taken as a practice and way of analysis to ascertain the source and dynamics of narrative of security among masses of Quetta. The above conceptualization of the term is taken alike for the operationality of the term for this study.

#### **1.4.6. Depoliticization**

According to Collin Hay, depoliticization is a process in which previously politically engaged citizens give up political arenas and retreat into private sphere and pursue personal affairs and well-being. The author argues that such pursuit eventuates the ‘Emergence of individualism, mistrust of political organizations and activities, consumerist social order and disappearance of community life due to personalized sources of entertainment may be seen as evidence for the depoliticization of citizens’ (Mishra, 2011). For the purpose of this very study, the concept of depoliticization is treated as ‘redefining or restructuring’ of anything politically potential or

the relegation of an issue from arena of deliberation to arena of necessity, that is to say an arena beyond human agency. However the above operationalization of the term by Collin Hay, ceratianly, constitutes the definition of depoliticization for my study.

### **1.5. Significance of the Research**

The Research shall contribute to an already existing body of knowledge on the topic; moreover it would help the scientific society with new data with which they can proceed to further the conceptual repertoire of the phenomenon. Besides it would signify the root-cause which might be sheer subjectivity of the researcher or his reflexive bias, but yet it would help the policy makers to have an additional dimension to mull over which has so far been disregarded. Accordingly it would help the academicians and students to explore further in the areas. The topic would also serve for the national integration of the state, if the grievances of the masses in the locale are heard through this piece of research. More importantly, it would help in creating an alternate narrative, a narrative from below of the local. This narrative from below would be to aid both government and state in future policies regarding Quetta City.

## **Chapter 2**

### **Literature Review**

Literature Review is carried out eclectically, since my research employs qualitative strategy. However the main purpose of literature review for the study was to have an in-depth understanding of the research areas and conceptualize the concepts so as to take an epistemological position for producing an alternate understanding of the issue. However, beside the literature helped in selecting the tools and methods for carrying out the study and so did it provide with theoretical understanding of the issue, subjected to research. It helped veritably in designing the conceptual framework for the study. Moreover, the literature is ordered thematically, i) **Theories of Narrative**, ii) **Theories of Securitization**, iii) **Theories of Depoliticization**, iv) **Securitization as a Meta-Narrative**, v) **Securitization and Depoliticization in Pakistan and Balochistan**.

#### **2.1. Theories of Narratives**

##### **2.1.1. Narrating Self and construction of reality through Narrative**

Elinor Ochs and Lisa Capps (Capps, 1996) argues that Personal narrative emerges in early life of a being through process of communication with other beings. it has variant genres like diaries, novels, letters, gossips, medical history, satire, jokes, songs, dance and of the likes. A narrative is meant to transform one's life into sequence and gives semblance of sanity through sequencing experiential events of past and thereby linking them to present and future. One thing has to be borne in mind that narratives are not always monomodal they include multiple communicative modes like facial expressions, visual representation, gesture, and all kind of kinesics.

Self is mere repository of one's experiences, thus being is mere an awareness of subjective experiences of past. It is said that it is narrative which apprehends experiences and define us in relationality. Furthermore phenomenological theorists opine that everything is symbolic and thus being too is symbolic and come into being the moment we attach meaning to it.

Everything, including ourselves are thus an outcome of our subjectivities. Thus it is an impossibility to alienate self and narrative. Narrative exists in our very language. Our personal narratives shape our emotions and feelings and socialize our consciousness. But they only represent partial experiences of the world.

Some scholars are of the view that narratives are unlike omniscient and absolute truth but the product of multiple viewpoints, they are fragile and always evolving and porous to multiplicities of agents' subjectivity, while others see it as an absolute truth. Moreover, Narratives are stories and tales through which listener and teller connect their past, present and future. They are mere fragmented intimation of one real experience. It only evokes partial memories of one's self thereby elicits partial self only. According to Marcel Proust "it is only one small section of a complete idea we have of [a person] that we are capable of feeling any emotion". Therefore it is argued that narratives generate multiplicity of selves. The Nobel Laureate Toni Morrison said "*Narrative is radical, creating us at the very moment it is being created*" Narrative therefore are always at work and evolving ourselves.

We have two dimensions of personal narrative, Temporality and Point of View. Temporality is the "chronological dimension" of a narrative. To William Labov and Joshua Waletzky "*Narrative as two or more temporally conjoined clauses that represent a sequence of temporally ordered events*" Narratives give order to otherwise disconnected events by imposing over them a subjective sequence in determinist context. A narrative always has its plot.

However, Linguists, psychologists and literary critics treat narrative somehow differently. They characterize narrative as a cope up strategy in troubled and unexpected situations. Narrative is said to be an activity which resolves the discrepancy the unexpected which transpires and the expected. A narrator make up a story line through events and attempt to identify problems and genesis then connect them as to how it can affect our present and future.

Since narrative is a strategy to cope up with troubled conditions, narrator thus resort to one of two fundamental tendencies, he either cultivate a dialogue between multiple understandings or to come up with one absolute and coherent solution to the problem. The former is relativistic and the later is fundamentalistic perspective. Relativistic perspective provides space to narrate

experience with multiplicities and leave room for new ideas. While fundamentalistic perspective lends consistency and coherence to other wise disconnected and fragmented experience. Dominant narrative is always one through fundamentalist mode of cognition and adherence to it contributes to community-building in which each member ascribes to this very dominant narrative. But such a reliance on one single dominant narrative is an oversimplification and produces status quo. When one inculcated with one single narrative encounter an alternate narrative he finds himself in state of hostility.

As we read in forerunning paragraphs those psychological disorders such as depression, anxiety and post traumatic stress are the ones, silencing the “would-be-narratives” which deviate from the dominant narratives. Any social order prevailed by dominant narrative entails culture of silencing, an individual to assume his socially expected behavior reinforces the dominant narrative. As Morrison noted “such stories can sanction ignorance and preserve privilege” according to her such narratives operate as “a suit of armor, exciting reverence in schoolchildren, providing shelter for despots, summoning false memories of stability, harmony among public”. Morrison’s this point of view is alike to post-traumatic stress in which false sense of psychological stability is attained through muting past inconsistencies.

However, According to Foucault institutionalized master storylines are prevailing in institutions like medical, military, education, and religion. These storylines are also used for rhetorical purposes by defense intellectuals like using technical terms, statistics, and sanitize piling of nuclear weapons. These narratives are said to grow more powerful when localized metaphors are used for such weaponry.

Narratives asymmetries are different versions of an even or social problem. In family parental narrative is considered more credible than children’s. Family therapy thus tries to bring children’s version to the fore as a counterpoint to adults understanding of “reality”. Narrative asymmetries do not only lie in the value assigned to it but also the ways they are recounted in. Children’s ways of recounting a story is often disfavored by schools and schools thus re-socialize children in teacher-preferred narrative style. Another narrative asymmetry includes entitlement as to who can tell a story. For example among Australian aborigines of Darwin fringe camp people who suffer an illness do not have the right to narrate their experience rather the ones who look after them can narrate, as the ill ones are not considered as oneself in



an illness. During visits to pediatricians children are prevented to tell of their condition in many societies<sup>9</sup> as they are considered less competent to tell of their condition.

### **2.1.2. Narrativity as a Research Practice or Discourse analysis**

The chapter is written by Matti Hyvärinen (Hyvärinen), in which he has shed light on the intellectual trajectory of term 'Narrative' in humanities. He has tried to conceptualize narrative, story and narrativity, tracing back it to Aristotle. He has historicized the term across linguistics, critical studies, literature and philosophy. Furthermore in this chapter he has treated narrative as narrative practice and has shown that what ought to be treated as narrative in narrative analysis and interviews and what not.

Initially many scholars gave the redundant Aristotelian conceptualization of narrative that is "*a good tragedy having beginning, middle and end*" thus definition was too totalizing, emphasizing only chronological sequencing. For example, Barbara Herrnstein Smith put it as '*Someone telling someone else that something happened*'. Moreover cultural studies can also be criticized on same grounds. It has taken all forms of interview talks into consideration as narrative, story or narration. Secondly it has substituted theory, assumption and ideology with narrative which is again too totalizing.

Clive Seale's very sophisticatedly operationalized narrative, relatively. He puts it as '*I understand narratives to be constructed through many things, including acts of consumption, for example, which can be made symbolically to tell stories about tastes, relationships (whether real or desired) or social standing*'. He has illustrated that narrativity and narrative understanding is not only a reconstruction of event sequentiality in retrospect and also goes beyond textualists.

However, it is important to bear the distinction in mind between 'Narrativity' and 'Narrative'. Indeed there Narrativity is a matter of degree in all narratives which might elicit a narrative response.

Prior to Narrative analysis, multiple forms of narratives were used by researchers as research material. For example, William I. Thomas used letters and life documents in their work the Polish peasants in Europe and America, published in 1918-1920. However, 50 years later

drawing upon concept of sociological imagination Denzin pointed out that “*the life history presents the experiences and definitions held by one person, one group, or one organization as this person, group, or organization interprets those experiences*”. Furthermore, Martin Kohli, approached narrative analysis in biographical data through socio-linguistics. His approach pushed one beyond sociology and asked to integrate literature while dealing with texts. He postulated that like literary artifacts, stories also have to be analyzed textually.

However, until 1960s, there had been no narrative turn. It was in 1960 that in literary studies structuralists emerged with an altogether different approach that is Narrative theory in Historiography. They challenged the naïve narratives, through which historiography was being conducted. The approach was positivist in nature. Additionally, in 1980 a turn was witnessed in narrative, when it hit the social sciences. Social science adopted it differently; it was in stark contradiction with positivist methodology. In 1960s new to narrative was that it turned away from ‘individual narratives’ to ‘institutional narrative’, unlike Aristotelian narrative. The concept in 1980s took very post structuralist and post modern turns in psychology and culture studies.

In 1960 two disciplines got pregnant with the concept of narrative those were literature and linguistics late the concept was adopted by multiple disciplines, thus emerged as polymorphous concept. Ronald Barthes shows the ubiquity of narrative putting it as ‘*Able to be carried by articulated language, spoken or written, fixed or moving images, gestures, and the ordered mixture of all these substances; narrative is present in myth, legend, fable, tale, novella, epic, history, tragedy, drama, comedy, mime, painting [...], stained glass windows, cinema, comics, news item, conversation*’. This turn included everything as narrative which complicated the situation as to what be considered as narrative material in research.

Two major moves toward these turns were Jean Francois Lyotard’s rejection of grand narratives and emphasizing small, untold and alternate stories and narratives. It initially inspired feminist studies. Indeed postmodern suspicion towards the validity of science and legitimization of institutional truth was also the reason for the turn. It took very much hermeneutical orientation even was critical of narratives. Second turn was when narrative was

treated and conceptualized as 'Life as Narrative'. For example McAdam while treating Life as Narrative argued that "*(I)n the modern world in which we all live, identity is a life story. A life story is a personal myth that an individual begins working on in late adolescence and young adulthood in order to provide his or her life with unity or purpose [...]*". Life is thus coherent and unitary, irrespective of interactionism. These turns within narratives left narrative no more in compatibility with structuralist orientation. Post structuralist rejected this unitary vision of narrative as life. They argued that while telling stories about oneself, people actually talk about many selves each situated in different contextuality, spatiality and temporality. This is thus a discursive nature of narrative articulated by post structuralist.

Such confusion over search of methods for narrative analysis made the academicians and scholars retrospect and dig out methods from past, for example work across discipline were revisited like Vladimir Propp, William Labov and Joshua Waletzky. These scholars grew popular within schools of thought like post structuralism, phenomenology, and hermeneutics which were trying to conceptualize narrative methods. To overcome this very tension over narrative methods different scholars wrote introductions to narrative methods, for example, Kohler Riessman, Lightfoot and Lieblich.

The chapter presents Proppian Model of Narrative. Vladimir Propp has studied a specific genre of Russian wonder tales empirically. During his study he found that "*in the wonder-tale Different characters perform identical actions, or, what is the same thing, that identical actions can be performed in very different ways*". However within his this Formulaic genre, he found that all wonder tales had some basic functions which were acted out in different ways but yet in same order. Prop puts it as "*So, for example, if the hero leaves home in quest of something, and the object of his desires is far away, he can reach it by magic horse, eagle, flying carpet, flying ship, astride the devil and so on*". Prop in his model picked up number of actions and reduced them into functions so as to study them. And he also identified number of key actors and reduced them to categories like Father, Helper, Villian, Hero and princes. Propp had adopted inductive and empirical approach which was bottom-up in nature. However but the reception of book in 1960s in French discussion took another turn. It was

used an top-down approach. They tried to fit whatsoever comes in the model of wonder tales genre.

The author of the chapter further illustrated a Labovian Model of personal narrative. The model prescribed by William Labov and Joshua Waletzky had a huge impact on social research. Labovian model spawned out of linguistic discourse. The model offered a criterion to differentiate narratives from talk like questions, arguments and descriptions. They located a structural form of narrative and said a narrative has a function which is to capture experience but also argued that not only 'functional element' is peculiar to the structure but also 'Evaluation'. Basic to the model is 'narrative clause' they argued that clause sequentiality can change the narrative altogether. For example "*I fell in love with paula. My wife left me*", if the sequence of these clauses is swapped the narrative will be completely changed. But only such elementary narratives are built on these narrative clauses. Labov and Waletzky say the model is based on sequentiality "*one method of recapitulating past experience by matching verbal sequence of clauses to the sequence of events that actually occurred*". Moreover the model comprise of different parts namely, 1) Abstract, 2) Evaluation, 3) Orientation, 4) Result, 5) Complicating action, and 6) Coda. This model resembles model created in literary studies earlier.

However, Elliot Mishler criticizes this model for being incomplete. He pointed towards narrative being made during interviews. He argued that labovian model is strictly structuralist in nature; it presents stories as independent and fully formed texts. They take story and narrative as already formed only awaited to be delivered. The model has disregarded recipients and their responses and reactions. Mishler points out that emphasis on sequentiality is another problem with the model. In intense life histories while interviewing the criteria does not qualify for where chronological order is not given any importance. The interviewee might talk to and fro in referential frame from past to present.

As narrative progressed it went beyond text and considered conceptuality, interactionism, spatiality and temporality. It was argued by narrative is a sense-making process rather than a finished product. We follow labovian narrative comprising 6 steps then what about

conversational narratives which are started without knowing where they would end. Therefore narrative activity emerged as a concept in “narrative ethnography”. In the chapter it is argued that there is difference between ‘story’ and ‘storying processes’. Storying process is thus ‘narrativity’ a sense making process. Jaber F. Gubrium and James A. Holstein argues *that “Concern with the production, distribution, and circulation of stories in society requires that we step outside of narrative material and consider questions such as who produces particular kinds of stories, where are they likely to be encountered, what are their consequences, under what circumstances are particular narratives more or less accountable, what interests publicize them, how do they gain popularity, and how are they challenged?”* this is how the author argues that narrative analysis went beyond text and took the guise of “narrative as a practice”

The chapter further argues about scripts frames. Any social situation be it old or new, is subject to a script. For example when we go to a restaurant we know that we have to select a table, look into a menu, order food and pay the bill, this whole set of social actions in a restaurant is governed by a script. Scripts organize our politics, sexual relationships, shopping and the likes. These scripts are like grand narratives which are culturally shared. As Michael Bamberg argues that *“I would like to catch up with the concession that speakers constantly invoke master narratives, and that many, possibly even most, of the master narratives employed remain inaccessible to our conscious recognition and transformation. Master narratives structure how the world is intelligible, and therefore permeate the petit narratives of our everyday talk”*

The chapter also sheds light on ‘expectation analyses’ in narrative analysis. In expectation analysis, the speaker anticipates the responses of listener and thus constructs the entire utterance accordingly. Moreover, experiences might be subjective but expectations are always cultural and conventional. There are junctures where we do not recount occurrences but expectations. For example one does not recount what happened but what did not happen. This cognitive relevance of negative expressions in expectation analysis owes to Labov and Waletzky.

### 2.1.3. Narrative as a Research strategy

Margarete Sandelowski (Sandelowski, 1991), in which she has shown the historicity of the revival of narratives in academia of behavioral sciences as an alternate way of knowing. The author has shown different techniques and methods of narrative analysis in the field for qualitative researchers. Article has drawn upon literary critical studies and sociolinguistics. However, author has particularly addressed the nursing scholars on the issue of narrative analysis in qualitative research.

In the article the authors postulates that narrative activity or story telling is pervasive across individuals. Fieldworker and natives, physicians and patients, researcher and subjects all are involved in storytelling. Natives, patients and subjects narrate their story with different semantic and chronological order while fieldworkers, physicians and researcher in turn narrate their own subjective version in their clinical case studies, reports and research papers.

In the article the author shows that almost all scholars across behavioral sciences are influenced by this interpretive tradition. Scholars employ techniques and literary devices for their qualitative analysis in research. *'Scholars now see the story in the study, the tale in theory, the parable in the principle, and the drama in the life. Scientific texts, for example, have been viewed as kuhnian tales where theories are presumed to be largely governed by prevailing plots and aesthetic forms'*. Furthermore in article the narrative conventions and literary devices like passive voice and third person in scientific work is said to be "anti narrative". For instance the alienation of text form author and method form interpretation. Humans as narrators and their products as text have been re-conceptualized.

However, this trend suggests solution for analytic problems which once were disguised in conventional theory and method debate about validity and objectivity. It is said that these analytic problems involve ambiguous nature of truth, like metaphoric language that communicates putatively objective reality, socio-cultural context and constraints, the temporality and liminality of humans' interpretation of an event and *"the making of everything scientific out of everything biographical"*

It is further showed in the article that unlike in narrative and biographical standards of truth, the empiricists at the expense of understanding the expressions, only seek information. James

Peacock, an anthropologist, said that *“the narrative patterning in life history is important in its own right, but has been ignored and cannibalized to feed analyses at other level”*. Narrative analysis focuses on discontinuities between experience and story while analytic techniques only focus on content and information. As lives are understood and shaped by narrative thus narrative approach has to be like a natural way inquiring, like a layman does.

The author in this article came up with her own framework for narrative analysis. Her narrative framework comprise of, a) understanding human beings as subject of inquiry, b) conceptualizing the interview, c) analyzing and interpreting interview data. The researcher has to assume the reader, researcher and subject as a narrative knowing in a hermeneutic circle of interpretation. Narrative is a mode of transforming knowing into a telling. Narrative is a paradigmatic mode one among many modes. *“Human beings are immersed in narrative, telling themselves stories in virtually an uninterrupted monologue and tirelessly listening to and recognizing in their own stories the stories of others”*

Life as a narrative order gives us an idea of difference among ‘lives’ as Edward Bruner, an Anthropologist put it, life-as-lived (actual happening), life-as-experienced (emotions, sensations, thoughts and images and symbolism) and life-as-told (narrative). However, since there has to be correspondence among these three lives, therefore all individuals has to be perfect copies of each other as narrative is subject to time and space. A story is a representation be it a self-story or a life history, it is mere reconstruction of life at given point in fleeting time unlike life itself.

We have different techniques for narrative analysis. Narrative analysis can be carried through paradigms like ethno-methodology, phenomenology and symbolic interactionism of socio-linguistics, the author in this article argues. Moreover author argues that we have two approaches within narrative analysis, Descriptive Narrative Analysis and Explanatory Narrative Analysis. In Descriptive narrative analysis a researcher describes a) a narrative of life story of an individual or a group, b) to what conditions a story is subjected and what is its emplotment and with what story it coheres or prevail over, d) and relationship between an exceptional individual story and the stock of stories in that particular culture. For example a different narrative which can be a resistant narrative or an aberrant one and c) what significance it has for that group or individual. While in Explanatory narrative analysis a

researcher seek answer to 'why'. It is retrospective; it assumes that an event cannot be studied until ended. An even has to have a beginning, middle and an end. It employs What-If strategy, like what if it had/had not happened. Such an analysis is used to predict.

Author further suggests that narrative analysts can also look up for "Narrative forms" and graph individual story lines, and in that story-line labeling life events by age or phase and further ask for evaluative responses over that event like, happy/unhappy/very sad/tragic/normal. Individuals can also be asked to graph their own story-lines and give evaluative responses over life events. Such study, using story-line method, is conducted by Gergen. His study revealed that most common narrative form employed by college students while representing their first 20 years was 'comedy'. This narrative form showed the typical middle class American cultural myth in which childhood is happy, adulthood is conflicted and college life happy again. It thus can be concluded that life stories are communal and cultural with their narrative forms.

Through using such 'Narrative Models' an analyst can have an insight into as to human understand and enact their lives by the virtue of stories. The author cites in the article one of her research case study. In her case study of an infertile couple, unlike other married couples who want child of their own for culture dictates so as to have a successful marital life, show an alternate desire of adopting a child. The author reported that the narrative of this couple was we-are-different trope. Their this narrative was justified when they told the author that their friends told them that infertility happened to the right couple owing to low investment in pregnancy. Couple's this narrative was a protest against those infertility narrative in which the emplotment of infertility was negative.

## **2.2. Theories of Securitization**

### **2.2.1. Securitization, Globalization and War on Terror**

Marianne Stone (Stone, 2009) gives an overview of the concept security and its evolution within IR and political science. It is said that to traditionalist the concept of security is mere a "derivative of power" is thus a synonym of power to them. This very view was indeed relevant till World War 1 but with the end of cold war the concept grown into a more complex phenomenon. Buzan in his book, *People, State and Fear*, comes up with more operation



conceptualization of the term. He treats security comprising other mini concepts of security like, economic, societal, environmental and regional. Buzan has been very holistic in his approach and his theoretical orientation seems to be influenced by both the neo-realists and constructivists.

Buzan states that while arriving at explanation of complex security one has first to ask what the ontology of a state is, since state is the 'main referent' in IR. Here Buzan's departure from realist and neorealist can be witnessed. For instance it is here that Buzan challenges the monolithic nature of state as "egoist". Once such apprehension is withdrawn only then one can arrive at explaining Buzan's complex security.

Furthermore, Buzan's analysis of security is on three levels that is state, individual and international system. These three according to Buzan are interlinked and form a web of security understanding. One cannot analyze them individually, if does would only end up in formulating a myopic policy. Besides Buzan also speaks of sectors that comprise the complex security which are Political, Military, Economic, Societal, and Environmental. All these concepts of security relate to the broader structural concept of security which Buzan call 'security complex'. The all levels and sectors are interlinked and each affects the other. Therefore they cannot be studies isolation. Buzan states that "Micro and Macro methodology" is of utmost to importance to get better idea and tackle what Buzan calls a 'national security problem'..

'Military threats' are the most obvious and concerning threat to a state, says Buzan. Military threats can put into question the basic duty of a state that is to protect a citizen. Such threats are of special concern and thus involve force. Military threat can affect a state on many levels.

'Political Threats', though they are hard to distinguish, but if they are to weaken state, can be treated on par with military threats. Political threats can be an ideology, political resistance or a change in status quo. Political threats are mostly intentional but at times they can eventuated structurally by of foreign alternatives, like humans right over issue of Balochs or kashmiris in Pakistan and India respectively and such political threats might challenge state's legitimacy.

Societal security is most important an intriguing among aforementioned five sectors and is difficult to be distinguished from political sector. Societal threats are about, identity, culture

and ethnicities and can be found in any weak state. Since states is 'western concept' thus such issues are often found in south Asian states which are less product of a modern organic market and more erected on the rhetoric of shared culture and history or on the basis of common geography for instance Baloch separatist movement. However, it is be borne in mind that "societal security" is very complex and virtually impossible to apply as it deals with identities and cultures which are in essence subjective and contextual constructions, thus it can lead to the politics of exclusion.

Barry Buzan further has explained security on regional level says the author, and his regional security is relational on this level. Buzan argues that one cannot understand the regional security until understand the international patterns of security interdependence. Buzan enlists various important concepts regarding regional security, first is that of "amity and enmity" that is relationships among states marked by friendship and fear. Buzan does not hold balance of power the sole determinant for amity and enmity, for issues like ideology, territory, ethnic lines, and history also play pivotal role in it. The concept of amity/enmity leads to the concept that Buzan dubs as "*security complex*" that is "a group of states whose primary security concerns link together sufficiently closely that their national securities cannot realistically be considered apart from one another." One such example is that of Pakistan and Saudi Arab against Israel. Since Pakistan has erected its states apparatus under the name of Islam, a borrowed concept from Arabs, it is thus liable on Pakistan to deem the foe of Arab as foe of her.

Buzan furthers his concept of security policy by distinguishing and disentangling the concepts like vulnerability, threat. This is a key divide in a security policy which Buzan has aptly cod conceptualized. 'Vulnerabilities' are those areas which within states can be exploited to pose a threat to state and this buzan refers to as 'national security strategy'. While 'Threats' are those lying outside border which he refers to as 'international security strategy'. However the concepts are highlighted to serve the international debate on national security as to which security is to be concentrated on? Buzan answers the question that both should go hand in hand if one is compromised for other the state shall be inevitably insecure.

The discussion paper further discusses the concept of 'Macro-securitization' in post 9/11 and under WoT. This concept of macro-securitization is one of great contribution of Buzan to IR.

Buzan has employed the concept of Ole weaver of 'securitization' for macro-securitization. Ole Waever was close colleague of Buzan. To waver when an issue is "securitized" it is mechanically constructed into a threat. To him "something is a security problem when the elites declare it to be so". Buzan's macro-securitization is of the like nature but on a larger scale. "macro-securitisations" frames all other security issues, agendas and relationships, for they are based on Universalist constructions of threats or referent objects." Buzan holds two variables apparently responsible for such macro-securitization, Globalization, and "belief in universalist ideologies like Human Rights, Democracy and of the likes.

However to substantiate his argument buzan exemplifies Cold War as a macro-securitization. For example cold war, eventuated securitization for inter-states society for decades. Buzan, thus, holds the apprehensions that War on Terrorism might spring as a macro-securitization. Buzan even postulates that states sooner or later would need securitization "as a part of their day-to-day functioning"

According Buzan macro-securitization of WoT, War on Terro, was framed by American government. This can be evinced by the Bush's ultimatum of "you are with us or against us" which created an atmosphere much like that of Cold War where everyone had to choose a "side". However Buzan offers an interesting alternative that is to make to make terrorism a part of "normal politics" as accidents and other everyday risks, but that is a thing which no country can afford thus her further offers three different options to securitize that is "Insulation", "Repression" and "Equalizing". 'Insulation' is a strategy where state is hardened against penetration of terrorists and vulnerabilities" at the expense of liberal values and economic liberalization. While "Repression", is "the sharp end of the WoT" that is what Buzan calls it, it "is about carrying the fight to the terrorists in an attempt to eliminate them by police and/or military action", repression is not unlike insulation, it also undermines core liberal values which are of great importance for a democratic society. Lastly, "Equalizing" which stems from an assumption that terrorism stems out from "inequalities and injustices". Buzan insists on this very third option of "Equalizing" but, liberal economies are not ready to take on this kind of policy. Though if it is adopted it can help in the long run for securitization of terrorism.

### **2.2.2. Securitization as a social construction**

Vladimir Sulovic (Sulovic, 2010) shed light on the recent conceptualization of the term 'Security' and presents its intellectual-cum-technical repertoire. He presents the variant concepts ranging from traditionalists to Copenhagen school. The article mostly draws on the conceptual framework of Barry Buzan and Ole Weaver and Copenhagen school too. Main argument of the article is that security is inter-subjective concept and is a speech act thus self-referential.

According to Buzan, essentially, "security is pursuit of freedom from threats". Conceptualization of the term security or any other concept is necessitated so as to eliminate any ambiguity and inconsistencies within research. For example, as a concept, 'security', says Wolfer, can be "dangerously ambiguous" if used without specifications. Baldwin, thus, while drawing upon Wolfer raises questions like "Security for whom? Security for what values? How much security? From what threats? By what means? At what cost? And in what time period? These fundamental questions challenges the episteme and core value of securitization and moralizes it.

According to Copenhagen School of Security Studies 'security' is a process of social construction of threats. The process comprised of a 'security actor', a political elite, who declares a phenomenon as existential threat for the survival of a referent object. Once the perception regarding the phenomenon as a threat is accepted by the audience, it is mechanically legitimized for being treat as with state of exception and this how the issue is securitized and pushed outside the arena of 'normal politics' into the arena of "panic politics". Moreover to Buzan and Ole Weaver "Security is the move that takes politics beyond the established rules of the game and frames the issue either as a special kind of politics or as above politics". They call such a move 'Securitizing move'.

Moreover to Buzan and Ole security a threat does not exist independently from the discourse, rather symbols, signs and language are their means and cause of construction and objectification expression. It is therefore they claim that language exists prior to security. To Ole Weaver security is a 'Speech Act in the securitization theory, by saying the very word 'security' it is done, says Ole Weaver. A 'Speech Act' is self-referential structure.

Security issues have always been a matter of choice, a political choice, says Ole Weaver. The choice is materialized through discursive practice of labeling. Therefore the construction of a security issue through speech act cannot be attributed to a single person, otherwise there would not be any distinction between a ‘Speech Act’ and the ‘Subjective Perception’, it is essentially inter-subjective process. It is of course out of discursive negotiations between the securitizing agent and audience, who either legitimize and dismiss it as futile. Securitization is thus solely subject to audience for its legitimization to be treated in the arena of “politics of panic”.

Additionally, the Copenhagen School levels further criticism over the utility of security, they argue that it shouldn’t be idealized at all, as it leads weakens regular political process and damage core liberal democratic values. However, they suggest ‘De-securitization’ as an optimum long-term alternative which would cause the return of certain issues from the ambit of ‘politics of exception’ to public sphere or ‘Normal politics’

### **2.2.3. Securitization of Global Governance and Political Economy**

While Penelope Larzilliere, (Larzilliere, 2012), who tries to take up a macro level analysis of security sector reform. The major argument of the article is as to how the human security was tooled up by western states in their interests. It argues that the term security has been semantically modified and incorporated into development policies seemingly. However that is not the case development in reality has nothing to do with security, augmented by a case study of Lebanon in the article. Security in development is mere an outcome of south-north power relationship that exists globally. In minor arguments of the article it is stated that how the state is constructed “fragile” against terrorism and is then intervened in the name of security, good governance, and capacity building.”

The article is written in the backdrop of cold-war. It asserts that how with the process of decolonization and fall of soviet multiple weak states emerged few were very nascent and thus vulnerable to terrorism. To prevent war on terror, like islamist militia across the globe, security was semantically modified and tied with development. Fragile states were said to be in need of good governance, capacity building and security professionalization. It is argued in the article that this was the reversal of classical statism in context of security. Primarily security meant social development and was people centered. This human security approach

was developed, for the first time, by Mahbub ul Haq in the UNDP Human Development Report in 1994.

However, initially with end of cold war and decolonization many state witnessed internal wars and ethnic resistance owing to which the security was modified. In this regard the Copenhagen school developed the notion of societal security. This was a turning point, for it moved the focus of security from traditional state to individuals. While Mehbub ul Haq's conceptualization of security was freedom from wants and fears of hunger, cloth and diseases, respectively. But Copenhagen schools focus was on "threats" and "conflicts".

Later on when war on terror was witnessed the concept or once again re-modified and reversed to it classical definition that is statism. In late 90s the Human security agenda was made a part of UN mandate by Kofi Annan in the 1999 Millennium Declaration. it elicited support from powers like Japan, Canada and Norway. It was used as a foreign policy tool to ascend on international scene basing peace in conflicted zones and development Aid for reconstruction in war torn areas. This was how Security had come into trend and dominated all development projects and is thus soft power to attain self interest. Therefore an intervention basing Humanitarianism is a pretext for military operations and its legitimacy. Furthermore armies have made up an image of humanitarians who not only provide security for convoys but directly distribute aid, they are portrayed as messiahs. This whole definition of security has legitimized the notion of "Politics of Exception"

Accordingly the author further argues that the repertoire of the term security is further extended and linked to development. He argues that some development experts in west argued that it is owing to relative poverty and deprivation that instigates violence therefore security and development is interlinked. However it is due to this interlink-age that today all development plans are being dominated by security. Security and development is mere political debate according to the author among practitioners, development is no longer an end in itself but a means to west. Through signification of the problem in east the west only depoliticizes the societies.

Moreover, Reza EkhtiariAmiri, SaeidNaji and Fakhreddin Soltani (Reza EkhtiariAmiri, 2014) outlines three levels of security analysis given by Barry Buzan and Ole Waever. Who

predominantly draws upon the work of Barry Buzan and Ole Weavers to analyze international security, they take their analysis on macro level.

The article shows that there are two levels of analysis in international relations which are domination international relations, first 'unit level' advocated by Singer, and second 'structure of system' favored by Waltz. However, David Singer proposed two levels of analysis that is 'international system' and 'national sub-systems'. According to him, international system is the most comprehensive level of analysis, it helps understand the patterns of interaction and make generalizations and predictions. But, he argues that the weakness of systemic level is one of a myopic view, it is short of details. While national level of analysis emphasizes on both internal and external factors of behavior, therefore it stands out distinct among other levels of analysis like 'system level'. Singer argues that 'national sub-system' or 'actor-oriented system' is more productive and efficient owing to being rich in details. Singer concludes that "study of international relations is not limited to just national and systemic levels, and that there may be other available and perhaps, even more fruitful ones".

However the most significant contribution of Copenhagen school to security studies has been the concepts of societal security and securitization that gave the idea of "Regional Security Complex Theory" by Barry Buzan and Ole Weaver. Societal security, by Weaver and Buzan, is defined as "the ability of a society to persist in its essential character under changing conditions and possible or actual threats". Buzan and Ole also declare Collective identities as 'Referent Object' like religions, language and ethnicities, which thus are to be protected. In case of Pakistan religion is of such ilk. Ontologically, society/societal security, is the referent object for securitization theory instead of a state. But, Egotistic security actors often securitize issues which serve their interest argues Buzan. It thus can be argued that different security actors can perceive nature of survival and threats subjectively. Buzan and Ole Weaver argues that an issue becomes a security issue, for the issue is presented as such.

RSC which was given by Buzan and Weaver is said to be the most suitable and dominant tool to study international security and politics in Post-Cold War. For, it is argued that local powers have more potential to maneuver owing to multi-polar world. They argue that the great powers cannot afford any intervention in security affairs beyond their own regions, for they

have limited domestic capabilities. Thus they have to leave local powers to deal with security issues within their own regions.

However, on RSC level of analysis, history, politics, patterns of amity and enmity and power relations have to be taken in consideration in every region. Furthermore penetration of great powers only befalls when the regional rivalry invites them in for balance of power, as we see it in past in the case of India and Pakistan.

## **2.3. Theories of Depoliticization**

### **2.3.1. Depoliticization as a framework and tactics for Governance**

The article is written by Neeraj Mishra (Mishra, 2011), in which he first tries to conceptualize the term depoliticization and shows its different tactics which are being used to depoliticize. However he also tries to make the reader understand as to how ‘Depoliticization’ as a framework can be employed by a researcher to understand different development projects in urban governance in a democratic society. The author has initially tried to give an operational definition of politics, for he thinks one cannot understand depoliticization until acquainted with concept of politics and he then moves to operationalize politicization as a process. This is how he strategically takes the reader to understanding of depoliticization. The article mainly draws upon the models of different authors on ‘depoliticization’ as a conceptual framework like that of Colin Hay, Mathew Flinder and Jim Buller and. Besides, he cites some of case studies of depoliticization within development, for example work of James Ferguson in Lesotho and VasudhaChhotray in India on Watershed project.

The authors operationalizes ‘Politics’ as *“politics responds to the need in complex and differentiated societies for collective and ultimately binding decision making. In the language of rational choice theory, contemporary societies are characterized by proliferation of so-called collective action problems (environmental degradation, global warming, etc.) to which politics is, in some sense, a response”*. If put in nutshell politics is about power exercise and its strategies, for example *Leftwich* describes that societies as collectivities and humans as individuals have multifarious interests and preferences which are to be dealt with a set of conscious processes that is ‘politics’



Now we turn to the concept of “Depoliticization” that the author has given in his article, if put simply, any issue is politicized when subjected to public deliberation and decision-making. Colin Hay has aptly put ‘politics’ as the realm of ‘*contingency and deliberation*’ and distinguished it from the realm of ‘*necessity*’ which means the denial of human agency and belief in fatalism of or nature. Thus as argued in the article that political sphere comprised of both *governmental sphere* and *public sphere*. Moreover Colin Hay has further departmentalized the political realm into three different arenas, firstly, the *governmental arena*, secondly the *public but non- governmental arena*, and thirdly the *private arena*. Collin Hay’s Three types of Politicization thus can be understood as under:

1. **Politicization (Type 1):** promotion from the realm of necessity to the private sphere.
2. **Politicization (Type 2):** promotion from the private sphere to the public sphere.
3. **Politicization (Type 3):** promotion from public sphere to the governmental sphere.

Bluhdorn, in nutshell puts it as “*In the most general sense, politicization is the realization that established social norms, social practices and social relations are contingent rather than sacrosanct, that citizens, individually and collectively, have political agency by means of which alternatives can be explored and implemented. This recognition of contingency in social practices and relations and the power of collective political agency have been the igniting spark of emancipatory—progressive movements (visible in the form of ‘participatory dis- course’ in development) and politicization has been their key strategy*”.

Now the author turns to the core issue that is ‘*depoliticization*’ in the article. Having the concepts of politics and politicization now once can easily understand the author while operationalizing depoliticizing as a process in which the once politicized issues become least political or non-political. It is argued that depoliticization is a process of relocation of issues into arenas which are subject to non-negotiable rules, scientific facts and codes instead of democratic values, For example arenas like scientific laboratories, economic markets or expert committees which are apolitical arenas. While education standards, Interest rates, poverty or water scarcity are issues which are recently relocated into such arenas.

Moreover, depoliticization of people’ is a process in which previously politically engaged citizens give up political arenas and retreat into private sphere and pursue personal affairs and

well-being. The author argues that such pursuit eventuates the ‘*Emergence of individualism, mistrust of political organizations and activities, consumerist social order and disappearance of community life due to personalized sources of entertainment may be seen as evidence for the depoliticization of citizens*’. Furthermore, depoliticization of institutions or social organizations is thus a process of shedding any political ideology, and focusing on “core business” or “task at hand”, which can be witnessed in guise of professionalism.

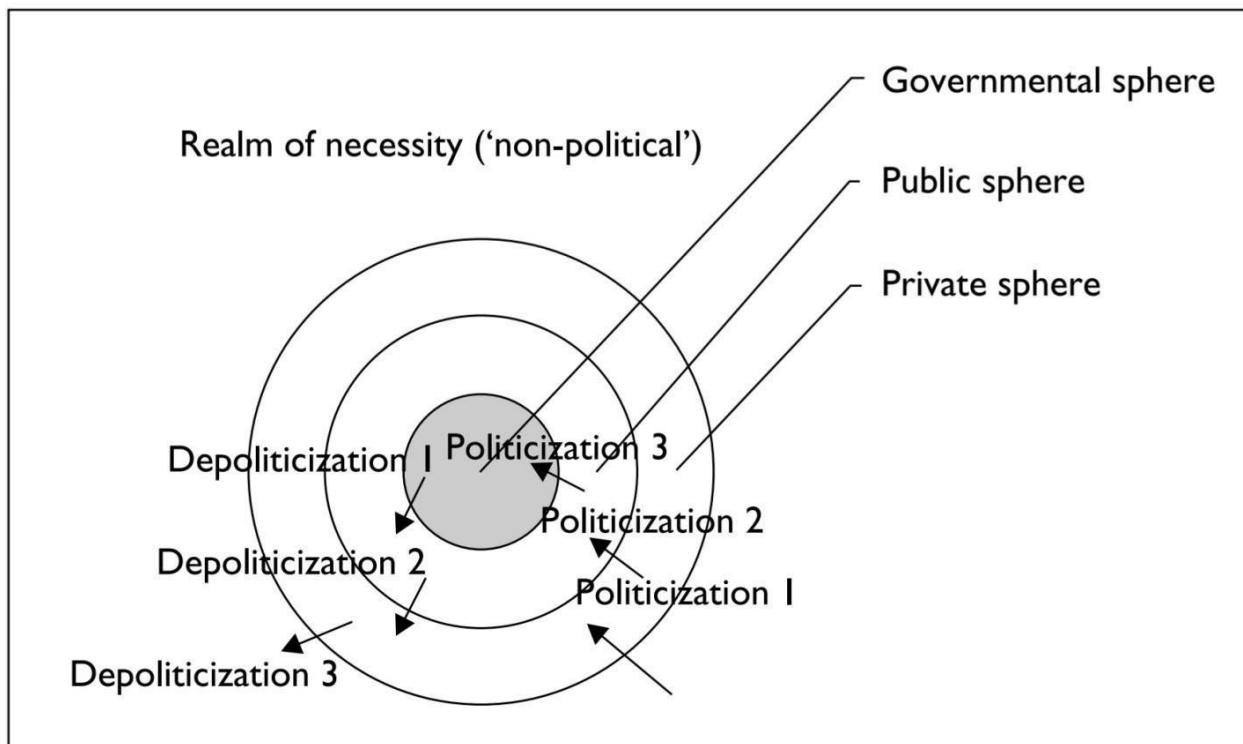
Now, the authors try to define ‘depoliticization’ through the model of Collin Hay. Hay, while, operationalizing the process of depoliticization simply calls it the reversal of ‘Politicization’. He has classified the process of depoliticization, too, into three types of.

**Depoliticization Type 1:** reversal of an issue from governmental sector into the public sphere.

**Depoliticization Type 2:** reversal of an issue from the public sphere into private sphere.

**Depoliticization Type 3:** reversal of an issue from private sphere into the realm of necessity.

*The model by Hay is cited as under:*



*Figure 1: Hay's model*

Depoliticization within public policy is understood as a strategy to reduce of the direct influence of politicians by the virtue of institutional delegation, for politicians are deemed as mere vote maximizers. However, Peter Burnham calls depoliticization a form of ‘statecraft’ or ‘governance strategy’. Burnham, while, conceptualizing Depoliticization as a governing strategy calls it ‘the process of placing at one remove the political character of decision-making’. Moreover, Burnham states that depoliticization as a process is cloaked in the language of rhetoric like inclusiveness, democratization and empowerment.

However, so far whatever conceptualizations we have, says Mathew Flinders and Jim Buller, has some characteristics in common. Flinder and Buller have reviewed plethora of literature on depoliticization and finally gave a synthesized operationalization of the concept drawing upon predominantly upon the work of Peter Burnham, Collin Hay. They propose six shared attributes which they have found while reviewing literature across disciplines. These six shared features are as under.

1. *The role and power of a dominant rationality.*
2. *Shifts in political reasoning and conceptions of legitimacy.*
3. *The process of placing at one remove the political character of decision making.*
4. *The reallocation of functions and responsibilities to independent bodies or panels of experts.*
5. *The exclusion of politics through the adoption of ‘rational’ practices.*
6. *Political exhaustion, which feeds loss of confidence and a resignation to fate.*

By synthesizing these six features of depoliticization Flinder and Buller, thus, conceptualizes depoliticization as “*the range of tools, mechanisms and institutions through which politicians can attempt to move to an indirect governing relationship and/or seek to persuade the demos that they can no longer be reasonably held responsible for a certain issue, policy, field, or specific decision*”. They further argue that depoliticization does not mean an issue becomes altogether apolitical rather it means ‘shifting of areans’, and an issue when depoliticized also does not reduce its impact on society at all. However, all these ‘Processes and procedures’ that fall under the rubric of depoliticization are called ‘Arena Shifting’ by Flinders and Hay.

Flinders and Buller propounded that depoliticization has three levels, firstly, at its core, lies ‘*macro-political level*’ which is the principle. Secondly, it has ‘*Meso-political level*’ which is the different tactics for carrying out depoliticization, those vary across time and space. Thirdly it has the ‘*micro-political level*’, the tools or forms which tactics of depoliticization employs.

The model given by Flinders and Buller is illustrated as under:

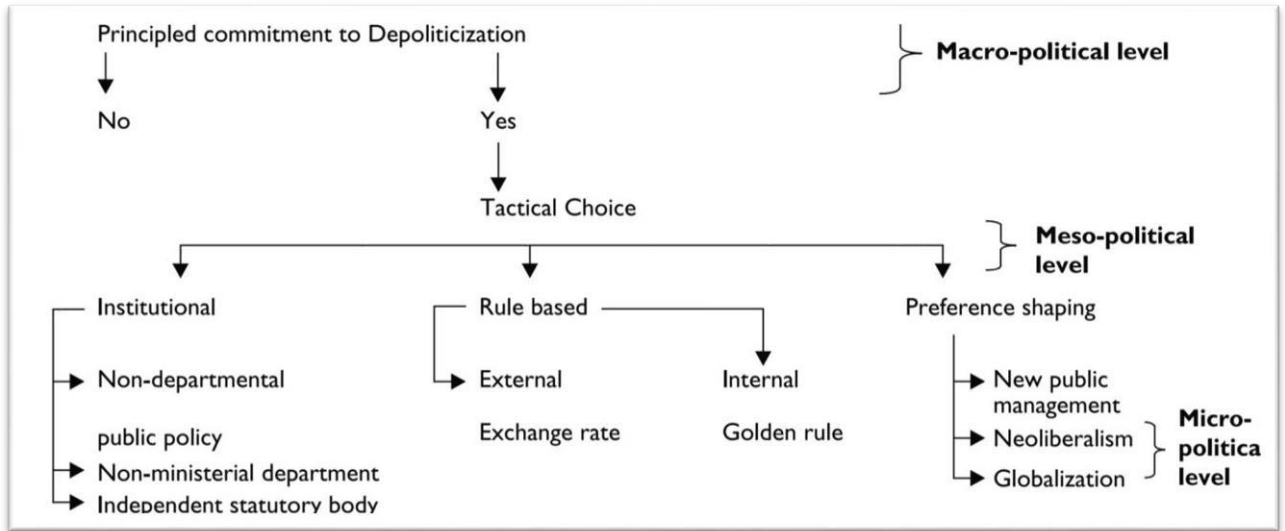


Figure 2: Model by Flinders and Buller

The tactics Flinder has categorized are namely, *Preference-Shaping Depoliticization*, *Rules-based Depoliticization* and *Institutional Depoliticization*.

Conclusively, a government might resort to a number of different depoliticization tactics conditioned spatially and temporally. However, preference-shaping tactic, being at meso-level in the model, also provides a macro-political context or rationale as to whether initiate depoliticization on an issue or not, while the institutional depoliticization tactic, too, can operate simeltenously on two levels that is meso-level and micro-level. Moreover, rule-based depoliticization works at meso level and within a specific policy area.

## **2.4. Securitization as a Meta-Narrative**

### **2.4.1. Security Meta-Framing, Narrativity and Biopolitics**

The article is written by Vida Bajc (Bajc, 2013) which has employed post-structuralist approach and an integrationist approach towards security understanding. The article is an intellectual conceptualization of the term security, unlike conceptualized within IR and Politics. It has drawn upon secondary data to conceptualize security, sociological or on micro level.

In the article it is shown as to how through exclusionary classification the security has grown into a meta-framing and thus now has become an ordering principle of our social life. However, it seem to the author, a meta-frame whatsoever it be, is a social and cultural construct. In other words I, here for the convenience of reader, call it a narrative or a world view. The author has borrowed concept of “meta” form Gregory Bateson, who has borrowed it form Bertrand Russles’ “logical types”. The article suggests this meta-framing of security show a struggle between authoritarian bureaucracy and democratic values.

The article stresses over as to how this security-meta framing shapes our daily lives and our sense of aesthetics, for example our social cohesions, leisure, and experiences. Security provides us with a world view which altogether changes our cosmotological understanding and grows in to a dominant value at the cost of other values like political participation, privacy and human rights. We with an internalization of this meta-framing of security comprehend and evaluate all of our own action with a value of security, that is to say in binary of order and disorder.

However, security entails surveillance which with modern era has been made more intense through, computers, closed circuit cameras and other technologies and techniques. Surveillance is made via “exclusionary classification” and “individuation”. Individuation is process in which an individual are assigned identifiers. Initially such identifiers were family name, birth place and date of birth or a name. But as advancement in medical and technologies transpired they took up varied forms like retina scan, DNA and other fingerprints. While exclusionary classification is one in which people are classified into categories through sorting out of information, gained through surveillance strategies.

Classification is made through modern technologies in modern state which manages to feed as much data as it can to its database. Anywhere across the globe if a business transaction is made, a card is swiped or an email is sent, the data goes to database where security analysts sorts out the data as safe and dangerous into categories on the basis of past data or chronological patterns of events and behaviors.

Furthermore, Surveillance is technologically and expertly informed bureaucratic practice of controlling and ordering present and future. Security is internalized as a world view and politically translated as an ideology or agenda. Weber asserted that training and knowledge of surveillance professionals are their legitimacy. Security is to tame uncertainty which is the hallmark of modernity in particular late modernity. This security meta-framing transforms social and physical spaces and such process is called '*security meta-ritual*'. Our past and present experiences shape our sentiments about security meta-ritual, for example colonial past, ethnic clashes, economic disparity and wars.

The author also poses questions regarding these surveillance professionals. For example, as to how the professionals are trained. Who are supposed to be an analyst or professional? What are the responsibilities and to whom a professional is accountable for miss-understanding the data? How and at what scale responses are invented to specific categories? And how do these professionals gain legitimacy in the eyes of public? Moreover the author points to the exclusion and exclusivity of security. State-sanctioned security operatives are relatively privileged in accessing data which subsequently provide them with an authority of expertise. Secondly, since they have the first hand experience owing to privileged status thus they are made valuable to many scholars for interviews and data whose access to data is limited comparatively. These professionals are seen delivering lectures in universities and their expertise are published in journals and book. Journalists and independent scholars are also privileged with an access to data, while university affiliated social scientists are restricted and obliged to pursue research ethical codes and university rules.

Lastly, author argues as to how another strategy is used to sensitize masses with sense of urgency. The strategy he defines is the criminalization of marginalized groups who are said to pose threats to society. Besides he postulates that when security grows into meta framing there emerges a segment of population who deem military and other security services as means of

living and involvement into war-setting as a way of life. Where military installments have shaped the local population into towns and cities there people see fighting skill as a reliable way to protect themselves.

#### **2.4.2. Security Meta-framing and Illiberal state-Building**

Jonathan Fisher and David M. Anderson (Anderson, 2015) article starts with popular perception of securitization of development held by states across the globe. Post to 9/11 the terrains infected with terrorism were ‘securitized’ and ‘militarized’ though the debate was quite in trend since 1990s. The word was popularized within UN and international community. Unfortunately there are two popular views within the debate of securitization. Firstly, that ‘securitization’ has a negative impact on development such as human rights, governance and social development. Secondly, that the security agenda only serves the interest of west, and is being imposed upon the states in South.

The article draws upon African literature and suggests that in most of African states securitization of development had been unwelcoming. The article has been augmented with four case studies of Chad, Ethiopia, Rwanda and Uganda. Authors argue that these states have authoritarian and militarized regimes, which have readily adopted the securitization agenda, for they have time to time employed military means to suppress internal dissents or settle problems at their borders. However their very relationship with western donors has resulted in ill-liberal state building. The emergence of AFRICOM evinced the securitization activities in Africa.

The article provides multiple meaning of the term ‘securitization’. According to Copenhagen School of security studies the ‘securitization’ phenomenon is “a ‘speech act’ by western policy-makers, through which an event and space, particularly ungoverned spaces, are presented as an ‘existential threat’ to western states, thus legitimizing an ‘exceptional’ response outside the accepted realm of political activity”. This very operationalization of the term has provided many states and domestically and internationally with a pretext to intervene and suppress across borders and suppress internal dissents respectively. As Williams notes that the term “security itself is an inter-subjective concept, security has no objective meaning ... [it is] what people make of it’.

Furthermore the article asserts that the revival of the state as donors' preferred 'partner' in development has provided the states with de jure power. This has produced semi-authoritarian or at times fully authoritarian regimes in Africa. Jones, Soares de Oliveira and Verhoeven in their studies figured out as to how African regimes are engaged in ill-liberal state-building through resources provided by donors. The Kagame's Rwanda and Meles's Ethiopia are conspicuous examples of authoritarian regimes which exploited the securitization of development for their maintaining power. In authoritarian states the securitization plays an important role in securing statist power.

## **2.5. Securitization and Depoliticization in Pakistan and Balochistan**

### **2.5.1. Securitization Tactics, Depoliticization and Power-Game in Pakistan**

The article is written by Elisa Ada Giunchi (Giunchi, 2014) in which she sheds light on the ascent of Army in Pakistan on political and economic landscape. She historically explains the causes and junctures of its ascent. However she also explains as to how the army of Pakistan did penetrate into the economic fabric and hijacked it and so did she explain as to how it perched at the helm of political decision making.

She argues that Pakistani army is the world's most modern and well funded and is also the only army equipped with nuclear weapon among Muslim countries. She argues that though the budget to army of Pakistan has been reduced by the state onwards 80s but yet its expenditure is high that is of 3.1% GDP. Furthermore she states that army employs large bulk of national resources for its defense and so has it been the beneficiary of US military aid.

She further argues that after getting independence army drew large number of recruits, owing to multiple reasons among which are Durand line, separatist movements particularly in Balochistan, and Indian held Kashmir. She also argues that army's consolidation in the now-Pakistan has also been the strategy of colonial power to curtail communist bloc. Besides, from the now constituting Pakistan Punjab the troops were recruited in myriad, reason being was its geography which eventuated military prowess among the locals to prevent invaders from the Frontier. However, since the region was close to Afghanistan, thus Britain made multiple attempts occupy it, for which it costed cheaper for the British-Indian army to recruit from the



now-Pakistan. The logic of so-called 'martial castes theory' can thus be attributed to this geo-political history. Besides, the British also offered incentives to these people by providing large chunk of lands to retired of martyred soldier which escalated the recruitment from the area..

The author by giving this historicity now argues that it was owing to these reasons that Pakistan was inherited with strong military institution and weak political structure. Accordingly, she argues, that many political and bureaucratic portfolios were handed over to military owing to their efficiency, bequeathed by colonial powers, in post independence. Moreover, in the wake of independence, Pakistan had to deal with problems like communal killings, the rise of ethno-nationalists movements and tensions with India and Afghanistan over Durand Line and Kashmir, respectively. These social changes in post-independence exposed Pakistan 'Vulnerable'. Furthermore, she argues that after few months its Partition fought its first war with India over Kashmir broke out. This incident further deepened the vulnerability apprehension among the public and politicians. These historical developments were the reasons for Pakistan's early security perceptions and thus justified army's ascent on political and economic landscape.

As Pakistan had colonial legacy, it had many thing inherited like, despise for politicians who were deemed corrupt and greedy, working for self interest only. While Army was eulogized as disciplined and organized. The reasons were obvious that of 1857 mutiny, which led to political aloofness and besides many areas in Pakistan, were tribal, not familiar with state-politics at all.

Furthermore, many politicians also welcomed army time to time to intervene and quell ethnic and religious revolts and settle political differences for instance, the Bengali revolt (1971), and Baloch revolt (1973-77). And recently, Balochs and TTP were tried to be quelled by the military in Balochistan and northern tribal areas, respectively by Musharraf. However, military through coup ascended to the helm of power time to time, but never delivered well, even it was quite unpopular among people where they deployed forces to deal with terrorists and Baloch ethno-nationalists. But yet, army grew into an illusionary image of 'the saviors'. The presumed and illusionary efficiency of military among public privileged them and vindicated them of many their faults, like the repression strategy of army against Balochs. Their, this very illusionary image allowed them further to the extent and at the cost of

declaring other state institutions inefficient. Many emergency services are now provided by military, for instance in the floods 2010 and earthquake of 2005 emergency services were provided by army.

However, such dependency of the state over military to repress and provide emergency aid is, mechanically, weakening other institutions and creating a vicious circle. Note worthy is that the illusion and fear of security have also consumed the politicians who now doubt their abilities. For instance, Z.A Bhutto who despised the meddling of army in political affairs and favored army's depoliticization ut yet he relied on military to settle political difference in the case of Baloch repression and Bengal revolt. Besides, he also did not change his foreign policy, he focused on the Indian threat and thus modernized military and started nuclear program.

Other factors which contributed to ascent of army are, an alliance of Pakistan with USA against the Soviet Union, and more recent is the War on Terror in the wake of 9/11. Moreover, In regard Cold was, we witness Zia's Islamisation policy, which served both Pakistan's own interest in regard to Durand line and curtailment of Communism. Zia's Islamization policy included the integration of religious teachings into the armed forces, as history shows that in his time most of senior posts were given to officers who hailed from lower urban middle class and were more religion-oriented. This policy of Zia worked as a bulwark against territorial and ethnic rupture of Pakistan. It helped reinforce the "ideological borders". However, the military-mullah alliance has a crucial role played in history, in 1965 and 1971 civil war military on purpose allowed Jamaat-e-Islami to brand the Indians and the Bengali as "infidels".

She further shows as to how military also penetrated the economic fabric of Pakistan. She argues that Pakistan's military has also grown as an economic actor in the arena and controls every economic activity at macro level. For instance licenses, lands, housing scheme, which initially were for retire soldier, and business ventures. Ayesha siddiq a call it "Milbus" (Military business), which is rooted since the colonial times. Moreover, we can also look into Zia's privatization policies, and see how military benefited from it by putting an end to Bhutto's nationalization. Now the military has penetrated new areas of business like broadcasting and energy, educational institutions, while serving or retired army men are also

given posts in public offices. The public support for such acceptance of military in civil affair has been made possible through the process of curricular reforms, which promoted the image of the military as that of a 'saviour' and 'guardian'. *"The complex of the military's economic interests has turned the military, in Lieven's words, into "a giant kinship group, extracting patronage from the state and distributing it to its members"*.

### **Securitizing Balochistan through Insulation and Repression and its Depoliticization**

The article is written by Frederic Grare (Grare, 2013) who shows the emergence of Baloch nationalism and the arepressions strategies of state to quell it. It sheds light on the historical development of baloch national movement into an insurgent movement and its determinants.

Balochistan is one of the largest in terms of territory, though is least populated. The province has descended into chaos since 2005. The military and its intelligence wings have been repressing the Baloch nationalist movement, which has sparked, both, the ethnic and sectarian violence in province. The bloodshed, which started in 2005, continues till date. The social, political and economic structures in Balochistan have been weakened through repressive strategies by Military. The situation has eventuated a political vacuum in the province which lay in adjacent with the vulnerable Afghanistan.

However, prior to 2005 the Baloch nationalist parties were merely politically active for the provincial autonomy and thus working within the framework of constitution. The author argues that people of Pakistan are now convinced that security force are being the main obstacle in paving way to national unity , instead of Baloch themselves which once was considered as an obstacle. The article asserts that majority of Baloch nationalists long for provincial autonomy, and do not hold any extreme position. It be borne in mind that the province straddles across three countries namely, Afghanistan, Iran and Pakistan itself. The tension between center and the province is now over the price-rise of natural gas which is discovered within Balochistan, the deployment and construction of extra military cantonments, and the CPEC, development of Gawadar port, which is populated by Baloch. However, Baloch nationalists have a political position over the issue they are concerned that as in past other provinces benefited from gas and Balochistan itself was marginalized of it, so would be the case in CPEC. The eruption of violences between the center and Balochistan had been on four occasions historically.

Firstly, it was triggered with the incident of rape of a female doctor, Shazia Khalid, in Sui, a Baloch Town. The accused was a military person, who is not arrested till date. To cover up military's so-called reputation, the military establishments in return alleged the Baloch Bugti tribe of having been attacking the state and involved in insurgency. Although the rape was just a juncture which surfaced the grievances of Balochs against center over provincial autonomy, allocation of resources, interprovincial migrations, and protection of indigenous culture. These claims have its roots in history. The tension remained intense in Bugti area owing to rich natural gas resources. Akbar Bugti, who claimed for the royalty and due share of gas for his tribe, which was exploited by center, was killed in a military operation. This further aggravated the situation, for he was the Sardar of Bugti tribe and all politicians on national level who spoke for the right of Balochs. This act on the part of state sent negative message that hurt the sentiments of balochs and made them feel even marginalized.

Such a paranoid strategy on the part of state has eventually sought a reaction of local deprived Balochs, which now has begun to attack ordinary citizens who do not share Baloch ethnic background. However, the state has also resorted to other tactics, for instance to curtail the self-triggered insurgency, it has made attempts to Islamize the province so has to neutralize Baloch grievances and assimilate the province ideologically. But this islamization made the province a bed for extremism, it triggered sectarian violence which is evident in guise of Shia-Sunni rift. *"A Pakistani journalist recently wrote, Balochistan has clearly turned into a security and governance black hole where multiple political, financial and criminal interests either converge or play out against one another."*

However, the repressive tactics by state has been a political normalcy in Balochistan. Although at some juncture, whenever military operations were withheld owing to external and internal criticism, the military resorted to "kill- and-dump" operations. These operations were meant to keep the province under control. *"The exact number of enforced disappearances perpetrated in Balochistan by the Pakistani military is unknown. Baloch nationalists claim "thousands" of cases. In 2008, Interior Minister Rehman Malik mentioned at least 1,100 victims, but in January 2011, Balochistan Home Minister Zafrullah Zehri said that only 55 persons were missing. An editorial dated September 11, 2012, in the Express Tribune indicated that the bodies of 57 missing persons had been found since January 2012"*.

Moreover, According to Human Rights Watch, it is stated that most of such disappearances have been carried by Pakistan's intelligence agencies and the Frontier Corps in collaboration with local police.

Conclusively, the article argues that there had been some other social consequences of islamization strategy. The strategy shifted religious political activism to militancy. For- instance, Jamaat-Ulema-i-Islam now no longer run any provincial government, but are invoved in radical religious proxies. Sectarian violence is pervasive in the province, Hazara community, which is a Persian-speaking Shia minority, is being persecuted, so far some 700 Hazaras have been killed since 1998 to 2009. The killings include both ordinary citizens and Hazara politicians.

## **2.6. Conceptual Framework**

The concepts I have used in my conceptual framework are operationalized in context to my research study. I have borrowed concepts form range of theories and schools. Some of main concepts are illustrated in my Theoretical model which include, Meta-framing of Security, Narratives, Praxis, Public Sephere, Risk Society, Securitization Tactics, Depoliticization, Problematization of Parrhesia and Panopticon.

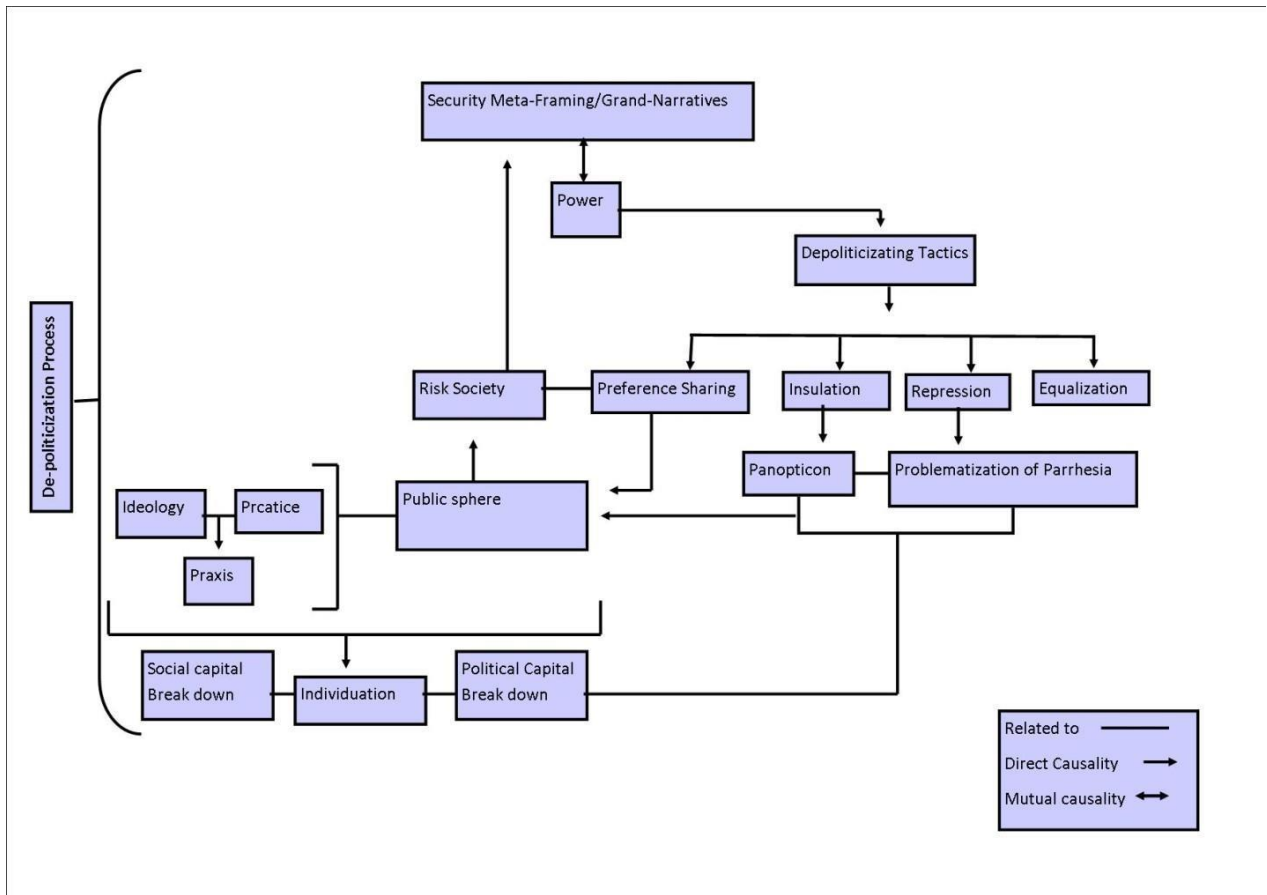


Figure 3 Conceptual framework

The concept of Meta-framing has been used by Vida Bajc (Bajc, 2013), which means a value apparatus or grand narrative underlying all social relations and realities. This Meta-framing patternized all our cosmological realities. The concept is, indeed, taken here in a constructivist context, and is thus a matter of choice of one in power. Meta-framing/grand-narrative and power are in mutual causality, for they reproduce each other.

Once the Security Meta-Framing is set, all other narratives fall mechanically subject to it. I use the term ‘mechanical’ here on purpose for once the meta-framing is located everything else becomes mechanical. These meta-narratives/grand-narratives (Hyvärinen), then, take up the form of a discourse and pervade across the social fabric. All other narratives on individual or collective level fall subject to it. This is understood as discursive practice. Discourse, thus cannot be alienated from Narrative, for narrative is language and symbols or anything

meaningful which is inter-subjective construct. Discourse surfaces when a narrative is shared among masses through daily human interactions in public spaces. Public spaces are discursive. But in case of my conceptual framework for the study, these spaces cease to exist, as the narrative ceases to become a discourse.

These public spaces which Habermas (communication for Governance & Accountability Program ) defines as networks of communication where information is sent and received cease to exist, for owing to the security-tactics of repression and insulation, the two way process is supplanted with one way communication. Discourse dissipate the public spaces become depoliticized (Mishra, 2011) owing to surveillance and censorship carried through insulation strategy, while activism of civil societies is put an end to either through Repression, Panopticon or Problematization of Parrhesia.

Once these discourses cease to exist and public spaces dissipate conceptually the narrative reproduces itself and the discourse of 'Risk society cages in eternity' (Andy Furlong, 2006) and remains disposal in the hand of authority. I use term Narrative for a discourse, caged in time, controlled by authorities and disseminated through state controlled mediums like texts, newspapers, and Television channels which Neeran Mishras call Preference-shaping Depoliticization. This is how a political issues depoliticizes into private sphere, intense individuation occurs, resultantly all social and political capitals dissipate, while in some cases a political issues demotes into arena of necessity (Mishra, 2011)

However all the aforementioned concepts I have eclectically picked to design conceptual framework are suitable to my research problem. The conceptual frame work would be analyzed through 'Narrative practice'. Narrative practice or Narrative ethnography is Concerned with the production, distribution, and circulation of stories in society requires that we step outside of narrative material and consider questions such as who produces particular kinds of stories, where are they likely to be encountered, what are their consequences, under what circumstances are particular narratives more or less accountable, what interests publicize them, how do they gain popularity, and how are they challenged? This is how the author argues that narrative analysis went beyond text and took the guise of "narrative as a practice" (Hyvärinen).

## **Chapter 3**

### **Methodology**

Methodology is the underlying grand-logic of the research; it includes the techniques, the data collecting methods, theoretical frame work and all those procedures and processes upon which a research is built up. Grix puts it as ‘‘discussion of how particular piece of research should be undertaken and so can be best understood’ (Grix, 2004)

#### **3.1. Research Strategy**

Since the study is Keeping in consideration the ontology of the research problem, Qualitative strategy is the most appropriate strategy to be incorporated in the Methodology for current Research. Qualitative strategy is defined as subjective in nature, which uses an inductive approach so as to come up with grounded theory (Bryman, 2012). This strategy predominantly draws upon hermeneutics and stands diagonally in opposition positivism or Quantitative approach. Since my Research draws upon Narrative practice, ethno-methodology, constructivism and Symbolic interactionism, thus qualitative strategy is best among the current three approaches and I, therefore, have used Qualitative Strategy.

#### **3.2. Research Design**

A research design is the framework for the collection and examination of data (Bryman, 2012). We have three Research Designs namely, Explanatory Research Design, Descriptive Research Design and Exploratory Research Design. However, since our Research uses Descriptive Narrative Analysis, Thus Descriptive Research Design is the most appropriate one and I have used it for my study. In Descriptive Narrative Analysis, a researcher describes a) a narrative of life story of an individual or a group, b) to what conditions a story is subjected and what is its employment and with what story it coheres or prevail over, d) and relationship between an exceptional individual story and the stock of stories in that particular culture. For example, a different narrative which can be a resistant narrative or an aberrant one and c) what significance it has for that group or individual. (Sandelowski, 1991)



### **3.3. Units of Data Collection (UDCs)**

A researcher through methods of different sampling selects units of data collection from which he extracts information over the research topic. My chosen UDCs are Politicians, Academicians, University students, Security personnel, Public spaces, News reports, Public notices.

#### **3.3.1. UDC 1: Politicians**

Local politicians, MPs and Ministers have been interviewed on the issues and their personal, experience, incidents and stories, were recorded for the purpose of narrative analysis. I have used in-depth interviews to extract data from this very UDC and pick up the research subject through purpose sampling.

#### **3.3.2. UDC 2: Academicians**

In-depth interviews with academicians have been conducted to have their views regarding current securitization of campuses. Questions regarding what topics and debates are tabooed and allowed for research and discussion were asked.

#### **3.3.3. UDC 3: University Student**

Through interviewing students of university, information over the topic was extracted; they were asked as to what extent the university is being accommodative in respect of critical talks and political activities. By asking them, I have validated the views on the end of both, the faculty and students through triangulation.

#### **3.3.4. UDC 4: Security Officials**

Choosing security Personnel has helped me cross check data with the public spaces over issues like threats from suspicious individuals and repression through security apparatus. This again helped me do triangulation of the data once done with its collection. This very UDC includes members of FC and Police. Owing to shortage of time and other bureaucratic issues, I have only interviewed retired gazetted security personnel through criterion sampling method.

#### **3.3.5. UDC 5: Public spaces**

Public spaces, which for the purpose of present study includes restaurants and universities, they have been visited for collection of data, especially those spaces where incidents of terror

have transpired and are more securitized. Such spaces have been compared with spaces least policed and threats. However, through Participant Observation and FGDs the data has been collected from these public spaces.

### **3.4. Sample**

Sampling is the Part of the whole is studied and the results are taken to be an accurate reflection of the whole (Jeffrey C. Dixon, 2016). Sampling thus can be understood as a process of selecting a Unit of Data to study for the purpose of research. It provides the researcher with least unit of population but yet representative which helps the researcher minimize the cost and time during research. However, total sample, interviewed was 35, which were interviewed in-depth individually and in a FGD.

There are multiple types of Samplings available to researcher while conducting a research but the type of sampling a researcher resorts to, is always subjected to the research design and research strategy, the researcher picks up. Keeping in view the ontological stance of research, **Purposive** and **Convenient** sampling are the most appropriate ones.

#### **3.4.1. Purposive Sampling**

Purposive sampling is a non-probability form of sampling. The researcher does not seek to sample research participants on a random basis. The goal of purposive sampling is to sample cases/participants in a way, so that those sampled are relevant to the research questions that are being posed. Besides, purposive sampling does not allow the researcher to generalize to a population (Bryman, 2012)

However there are different types of Purpose sampling namely, i) **Extremeor deviant case sampling**, ii) **Typical case sampling**, iii) **Critical Case Sampling**, iv) **Criterion Sampling**, and v) **Snowball Sampling**.

- **Deviant case sampling**, is a sampling of those cases which are unusual
- **Typical case sampling** is sampling of cases with particular dimension of interest.
- **Critical case sampling** is sampling of critical case which allows a researcher to have a logical inference about the phenomenon or may allow a theory to be tested.
- **Criterion sampling** is sampling of units, cases or individuals which meet a particular criterion.

For the purpose of study I have employed, typical case sampling, Criterion sampling and snowball sampling. These three have been employed in the research as per their utility and the demand of data extraction. The purpose for choosing purposive sampling has been the nature of the research issue. The topic that I have chosen to conduct research over aims at extracting data from experts, politicians, academicians and the victims of terrorism or state repression. I, had to be very much eclectic while choosing a research subjects so as not to deviate from the relevant areas and minimize the probability over information.

### **3.5. Methods**

Methods are those techniques and procedures used to collect and analyze data (Jeffrey C. Dixon, 2016), For instance, Questionnaires, Interviews and Logs. I, for the purpose of my research data collection chose few methods which are as under.

#### **3.5.1. In-depth Interviews**

In-depth interviews are one time or repeated face to face encounters between the researcher and the informants directed towards understanding informants' perspectives on their lives, experiences or situations as expressed in their own words (Kumar, 2010). Since my topic is qualitative in nature thus is not meant to quantify data but to analyze it. Besides, I have selected narrative practice as an analytical frame work which goes deep down into meanings and symbols thus stress more on interpretations. So this tool is the best for such research.

#### **3.5.2. Focus Group Discussion**

Focus group discussion is meant to extract data form a group of respondents by making them seated together and talk over a particular topic. The researcher only guides or intervenes the discussion if needed. FDGs have been employed for extracting data from Public spaces which is my UDC for the study.

#### **3.5.3. Jotting Down**

It is a practice of taking notes while interviewing with informants so as to record their verbatim if needed (Kumar, 2010). Since I am taking up narrativity as an analytical frame for the research, it is thus important for me to employ this technique during in-depth interviews.

#### **3.5.4. Interview schedule/guide**

Interview schedule is a list of written questions, close-ended and open-ended but is self administered while interview guide is a list of written questions, open ended, and is carried with probing flow. Its use is on the disposal of the interviewer in person to person interaction (Kumar, 2010). I have used both semi-structured and unstructured interview schedule and guide, respectively. In case of politicians and academicians who hardly spare time to have multiple sitting for an interview, it thus is important then to have a semi-structured interview through interview schedule. While those who have time for multiple sittings and are comfortable I have used interview guide which is unstructured and flows through probing.

#### **3.5.5. Participant Observation**

Participant observation is the distinguishing feature of this approach, as it enables data collection through both formal and informal means (this can be crucial with sensitive topics). It also allows comparisons to be drawn between reported and actual behavior, and can provide a socio-cultural context for the phenomenon/ culture under investigation. Ethnography more broadly can provide insights into, and human portraits of, statistical data; generating information useful for developing or informing hypotheses, theories, and intervention models (Quimby, 2006) (Benkwitz). The Method is very useful to emphasize with the participant as it dispels their hesitation and thus one can have more authentic and deep understanding of their life style. It also helps in figuring out complex relationships among the variables. I have used this method for my UDC, public spaces, as it spared me both the time and efforts of rapport building. Through participant observation I have collected data on the nature and frequency of debates that pervade the public spaces.

## Chapter 4

### Data and Analysis

The data was collected from public spaces through purposive sampling. However, the data presented were extracted through jotting, for the topic was sensitive and people avoided being interviewed with any kind of A/V recorders. Besides, keeping in view the safety of the respondents, the names used for interviewees are fictitious. Moreover, the data might be redundant but is dynamic in its essence; each datum has something new to offer to the reader. However, the data is also intentionally kept overlapping for two reasons, firstly so as to it provides 'connecting-dot', and secondly for a reader to triangulate data. Besides, the data comprises of 11 FGDs and 21 interviews. However, total interviews were 25 but owing to saturation of data and to avoid redundancy and irrelevancy, few interviews were intentionally not cited. Lastly. Owing to the sensitivity of the topic only a brief background could be given of individuals where it seemed important.

*Many forms of resistance in dangerous circumstances are intended to be ambiguous, to have a double meaning, to be garbled so that they cannot be treated as a direct, open challenge and, hence, invite an equally direct, open retaliation. For this reason it would be instructive to devise a theory of political masking by subordinate groups.*

*An analysis of the pattern of disguises and the forms of domination under which they occur could contribute to our understanding of what happens to "voice," in Albert Hirschman's meaning of that term, under domination. Open declarations of defiance are replaced by euphemisms, metaphors; clear speech by muttering and grumbling; open confrontation by concealed non-compliance or defiance. This brief exposition of everyday forms of resistance is hardly the place to develop a theory of political disguises but the table below is intended to suggest one possible line of inquiry.<sup>55</sup>*

#### 4.1. Interviews and FGDs:

##### 4.1.1. Interview-1

"To Oliver Security cannot be understood in isolation it has deep connection with USSR, Durand Line and globalization. He further said that it is irony of the fate that Quetta has three parallel forces that is levies, police and F.C. and interestingly there has been an addition to the list now the city has falcon and eagle forces, too. These forces are not meant to operate in special circumstances rather are operative and roam around the city in

daily routine, who has the jurisdiction to intervene in any matter. He further said that Quetta is still a constituent of tribal masses. Tribalism ostensibly might not be visible but in the cognition of residents Tribalism is the code of conduct in daily lives of people. Moreover Religious authorities too here in Quetta are having an authority to influence daily lives of people. These parallel governing structures have only added fuel to the security situation in Quetta. He told that he would say religion has been the most influential in case of security situation in Quetta. Moreover, cinemas are shut down, musical shows have decreased in frequency and talking on issues is either securitized in name of religion or national interest.”

Since the respondent served as an official in state apparatus and could easily be offended, the researcher thus avoided frequent questions and let the respondent tell his narrative on the topic. However, data shows that in Quetta there are three narratives regarding security. Firstly, there are people in Quetta who believe in the narrative of security which was narrated by America in post 9/11. And then there are those who trace the roots of security to USSR. Lastly there are people who base their narrative on ethno-nationalism and trace it to colonial era.

#### **4.1.2. Interview-2**

“Dr. Wahid said that security is an ugly face of the state that people encounter everyday and only draw an inspiration of fear, resistance, hate and hopelessness. Security is the cruelest of all state apparatuses. The descent of security has only militarized our masses. He narrated that he once was walking through Liaqat Bazar and saw children in a Vego car who were sitting in the trunk of car holding toy guns. The one in front seat had pointed the barrel of his toy gun towards public and was trying to act as if trying to terrify the masses. This is just an 7example he said otherwise everyone has seen children who only buy guns on Eid whenever given Edhi.”

The data highlights four words, namely, ‘Resistance’, ‘Hatred’, ‘Hoplessnes’, and ‘Fear’. The respondent meant that it is the characterization of society with the arrival of security in Quetta. His data further shows as to how these phenomena are regulating the relationship between the masses and the state. The data goes on to show that security has transformed state into an ugly and fearsome entity that the masses fear and resist. Besides the data shows that daily showcasing of arms in the city for security reasons, unwittingly, restructures the aesthetics among children.

“He further said that all their activities be it social, political, academic or economic are penetrated by security. He also told that security in Quetta is aesthetically pollution to city. He further said that their presence is not only limited to check posts they patrol on bikes and in cars. If there is a traffic jam their men step out and help shove their car amidst, disregarding all traffic rules and the public who had been waiting. Their drivers stare at you on

road if you over take them in case of any emergency. They only terrify people. He said these F.C men do not follow the local code of conduct. They deal everything in the frame of security.”

The respondent in above data tries to communicate as to how the security pervades over and control everything within the Quetta city. The data goes on to inform the researcher that it is the detested modus operandi of the security that spawned the phenomenon of ‘Hatred’ and ‘Fear’ among citizens of Quetta.

“Dr. George also told that Security apparatus have hired people whom you can easily figure out as they would chant army names in any national day or whom you would see advertizing army or justifying security. And these people are seen the patriots and the rest, traitors!”

Howsoever, the respondent in above data tried to communicate that there are two categories of citizen in Quetta, firstly, those who support and justify security and those are hired or given favors by the security apparatus. Secondly, there is a category of citizen who has grievances over security policies.

“Dr George also said that students from Government schools are invited to cantonment on different occasions to redefine the relationship with civilians. He also said that all musical events or any other recreational events in Quetta are arranged by these security forces. This is how I said they have pervaded the social fabric of the city.”

The above data show as to how the children are inculcated with the narratives of security apparatus through an interaction with the Government school children. These interactions are carried out through arranging competitions among students at Boys Scouts of FC or cantonment. Other than events arranged by security apparatuses are equivalent to none in Quetta city. Such absence of recreational activities within city has lessened the interaction of students within other civil local bodies. Accordingly, the interaction only with security apparatuses, spawned apartheid among local citizens. This very apartheid on ideological level is for sure enforced through an interaction with young school children who are relatively prone to any schemata transformation. We thus can arrive at a conclusion from the above data that there within Quetta city exists two categories of citizens, the ‘security favoured’ and ‘security critical’.

“He further told that one thing worth noting is that the relationship with security apparatus or a member to a civilian is of prestige.”

The above data shows as to how the apartheid within city is being accelerated through the prestige factor attached to security. However, the data thus also evinces that security apparatus in Quetta is deemed the most prestigious of all institutions or maybe the most powerful. Prestige and power in Quetta goes hand in hand which in forthcoming interviews be explained better with arguments and evidence.

“He also told that threats within Quetta are constructed so as to dispel or deny the international image of Pakistan that is the exporter of Terrorism. It has securitized Balochistan to show that we are not the exporter by victim of Terrorism.”

The data from the interview of Dr. George further goes to claim that the narrative of security within Quetta is a hoax to defend the moral image of the state internationally and locally, otherwise it never existed, shows the data of interviewee. This is another narrative about security in Quetta.

“However, there was a man named Muhammad Zaman who told that how threats are created, he narrated his own son’s story he told that last day his son reported on being return from a mosque that some people after the end of prayer stood and said ‘*deen ta khtra da zma wrono, jihad kawal pakar dai os*’ (Islam is in danger my brother, we need to go on holy war). Mr. Muhammad Zaman told that he no more let his son go to that mosque.”

The above data shows as to how this being narrative of security in Quetta has connections with the proxy war of America which was waged on the soil of Pakistan and Afghanistan to topple down the regime of USSR. However, the worth noting factor in the above data is religion which was given freedom to construct a narrative of ‘*deen ta khatra da*’ (Islam is in danger). Thus it can be inferred that religion was and is being used to construct and reconstruct the narrative of security. However, if one looks at the role of religion in creating ‘referent objects’ like that of Hazara community, he/she can better understand the mechanism at work within the city which creates such referent objects and threats. Here another inference can be also drawn, as to how a religious group has been favored and given more freedom of speech by the state and security apparatuses. Besides, the data also tell as to how an aversion is developed among masses for any ‘favored group’ like in case of above data a father developed for the religious community and mosque. The above incident also redefined religion for Muhammad Zaman, it broke the trust of a father in a religious institute, which he



expressed through barring his son from Mosque, for he feared that his son might become a terrorist.

#### **4.1.3. FGD-1**

“Asmatullah on being asked about security told that security has brought power hunger among masses of Quetta. Everyman in Quetta you see would either try to be part of security apparatus or would try to link himself somehow to security apparatuses, for they face daily unnecessary check post interception. People using contacts with security agencies exploit their social capital on daily basis. Asif added to the argument of Asmatullah, stating that this affiliation with security apparatuses by the masses has also brought a sense of mistrust among people, for example, Asif stated, all those who have anyhow nurtured social capital with the security persons, are looked upon with aversion and people also avoid talking openly in front of them. He also told that this power hunger can be seen among youngsters, most of young students if asked would express their desire to start a career in security agency be it surveillance agency or a security agency. They disregard all other career choices over a security job, for example Knowledge, personal growth and services. Security job is a great source of power to layman in Quetta. Asmatullah said that he knows an officer serving in twenty first grade who once told him that its his dream to have his son in army. Interestingly, he himself was a CSP (Civil Servant), I asked the reason as to why Army is your choice, he replied, for “They” (The army) are the decision makers, they have charm and power.”

The data extracted from the FGD shows as to how security has grown into a supreme power which allures the youth towards it. And this subsequently made youth crave for power, which they think can only be attained through an accommodation in security apparatus. That accommodation among citizens is both in de jure level and de facto level. By defecto the researcher means, citizens who develop a social capital and then ‘abuse’ it for their own interests. Besides it also can be inferred from the data power and prestige is no more in financial capital or any other profession other than being part of security apparatus. This thus draws one to a conclusion that in Quetta prestige and power is redefined, although Quetta still is a constituent of tribalism, where prestige and power is drawn through character, charity and of the likes.

“Asif Khan, responding to the questions of researcher replied that these check posts everywhere just sensitize them routinely of insecurity. he told that while walking through bazaar healways tries his best to make it back to home and avoid being in bazaar unnecessarily. The researcher asked as to what does he mean by ‘unnecessary’ he replied wandering in bazaar for recreation or window shopping, he would say.”

Check posts itself are narratives, they are signifiers which speaks of insecurity, and these check posts thus every day reinforces sense of insecurity. However, the data also show as to how these check posts in turn redefined day to day outings and mobility among masses. if we do the narrative analysis only of the term ‘unnecessary’ we can infer so much out of it. for instance, it shows as to how the recreation is reduced to ‘futility’ through the narrative of securitization.

“Jamil told the researcher of an incident which is alike in nature to that of Muhammad Zaman whose words I already have recorded in Dr. George’s interview. However, Jamil told that in a mosque of nawa killi some people after the congregational prayer of Maghrib (sun set) appealed for the support of Jihad in an open announcement. Interestingly, it was Ramadan and people of FC from nearby check post were also present when those “so called” religious men made their announcement. Shocking to me was their passiveness! ‘They’ (Security apparatus and their members) never let us speak on a petty issue related to public life, but these religious men were not hesitant a bit while announcing a war mongering words. These FC security men did not say a word of censure to those men and they walked.”

The data extracted from the FGD provides a reader with further evidence and also triangulates that data of FGD-1. It thus can be claimed on the basis of data that religion is relatively given more space in Quetta by security apparatus. While other citizens are not tolerated to speak on any of social issues, shows the amazement and response of the respondent to the incident he narrated.

“However, Asmatullah further told thathe once took his nephew and son to one of his cousin’s grave. On way to graveyard he told his nephew and son that they are going to ‘Aman’s grave’. His nephew who is just nine happily looked at him and said to ‘Arman’s’ grave? His son also excitedly said Arman’s grave, told Asmatullah? However, he replied to both and said No! he told these children that they are going to Aman’s grave, their cousin. These children had mistaken Aman for Arman Loni, who was killed by Police in Loralai, told Asmatullah. However these children insisted Asmatullah for a trip to Arman Loni’s grave.”

Howsoever, form the above data a reader can infer as to how the security has emerged into a grandiose. Among children politics of such nature is hard to be found, but in Quetta it is exception. Besides, it also evinces the extent of security narrative being discussed in families.

“Ainullah who was a teacher himself told that he once asked his students in class as to what do they want to be in future. Students responded with mixed answers but one of them was with a very frightening answer, his answer was that I will become a scientist and invent a bomb which could blow the whole world at once. This mentality of a student at school level shows as to how much militarized a society is being made through militarization of

city in form of check posts. These children ask us as to why were we stopped and checked on a FC post or why do they stand here with Guns. Unwantedly, we have to tell them, peer does, if parents do not.”

The data shows as to how power hunger and career choices are being inculcated from the early ages among students and children through narratives of security. And these narratives are internalized and reinforced on daily through check posts and media.

“Jamil told that while coming here to this hotel his brother asked him as to where does he go? He did not tell his brother of coming here to hotel rather he told of going nearby. His brother advised him then of not going far away and be back on time. He told that we have to lie otherwise we would not be let come out. We cannot live in prisoners in home, it suffocates.”

The data shows as to how the narrative of security is internalized and how does it constrain and regulate his daily mobility. The data also show that the security has brought trust deficit into a family. Children and young both are being ripped of their ethics and conscience. For instance within family a lie has no space, but the security has made it a normalcy. It thus can be argued that security is redefining morality. And it also has to be understood that an individual has two choices either to tell the truth and deny himself socialization and recreation or fight the family or lie and have personality growth through socialization and acculturation.

“Asmatullah further told that I know individuals who exploit their social capital with the security agencies and carry out all illegal acts like extortion, robberies and land encroachments. Crimes in Quetta are not predominantly owing to Economic disparity, Social capital with security forces is one of the reasons. All illegal or non custom cars with black paper are being driven by these people.”

The data shows as to how social capitals are developed by masses with security apparatus to attain personal gains. And this in response brings bad name to the security apparatus.

“Furthermore, Asmatullah told that the walled graveyard of Christian which formerly was open do public eyes has now been reduced to non-visibility. Formerly, we could tell of it to our children or tourist but now we cannot tell of it to anyone always until we are reminded or asked about it. People hardly can notice it even goes unnoticed to the eyes of those who already know about it.”

#### **4.1.4. FGD-2**

“The researcher asked the participants as to whether they do political debates among peers or not, to which Najeebullah replied that they are students of Balochistan University, where one sees FC persons everywhere, except Bathrooms, he laughed. However, he furthered his argument and told that all the political parties are eliminated by the new V.C with the help of FC. New VC is thus given an extension for his services. Moreover he

told that any kind of political issue is dealt with security threat. The researcher asked as to how did security do it? he replied that the elimination of political parties and injection of FC in myriad was on the pretext that political parties have always brought fights into campus. University and FC are trying to rip us of our political ideologies, for example FC intrude and prevent social gatherings on campus using the logic of security threat, while on the other side teachers discourage any kind of political question or discussion in class.”

The data further evinces as to how security apparatus has penetrated public places like University. Their presence in a public place is not an abnormality to anyone. What is shocking is their presence in a public place like university. Universities produce civilized beings not terrorist. Their presence out of the campus wall is legit but within the campus it is mere to terrify and depoliticize students. Securitization, thus, is meant to suppress the voices, and it also did as the day show as to how the VC in coalition with FC put end to political parties. However, it was not only meant to put an end to organized politics in form of political parties, rather that was an entry point to securitize the only left public place and the most dangerous too, for it is more vibrant and is more progressive. Moreover, once the security made an entry it kept working on its depoliticization mission. Their efforts can be inferred from the data, the way they are trying to dilute the campus of its vibrant interactionism at mass level which has the potential to nurture political leaders, ideologies and counter narratives.

“Mr shoab another participant in the FGD, on being asked as to what does the FC do there in the campus, told the researcher that *‘people all around tell that they are there to provide security, so they surely are on that purpose in the campus’*. Moreover, Mr. shoab told that once their whole class asked the administration for an annual picnic for which a university has to provide the transportation, but we were refused the provision of any vehicle using the pretext of ‘security threat’. Shoab told that he and others knew that administration is just using security as an excuse to cut the budget of recreational activities of students. Howsoever, that was my personal encounter as a student with the administration, although I had been hearing of such ‘security stories’ made up by administration to tackle students. Now God knows where the threat is! Security in campus and out of campus only irritates me, concluded Shoab.”

The above data evinces as to how the narrative of security has been merely communicative in practice and has never let been a discourse. Besides the sources of threat to which a whole of security apparatus is subject is so circumferential that it becomes virtually impossible for one to know it. However, this seemingly virtually impossible to know phenomenon is actually a mutually causal loop of the narrative of security which now has so much absorbed the city that the city now has started transposing into a security city. Moreover, the data shows that it has

only been possible through the narrative of security which is merely a communicative practice in university, and is one way communication. Besides, the data also shows as to how security stories are made up by people in society to have personal gains. For instance in the above data the administration for its institutional gain makes up security stories.

“Manzoor, a participant whom the researcher asked as to what does FC personnel ask the students when are intercepted on check posts. The respondent told the researcher that these FC personnel hardly can read and understand; anyhow that’s how they irritate us on checkpoints. Manzoor reiterated *‘FC personnel know nothing, he meant they do not know anything of education, morality, and attitude, actually any human like character one names, these FC people lack it’*. Furthermore, on same question the researcher asked Manzoor as to what card do you show to these FC personnel on being intercepted, he replied ‘Student card’. The researcher asked do they ask for it? He replied No, they ask for CNIC but students or almost everyone who has a student card prefer it over CNIC. The researcher further asked what is the reason for that, like why does not he show CNIC? See, Manzoor stated, that these people are just around to irritate citizens unnecessarily, if CNIC is shown, these people would ask very absurd questions, like if the CNIC holder is from Pishin, the 1<sup>st</sup> question of FC personnel would be *‘what are you doing here in Quetta’*. Manzoor told that even that is acceptable for time being, but they cross the limits of their irritating behavior when any citizen, hailing from Quetta, is intercepted on any other road other than his address and asked as to what does he do here. That sounds funny to any sane man, that is how we are treated if we show CNIC. See, stated Manzoor additionally, if one has CNIC, is not it enough for them, and is one not allowed to roam around city or even country while having the CNIC?”

The data shows as to how the FC personnel are not suitable in city. These people are least educated and trained only to wage war. And wars are irrespective of any morality, shame, empathy and conscience. It is this reason that within city people has developed hatred for state. In Quetta the experiential state for masses is security apparatus which is very unsuitable for a city where not blood but prosperity is shed.

“Shoaib, commented and further continued Manzoor’s argument by telling the researcher that there are some areas in quetta whose people are irritated and intercepted the most like Pashtoonabad, Kharot abad, Killa Abdullah, Chaman and of the like. If these addresses are found inscribed on the Back of CNIC of any citizen he will be intercepted and told to stand by the check post, no matter whatever emergency or urgency that citizen might have. Moreover, told Shoaib, that looks also matter in case of interception. For example he told the researcher that people with Religious or typical Pashtoon attire and typical Baloch attire are intercepted and irritated the most.”

The above data shows as to why people reserve to negotiate National identities, for the security apparatus within Quetta has securitized ‘Ideologies’, ‘Cultures’, ‘Politics’, ‘Religion’

and ‘Geographies’ which are subject to ‘Anthropomorphization’. It is thus in the case of above data that people from particular areas are intercepted the most. Such a discriminatory security apparatus which has almost grown into a ‘value apparatus’ has also created an atmosphere of apartheid among citizens. And here are the categories different, for instance among citizens there is now a sense of threat and the source of that threat is of course reinforced through a ‘security ritual’. I call check post interceptions a ‘security ritual’. Interestingly, here the data shows that through security rituals, the ‘cannot be securitized’ is securitized through human agency that is to say through ‘Anthropomorphization’. This ‘Anthropomorphization’ of the security apparatus has thus created apartheid among citizens. Besides, this has sown a seed of mutual hatred and fear, which subsequently broke social capital and mutual trust. However, it also made the perception of threat more ubiquitous. This data shows the extent of security grown into ‘Value apparatus’. Conclusively, this securitization of cultures, religions and other such ‘cannot be securitized’ through ‘Anthropomorphization’ is reduced to extinction. For any threat when securitized is meant to be wiped out altogether and instantly. This practice of the security apparatus would eventually either dilute cultures and ethnic vibrancy or result in resistance.

“The participants of the FGD were asked a question as to whether they do political debates or discussions within their peer group and colleagues. Sultan, to this question responded while others nodded and agreed with him, told the researcher that there is no point in the first place to discuss politics when we know that we are never heard by those in the power. Secondly, the political atmosphere does not let anything be beyond security, and talking on security is being a *‘foolish’*, why would anyone risk life while knowing either his/her voice would be gagged or go unheard.”

The above data shows as to how the securitization of normal politics, like negotiating identities instead of securitizing them, has resulted in the dissipation of politics within public sphere and among peers. Besides, the data shows as to how the power regime has kept the public place a one way communicative space where people are neither heard nor let speak. For instance the data shows as to how the politics is securitized through expansionism over Cultures, ideologies, religions. And if one looks at Quetta city there is war of ideologies, geographies, cultures and religions. And this situation of Quetta reminds me of a famous quote of Mao Zedong which states ‘Politics is war without bloodshed while war is politics with bloodshed’. It is the politics of securitization that calls up for the bloodshed and it thus

mechanically produces the threat, mechanically. Moreover, without securitization there is no threat shows the data.

#### **4.1.5. FGD-4**

“The opening question, what is the frequency of political debates among you and your peers, was thrown to the FGD. Mr. A responded that there are some barriers to our political debates; the researcher asked of those barriers, the responded simply put it as “anonymity”. The researcher asked is it him, for he is the only one new and anonymous among them. However, Mr. A told that it not the researcher, for the researcher has just come, while he is telling of routine barriers. He told that no *‘anonymity in a sense that one among them might be a spy working for state intelligence’*. They cannot trust anyone around not even their own friends, told Mr. A. Everyone is insecure here of talking on some political issues, of course not all, but the most vital ones which really affect them, he further told. What kind of insecurity the researcher asked? Mr. A told the *‘insecurity of being misquoted and misinterpreted’*. He told that he might say something with good intention but his every commentary on any political issue is misinterpreted. The researcher asked as to how can a misinterpretation can set him insecure? Mr. A replied, he can, though most of the time has been, be misinterpreted as anti-state, if he ever tries to comment on any political issue anyhow related to security. Ironically, everything is connected to security in Pakistan and Quetta, Particularly. Moreover, Mr A told that he had been to Bangkok for 2 months, he was certainly anonymous to people of Bangkok, but neither did their security apparatuses nor did public made him feel insecure. He was free to roam around and could speak on any political or social issue with people whom he met in Bangkok.”

The data provides the researcher with a new vocabulary which is the product of security regime of Quetta City. As we already discussed as that the security apparatus has created apartheid within the city. The apartheid of securitized politics, obviously everyone in the city had different ideologies, hardly an individual shares identical traits, and somehow they differ. However, it is a public place that negotiates these differences among individuals who carry different ideologies. As the data already provided the evidence to infer that Quetta has wars of *‘abstarcts’* that is to any phenomenon which *‘cannot be securitized’*, until *‘anthropomorzhized’*. However, these differences are not negotiated in Quetta city in public places, since many cultures, and religions are securitized. These differences thus the data shows are like monoliths, objectified through security. Moreover, it is this objectification of security that people are *‘stereotyped’* through discriminatory mechanism of Security apparatus. The security apparatus, accordingly, is redefining identities. For instance it redefined *‘cultures’* through securitizing it, it be borne in mind that securitization indispensable include both the *‘referent object’* and the *‘threat’*. Given the grand logic of the

interview it thus be borne in mind that the security apparatus can only securitize ‘abstract’ (Referent object) from the ‘abstract’ (Threat). However, in such case as that Quetta city, security apparatus invents categories which redefines everything falling in the ambit of that category. An Example of such cases is securitizing ‘Shia Hazara’ from ‘the rest of sunni population’ and ‘the rest of population’ from ‘Baloch’. In the aforementioned cases, we can see Religion versus Religion and Culture versus Ideology, respectively. Conclusively, the author would now trace the genesis of the ‘Vocabulary’ that the author heard throughout field work. ‘Unknowingness’ the vocabulary, is the symptom of multiple effects of the security narrative within Quetta. This ‘unknowingness’ is the effect of securitization, for instance when the whole of Sunni population is securitized as threat to Shia Hazara, it is obvious that non-shia citizens within Quetta are ‘potential threat’ (potential threat is taken as a suspected citizen’. This perception among the citizens of Quetta is pervasive and has taken the form of self policing. They fear while negotiating identities or bringing them to public sphere as a discourse, for as the data shown that ideas (abstracts) are anthropomorphized when spoken through an ‘agency’. People are scared to talk of anything which is securitized, to avoid the status of suspected citizen. It, thus, is drawn from the data that ‘security apparatus’ eventuated a perception of ‘unknowingness’, for people does no more negotiate difference rather passively absorb the binaries of security apparatus that is of a ‘Threat’ and ‘referent object’, and thus always stay in the their shell. This non-negotiating practice, reinforces ‘unknowingness’ through securitization which, mechanically in a cyclic causality, dissipates trust form among the masses and social capital. Besides, the unknowingness is always feared, it is reflexive to human nature that it fears the unknown and it thus reinforces the narrative of security.

“Mr. B, in response and to my question and to augment the argument of Mr. A said that it is also about the system as to how does the prevailing system respond to freedom and freedom of speech. In Pakistan, no one can speak of truth; no one is free to express his or her thought. People are scared of being misinterpreted and tagged as traitors. The researcher asked Mr. B as to what does he mean by ‘system’? Participant B replied and said system is ‘state’.”

Moreover, the data shows as to how responsive and embedded security is in Quetta. The claim basing the data can be made that the security apparatus has been transposed into ‘value apparatus’ which guides everything else within Quetta city. Howsoever, another important effect and dimension of the security apparatus in Quetta is the form of ‘Meta-framing’. For



example the data shows as to how the ‘security apparatus’, which the respondent deemed as ‘state’, redefined ‘conscience’ and ‘guilt’. This redefinition of ‘conscience’ is actually the problematization of ‘truth’ through security or the new ‘value apparatus’. Moreover, the data further tells as to how the ‘security-meta framing’ determines the meaning and interpretation of any idea. It thus is now more obvious that it is the security apparatus that is dissipating the public place of its ‘discourse’ or ‘politics. People are under the fear of being [re]defined by the security apparatus. Such definitions of security are in categories and are limited in number, for instance, ‘Traitor’, ‘Terrorist’, ‘anti-state’ and ‘insurgent’.

“However, the researcher further asked the FGD participants as to how and what do security in form of check posts do for them? Mr. D responded and told that these check posts merely reinforce their insecurities as MR.A and B told. If the army is spotted instead of Police, what does it mean to one, Of course insecurity which the army has to put an end to. Moreover, he told the researcher, that these barriers, gun men, spikes and check posts are not the way out to educate people and bring peace, these are rather scaring people of each other, and creating environment of fear, as Mr. A and B told of their personal fears. Everyone here in this circle if asked is fearful of their own state and people, concluded Mr. D. Furthermore, Mr.B told that people are also insecure in being around them. For instance, Mr. B told, his father always advise him to keep a distance from Security mobiles and their check posts, for they are the target of terrorists. Any proximity to check posts and mobiles just doubles the risk.”

Moreover, the data shows as to how the narrative of security is also spoken through check-posts. Check-posts are the signified entities which speak of in-security to masses. Particularly, worth-noticing is the deployment of ‘paramilitary’ which is meant to be deployed on borders not within city. They are not trained for a city, a social arena, rather are trained for a wary like area. However, the deployment of paramilitary, therefore, only reinforces threat. Furthermore, these check-posts, Spikes, Guns are only inculcating fear among citizens, for it is not the geography that is securitized rather the whole of masses are securitized which thus sensitized everyone to suspect the other citizen. This fear of ‘threat’ everywhere is dissipating trust and enforcing doubt among citizens. However, ‘trust’ is the essence of any working social body, if there is not trust it is not a society rather it is a ‘war field’ where ones prime concern is figure out threat and eliminate it. Besides, each narrative of security in Quetta has its own ‘referent objects’ and ‘threats’. According to the above narrative, state is the ‘referent object’ and citizens are the ‘threat’. Ironically, politics only exists when the state and citizen indulge in a dialogical communication. But securitizing anything related to state is actually redefining the

state and individual relationship. In Quetta this new relationship is the passive ‘agency’ and [pro]active ‘state’. State in Quetta is no more to securitize citizen from aliens rather to securitize itself from its own citizens. The new alien in Quetta is the citizen, according to the above narrative of Quetta. However, this very narrative of security or speech act of security in Quetta has genesis back in Baloch nationalism.

“All the above answers of MR. A, B and D, were responded by Mr. C, who was a military man and demanded ‘anonymity’. Mr. C told Entire FGD that you people are not talking ‘Valid’ and it seems like you people want a ‘*revolution and independence*’, which is very unlikely to happen and is impossible. To this the researcher responded and asked Mr. D to come up with his reality of the situation. Mr. D responded in a lowered pitch and leaned ahead in his chair towards the researcher and started answering all the questions previously asked by the researcher from the group. However, Mr. D said these check posts are not unnecessarily deployed rather there is a security threat internationally, like India and Iran both are promoting and doing terrorist activities here in Quetta, besides, it is no denial that there are some local non actors, too. Secondly Mr. D told the researcher that we cannot deny the flaws of security plan, it does have flaws. He told that he agrees and admits that men out there on check posts are less educated relatively but it does not reject or cannot question our (army) competency and morality. Conclusively, he told that the state and specifically army is not doing it to have control on state and masses, some people might tell or have told you that, but that is not the fact, the fact is that the state is fighting a global war. See if we even agree that Pakistan might be lying to its masses but how come all states happen to believe its narrative, this is the truth, no matter people believe it or not but that would be the truth. And lastly, if there are blasts despite so much security, it’s not our (army) fault, but security failure.”

The data shows as to how any argument can be dealt with security by a state. State is not something concrete rather one experiences a state through state ‘individual’ whom one encounters as an individual. The data shows as to how a state (Mr. D) responded to the arguments of other participants. If one tries to treat the words of Mr. D with semantic narrative analysis, it can be inferred as to how merely through speaking Mr. D defined the whole of participants. Anywhere in world a revolution of independence movements are securitized by state. The same is the case with above data, where the participant Mr. D, who was a military man and an official of security apparatus, tried to securitize the politics of group through a speech act like ‘independence and revolution’. It bears in mind that Mr. D was a friend of the participants, so his choice of wording must have been very euphemized, relatively. However, another inference drawn from the data is the binary of ‘us’ vs ‘you’. If we look at the syntax and semantics of the Mr. D where he stated that ‘*you people want revolution and independence*’. Moreover, if we look at the language we can also infer that the semantics of

Mr. D's communication were somehow embedded within the narrative of security. For instance his choice of word 'independence' somehow was the vocabulary of expressionist regime of security in Quetta. The vocabulary 'independence' has something with the Baloch in Quetta.

Howsoever, the narrative of security apparatus also shows that Quetta is being dominated by two narratives of security, firstly, the 'Indian Threat' which securitized the 'Balochs', and secondly, the 'Iranian Threat' that securitized the 'Hazaras'. Moreover, the respondent also narrated security as connected to 'Global War'. Including Global war to the narrative of security simply vindicates the security apparatus of its policies and holds the international community accountable. This, of course, redefines the role of security apparatus among the citizens.

Besides, the data shows as to how the security apparatus tries to moralize its bureaucratic structure which is unlike in any modern state. Thus moralization of the security apparatus legitimizes it to carry any policy. And it also elevates the security apparatus to the stature of 'sacred cow'. Moreover, it is this sanctity that silences any criticism in the name of 'offence' in Quetta. Sanctity of anything is above an individual, which means individual or anything else has to be passive to it. Moreover, the data goes on to inform the reader as to how the narrative of state is considered the ultimate one by state and rejects all other narratives which are fed back by the masses. It thus can be concluded that security apparatus has redefined the public spaces as one way communicative spaces, where only the narrative of state has legitimacy and all other narratives are either rejected or securitized.

"The researcher further asked the group as to how do they negotiate their daily interception on check posts. Participant A replied that they avoid talking to security personnel as they deem it arguing, so they simply show identity and Security personnel let them go most of the time, depends on their mood. I asked what do security personnel ask usually when they intercept one? Mr. A replied that they simply ask one as to from where does one come and to where does one head. I wonder, Mr. D exclaimed, as to what is the point of asking such questions if once they have our IDs in their hands. MR. C responded to question of Mr. D and said security personnel try to look one's expression while asking such seemingly pointless questions. However, Mr. B, sarcastically commented on Mr. A's answer and asked him *'do you really think they can read facial expressions, you talk like they have been trained and educated in psychology. A person who does not understand simple words of emergency and urgency, how can he read facial expressions'*, concluded Mr. B. However, the researcher further

asked the Participants as to that what happens if someone fails to show CNIC, for instance if one has forgotten it? Mr. A to this question replied that they then show some student or professional card. I asked do security personnel let you go without having CNIC? He told indeed they do, people usually show them professional ID cards, particularly if they have cards issued from any government security agency.”

“Mr. A further told that security personnel on check posts are ignorant of local ethical codes. He narrated his personal experience. He told that once on Quetta airport he was checked through technologically equipped door and then with a detector and nothing was detected, yet he was intercepted and his suit case was checked by a security personnel. After the checking the security personnel did not even bother to repack the suit case of which he had made up a mess. Not only this is being done, rather old men on check posts are intercepted and at times beaten, if they argue. The reason is of course their education level but how come a state dispense such an uneducated lot into city which is the abode of citizens, the educated ones.”

Furthermore, the above data shows as to how the security apparatus at work in Quetta is detested by citizens. Such a hatred developed for state has redefined the state and individual relationship. This alienation and detest made possible through security has dissipated state and individual interaction. And all this has been only through the deployment of paramilitary force, who knows nothing, but to kill and threaten.

#### **4.1.6. FGD-5**

“The research introduced himself and the topic to the participants, one among the participants, named Inamullah, responded without being asked any question and told that he personally is very disturbed by this security. For instance, if one wake up in the morning what does he want to see? The researcher replied ‘I do not know you tell please’. Mr. Inamullah answered ‘Greenery’ of course, but what does one see? An AK-47! Howsoever, the researcher asked Mr. Inamullah as to why did he understand security in strict military sense? The respondent replied that as he had already mentioned that he personally was very disturbed by the security. The researcher asked what about other securities, like economic, educational and health security? The respondent told *‘hum churth he nahi marte baki securities mein’*(he and others do not take other securities in regard other than militaristic security). Moreover the respondent told that whenever he leaves for office he feels more insecure on way to office and vice versa, the reason he told was happening to see Ak-47 dozens of times, which reinforces sense of insecurity in him. He feel like living in a war field, told Inamullah.”

“However, Naqash adding to the argument of Inamullah told the researcher that security means being free of tension, so as to one can work freely in office and does not worry for home back. But the irony is that each moment either through news or colleagues and other social peers one is told of insecurity, and as Inamullah said on roads while travelling within city these Kalashnikovs intensifies ones apprehensions. Disturbing, the respondent told, to any citizen is the way FC personnel carry their Guns; they have their finger on the trigger whenever you look at them, and this terrifies one immensely.”

The data from the above FGD shows as to how the term security is reflexively understood in terms of military by anyone in Quetta. The data further shows as to how the security has grown into a meta-framing of local. Moreover, it also goes on to inform the reader as to how the security has overwhelmed all other securities, be it economic, health or any other. Furthermore, it can be drawn from the data that security has redefined the meaning of a 'settlement'. A city is a settlement and any settlement is the sign of peaceful environment. Citizen of Quetta does not feel living in a city rather they feel living in a war area. Thus it can be argued that the security has redefined the meaning of a city for citizens of Quetta. And all this has been through the anxiety of threat which is spoken through check posts to citizens. And this is how Quetta is being reproduced everyday as a 'risk society' through security as narrated Mr. Naqash. Moreover, security thus is even redefining Quetta city in terms of anatomy. Citizens are deprived of daily recreation, like Mr. Inamullah told that AK-47 in city has descended at the cost of greenery(Aesthetic)

“However, Mr Naqash, told that people look for secure locality, therefore people have closed gated colonies and everyone prefer gated locality, but very few can afford a secure locality. For, prices are high for such residential area, for instance, Jinnah town which fall in the spatial jurisdictions of cantonment, proper cantonment and Survey 144. However, this has broken the social capital and people now less frequently go to masjids to offer their prayers, owing to gated colonies. However, Inamullah interrupted the conversation, and told that their elder used to tell not to speak in Punjabi outside in Quetta, as Blaochs hate Punjabis and will kill them if spotted.”

Furthermore, the data goes on to inform the reader that security has redefined the prices of land in Quetta. Price in Quetta formerly were regulated through the principle of 'invisible hand' that is to say demand and supply. But with narrative of security the indivisiblehand is replaced by the securit. It thus can be concluded that the prices of security is regulated through speculative capital, but the speculative capital in case of Quetta is the 'speech act' (A single statement by security apparatus, irrespective of the authenticity of statement) of security apparatus. Besides, the security also determines the daily routes of individuals. For instance, as Mr. Naqash told that many people owing to blocked roads had to give up going to masjid for prayer. However, the data also shows as to how security has started regulating the personal lives of individual, for instance religious practices of individual. It thus can be argued while basing the above data that security has depoliticized religion and has shifted it form a mosque

(a public place) to home (a private sphere). In a city like Quetta mosques play an important role in fostering social capital.

#### **4.1.7. Interview-3**

“Naseem Tareen told the researcher that any affiliation with security personnel by civilians is warranting a civilian to carry illicit acts. He told that one can see all illegal cars black papered and they are not intercepted by any check post, for these cars have the pictures of COAS (chief of army staff). Moreover, Security personnel are revered more than Mullahs and Nawabs, they enjoy more social prestige even than any other state official in Quetta.”

The data shows as to how the security apparatus, owing to so much expansion in the whole fabric of society of Quetta, has redefined the meaning of prestige among citizens of Quetta. The security apparatus, which has now taken up the form of ‘value apparatus’, in Quetta has redefined prestige for citizens. This new value apparatus is redefining everything in Quetta. It, thus has, depoliticized the power and prestige of traditional leaders in Quetta. Besides, the security did not only depoliticize the role and prestige of Traditional leader rather it has overshadowed all other state institutions. Moreover, he also provided an evidence for the argument that social capital with the security is abused by the locals for personal gains. And this in turn shows as to how the modus operandi of ‘crime’ is redefined.

#### **4.1.8. Interview-4**

“Hafizullah who was a journalist told the researcher that security has brought multiple hardships to his personal and professional life. The respondent said that he is even scared of a common man while talking on any political issue. The researcher asked him as to how and why? Hafizullah replied that he does not know who is a spy around; he was even scared of the researcher, told the respondent. Being a journalist means one can talk of any political activity, but in Quetta it is not the case. He also told the researcher that It is a moral and professional duty of a journalist to tell the truth but he cannot tell the truth. He further told that he does not know when and how his own words are twisted and used against him. He told the researcher that journalists hardly tell truths even if they do that must be partial truth. The researcher asked, is it the censorship? The respondent replied of course when is it not!”

The data shows the extent of depoliticization of Quetta city through security. For instance, as the data also shows, security has redefined both the personal and professional. Keeping in view the data it is inferred that security has redefined the professional ethics and modus operandi of journalism in Quetta. And all this is being done through censorship. Firstly, if one looks at the data, it can be concluded that the morality of journalism that is to tell the truth is

redefined through censorship. And this thus provides further evidence to the argument that security has become the new 'value apparatus' which has replaced the 'conscience' with 'security apparatus' that only see thing within binary, that is to say cost (threat) and benefit (referent object) analysis.

'Threat', in case of Quetta, is the rules of security apparatus and 'referent object' is the 'survival' of an individual. Besides, the data shows as to how anyone can settle personal grudges with someone through misquoting him/her. This is another addition to the argument as to how the narrative of security is being abused in Quetta. One can even argue that it works more like a securitized 'blasphemy'. Moreover, the data shows as to how doubt or fear of anyone being around, who might misquote or misinterpret him to security apparatus, has ripped individuals of their public discourse. People do not tell truth to each other. This further shows as to how, owing to security, citizens has lost trust in each other, while trust is the most essential characteristic for well working society.

"The respondent further expressed his insecurity and told the researcher that despite knowing him through a reference he is still scared to tell the truth. He further, on being asked about debating on politics, told the researcher that he only does political debates with his very close friends or family whom he can trust. But they are very limited in number, told the respondent. Moreover the researcher asked the responded that being a reporter how much politically active does he find people whom he interviews? Hafizullah said not much unlike him, people are scared to talk about any political issue, particularly Baloch missing person and PTM. Initially PTM did fire up the debate on security, but when DG ISPR, Mr. Ghafoor did a press conference and declared PTM anti national. People stopped talking altogether about PTM. It is no more the daily political debate of masses of Quetta. The PTM debate is now taboo like the Baloch Missing person debate. People are scared to talk on it lest do not be declared traitors or be disappeared like Balochs, who were politically vocal about truth and rights of citizens."

The respondent further told that he avoids showing his Professional press card when intercepted on check posts, for press persons are the truth speaker and security personal hate truth speakers. These Security personnel 'harass' the journalists unnecessarily, he concluded. And it be borne in mind that it is media in any state which brings

The above data further goes to explain as to what and how an 'unknown' is. The unknown in Quetta is not one met with for the first time. Rather an unknown is everyone else except few selected close friends and family members. Therefore, as the data also shows, public space and the political debates are parochial in scope, limited to fewer number of individuals.

However, this in no way qualifies for the definition of a public space. For, a public space is more a constituent of political relations among citizens, it works beyond personal relations. It thus can be argued that a ‘unknowingness’ among citizens in Quetta is owing sheerly to ‘Political alienation’ among citizens. Furthermore, the data shows as to how the ‘just speaking’ or ‘truth speaking’ is redefined through declaring Pashtoon Tahfuz Movement, which is a reactionary movement towards security apparatus or securitization. It thus can be concluded that any political activity or vocality merely takes securitization by the security state to get depoliticized. As we can see it in case of PTM and Balochs’s Vocality for equal share in resources. Besides, the data shows that the ‘security rituals’ like interception, Interrogation and detention, irrespective of being proved, reduces a political-being into a passive-beings. However, it is hence concluded that it is securitization which redefines ‘agency’ of an individual. Moreover, it be borne in mind that it is the press and a journalist that provides a platform for the interaction between state and individual. But, ironically, this platform is redefined by the security apparatus and it is thus that now both the state and citizens is alienated from and unknown to each other. Conclusively, it is owing to this ‘unknowingness’ and ‘alienation’ that citizens are ripped of politics. For, politics means to be indulged in a dialogue with the state.

#### **4.1.9. FGD6**

“The researcher threw the question, as to how do they see security within Quetta, to participants of the FDG. Atullah Kakar, responding to the question, told the researcher that security to him means only ‘*Harassment*’! The researcher for better clarification asked the respondent as to what exactly he meant by ‘harassment’. The respondent replied that by harassment he meant encroachment on his freedom of speech and mobility. However, the researcher asked as to how is it encroachment? The respondent replied, for instance he cannot talk openly on the question the researcher has asked, for, if he does, it might threaten him and his family. The respondent told the researcher that he has seen people being ‘*picked up*’. And he does not want to be one, told the respondent.”

The above data show as to how the political voices are strangled through the ‘fear’ of being miss-interpreted. Thus fear of being misinterpreted of course has roots in the ‘political unknowingness’ within a public space. It is the ‘Metaframing of security’ that the local political language is redefined within, the new meta-framing altogether changes the meaning of older political language.



“However, another respondent Mr. Muhammad Farooq, carried the term ‘harrasment’ in his personal narrative. The respondent told the researcher that once on his way while travelling back to Quetta from his village. He was filming the scenery in his handy cam, for after a very long period it had rained in Balochistan, the once barren land was carpeted green by nature. However, the incident was not as pleasant as the scenery. As soon as his car approached the check post, he was intercepted and pulled out of a car. He told the researcher that their behavior was very harsh, and interestingly, they had mistaken him for a reporter, he showed them the film in his handy cam to prove that he was not a reporter for a channel or a daily.”

The above data triangulates the claims made by other journalists who also had told that ‘security apparatus’ interfere re more in their professional lives and are more frequently intercepted on check-post so as to sensitize them of ‘policing’. It also be borne in mind that in any state , it is ‘media’ that politicizes individuals of its rights and duties, and bring both the individual and state into an interaction. But unfortunately in Quetta this interaction has dissipated and resulted in ‘depoliticization’ through redefinition of state vs individual relationship by security apparatus.

“However, the researcher asked the whole FDG again, as to why do they call security and check posts’ interception ‘*harassment*’? Mr. Jamshaid to this question, not unlike his group members, told that he calls it ‘*harrasment*’, for it is on racial and discriminatory basis. He would give example of himself, told the respondent. His dress code has always been the reason for his interception on check posts, his dressing was typically Pashtoon and Tribal, told the respondent and so did the researcher observed.”

The data further provides one to infer that ‘security apparatus’ in Quetta, through the categorization of citizens within the frame of binary ‘threat and referent object’, is redefining the local culturae. Whatever is beingdefined as ‘threat’ in Quetta, is meant to be put an end to and so is the case with Quetta. When the ‘security apparatus’ defines particular ‘abstracts’ as ‘threats,’ like in the case of above data where ‘Typical Tribalism’ is defined as threat, it instantly and mechanically calls for an end to it. However, such mechanism at work is evinced through the above data which shows as to how discrimination is being reinforced through ‘security apparatus’, which eventually may result dissipation of multi-culturalism within Quetta.

#### **4.1.10. FGD-7**

The FGD has five participants, who are all Teachers and affiliated with Teachers Union of Quetta. However, the participants had plenty of experience in field of Teaching.

“The research told that as soon as he introduced the topic, one of the participants in group named James, told that he hopes the researcher will not ask questions on ‘Generals’! The members of the FGD were all teachers by profession and were members of Teacher Union, told the researcher. However, the researcher responding to the question of James told him that it might involve Generals since the topic is on security. Moreover, the researcher asked the FGD that as to what extent do they think people in Quetta are politicized? To this question replied James and told the researcher that relatively Balochistan is more politicized. However, Mr. Mujeebullah Gharsheen interrupted James and told that it is also this ‘Political Wisdom’ which is killing them (People of Balochistan). *‘It is now an open secret, told Mujeebullah Gharsheen, that the existing democracy is not democracy nor is the existing politics, politics. Political Parties are made overnight, people who raise their voice for civil rights are lifted and disappeared. We are living in a despotic regime, even children knows it’.*”

If from the above data phrase like ‘*even children knows it*’ is treated with narrative analysis one can arrive at knowing the extent of the absorption of the narrative of securitization. The data further shows as to how the absorption has now taken up the form of ‘self policing’ in Quetta. And here again for the above argument a verbatim would analyzed, recorded during fieldwork, from the verbatim, ‘*political wisdom which is killing them*’ self, it can be drawn that ‘politics’ is securitized as a ‘threat’ within Quetta, which in turn has eventuated self policing. However, it can be concluded, thus, that self-policing, owing to securitization of politics, has only this way suppressed all political potentialities within Quetta in any citizen, for, it is popularly perceived, pan-optically, that politics is a ‘Risk’. And it is here that Quetta ceases to be political.

“The researcher asked the participants, if there are any other effects of security on schools other than the building restructuring, for instance the student and teacher relationships or the way of teaching? Mr. James responded and told the researcher that teachers cannot teach students freely nor can answer their questions honestly and freely. If a student asks a question on a sensitive topic, teachers either avoid it through elusive tactics or give a shut up call if a student insists. In some cases teachers advise student not to ask such questions it might risk his or teacher’s life if the teacher answers. Teachers have to be ‘*mahtat*’ (precautious) in schools now. However, the researcher asked the respondent as to what does he mean by ‘sensitive topic’? Mr. James replied that any issue securitized, is sensitive.”

“Mr. James furthered the argument and told the researcher that all these effects of which they talked are affecting school attendance. And, additionally the respondent told that they way Security apparatus intimate schools of security threat is not proper; they come to schools with guns and guards. They should come in civil dresses, it terrifies the students. Moreover, he told the researcher that often the schools are asked by FC Scouts and Army to give names of students who are good debaters, they then are invited for competitions, but when students are brought there, they are made to walk through Scanner which is not an issue, but students get scared and ask

teachers the reason when their bags, body and pockets are checked. Teachers have no answers other than telling students that it's for their security. Furthermore, in most of the schools on different occasions chief guests are Army's Generals, they are deemed the prestigious ones over other officials or leaders.”

Human is the most vocal of self among creatures, and it is through proper harsh training or a myth that one is taught to suppress few desires and potentialities. These involved schools and religion initially, but in modern times it involves prisons and narratives. However, the background was meant to make the reader's minds up for forthcoming argument. The Data shows, that in Quetta securitizing schools was meant to train individual in self policing, in other words individuals are trained in how to control self expression or being political. And it is this training that is apparent in all public places and throughout Quetta. People in Quetta were no more interactive, the discourse had dissipated, and ‘unknowingness’ on political level in public spaces kept reproducing itself, for it is schools that produce citizens for a state. But in Quetta the mechanism is same but the results are different, security apparatus has made schools produce passive citizens and alongside the narrative of in-security to reinforce sense of in-security legitimize the security as a ruling principle i.e. ‘value apparatus’ for any ‘Risk Society’.

#### **4.1.11. Interview-5**

“Isaac, the respondent, replied to the question, as to how much political is he or others around him? The respondent told that everyone in Quetta knows politics, but they do not do it, for they know nothing can be achieved. Their efforts go in vain. Moreover the researcher asked the respondent, as to how does he see security within Quetta? Mr.Isaac replied that to him security is an encroachment on our economy. The researcher asked as to how does he say it? The interviewee told that these FC deployments within city are being paid from civil treasure, which is affecting other social services sectors, i.e. health, education, infrastructure, for the economic resources are all directed towards security,. Furthermore, told the respondent, these check posts, sand sacks, Barriers, Barbed wires and Guns have ruined the aesthetic of the city. These check posts are abhorrence to me, literally, he concluded.”

The data shows as to how the narrative of a particular of security had emerged at the cost of other securities for survival in Quetta and this particularly redefined resource distribution within state for its citizens. The data shows as to how through preference-shaping a least needed security is prioritized over the most needed security. It thus is redefining both resource allocation on national and priorities on individual level.

#### 4.1.12. FGD-8

“The participants of the FGD were asked as to what do they think of security in Quetta? Mr. Sadiqullah responded to the Question that security, certainly, has some good impacts on crimes like mobile snatch and target killing. But regretfully they not controlled the bomb blasts; there have been two blasts only in this month of Ramadan. However another thing that he highlighted and was fed up of most was the behavior of these check-posts. The participant told these security personnel deployed on check-post does not know what rights citizens have and what jurisdictions these personnel themselves have. These people seem like machines, ripped of ethics, morality, sympathy, and conscience. One does not see any human like character in them. For instance, the respondent told, he once passed by tourists who had come to visit Quetta, but these FC personnel did not let him see these tourists or interact with them. In fact I was told to get lost from there. *‘jao jao yahan se mere taraf bhara apni bandook kandhe se utari, jese bus abi mujhe marne laga ho, maine kya gunnah kia ta yar! Apne ghar mein mehamano se milne na dena konsa chokidar krta hai? Aur apne malik ko kon marta hai?’*(He approached me and took off the strap of his gun, it seemed like he was going to kill me. What crime or sin had I committed! Which watchman does not let the host meet the guests? And does a watch man threaten his owner?”

The data shows as to how the security apparatus controlled everything else except for what he was descended into city. The prime concern and excuse of their descent into city was terrorism not petty routinized crimes. However, it is the reversal or swapping of the conventional city crime narrative. For instance, conventionally petty crimes like mobile snatching, theft, illegal drugs and of the likes are a routinized criminal practice in any other city of Pakistan, while any terrorist activity is the ‘emergency’. But, however, in Quetta terrorism is the routinized emergency. It is, conclusively, argued that the meanings of emergency and routine crimes are redefined.

Moreover the data shows as to how the security apparatus in form of check-posts are socially, politically and emotionally non-conductor. They are like machines programmed with threat elimination. For instance, it is evident in the personal experiential narrative of the respondent as to how the security personnel are non-conductor in Quetta; it prevents socialization, and acculturation of any kind. It, too, reinforces sense of alienation and unknowingness among people. Unknown to anyone is fearsome as also discusses elsewhere in data, this fearsome reproduces sense of insecurity, and therefore ‘Risk Society’. Besides it also results in breakdown of social relation and political relations which in turn prevents any interaction, lest not be mis-interpreted. Moreover, it owing to these non-conductor security measures that people believe easily whatever is being told about the ‘other’. It be borne in mind that

otherising in Quetta is a dominant narrative, in fact the whole of security narrative is working in Quetta through 'otherising' that is to say the 'Referent object and Threat'. Owing to non-conductor nature of security apparatus people merely invent each other through security apparatus at each end of the 'non-conductor'. Each end is narrated of the other by security apparatus or anyone else for personal gains, without letting the two ends negotiate themselves. And this has been possible only owing to non-conductor nature of security apparatus. Besides the data also shows as to how the narrative of securitization redefined the role 'for' (once the security is narrated it becomes one, and thus all the resources are mobilized towards security apparatus, thus leaving the security apparatus only decision maker, powerful and resourceful) security apparatus. And it be borne in mind that this very role, when redefined, mechanically redefined the roles of other institutions in Quetta, for, the new role of security emerges at the cost of roles of other institutions.

"Adding to the argument of Mr. Sadiqullah another respondent named, Muhammad Hanif, told the researcher that these check-post personnel intercept people on discriminatory basis. For instance, narrated Mr. Hanif, he always wondered as to why he is not as much intercepted as his friend whom Mr. Hanif pointed out in the group. Howsoever, the researcher looked at Mr. Niamatullah and asked him the reason, to which he replied 'zma la shakala or kalo sa andaza wakha' (look at my face and attire). The researcher described his appearance as having long beard, with a religious cap. However, the researcher asked as to what is wrong with it why would any security personnel intercept you for your attire. The respondent in response told the researcher that, if one had dressed tribal, he would be intercepted, for people think terrorists are Pashtoons."

The data further provides evidence to argue and reiterate that security in Quetta is depoliticizing cultures through securitizing it. However, the data shows as to how through the inherently discriminatory security apparatus people are forced to give up their cultural practice. As we already argued elsewhere that when the 'abstract' is securitized, it indispensably calls for its 'anthropomorphization', so is the case in Quetta city.

"The researcher asked if the participants were politically active and did political debates. To this question responded Mr. Anees and told the researcher '*speeni speeni ma waya ka zuwand kawe, veeni ta oba waya ka zuwan kawe, zulam ta la sara zulam ma waya, marhi ta uda waya ka zuwand kawe*' (Do not speak of the truth if you want to live, callwater to the blood if you want to live, never call oppression, an oppression if you want to live, call the dead asleep if you want to live). The researcher asked as to what he meant by it, he told it means never talk of '*Zulam*' (Tyranny), if one wants to live. The researcher asked why no to do and talk politics? The respondent replied, because it is risking life, no one knows when and how he be disappeared like Baloch brothers

who are fighting for their ‘Haq’ and were speaking of their ‘Haq’. Both fighting for ‘haq’ and speaking of ‘haq’ is risky in Quetta, he concluded. However, the researcher asked does it mean you people do not do and talk politics, at all? Mr. Anees to this question of the researcher replied that he can say that they do not do politics here on table or in front of ‘*unknowns*’. But it does not mean that they do not do or talk politics at all. They do talk on politics at home and it is just that they are told by elders not to talk about it outside for security reasons, and so is it ‘*common-sensical*’ not to, Mr. Anees concluded.”

The data informs a reader of two parallel phenomena, firstly, as to how ‘truth’ was insulated among citizens in a public space and secondly, as to how the ‘insulation of truth’ was transformed into ‘self policing’ through routine ‘security rituals’ (Undergoing any security check). Moreover, this is how it can be drawn that it is security apparatus which narrativized so much itself through multiple channels and in multiple forms that it became a ‘meta-framing’ of every citizen in a public space. This meta-framing or a value apparatus, has thus redefined ‘truth speaking’. For instance, the new value of security regulated the public space now in Quetta not the moral or humanistic ‘value apparatus’. It was of course the ‘cost and benefit analysis’ (Threat and referent object binary) of security apparatus and its ritual that transformed the narrative of security into a ‘value apparatus’, which thus no more interpreted ‘truth speaking’ a moral obligation, rather as a ‘threat’ to be avoided. The evidence that data provides for claiming that security apparatus had grown into a ‘value apparatus’ is the verbatim of the respondent where states that it is ‘commonsensical’ not to speak the truth. It be borne in mind that anything common-sensical is subject to a ‘schemata’ or ‘meta-framing’.

#### **4.1.13. Interview-6**

“The respondent was asked as to what effects does he see of security in Quetta. The respondent, named Mr. Sheikh Ajmal, told the researcher that security so far has brought daily negotiations and cohesion to an end. For instance, he argued, formerly, in Quetta it used to be virtually impossible to find a place for hoteling. Hotels used to be so crowded, owing to the pleasant weather of Quetta in summers. There was huge influx of tourists from hot areas like Sindh and Punjab. Ziarat was the gravitational center for tourists. However, now for security reasons these tourists have been reduced in number, almost are equal to none. It has affected businesses and the name of our city. Regretfully, the security situation of Quetta is mis-portrayed nationally. The respondent told that one most common such mis-portrayal is that of Balochs killing Punjabis. Mr. Ajmal told that many of his friends, living in Punjab, have refused his invitations to Quetta, stating that Punjabis are killed over there. I do not deny that it did never happen, it did but for a very short span of time. There is no such practice here anymore. He further told that not only this is the reason, there is an impression of Quetta nationally that people living there

are Baloch and anti state. Firstly I would tell them that majority of Quetta are Pashtoon, and secondly these people living in Quetta are not anti-state. He told this mis-perception has roots in the incident of Akbar Bugti. The regime of the then dictator Musharraf is also responsible for such mis-perception of Balochistan and Quetta specifically. Musharraf used such portrayal to press the voices of marginalized Balochs. Not all Balochs are anti-state nor are all Balochs in Quetta, there are hazaras, Pashtoons, Punjabis, Kashmiris and many more.”

The respondent of the FGD came up with his narrative of security and tried to show tell that the narrative of security depoliticized local social cohesion in public spaces like on hotel. The narrative of security decreased number of individuals within public spaces, besides it decreased the daily social gathering on hotel which subsequently in economic terms affected daily hotels’ sale. Further for the argument, the data provides evidence as to how the exaggeration of security affected tourism in Quetta, people used to come to Ziarat from all around Pakistan which is a national heritage and tourist spot in Balochistan. However, Quetta was a Gate to Ziarat for those who come from inter-province. It, therefore, is concluded that security regulated local businesses too.

Moreover, the data make one to infer that it is also this security that again proves itself as a ‘non-conductor’ between inter-provincial interaction of any kind and resulted in an ‘Invention of the enemy’. The invention of the Balochs as ‘anti-state’ and ‘anti-punjabi’ in other provinces is passively absorbed; therefore it regulates their reality which is unlike reality in Quetta. However, it is concluded that one of the narrative about security in Quetta is that of ‘Myth’, which has its roots in a military operation on Nawab Akbar Bugi. It is ‘alienation’ from the ‘other’ that people invent one, for the alienated is unknown and unknown is feared. People thus try to overcome the fear and invents the ‘other’ to solve the complication of alienation or interpret relation with the ‘other’ (unknown). In both cases invention is indispensable.

“Besides, Mr. Ajmal narrated an incident, that he once happened to sit with a non local (Aghani in local language) who had a picture of Raheel Sharif on the back of his car and a flag in front bonnet. The respondent told that he asked him if he was fan of army, but interestingly the owner replied that he had done it so as not to be intercepted otherwise he has no concern for them.”

The above data further shows as to how the narrative of ‘Security’ is abused by civilians to resist security. This very practice of the civilians is kind of a weapon of the weak civilians. Moreover, this practice teleologically moralizes and advertized security apparatus among

masses, subsequently, legitimizing all of its acts, for once one is moralized everything he does, goes beyond morality. However, it be borne in mind that this moralization of the security apparatus is at the cost a ‘villain’. For, without morality there can be no heroism. And once there is a hero it instantly invents its binary. Morality is again a kind of religion which depoliticize or redefines other institutions as inferior which therefore redefined career choices among youth.

“However, the researcher further asked the respondent, as he was doing his Mphil, about Security situation in Balochistan, for FC is being deployed there on gates and inside the campus. Mr, Ajmal replied to the researcher and told that is useless, they only irritate people. He narrated his personal experience and told that once he was intercepted by a FC personal and asked as to where is he going and who is he. The respondent told he that he was university student and has been studying here form last two years. The FC personnel responded rudely and told as to where is his books if he is a student. Mr. Ajmal told that he has done his course work and is working on thesis and here is his laptop. The FC personnel sarcastically replied that he know what student does with laptop they watch films on it, and warned him to bring books or will not let him enter university. The respondent told the researcher that what jurisdictions do a security personnel have to tell me to bring books; all they have to do is to provide security. *‘These people think they are gods who has writ over everything! They are not even humans let alone comparing them with God’.*”

The above data is presented so as to that one can infer the extent of expansion of security in daily lives of individual of Quetta. Besides, the data shows as to how metaphorically the security apparatus and its scope of power exercise is explained. However, the data further shows as to how security apparatus has replaced all other institutions and authorities and regulated all daily social activities of an individual.

#### **4.1.14. Interview-7**

“Mr. Basit Buzdar was interviewed via a sponsor who told the researcher in an introduction of Basit Buzdar that he used to be a district officer in Food Department, Quettaand later switched to Tehsildar. He is well experienced, told the sponsor. Howsoever, the researcher asked as to why he switched his profession. Mr. Buzdar told that it has administrative powers, one is kind of a magistrate, a magistrate is a full court and police in himself, he has levies force under him.”

The above interview shows as to how the security apparatus made youth ‘power hungry’ as elsewhere another respondent had also told. This power hunger was for particular posts which had jurisdictions over ‘armed forces’. However, thus show as to how career choices among youth were depoliticized owing to its extensive and far-reaching narrativization with city.



Moreover, the power hunger was a pervasive phenomenon, but all who drew power shared the same source that is 'Security apparatus' though the modus operandi of each individual varied. For, instance few abused security apparatus for power through social capital, while others masqueraded as one of them by putting the pictures or emblem of security officials.

"Howsoever, the researcher further asked the respondent if he was ever intercepted and how was his experience on check posts. The interviewee told that he was never intercepted as such. How could that be, asked the researcher! The respondent replied may be attire and looks and shrugged his shoulders in amazement himself. Actually it is looks, he reiterated with mindfulness and continued saying '*If I were in a fielder-car*' (Toyota fielder car) and had dressed like people of chamman, they would have intercepted routinely. So I guess it is looks, concluded Mr. Buzdar."

The above data shows as to how specific geographies and cultures are criminalized through securitization. and it is therefore that few people developed detestation for the security apparatus which to them is direct experience of the state. Moreover, it depoliticized a particular culture, for it redefines it as a 'suspected threat'.

"The researcher furthered his query and asked Mr. Buzdar as to how does he see Security in shape of check posts. The respondent replied that see FC personnel on check posts only know what is being told and ordered. They know nothing else. The respondent told that one of his colleagues was a retired Major who had newly switched to civil services. That major, the respondent state, once told me that '*what is wrong with this civil bureaucracy whatever he orders his subordinate, is responded with a 'No' with different excuses though. In armed forces, if he had ordered a subordinate to erect an Eiffel Tower, he would do it anyhow*'. So these people know nothing except order given, no morality, no sympathy, no excuses, nothing at all, told Mr. Basit Buzdar."

However, the above data shows as to how alienated and asocial the official of security apparatus are. The evidence further substantiates the argument and informs one of the orientation of being security apparatus in Quetta, which is in no way compatible with a social system. Rather they are programmed beings who only know to eliminate the given 'target' (order).

"However, he also told that he once happened to shop from a cart vendor whom he asked as to how the business was going. The vendor replied him that these check posts and FC mobiles have pushed us down into an open ground for security purposes, for their mobiles are frequently being targeted. However, now people hardly come and buy from them, formerly people used to stop by in cars and buy from them, though we now sell on even lesser prices, but yet no buyers, we are in loss, told the cart vendor."

The above data shows as to how the small scale businesses and markets are redefined and restructured, respectively. The data shows as to how the new regulating mechanism of market economy was now security. It is security that is redefining the livelihood of individuals in Quetta City.

#### **4.1.15. Interview-8**

“Zahoor Ahmed, a Tehsildar, was asked about students’ politics in Balochistan University by the researcher. The respondent told that when he used to study in University of Balochistan, student politics was a routine activity. Students used to arrange study circles and protest for their rights. The respondent was student of University of Balochistan from 2006 to 2009. Zahoor told that now when he visits University it seems very dull politically. Students do not interact and organize over ideological grounds. Their social organization is on parochial interests. Moreover, he told the researcher that there has been a recent notification by Government of Balochistan to put an end to students and campus politics. The researcher further asked as to how about student or youth politics outside campuses? The respondent replied, that people cannot talk on any issue on any platform be it campus, class room, hotels or social media, let alone doing politics. Cyber crime laws and such notifications regarding campus politicsevince it.”

The data shows as to how the security apparatus had put an end to political organization through its rituals. For instance, elsewhere is argued, too, the data shows that formerly the University of Balochistan was politicized, but as soon as the university adopted the policy of securitizing the politics, the daily political activities dissipated like social cohesion, negotiations and communication of ideas. Furthermore, the data shows that People had stopped speaking for rights (Just of Truth) which often was spoken through protests. Protest thus was a political activity where for truth people spoke. So it can be inferred that local politics was about ‘truth speaking’, and through securitization the truth was strangulated in University, which is a public space.

“However, the researcher further asked the respondent as to how does he see security in shape of Security Mobiles and Check posts. He told that it hurt when one is being questioned in his own colony. He told see colonies and neighborhoods work through trust, and settlement anywhere is an indicator of peaceful livelihood, he does not understand what Security check posts and Security mobiles have to do in a colony, told the respondent. He understands check posts deployment on city entrance points, he even approves of its deployment within city, but on sensitive points, only. In city FC seem more than civilians, they are everywhere and does everything. They control traffic, do customs and police jobs. *‘Sooner or later they would be reciting ‘Nikkah’ in weddings’*, concluded, Mr. Zahoor Sarcastically.”

The above data provides the evidence to see as to how security apparatus made efforts to ensure the expansion of security apparatus. For, instance the data shows that the expansionism of security apparatus in Quetta has only resulted into a ubiquity of the security apparatus, which has overshadowed and hijacked the power of all other institutions. It thus is argued that security both on institutional and individual level has redefined almost everything that came its way. The expansionism of the narrative of security into personal life is inferred from the 'verbatim' of respondent where he state that he fear that security apparatus may also hijack the divine given authority of a Mullah. It, thus, shows as to how powerful the security apparatus has emerged in Quetta.

#### **4.1.16. Interview-9**

"The researcher asked Mr. Harry as to what impact does he see of 'new' security apparatus in Quetta. The respondent replied that he never felt any such effect of security, owing to his post; he told he is always being escorted so he cannot tell about it as such. But what people has complained to him while he was on post, he can tell about it through their experiences. He told the researcher that people frequently complaint about the rude behavior of the FC personnel. And we often talk about it and then compare Levies Force (force recruited from among locals) with FC, and arrive at conclusion that Levies was better as they respected local codes and customs. He told he have been Deputy Commissioner in different areas and have carried many security tasks through Levies, he heard no complaints from locals about Levies."

However, the above data shows as to how being a part of the security apparatus can save one of the unnecessary 'security ritual' apparatus. Besides, it can be argued while keeping the above data in consideration that both civil administration and the locals complained of the alienated behavior of the official during routine 'security rituals'. This alienation of the locals with security is what has been the cause of detest for the state. For, the experiential 'state' to the people of Quetta is one which is scared and skeptical of its own masses and vice versa. Besides, basing on the data it can be conclusively argued that the 'doubt' in Quetta is even redefining the relations between the state and individual. This redefined relationship has its translation in the complaints and detest expressed by the locals for the state. Latent to the complaints of locals is the 'oppressive' nature of 'experiential state' which carries out its oppression through daily 'security rituals'.

".....[Pause'*I never meant that I am completely oblivion to fear of insecurity! These check posts on every second step do scare my inner peace.*'] The respondent further told the researcher that he has been part of the security

administration for very long and he knows that threat is high, for he is often being told by his Professional friends from different secret agencies. And, he told that he always advises his children not to go out until urgency, and particularly into crowded areas.”

Moreover, the above data shows as to how the fear of being insecure had pervaded across the society, not because of threats, but measures of threats. However, it thus can be argued that the narrative of security can never be understood in isolation of its binary, that is to say threat and referent object binary. The narrative of security in form of material (Check posts, Guns and of ilk) and security rituals (Interception, interrogation of any kind of security check), thusly, kept ‘over-sensitizing’ the individuals, and resulted in ‘grandiose of security’ among people. The security grandiose eventually transformed itself into a meta-framing and it worked they way pan-optican works. It is also here that once can have an impression of Quetta as a Risk society where not other structure guides one other than the reflexivity of ‘cost and benefit analyses’ that is to say the meta-framing of security. Besides, the data shows as to how this meta-framing then redefined everything, for instance the definition of leisure and mobility for children are defined in Quetta as the data shows. It is thus proves that security has even penetrated the ‘personal’ now. Security apparatus thus has shifted its arena of power exercise.

“The researcher asked do secret agencies officially communicate security alerts to all officials, does not it create panic? He replied that it does not work that way, they do not communicate it to all, as the researcher also told it shall create panic. I have been added into a whatsapp group where such threat alerts are shared. He always gets alerts, told Mr. Harry. The researcher further asked as to whether such threat alerts, being circulated in social media, authentic? The respondent told that most of them, or he would rather say all of them, for no one can dare to spread fake security news; it is risky and sensitive topic.”

The above interview was meant to triangulate the data of other respondents who had told that their source of security concerns were social media. Such a deep and expansive narrativization of security by security apparatus itself is not sense making. Much of the stereotypes and particularly the transformation of security into a ‘value apparatus’ is owing to this very unchecked practice of circulating the threat alerts. It does nothing except transforming the citizens into a paranoid. Once the individual is given a narrative to believe, one mechanically looks up for roles within it. And it is on these grounds that one can claim the citizens in Quetta had become paranoid, for, they always look up for binaries of the imagined roles, and ironically, within any narrative of security there are only three roles, the role of ‘Hero’ (State),

‘villain’ (threat to referent object), and the ‘referent object itself’. In Case of Quetta the hero is always the ‘security apparatus’, and which also constructs the ‘referent object’. While the role of ‘threat’ (Villian) is thrown into masses, for which the Hero has to look up, that is to say the ‘security apparatus’. However, it is this narrative that transposes and redefines the status of a citizen within Quetta, that is to say the status of ‘suspected’. And this status is reinforced through daily ‘security rituals’. Besides, this is how each citizen in Quetta, believing in the narrative of security, gets ‘skeptical’ (Paranoid) of the ‘other’. Besides, this skepticism among citizens is the symptom of breakdown of ‘political’ capital, and this has been the product of the narrative of securitization.

“The researcher further asked the respondent as to if it was true that Government through state officials tell masses to avoid crowded place and not to arrange any crowd like gatherings in public places? The respondent replied it is true and told that any gathering on mass level, be it a recreational activity or a political activity, is denied an NOC, provided that the event is of urgency in nature and environment is amenable. The respondent recounted *‘gora jan dai no jahan dai da halat ba sam si biya ba da jalsey am wi ao attan bam wi par chowko laka makhi chi ba wai’* (See! if there is life only then there is a world, sooner a time will come when there would again be rallies and dances on junctures of bazaar, like it used to be).”

The above data further shows as to how through the narrative of security the local priorities are defined for the masses. Moreover, it shows as to how the narrative of security had emerged over the cost of daily social cohesions, social and political activism, and recreational activities. It thus is argued that the narrative of security had redefined every personal and social activity. People could only make sense of living through the narrative of security in Quetta. Besides the data shows as to how the public spaces are made to shrink through a public announcement to avoid crowded area. Ironically, all public places are crowded, and even those who venture into a public place, mechanically do their business and try to make it back home as soon as possible. People avoid any social interaction in a public space.

#### **4.1.17. Interview-11**

“The respondent, Mr. Jack, was a magistrate in Quetta, he told on being asked to tell of the effects of security situation in Quetta both positive and negative, if there is any. The respondent responded that over all Security has brought peace to the city. Though he cannot claim that it has uprooted the threat altogether, told the respondent. The researcher commented, *‘but people complained that there are no improvements’*. Mr. Jack responded to the researcher and told that people does not know, even he did not know until recent when Quetta Gladiator won the PSL. The respondent told that being a magistrate he oversees security affairs in Quetta, and narrated that he once

happened to hear that the Quetta Gladiators Team is visiting Quetta; he had thought it might be like all other visits, limited merely to airport, officials and press. But he was shocked to hear that Quetta Gladiator was given the NOC by Security agencies and Deputy Commissioner. There are improvements, Mr. Jack concluded.”

The above data shows as to how the narrative of security within Quetta had transformed into a grandiose among citizens. It is irony that even security official himself was made to believe that Quetta is a ‘Risk Society’ which is full of threat everywhere. However, the data proved by the author stands in contradiction to the narrative of security apparatus. This above narrative, thus, insinuates that security in Quetta is ‘grandiose’, and many citizens, like he once did, believes in it.

“Anyhow, the respondent continued in lesser pitch now, another important impact of security is on two communities, one is professional and the other is religious one. The threat of security has impacted Hazara community the most, he told, while security as a measure has impacted religious community the most. For, instance Hazara is scared to venture into city which to them is beyond the check posts of Meezan chowk, while religious authorities has suffered at the hands of check posts and masses. In Quetta, certainly, religious practices were essential to daily routine, he recounted, for instance *‘Khair o khairat ao zakat dair aam wahi warkawal wa mulayanu la, da agho Chula par dagha chaleda’* (formerly charity was the source of Mullahs hearth, and people used to feel obligated to give away charity to Mullahs by their conscience). But now people think of religious people as terrorists and do not give any financial assistance to them, for they think it might be used against them. These people, everyone knows, are jobless and this modern economy does not accommodate them. Both of these communities are socially and economically affected very badly. Mr. Jack, told that this suspicion about Mullahs has even affected the number of students in Madrassahs. People are scared! There have been arrests and raids on different Mosques where terrorists were allegedly trained. And these training were given to children who used to come for religious teachings.”

However, the above data shows as to how securitization in Quetta redefined the meaning of life for both the ‘referent object’ and ‘threat’ in Quetta. For instance Hazara (referent object) was denied mobility, social interaction, leisure, economic activities, and official works in City through Check posts, while Religious Leaders (Threat) were denied almost everything from economic to social. For instance the data shows as to how they were dealt with suspicion on check posts. Besides, this role of terrorist, given by state apparatus to religious leader in their narrative of security, did play a role in redefining their whole lives. For instance, with internalization of the narrative of security, citizens acted like security apparatus, that is the sign of ‘pan-optican too, and discriminated. The data shows as to how they were economically marginalized, mere through a declaration of ‘taliban’ as terrorist, the whole community is

depoliticized. However, depoliticization in a sense that their identity is redefined as terrorist, economic activities are restructured and interesting it not only restructured their lives but a whole economic system of Islamic charity. Moreover, it depoliticized Islamic culture, for instance people stopped sending children to learn Islamic culture in Madrasahs. Conclusively, they also lost their moral authority with narrative of securitization, subsequently, depoliticized tribal-cum-religious power relations.

“Moreover, the researcher asked the respondent that what about security check posts and security personnel, and their impact. The respondent replied, *‘dhaiken sir check posts se jese tese be niklo bs baki ense jitna door raho behtar hai’* (see sir! One better keeps rolling on check-post, and eschew as distant as one can). The researcher asked the respondent that what he meant if he could elaborate. The respondent replied that if one wants to live decently so he better deals mechanically and officially on check-posts, and stay away from them. For, any link with them is a social stigma! People tag one a spy. One’s social space shrinks over night, the respondent shrugged and concluded.”

“Importantly, the respondent while leaving told the researcher that *‘I advise you not to sit with everyone for interviews and get done as soon as possible with this topic and better be away next time from such topics. You do not know but I know how many spies are around in the city.’*”

The above data interestingly shows that any link with officials of security apparatus was avoided, for people had stigmatized it. And this stigmatization had its expression in language which was ‘spy’. Within the narrative security, citizens had an additional role that was the role of a ‘spy’. It was another assigned role to citizens by citizens, and never state declared role. However, this labeling practice further embedded the phenomenon ‘self-policing’, and exacerbated the situation of ‘mistrust’. Among citizens of Quetta are now two categories and which are mutually exclusive, the suspected threat by state and the suspected spy by citizens. Ironically, each category first produces and then mechanically reproduces ‘self-policing’ among each other. This is how the whole population of Quetta is being self-policed by the narrative of security. The data shows as to how the researcher was sensitized about the narrative of spy. However, the researcher was time to time sensitized of such threat throughout field of which the author would under the heading of Participant Observation.

#### **4.1.18. Interview-12(Jacob)**

“The researcher asked the Jacob as to what does he think about security in Quetta. The respondent replied *‘security da insaf baghair jabar dai’* (security without justice is tyranny). The respondent told that he observes as

to how these check posts let the rich go and intercept poor. What is their mistake, because they are poor! It is because of these check-posts that they all suffer, told the respondent. Moreover, he told that people are dying of hunger; there are no jobs for youth. But what the government does is investing on security and making check-posts instead of hospitals. *'ka yaw war maarh kezham biya ya sa la tabi oa la mehngai ya la golai'* (if once I am dying then it does not matter be it fever, inflation or a bullet). *'gora sarkar dasi dai laka da piayala, la dey ba wa awaam la sanga faida rasi? Da dam pa shakal, da nokarai pa shakal da ilaj pa shakal. Ao ka doi da surwiyangard band ki no ba sarai sa kai, no ba khuwad ghla ao daka wahi'* (Government is like this bowl, how does it benefit its masses, is of course through different flow channels in form of jobs, health and dams. But what if all these flows are blocked! What would one do? Of course crimes and rebellion if there is an impasse, told the respondent.”

The respondent was a Religious Scholar and as we argued elsewhere that religious community had suffered the most economically, the above data further provides evidence to draw upon the argument further. However, the respondent replied that security had grown up other need like, economic and health security. The data thus evinces as to how the narrative of security depoliticized local allocation of budget within state institution and how did it depoliticized local livelihoods. And it is also evident from the data that the narrative of security made them see security rituals as sensitizing them of their economic marginalization. The security apparatus had redefined their once religious (Weberian class) into economic (Marxist class). However, this realization and redefining of their collective identity was owing to their stereotyping which did cost them economic marginalization.

“The researcher asked in another question from his respondent as to what does he think of politics and how does he find it and does he do politics. The respondent replied to the question of researcher and told that politics is the privilege of politicians while he is a *'aam sarai'* (a common man). The researcher commented that as far as he knows, anyone can do politics but what does he say it that only privileged can do it. The respondent replied to this and told that he meant only selected Politicians in parliament can speak of doselected politics. He being a common man cannot do it, told the respondent. The researcher asked and why is that so? Mr. Jacob stated in response that it is because he does different kind of politics unlike politicians in parliament, who are subject to speak and act in accordance to *'khara wardai'* (men in brown uniforms). However, the respondent further asked as to how is his politics different from the rest. The respondent replied that he does politics of *'Haq ao rishtiya'* (righteousness and truth) while those in parliament or are trying for parliament do *'da durwagho ao da bal dapara siyasat kawi'* (politics of falsehood and politics for 'others'). The researcher asked as to what he meant by politics of 'others' and 'falsehood' The respondent replied that these people lie in the name of politics to garner power and accumulate wealth by serving the 'Men in Brown Uniform'. *'siyast khu da rishtya ao da awam dai'* (Politics is to talk for masses and of truth), concluded Mr. Jacob. However, the researcher told the respondent as to then



why did he say he is not political. He can do his kind of politics, commented the researcher. The respondent replied to this and told that as he had said that his politic is about showing the right way to the masses and speaking for them, thus he cannot do it. If he does it *'da zama wa sar ta khatra da'* (it is a threat to my life), concluded, the respondent. The interviewee recounted *'ta waye bekhee da khalag nadi khabar chi sok da blaston kawi'* (Do you really think that these people does not know who is carrying out these blasts). The respondent continued and told the researcher, that if one does the alternative politics, he for sure has to be ready for the worst! Take the example of PTM, does anyone talk of it now? Of course no one shall, if they want to have a 'decent life'."

The above data shows as to how the respondent disowned the parliamentary politics, and told that local politics is the 'politics of truth speaking' and 'politics of masses'. However, from the data it can be inferred that the 'local politics' did not exist in Quetta, for security apparatus had securitized it through expansion into every affair potentially political. Besides, the data shows as to how anything related to 'security apparatus' was feared to talk about, for instance, if look at the precautionary used 'vocabulary' of the respondent 'khara wardai' (Security apparatus). However, it is only through this metaphoric vocabalray that one can infer as to how the power of 'insulating the politics of locals' is resisted. Moreover, the data shows as to how political discourses dissipated in Quetta through mere securitizing anykind of political discourse, for instance as the data shows in case of PTM.

#### **4.1.19. FGD-9**

"The participant asked the respondents of the FGD that if there is any political activism in UOB. Mr. Zahid told the researcher that there is no politics in University. Until the arrival of new Vice Chancellor, who is also given another extension, one could see political parties within campus but as soon as this new Vice Chancellor stepped in, the politics from within the campus disappeared. The respondent told that that this New V.C. Javeld Iqbal let the Security forces be deployed in every corner of the University; it is for this reason that he is given another extension. Mr. Nadeem added that all this started when students protested against the administration for Fee hikes and Hostel Accommodation. The respondent told that this VC always used Security Forces to subdue students' voices. He also told of 2015 protest when security forces were called to quell the protest and put a final end to Political parties. However, these protests were beyond Political parties. The respondent told that he agrees that there have been protests called by political parties like PSO (Pashtoon Student Organization) and BSO (Baloch Student Organization) for their own interests. But few protests were genuine, For instance the protests against, fee hikes, Hostel accommodation and the presence of FC personnel in Expo-Center were genuine. Expo center is the property of students; they organize meetings and festivals over there. However, Mr Adil khan told that the *'Expo center is being used by FC personnel as an interrogation and torture cell'*. A respondent Mr. Shaukat also told that the securitization of campus on pretext of removing political parties was of no gain. For,

now FC has taken up that role, formerly those political parties used to indulge in academic and personal affairs of a student now the FC personnel. The researcher asked the respondent if he could elaborate it as to how? The respondent replied, that for instance students are not let sit in a group, they are told to disperse for security reasons. There used to be good academic circles, ranging its members from 10 to 20 and more, but now such groups are being prevented in the name of security. The respondent narrated his personal incident to substantiate his claims. He told that he once submitted a research paper in Balochistan Review, he was given the acceptance letter by Mr. Farooq Baloch, an editor of the Balochistan review. However, the respondent complained that the publication of Paper was conditioned and I was told to include the name of Huma Zafar as a co-author, who as a wife of a contractor. The contractor was of armed forces, he concluded.”

The above data was collected from students of University of Balochistan. However, the data shows as to how the narrative of security was used by the University to depoliticized the voice of students. However, the entry of Security apparatus and its officials were again through ‘securitizing the politics’ which is the right of student in any university, as the FGD told. However, it thus is concluded as to why and how people abused the security in their own interest. Furthermore, the data shows as to how then security apparatus started further depoliticizing the campus, by redefining the social interactions and its scope. Besides, it shows as to how the security officials redefined the academic environment by putting an end to study circles. Thus is how a public space is denied any discourse in a public space. Furthermore, the data shows as to how strong and frequent the abuse of the security apparatus later emerged that it even started on daily basis, as the respondent told his own incident during the submission of research paper. Moreover, the data shows as to how the university was depoliticized spatially, for instance if we look at the transformation of ‘expo-center’ into something related to security. However, it also redefined the rights of students by denying them their space. Conclusively, one, thus, can infer from the data as to how expansive the security apparatus was in Quetta.

“However, to the same argument added Mr. Abdul shahid and told the researcher that it is very ironic that we are told not to arrange any festival or recreational activity for security reasons but the FC and University Administration itself arrange Festivalsand events whenever they wish and such events serve only their interests. He also told that at such events the access of common man is again prevented in the name of security and high priced passes. Not everyone can attend their events; one has to have any affiliation with a security apparatus or University’s Administration for an entry, concluded Abdul Shahid.”

Moreover, so far the data of FGD goes on to inform one that the narrative of security in University is hoax, brought by the V.C. to blunt the voices against his administration. Furthermore, the data goes on to prove the claim that that narrative of security is mere a pretext to deny the students their rights. Otherwise where is the security issue when the university administration and security apparatus itself arranges mass level gathering and events. It thus can be concluded that it is one of the narratives existing in Quetta that ‘security is an hoax’ brought by those who has good social and power capital with the security apparatus. security thus is an ultimate tool in the hands of powerful to depoliticize any effort against the status quo or one in power in Quetta.

“However, the researcher asked the respondents if they have ever protested this situation in University. The respondent Mr. Zahid replied that as they already told about one such protest and its consequences in University so they do not think any protest will be of any help. And Mr. Zahid also told of an incident of his uncle who as picked up by some agencies, for he had resisted the Security in Ziarat. He told that his uncle had gone to Ziarat for picnic where he was barred to visit Zero point, it is a scenic spot in Ziarat, in response his uncle had used some harsh words, no abusing of course, and had criticized the FC for curtailing tourist for no reason. The respondent told that they cannot even talk about security let alone protesting them. The researcher asked the respondent if this incident affected them and their family. The respondent replied that the whole family was worried of course! The researcher rephrased his question and asked is there any other effect other than the grief of those days when your uncle was picked up and had not come home. The respondent replied to that and told that it has scared them and the family. He told that we are now scared of FC and do not talk about them and in front of them. However the respondent told that the extent of his and his family fear it that he is even time to time asked by peers and family members to remove his face book statues which anyhow are related to security. Moreover, Mr. Shaukat added to the argument of Mr. Zahid that such incident on social media is a norm. It is not that only his family is fearful of talking on security. he told that twice of thrice he shared some content in a Face book group, the group admin removed the post of him and told him not to share such content again, though the content entailed nothing banned by cyber crime bill. The researcher asked as to what was the content in nature then. The respondent told that he does not remember all those posts, but in one of his posts which was removed, had some security visuals, it was related to FC’s unjust acts, concluded Mr. Shaukat. Mr. Unknown, continued his argument and substantiated it by telling of another incident, while demanded anonymity for this very data. He told that he for some time frequently shared PTM posts on his Face book account, and then stopped sharing altogether, for he was called by some ‘*private number*’ and told not to share such content if he wants to have a decent and untroubled life.”

However, the data shows as to how through security rituals, elicited by any securitized discourse or activity, did reproduce the fear of not to do it again, and reduced political beings

to passive beings. however the data then shows as to how these security rituals produce sense of 'hoplessness' which is the condition of 'passivity enforced' through security rituals and social peers. In context of social peers, the everyday 'discourse' of the security by those who have firsthand experience of any of the security ritual. The 'discourse' is used intentionally by the author to show that the only discourse that existed in Quetta was the discourse of threat which was so discursive, supported by data in multiple interviews, that it had resulted in the 'security grandiose', subsequently, 'Risk Society'. Ironically, in the whole of narrative of security only the threat could be found as a discourse not a referent object or a hero, they were always objectively consumed and reproduced. For, it is the 'threat' that legitimizes the security apparatus to 'securitize', and it is thus let discursive so as to keep legitimizing itself through masses. However, the 'enforced passivity' is thus a condition to absolute power, which only knows compliance or elimination, both to insulation and security rituals. It be borne in mind that passivity is being without agency, in other words one 'apolitical'. Conclusively, it is the discursive nature of threat that Quetta is produced as 'risk society' and people have become threat reflexive. However, it is this 'threat reflexivity' which has become the new value apparatus of Quetta, which mechanically at 'peer-pressure' level and eventually at 'Pan-optican' level demanded 'enforced passivity', in other words individuals without agency.

"The researcher asked the respondents to tell if such practice were also part of campus. Mr. Shaukat to the question replied that in university it is not the FC personnel but their own teachers. The respondent told that he had picked up a topic 'victimization of Hazaras' for his Mphil Thesis, but no teacher was ready to supervise him rather they told him to give up the topic, if he wants to have an untroubled life."

The data further substantiates the above inferred argument. For instance one can see as to individuals in universities are oriented in passivity. Securitization through insulation on academic level redefined areas of research for students. It redefined the moral apparatus of university. A university is space which promises state to provide citizens (Active in all state affaris) to state, but in case of Quetta, it has promised 'security apparatus' to provide 'passive' and 'threat reflexive' individuals. It redefined critical thinking as risk taking, It is redefining the intellectual trajectory, human capital and path of progress for the city.

#### **4.1.20. Interview-12**

“The researcher asked Mr. Bilal as to how frequent and of what nature politics is discussed in class at University of Balochistan. The respondent replied that they rarely talk of politics in class. The researcher asked as to why is it that way. The respondent replied it is because politics destroys careers and that is the reason it is banned in University. Moreover, to this answer of the respondent, the researcher asked, is it because of this ban that you do not do politics? The respondent replied *‘yes partially it is the reason’*. The researcher asked for the other partial cause. To which the respondent replied that his family does not want him to do politics and be part of any political party. The researcher asked why does not his family let him be part of any political organization..The respondent to this replied that because individuals, in political parties on lower level, are *‘Jungju’* (wary). So his family does not want him one to become, even no family would ever want that, as simple as that, concluded Mr. Bilal.”

However, the data shows as to how the individuals in University of Balochistan, like in any other public space in Quetta, were denied their ‘political agency’ through insulation and peer-pressure. However, through insulation the ‘politics’ within campus was ‘securitized’ which had its expression in the daily redefined social activities reported by students within University. while once the ‘politics’ was securitized within the campus, it mechanically called up for the redefinition of ‘politics’ as ‘threat’. Certainly, after such redefinition one would avoid politics and pacify ‘political agency’. Moreover, it was the politics of this ‘threat’ everywhere in any public space of Quetta. The ‘threat discourse’ had consumed the individuals into itself, and it was thence the Security transformed itself into a ‘value apparatus’ and produced ‘threat reflexivity’ which mechanically reproduced the ‘Risk Society’. ‘Risk’, thus was discursive practice within all public spaces of Quetta. Ironic and regretful is the redefinition of ‘politics’ among students, as ‘war’. Politics was ‘criminalized’ by state and through insulation made it a discursive practice, where people through their precautionous acts, reproduced it each moment. And this shows the deep entrenchment of security as a value apparatus among the individuals of Quetta.

#### **4.1.21. Interview-13**

“The researcher asked Mr. Salman Khan as to what does he think of security in Quetta. The respondent told the researcher that security has brought great difference to Quetta. The respondent, without being asked, further continued narrating the incident of one of his friends. However, the respondent told that one of his friends who was in some security agency had told him that he once received directives from high officials. The directives were to intercept a wedding bus and beat all the passengers. The respondent told the researcher that his friend’s conscience did not allow him to do that but since it was his first assignment and he could not refuse the directives

so he did it. But, the respondent told, his friend resigned onwards. Howsoever, the friend of respondent, few months later, came across of the reality and now regrets his resignation. For, if he had not carried the operation that, there might be a bigger loss in form of massacre of hundreds of people, told Mr. Salman.”

The data shows as to how the narrative of security apparatus within Quetta had its grip among individual, besides it shows as to how the absorption of the narrative of security redefined the once ‘act of vice’ as ‘the act of virtue’. It not merely redefined that very act for the respondent and his friend, rather it redefined the whole of security apparatus into a new moral enterprise. The whole of Social reality to them is redefined under this new ‘security meta-framing. This new moral enterprise brands every act of the security as moral, under the utilitarian law of cost and benefit analysis. And interestingly both the cost and the benefit are individual, under the rubric of national interest.

“Howsoever, the respondent continued, again without being asked, and told the researcher that people sitting among them who are of ‘*Dosiri soch*’ (Other-mindedness) might think of security the same way like he and his friend used to think. But it is very much unlike the way they think! However, the researcher here interrupted the respondent and asked as to what does he mean by ‘other-mindedness’. The respondent told that he meant ‘*Yeh jo azadi chahte hai*’ (*Separatist*) like Balochs and PTM. The respondent further continued and told the researcher that these people are misunderstood like my friend was. They do not realize the positive role of security. The researcher asked the respondent as to how the ‘other minded’ misunderstood. The respondent replied that these people think that the state itself is carrying out Bomb blasts and target killing, but it is not the truth.”

Howsoever, in the above data one can see as to how the within the narrative of security apparatus, a binary of ‘referent object’ is created, which is to say ‘threat’. The threat and referent object both are the citizens in the narrative of security. Furthermore, it is these roles given to citizens that individuals in Quetta developed ‘distrust’, and resulted in breakdown of all forms of capital.

Moreover, the data further points out the ‘counter narrative’ of security, which he ascribes to Baloch and PTM. Their counter narratives are denied, and branded as ‘threat’. Threat of their political ideologies is anthropomorphized, subsequently the whole Baloch ‘politics’ is securitized. Moreover, it was this securitization of local narratives (Politics) that local narratives were, parochial, incomplete, and fragmented, while the state narratives were coherent and complete and in practice and discursive. Thusly, it can be argued that the local narratives of security as whole were never operated a discourse among masses. Moreover, the

‘Apartheid’ created in Quetta city through securitization was obvious in the above data. If one looks at the local vocabulary ‘Other-mindedness’ of respondent and treat it with narrative analysis, he can infer from it that it was through state narrative that few citizens were declared ‘threats’, whom locals called ‘other-mindedness’. This ‘other-mindedness’ is both the proof that another counter narrative existed, which was securitized, and the evidence that there was an ‘apartheid’ within city. The term ‘other-mindedness’ shows that it is the ‘cannot be securitized’ which has to be securitized, and this ‘other-mindedness’ has its expression through ‘agency’ in Quetta, it is anthropomorphized.

#### **4.1.22. FGD-10**

“The researcher asked the respondents of the FGD as to what do they think of security. Mr. Afnan, a respondent replied that he does not have any idea about security since he lives in Cantonment. However, he told that in Quetta city the situation is worse and people are fed up, another participant named Musa Langov, recounted to Mr. Afnan ‘*Control bhai control*’ (Control Brother Control) while looking down into his cell phone. Mr. Afnan stopped speaking anymore, told the researcher. However, the researcher asked other participants if they had anything to say on the question, none replied and silence prevailed.”

The above data shows as to how talking on securitized or security apparatus (Hero) was no more the privilege of the masses. And furthermore it shows that it was the transformation of security into value apparatus, a meta-framing and logical type, which could question everything but nothing could question it. It had become more like myth regulating individuals passive to it and eliminating ‘others’ (other-mindedness), who does not comply to the myth. This new myth legitimized everything under its own ‘moral enterprise’, and grown upon the cost of ‘local moralities’. However, the data shows as to how daily ‘compliance’ was enforced through peers. Moreover, it also shows as to how only ‘threat was discursive’ among citizens not the ‘Hero and referent object’ in the narrative of security. However, threat from ‘perceived threat’ and ‘threat from ‘security apparatus’ (Hero).

“Moreover, the researcher asked the participants if they do political debates. One of the respondents, named Yasir Yousafzai, told to the researcher that they do not do political debates; they are not interested in news and this all. However, another participant, named Ghulam Sarwar, told the researcher in response to the same question that they do not even watch News, if any Blast Transpires, we come to know about it through social Media. However, the researcher asked the respondent that his question was about politics not security. The respondent to this responded that he knows it, but the researcher might not know that ‘*politics of Quetta is the politics of security*’, concluded Mr. Ghulam Sarwar.”

The data shows as to how being aware of ‘Threat’ was pervasively consumed across citizens, and thus was the priority of individuals to be well informed of security. Besides, it shows as to how threat was discursive in social media. However, it was this discursive practice of threat among citizens of Quetta that contributed to the construction of risk society and transformation of security into a value apparatus.

#### **4.1.23. Interview-13**

“The researcher asked Mr. Asfand Mandokhail as to what he thinks of security situation. The respondent replied that the situation is not yet stable, and told that he and his friends used to sit on a hotel, named ‘Shandaar’ in Jinnah town. But we now stopped sitting there, for *‘khalag wayai chi halat na di teek rush kash sa leri garzai’* (people tell to avoid going into crowded area), so it means there is a threat yet around. The researcher asked who exactly told you that. The respondent paused and replied that he does not remember who exactly told him about it, but he told the researcher that such news about security is routinely circulated on humanitarian basis. Actually security itself is a routine now, concluded Mr. Asfand.”

The above data makes one to infer from it as to that ‘Threat’ was pervasive in discourse in Quetta and was so circumferential, as argued elsewhere, that it was virtually impossible for one to decipher the source. This further shows as to how the society of Quetta had grown into a ‘risk society’, which was reproduced through daily ‘threat discourse’. Interesting to find in the data was as to how ‘discursive practice of threat’ had internalized itself into individual as a value apparatus, which obligated him to communicate the ‘threat’. However, exaggeration is inherent to anything of ‘awe’. Particularly, in conditions of emergency, it is exaggerated precautionary. Ironically, with the narrative of security, local moralities were redefined and replaced with the new moralities of new ‘moral enterprise’, as argued and shown in data elsewhere. It had redefined the ‘conscience of individual’, for morality defines ones ‘conscience’ and morality is the product of ‘logical type’ which in case of Quetta is ‘Security, thus, follows everything accordingly, in Quetta city.

“Moreover the researcher asked the respondent if he sees any effects, positive or negative, of security. The respondent told that he does not understand what is it! A man is killed, police, FC, Anti Terrorist force, Falcon, Eagle and all other such forces just tell the nations and the family of bereaved *‘Na maloom afraad’* (Unknown persons). No one is apprehended, and then after few hours a press release is issued which says *‘falan kaladam tehrik ne zmadari qabool kr li’* (A banned terror outfit accepted the responsibility of the incident).”



Furthermore, interesting to data is as to how the security apparatus through its narrative developed sense of fear of the ‘Unknown’ among citizens, which is had its expression through local terminology ‘Na maloom’ (unknown). The dissemination of such narratives with such ‘semantic structure’ on mass level mere ‘skepticalizes’ one of the ‘other’.

“However, the researcher asked the respondent as to what does he have to say on security measures. The respondent replied that I already told that there is no measure, for none accepts the responsibility to protect. All they do is to irritate ‘aam sarai’(a common man), they suspend transportation, changes roads and streets into cull de sac, and make people wait for hours in the name of security protocol. Very recently University buses were suspended in some areas, telling students the same ‘security reasons’. Security word has become like an excuse of typical parents of Pakistan, *‘if a child fails in exam, it is because of smart phone, if he falls ill, it is a Smart phone, anything bad happens, it is a phone. Alike is the case with ‘Mother Pakistan’, he concluded sarcastically.*”

The above data shows as to how ‘encroaching’ and ‘expansionist’ the security has been in Quetta. The data shows that security had become the new regulating mechanism that regulated everything within the city thus restructured the jurisdiction for itself which mechanically came at the cost of the jurisdictions of ‘other institutions’ be it local or anything. However, security also had restructured infrastructure of the city in form of Check-posts, Blockades and other security preventions. Interestingly, even this material signifier of the security like check posts and barriers were adopted by the citizens, as product of ‘risk reflexivity’ among citizens, which was inculcated to all forms of security expression be it material like check posts or rules. However, the measurements against risk society in Quetta were seen in form of ‘cull de sac’. These cull de sacs operated the same way. It proved to be insulator, which resulted in alienation and breakdown of the social capital with the rest of locality. Besides, it also had restructured the infrastructure of planned locality, which denied locals their right to mobility. Furthermore, since the ‘threat’ within Quetta is ‘unknown’ to security apparatus itself, thus it has to be expansive in its nature, legitimized the security narrative, accordingly. However, this sense ‘unknowingness’ merely led the citizens to be ‘precautious’ all the time, thusly, citizens contributed to the ‘Reflexive project of risk society’.

“Howsoever, the researcher asked as to how does the respondent experience security himself and specifically on check-posts. The respondent replied that his experience has not been much unlike others who must have told how irritated, uncomfortable and fearful they feel on check posts. They ask questions out of nowhere which does not make a sense even to donkey. However, he told that he tries to avoid any interaction with them *‘enki na dosti achi hai na dushmani’* (neither friendship nor enmity with them is affordable). These people *‘hume apni*

*muslmani par rokh rahe hai*) are making us stop doing good deeds. *'I shall not step forward to help anyone if anyhow FC or any other security is involved or may involve'*, told the respondent.”

However, the data shows as to how security rituals had redefined moral priorities within the city of Quetta. Certainly, it is owing to the alienated nature security apparatus and their training, in Quetta which made citizens develop a sense of detest for the security apparatus. Furthermore, it is owing to thus security that social capital has dissipated among citizens. However, Individuals have grown into ‘apathic being’, insulated with ‘*cost and benefit analysis*’ (new value apparatus). However, the above situation of Quetta reminds me of a famous quotation of Nietzsche, quoted as *'Whoever fights monsters should see to it that in the process he does not become a monster. And if you gaze long enough into an abyss, the abyss will gaze back into you'*. It was inherent to the process of ‘security rituals’ which were resisted and detested by citizens as reported by data, that it broke social and political capital among masses.

“He also told that every time when he happened to visit a patient in CMH at cantonment, he suffered for hours just to have an entry. Besides, he told same is the situation while one tries to visit Mariabad, *'wali chi da hazaragiano ilaka da no'* (for it is Hazaras’ area). Both are cantonments actually, and I actually avoid going to both areas until there is an extreme urgency, concluded Mr. Asfand.”

The above data shows as to how the ‘referent object’ is denied any ‘unnecessary interaction’. However, human interaction is in multiple forms and it is interaction that qualifies a mere crowd to the definition of ‘society’. Thus interaction is indispensable to society, but in case of Quetta, owing to security, these interactions are limited in some areas. Which thus alienates the securitized from the reset be the securitized is ‘threat’ or ‘referent object’ both are denied social interactions. It this is redefining daily social interactions in Quetta.

#### **4.1.24. Interview-14**

“The researcher introduced the topic of his research to Mr. Ismail Shah, and to which the interview responded *'os ta ma pa khalai makhlooq zhaghaye'* (now do you want me to speak about ‘Aliens’). However, the researcher asked the respondent as to what does he mean by *'Khalai makhlooq'*. The responded told that he meant *'tor gatto wala, Army'* (Black gates, Army). The researcher told the respondent as to what do they have to do with security in Quetta, securitization of the city is either with civil forces or FC. The respondent asked the researcher as to whose under does FC fall...? It is under the Army, responded the respondent.”

However, the above narrative shows as to how the security apparatus had grown into a ‘logical type’ which could not be criticized or talked about, if one had to follow to rules and avoided ‘threat of the rules’. However, these insulating rules had its expression in the local ‘resistive language’. Some ‘resistive terminologies’ are listed in italics in above data. However, this shows as to how securitization had redefined the political language of public space. Such terminologies are the weapons of the weak, which shows as to how the ‘discourse insulating rules’ are resisted through it.

“Howsoever, the researcher asked the respondent if he has any kind of affiliation with a political party or he himself does politics or political debates. To this the respondent responded that he does not have any affiliation with any political party, although he supports ANP and PTM. The researcher on this asked the respondent if he goes to political events of PTM or ANP. Mr. Ismail Shah told the researcher that he does not go to the political events of PTM and ANP, he just support them. However the researcher asked the reason for not going to such event. The interviewee told the researcher that he does not go owing to anti-state labels, bomb blasts and the researcher knows as to why does not he go and why would anyone ‘*Persad*’ (sane) ever go, concluded Mr. Ismail Shah.”

The data shows as to how the political and moral ‘conscience’ of individual had dissipated from among the masses. People no more in Quetta were politically engaging, which a responsible citizen has to be. However, this ‘political passivity’ was owing to the fear of not being declared ‘threat’. Besides, the fear of threat of bomb blast in ‘crowded areas’ prevented him of political activism. Moreover, if one treats the local terminology ‘*persad*’ (sane) with the lens of narrative analysis, he can arrive easily at a conclusion as to if ‘passivity’ was considered ‘sanity’ then it binary ‘political’ must be considered ‘insane’. However, it was under the new ‘moral enterprise of security’ that the ‘truth speaking’ was ‘problematized’ as ‘insanity’, which thus morally vindicated individuals of any obligation, and redefined local morality. For instance, ‘speaking truth’ once was a moral obligation of a citizen, and local citizen also meant ‘politics; of it, but ironically, the new ‘risk reflexive’ individual was guided by the ‘new value apparatus’ which was that of security.

“Moreover, the researcher asked the respondent about the security situation and his personal experience as a student in University of Balochistan. The respondent replied that the situation in university is not much unlike in the city. In fact University is the example of city on smaller scale. The researcher asked as to how does he explain it. Mr. Ismail Shah told that if one goes to university and looks around he would see FC deployed everywhere, one feels being observed all the time, for no one knows where ‘*enke log ho*’ (their people be). The

researcher asked as to what does he mean by 'Their people'. The respondent told that people of the University Administration, who malign PTM and other political parties at Campus, they disseminate anti-PTM narratives. The researcher asked how does he know it, the respondent replied that he used to operate PTM page on Face book, and was texted on messenger by a random man, whom he does not know, and was told to stop operating the page '*agr admission chaiye university mein, admission toh khair hai agr jan chaiye*'(if he wants to live, let alone the admission)."

The above field data shows as to how the security apparatus had transformed into a pan-optican amongst students which regulated their daily social behavior. However, the data goes on to insinuate one of the mechanisms at work behind this force, which is the 'social capitalizing' with security apparatus. For instance the university administration to gain its institutional interests against citizens called up for the securitization of politics. However, this 'social capitalizing' came at cost of social stigma, a spy, which is evident in the above case of University. However, it is thus argued by the author that mechanism at work behind the 'pan-optican' that regulated the behavior of citizen, was the ascription of 'spy' to all those who had any kind of affiliation with the security apparatus, and subscription to the universal myth of spy that every state has. This perception among students produced and reproduced 'passivity'. Moreover, citizens are divided on lines of state security narrative and local narrative, citizens who subscribed to the local narrative saw all those citizens as a 'check' on themselves, who somehow were affiliated with the security apparatus, or who subscribed to the narrative of security apparatus. Here again one can argue, while basing the data, that security resulted in 'apartheid' and 'distrust' among citizens. Conclusively, the mechanism at work behind the 'transformation of security into pan-optican' was partially the 'distrust' among citizens. Citizens who ascribed to the local narrative of security, thought of the 'other' as 'check' on himself, which is how it regulated the social activities of students in University of Balochistan and Quetta, alike, according to the narrative provided by data.

"However, the researcher asked the respondent if he could tell who does this all and why. The respondent replied that he does not know the answer to 'why' but he can tell about it as to who does it in university. He told that our VC who is on his third extension, brought security into university to suppress the protesting voice against himself. He also told that anyone vocal of students rights and politics is not dealt decently by the University administration. FC and Administration is in a coalition against students. The respondent also told the researcher that neither Attan and music nor any political activity is borne by the administration. However, the researcher asked the respondent if students communicate and do debates on the issues, if not protests? The respondent like

other students complained that they fear talking about it, for the administration can cancel their admissions, in class teachers pin points those students and even there is a torture cell in university where FC does their interrogation. People tell they have converted Expo center into a torture cell. Even the sports department has shifted from there now. People are scared to talk about anything. He further told that neither in class nor outside can one talk openly. FC personnel intrude study circles and tell students not to sit in a larger group for security reasons. These study circles actually did political and social debates, concluded Mr. Ismail Shah. He further told the researcher that University of Balochistan seems less an academia and more like a military school.”

Moreover, the data further shows as to how the administration and higher official of University, through tooling up security brought end to all voices protesting for their rights. These voices were strangled through securitizing the politics thus dissipating the University of any Kind of Political Discourse and activism. Moreover, it was the threat from the ‘their people’ (spies) and security apparatus itself that people had to do ‘self policing’, made possible through the ‘spies’. Moreover, data shows as to how the rights and political negotiations of students with the administration were redefined. And any kind of social activity was denied, while it is in university that people express and negotiate their ideologies and identities through arranging events where people negotiate and reproduce their cultures. However, such a denial of social activism and discourse to students shows as to how the ‘public space’ like university in Quetta was ‘one way communication’, where everything was passively consumed provided by the administration and security apparatus. And it was here that narrative of security objectively reproduced itself. Furthermore, the above data shows as to how within university the infrastructure was restructured by security apparatus and redefined the rights of Students, for instance as one can see in the above case the ‘transformation of expo-center into a security ritual’. This very transformation of public entity into security entity shows the denial of student’s rights and and platform of recreational activities.

#### **4.1.25. Interview-15**

“The researcher asked Mr. Safiullah if he goes to political events or do political debates. The respondent told that he does not. However, the researcher asked the reason, to which the respondent reflexively replied ‘*because of insecurity of course!*’ The researcher asked as to what does he mean by insecurity. The respondent told that he meant ‘*the issue of missing persons*’. He told one is always under observation wherever he goes, politics in such circumstances is ‘*being out of mind*’. For instance, if one looks at the plight of lawyers, he surely would never do politics, concluded Mr. Safiullah. The researcher asked as to what did he mean by the plight of Lawyers and why are they insecure. The interviewee responded and told the researcher that lawyers are insecure for they are at the forefront of politics. They fight free cases for the missing persons, particularly Baloch Lawyers. He also told that

*‘lawyers are the only professional class who can politicize the society, they are the ones who sensitized an individual of his or her rights and duties’, concluded the respondent.”*

However, the data shows as to how the ‘reflexivity of risk’ was dominated partially by the risk of being political, the fear from the ‘spies and security ritual’, while partially owing to the ‘threat’. Moreover, as recorded elsewhere in data, almost all citizens in Quetta were in efforts to develop social capital somehow with the security apparatus, for it was both, the source and prestige of power in Quetta city, thusly, the fear of spy was pervasive which operated as ‘pan-optican’ and thereby defined being ‘political’ as ‘being insane’. Furthermore, it can be inferred that it was the ‘narrative of security’ in public spaces that had redefined ‘speaking of the truth’ as ‘being out of mind’. The new definition of the ‘political’ is thus seen against the backdrop of the given narrative of security, or it can be said that under a new met-framing of security, which virtually redefined everything coming its way, ‘political’ was redefined as a ‘threat’. Furthermore, the data also shows as to how the incident of civil hospital on 8 august 2016 proved instrumental in redefining the ‘political’ as ‘being out of mind’. For, as the data shows, all those who had martyred in the incident, had actually gathered for a political activity, and were at the forefront of politics in Quetta. The incident has penetrated the common sense of people, which thusly guides all individuals in Quetta. Moreover, the carnage was a shut up call to all ‘political beings’, it had instilled the fear among citizens of ‘being political.

#### **4.1.26. Interview-16**

“Mr. Atal Khan who himself was a lawyer resisted being interviewed in start when he did not know anything else about the topic other than that he was approached for being the brother of martyr Aimal Khan Watan Yar. He was a lawyer and had died in the carnage of 8 august 2016. Howsoever, the researcher told that he later on agreed for an interview when he came to know that the topic was about security and depoliticization.”

“However, the researcher asked the respondent as to why did he now agree to get interviewed. To this the respondent replied that since it has something related to the cause of his brother and all others who got martyred in the unfortunate incident of 8 august 2018. The researcher asked as to what was his brother’ cause. The respondent replied that he was always vocal and supportive of human rights, be it Baloch, Hazara or Pashtoon, he like his cotemporaneous and like-minded lawyers always took interest in politics. However, he and those who died that day were out for the same cause they were protesting the killing of their comrade, and a colleague, Bilal Anwar Kasi, who was shot dead that very morning of the 8<sup>th</sup> august.”

The above data shows as to how, virtually, the whole ‘professional class’ murdered, and apparently the reason by local is told that they were ‘political’ and raised voice for people’s right, particularly Baloch. However, if once for the sake of argument one believes in the local narrative of the incident, then one has to bear in mind that the violent attack that took place, was not something meant to kill people only. Rather its venue, target, timing and activity spoke for ‘someone’ of ‘something’. It was an open shut up call to all those who did and spoke ‘politics’, and a warning or ‘calculated threat’. Moreover to data, while elsewhere too, was sense of ‘repression’ among people, repression of all ‘local narratives’. They were never let take an organized form, to venture out of ‘personal’ into ‘public’ and, accordingly organize.

“The researcher asked the respondent if he follows the foot prints of his brother. The responded told that he does not, for *‘he is not as brave as his brother’*. Besides, he has a family at his back that already has borne much and gone under hard times, and he thus does not follow his brother’s foot prints. Moreover the researcher asked the respondent as to what does he think a citizen of Quetta has to be. The respondent replied that a citizen has to be like those who died on 8 august. He told *‘it is the right and moral obligation of every citizen to protest the injustice and speak about it’*. The respondent further told that he knows it is hard to do, he himself tries whenever and wherever he can, *‘jese main aj aur abi kar raha hon’* (like he is doing it today and right now). Moreover, he told that his family always tells him not to speak anything about his brother nor speak like him. The respondent also told that he himself is scared right now while sitting with the researcher. The researcher asked as to what he thinks about the political ideology of his brother. The respondent replied that his brother was a man of righteousness, who always told the truth, regardless of the consequences. But in being-circumstances, being quite is better if one wants to have a ‘decent’ life. *‘Allah deyna kawe chi sok zma do wror ranga si’* (I wish to Allah that no one be like my brother), concluded the respondent.”

If one analyze one of the respondent’s verbatims, *‘he is not as brave as his brother’* with the lens of narrative practice, he can easily infer as to how ‘being political’ was symbolized with word ‘bravery’, which means that ‘politics’ for local was something ‘Herculean’. This very symbolism shows as to how ‘politics’ was something ‘heroic’, beyond the access of layman. Interestingly, heroic acts are always evaluated against an adversary. However, in case of Quetta the ‘heroic political’ always meant standing against the ‘repressive regimes of insulation and ‘repression’, which certainly was security. Security can never be talked of without its binary i.e. ‘threat and referent object’. Moreover, the data shows as to how ‘threat and violence’ had its syntax to speak to locals in Quetta, and it did as the above data evinces.

One can see as to how it spoke to his brother, the respondent. To respondent and his family, the ‘blast’ meant never to ‘speak up the truth’. Truth among respondents was interchangeable for ‘Politics’, it be borne in mind.

#### **4.1.27. Interview-17**

“Mr. Rehmatullah was a journalist who has been in media and reporting since 2001. The respondent himself has been a target of terrorist attack. However, the respondent after being explained and told about the topic started speaking on security himself without being asked any question. He told the researcher that he is paid per-story by the new agencies and *‘da story zma la dodai sara tharale da’*(this story is thus tied to my bread) told the respondent. The researcher asked as to what he meant by ‘making up a story’. The interviewee told that he meant *‘la na sa khabara jorawal’* (making a story out of nothing). Moreover, the respondent told that he knows that *‘durwagh zmuzh la peshey sara dhoka da’* (lying is cheating with our profession) but what else can we do.”

The above data shows as to how the journalists were contributing to the ‘making of security into a grandiose’. Moreover, the data makes one pause and travel into past to make sense of the narrative of the respondent. However, since the respondent was a reporter and was working in media since 2001, so his narrative, in fact the whole media community had more to do with the regime of the then ‘dictator’. Perturbing to mind is, if one looks at few developments during his regimes, is the privatization of media and provision of licenses to private sector. It also be borne in mind that there were few other developments, crucial to this study, like the whole of ‘narrative of security against against terrorists’. However, the point that is being made, is also an answer to the ‘exception’ of the ‘security regime’ of Pervaz Musharaf, not any model of dictatorship ever justifies his policy of free press. But his model served to legitimize the dictatorship and perpetuate it. For instance it was private media outlets that narrativized state’s security narrative then, and it be borne in mind that it was sheerly owing to ‘privatization’ that profit grew over the ‘professional value’ of journalists, subsequently security grew into grandiose to legitimize the ‘security regime’. However, the being ‘security model’ is mere the perpetuation of the ‘security regime’ of Musharaf.

“Howsoever, the researcher asked the respondent if there is any censorship in journalism. The respondent replied that every state has their censorship mechanism which censors some content in media. So does Pakistan have it, but censorship in Pakistan is being too much. He told that one of such example is of PTM. Moreover, the researcher told that neither they can interview nor people speak of PTM, since they day of press conference of Ghafoor.”



“Moreover the researcher asked the respondent if he could tell the researcher of security’s impact on journalism. To this the respondent replied that security has been affecting their profession since the day he entered the world of Journalism. The researcher asked if he could tell of some of security impacts. The respondent told the researcher that as he already mentioned that journalism is victim of too much censorship, owing to which people like him *‘makes up stories to earn a livelihood’*. Besides, the respondent told that every second day journalists are given SOPs and advised to take care of themselves, and avoid crowded areas. Ironically, how would a reporter report a story if he stops going to crowded areas. Journalist has to venture every nook and corner of the city to unravel the *‘truth’* for masses.”

However, the above data shows that there are two mechanisms parallel at work in contributing to the ‘security grandiose’, firstly, privatization of media and commodification of news on national level, secondly, the insulation in form of censorship. This censorship in form of insulation also contributed to ‘concoction of news stories’ which reproduced ‘risk society’ each day in Quetta. Moreover, this censorship and privatization is complementary to each other, for instance ‘privatization’ extended the scope narrativization of security, while ‘censorship’ ensured the narrativization of single narrative, that is to say narrative of state or security apparatus. Besides, the sensitization of the journalist about threat and advising them to restrain their mobility is nothing more than leaving one with only option ‘to concoct and contribute to ‘risk society’, indispensably.

“Furthermore, the researcher asked the respondent as to how does he, being a professional reporter, experience security. The respondent replied that as he already told that they are not let speak the truth and their mobility is constrained. Besides all these, are there any other impacts on this professional class, asked the researcher. The respondent paused for a brief span of time and told the researcher that *‘security has forced the journalists to conceal their identity’*. He told particularly on check posts he avoids showing his professional identity, for security does not like reporters. The researcher asked as to how does he verify his identity on check posts then. He shows CNIC, responded the interviewee. Additionally, he told that he also does not disclose his professional identity to everyone thence he survived a terrorist attack.”

The above data shows as to how the security in Quetta had redefined the moral value (truth) of journalist profession into a ‘liberal value’ (commodity), subsequently problematized ‘truth’. Besides, the mechanism at work behind this depoliticization process was of course security apparatus, for instance it was security apparatus that through its security ritual, in the name of identity verification for a suspected, reproduced sense of ‘being policed all the time’, as we already argued security through multiple signifiers of it spoke to people. It was working more

like a poster of *BIG BROTHER* in Georg Orwell's novel *1984*. Interesting to the above data is the way respondent related his 'identity negotiation' to the attack he had survived. The respondent meant that the '*Attack*' and '*security ritual*' were not much unlike, in fact the same.

#### **4.1.28. Interview-18**

"The researcher asked Mr. John, who was a Hazara, as to what does he think of security. However, the answer of the respondent was more in a narrative form. Mr. John told the researcher '*main apko 80s mein le jata hon, jab hum sab ek sath rehte thy aur sabeel lagate te aur sub sharbat peene ate te*' (Let me take you to 80s, where we lived collectively and set sabeel where everyone drank juices). But suddenly after the Iranian Revolution things changed. A dominant narrative emerged across the international community that Iran was exporting its revolution based on Shia Ideology, and Pakistan is a vulnerable client, as Hazara lived there, and spoke Persian. The phenomenon, of course, is not evolutionary rather is injected. And there lays the base of the problem, concluded Mr. John."

The above data informs one of any other narrative prevalent among the locals in field. This very narrative of securitization narrated by respondent is 'skeptical' of the national and international security apparatuses in nature. It constructs security as something social and political, accordingly socially constructed. However, this narrative claims security something as 'hoax/myth' engineered on national and international level for individual and collective gains, respectively.

"However, the respondent further told '*ab jab hum shehar jate hai log ghorte ha hume jese hum khalai makhloq ho*' (now when we step into city, people stare at us like we are aliens). In older times there were no differences, we enjoyed living together. While talking to the researcher the pitch of the respondent was lowered, the researcher asked the reason for the low pitch of the respondent. To which the respondent replied that he intentionally have lowered his pitch, lest his conversation with the researcher is not misunderstood by other sitting around on tables at restaurant. Moreover, the researcher asked the respondent as to why do not Hazaras come out into city, why do they appear less in number on hotels other than hotels in Mariabad<sup>ii</sup>. To this the respondent replied that family members do not allow us to venture out of Mariabad. He further told that one of his uncles is in labor department and his office is on the other end of the city. All of our family members always tell him to request a transfer from Quetta to another city."

"Besides, the researcher asked the respondent as to what he thinks of Check Posts. The respondent replied '*humre bilkul peeche pahaar hai aur neeche..... check posts!*' (on the back lays hills, and down there..... Check Posts!). He further told, '*Humra dhum ghut ta hai, log humari taraf nae atey, yar dost, rishtedar chut gaye humre, sirf en check posts ki wajah se*' (we suffocate, people does not come over to us, we have lost friends and

relatives, merely dues to these Check Posts). *'Shehar k logo ko hum aur humey shehar wale khalai Makhlooq lagte hai'* (We to the people of city and people of city to us now seem 'Aleins')."

The above data shows as to how securitization through its daily routine rituals at one end barred local of the city, a binary artificially created through securitization for hazara, from Mariabad. It be borne in mind that security for city locals meant 'harrasment' which everyone wanted to avoid and this is how it barred city locals from Mariabad. Contrarily, securitization meant a loss of social capital to Hazara, and it can be evinced from the data if one analyzes the syntax and semantics of the respondent, as guides our methodology. The respondent is more nostalgic and alludes to a loss in the above interview, for the very loss the 'Hazara' held security apparatus responsible, show the data. Moreover, here 'anonymity' again can be located at work in regulating daily social relations. For instance, 'khalai makhlooq', an alien, is another signifier for 'anonymity', which is the product of 'security apparatus' claims logic and data. The fear of misunderstanding in a public place was also owing to this anonymity, which had eventually crystallized into 'differences'(Shia\Sunni) which were never negotiated but invented and feared owing to anonymity.

Interestingly, the data shows that inherent to anonymity is the rule of complexity in narrative, which calls for the invention of 'anonymous', for, anonymous is fearful and puzzling. However, in both cases one invents the anonymous to ease out self and escape the puzzle situation (Complexity or complication). Such invention is not less than a paranoid thinking.

"However, he told that Mariabad is not merely a locality *'balkeyeh shehar k andar riyasat hai'* (rather it is a state within a city'. For instance, Mr. John told, that no one other than hazara can visit them. He told that recently when Hazara killing was on its culmination and they protested in the wake of incident of Hazarganji<sup>iii</sup>, the security apparatus told Mr. Smith who is one of our political representatives from HDP (Hazara Democratic Party) that the government would set up a new Mandi<sup>iv</sup> for Hazara in Mariabad. *'Humre sarhad hai, amry hai, apne haspatal hai, har cheez apni hai'*, (we have borders, army, and our own hospitals, we have everything our own)told Mr. John. The respondent continued and told *'lekin.... Akhir hum kya kya alag Karen gay! aise toh hum mar jayen gay hum aise hai jese qehdi'* (But... eventually what else we would have to have separate for ourselves! we would die like this, we feel like prisoners). The respondent also told *'humra sirf jani nae balke mali Qatal bhi huwa hai'* (it has not been mere our genocide rather has been an economocide, too). The researcher asked as to how it has been an economocide. To which the respondent replied *'humre rozgar, karobar aur taleem chot gaye shehar mein'* (we lost employment, businesses, and education to city). *'yahan tak ke humey aam zaruriyat mehngi milti hai shehar ke nisbat, 'teesre' bande ki wajah se kyun ke hum toh hazarghanji ja nae*

*sakte*' (even our mundane needs cost us expensive as compared to city, owing to 'middle man' as we cannot go to hazarganji)."

The above data shows as to how in Quetta both the 'referent objects' and 'threats' were denied mobility and many other things discussed so far in data through process of securitization. Semantically the data shows that Hazaras in Quetta had developed a sense of a loss, in other words a sense of economic, social and emotional deprivation. However, it also shows, as shown somewhere else in data, that the new price regulating mechanism of economic market was not an 'invisible hand' of market itself, rather of a security apparatus.

"However, the respondent further told that mere such precautions will not help until apprehensions are made, '*ap batao! ktn log aj tak pakre gaye hai? Yeh deshargard toh aise hai jese bhoot jo srf wakiye k time ate hai aur phr ghayab ho jate hai*' (You tell! How many terrorists have been apprehended so far? These terrorists seem like ghosts who only descend at the time of incident and then disappear like ghosts). These precautions are of no use, it only intensifies fear and widens distances among people, concluded Mr. John."

The above data goes on to inform and consolidate the argument that securitization in Quetta has taken up the form of a myth. For instance if one analyzes the term 'Ghosts' it can be inferred from it as to how the locals deemed 'securitization' in Quetta. Indeed, they deemed it as something fabricated and engineered. And the narrative of security in Quetta thus only intensified 'fear', subsequently 'unknowns/anonymity'. However, both fear and anonymity throughout data has been seen only reproducing each other.

"Moreover the researcher asked the respondent if Hazara were politically active. To this the respondent replied '*hume mayato pe itejaj nahi karne dete ap siyasat ki baat krte ho*' (we are not even let protest our killings, let alone politics). The researcher in response asked the respondent as to what does he mean by that and who does not let them protest. The respondent replied that security apparatus does not let them arrange any protest or rally under the pretext of security threat. However, the respondent told that any political activity be it protest or a rally is refused to Hazara under the name of security reasons."

The above data shows as to how, much alike complained by university students, Hazara too were denied any 'political activity' (Practice) in the name of security reasons. Worth noting is the term 'protest' which popularly is known as a strategy at the part of public to press for 'justice' (truth). However, truth in practice takes form of 'demonstration' (protest). Moreover, it shows as to how politically the Hazara has been reduced to non-existence and prevented any chance of them to popularize their cause or agenda. Their mobility beyond check posts has

cost Hazara depoliticization within city. For instance, socialization, livelihood, and communication be it political or social and economic, all are suspended by security apparatus for Hazara under the name of ‘Security’.

“Moreover, he told that this very perception of threat is so pervasive and embedded so deeply that one can see it speaking through all Hazaras. For instance, he told that if anyone asks a relative or a friend for a car to borrow, one will be told that the car is not mechanically well functional therefore is not able to travel far. Actually from whom the car is being borrowed, indirectly refuses to give away his car under the pretext of mechanical fault in car. For, it is sure to lender that a car is needed to travel to the city where both the person and the car are under threat, concluded Mr. John.”

The above data shows the expansion of the narrative of securitization and its scope of influence. However, security in Quetta also regulated ‘personal relations’ among individual. Security is the culprit, shows the data, which had robbed locals of their mutual trust and reciprocity. One can easily see as to how security had evaporated local reciprocity which regulated personal relations, like in case of lending and borrowing of cars not much unlike than the depoliticization of financial market of Quetta.

#### **4.1.29. Interview-19**

The interviewee is a student of BUISTEMS (Balochistan University of Information Technology, Engineering and Management Sciences), and is Hazara by ethnicity.

“However, the researcher asked the student, if he was politically active or talk politics. To this, Mr. Dane, responded *‘siyasat to tahsoob beda krta hai es liye hum nae krte siyasat’* (Politics creates differences therefore we do not do politics).”

The above data, though is very brief but has deep meaning, for instance one can see as to how the ‘politics’ for the locals is redefined as something ‘destructive’. These students, product of the insulating environment, did not realize the productivity of politics, and did not know how it could transform their lives.

“The researcher further asked the respondent as to what does he think of security in Quetta. To which the respondent replied that *‘apko kesa lagega agr apko band kar diya jaye kisi kamre mein’* (how would you feel, if you are shut in a room). *‘hum unse b larte hai jo hume mar rahe aur unse b jino ne hume paida kia’* ( we fight those who are killing use, and also fight those who gave birth to us). The researcher interrupted the respondent and asked for elaboration, as to what did he mean. The respondent replied that Hazara students have to fight back

home to get to universities in city. *'jinke pas paisa ta woh toh chale gaye bhair parhne hum kya karen'* (Those who had money left for abroad or other cities to get education, but what do we do!), concluded, Mr. Dane.”

The situation in which whole Quetta is caught up and particularly that affected Hazara the most, was owing to ‘depoliticizing the politics’. It was redefinition of the politics for the local which put an end to any kind of interaction or negotiations, consequentially surfaced itself in form of deprivation for the Hazara. However, The sense of deprivation prevalent among Hazara in the wake of securitization are of ‘Mobility’, ‘Education’, ‘Economy’ and ‘Social’, as suggests the data.

#### **4.1.30. Interview-20**

The interviewee is a student of BUISTEMS (Balochistan University of Information Technology, Engineering and Management Sciences), and is Hazara by ethnicity. Mr. Wick was a student of International Relations (BS)

“The researcher asked the Mr. Wick, if he was politically active. The respondent replied that he is a political disciple of HDP (Hazara Democratic Party). However, in response to that the researcher asked the respondent if he advocated or politicized other students of University. To this the respondent replied that at campus politics is very rear activity. He told that one of his teachers who was vocal of politics and always discussed PTM, told today, when a student referred to PTM, that the Department has instructed all to discourage any discussions on PTM, and it has all been in the wake of the press conference of DGISPR Asif Ghafoor, concluded Mr. Wick. However, the researcher asked as to what did the respondent mean by ‘one of teachers who was vocal of politics’. The respondent told that other than that one teacher, whom he could not name, all other teacher always, long before press conference, discouraged political issues on ground.”

From the data two things can be inferred, firstly that a public space like university was dissipated of its political discourse. Students were discouraged to discuss everything, which a university is meant to entertain in principle, within a campus. Besides, the securitization in its ‘ideal-type’, that is to say ‘security is a speech act’, could be seen in Quetta at work. Moreover, the data shows that ‘depoliticizing’ the university environment, where everything has to be questioned and debated in principle, was everyday institutional rule. Students are oriented in bureaucratic styles, which very mechanically mow down the sympathetic agency of an individual. It trained students in breaking down with each other, for it denied one of

multiple interactions with the ‘other’, under the rule of ‘not to question everything’. Such an orientation produced passive consumers to one single narrative, interestingly, it produced and reproduced passivity. It is owing to such non-interactive nature of the university, that the researcher claims the university has depoliticized, for a university questions everything in principle unlike in BUIITEMS.

“Moreover, the researcher asked the respondent of his experience of security. The respondent told that initially security benefited them but now it is not needed and be uplifted. ‘*Yeh Dasht kay log hai*’ (these are people of deseret), they only know the language of ‘CNIC’ (Computerized National Identity Card). The respondent further in response to the same question told that security has denied them interaction with the city and its people.”

The above data shows that security apparatus through all of its signifiers always resulted into suspending the interaction (Discourse). For instance in case of Universities, and now in case of Hazaras where one can see as to how insulation in Universities and security rituals on check posts resulted in reduced academic interaction and Hazara and Hazaras City people interaction. These signifiers of security always worked as a machine which only transformed ‘places’<sup>v</sup> to ‘spaces’<sup>vi</sup>. The researcher has borrowed the concept ‘space and place’ from Doreen Barbra Massey and treated it differently for his study. The researcher claims that security in any form is an ‘insulator’ it insulates places of their interaction and transforms them into ‘spaces’. For instance in case of Hazaras security check posts meant ‘breaking down’ with the city, Hazaras frequent experience was of non-interaction with the city. It was owing to this very insulating nature of security signifiers that had created binaries in Quetta. City invented Hazara who lived beyond the check posts through stereotypes and vice versa. In multiple interviews respondents told that they avoid any spatial proximity or interaction with security mobiles or check posts, respectively. However, it thus is argued by the researcher that security always resulted in prevention of interactions.

#### **4.1.31. FGD-11**

The participants of the FGD were students of BUIITEMS (Balochistan University of Information Technology, Engineering and Management Sciences), and shared Hazara ethnicity.

“The researcher asked the participants, if they were politically active and did political debates in campus. One of participants, named Rosie, responded that she does political debates in class and with friends but not so frequent. This university is not politically active, not at all, she concluded.”

The above interview is merely to triangulate and consolidate the argument put forth by the researcher that public spaces were dissipated of discourses and practice in Quetta which so far throughout data has been shown.

“The researcher asked the respondents as to why do Hazara prefer to sit with a Hazara in this university, as the researcher had been noticing it since the day first he came to university. However, to this Miss, Jenny, responded and told that we sit together *‘kyun kay apna apna sa lagta hai’* (because we feel us). The researcher asked Miss. Jenny that if they only feel the ‘us’ feelings with hazara then what do they feel of others. To which Miss. Jenny hesitantly replied and told that to her others were *‘strangers’* and she like other Hazaras was not comfortable *‘dosro k sath’* (others). However, on this the researcher asked as to why not they feel comfortable with ‘Others’. Miss. Jenny could not explain it, and thus her friend and also a participant of the FGD, Mr. Parker, told that it is because we have stepped into city after a very long time. After the two different incidents of blast in SBK University (Sardar Bahadur University) and on Buitems bus, the Hazaras reduced in numbers within Universities in City.”

If one looks at the data keeping the background in mind, he/she surely would understand as to how within Quetta the securitization, owing to dissipation of discourses/interactions, had produced sense of ‘alienation’ and ‘unknowingness’. Throughout data it has been shown and explained through treating the data with narrativity. However, alike is the case with the above data, one can infer from the data as to how the ‘narrative of securitization’ had created binaries of the ‘us’ and ‘them’ in Quetta through its multiple signifiers and syntax.

#### **4.1.32. Interview-21**

“Mr. Benjamin, whose interest centered on the tribal political activism and endorsed youth politics, was asked by the researcher about security and its impacts on people of Quetta. To which he replied that *‘The Narrative of security had criminalized the demographics and geographies which have broken social and familial relationships’*. For example like going to wedding ceremonies and condolences which are the essentials in the regulation and sustainability of familial relationships, are either barred altogether in some cases or restructured in security dominating zones. Secondly, Mr. Benjamin told that he does not know about others but security had an impact on his family. *‘For instance’*, he told, *‘one of my uncles who was parting with us, after being abducted gave up the idea’*. Moreover he told that, There is a great chunk of financial capital with tribal people on borders like Chamman, where Achakzai<sup>viii</sup> live. But the area is criminalized and people hailing from there trace their identities to ‘land’ (Geography). Accordingly, people from chamman avoid stepping into cities. Subsequently,



economic activities are put end to. Mr. Benjamin also told that *'insecurity is because of these security officials, for most of the attacks are carried on security officials, therefore we fear wandering around them'*. Moreover, the respondent told that *'VIP protocol and blowing of unnecessary sirens, naturally causes sense of insecurity.'*

The above data shows as to how the securitization had regulating the local economy like shown elsewhere in data. Moreover, the data also shows as to how the security had redefined the familial roles. For instance the once privilege and role of an elder to resolve personal issues within a family was now encroached by security, as is shown in the case of the interviewee. However, the data also shows as to how and through what the 'narrative of security' spoke to locals. The culture VIP protocols and Sirens of security mobiles were something signifying threat to locals, and this is how the researcher claims that the narrative of security was producing and reproducing 'Risk society' through its 'signifieds'.

## **4.2. Participant Observation**

In participant observation the data share would be one that the researcher himself experienced, and observed.

Firstly, the experience of the researcher during his field was one that was reshaped by the research subjects in Quetta. For instance the researcher was time to time made feel 'insecure' for researching such a risky topic. The researcher told that hardly there was one in field who did not tell him to 'be careful'.

Secondly, the researcher during field work noted that the youth in Quetta had developed new 'aesthetics' and 'career passion' which also was expressive throughout data. However, the youth during different informal conversation told the researcher that power is in being 'escorted by gaurds'. Interestingly, once the researcher was travelling with some youngsters and one of them pointed to a car on the top of which a 'blue light' lit and told that *'da ogora gadai no da khuwand kai chi sheen bulb ye pa sar wi, da mori zoi las nasi darkawai'* (look at it, a car ought to be like this where none can intercept you).

Thirdly, the researcher saw cars decorated with 'Army emblems', one of the most popular emblem was that of ISI (inter services intelligence). The picture of emblem is illustrated as under.

However, the emblem of 'Markhoor' also produced and reproduced sense of 'spy' and surveillance (pan-optican).



*Figure 4: Emblem spotted on the back of cars in Quetta*

Lastly, some utterances are cited as under which were collected by the researcher during field work while travelling through city with Rikshaw (Three wheeler and Careem driver. These utterances were uttered while witnessing or experiencing the security apparatus.

- Yar lgta hai halat thk nae aj sare nikle thy. (it seems something is not well again)
- Za yaw raz ba khudai rora ki (Our day shall come)
- Yar aik toh yeh... sara shehar tabah kia hai ( and these people.... they have destructed the whole city)
- Ajeeb jahil log hai yeh (these are so ignorant)
- Idhar mayat parhi ho bhi eney fark nae parhna (even if you have dead body with you they will not let you go)

- Koi jaga nae chori eno ne bhi (they have left no corner)
- Enko baar karne ki tameez nahi (They do not know how to talk)
- Aaik toh ense bezar ho gaye hai hum (we are fed up of them)
- Kuch hota nae ense bas k muft k bhete huwe hai hume tang karne (they are capable of nothing, they only bother us)
- Uff yeh phir khare hai (Alas! They are here again)
- Har cheez mein enka kaam hai (they meddle in every affair)

If one look at these utterance, all it shows it the contempt of locals for security apparatus. However, as I have argued elsewhere that to locals of Quetta the experiential state is ‘security’ apparatus, and that is why people are drawing away from the state and thereby the relations of state and individual is redefined. Moreover, these utterances also shows as to how security through its ‘signifieds’ reinforced sense of ‘insecurity’ among locals.

## Chapter 5

### Findings

#### 5.1. Securitization and Value apparatus

Narrative of security is deeply entrenched into the cognition of the locals of Quetta. The absorption of the 'narrative of security', eventuated in to the redefinition of the once 'act of vice' as 'the act of virtue'. However, security apparatus in Quetta operated more like a 'moral enterprise' which through its 'core value' (Risk calculation), that the author treated as 'meta-framing', redefined everything. This new moral enterprise brands every act of the security as moral, under the utilitarian law of cost and benefit analysis.

Accordingly, security had grown into a new 'value apparatus' in Quetta which redefined 'conscience', and replaced it with 'security apparatus', that is to say 'cost and analysis' or 'risk calculations'. This new value apparatus seemed to regulate almost everything in Quetta, for value apparatus in Quetta was a kind of the 'matrix' for all social relations to emerge. Moreover, the data showed on multiple junctures as to how the value apparatus was redefined by security, one of such examples from data is that of 'truth speaking' which evinced as to how once moral obligation was not considered 'threat' rather something to be avoided in the first place.

Interesting to find in the data was, as to how the 'discursive practice of threat' had internalized itself into individual as a value apparatus, which obligated him to communicate the 'threat' as his 'moral obligation'. However, exaggeration is inherent to anything of 'awe'. Particularly, in conditions of emergency, it is exaggerated precautionary. Ironically, with the narrative of security, local moralities were redefined and replaced with the new moralities of new 'moral enterprise', as argued and shown in data elsewhere. It had redefined the 'conscience of individual', for morality defines ones 'conscience' and morality is the product of 'logical type' which in case of Quetta is 'Security, thus, follows everything accordingly, in Quetta city. Furthermore, interesting to data is as to how the security apparatus through its narrative developed sense of fear of the 'Unknown' among citizens, which is had its expression through

local terminology '*Na maloom*' (unknown). The dissemination of such narratives with such 'semantic structure' on mass level merely 'skepticizes' one of the 'other'

## **5.2. Security and Political discourse**

Throughout data and its analysis, the term politics and its redefinition is subjected to discussion. However, one can see as to how political voices in Quetta were strangled through the 'Fear' of 'Threat', which was essential to new 'security apparatus' of 'cost and benefit analysis' (Risk and Survival analysis). It is the 'Meta-framing of security' that the local political language was redefined within Quetta, the new meta-framing has changed the meaning of older political language altogether. The 'calculated threat' existed among the masses of Quetta which through its insulating rules and security rituals always 'problematized' the 'truth' as also supported by data, for instance, as one of respondents told, and who is quoted as it is '*political wisdom which is killing them*'. Furthermore the local disowned the parliamentary politics, and told that local politics is the 'politics of truth speaking'. But ironically the 'local politics' did not exist in Quetta, for security apparatus had securitized it through expansion into every affair potentially political. Citizens of Quetta feared 'security apparatus' was feared. Moreover, the data shows as to how political discourses dissipated in Quetta through mere securitizing anykind of political discourse, for instance as the data shows in case of PTM. This shows as to how locals made sense of 'politics' under new met-framing which only defined politics 'suicidal'.

## **5.3. Political discourse and language of Resistance**

It is not to be denied that political discourses existed, but they were narrowed in spatial scope and were parochial socially. However, these insulating rules had its expression in the local 'resistive language'. The securitization had redefined the political language of public space. Such terminologies were the weapons of the weak, which shows as to how the 'discourse insulating rules' are resisted through it As shown in the data, even those citizens in Quetta who were more or less political used 'metaphoric' language which owing to its codified nature kept it parochial. Moreover, it also prevented the local collective intellectual pool, owing to esoteric and metaphoric language which of course was the product of securitization of discourses.

#### **5.4. Securitization and Political Activism**

However, the above narrative shows as to how the security apparatus had grown into a 'logical type' which could not be criticized or talked about, if one had to follow to rules and avoided 'threat of the rules'. The data shows as to how the political and moral 'conscience' of individual had dissipated from among the masses. People no more in Quetta were politically engaging, which a responsible citizen has to be. However, this 'political passivity' was owing to the fear of not being declared 'threat'. Besides, the fear of threat of bomb blast in 'crowded areas' prevented him of political activism. Moreover, if one treats the local terminology 'persad' (sane) with the lens of narrative analysis, he can arrive easily at a conclusion as to if 'passivity' was considered 'sanity' then it binary 'political' must be considered 'insane'. However, it was under the new 'moral enterprise of security' that the 'truth speaking' was 'problematized' as 'insanity', which thus morally vindicated individuals of any obligation, and redefined local morality. For instance, 'speaking truth' once was a moral obligation of a citizen, and local citizen also meant 'politics; of it, but ironically, the new 'risk reflexive' individual was guided by the 'new value apparatus' which was that of security.

#### **5.5. Narrative of Security and Risk Society**

Throughout data it is argued that the narrative of security had become the security grandiose which spoke to people though its different signifiers. For instance the security rituals, elicited by any securitized 'discourse' or 'activity', did only reproduce the fear of not being political'. However, the 'discourse' of the security by those who have firsthand experience of any of the security rituals, transformed itself into grandiose, owing to its 'discursive nature'. Thus, the only discourse that existed in Quetta was the discourse of threat which was so discursive that it had resulted in 'Risk Society'. Conclusively, it is the discursive nature of threat that Quetta had transformed into a 'risk society' and citizens became 'Threat reflexive'. However, security also had restructured infrastructure of the city in form of Check-posts, Blockades and other security preventions. Interestingly, even this material signifier of the security like check posts and barriers were adopted by the citizens, as product of 'risk reflexivity' among citizens, which was inculcated to all forms of security expression be it material like check posts or rules.

Furthermore, since the ‘threat’ within Quetta is ‘unknown’ to security apparatus itself, thus it has to be expansive in its nature, legitimized the security narrative, accordingly. However, this sense ‘unknowingness’ merely led the citizens to be ‘precautious’ all the time, thusly, citizens contributed to the ‘Reflexive project of risk society’.

## **5.6. Securitization and Teleological Depoliticization**

The measurements against risk society in Quetta were seen in form of ‘cull de sac’. These cull de sacs operated the same way. It proved to be insulator, which resulted in alienation and breakdown of the social capital with the rest of locality. Besides, it also had restructured the infrastructure of planned locality, which denied locals their right to mobility. Quetta city was also ripped of its aesthetics, and multiculturalism, for instance whole city was redefined into a ‘garrison’ it did not seem a city.

Moreover, the ill-treatment meted out by Security personnel to locals, and the attacks carried out on security official redefined State and individuals relationships on multiple layers. For instance to locals state symbolized fear and bully now. The security apparatus spoke in form of violence to locals it was domestically constructing state as the oppressor and the victim are like Baloch and Pashtoon.

Besides, the securitization depoliticized personal spaces; it redefined age bases roles within family, for instance prior to securitization within a family a teenager or the youngest had to fetch everything from market places. But with the narrative of securitization the youngest are refrained to houses and the eldest play now those roles. Accordingly, securitization denied children, within any family, daily outings, hoteling, and subsequently any kind of socialization or acculturation. It was owing to these factors that the city had developed ‘Ethnophobia’. Moreover, it also denied youth of many recreational spaces and exercises. However, this also resulted in the dissipation of social capital, collective pool and ‘knowingness’.

## **5.7. Securitization and Myth**

The data shows as to how the journalists were contributing to the ‘making of security into a grandiose’. Moreover, the data makes one pause and travel into past to make sense of the narrative of the respondent. However, since the respondent was a reporter and was working in media since 2001, so his narrative, in fact the whole media community had more to do with

the regime of the then 'dictator'. Perturbing to mind is, if one looks at few developments during his regimes, is the privatization of media and provision of licenses to private sector. It also be borne in mind that there were few other developments, crucial to this study, like the whole of 'narrative of security against terrorists'. However, the point that is being made is also an answer to the 'exception' of the 'security regime' of Pervaz Musharaf, not any model of dictatorship ever justifies his policy of free press. But his model served to legitimize the dictatorship and perpetuate it. For instance it was private media outlets that narrativized state's security narrative then, and it be borne in mind that it was sheerly owing to 'privatization' that profit grew over the 'professional value' of journalists, subsequently security grew into grandiose to legitimize the 'security regime'. However, the being 'security model' is mere the perpetuation of the 'security regime' of Musharaf.

Moreover, the above data shows two mechanisms parallel at work in contributing to the 'security grandiose', firstly, privatization of media and commodification of news on national level, secondly, the insulation in form of censorship. This censorship in form of insulation also contributed to 'concoction of news stories' which reproduced 'risk society' each day in Quetta. Moreover, this censorship and privatization is complementary to each other, for instance 'privatization' extended the scope narrativization of security, while 'censorship' ensure the narrativization of single narrative, that is to say narrative of state or security apparatus. Besides, the sensitization of the journalist about threat and advising them to restrain their mobility is nothing more than leaving one with only option 'to concoct and contribute to 'risk society'

## **5.8. Securitization and Economy**

The Public spaces, like hotels, had seen now a decreased number of individuals, the daily social gathering on hotel minimized. Thusly, it affected the local businesses in terms of daily hotels' sale. Further, the exaggeration of security also affected tourism in Quetta, for instance people used to come to Ziarat from all around Pakistan which is a national heritage and tourist spot in Balochistan. However, Quetta was a Gate to Ziarat for those who come from inter-province. However, securitization in Quetta redefined the meaning of livelihood for both the 'referent object' and 'threat' in Quetta. For instance Hazara (referent object) were denied economic activities, and official works in City through Check posts, while Religious Leaders



(Threat) were denied almost everything from economic to social. Besides, this role of terrorist, given by state apparatus to religious leader in their narrative of security, did play a role in redefining their whole lives. Moreover, as shown in data, a religious community was economically marginalized, mere through a declaration of ‘Taliban’ as ‘terrorists’. The economic activities of religious community it thusly restructured. Interestingly it not only restructured their lives but a whole economic system of Islamic charity which was the only source of the ‘religious community’ in Quetta. Moreover, with the breakdown of social capital local economy shattered, it affected the ‘trust’ factor among business community, no market machine can ever operate without its ‘lubricant’ that is ‘social capital’. This security with the breakdown of social capital affected the local ‘lending and borrowing’ practice without which a market cannot operate. And it be borne in mind that Balochistan is already economically a disaster. This ‘restructuring of the local economy’ grew at the cost of many ‘hearths’. For instance, it prevented both the talent and capital of individual and market to harness the talent, respectively.

It, therefore, is concluded on the basis of data, that security regulated and restructured local economy. Too much investment in security, legitimized through the narrative of security, shows as to how security grew at the cost of other securities like health, education, Food and of the likes. If one looks at security working through the principle of ‘pareto efficiency’, he better can have an idea of the economic destitution in Quetta.

## **5.9. Securitization and Unknowingness**

Anonymity, unknowingness or a stranger are semantically alike. However, in case of Quetta particularity of ‘Hazara and the rest’, the term ‘stranger’ is a historical product of a peculiar power regime. Stranger is a term spawned out of the ‘asocial vacuum’ produced by security apparatus. For instance in case of ‘Hazara and the rest’ the spatial intersection between the two binaries, which was hijacked by check posts, produced a ‘space’ instead of socially negotiated ‘Place’. Accordingly, securitization forced Hazaras to see the rest as ‘others’ or strangers in local lexicon or vice versa. It was natural, when the socially negotiated space was compromised, that each of the binaries would do nothing but invent each other through narratives. As narrative is used to solve complex situations, in the above case security complicates the situation.

## **5.10. Securitization and stereotyping**

Moreover, insulation of discourses of securitization of abstract, be it culture or ideology, takes anthropomorphization to construct a threat to referent object, that is to say state. We see here that the carriers of ideologies are individuals, specific ones, like Baloch, Pashtoon and others. Individuals in securitization process are essentialized through ideologies. Agency(citizen) comes later to ideology. And ideologies are in flux. But the historical essentialization remains to define the subjects for centuries. It works more like fixtures.

## **5.11. Securitization and Otherization**

Meta narrative of security itself reinforces the sense of anonymity for 'unknown' as it is at the heart of threat. We thus conclude that suspected citizenship is the product of state enforced threat perception that dominates the citizen individually and force him to see the other citizen as a threat to state and himself. This sense of anonymity thusly alienates citizen from a citizen. Since securitization is both inclusive and exclusive at the same time thus it is reinforcing the apartheid or sense of discrimination. The people of Quetta are more in identifying the 'alien'; and 'citizens'.

## **5.12. Securitization and Redefining class**

The Narrative of security worked as a 'new episteme' of Locals, it 'problamtized' truth. It was through this security that people now saw themselves as a 'new class'. Check posts which regulated daily lives were also now regulating 'power dynamics' among locals. People resorted to expand their social capital with security apparatus so as to abuse it and fake a 'power'. The new redefined 'power' for locals of Quetta was 'having affiliation with security apparatus', and this power had its expression through 'not being intercepted'. However, 'interception' and 'not being intercepted' were the disapproval and approval of a 'power' in Quetta, respectively.

*Most "everyday resisters" are rather like opponents of a law who estimate that it is more convenient to evade it or bribe their way around it rather than to change it. In the case of the peasantry, of course, the state and its laws are typically inaccessible, arbitrary, and alien. The notion of collective public action to change the structure of, say, property law or civil rights, is confined largely to the literate middle class and the intelligentsia. 57*

## Chapter 6

### Discussion and conclusion

Like in older communities divine monarchs had to produce myths of dragons or any other 'threat' from whom masses were to be saved, and this was how any monarch legitimized itself to 'serve the masses' (Rule the masses). Not much unlike was the case in Quetta. Security apparatus in Quetta used 'myths' (narratives) like that of 'terrorism' and 'globalization', though the latter was being tried to be brought and dealt by state, to mystify the power relationships with its individuals. To put it more clearly, Globalization, as a 'narrative plot' only vindicated the state of any guilt and absolved it of any 'accountability'. However, any security failure is attributed to 'Globalization', beyond the reach of individual state. Moreover, to the narrative of state were 'Iran' and 'India', noting that 'Terrorism' was ensued in the wake of 'communism, however, in Pakistan the myth of state security apparatus is that of 'terrorism'.

Once a narrative is built, one then looks up for a role within it for oneself, Like in 1984 novel of *George Orwell* where a boy with a catapult seemed to have had absorbed the role of 'spy' narrated through '*Big brother*' by '*ministry of peace*' (Security Aparatus). However, this myth or narrative had become a meta-framing or value apparatus in Quetta through which everything else was seen and redefined for one. Moreover, in Quetta people had the myth of 'security', and a myth, as Karen Armstrong has argued in her book '*Short History of Myths*', needs passive participation not contemplation. Therefore in case of Quetta, the narrative of security had become all absorbing and changed everything in its ambit to 'passitivity'.

'*Those who tell the stories, rule the people*', a famous quote of Aristotle, can be applied to the case of Quetta. For instance data has shown that the 'story telling' was the only privilege of 'security apparatus' in Quetta. And it was this privilege which always legitimized its 'Power'. Security to rule, had always a story to tell, and interestingly within its narrative 'security apparatus' was the 'hero', moralized one. However it was this moralization that always reproduced its morality and subsequently legitimized it to rule.

Furthermore, the data showed that security apparatus had three ‘Depoliticizing’ tactics, namely, *Preference shaping, Insulation, and repression*. We will see as to how each tactic was carried out within Quetta and what effects it produced.

In Quetta insulation had been the most effective tool in the hands of security apparatus. Insulation could be located within public spaces and among citizens, through treating local language with ‘Narrativity’. Such language was either metaphorical or had redefined itself among masses under the new ‘meta-framing’ of security. However, these insulations included, ‘securitization of schools’, ‘muting religious’ and ‘ethnic’ debates within academia, censoring information, or anything ideological within public spaces. It be borne in mind that it was this insulation which was ensured through ‘surveillance’ in shape of ‘individuals’. Of course, surveillance is what feeds security apparatus to act upon one of two binaries ‘eliminate or secure’. This feedback was apparently reported to be extracted through ‘spies’, one of characters in state security narrative. Furthermore, it be noted that since insulation operated through the value of security, it thus had to secure things within city for masses. These insulations were expressive only in Quetta when resisted. For instance, as the study found a neologism of political language, which was the ‘metaphoric language’ of political. This metaphoric language was meant to resist the insulation over ‘ideas’ (Discourse). Discourses thus were communicated in a mutually coded language among limited number of citizens, such a language thus was an expression of resistance which confirmed ‘insulation’ at work. Moreover, such a coded language shows as to how insulation, if not prevented, at least curtailed discourse within Public spaces. For, mutually coded political language or ‘political neologism’ was parochial in scope owing to its ‘esotericity’ of comprehension. Moreover, all local discourses (Verbal politics or Ideologies) within public spaces were strangled through insulation. To insulation all those discourse were subject which were securitized. For instance, discourses like, Baloch Grievances, PTM (Pashtoon Tahfooz Movement), Hazara, or any other ‘referent object’. Accordingly, it is argued that such securitization mechanically dissipated anything of public spaces related to security, particularly to ‘referent object and Hero’. However, the dilemma of securitization in Quetta is its ‘adventure’ to securitize the ‘cannot be securitized’ (Ideologies, Religions, geography<sup>viii</sup> and cultures).

*By contrast, a great deal of symbolic resistance by peasants and other subordinate groups reverses this arrangement. Instead of a clear message delivered by a disguised messenger, an ambiguous message is delivered by clearly identified messengers.<sup>54</sup>*

*The control of anger and aggression is, for quite obvious reasons, a prominent part of the socialization of those who grow up in subordinate groups. Much of the ordinary politics of subordinate groups historically has been a politics of dissimulation in which both the symbols and practices of resistance have been veiled. In place of the open insult, the use of gossip, nicknames and character assassination; in place of direct physical assault, the use of sabotage, arson, and nocturnal threats by masked men \*<sup>53</sup>*

However in process of securitizing the ‘cannot be securitized’ (anything abstract) the ‘threats’ and ‘referent objects’ both were anthropomorphized. Consequentially, restrained social interactions, which is an activity within a public space through which discourses are carried out. Besides, securitizing the ‘cannot be securitized’ resulted in ‘distrust’ among people, for instance through its peculiar mechanism of securitizing the ‘cannot be securitized’, it eventually left city with ‘Unknowingness’. People, stopped interacting altogether for the ‘threat’ and ‘referent object’ both were anthropomorphized, for instance Baloch Grievnces, Shia Hazara and PTM. However, Baloch Grievances is one of the crucial ‘securitization’, it gave every way to security for its expansion, for Baloch grievances are very old and expansive in number. However, unknowingness within public is treated as ‘comradeship’ unlike Personal relations or blood relations. It is this ‘comradeship’ which had transposed into ‘unkowingness’. Comradeship for any political discourse in a public space is prerequisite. Otherwise citizens would cease to communicate. Public space in current study is treat as a space where collective good is debated and performed, and public good always has its expression through state. Accordingly, public space is meant to be where state is debated, while in Quetta the experiential state to citizen was ‘security apparatus’, evinced and supported by data. However, it was for the very reason that ‘comradeship’ (Political and social distrust) was a condition for any discourse in a public place.

Anyhow, ‘anonymity’ was feared the most and was one of the deadliest causes that strangulated ‘truth’ (Politics). However, before we further our argument, one has to bear in

mind that insulation was always overseen by a 'spy' within public space; this was a popular perception regarding security in Quetta. However, in Quetta there were either 'referent objects and threats' or Spies, overseeing public spaces, lest security apparatus be fed to carry out its 'security ritual'. Interestingly, there are multiple of 'Threats' in Quetta, for instance, Baloch against Punjabi, Baloch against state (all citizens), all citizens (against) Hazara, Afghani against Pakistani and last but not the least terrorist against humankind. Threats and referent objects confusingly overlapped, but its effects exacted at what it was meant. It was meant to dissipate public spaces of discourses which it did through declaring the whole citizens 'confusingly' suspected of each other and for state. However, this suspicion of each other was pervasive among citizens which had its expression in local language 'anonymity'. However, within the given characters of the security narrative, 'referent object' and 'Hero' could not be discussed, but 'threat' was so much discursive that it transformed into a grandiose of security (Myth). Given the backdrop, insulation, as its literal meaning denotes, insulated 'agency' of 'Politics' in Quetta. The popular perception of spy prevalent among the citizens, (someone having any kind of relation with the state or security apparatus or who believed in state narrative of security was thought of as a spy or looked with suspicion), resulted in 'self policing'. For instance, anything related to security or local narrative of security which contradicted state narrative was avoided to be told, subsequently, the locals were deprived of their narrative, thusly deprived of 'Politics', for in Quetta 'truth' (local narrative) was unlike that of state narrative. However, such insulation carried out through 'surveillance' (spies) dissipated public space of 'local politics'. Therefore, insulation along surveillance had transformed itself into a 'pan-optican'. For, 'anonymity' had already provided the optimum for one to suspect, to fear and eventually invent one as an enemy. This process of self policing was an outcome of the securitizing process which eventually transformed into 'value apparatus' (pan-optican) of every 'Citizen' (politically potential). Therefore, the narrative of 'surveillance' (spies) in Quetta, cannot be disregarded, it played an important role within the narrative of security in Quetta.

The 'value apparatus' or 'meta-framing' in Quetta, thus, was that of value of security. Such a 'self enforced passivity', made possible through transformation of the 'moral value' of 'truth speaking' (politics) into 'liberal value' of 'Risk calculation' (Cost and benefit analysis) left the public spaces open to state's narrative and this is how it was seen in Quetta that the power

regime had kept the public space a 'one way communicative space' where people are neither heard nor let speak. However, this was how the citizens of Quetta had become 'risk reflexive'<sup>ix</sup> who did self policing of one's 'political agency'.

Moreover, 'Repression', a depoliticizing tactic, in form of 'security rituals' also contributed to the dissipation 'Discourse' within public sphere in Quetta. However, it was the 'security ritual' (Repressive tactic) which ensured the 'insulation' of discourses in a public sphere and reproduced it each day which eventually was seen as evolved into a 'pan-optican' and thusly 'problematized parrhesia' (politics). However, in Quetta both the 'repressive' and 'insulating' tactics were mutually reproducing each other, mechanically.

However, It be borne in mind that to locals, 'truth' and politics were identical in its essence, and absorption of such a narrative of security (Myth) mechanically legitimized 'strangulation of truth'<sup>x</sup> which was the art of security apparatus in Quetta. However such a strangulation of the truth in public sphere through insulation had its expression in lingual devices which were like, 'sanity' 'bravery' and 'foolishness'. Such a 'vocabulary' used for anyone or thing 'political potential' in Quetta shows as to how the repressive and insulating tactics had depoliticized the public space of a discourse. Ironically, being political (speaking the truth) which once was a moral obligation of a citizen of Quetta had now been 'problematized' as 'being foolish' or 'insane'. Accordingly, it is argued that this 'problematization of parrhesia' was the product of newly transformed value apparatus of a citizen in Quetta.

*Michel Foucault, Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison, translated by Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage, part." 1979), p\* 274.*

Furthermore, 'Narrative of security' was a product of 'Preference shaping' by security apparatus to legitimize itself within Quetta. However, in Quetta, if one looks at the 'spatial syntax'<sup>xi</sup> of the security 'signifiers'<sup>xii</sup>, for instance, securitization of Schools, Universities, Media, journalists, and lawyers. Such a sequencing of the 'security signifiers' speaks a different language, that is language of 'depoliticizing'. Anything or one 'politically potential' (potential of truth) was securitized in Quetta either as a 'threat' or 'referent object', the binary was never of any moral consideration to security apparatus, all it aimed at, was to

‘depoliticize’ and bring the ‘political’ into realm of ‘politics of exception’. However, it was thus argued that almost all those platforms which were securitized within Quetta were ‘Politically potential’. Thusly, all channels of the truth speaking were insulated of ‘politics’, subsequently of local narratives. Interestingly, ‘narrative of security’ was not only shaped through aforementioned channels, rather the ‘security rituals’ and ‘insulation’ also spoke and shaped the local preferences. And of course it always prioritized ‘security’ and made everything irrelevant until threat is eliminated.

Moreover, it was seen that in Quetta, security apparatus in the name of precaution disseminated frequent public messages which in its essence communicated ‘to avoid crowded places, and sensitive topics’. These, in the name of public message, merely restrained one to ‘venture’ into a public sphere. In reality such public messages merely had mystified the depoliticization of ‘Political practice’ and ‘Political discourse. Ironically, people in Quetta had internalized such messages in the name of ‘public message’ as a moral obligation to disseminate for public good, subsequently both the ‘practice and discourse’ was dissipated of public sphere, for instance in case of University of Balochistan one could see securitizing of the discourse among students, ensured through the ‘surveillance’ of administration (seen as spies since they had relations with the security apparatus and believed in state narrative). However, in case of Quetta and particularly Universities the ‘political activism’ was partially curtailed and depoliticized through same tactic of preference shaping. For instance citizens of Quetta were inculcated with the narrative of security to such an extent that it had become a grandiose in Quetta, which eventually had transformed the ‘value apparatus’ of the citizens into a ‘security of security’. it was owing to such transformation of the value apparatus that one could see a revised ‘morality’ in Quetta. And thus new morality was of course the product of new ‘moral enterprise’, however, the transformation of security value (calculation against risk) into ‘value apparatus’ (Pan-optican) had its expression in the ‘commonsense’ and ‘humanism’ (Morality). Such a ‘common-sensicalism’ and ‘humanism’ was thus being reproduced through all the three tactics of depoliticization in Quetta so as to have a ‘preference shaped’ among the locals for legitimization of the power of the ‘security apparatus’.

However, Preference shaping, insulation and repression all of them contributed equally to the development of ‘anonymity syndrome’ among citizens of Quetta. Accordingly, Securitization



insulated public space of interaction (Political activism), and delineated ‘referent object[s]’ from ‘threat[s]’, subsequently, preventing any kind of negotiation (Discourse) and exacerbating the ‘war’ (Threat perception). Here the author again reminds to the reader of the quote of Mao Zedong which stated *‘Politics is war without bloodshed while war is politics with bloodshed’*. However, the securitization of ‘normal politics’, like negotiating identities instead of securitizing them, had resulted in the dissipation of politics within public sphere and among peers, subsequently, resulted in ‘security grandiose’<sup>xiii</sup>. Thusly, it was insulation of security apparatus which contributed to the ‘Risk Society’<sup>xiv</sup>. Symptoms of a risk society in Quetta was ‘anonymity’ (Political unknowingness) which insulated all the public space of its ‘political potential’ (truth speaking) and subsequently transformed public space into a ‘vacuum’, open to the narrative of ‘security apparatus’. Conclusively, the state narrative was consumed by the citizens without any resistance; ironically the consumption was self policed or being observed by the social peers. However, in Quetta ‘Risk society’ had its essentialization through ‘anonymity’ which teleological resulted in form of political and social individuation and break down of social capital.

Conclusively, in Quetta the narrative of securitization operated as ‘Myth’ which legitimized the security apparatus to redefine and restructure the whole society through its ‘depoliticizing tactics’, which operated as a pan-optican and ‘Problematization of parrhesia’ (New moral enterprise). However, the pan-optican and problematization of parrhesia, certainly, dissipated both the ‘activism and discourse’, and thusly produced citizens ‘passive’. Who, thusly, were passive to the consumption of the ‘myth of security’ and reproduced the moral authority of ‘security apparatus’ to narrate the ‘truth’ for the masses. Accordingly, such a cyclic causality mechanically reproduced the narrative of ‘Risk society’. Of course the very vicious causal loop was reflective among the citizens, and had its expression in the new ‘political morality’, ‘humanism’, ‘language of resistance’ and ‘anonymity’.

Lastly, it was found out in the study that all signifiers of the narrative of securitization in Quetta worked as ‘insulators’ which prevented any kind of interaction and negotiations. It thus was argued that security was meant to transform any place into a space. Accordingly, ‘anonymity’ which was held accountable for virtually the whole of depoliticization in Quetta

was also the product of ‘spaces’. The ‘place’ (a public sphere) was transformed into a ‘space’ (Political vacuum).

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<sup>i</sup> A religious practice observed among Shia Muslims in the month of Moharam

<sup>iii</sup> Mariabad is a locality within Quetta which is predominantly populated by Hazaras and is encircled by check posts and separated from the rest of the city.

<sup>iii</sup> Hazarganhi is a market place from where the whole city of Quetta is provided with the supply of fruits and vegetable.

<sup>iv</sup> A market place

<sup>v</sup> Place is an interactive space

<sup>vi</sup> Space are those places which are not interactive

<sup>vii</sup> Achakzai is a tribal pashtoon caste and is also considered the capitalist class, locally.

<sup>viii</sup> Geography in Balochistan has its cultural and identity expression, thus is taken as an ‘abstract or the cannot be securitized)

<sup>ix</sup> Calculating being against risks or threats

<sup>x</sup> To locals of Quetta it was truth which was securitized and insulated, thus politics and truth are inter-changeably used for the specific case study.

<sup>xi</sup> The way city was Spatially installed with check posts

<sup>xii</sup> Check posts or any material thing symbolizing security.

<sup>xiii</sup> Myth of Security

<sup>xiv</sup> A society where ‘threat’ is at the foremost among all priorities and everything else becomes irrelevant to the citizens until threat is dealt with

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