Human Security and Development Nexus: A Case Study of Pakistan

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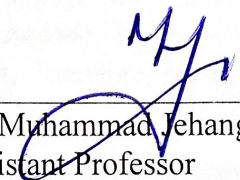**Pakistan Institute of Development Economics (PIDE), Islamabad**

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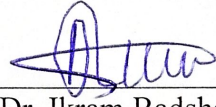
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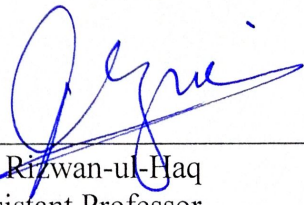
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Abstract

This study titled as 'Human Security and Development Nexus: A Case Study of Pakistan' aims at analyzing the relationship of human development and threat perception of security in Pakistan. And the applicability of human security and its prioritization in the national security of Pakistan. The study is conducted with the help of qualitative research strategy and case study research design. Furthermore, the research used interviews to chart out the place and applicability of human security in the security apparatus of the country. It concludes that consideration of this relationship is weak in Pakistan where the traditional approaches still have a strong hold. The development and security both are not comprehensive in nature, where people are becoming burden on state. This nexus needs prioritization in Pakistan's national security policy. This prioritization is termed in the 'securitization theory' as securitization. Which if stressed, would result in real human development for people in areas of education and health. Therefore, the study recommends a people inclusive national security approach.

Keywords: *Comprehensive security, Development, Traditional security, Human security, Human development, Securitization, Threat perception.*

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Chapter 1.

1.1 Introduction

Development and security in the contemporary world are inter-dependent, both in the past viewed state as the referent object of their policies. State concern was securing the national frontiers and power balance, with no care of people lives. Development conception after second world war was dominated by economists, called it a one-dimensional approach as wealth accumulation in the form of greater GDP[1]. This wealth-centered approach of development contributed to power maximization for states. Later the failure of its manifestation in real world, critique from other academic fields and with the emergence of development economics as separate field changed development as a multi-dimensional approach. And defined as any change or improvement occurred in social system whether it is political, social or economic, (Myrdal, 1974), it occurs by an inclusive effort. The basic needs approach showed the darker side of the early development thought which states followed, only focusing on productivity leaving distribution behind.

The state-centric approach of development lasted till the collapse of Soviet Union. After that the paradigm shifted to human-centric approach. But in the unipolar world under the US hegemony a new age of war started. The hope of peace in the world did not lasted for long, where individual lives get importance in development policy agendas. It happened in terms of goals and targets to achieve, UNDP[2] for the first time published its report in which they ranked countries development according to their living standards. Gave its definition that development is multi-dimensional process where people have their choice and opportunities to live their life, (UNDP, 2015). Many other international, regional and national organizations started working on the new development goal as eradicating poverty and improving the living standards of people.

But they got little success in this regard, the problems still exist especially in the developing world. People are starving and they don't have access even to basic needs. After the end of cold war, world was hoping for a new era of peace and prosperity. But the wars took a new shape of civil and intra-state wars, the 9/11 incident and USA being the direct victim of these wars worsen these

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[1] Gross Domestic Product (GDP): is monetary value of all finished goods and services produced in a country during specific period.
[2] United Nations Development Programme (UNDP): works to eradicate poverty and help countries to develop strong policies for their progress.

situations, (Fouinat, 2004). Developing countries became the battle grounds for these wars. There are numerous reasons why these wars started in developing countries. These wars put question on the sovereignty and challenge the traditional concept of security (as they put emphasis on territorial defense). The security paradigm to shift and become responsive to every human problem is inevitable. That's why human security a new field of security emerged, much more comprehensive and responsive to all those problems which human beings are confronting. (Newman, 2010) puts it as, human security suggests that state sovereignty must lies in the support and to serve people from which it derives its legitimacy. And national integrity should be considered as human welfare.

Human security when it first emerged in 1990s, its agenda was "freedom from want" and "freedom from fear" which was basically a hope of new change and peace after USSR[3] collapse. But by the turn of the century, the world scenario changed to a new age of terror and the human security agenda shifted to "freedom from fear", (Sandra J. Maclean, 2006, pp. 3-18). Fear comes from many threats, for developed countries this fear then came from the economic downfall. As far developing countries are concerned, the war was a direct threat to their lives and most importantly to their basic needs which state provide them in a very small scale. When they are going to fight a war, which is imposed on them, they will have to bear losses not just financially but socially and politically too. The services which people accrued from state in a small scale got affected by these conflicts and trade-offs started between basic needs and defense expenditures. The results were budget cuts imposed on the basic needs, manifests later in more complex problems which state must face.

Human security covers many broad and comprehensive areas of human development like; health, education, capabilities, decent living standards and equal income distribution etc. Basically, human security aims at individuals as primary beneficiary of security policy, (Newman, 2010). If human security together with human development approach puts emphasis on human welfare, then it is obvious that developing world will have more work to do. Because developed countries have achieved these goals and now, they are setting policy agendas for developing countries. Without having proper knowledge of their local dynamics, it becomes difficult for developing countries to achieve the development goals with those policies. So, taking human security approach in this

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[3] Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR): was a federal socialist state consist of many Northern Eurasian countries from 1922 till 1991.

regard means that developing countries should focus on those issues to which they are most vulnerable and try to solve it with least cost.

Developing countries today in 21st century faces multiple challenges, the most common among them are of basic needs. Basic needs were traditionally defined as food, clothing and shelter but now few more things are added which are health, education, employment. Basic needs are universally defined but it can be varied according to the economic situation of a place or country. The basic needs in developed countries might be the provision of other social services, whether in developing countries these can be the availability of the most basic human needs for their survival.

The debate on basic needs started some 40 years ago from the World Bank's development strategy. The presence of extreme and continuously increasing poverty in developing countries resulted in basic needs approach. The aim of basic needs approach was that development strategies should focus on eradicating poverty and the provision of very basic social services. Previous development strategies which were growth oriented resulted in high economic growth rates, but these growth rates have done nothing for the poor of the Third World, (Burki, 1978). The income and wealth inequality and rapid growing population further deteriorated the situation for developing countries. Now after four decades the developing world still have these worse conditions in social services sector especially in the provision of good health, education and importantly resource distribution. Although, these are the most important issues (threats) for human beings to be dealt with in terms of their development and country's prestige but the governments of developing countries did not prioritize these issues.

Pakistan is a developing country by its economic performance but its geostrategic position in south Asian region highlights its importance, due to which Pakistan has greatly suffered. Pakistan from the very beginning was inclined towards great powers, considered this as a good thing for their national security. But this brought no fruitful results for economic, human, political and social development. It further made Pakistan obligate to follow them, especially in security policy which it follows never became a good one for development.

Historically, Pakistan's civil-military relations has remained in flux, due to which traditional security approach[4] has a strong hold over national security strategy. This dominancy clearly can

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[4] It is a common term for Realist Approach in International Security

be seen in the security policy which Pakistan follows, always put territorial integrity on top priority. There is no negation of the argument that both external and internal conflicts contribute to adopt this policy, (Rumi, 2015). But here one thing is important that is it necessary to make the whole threat perception revolve around military strength, and the other problems which Pakistan is confronting leave behind. (Rafique, 2012) concluded that increase in military spending occurs because of security policy which always defines threat in terms of national security. The Afghan war and terrorism resulted in more increase of defense expenditures. Receiving the greater share of budget and hold on security issues inevitably increase military's role in power politics in Pakistan and superseded the civilian bureaucracy.

Regional actors are playing major role in Pakistan's security and foreign policy. In which apart from other international involvement, India is the dominant factor. The hostile relations with India have many reasons but Kashmir is most revealing issue, which mainly causes retaliatory security policies. The increasing defense budget also as a result of such defense policy because they must counter their military strength, (Dwivedi, 2008). The increase in defense budget also came at the expense of lower development budget. Pakistan situation in human development is miserable because budget allocation to social services and human development is very small. The percentage of total revenue by central and provincial government allocated for education, health and other social services is smaller than other poor countries, (Candland, 2001).

The most tragic thing about Pakistan's foreign policy is, since its independence it exploits the people, never put their problems at the top priority. The people's interests and expectations never reflected in foreign policy, the analysts always talk about national interests, but people never witnessed their development to be consider as national security issue, (Ghori, 2007). In present times development agencies and human security analysts are stressing that development is a comprehensive human centric approach. As far in case of Pakistan it is still not showing any signs of prioritizing threats concerned with human development. Pakistan needs a shift in its security paradigm to solve all these problems and the destruction which it received in all these years of war against terror. The new security approach should be more supportive towards people which put human security and well-being on its top priority, (Syed, 2014).

1.2 Key Terms

The following are some of the key terms in this study which needs to be defined.

- **Development**

Development is any change or improvement occurred in society. This change could be in any aspect of life in the society, it can be social, political, economic or environmental etc.

- **Human Development**

Human development is a multi-dimensional phenomenon which considers human beings as the focal point of developmental strategies.

- **Security**

Security means the absence of vulnerabilities, which can be social, political, economic or environmental etc.

- **Traditional Security**

Traditional security is the approach followed by Realist School of thought towards security. In this approach security is always defined in terms of securing the state frontiers, as state is considered the main source of threat because of its military capabilities.

- **Human Security**

Human security revolves around the perception that human beings should be the referent object of national security.

- **Threat Perception**

Threat perception is the lens of understanding threat. It defines the nature of threat and formulate responses.

1.3 Problem Statement

Looking into the human development of Pakistan, we can get the clear picture of what this country achieved after the 70 plus years of independence which is not a pleasant one. People in Pakistan are continuously suffering from the low quality of social services provided by the government.

Human development is an inevitable part for the country's development, and Pakistan lacks that. As human beings in economics as labor force considers as the backbone of economy for their skills and manual labor. Human beings in sociological perspective is the fundamental unit of society, any development without focusing them is unjustifiable. In Pakistan, the same is happening especially in education and health services witnessing the downward shift.

Pakistan's this down-trodden conditions of basic needs are explained by many scholars through economic performance, corruption, political instability and many more moral and structural problems. This study will try to find the role of security approach in problems that are haunting basic needs. Security approach here means the threat perception, that which issues Pakistan considers to be deal with most urgency. As Pakistan is historically inclined towards prioritizing the military strength, always puts on top the national security issues but what is national security? Does national security only manifests in border security or there is any space for the issues confronted to citizens? Many realist scholars declare it an inevitable approach and put their argument as without securing the frontiers of a country how citizens of that country can achieve development. They derive state sovereignty in terms of borders safety, neglecting the fact that from whom the sovereignty has been derived?

What human security suggests, that if country derives their sovereignty for the people then those people should be the primary focus of the security policies. The needs and social services they are lacking should be consider as a threat and the provision must be ensured with top priority. Human security stresses on a comprehensive approach of security to be followed, which includes multi-dimensional aspects of humans in their security paradigm. What human security suggests is not against the military, they do consider it as an important part for security of the state. But what matters most for them is, issues of humanity should be equally consider and deal with as state security.

Pakistan in human security's perspective lies far behind, as here issues confronted to people are not considered as threat. Here the conditions of health and education as public good is not satisfactory, people are dying from dengue (a mosquito led disease). Malaria causes severe threat to human health; the country still runs polio programs. The situation of government hospitals is worse; beds for patients are not enough, doctor per patient ratio is high, medicines are high in price and lower in quality, corruption from bottom to top is here. The stats for education are also not

pleasantry; we are dealing with persistent illiteracy rate, where female illiteracy rate is high in contribution. The quality of education is also questionable, the country is not under a uniform education system, and this non-uniformity has its own de-merits. But on the other hand, Pakistan is successfully experimenting in the field of defense on heavy monetary expense.

1.4 Research Objectives

- To understand the nature of security approach of Pakistan.
  This objective will enable us to know security, various approaches adopted to security and will help us to understand the nature of the approach adopted in Pakistan to security.
- To find out the place of basic need-health and education- in the security approach of Pakistan.
  Pakistan has a history of down-trodden basic needs (health and education) facilities. This objective will analyze the place of the basic need in the security understanding and that what kind of role security approach is playing in this regard. It will help us to establish a relation between security approach and denial/providence of the basic needs.
- To discuss the applicability of human security approach as Basic Needs in Pakistan.
  The aim of this objective is to explore whether human security approach is applicable in Pakistan or not. Furthermore, to find how far Human development together with human security approach is capable to resolve the confronted issues to basic needs (health and education).

1.5 Research Questions

- Where Pakistan lies in terms of human development in the world?
- What is the role of security approach in the provision of health and education services?
- What kind of security approach should be adopted by Pakistan in the changing security understanding?

1.6 Significance of the Study

Development in the contemporary world became much more inclusive and multi-dimensional. Now it cannot neglect a tiny segment of the society because it will directly affect the overall development, same is the case with security. Security is a common term used in daily life, but

majority of us doesn't know anything about its meaning in national terms. In this regard this study will provide a better understanding of security and its implications for country. How a threat become a security issue for a country and why certain important aspects are not included in the country's national threat perception. This study will be useful in understanding the human security and human development nexus in the current scenario of Pakistan. That, why the most important and basic aspects of human development are neglected or not prioritized. Moreover, it will also be useful in knowing challenges posed by the security perception to basic needs of human beings—health and education.

Chapter 2.

Literature Review

Studying the literature in a research study has great importance in enabling the research to know about his topis. This knowledge about the topic includes, what are already known about the topic, the concepts, theories, research methods and the counter arguments about his topic. However, it is impossible for a research student to read all the literature as many topics have a bulk of literature. So, it is important to read the key books and articles of main authors, (Bryman, 2012, p. 8). This study also attempted to read some of the main figures and key literature which helped to broaden the horizon of researcher over the topic. The following is the reviewed literature written in a concise form.

2.1 Literature Review

Human history has witnessed continuous progressive transformation from its early times till present. This transformation has occurred in many forms at different times with a slow and gradual pace. In this transformation there were periods which represent the dark side of human history. But the struggle of human beings in search of better world continued. The search took different names at different times and places and is still going on with its continuous changing aspect (Harari, 2015). The transformation which took the present name development has earned various names from many scholars. Many European scholars linked the origin of contemporary development to the European enlightenment period. But the actual decisive moment for contemporary development is US President Henry S. Truman's speech. In which he says about the reconstruction of the world and bringing economic stability to the world after the two devastating world wars, (Hopper, 2018).

Apart from its long history there is still no universal and permanent definition, which makes development a contested concept, (Knutsson, 2009). The evidences of complexity can be found from its history that there is no agreed definition, everywhere it is defined in terms of interests that suits the particular entity. Development thinking was dominated by economics for a long period and they still claim its supremacy. The traditional economics defines development in terms of economic growth which considers per capita income, consumption and GDP etc. as the standard of development. They stress on the accumulation of more and more wealth, in other words

economics gives more importance to material things, (Smith, Economic Development, 2015, pp. 9-10). They themselves viewed development as a holistic approach which considers changes in social structures, attitudes, institutions, economic growth, inequality, and poverty. Development is a Eurocentric phenomenon, so whenever development is mentioned its objects will be developing countries[5]. The categorization of developed and underdeveloped countries started with Truman's speech in which he called for the development of underdeveloped areas, (Esteva, 2010). This categorization has been also criticized by many eastern and western thinkers, they argue that it is based on biasness, western imperialist nature and economic values towards the developing countries, (Hopper, 2018) .

The materialistic, individualistic and exclusive approach of economics criticized widely because they think that when economic growth occurs the wealth will be distributed among the public due to trickle-down effect, (Smith, Economic Development, 2015, pp. 14-18). But this never happened in practice, elites captured more wealth and the poor became poorer. Considering all such criticism a new economic field came into being which has greater scope with respect to traditional economics. More concerned with resource distribution, economic, social, political, and institutional mechanisms to bring improvements in the living standards of the people. This definition of development is based on the actual results, when in 1970s several developing countries achieved high growth rates but income inequality, employment and the real income showed little or no improvements. And in later decades the situations became worse for some of developing countries. But there is still criticism that the criteria for the measurement of development which is per capita income, did not show the exact income status of each person in country. As it takes average of the whole population and the inequalities which prevails among different groups of people remain hidden, (Schaffner, 2014, pp. 1-15).

Then comes Amartya Sen, he states that income and wealth are not the ends but instruments. And argues that a person's status of being poor or non-poor should be determined according to its functioning and freedom, (Sen, 1999, pp. 3-11). Development has gone through many phases in last more than half century in which development thought had nourished in more complex term. Secondly, this nourishment of thought broadens the development paradigm and multiplied the agents and levels. And later, development became a never-ending process because as society

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[5] Cowen and Shenton (1996): Doctrines of Development

solves some part of the problems new ones emerge. So, development in its broader sense can be viewed as qualitative improvement of society, (Knutsson, 2009). That's why both real and academic fields changed their understanding of the development perspective, as (Bellu, 2011) refers development to society or socioeconomic system's improvement. Either in general form or in some parts of the system. Development can be the reason of actions performed by single agent or by some authority to bring such improvement. This shows that development is multidimensional concept as a process and in measurement because any improvement in the social system can occur in different ways driven by many forces at different pace. Then we can say that development of one part in the system can be detrimental for other parts, it can give rise to conflicts.

There is a bulk of literature and many scholars to whom development is multi-dimensional, inclusive and as social improvement process, among them is (Myrdal, 1974). He has a strong belief that development is an upward movement of the entire social system. By social system he means economic, social and political institutions and attitudes. This defines his belief on comprehensive nature of development and further states that all parts or factors of the social system are interdependent on each other, changes in one cause changes in others. Therefore, all of them must be consider. This nature of the development has been the result of past experiences which were based on different one dimensional and multi-dimensional development models adopted after the second world war. The modern development theory which evolved in inclusive and holistic paradigm respond to past failures, shocks and success resulted in responsive to modern world challenges, (Thorbecke, 2019). The shocks and failures refer to economistic and Eurocentric profit maximizing approach, according to (Hettne, 1983) the contemporary development theory has become more interdisciplinary and global. He somehow complemented the role of dependistas in this regard and further states that each country has its own internal and external dynamics and problems to development. The modern development should understand each and every problem and then act according to the country's capacity.

The contemporary development paradigm also has problems like it stresses on multidimensional and inclusive approach should be followed. But it didn't manifest in the desire outcome. (Gupta, 2017) wrote about it that though development has become inclusive and multi-dimensional, but the development agencies, Multinational corporations, and other state running agencies throughout the world interpret it only in terms of economic growth, market participation and profit maximizing

interests. Further state that it not only excluded the poor and marginalized people or communities, but also their demands of social well-being, social justice and participation. It should be human centric as it defined.

Development and security both have gone through the same phases from state-centric approach into resulted comprehensive and broader phenomenon, (Ojendal, 2010). Through-out the European history development (viewed as economics, progress, wealth) was linked to the state or national security. Consequently, security led the state interference in Europe at times of industrialization, welfare, economic depression and war. Even after the 1945 at the name of international development aid, the aim was to control the Third World from European competition. This shows that both development and security worked interdependently, but this nexus has changed with the transformation of society, (Hettne, 2010). Further adds, that development has witnessed the dominancy of many approaches from modernist, liberal, socialist to basic needs or poverty. Every development approach adopted gained equal importance to achieve the development goals and linked with national security, as development was perceived as accumulation of wealth.

In the present scenario both security and development became globalized and interdisciplinary, but there is the need of global social policy to cope with world crisis. If development is defined as inclusive and multidimensional process, then security is an important aspect of it. Both security and development are compulsory for each other, (Stewart, 2004). He explained the development security nexus, that security issue— conflict at individual or community level which may be triggered with some criminal or political objectives, though not a direct threat to national security. But it may become an important source of threat to national security because once a violent conflict starts many regional, national and international actors get involved. He stated the problem that to achieve those objectives from conflict are easy when people are mobilized on cultural basis, private interests gain from the conflict to keep prolonging it.

If development and peace have aimed at achieving high quality life, then the role of environment cannot be neglected because it affects every aspect of human life from food to health and education. United Nations considered this relationship of environment and development, formed commission in 1970 which later took the name of sustainable development— simply mean enduring peace. Aimed that people's living standard should be environmentally sustainable, if not

it will be a security threat. In the form of resource exploitation which creates insecurity and leads to conflicts among people. That's why environment is important part of human life, but (Dowdeswell, 1996) further argues that our life is mostly controlled by economics. Which degrade the environment, but stainable development is trying to show the costs quantitatively that we are getting the economic activities. Just like sustainable development, conflicts also changed its policy focus from to people. The contemporary wars are with in the states rather than between states which are mostly ignite by religious are ethnic interests. These conflicts engage the whole society not just armed forces. Conflicts damages the sustainable development through giving power to the poor and marginalized of controlling people and plunder the wealth. The development-security merger provides rational strategies to counter conflicts, (Duffield, 2005) which can be livelihood support and promoting the inclusion of poor and alienated people in development process.

After 2000, the security-development nexus became more focused on conceptual and practical policy terms, security concept evolved from state stability to individual protection. This shift occurred due to new global threats which the countries are facing— terrorism. Human security as a concern for development came to the security policies of states which is different from the national. This also changed the defense approaches because this issue cannot be solved with traditional defense approaches, (Klingebiel, 2006). These trends in security situation through-out the world and especially in developing countries has put emphasis on security sector to transform. Development has important contribution in policy impact and resource availability for reconstruction and making it a more comprehensive perspective. This will require cooperation from government departments in wide range, (Smith C. , 2001).

Security as a concept is multidimensional in international relations, it's definition can be based on the applied context (Brooks, 2009). Security may be a subjective term, its meaning varies according to people, time and space, (Davidson, 2005). In simple terms it is liberation from any danger or threat[6], protection and development of nation, (Arifi, 2011) while at national level Arnold Wolfers defines it as a value; wealth and power, which a nation can have more or less in volume (Wolfers, 1952). Those involved in security policy making decide the level of protection required to these values, which can be threaten by many external as well as domestic threats. But

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[6] www.oed.com, Oxford English Dictionary

the recent events in the world have changed the security understanding and shape it in a new terminology which include many new things, (Fouinat, 2004).

The traditional thought of security viewed states as power maximizers and consider international system as an anarchy. For which states are struggling to strengthen their defense and military power for national security. States which follows such strategies are always prioritize those issues which are related with their state boundaries, (Kauppi, 2013, pp. 32-33). There is also another critique on state-centered security approach that, it does not pay attention to the people wish for development and well-being, (Gruiters, 2008). It not only pushes strategies which lack well-being aspect for people, but it also put a question that if human well-being is not the center point of the strategies then for whom state is achieving this security and development? The other approach is securitization or constructivist in which certain actors may be single or multiple transform a political issue into security. Once the securitization act became successful the audience must accept it, (Vaughan-Williams, 2010, pp. 75-83). According to Buzan security is not only military and state security, security is something through which individuals feel safe and integrated in a socioeconomic system. Security should be understood comprehensively in which every aspect of human includes. In his security people will have no fear of military, economic, societal, political and environmental threats all of them will be considered equally important, (Buzan, 1983, pp. 18-30).

Human security in this sense is much more comprehensive and responsive to all those problems which human beings are confronting. (Newman, 2010) puts it as, human security suggests that state sovereignty must lies in the support and to serve people from which it derives its legitimacy. And national integrity should be considered as human welfare.

Pakistan is a developing country, but its foreign and economic policy analysts always showed tendency towards military strength to counter the neighboring countries military power especially India. Adopting this traditional realist security approach has become more intense with issues of terrorism and civil war. This didn't bring any fruitful results for Pakistan instead paying a huge price by focusing on the defense expenditures and allocating huge portion of its budget and neglecting the development sector even the basic needs, (Siddiqa, 2005). The new security challenges of terrorism and civil war is not the only security concern for Pakistan but also for the whole south Asian region. Because it directly and indirectly affected the neighboring countries.

And it puts sovereignty of the state in question and severely damages the development of country, (Sundar, 2014). Pakistan's tribal areas are best example which shares border with Afghanistan terribly affected from the militancy and terrorism, (Haris Gazdar, 2014).

Regional actors are playing major role in Pakistan's security and foreign policy. In which apart from other international involvement, India is the dominant factor. The hostile relations with India have many reasons but Kashmir is most revealing issue, which mainly causes retaliatory security policies. The increasing defense budget also as a result of such defense policy because they must counter their military strength, (Dwivedi, 2008). The increase in defense budget also came at the expense of lower development budget. Pakistan situation in human development is miserable because budget allocation to social services and human development is very small. The percentage of total revenue by central and provincial government allocated for education, health and other social services is smaller than other poor countries, (Candland, 2001).

Various sectors in Pakistan have become non-priority areas which have resulted in civil society failure that harm its own citizens. The persistent poverty, health and education, low tax base, gender inequality, no-accountability all these problems which are essential to be dealt with at priority, contributing to weakening of civil institutions, (Malik, 1997, pp. 115-138). Pakistan needs to shift its security paradigm to solve all these problems and the destruction which it received in all these years of war against terror. The new security approach should be more supportive towards people which put human security and well-being on its top priority. Human security approach is comprehensive and the challenges which Pakistan are facing can only be cope with human security, (Syed, 2014).

Historically, Pakistan's civil-military relations are always imbalance, due to which military has a strong hold over national security issue. This dominancy clearly can be seen in the security policy which Pakistan follows, always put frontier's defense on top priority. There is no negation of the argument that both external and internal conflicts contribute to adopt this policy, (Rumi, 2015). But here one thing is important that is it necessary to make the whole threat perception revolve around military strength, and the other problems which Pakistan is confronting leave behind. (Rafique, 2012) concluded that increase in military spending occurring because of security policy which always defines threat in terms of national security. The Afghan war and terrorism resulted in more increase of defense expenditures. Receiving the greater share of budget and hold on

security issues inevitably increase military's role in power politics in Pakistan and superseded the civil bureaucracy. The military official holds important positions in almost all revenue departments, which are safeguarding their interests.

2.2 Literature Gap

The extensive literature reviewed includes development, the modifying concept of development, development outcomes for countries and contemporary development paradigm. The development-security nexus, how security perception evolved in human security and human development became an inevitable part of it. The contemporary development, security, and basic needs (health and education) situation in Pakistan. However, the literature neither carries a comparative analysis of security and development nor the literature addresses the nexus of development and security. Moreover, none of the reviewed literature describes the challenges posed due to the adopted threat perception to human development and basic needs (health and education). There is also an absence of domestic literature on explaining the human development and security nexus.

This study will try to fill those gaps and contribute to the literature on changing concept of security, and discourse around security in Pakistan. It will develop nexus between human security, basic needs, and development. It will further provide a clear understanding of threat perception and the inability of the traditional approach to grasp the essence of 21st century needs. The study will stress on the need to broaden the conception of security by incorporating human security as essential part of it. This research will add basic needs framework to literature for studying national security and human development problems.

2.3 Conceptual Framework

This study draws conceptual framework from (Haq, 1981) work on meeting Basic Needs, which were basically in the support of basic needs approach. They were of the view that basic needs aimed at poverty reduction and considering the basic human needs as the main objective of national development. The approach of basic needs is not in itself a development strategy but necessitate itself as a main component for development. The suggestion of basic needs to development is to fulfill the goals of most population regarding consumption patterns, particularly in education and health. What economists' stresses on productivity, provision of health services and quality

education can best solve the productivity problem as; elimination of poverty boosts productivity and development, then access to quality education and health services becomes inevitable.

Majority of the poor population have no other form of physical capital, so health and education can increase their productivity of the only available form of capital— hands and willingness to work. Basic needs approach was basically proposed due to the huge income gap in lower and the upper class, the high productivity did not result in basic needs provision especially in developing countries. In response of the critique that if developing countries become as welfare state what will be their economic status. The basic need approach is not an entirely welfare concept what it stresses are, to meet basic needs in a cost-effective way so that health and education maximize productivity. The case of Pakistan in present times, as there is much talk about human development the health and education's scenario are not a pleasant one.

The continuous human development actions whether from government or non-government organizations did not result in better outcome. From the work of Mahbub ul Haq, it is clear that human development needs an upgradation of its goals and objectives to play an active role. In this regard human development can get better insights from human security thought if to be linked. Because human security revolves around the threats which people are confronting, not only to state security, which includes security of all threats to their basic rights. Human development thought can best analyze this, how much it affected by this security perception. Human development and state security need ethical considerations to value human life both in laws and practice. This consideration of values will affect the lack of good health and access to quality education in a better way.

In Haq's view human security means to respect the humans, once it happened the basic human right will be prioritizing in first place. Putting Haq's words, basic needs are basic human rights of people from ethical perspective. Then the ethics or morality demands that the human needs should be kept at first place to deal with. Needs or well-being of people cannot be prioritized until it is considered as a security threat. Because security issues are always considered as existential threat, if basic needs deficiency came under the threat perception then all the necessary actions will be taken for its fulfillment.

Figure. 2.1

Model of Conceptual Framework
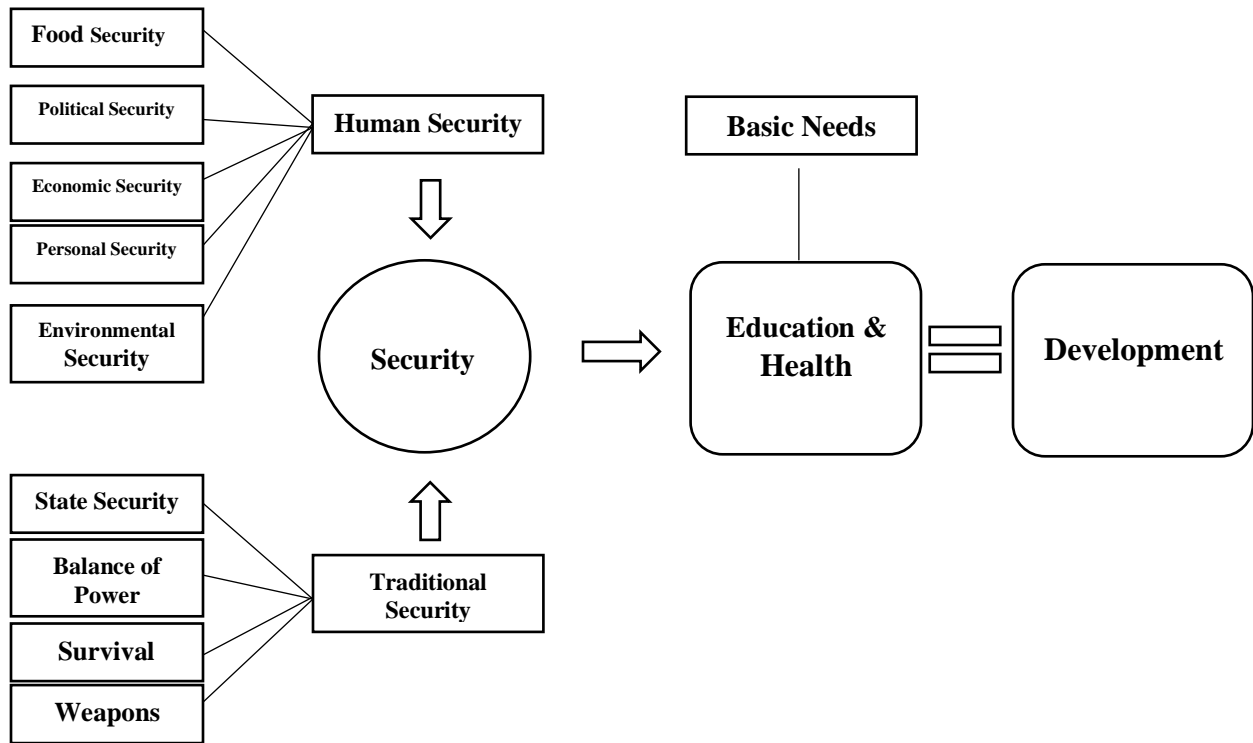
Chapter 3.
Methodology

The research methodology chapter of any research study aimed at making the readers familiar how this study is conducted, so that, the reliability of the research work could evaluate. To fulfill the same principle, this chapter is attempting to explain the methodology of this research study. The discussion will be started from the research strategy to the whole analysis technique followed by this study in detail.

3.1 Research Strategy

This research study followed qualitative research strategy as it allowed the researcher to follow the questions in a comprehensive and explanatory manner. This strategy is helpful in conducting analytic and explorative studies. It also provides the ease in access to all kinds of information related to the study area. Alan Bryman describes qualitative research strategy as interpretive and constructive in nature. Which deals with the richness of texts but not a necessary condition, (Bryman, 2012, pp. 35-37).

3.2 Research Design

A research design aims at framing what type of data should be collected and analyzed. This reflects decisions of prioritization assigned to a range of scopes of the research. One of them is expressing causal relationship of variables, (Bryman, 2012, pp. 45-78). For this case study as a research design helps to target a specific region, community, or population. And carry intensive or in-depth study of the relationships between variables. The aim of the research is to carry an in-depth analysis of how security is approached in Pakistan. With the help of case study design the research primarily focuses on the relation between two set of variables (health and education) and overall security situation in Pakistan. The research primarily focusses on the attitude and aptitude adopted towards security understanding and how and where are the two variables fit in the security debate.

3.3 Research Methods

The research methods for the analysis applied in this study are content analysis and interviews. The existing literature analyzed with the help of content analysis to elaborate on the nature of security understanding in Pakistan. And with the help of data the current human development

scenario in Pakistan. Content analysis is a scientific research technique which provides new and meaningful insights and greatly increases the researcher's understanding over topic, (Krippendorff, 2004, pp. 18-39). It is a systematic technique, requires validation and reliability in the analysis of texts or data, (Ward, 2012). The study is conducted with keeping all the methodological requirements in placed and confined to the use of descriptive method of the content analysis. The descriptive method helped the researcher to confine the conclusions only to the studied content. It is more clear and attractive method for researchers to extract the desired information, (Neuendorf, 2017, pp. 72-73). As this study is analytic cum explorative in nature that's why the descriptive method of content analysis applied.

Furthermore, the research used interviews to chart out what security measures affect the basic needs, education, and health, of the people. Also, the way out from these miseries as the applicability of the human security in the national security policies of the country. Interviews as data collection tool enables us to gather the meaningful and in-depth information about a topic, (Lisa A. Guion, 2001). It is a best way to learn from the experiences of the participants on related subject. Interview is widely used technique in qualitative research for explorative purposes, (Cormac McGrath, 2019). The study used interviews to know the perspective of interviewees on the security approach towards human centric issues. The factors that stop prioritization of human development in national security policies.

The interviews are not conducted in a traditional (face to face) way, due to the COVID-19 pandemic. The interviews are conducted through E-mail by circulating an interview questionnaire. The aim to use computer-based interviews through E-mail was getting the thoughtful and specific, (Kerson, 2006), information. The selected participants were from academia, as the aim was to get the meaningful information and security as an area of understanding is not relevant to everyone. As it was an online interview questionnaire so, it was structured to ease the extraction of valuable information and minimize the error. The questions asked were both open ended and fixed response. The later aimed to extract information from the interviewee on that specific area. The interviews data is analyzed by using thematic analysis. At first the responses of each question were coded and then themes were assigned to each one.

3.4 Units of Data Collection

As this is qualitative research using both primary (interviews) and secondary data for analysis. The units of data collection are following,

- Lecturers and Professors
- Journal Articles
- Books
- Human Development Reports
- Pakistan Economic Surveys
- National Internal Security Policy
- Newspaper Articles

3.5 Sampling

Much of the qualitative research revolve around purposive sampling as it helped in the selection of specific unit related to the questions asked. The need is the questions should give a clear indication of what units are to be sampled, (Bryman, 2012, pp. 416-429). Purposive sampling a non-probability technique where researcher does not seek random selection of participants. As, it is a non-probability sampling the researcher is not allowed to the generalization of population. This study uses purposive sampling as it allows to be focused on the research goal by sampling the content and people relevant to questions. However, 8 interview responses were received through e-mail as it was enough to meet the point of saturation.

Discussion and Analysis

4.1 Securitization Theory

Copenhagen school in the last of the 20th century developed a new theory of security called 'Securitization Theory'. The securitization theory originally consisted on the work of (Barry Buzan, 1998). It focuses on more broad and comprehensive security approach including economic, political, societal and environmental sectors, not just traditional security. It helped Critical Security Studies to provide a constructive approach for analyzing 'when and how an issue become security issue'. Security as in traditional approach is survival, remained the same form them, but became inclusive to add the above four sectors with military.

Security in each of these sectors is determined by "securitizing actors" and "referent objects". The securitizing actors are those "who securitize issues by declaring something an existential threat" while referent objects are "issues/things that are seen to be existentially threatened and have legitimate claim to survival". "Securitizing actors" can be military generals, political leaders, religious leaders, bureaucrats, governments, academicians, (Barry Buzan, 1998, pp. 21-48). But "referent objects" and the posed threats to its existence varies according to sector and the type of analysis e.g., (national security, sovereignty, ideology, identity etc.). Thus, issues are prioritized in securitization theory in a two-stage process which is comprised of non-politicized, politicized and securitized. Non-politicized issues are those to which state is not concerned with nor they are part of public and policy discussion. While, Politicization (issues that are part of public policy but needs more resource allocation or governance) is the midway through which issues become securitized (issues that are considered as existential threat and need immediate attention beyond the normal political procedure).

This movement of issues occurs due to securitization process, in which the existing politicized issue become threat to a "referent object" by a "securitizing actor". And when an issue become securitized and termed as supreme priority all the existing means are directed towards its solution. There are two stages in the securitization process which helps in explaining 'when' and 'how' an issue is perceived as "existential threat". The first stage deals with identification of issues, persons or entities as "existential threat" to "referent object", (Barry Buzan, 1998, pp. 35-39). State usually

declares a certain issue securitized but non-state actors can also initiate the movement together with the help of some powerful state actors, (Barthwal-Datta, 2012, pp. 1-24). This shows how powerful and influential "securitizing actors" can be.

The process of successful securitization will not be completed until the second stage. Which is the acceptance of issue as "existential threat" by relevant audience (public opinion), (Kaunert, 2011). Once the process of successful securitization completes then all the necessary actions could be taken. Here, 'discourse' plays the most important role in presenting an issue as an "existential threat" irrespective of its existence as a threat. It further helps in shifting the audience perspective and mobilize the state power, (Stritzel, 2012).

This school of thought has a constructive approach towards security, which takes "existential threat" as subjective matter. In order to take emergency actions "collective acceptance" of threat or "shared understanding" of security are dependent. There is also a possibility of power abuse when the audience rejects the discourse of "securitizing actors". This further creates problems for both "securitizing actor" and the audience, (Kaunert, 2011). It splits the shared understanding of security and leads to confrontation against "securitizing actors". The confrontation usually starts from protests, movements and in last transform in revolts or conflicts.

We put this securitization theory in the Pakistan's security equation. To understand who are the securitizing actors which construct the threat perception for its security. What are those threats which are prioritized in national security of Pakistan? And the reason for its prioritization. The National Internal Security Policy document is analyzed to know which sectors are prioritized in the national security. This document together with other content helped in knowing the securitizing actors in Pakistan.

4.1.1 The Nature of Security in Pakistan

Pakistan since its independence, has tensions on both eastern and western border. India has major contributions in posing external threats to Pakistan security, [(Patman, 2019), (Malik S. , 2009). On its eastern side, Pakistan shares 2912 km long border with India. While on its west, Pakistan shares 2430 km border line called Durand line with Afghanistan. However, due to its colonial legacy it remained disputed as Afghanistan does not accept the Durand line. Pakistan also shares border with Iran and China, as 909 km and 523 km respectively, (Amir Ullah Khan, 2017).

This geographical placement in the South Asian region pushed Pakistan to place border protection at the core of its security policies. But the shift in security dynamics after the 9/11 and terrorism brought a little change in Pakistan security approach. But it is still deeply attached with conventional approach, [(Javed, 2017), (Patman, 2019)]. The security policy makers failed to keep balance between state security and human security, (Amir Ullah Khan, 2017). The security policies always centered around national security, itself shows the material nature of Pakistan's security approach. The national security construction is greatly influenced from the conventional threats. The threat perception revolves around these threats and this is witnessed in the, (National Internal Security Policy 2018-2023, 2018). The measures it proposes to tackle the internal issues are conventional which focuses on the use of force or say hard measures. These hard measures come at huge expense for Pakistan's economy. The following graph shows Pakistan's annual military expenditures as percentage of GDP from 2011 to 2019.

Figure. 4.1

Pakistan Military Expenditures from 2011-2019
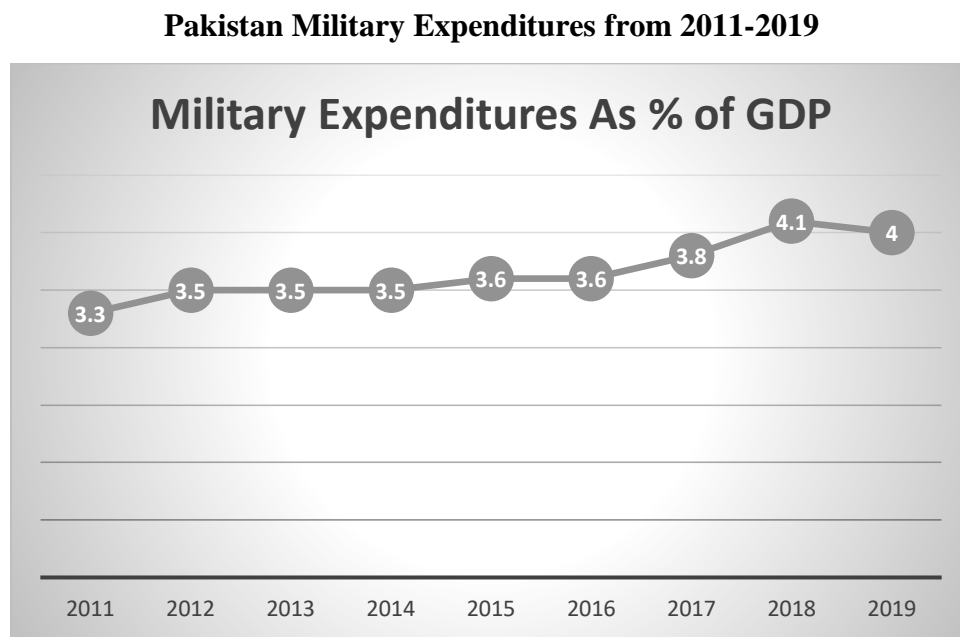
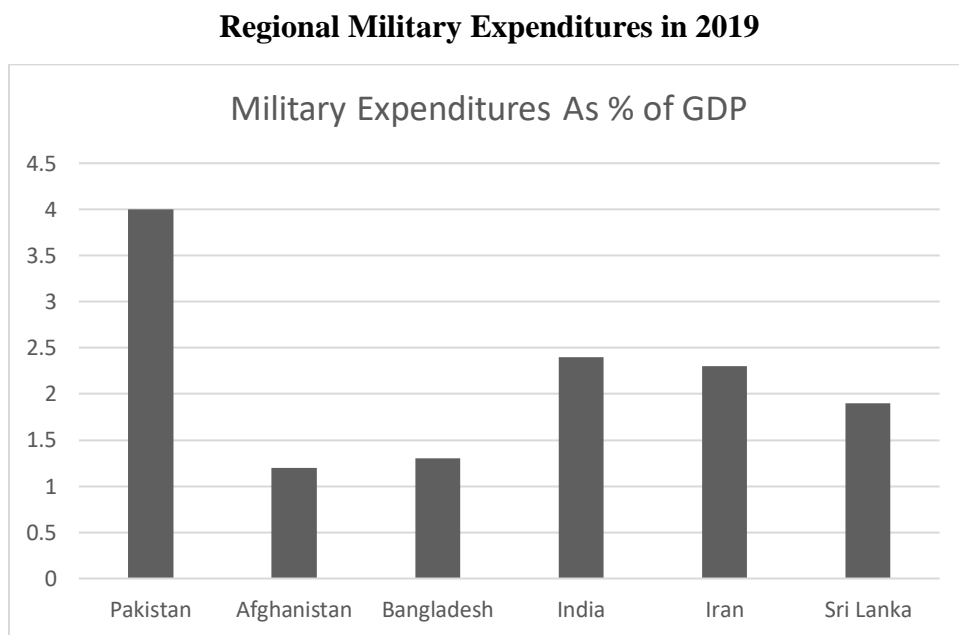*Source: SIPRI[7]*

Although, national security of Pakistan is comprised of a wide array of objects, [(Dr. Mudassir Mukhtar, 2019), (Patman, 2019)]. But the manifestations of its actions can be seen in times of physical threats confronted to its interests. It never been focused on comprehensive and

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[7] SIPRI: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, www.sipri.org/databases/milex

"consensus-based" people centered approach, (Amir Ullah Khan, 2017). This is because of the fusion of security policy with foreign policy. So, it always remained under the influence of regional and global powers. Power politics shapes the global power dynamics, south Asian power structure and ultimately the national security of Pakistan. Under this competitive global and regional strategic culture, it always undermined the citizens as a priority of security policy. The most obvious example is the following graph. Which shows the regional military expenditures as percentage of their GDP. This also undermine the national security claim to be people centered.

Figure. 4.2

Regional Military Expenditures in 2019

Source: SIPRI

The security approaches do respond to global power dynamics and external threats. But it is more responsive to internal threats which restrain the harmony and peace also development of the country. The construction of the security approach from the internal threats is what the Pakistan's security approach lacks from its very beginning. Protection from external threats as the most important objective of the state for its existence. That's why state build armies and for which it promises to people. But historically, compromising on internal issues, which if not in short term but do haunt in long term, is a problem with national security of Pakistan. This diversion from internal issues sometimes converted into deep grievances. Which later, by the involvement of some

foreign and internal actors transforms in state confrontation. These acts become betrayal, rebellion, revolt or terrorism but for the aggrieved party it is fight of freedom to get their rights.

The evidences of prioritizing external threats can be seen how state deals the defense sector and the internal issues the country facing. In which the issues confronted to the former sector are dealt with utmost urgency while later (people centered) issues are left behind. There are certain actors involve in the process of prioritizing an issue. Which in Pakistan are known as establishment-group of securitizing actors who declares an issue as existential threat to referent object (national security). The securitizing actors securitize issues through discourse, for the legitimacy of using extraordinary measures. The discourse helps them in serving their own interests in the name of national security. Though, the security subjects (people) didn't get any benefit from that security and in turn these policies backfire them. They change the people's perception, using powerful discourses, so that everything they do under national security's umbrella are considered legitimate. That's why people are willingly sacrificing their rights for that cause.

In the presence of such security approach, the results will be weak democracy, weak political institutions, corruption, low human development, IMF led growth strategies, high defense budgets and many more problems. Here, those internal issues are securitized which have some monetary and political benefits in return for the securitizing actors. Political parties add the real issues confronted to people in their election agenda, but once came in the government all of these issues go to the trash. The problem does not end here, those who lost the elections call it rigged and blame the institutions by starting protests. In last all these parties form alliances and start the movements for protecting their interests. But to gain the support or attention of the public they include the current prominent issues. Sometimes when a securitizing actor has a clash of interest and doesn't want the direct confrontation with state or government, it indirectly forces the government.

Pakistan since its inception witnesses this direct and indirect confrontation of securitizing actors with state on their interests. The interests keep on changing, ranging from political, economic to power centralization. All these years, provision of basic rights to people never became the interest of power elite. This top elite construct the internal threats for national security. The threats considered so far are traditional and their responses are also conventional. Though, there are many claims about national security being inclusive and comprehensive in terms of human security. But the policies and policy actions didn't come with better outcomes for people. In the end, this

negligence of securitizing the human aspect in national security resulted in low human development in Pakistan.

By analyzing the national internal security policy and applying the securitization theory on Pakistan's national security structure. The individuals, groups or sectors (securitizing actors) and how they construct security appeared are political, military, economic, religious, international institutions and academia. All these are discussed below.

4.1.2 Securitizing actors in Pakistan

i. Political Actors

Securitization depends on the nature of political system of a country as well. The source of threat perception, individuals and institutions matters. Political leadership cannot divorce itself from these institutions. Similarly, leadership does not always enjoy smooth access to power. It is always considerate of interests of domestic stakeholders in channelizing responses and extracting resources. Institutional strength matters. Security actors are elite who have a role to play in prioritizing threats and organizing responses by allocating resources. Political actors commonly defined are those who are in charge of government. Their conception of security matters. Political actors are in control of state institutions that can be used for extracting resources. Political actors in Pakistan, however, lack a unified conception of security.

Political actors are not independent in defining threat and securitizing issues. For political actors, security is more of an issue of political gains. Leadership use security as a tool to achieve its parochial interests. At the same time, access to political power is not smooth in Pakistan. Civilian approach to security is minimal in case of Pakistan. Political leadership has failed so far to develop civilian approach to security. Their vested interest places them in traditional camp as far as security-related issues are concerned. For political scoring, political actors approach security in traditional sense.

ii. Military Actors

Military actors are those who are involved in defining threats. Military actors have stakes in defining threats emanating from external frontiers which supports their position and sustain their hold on security policies. Military actors in Pakistan are 'Indian centric'. Their threat perception

is largely shaped by traditional thinking centered in and around territorial integrity. This elite securitize their priority and use institutional strength to harness support for their ideas and perception of threat and conception of security. They collaborate with other actors and use influence to extract resources in order to follow correct responses. In this regard Pakistan spends major chunk of its GDP on arms build-up and nuclear programs. At the same time, Pakistan maintain large army and strive hard to achieve parity with India. Military actors acquire weapons as means of security. Weaponization of state provide them the sense of security against possible enemies. For these actors' acquisition of weapons, military build-up, proper resource allocation, preparedness for war, converting economy to war efforts is the right perception of security.

iii.   Economic Actors

Security means stable environment for economic growth and investment. For economic actors, security refers to smooth flow of market process, sense of surety to their investment when they invest in a market, availability of resources and proper distribution of wealth. Smooth flow of market affairs is the real sense of security for economic elite. Absence of political interference in economic activities and promotion of economic friendly policies is how economic actors define security. Reducing transaction cost, eliminating trade barriers, initiating cost effective trade policies and ensure fair play. In Pakistan economic elite is more oriented towards western market. At the same time, Chinese product provide a tough time to Pakistan production sector. Energy crises, furthermore, add problem to economic hurdles. The economic sector is not open to fair competition.

Furthermore, investment is in manufacturing sector. Investment is not in human sector. Research and development are absent. Environment friendly investment is absent. Sense of economic security is absent Pakistan economic elite.

iv.   Religious Actors

Religious actors define security in sense of religious protection. In Pakistan, religious elite define security in terms of supremacy of religious order and making laws in light of the accepted interpretation of Quran and Sunnah. Pakistani nationalism is defined as religious nationalism. Any threat to religious order or any alteration in religious order is considered an issue of security.

Similarly, religious elite define foreign relations as well. French cartoon controversy, Israel as a Jews state and India a Hindu state.

v.   International Institutions

Security for international institutions is stability and peaceful coexistence. International institutions are established on the ideas of cooperation among its member states. It provides forum to states to resolve their disputes through negotiations and dialogues. It reduces transaction cost and provide advantage of opportunity. Member states sent their representative to represent their specific states and back their interests at the international level. Meanwhile, these institutions develop institutional stakes, which act as 'institutional inertia.' Institutional inertia is resistance to change. Thus, maintenance of the status-quo is security for international institutions. International institutions operating in Pakistan have concern in Pakistan's security and relate it closely to the security of the region. For them peace in the region is important. War is costly and is dangerous for peace in the region, which is the most populous region in the world. Since, both India and Pakistan have nuclear weapons which raised the stakes very high. Poverty, environmental degradation, health issues are important areas where non-governmental organizations and inter-governmental organizations are working in Pakistan.

vi.   Academia

Concept of security is changing. Post-Cold war crises posed a serious question mark on the conception of security. What is important for national security is the perception of leadership and security elite. Perception matters in shaping responses. It prioritizes threats. It establishes hierarchy among issues. Similarly, threats perception helps in channelizing responses as well. Academia in this regard, developing security paradigm over time. Various analysts are working in order to generate consensus on various issues related to security. Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema, Zafar Iqbal Cheema, Hasan Askari Rizvi, Zafar Nawaz Jaspal, Muhammad Waseem, Ayesha Jalal etc. are academia who are working in security sector. Much of their scholarship is related to traditional security and is centered on India Pakistan rivalry and arms race.

However, much of the research on security is trying to expand security from politico-military sectors to societal, economic and environmental sectors. In this regard, Pakistan security conception too is under discussion. In this regard the academia too is reconceptualizing security.

An emerging conception of 'comprehensive security' is in the academia. Alongside, military security, human and environmental security too are added to national security of Pakistan. Academia acts as a tool in supporting and propagating states narrative and institutional stakes. Academia shapes threat perception and justifies actions on part of the institutions. Threats are identified and are propagated in such a manner to make it real. Various think tanks are supported in order to support their specific narrative.

4.2 Human Development in Pakistan

When we define development as progress occurred in society i.e. social, economic, political or environmental. Then, as the basic unit of society, human beings, needs to be the focal point of this development. As stated earlier the centralization of development around economic growth after second world war didn't contribute much to that cause. There were huge disparities in income and basic services provided by the states to majority of the people. Despite the high growth rates development couldn't fulfill the basic needs and even situations became worse in some developing countries. This failure, development as economic growth, resulted in people centered approach towards development. In earlier stages it manifested in 'Basic Needs Approach', where the aim is provision of basic needs to the people and in turn it gives more productive, healthy and skilled labor force to economy.

After that development conception became more inclusive and comprehensive in nature, transformed in human development, a broader approach of development. Human development as defined by United Nations Development Program (UNDP) in its first Human Development Report is "the enlargement of people choices". People throughout their lives make choices in the shape of economic, social, political or cultural but it never stays constant. But three among them are the most basic and essential in levels of human development which strengthen the power of their choices to live a better life are; living a healthy life, being educated and have enough material resources, (Malhotra, 2004).

People are the building blocks of the nations, but they have been neglected in previous development approaches. The Human Development Report gave a new construction and measurement of development in more easy and comprehensive manner as Human Development

Index (HDI), [(Alkire, 2010), (Nayak, 2014)]. Human development is basically the expansion of people's active participation in development process and to take benefits from that development process— freedom. To serve this purpose policy makers make policies to ensure equity, efficiency and future abilities. They choose from the available options, some of these options do good on humanitarian grounds but other only serves the single elite class's interests. Thus, human development assesses the impact of these policies on poor and marginalized class. It evaluates all the available policy options in a country based on targeted equitable, efficient and sustainable goals. It also analyzes the available means to achieve the desired valuable ends, (Alkire, 2010).

Ends are the dimensions of human development which are many, that's why it is a multi-dimensional concept. (Alkire, 2010) categorized 8 broad dimensions in human development reports so far, while (Declan French, 2013) also mentioned 8 categories of well-being used by various organizations for development. But both the studies argued that health, education and decent standard of living appeared the most widely used indicators of development in all levels. However, it didn't mean that other indicators cannot depict the clear picture of development. There are many constraints in the measurement or data availability of indicators, but more important concern is its acceptability to majority, (Carmen Herrero, 2010).

The development of those ends needs the effectiveness of means. These means directly or indirectly affect these ends, such as; economic growth, good governance, security and many more, (Alkire, 2010). The formers impact on human development has been widely discussed by scholars of every field. But the latter's impact on human development has been discussed only by specialized fields. Despite its major role and multi-dimensionality, it is conceptualized only in a uni-dimensional way, protection from the foreign or internal threats to state. However, security is more than threats confronted to state and abilities served in its existence. Protection from the external and internal threats is an important part of the security not the whole security.

The above approach to security adopted by the state leads them to spend more on defense. Hence, only this part became the center of policies to mitigate immediate risks and prioritize it in all possible ways. In developing countries, due to lack of material resources it comes with putting huge burden on the economy and on the whole country. It costs cuts in the budgets of other sectors, human development in this respect is more vulnerable. Pakistan a developing south Asian country, has worse conditions of human development, the following table shows the last ten years human

development. There are many problems like, low economic growth, high debts, bad governance, corruption, political instability and incompetence, peace and many more. Among them is the national security approach, which this study examines that whether it is responsible for low human development or not.

Table 1.

Human Development in Pakistan from 2010-19

Year	Education (Average Schooling Years)	Health (Life Expectancy)	Per Capita Income ($)	HDI Ranking	Improvement
2010	4.9	67.2	2,678	125	0
2011	4.9	65.4	2,550	145	-20
2013	4.9	65.7	2,566	146	-1
2014	4.7	66.6	4,652	146	0
2015	4.7	66.2	4,866	147	-1
2016	5.1	66.4	5,031	147	0
2018	5.2	66.6	5,311	150	-3
2019	5.2	67.1	5,190	152	-2

Source: UNDP; Human Development Reports 2010-2019

Pakistan showed no improvement in HDI rankings in last ten years and consistently performing low. Education and health are major contributors in HDI's low ranking, which is far from satisfactory. The traditional development approach, increase in income brings development, here fails as per capita income shows consistent increase from $ 2,678 to $ 5,190. It did not transform in better outcomes for health and education. We can argue that the measures beyond income and wealth matters for human development. One of these measures is prioritizing human development in national security policy.

The following figure shows the HDI ranking of the south Asian countries. To compare the human development of all these countries with Pakistan, its position is second last. The only country with worst human development after Pakistan is Afghanistan. This picture of human development is completely contradicting the position of military expenditures in the region. Having many complex

problems confronted to its people is causing havoc in every field of life. Among these are education and health the most basic human needs are discussed below.

Figure. 4.3.

Ranking of Regional Countries in Human Development Index 2019

HDI Ranking of South Asian Countries In 2019

	Afghanistan	Bangladesh	India	Iran	Maldives	Nepal	Sri Lanka	Pakistan
2019	170	135	129	65	104	147	71	152
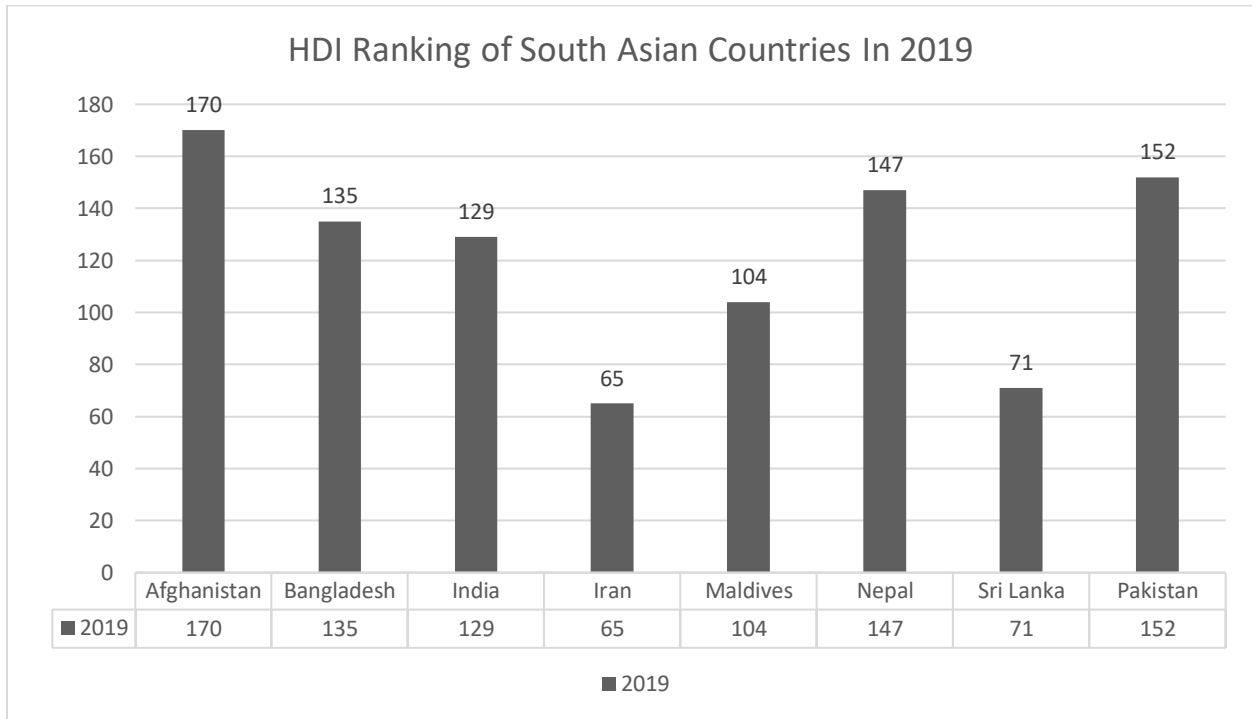
2019

Source: UNDP, Human Development Reports 2019

4.2.1 Education System in Pakistan

> *"Education is a critical tool for ending prejudice, hatred, and discrimination by promoting tolerance and respect."*

> (Ahmad, 2017)

The evolution of human beings from hunters and gatherers to the modern civilized being came through knowledge. This knowledge was not confined to a specific source, it was a mixture of religious, scientific, political, economic, social and cultural source etc. These all helped the man to form a society and set some values for living and their future survival. The sole purpose attached with this at that time was to build a society which guarantees the provision and security of basic

needs. As population increased and human societies evolved with the passage of time more complexities attached with the survival instinct. The need was felt to build formal educational institutions and with this education became state responsibility. Now, in this modern world as education is a state responsibility and the role of education is more vital and inevitable in every field of life. it still transforms to cope with modern challenges of development and a better society. Those who made these changes at the right time are prepared enough and getting the rewards of investments.

Unfortunately, Pakistan being a developing country lies far behind in those educational transformations. As, the country's education system is faced with numerous problems. These problems include persistent illiteracy, low enrolment ratios, low quality of education and the role of education in controlling extremism is also hidden. Many factors are held responsible for causing these problems i.e. low budget allocation, poverty, political interference and corruption. Other factors are; high teacher-student ratio, non-uniformity of syllabus, poor skills of teaching, availability of modern teaching equipment, multiple education systems and many more. All these factors are resulting in the poor outcomes of the country's education system. Many policies have been proposed by the government and educationalists, but none are succeeded in producing better results. This study argues that the reason of all these problems and policies failure is the negligence of human development as a threat in Pakistan.

Education as a basic need and a mean to development and progress of the country needs to be securitized. As it provides skills to run the country but at the same time it requires state attention of how it delivers the basic right and what is the outcome. But it remained a battle ground for politicians to play politics on confronted issues and its long-term solutions. Non-uniformity of education is also an issue as currently several education systems prevailed in the country. Majority of them are owned by the politicians. This is one of the main hurdles in policies for public education system. Thus, it can be argued that education is the most vulnerable need to every securitizing move. As securitizing actors didn't securitize human security in national security policy. So, education as the most basic part of human security also remained out of its radar.

The given table shows the government expenditures on education in last ten years. There is a continuous increase in expenditures on education. As the data shows expenditures in 2019 are almost three times bigger than 2011. But as the budgetary allocations increased the transformation

in better educational outcomes didn't occur. It didn't bring the significant increase in literacy level, high enrolment rates, better quality of education (discussed later). Contrary to this, it increased political interference, corruption in short it created more problems for existing system.

Figure. 4.4

Pakistan Education Expenditures from 2011-2019
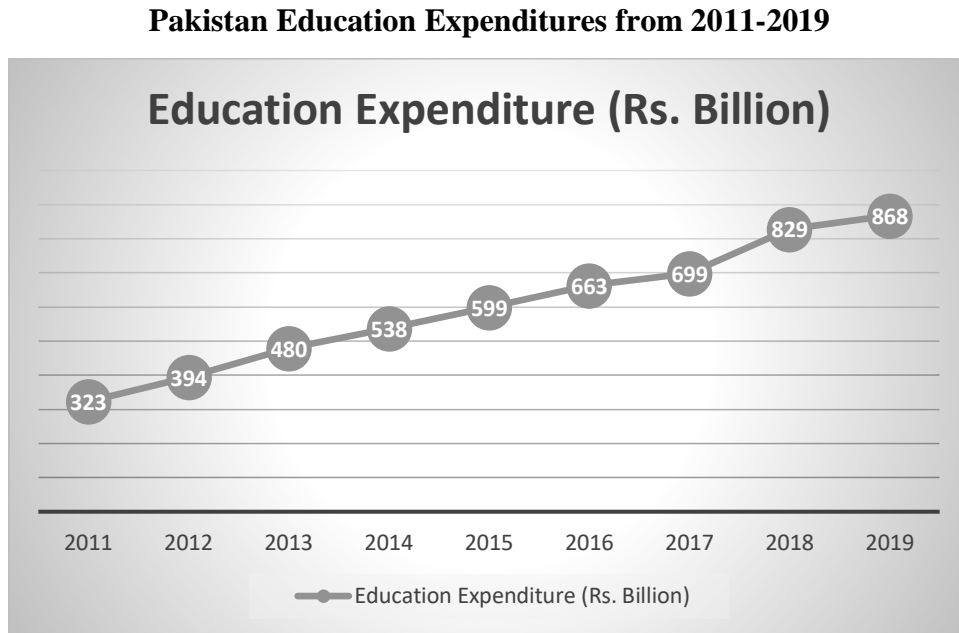
Data Source: Pakistan Economic Surveys, 2011-2019

At one end the negligence of education as a threat bring the internal problems within education system. But at the other end, it made state as an external actor creating problems for education system. Which places human security as non-securitized issue in national security. This non-prioritized treatment of state has made the education system vulnerable to the problems that are now hard to tackle with ordinary measures. State policy measures for education has always been a kind of negotiable terms. Which always has room for amendments/changes, interferences and a soft corner for the power elite. It is this factor which exposed education to system to diseases hunting the people and creating more problems for the state. Education becoming the provincial or federal concern, non-uniformity of syllabus and multiple education systems are the ripe fruits of such actions.

While the state policy preferences at the other end are obvious. The policies which safeguard those traditional national security concerns has no room for any sort of discussion. As the following

figure shows this contradictory state preference in expenditures on education and defense (as % of GDP).

Figure. 4.5.

Comparison of Education and Military Expenditures
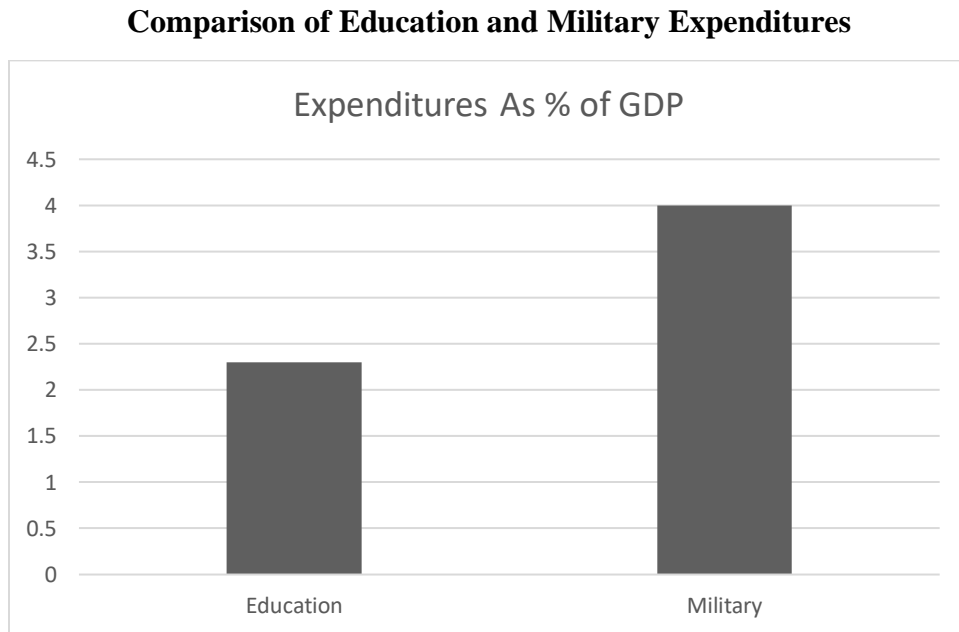
Data Source: Pakistan Economic Survey and SIPRI

As discussed above, the prioritization a single aspect of national security has repercussions for human development. And education being the most important element of human development is directly affecting by this approach. This vulnerability of education from security approach manifests in low literacy rates, enrolment rates and downward shift in quality of education which further led the people to extremism. These are discussed below.

4.2.1.1 Literacy Rate

Literacy rate shows the country's status of education that what percentage of the total population is literate, (Pakistan Economic Survey 2016-17). It is the most important and widely used educational indicator. The improvement occurs in literacy rate is an important element for other welfare indicators. The countries who have high human development ratios their literacy rates (as educational indicator) are high. It means they give weightage to education in their national policies and in return they obtain profits. Profits or benefits accrued can been seen in their economic, social and political development. If talk about their individual skills, they have strong cognitive abilities

to solve any problem confronted to them. These qualities are missing in the education systems of developing countries.

Figure. 4.6.

Literacy Rates of 10 Years and Above in Pakistan from 2011-2019
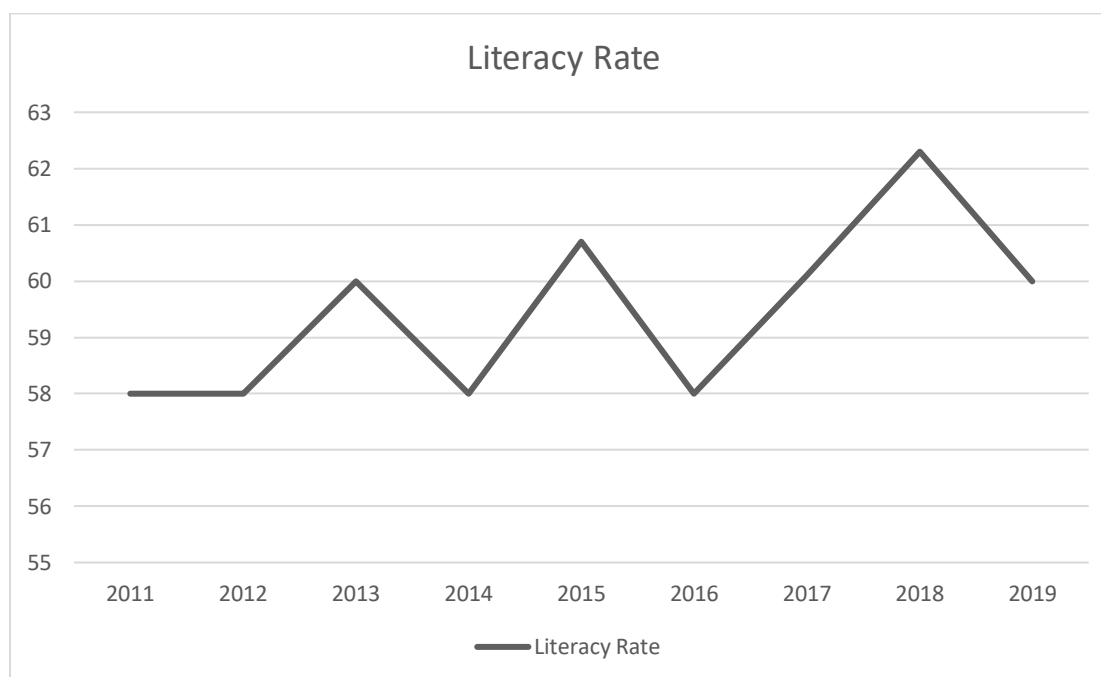
Data Source: Pakistan Economic Surveys 2011-2019

Pakistan is also fall in this category of not having a strong education system. As illustrate above the basic needs are not placed in its priority policy agendas which caused the structural and operational problems in education system. One of these problems is the low literacy rate, which is 60 in 2019, (Pakistan Economic Survey 2019-20). The literacy rate in the last decade fluctuated in between 58 to 62 which was in 2018 the highest in this decade. The above graph is showing the decade long literacy rates of 10 years and above in Pakistan.

4.2.1.2 Enrolment Rate

Enrolment rate is the second important indicator for looking the education status of a country. Human development index uses it with literacy rate to measure the educational development in the country. The countries having developed education systems attained high enrolment ratios. Thus, high enrolment rates are resulted in overall better education of the country. In case of Pakistan, although it had improved very well in the last decade, but it still needs to take serious actions to

remove the barriers. As the following chart shows the current net enrolment rate[8] at primary level (class 1-5) is 66 percent. It has showed 10 percent increase from 2011 to 2019. But the improvement occurred is not consistent. As data shows the only significant change occurred in net enrolment rate is in 2016, which is 8 percent.

Figure. 4.7.

Net Enrolment at Primary Level from 2011-2019
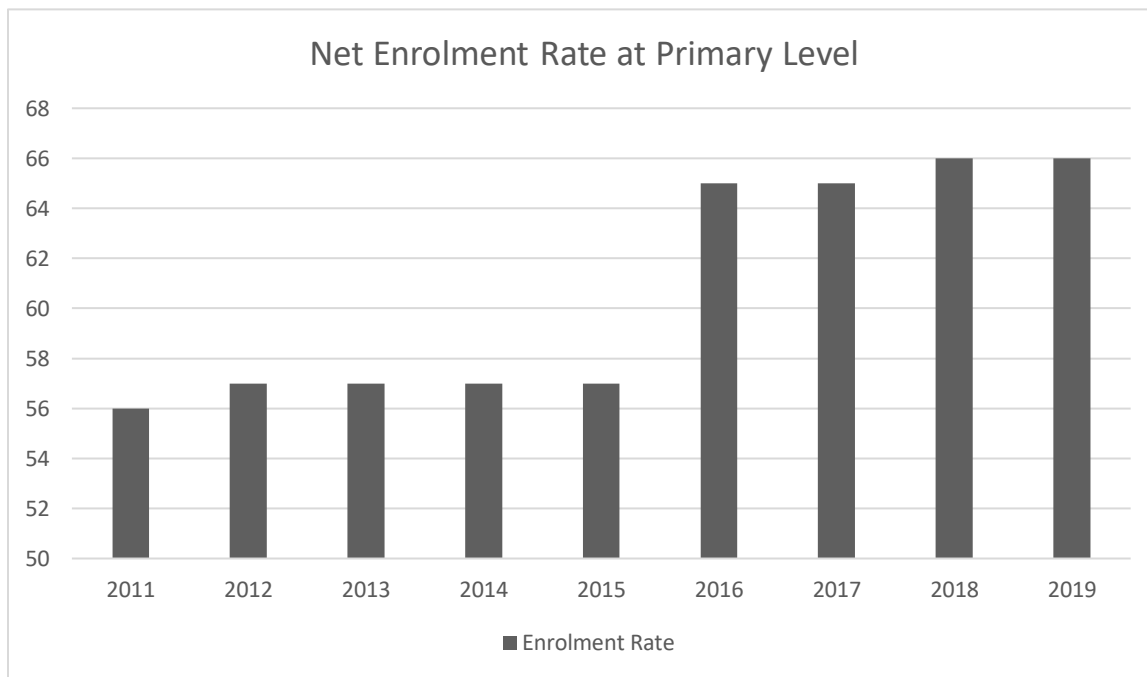
Data Source: Pakistan Economic Surveys, 2011-2019

This inconsistency together with 66 percent enrolment rate in primary schools shows how much importance education received at national level. It means 34 out of 100 children are still not enrolled in primary schools. Although, there are many factors listed for contributing to low enrolment ratios in primary schools. But analyzing it in a broader spectrum make this a human development concern. Which as data shows, is not receiving the required share in national policies and on ground policy actions. In a multidimensional view these all interlinked with humanist approach of development and security. Pakistan didn't consider these issues as a security threat and continuously focuses on the strength of conventional weapons.

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[8] Net Enrolment Rate: The percentage of children enrolled in school with respect to the total population of that age group.
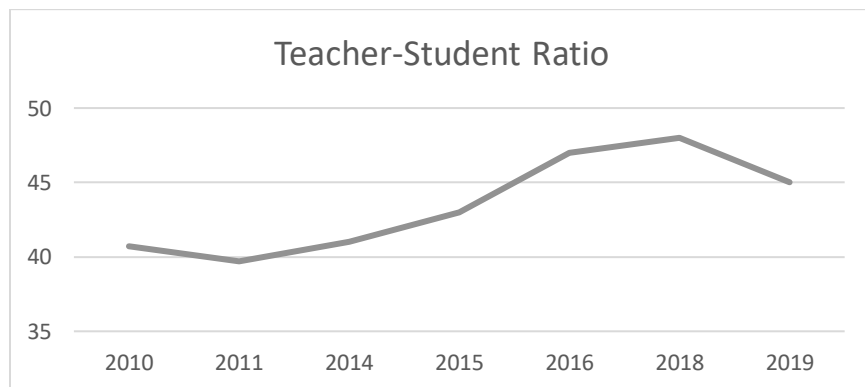
4.2.1.3 Quality of Education

Quality of education is something which tells about the kind of results an education system of a country produces. It is the quality of education which determines the development. As good quality of education produces skilled labor and contributes to overall nation's development. The developed countries which have better quality of education receiving it benefits in all aspects of life. Some of the developing countries also have good quality of education. All these countries give priority to education in their national policies. These includes the provision of all possible measures education system requires and which enhance its quality. Pakistan in this respect lag from the developed countries and developing countries as well. This is evident from above data that education as a basic human need is not prioritized. Which also affected the educational quality together with other determinants.

Quality of education is a subjective matter related to education. As quality of education in Pakistan will be producing skilled labor while in developed countries it will be something else. However, there are some proxies for measuring the quality of education. This study implies the teacher-student ratio to measure the quality of education in Pakistan. Teacher-student ratio shows how many students per teacher are there in Pakistan. Lesser the ratio will be more attention a student will receive from a teacher. But in Pakistan the teacher-student ratio is very high. In 2019, there are 45 students per teacher, (HDR, 2019). The following graph shows that the teacher-student ratio in Pakistan from last ten years is continuously high. Although there is a decrease in the last year but the ratio in 2010 was less than 2019.

Figure. 4.8.

Teacher-Student Ratio in Pakistan from 2010-2019

Data Source: Human Development Reports 2010-2019

This indicate how the quality of education will be as one teacher will teach 45 students at a time. It is not possible for a teacher to pay attention at every child in the class. So, at the end it creates problems for students in the future as every student is not gifted with the same mental capacity of learning. There are students which needs more attention than others, and if they didn't receive required attention the results are then dropouts, cheating and memorization without understanding the concept. Rote or memorization results in the decrease of critical thinking, the most important thing comes with education and learning. Critical thinking is absent in existing education system of Pakistan. Which is an important factor leading to extremism and prevent the education system from producing desired results.

Figure. 4.9.

Teacher-Student Ratio of Regional Countries
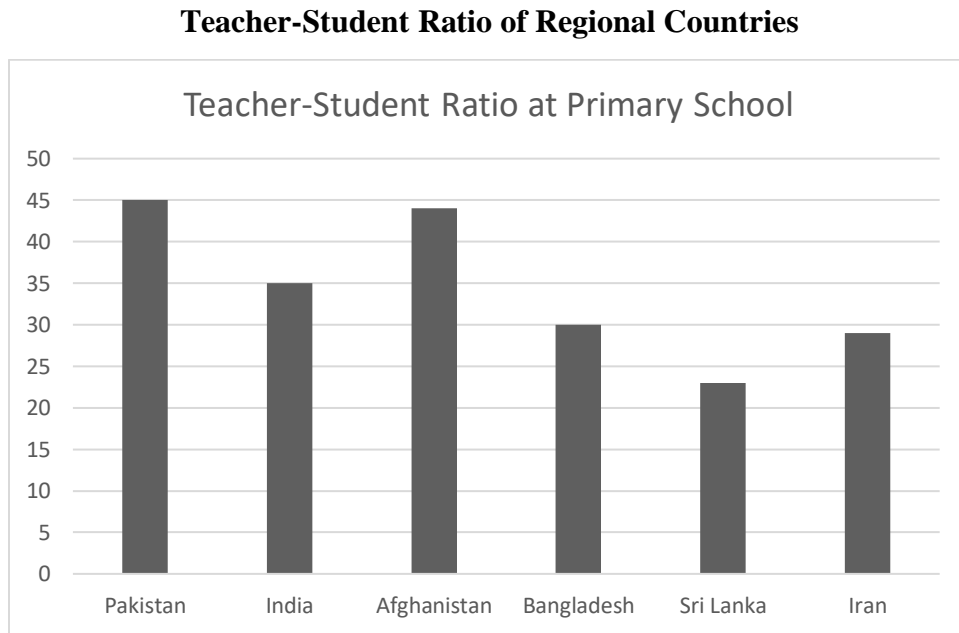
Data Source: Human Development Report 2019

4.2.1.4 Education and Extremism

According to Desmond Tutu[9] extremism is.

> *"when you do not allow for a different point of view, and when you hold your view as being quite exclusive, when you don't allow for the possibility of difference."*

Pakistan is facing a huge problem of extremism at every aspect of life in the contemporary era. This became a hurdle in the path of development and a threat to national security at the same time. This extremism sometimes results in state confrontation (violent form) in the form of civil war and terrorism. While sometimes it manifests in the form of institutional conflicts, political and religious conflicts. These are the problems present at the core without finding its solution is haunting Pakistan's development of every kind. Extremism is not something a person born with. It is the thought process which become extreme about certain things. It is something a person learn from its surroundings. So, education plays a vital role in forming a society liberated from the evils of extremism.

As discussed, earlier quality of education focuses on increase of the ability of critical thinking. Which allows a person to evaluate the opinions critically and choose the right option without any grief or causing any violence. This self-assessment brings peace and harmony to society. It prevents radicals and extremists to disseminate their ideas among the public. Beyond that it become a weapon to fight extremism deep rooted in the minds of people due to lack of education. The realization of education as a soft power to fight extremism is scarce in Pakistan. Because of the inclination towards the usage of conventional force i.e. mobilizing military and use of weapons against extremism. This reliance on hard power prevents Pakistan to prioritize education as a soft power combating extremism.

Thus, quality of education is directly linked with improving the critical thinking ability. Having low quality of education means low capacity of critical assessment. This contributes to the increase of extremism at two fronts, first one is at personal level. In which one is not open to the difference of opinion and this led him to violence. The example of these can be seen in the increase of political

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[9] Archbishop of Cape Town, Nobel Peace Prize winner; Doha Debate Special Event Extremism, Tuesday February 28, 2006.

and religious extremism. Second is its more extreme form, in which population became susceptible to terrorism and manipulation. As various terrorist and extremist organizations exploit uneducated and ill trained minds using powerful discourses. This second outcome of low-quality education is more dangerous than the first, it people to state confrontation. The famous lawyer and human rights activist Asma Jahangir said about the second type of extremism,

"Terrorism and religious extremism are huge challenges. They go hand in glove."[10]

Prioritizing education as soft power to deal with extremism does not give immediate results. To change the ideas of those who have caught in the web of extremism is a slow and gradual process. The transformation of extremists to normal life occurs with a very slow pace. The lack of immediate policy response drags the security policy makers to choose hard power in fighting extremism. The use of this conventional power method ensures no good to the nation's development and human welfare. As extremists use the ideas and trying to change the thought process of people to join them. Though, for a short period this silences the voice but never succeed in complete elimination of ideas from people's mind. It keeps evolving within the individual minds and society. At the end burst out in another extreme or violent form than the previous. Focusing and diverting the greater share of resources to education in this regard becomes inevitable.

4.2.2 Health System in Pakistan

As human beings are the only functional unit of society, so all the advancement and progress revolve around its existence. Existence and the in-built survival extinct compelled them to protect their bodies from diseases which hinder the body productivity. Because it is this productivity which led them to specialize some skills essential for the overall development of the country. So, health as the basic need of human beings is contributing to overall development of the country i.e. economic, social and political. Health as having this much importance for human beings and country's progress needs protection and quality provision. To provide this protection and quality services state build health institutions for the purpose to ensure the timely provision of health services to every individual.

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[10] https://tribune.com.pk/story/1633595

It is that last factor which decide the country's progress and the living standards of its people. Countries who provide better health services have productive and healthy labor force for their economy. Health boosts productivity of the labor which is the aim of economic development. It is not just the economic well-being, health has also a strong impact on social and political lives of the people. Physical and mental health are interdependent, the absence of threats to physical health has positive effect on mental health. As social and political development comes with positive and productive ideas. While ideas come from a society which has no psychological or physical stress. Moreover, it creates harmony, peace and a sense of responsibility essential for the rule of law and elimination of extremism.

Knowing this importance of health, the whole world increases its expenditures on health. The developed countries have doubled its spending on health. Some of the developing countries have also increased its expenditures on health in 21st century. It is estimated that around 4% increase occur in the total global spending from 2000 to 2017, (WHO, 2019). This shows both developed and developing countries are treating health at priority basis. As increase in expenditures and better health services are positively linked, thus it indirectly shows their improvement in human development. But some of the developing countries still had a long way to provide better health services to their citizen. They face numerous challenges in the provision of the fundamental need to people. Some of them are policy oriented and some are related to the availability of funds.

Unfortunately, Pakistan as a developing country didn't put human development on its core of policy agendas. One can easily assess this by the actions that it declared Universal Health Coverage as an important goal in 2016, (Pakistan Economic Survey 2019-20, 2020). This non-prioritization affecting its health system badly. This is causing problems for health system at 2 broad levels operational and structural (as per this study). This study analyzes the determinants of each one as life expectancy and public health status respectively. All of these are discussed below, but before going in its details a general description of health expenditures and disease prevalence is given.

Health sector in Pakistan hasn't received its due share in state policies as a basic need. It is this reason which enable the private sector to serve more than 70% of the population while the

remaining served by the public sector[11]. This affected the access of health services to the individuals in both urban and rural areas. As only 27 percent of the total population have accessed to total health care. Only the elite of the society are included in these 27 percent, (Neelam Saleem Punjani, 2014). Although, the budget allocation to the health sector by the government in last decade has increased (see the following figure). To solve the health sector problems and to increase the human development in the country these measures are not enough.

Figure. 4.10.

Health Expenditures in Pakistan from 2011-2019
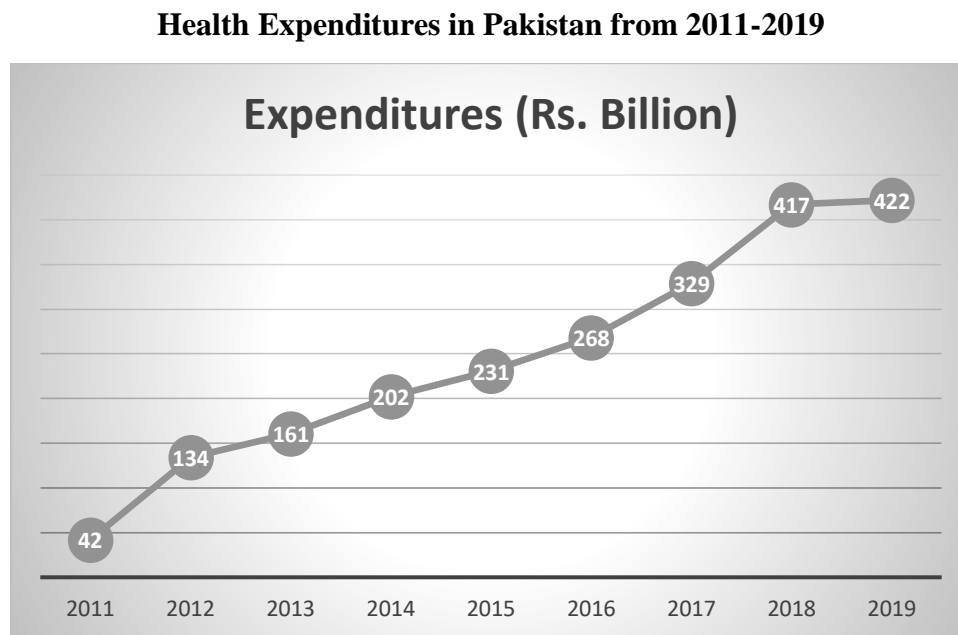
Data Source: Pakistan Economic Surveys, 2011-2019

By comparing the percentage of GDP spending on health and defense, chart. Then it became quite clear that what is most prioritized in Pakistan. The more severe structural problems that health sector has confronted are; low health personnel, infrastructure and modern treatment equipment. These all contribute to the low quality of Pakistan heath system, (PSLM, 2020). These problems then lower the ability to fight the diseases and policy outcomes. (Dr. Ahmad Hassan, 2017) categorizes the national health policies and efforts taken to modernize the equipment or service

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[11] (2015, March 23), Health Care System in Pakistan, Health and Social Care Essay. Retrieved January 4, 2021, from https://www.ukessays.com/essays/healthand-social-care/health-care-system-in-pakistan-health-and-social-care-essay.php

delivery as not in-lined with ground reality. It can be argued that the thorough research analysis and assessment of this basic human need is missing at national level.

Figure. 4.11.

Comparison of Health and Military Expenditures
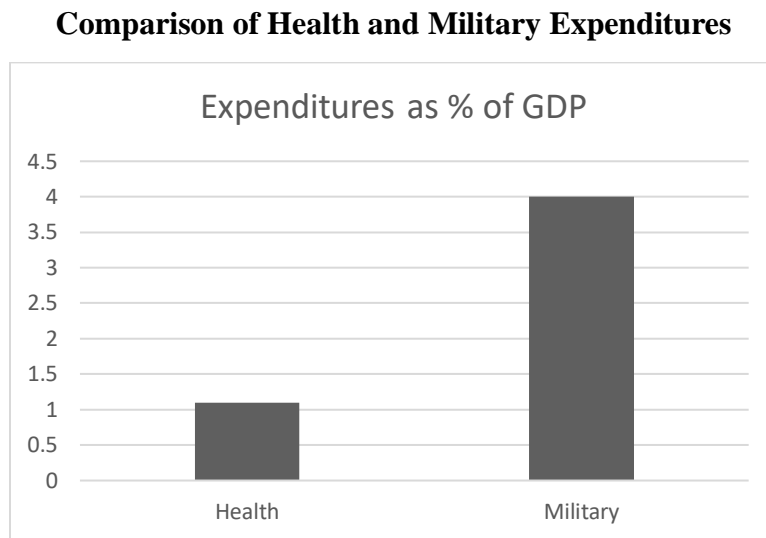
Data Source: Pakistan Economic Survey and SIPRI

It made the health system to face severe problems of non-operationalization of health facilities. All these policy failures and inequities are resulted in the deterioration of human health. Pakistan failed in eradicating the problems of malnutrition, high mortality ratio, and tuberculosis. Diarrhea and respiratory diseases remained the death cause for children. Hepatitis B and C contribute to 7.6 percent of the total disease burden of Pakistan while more than 11 percent contribution are from injuries and mental health (WHO, 2017). The country still running polio eradication programs, while malaria and dengue are deadly mosquito led diseases here. The prevalence of these diseases causes severe problems both at individual and national level. As it hinders the productivity and the affected people are becoming a liability for the already poor country.

The need of the moment is serious undertaking of the interdependency of health and development. This seriousness in the national policies and implementations has never been witnessed in Pakistan. Consequently, resulted in the following issues.

4.2.2.1 Operational Issue

As discussed above this study categorized life expectancy as an operational issue caused by the non-prioritization of human development as a threat. Health system is faced with many problems

due to this non-prioritized treatment. Among those issues one is life expectancy. Life expectancy of a country shows the average life of its citizens. It indicates the living standards of a nation that how healthy life they live. However, Pakistan's life expectancy is remaining low in this decade contrary to global increase in life expectancy. Income is one of the most important factors in this decline, (Audi, 2016), together with environmental factors.

Moreover, together with economic misery the illiteracy, food supply and improved infrastructure has great impact on life expectancy improvement, (Muhammad Shahbaz, 2015). These all are human centric issues which are interlinked with one another and contributed to the overall development. Unfortunately, the non-prioritization of human centric approach to development in Pakistan, brought the lowest life expectancy rate of the region 67.1 after Afghanistan, (HDR, 2019). The following figure shows life expectancy at birth in Pakistan from 2010 to 2019. The data illustrates the improvement in life expectancy which is negative. Pakistan instead of improving in life expectancy showed decay as the rate in 2010 was 67.2.

Figure. 4.12.

**Life Expectancy at Birth in Pakistan from 2010-2019**
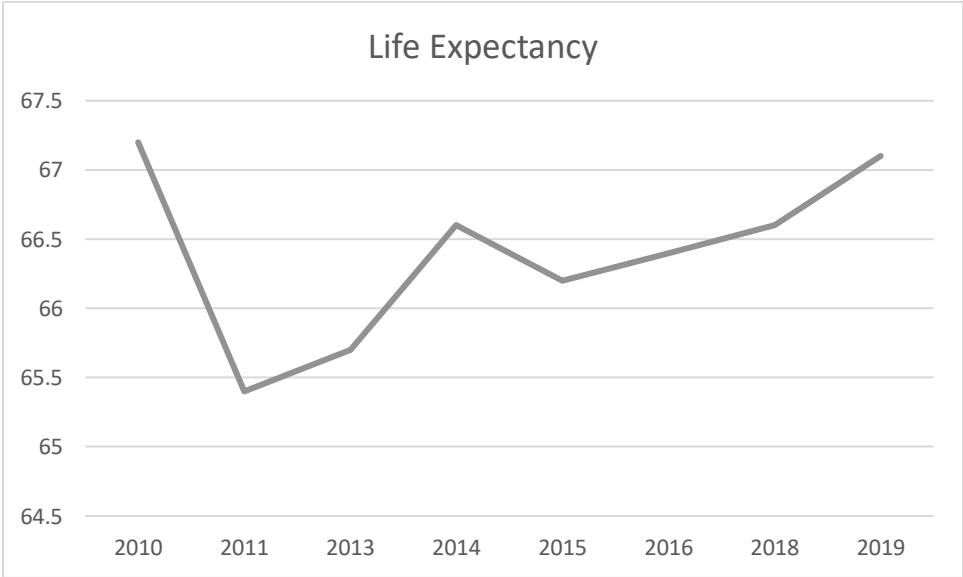
Data Source: Human Development Reports, 2010-2019

4.2.2.2 Structural Issue

Structural issue of health system in Pakistan are characterized as public health status in terms of doctors and hospital beds for population. Pakistan's distribution of health resources is uneven in rural and urban areas, (Yusuf, 2013). This uneven distribution is contributing to the overall decline in health facilities. And increases the private sector role in service delivery which majority of the people can't afford. By getting treatment from big hospitals in cities, it causes burden for those hospitals as it exceeds its capacity of patients. This capacity is consisting of medical doctors, specialists, nurses, dentists, beds, and modern or specialized treatment equipment. One example is the following graph showing the total population per doctor ratio in last ten years. Although, there is a decline in this ratio, but it is still not enough. As to decrease the burden of diseases this ratio needs a more significant decline.

Figure. 4.13.

Population per Doctor in Pakistan from 2011-2018
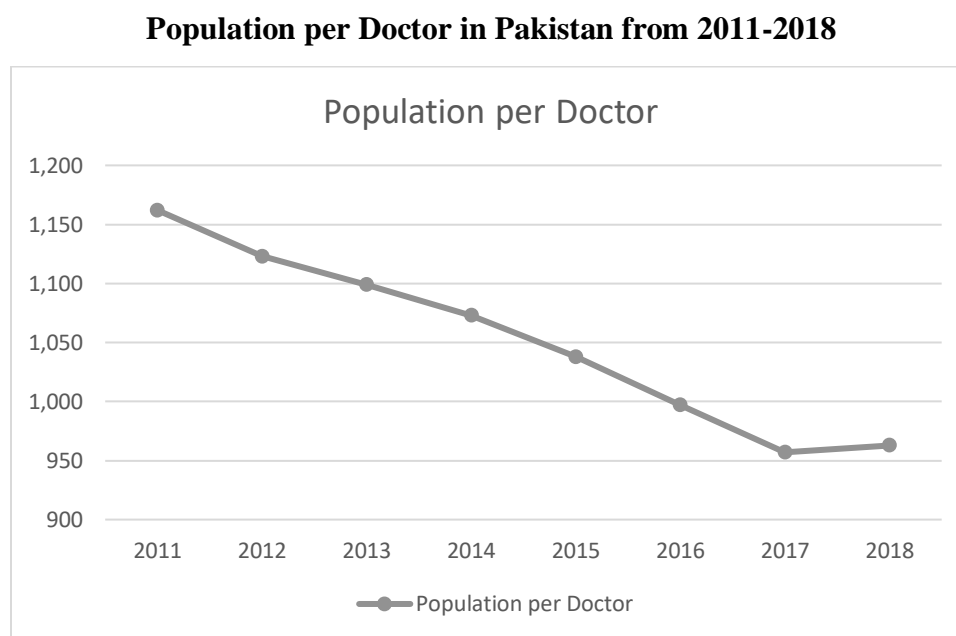
Data Source: Pakistan Economic Surveys, 2011-2019

To decrease the burden of diseases the decline in population per doctor ratio as a measure is not sufficient. The number of hospitals for the people and beds available to receive the proper treatment also matters in lowering the disease burden and provision of better health facilities. The below graph shows these stats for Pakistan which has one bed for 1608 people in 2018. The significant change occurred in 2012 and 2013.

Figure. 4.14.

Population per Bed in Pakistan from 2011-2018
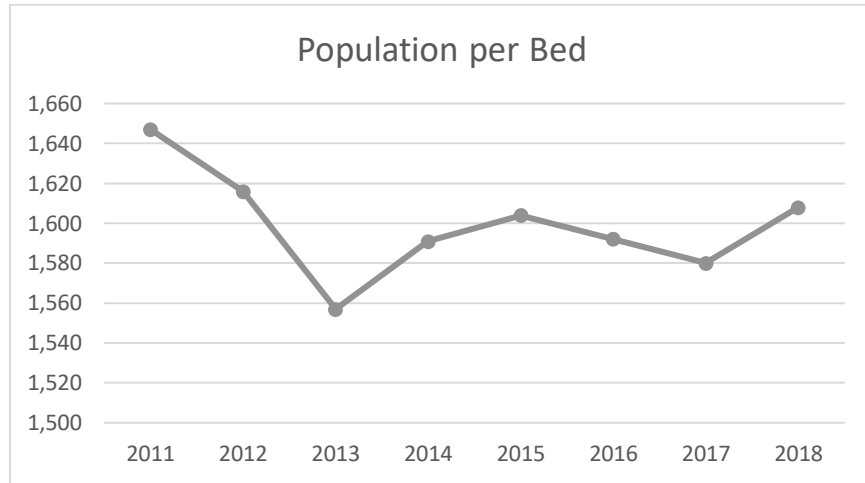
Data Source: Pakistan Economic Surveys, 2011-2019

The following figure compares the public health status of regional countries. Pakistan though has better physician ratio of 9.8 for 10,000 people second highest after Iran's 11.4. But at same time it has second lowest ratio of hospital beds 6. Sri Lanka has the highest hospital beds ratio of 36. Sri Lanka had serious internal conflict issues for a very long time, but it didn't affect the health service delivery to its people. This tells that if human development is prioritized no matter what the security situations are people will never be deprived from the basic needs.

Figure. 4.15.

Regional Comparison of Physicians and Hospital Beds
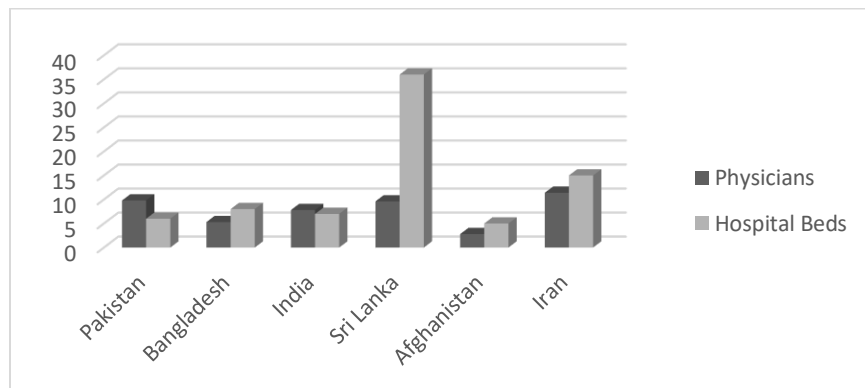
Data Source: Human Development Report 2019

4.3 Human Security in Pakistan

In 1990s after the end of cold war and bipolarity from global power structure a little optimism prevailed. This optimism was about the paradigm shift in the field of security towards a humanistic approach, (Sandra J. Maclean, 2006, pp. 3-18). The name assigned to this security was human security, which principally focused on people and society contradicting the traditional security approach. The traditional security endangered people's lives not only from the results of it but also neglecting its existence as a threat. The results of traditional security are wars and conflicts which pose threat to human security at physical level. However, there are more deaths from diseases, insufficient food and killings ignited by social factors than bombs, missiles and other conventional threats. These can be witnessed from the sufferings of people in Middle East, Myanmar, Afghanistan, Sudan, Ethiopia etc. where people are internally displaced, (Mack, 2005).

Thus, human security can be defined as the people centered approach towards security where threat is not derived from the violence but from the fear, (Nishikawa, 2010, pp. 1-7). State focusing on the absence of fear is the real security people need in human security approach. Human security is contradicting with traditional security as threat perception in this security approach is derived from threats confronted to state or its territory. Human security is by no means against military or the state as sovereign entity in international relations. But it considers that from which (people) the state derives its sovereignty should be the focal point of its security policies and analysis, (Newman, 2010). Human security puts people in the first place in national security policies which means the provision of basic needs and other basic service issues will be dealt with as urgency as state deals territorial security.

The changing development paradigm has greatly influenced the new broader concept of security in 1990s. The common security approach of 1980s together with political and academic activism provide the fundamental base to its promotion. This strengthen its logic that security should be broadened something more than state, frontier defense and nuclear weapons, (Hansen, 2009, pp. 202-205). And helped human security to be people centered and concerned with the choices of people. Though human security is humanistic and more tended towards inclusive development but remained uncritical towards traditional security. (Newman, 2010) argues about this, that human security arguments are problem-solving in nature. Human security scholars are termed as "un-sophisticated" by critical security— as they are more attracted to policy and wish to be in policy

circles. They wish to remain specific either because they feel it needless to be indulged in such debates or fear of alienation from the policy circles.

This might be a reason that in this globalized era where United Nation's Development Programme put so much emphasis on human inclusive security and development efforts, the results are still far from satisfactory. Especially the developing world has a lot more to do in both these areas as they are still caught in the web of traditional approaches. The human security as termed is problem-solving provides best solution to be out of their miseries in every aspect of life. This will require them to mend it according to their indigenous capabilities. However, the developing countries are somewhat not self-sufficient as they have economic and strategic dependency on the developed world. This resulted in the decline of their state authority over society and economy, (Strange, 2015, pp. 232-238). Example of this is the growing involvement of the International Financial Institutions in developing countries in the name of MNCs, TNCs and privatization of the important national portfolios.

Pakistan as a part of developing countries is facing the same situation. As discussed above Pakistan didn't perform well at humanitarian grounds. Although, it took all the necessary steps to provide basic services to its people. For this human security is also placed in national security agenda as Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed said "National security can no longer be measured purely in terms of military might. Human rights and educational issues are part of it."[12] The National Internal Security Policy 2018-2023 also includes human security as a core national security issue. But as the above human development indicators manifests the human centric rhetoric in policies is completely contradicting the reality. To know what are the actual measures that are responsible for this, the study conducted interviews.

With the help of thematic analysis interviews are presented in the following tabulated form. The table is divided in 3 parts: questions, codes, and themes. The questions asked are given in the questions column and the responses are divided into different codes. The third column is themes which is the broad categorization of the codes. Based on this thematic analysis, the interviews generated themes which are responsible for the failure of inclusive national security policy. The table and themes are explained as following.

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[12] PILDAT: Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency, virtual forum December 26,2020.

Questions	Codes	Themes
Prioritized issue in national security agenda	Indian Factor Survival of state Border security Kashmir	Traditional security perception
Threats that poses serious challenges to national security	Conflicts Domestic issues War on terror Domestic inequalities	Internal issues
Evaluation of using force as Pakistan's response to threats	Not effective Necessary Counterproductive	Destructive
Effect of hard security measures on human development	Caused low human development Low investment Depriving soft skills	Lower social/cognitive development
Role of people's welfare in national security	Positive Population is power Instant impact	Human resource
Increase in budget allocation as a solution for human development	Agree Administrative inequalities Mindset of welfare state Elite threat perception	Financial allocation with changes in status quo
Human security prioritization will ensure human development	Agree Uncertainty Structural adjustments	Securitization

4.3.1 Traditional Threat Perception

Survival of the state is the prioritized issue in the national security of Pakistan. Since inception, Pakistan is facing an existential threat from India. Territorial integrity and national sovereignty had remained the core concern of Pakistan's security policy. Threat perception was primarily

Indian centric. Disparity in power capabilities and Indian hegemonic design further reiterated this perception. The referent object for this perception is state. This state centric approach requires them some extra ordinary measures to strengthen its defense at the expense of human development.

4.3.2 Internal Issues Are Dealt with Destructive Strategy

With the demise of Soviet Union and the development of nuclear weapons external threats are no more challenging as compared to threats emanating from domestic fronts. Water scarcity, food insecurity, global pandemics, and melting glaciers, rising temperatures, insurgencies and terrorism are posing a direct threat to the citizens of the states. External threat is relevant, however, more serious are the challenges posed by the internal threats. If population of the state is not healthy, if water is scarce indirectly society is in turmoil, citizenry will fail to contribute to the economy of the state and hence would be unable to contribute to the power of the states.

State is the only legal entity to use force under international law. However, internal challenges are about wining minds and hearts of the people. State always face a challenge to deal with issues of internal nature. On one hand, it has the responsibility to protect people from those who pose a threat to their safety and security, as they pay taxes, abide the law and live in harmony with others. On the other hand, harsh measure adopted against its own subject could result in backlash and could be counterproductive. However, government cannot compromise on core principles. Therefore, use of force at times is necessary to deal with certain threats. But if the states fail to win the minds and hearts of its people then it lost the battle against the opponent from the very beginning. Use of lethal force is counterproductive.

4.3.3 The Hard Security Measures are Affecting the Cognitive Ability of Human Resource

Policy making is about means allocation for ends to be achieved. Comprehensive national policy takes into account all aspects of security ranging from military to human security. Pakistan security elite define security in terms of 'protection of territorial integrity'. Threat is primarily external emanating from state which shape their threat perception. Measure are taken to invest in measure necessary for the protection of the state. Therefore, major chunk of the GDP goes to security apparatus. This thus compromised human security. In simple words due to reliance on hard core security Pakistan has failed to and is failing to invest in human development.

Population is the element of the state and is one of the major sources of power. According to John J. Mearsheimer population can act as an offensive weapon of the state even if it does not possess any other weapon. The core of concern of security is the protection of people, after all states is nothing without its population. However, investment is human development is directly linked to national security. Population is both producers and consumers. Healthy labor force enhance productivity which contributes to positive balance of trade. Surplus income can be utilized in both the welfare of the people and in security of the state.

4.3.4 Funds Allocation Together with Securitization of Human Security

Resource allocation is important for goals achievement. Budget allocation for human development will be a step in the right direction. However, it will not bring a significant change or shift towards human development. In order to solve the problems of human development or to make it a priority of the national security paradigm, it is important that the threat perception of leadership gets changed as well. The right step in right direction would be 'change in threat perception of the security elite.' Human development needs to be institutionalized. Mere budget allocation would not be a solution to the problem.

Human security includes economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security and political security. Human development ensures basic needs of the citizenry. If national security focus on just distribution of resources and wealth allocation; take keen interests in health facilities like hospitals; plan for access to clean water and pollution free air; support initiatives to educate people about their rights and group rights; and to educate people about their freedom of speech and protect people's right to information and propaganda and political association. This will indirectly support human progress and development.

Chapter 5

Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1 Conclusion

In this modern and globalized age of the 21st century where everything is interdependent. Without the realization of this interdependency nothing can be successful. Countries or nations around the globe trying to make comprehensive policies to be prepared for modern challenges. The comprehensive aspect is focused on to be inclusive towards people. The more people participate in the policy and the policy outcomes reach to them, the more efforts they will dedicate to nation building. This interdependency and comprehensiveness also prevail in the development and security. Where the aim is providing a secure environment where threat vulnerability for people is absent and they are free to choose. The consideration of this relationship was absent in past development and security approaches. Which greatly hampered the process of development and a safe and secure society.

This relationship is weak in South Asian region where the traditional approaches still has a strong hold. Pakistan which is part of this region the traditional exclusive pattern is not resulted in a better outcome. The development and security both are not comprehensive in nature where people are becoming burden on state. This study aimed at analyzing this relationship with respect to human development and threat perception of security. It further checked the applicability of human security and its prioritization in the national security of Pakistan. Based on the analysis we can conclude that this nexus needs prioritization in Pakistan's national security policy. This prioritization is termed in the 'securitization theory' as securitization. The human security and human development as an approach both are placed in national policies. But looking at the outcomes of human development indicators the policies are not successful.

The development indicators, education and health, performance as basic needs are not satisfactory. Education as a state responsibility is not in lined with the international standards. Its results at both cognitive and moral fronts are fading instead of progress. There is a consistent increase in last ten years expenditures on education, but with respect to this increase the results are not positive with the same rate. This pattern is also witnessed in literacy and enrolment rates. Both have showed very inconsistent improvement in the last ten years. This inconsistency was doubled in the quality

assessment of education. The teacher student ratio was taken as determinant for quality. Pakistan has the highest students per teacher ratio of 45 in this region. The prevalence of this high ratio of students per teacher affect the cognitive ability of critical thinking. Because of the difficulty for a teacher to handle these students at the same time in a class.

As quality of education is directly linked with improving the critical thinking ability. Having low quality of education means low capacity of critical assessment. This contributes to the increase of extremism at two fronts, first one is at personal level. In which one is not open to the difference of opinion and this led him to violence. The example of these can be seen in the increase of political and religious extremism. Second is its more extreme form, in which population became susceptible to terrorism and manipulation. As various terrorist and extremist organizations exploit uneducated and ill trained minds using powerful discourses. This second outcome of low-quality education is more dangerous than the first, it people to state confrontation.

The health status in Pakistan is also downtrodden. Both the communicable and non-communicable disease prevalence is high. Together with this health system is faced with other multiple problems ranging from the high growth rate of population to low life expectancy. Pakistan has second low life expectancy in the region after Afghanistan. The health budget is also increased in the last decade but as education its problems remained unsolved. Private sector has a greater share in the outreach to the population of the country. But the public health is still unable to provide the quality health services to people. The hospital beds ratio is also the second lowest ratio in the region. The problem of essential medicine production is also an issue the health sector is facing.

Pakistan's health system needs prioritization to be prepared for the challenges of modern world. Population, if to be focused is an asset economically, politically, and socially. If not trained the same is causing problem at all three levels. For this the prioritization of human security in the national security is a solution. This prioritization means the human security issues' securitization. Which will put the people at the core of national security policy. One of the arguments of 'National Internal Security Policy' will be challenged here as, though people are the top priority of 'National Security Policy' but the issues confronted to them are not securitized. And the obvious examples are presented in this study from education and health data. The problems identified by this study in the security policy are concluded in 3-major categories, traditional approach to security, reliance

on hard measures to mitigate internal threats, and the securitization of human security in national security policy.

First, the Pakistan's security approach is traditional this shaped the threat perception centered in and around territorial integrity. This traditional approach drags the security to define in terms of border security, Kashmir, and India. As the existence of state is the most important element in this security approach. The importance of protection from external actors became necessary. Global power politics also became inevitable for some of the interests to serve. These all elements put the human security and human development approaches a side. This security approach excludes people not only from the security policies but development policies as well.

Second, Pakistan relied only on hard measures or the use of force to fight against the internal threats of terrorism and other conflicts. Pakistan had suffered immensely in the global war on terror, causing great human loss with hampering the country's economic, social, and political systems. At that time the use of force against terrorism become inevitable to get rid of this evil. But this policy came at the expense of the negligence of soft-core measures which intensified the miseries people faced in all these years. This tendency towards prioritization of hard measures to tackle internal threats result in highest military expenditures as percentage of GDP in this region.

Third, is the problem with securitization of human security in national security policy. There are many claims about national security being inclusive and people centered. These claims came from the security elite of the country. But analyzing it through the lens of securitization, although there are policies and funds available for the education and health, but still the desired outcomes couldn't achieve. These policies are not inclusive that's why the increase in expenditures brought problems than solving it. The policy continuation is also an issue of every political government which caused inequalities in the allocation of funds and policy implementations. For this the securitization of human security is need of the moment where all actions are taken with utmost urgency.

5.2 Recommendations

Security is no more taken in a narrow sense worldwide. The emerging threats are cross-national and are cross-cultural. Threats are common to all human beings hence referent object needs to be human. Human beings are to be protected. This changing concept of security is relevant to Pakistan. Pakistan needs to develop a comprehensive approach to national security. Basic needs are to be part of the comprehensive security approach. Health and education are basic needs of human population. National security shall invest in health and education as part of national security strategy. Healthy and prosperous population can be used as a productive tool in enhancing national income of the state. As a labor force it will help in developing a positive balance of trade. Pakistan can send its healthy population to regions where it will help in sending positive remittances. Similarly, education will develop technical skills of the population which will support technical progress of the country. An educated and skilled labor will initiate a spin-off effect in technological progress. The research recommends the following

- In contemporary world traditional approach to security is incomplete. Threats are no more external in nature. Territorial integrity and sovereignty are no more only focus and concern of the state. State is not the only source of threat. Therefore, a change in conception of security is recommended. A comprehensive notion of security is needed.
- Security actors are recommended to broaden their conception of security. Securitization needs to be in an around various sources of threats and objects.
- Basic needs model is one of the approaches which is based on providing basic facilities to majority of the population. It addresses basic concerns of human beings. It focuses on health and education. Health is important for the population of a state. Youth bulge is one of the main issues faced by Pakistan. Healthy youth is a potent force for progress and growth. The objective of national security policy of Pakistan is to be keep youth healthy and away from diseases and bad hygiene.
- Real development of a state is to provide basic health facilities to people. It is to provide sustainable development and standard living conditions. Pakistan needs to ensure sustainable growth. National security policy of Pakistan needs to work on issue of creating economic opportunities for its youth, initiate environment friendly projects, provide small scale business opportunities to its youth and to make circulation of wealth possible in the

country. Similarly, national security policy should establish rule of law in the country so that the youth develop a positive sense of laws in the country.

- National security elite needs to invest in confidence building measures to develop soft image among business community. Policies should provide incentives to international organizations like world health organization (WHO) to invest in health sector. Due to the protracted warfare in Afghanistan and war on terror in Pakistan, there is an observable increase in cancer related problems. Due to contaminated water and increasing warfare Pakistan is facing issues of hygienic food.

- Hygienic food is necessary for good health. Synthetic food is not healthy. Security policy needs to tackle issue of synthetic food. Similarly, milk too is a huge industry in Pakistan. Synthetic food is huge industry in Pakistan and invest huge amount on advertisement. Security elite needs to generate a counter discourse for the promotion natural products. National security policy shall make strict laws that prohibits impurity. National food authority needs to take strict measures against those who violate health standards. Since, health is an issue of utmost importance no leniency shall be shown in this regard.

- Education is of utmost importance for the growth and stability of a country. Pakistan is facing a serious concern in this regard. There is a three-tier education system in Pakistan. The product of this education system is a divided and fractious society. An elitist education system is producing an elite class working for the interest of elite and resulting in a western and liberal mind-set. Their attitude and aptitude of life is liberal. Public sector and semi-private sector are producing a hard-core nationalist lot. This lot defining things in perspective in pure nationalist terminologies. Third is the madrassah education system. End product of madrassah education is ultra-conservativism. This groups' thinking is largely shaped by escapism. They are more concerned with life hereafter. They define things in black and white. Social order is based on 'purity'. Coexistence and pluralism hardly exist in their attitude towards life. Coexistence for them in a single society is very difficult. At the end a divided society came into existence. A comprehensive security needs to focus on this issue.

- Security elite need to take care of this issue. National curricula need to be adjusted according to international standards. Basic needs model focus on education is for uniformity. Uniformity helps in generating cohesion. An educated population sort issues

of neglect and division. National security policy shall make education the top priority of policy recommendation for government.

- Uneducated population is susceptible to terrorism and manipulation. Various terrorist organization can exploit uneducated and ill trained mind. At the same time, uneducated youth will not be able to cope with modern day challenges. National security policy shall need to link education with development and progress. It needs to initiate education emergency in the country. It shall initiate projects of training and facilitation centers to train youth and provide vocational trainings.

- Politico-Military security is an important aspect of comprehensive security. This research advocates inclusion of basic needs model alongside politico-military conception of security. Budgetary allocation shall be initiated by government. Resource allocation needs to be rationalized according to the threats and object of protection. Human security itself is a broad conception of security.

- Basic needs including education and health. Education and health require a comprehensive approach of uniformity. A uniform approach shall develop a comprehensive strategy for health and education that ensure health for all and education for all.

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Appendix 1

**Pakistan Institute of Development Economics (PIDE),
Department of Development Studies**

Title of the Study: "Human Security and Human Development Nexus: Case Study of Pakistan"

Supervisor: Dr. Muhammad Jehangir Khan

Researcher: Abdul Baseer

Introduction:

You are cordially invited to participate in a research study conducted by Abdul Baseer (Researcher) and supervised by Dr. Muhammad Jehangir Khan at Pakistan Institute of Development Economics (PIDE) Islamabad. We believe that your experience and insight about the topic will enhance the quality of this research. The research requires your participation through interview with the help of open-ended questions. This research is only for academic purpose and your views will be confined to this study only.

Purpose of the Study:

As the modern times require more comprehensive approach to development. Traditionally Pakistan approach to development and security is marked by uni-dimensional approach. In development it takes economic development as the only indicator of change and progress. In security arena, the national security apparatus is dominated by traditional thinking. This prevalence of traditional thinking forced the decision makers to prefer one form of security over the other. Therefore, one can observe national security defined as territorial integrity and protecting borders from external threats posed by states. All means are directed towards this goal. The dark side of this approach is negligence towards the comprehensive nature of security, primarily the 'human aspect of security and development.'

The study defines human security as the 'provision of Basic Needs' to most of the population. The Basic Needs in the study is taken as 'health and education' on the premises that it contributes to human capital thus indirectly shapes development. The study puts this equation in the national security of Pakistan. It studies the nature of security in the context of Pakistan. It observes that

there exists a relation between the predominance of traditional thinking among the security elite and the poor condition of the basic needs in Pakistan. This thus indirectly shapes development of the country as the labor produced is not educated and healthy enough to contribute to the development. at the same time, the unhealthy population turned a liability on the state. Similarly, uneducated labor is misfit for the challenges posed by the technological advancement, thus hampers productivity and overall impact the competitive edge in the global market.

Interview Questions:

1. What is the most prioritized issue in the national security agenda of Pakistan?

_____

2. Is it external or internal threats that you think possess serious challenges to national security of Pakistan in contemporary times?

_____

3. How do you evaluate Pakistan's reliance on the use of force to tackle internal threats? Do you consider it an effective national security response?

_____

4. Do you think Pakistan's reliance on hard security measures is affecting its capacity to invest in human development?

_____

5. According to your opinion, what is the role of welfare of people to strengthen national security?

_____

6. Do you think the increase in budget allocation will solve the human development problems?

_____

7. If human security is prioritized in the national security agenda, do you think this will ensure human development?

_____